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Semantic Shift in Old English and Old Saxon Identity Terms

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Abstract

Christianity substantially altered Germanic life during the early Middle Ages. However, no large-scale studies have attempted to visualize Christianization through macroscopic semantic trends, nor have any studies used Old Saxon as a control group to illustrate the role of Christianity in less obvious semantic contexts. The core question of this project, then, revolves around semantic corpora and their role in clarifying sociocultural phenomena: how can a cross-section of Old Saxon and Old English semantics help clarify Christianity's role in re-shaping early medieval Germanic identity? This study uses corpus linguistics, post-colonial/historical theory, and Digital Humanities approaches to schematize the processes underlying the semantic shift of eight Old English/Old Saxon lexeme pairs—*ambiht/ambaht*, *facen/fekan*, *gædeling/gaduling*, *hosp–hosc/hosk*, *geneat/ginot*, *scyldig/skuldig*, *þegn/thegan*, and *wlanc/wlank*—that illustrate how the Anglo-Saxons and Continental Saxons re-interpreted their social and moral "Self" between ca. 600 CE and ca. 1100 CE.

This study obtained quantitative and qualitative sample data primarily from the *Dictionary of Old English Electronic Corpus* (*DOEEC*) and *TITUS Texts*. To establish a semantic baseline, data collection began with Latin/vernacular glosses and ended with larger works of early Germanic literature, including the Old English *Beowulf* and Old Saxon *Heliand*. To systematize semantic observations, the sample lexemes were organized into two groups: "Social Roles" and "Personal Qualities." The Old English and Old Saxon conclusions yielded three key observations: first, in the "Social Roles," the transition from reciprocal exchange to autocratic kingship correlated to the naturalization of Christian hierarchy; second, in the "Personal Qualities," new Christian moral concepts like the sin of *superbia* introduced semantic gaps that necessitated the reassignment of preexisting lexemes, resulting in semantic hybridization, specialization, and the subversion of Germanic pride; third, Christianity's preference for the unseen occasioned a shift from material to spiritual

representations of salvation. These findings have significance for future research on Old English/Old Saxon semantic shift, the relative and absolute dating of Old English/Old Saxon literature, and hybrid digital/analog approaches to philology.

Keywords

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

BT	Bosworth, Joseph and Thomas Northcote Toller. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1921.
Clark Hall	Clark Hall, J.R. *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. 4th ed. Toronto: UofT P, 1960.
DOE	*Dictionary of Old English*
Go	Gothic
Holthausen	Holthausen, Ferdinand. *Altsächsisches Worterbuch*. Köln: Böhlau-Verlag, 1954.
Köbler	Köbler, Gerhard. *Altsachsisches Wörterbuch*. Innsbruck: Innsbruck U, 2000.
Lewis and Short	Lewis, Charlton T. and Charles Short. *Harper's Latin Dictionary: A New Latin Dictionary*. Rev ed. New York: Harper and Bros, 1891.
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
OE	Old English
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OHG	Old High German
OLF	Old Low Franconian
ON	Old Norse
OS	Old Saxon
PDE	Present Day English
PQ	Personal Quality
SR	Social Role
Tiefenbach	Tiefenbach, Heinrich. *Altsächsisches Handworterbuch.* Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010.

Chapter 1. Introduction and Methodology

1.1   History and Scholarship

Old English and Old Saxon commonly appear in scholarly discussions of Germanic identity, but rarely are the two examined together. The decision to explore the intersections between these two languages was made for both quantitative and qualitative reasons. First, as the best attested continental Low Germanic language of the early Middle Ages, Old Saxon provides the largest corpus of its kind,[1] and, as a member of the Ingvaeonic sub-group, Old Saxon remains the closest substantively recorded language to Old English.[2] Moreover, the kinds of literature extant in Old Saxon—glosses, psalms, rent-rolls, laws, and heroic biblical poetry—mirror the kinds of literature available in Old English, unlike the other continental corpora of the Early Middle Ages, which are only partially attested in a few select forms.[3] Second, the relative distance between the Anglo-Saxons' and Old Saxons' respective moments of conversion and their earliest written records is similar. However, the Old Saxon *Heliand*—the oldest and longest continental Saxon poem—was likely produced before ca. 835 CE, only one generation removed from the forced conversion of the Old Saxons to Christianity at the hands of Charlemagne, ca. 800 CE. As G. Ronald Murphy notes in *The Saxon Savior*, the violent and swift Christianization of the Continental Saxons yielded a more rapid synthesis of Christian and Germanic ideology than that found in England, where conversion progressed at a smoother, less disruptive pace (7-10). Consequently, the

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1   Despite its size, however, the Old Saxon corpus only contains ca. 50,000 words whereas the Old English corpus contains approximately three million.

2   The West Germanic Ingvaeonic (also called "North-Sea Germanic") languages include Old Frisian, Old English, and Old Saxon. Rolf Bremmer also includes the West Flemish languages, though this position is not universally accepted (*Old Frisian*, 22). The classification of Old Saxon as an Ingvaeonic language, however, is currently uncontested.

3   For example, Old Low Franconian is attested primarily through early modern copies of original glosses, while Old High German leaves behind two fragmentary heroic lays (*Hildebrandslied* and *Muspilli*), religious prose in translation (see the *Tatian* gospel harmony), minor pagan poetry like the "Meresburg Incantations," and a small corpus of glosses. Old Norse and Old Frisian, as literary mediums, begin ca. 1150, and are outside the chronological and geographical scope of this study.

earliest records of Old Saxon reveal a "Christianized Germanism," where Christianity has, to varying degrees, overturned native value systems. Conversely, the oldest English monuments illustrate a "Germanized Christianity," whose Christianity has begun to syncretise with native sociopolitical structures, but whose morality is still grounded in pre-Christian Germanic qualities like pride and material renown. Ultimately, both corpora complement each other, especially in the area of semantic shift, where the introduction of Christian moral and sociopolitical thought had the most substantive linguistic impact.

There is, furthermore, a long-established relationship between Old English and Old Saxon. In his 1876 paper on Anglo-Saxon family law, for example, Ernest Young notes a correlation between Kentish and continental Saxon legal practices, while a century later in *Old English and the Continental Germanic Languages* (1985) Hans F. Nielsen demonstrated, through linguistic analysis, the reciprocal and ancestral exchange between the two languages (Young 137; Nielsen 40-48). More recently, Nielsen has reaffirmed the idea of a nuanced continuum between England and the continent in *The Continental Backgrounds of English*, while Irmingard Rauch, James E. Cathey, and G. Ronald Murphy have discussed at length the cultural and linguistic correspondences between the two closely related peoples and their languages.[4] The most frequently explored correspondence is that between Old English and Old Saxon alliterative meter. While the latter is more often hypermetrical than the former, both use a similar type of meter that corresponds, generally, to the system developed by Eduard Sievers and more recently refined by Geoffrey R. Russom in *Beowulf and Old Germanic Metre*.[5]

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[4] For example, Rauch's paper on the dialect position of Old Saxon and her book, *The Old Saxon Language*, are both useful linguistic reference points, while James E. Cathey's descriptions of the Carolingian wars and their surrounding history help clarify the social climate that precipitated the Old Saxon "Baptismal Vow," the *Heliand*, and the *Vatican Genesis* (Cathey, "Historical Setting" 3-33). G. Ronald Murphy's book, *The Saxon Saviour*, remains the most thorough English-language investigation of the *Heliand*.

[5] The direction of this relationship has been the subject of some contention. While Seichi Suzuki suggests that the Old Saxon *Heliand* emerges out of the Old English poetic tradition (especially *Beowulf*), Thomas Bredehoft argues that Old English poetry, from the tenth century, borrowed more heavily from Old Saxon (Suzuki 5; Bredehoft, "Date of

However, the relationship between Old English and Old Saxon semantics, and the role that Christianity played in their developments, remains largely unexplored. While Roman Christianity was brought to the Anglo-Saxons by St. Augustine of Canterbury at the end of the sixth century, the history of conversion on the continent is less clearly defined.[6] The continental Saxons had been surrounded by Christianity since the sixth-century Frankish conversion under Clovis I and had begun their own gradual transition towards the new faith as early as the late eighth century after a century of intermittent, unsuccessful evangelism by Anglo-Saxon missionaries like Lebuin (Goldberg 474). However, the Saxons remained largely pagan until the conclusion of the Carolingian Wars in 803 CE forcibly installed Christianity as the state religion (Steuer 159-60). As in England, the introduction of Christian social structures into Saxony also introduced the Roman writing system, which facilitated literary exchange between the continental Saxons and their insular neighbours. Although Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon contact was ongoing, the English Christianization of the neighbouring Frisians in the early eighth century by St. Boniface remains distinct from the Carolingian conversion of the continental Saxons nearly a century later, and has left little in the way of vernacular evidence;[7] apart from a handful of runic inscriptions, Old Frisian writing does not emerge until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Bremmer, *Old Frisian* 123).[8] Old English, then, is genetically closer to Old Frisian than Old Saxon, but the socio-religious and semantic relationships between Old English and Old Saxon are more directly observable in the literary record. The complex history of continental Germanic

Composition" 101-4).

6   For more on the well-documented Old English conversion, see Paul Cavill's anthropological study, *Anglo-Saxon Christianity*.

7   These moments of conversion are distinct but related, and much contention surrounds the extent of Boniface's role in Continental Germany. See John-Henry Clay, *In the Shadow of Death: Saint Boniface and the Conversion of Hessia*, for a nuanced look at Boniface's eighth-century mission.

8   See Rolf Bremmer's *Introduction to Old Frisian* (9-13) for an overview of the literary history of Old Frisian. In June 2015, a fragmentary Old Frisian gloss reading "Lesa mi, helpe mi" ["Redeem me, save me"], dated to the beginning of the twelfth century, was discovered in a later binding; this fragment now offers the earliest attestation of Old Frisian in the Latin alphabet, interpreting Latin "redimat Neque qui saluum faciat" (Langbroek 140).

conversion is exacerbated by the equally complex relationship between the various continental Germanic languages, whose classifications are often unclear.[9] Categorical differences, however, are generally qualifiable, and will be considered here.

Most problematic is the lack of scholarship that examines Old English and Old Saxon together. A number of scholars have written on Anglo-Saxon Christianization, while others have researched the Old Saxon conversion and its resulting literature.[10] Despite the continental and insular connections during this period, only one modern book explores the intersection between the two cultures, and studies interested primarily in Old Saxon are almost exclusively written in German.[11] In 2019, Peter Lang Verlag will publish the first English-language collection of essays on Old English/Old Saxon cross-cultural connections, entitled *Old English and Continental Germanic Literature in Comparative Perspectives* and edited by Larry Swain. Swain's volume represents the most recent attempt to use linguistic, historical, and literary evidence to assess the relationships between the various Germanic languages of the early Middle Ages, with a particular emphasis on Old English and Old Saxon. My paper, "Semantic Hybridity in the Old English *Exodus* and Old Saxon *Heliand*," served as a testing ground for many of the linguistic and theoretical models explored here, especially the concept of semantic hybridization. *Old English and Continental Germanic Literature in Comparative*

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9   For example, Old Low Franconian and Old Saxon were believed to be the same language until well into the twentieth century. See Orrin Robinson's *Old English and its Closest Relatives* (1992) for the modern understanding of these language groups and Jacob Helfenstein's *A Comparative Grammar of the Teutonic Languages* (1901) for an earlier overview of Old Saxon, which objects to the placement of Low German on the spectrum of the Istvaeonic, or Franconian, languages (Robinson 85-152; Helfenstein 16). The presence of Old High German forms in the Old Saxon glosses also presents a problem of classification, but because the differences between OHG and OS are more readily observable than the differences between OLF and OS, OHG intrusions can be more easily isolated and corrected.

10 See, for example, Ringe and Taylor's *The Development of Old English*, which explores the linguistic evolution of the language in its sociocultural contexts. Roger Lass's *Old English* similarly focuses on language while also accounting for external developments.

11 Recent German-language publications on *Heliand* include: Wolfgang Haubrichs, "Heliand und Altsächsische Genesis" (1999), Gesine Mierke, *Memoria als Kulturtransfer* (2008), and Timothy Sodmann, *Heliand: Der altsächsische Text* (2012).

Perspectives is also only the second English-language collection of scholarship on Old Saxon. The first English-language collection of Old Saxon scholarship is the 2010 volume, *Perspectives on the Old Saxon Heliand*, edited by Valentine A. Pakis, which focuses entirely on *Heliand* studies.

1.2   Methodology

1.2.1 Preliminary Word-Selection

I selected Christianization as my starting point because Christianity and its adjacent writing systems directly shaped the genesis of both corpora. As James C. Russell notes, the Christianization of Germanic peoples in the Early Middle Ages was a radically successful process because it straddled the diametric problems of rejection and syncretism through integration with pre-Christian cultural practices, while gradually reducing their social capital (11-12). Following Russell, this study outlines, through semantic change, how and why Christianity transformed both the sociopolitical structures that informed the organization of the Anglo-Saxon and Continental Saxon populace and the moral structures that informed the ways in which Old English and Old Saxon navigated those social categories. Because the construction of self-hood and its evolution are of vital importance in understanding the impact of Christianity on Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon society, I selected "identity" over other common semantic fields.[12] Identity lexemes offered the most efficient starting point for the broad goals of this study: to map the semantic evolution of the Anglo-Saxon and Continental Saxon "Self" in the post-conversion period and thereby uncover the factors that informed those changes—that is, how the Old Saxons and Anglo-Saxons each experienced their respective sociocultural Self, and how the location of that Self shifted in the centuries following conversion. Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Richard B. Dasher maintain that semantic change is both regular and measurable, in part, through sociocultural factors that stimulate internal linguistic change (3-4). The sociopolitical and moral

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12 Semantic categories like seafaring, plants, biblical terms, members of society, birds, and household objects have been recently schematized in Filippa Alcamesi's 2011 study on the *lemmata* and *interpretamenta* of the *Corpus Glossary* (Alcamesi 515, 521, 525-27, 529).

precepts germane to Christianity, and their effect on Anglo-Saxon and Continental Saxon identity, are two such examples. Throughout this dissertation I define "identity" according to Homi Bhabha: the philosophical tradition located in the "process of self-reflection in the mirror of (human) nature" (66). My criterion for classification, then, nominates only words that exhibit self-reflection: lexemes that describe the processes and borders of "being" in the sociocultural milieu of England and (lower) Germany during the legitimation and institutionalization of Christianity.

Next, I produced a sample group of identity lexemes present in both the Old English and Old Saxon glosses and/or original vernacular compositions with a clear semantic range. I began this selection by data-mining identity terms in the Old English and Old Saxon glosses, where vernacular lexemes describe Latin concepts. Because they contain both vernacular *interpretamenta* and Latin *lemmata*, the glosses provide unique insights into how contemporary Anglo-Saxons and Old Saxons understood their native lexica, and how their sememes shifted over time. In the absence of native Anglo-Saxon dictionaries, the glosses serve as the most important semantic control group for this study. Because Anglo-Saxon glosses are more fully represented than those in Old Saxon, and remain some of the earliest, and latest, texts in Old English, I began the process of data collection with the Old English *Épinal* / *Erfurt* (*EE*) and *Corpus* (*Cp*) glossaries. These three collections belong to the same group of glosses originally produced ca. 675 CE and illustrate the development of that tradition, as new interpretamenta were added and previous interpretamenta changed in meaning, over the centuries. Consequently, *EE* and *Cp* offer chronological and lexical variety in addition to their relative semantic precision (Pheifer lxxxix). The *Cleopatra* glosses also factored into the initial analysis, though not as substantially as *EE* and *Cp*.

The Old Saxon glosses first appear about a century after the early ninth-century continental Saxon conversion and mirror the cognate Old English tradition.[13] The Old Saxon glosses, however, are

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13 This study uses a period ca. 600 CE for the Anglo-Saxon conversion and ca. 800 CE for the Continental Saxon conversion.

much less common than their insular counterparts. Where continental glosses are unavailable for a particular lexeme, I have substituted Old Saxon occurrences from texts with clear semantic environments, such as rent-rolls and early religious prose works, alongside Old English glosses and more substantial Old Saxon literature, such as the *Heliand*. Because Old English and Old Saxon glosses are the most effective starting source for data, the available sample size was immediately reduced. Each lexeme had to agree with four core parameters: 1.) it had to appear in both the Old English and Old Saxon corpora; 2.) it had to be present in at least one vernacular/Latin glossary to establish a semantic baseline, 3.) it had to be classifiable as an "identity" term according to Bhabha's definition, and 4.) it had to show measurable semantic change from the moment of Christianization until the end of the early Middle Ages, ca. 1100 CE. As a supplemental parameter, I selected words that appear throughout the period to chart their diachronic development. I also chose lexemes present in more than one genre of writing to account for semantic differences between, for example, poetry, prose, and legal compositions.[14] As C. J. Rupp, Michael Rosner, et al. suggest in "Situation Schemata and Linguistic Representation," this sort of diversity ensures that the data represent each corpus as a whole and not just isolated units of that whole (202). To compensate for the size difference between the Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon corpora, this study is selective with Old English sources and references compound words only when those compounds affect the semantics of their relevant stems.

I facilitated the process of word-selection with a variety of dictionaries, word lists, and digital tools. The two most important Old English resources are the University of Toronto's *Dictionary of Old English* project (*DOE*) and the *Bosworth-Toller* Old English dictionary (*BT*), which remains the most comprehensive dictionary on the language.[15] Together, the *DOE* and *BT* provide a pragmatic overview

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14 I define genre according to Douglas Biber and Susan Conrad: the "conventional structures" that define a text's "purposes and situational context" (2).

15 While the *Dictionary of Old English* employs a more contemporary methodology and accounts for the entire Old English corpus, the *DOE* is only complete to the letter "K." To compensate for the lexical lacunae in the *DOE*, I use *BT*

of each Old English lexeme's semantic range, texts, and relative frequency. While both provide a practical starting point, my own interpretation of a word's meaning often differs from that provided in either *BT* or the *DOE*. *BT*, which is now over a century out of date, is especially conservative in its handling of the glosses and does not fully account for later work on Latin sources and analogues of each interpretation's *lemma*.[16] Throughout this study, I note where my own reading differs from those established in available dictionaries. To establish the semantic range of the Latin lemmata for the Old English and Old Saxon glosses, I rely primarily on Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary* and W. M. Lindsay's *The Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt and Leyden Glossaries* (1921), a seminal study on the Latin sources to the early English glosses. To explore the Old English corpus more efficiently, I also use the complete *Digital Corpus of Old English*, published online by the University of Toronto as a companion to the *DOE*. The *Digital Corpus* is organized alphabetically through a searchable Hypertext Markup Language (HMTL) file (the *Description of Old English Corpus*), which can be queried via TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) compliant Standard Generalized Markup Language (SGML). Each HTML file includes the relevant text's Short Title, Short Short Title, and Cameron Number, as well as full bibliographic information; all of these features contribute to the *Digital Corpus*'s broad range and ease of use. These functions are also available online via the Dictionary of Old English Electronic Corpus (DOEEC), which features a basic front-end for simple queries. To allow for more comprehensive search parameters, I have supplemented the DOE's tools with a small offline Microsoft PowerShell script.

The continental Saxon portion of this study is similarly reliant on both digital tools and print resources. My primary Old Saxon dictionaries are Gerhard Köbler's *Altsächsisches Wörterbuch* (2014) and Heinrich Tiefenbach's *Altsächsisches Handworterbuch* (2010), which both include comprehensive

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for all lexemes categorized between "L" and "Z."

16 See, for example, J. D. Pheifer's *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* (1974), which builds on Lindsay's earlier work alongside a new edition of *EE*.

lists of occurrences. For lexical analyses, I use the digital corpus of Old Saxon minor texts at *TITUS Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text und Sprachmaterialien* (*TITUS*), hosted through the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität in Frankfurt, Germany.[17] This tool provides a hyper-linked corpus that connects every marked up word to its dictionary entry, along with that word's relative frequency, lemmata, and variants. Because this database remains incomplete, *TITUS* remains only a supplement to more traditional resources like Tiefenbach, Köbler, and print editions of the Old Saxon texts. Alongside these tools, I use the timeline proposed by R. D. Fulk in *A History of Old English Meter* as a model for the relative chronology of Old English verse, though the presentation of this chronology is my own.[18] As only two substantial Old Saxon poems—*Heliand* and *Vatican Genesis*—remain, I assume their commonly accepted dates, ca. 835 CE and ca. 850-900 CE, respectively, throughout this dissertation.[19] Since prose texts and glosses lack the metrical phenomena necessary to date them, I rely on editions and internal evidence to place them chronologically in the Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon corpora.[20]

The above tools and processes yielded the following provisional sample group:

OE:

    ambiht *Epinal—Erfurt* (*EE*) (187): *conlatio*: *ambechtae*; *Corpus* (*Cp*) (502): *conlatio*: *oembecht*

    anmod *EE* (202): *contumax*: *anmod—onmod*; *Cp* (521): *contumax*: *anmood*

    facen *EE* (83): *astu*: *facni*; *Cp* (230): *astu*: *facni* or *fraefeli*; *Cp* (883): *fictis*: "facnum"

    gædeling *Cp* (914): *fratruelis*: *geaduling*; *Cp* (1496): *patruelis*: *geaduling*

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17 While the *TITUS* database is hosted in Frankfurt, the project itself is a joint venture between the *Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität* in Frankfurt, the "Ústav starého Predního východu a srovnávací jazykovedy" of *Charles University* in Prague, the "Institut for Almen og Anvendt Sprogvidenskab" at the *University of Kopenhagen*, and the "Departamento de Filología Clásica y Románica (Filología Griega)" of the *Universidad de Oviedo* (*TITUS*).

18 By examining the frequency of metrical archaisms and innovations, Fulk divides Old English poetry into four periods: Archaic, Cynewulfian, Alfredian, and Late (*Old English Meter* 348-51).

19 For the date of the *Heliand* see Cathey, *Heliand* (20-22). For the probable date of the *Vatican Genesis* see Doane, *Saxon Genesis* (43-52)**.**

20 For example, charter dates, references to historical events, and orthography.

gedyrstig *EE* (81): *ausus*: gidyrstig—gedurstip; *Cp* (245): *ausus*: *gedyrstig*

geneat *Cp* (1117): *inquilinus*: *genaeot*

gitsung *EE* (82): *appetitus*: *gitsung*; *Cp* (184): *appetitus*: *gidsung*

gleaw *Cp* (1768): *sagax*: *gleu*

hosp/hosc *Cp* (1549): *ironiam*: *hosp*

scyldig *Cp* (1422): *obnoxius*: *scyldig*

þegn *EE* (101): *assecula*: thegn—ðegn; *Cp* (77): *assecula*: *þegn*

uncystig *EE* (413): *frugus*: *uncystig*; *Cp* (917): *frugus*: *uncystig*

wlencu *Cp* (846): *fastu*: *uulencu*; *EE* (112): *arrogantissime*: *uulanclicae—gelplih*

OS:

ambaht *Essen Heberegister/Beichtspiegel* (10/13): *ambahto/ambahtos*

enstridig *Werden Prudentius* (*Pw*) (63): *peruicaci*: *enstridige*

fekni *Pw* (174, 392): *subtacitam/subdolam*: *feknia/uegnium*

gaduling (*Heliand*)

***gi*-durran** *Essen Evangeliarum* (EssenE) (11-12): *ausae sunt*: *dorstun*

ginot *Vow* (12): *genotas*

giritha/druhtingas *Petrier Bibel /Vergil Gloss* (11/534): *appetitus/appetitores*: *giritha/druhtingas*

glau *EssenE* (4): *prudentes*: *glauua*; *Strassburg Gloss* (2): *ingeniosum*: *glauuuon*

hosk *Pw* (319/324): *cauillo/festirum*: *hosca/hosc*

skuldig *EssenE* (8/29-30/7/4/8/4/12: *conscius/debuit/transgressor/damnabiliores/debet/obnoxia*:

   sculdigo/sculdig/sculdig/sculdiga

thegan *Pw* (753): *uiri*: *thegnos*

unkust *EssenE* (30): *stropham*: *unkust*

wlank (*Heliand*)

Each lexeme above is organized alphabetically and separated according to language. Each entry is also presented, where applicable, with its parent gloss(es) in *EE*, *Corpus*, and the various Old Saxon minor texts in the following format: *Text.* Line number: *lemma*: *interpretation*. This study retained many problematic terms that otherwise offer clear examples of semantic shift in their respective categories,[21] but removed other, less practical, terms. For example, although Old English *gitsung* and *anmod* are clear examples of semantic shift and appear frequently throughout the Anglo-Saxon corpus, neither are represented anywhere in the cognate Old Saxon tradition;[22] consequently, both words have been removed from the final analysis. Similar problems would emerge later in the process of word selection and further reduce the sample group. While Old Saxon *skuldig* is significantly more common in glossaries than its Old English cognate, *scyldig*, Old English *scyldig* remains a common word elsewhere in the Anglo-Saxon corpus, and its one occurrence in the *Corpus* glossary, alongside a substantial history of attestation, is sufficient to establish a semantic comparison between the two corpora.

1.2.2 Lexeme Categorization

Next, the sample group was divided into two distinct priorities of sociocultural identification: 1.) the classification of function as defined by the sociopolitical environment, and 2.) the classification of identity as defined by an individual's valuation of character within that environment. Each sample lexeme, then, can be classified in one of two categories: "Social Roles" (SR) or "Personal Qualities" (PQ). The choice to divide the sample data was made to describe and organize each lexeme within a

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21 As the above list shows, some lexemes are absent from the Old Saxon glosses but were retained at this stage of word selection, because they occur in early sources where their Old Saxon textual environments can provide a high degree of semantic clarity, and because their Old English cognates appear in the Anglo-Saxon glosses.

22 *Gitsung*, for example, glosses *appetitus* (hunger) in the early *EE* glossary but more commonly glosses *avaritia* (avarice) and *cupiditas* (greed) in later Old English texts (*EE* 82; *Cp* 184; "Kentish Psalm" 20; Ælfric "Second Sunday after Easter" 539.146). The semantic development of *gitsung* can be summarized as follows: "hunger" > "the sin of avarice/greed."

single model.

 The data's presentation builds on the model used in Arthur Szogs's *Die Ausdrücke für 'Arbeit' und 'Beruf' im Altenglischen*, which outlines the lexical-semantic history of Old English *ambiht* and offers a concise list of occurrences throughout the Anglo-Saxon corpus. This study, however, provides only an overview and does not theorize the systems that determine the semantic development of *ambiht* and its lexical family. Szogs presents his data as the end product, whereas this dissertation's primary concern is not the data itself, but explanations of the data—the *how* and *why* the semantic data assumes its various forms. A fundamental element of this descriptive process is classification according to lexical type. Filippa Alcamesi's study in *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses* of lexical categories in the Old English *Corpus Glossary* serves as a model for the classification of Old English and Old Saxon identity terms according to their literary environments, while the *DOE, BT*, and Tiefenbach provide specific instances of each word; together, these models help determine which lexemes are best suited to which category (Alcamesi 515, 521, 525-27, 529). The basic parameters for qualifying each identity term as either a "Social Role" or "Personal Quality" are as follows: "Social Roles" must represent a social or political state of being, or "role," while "Personal Qualities" must describe a reflexive value judgement of moral, intellectual, or spiritual "goodness".[23] Therefore, "Social Roles" describe what people *do*, while "Personal Qualities" assess how people *are*.

 Applying the lexical categories of SR and PQ to the sample group according to the above parameters yielded the following table:

OE:

Social Roles:	Personal Qualities:
ambiht	facen
gædeling	gedyrstig
geneat	gleaw

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23 The definition of "goodness," of course, shifts as social and religious expectations change throughout the period.

þegn	hosp/hosc
	scyldig
	uncystig
	wlencu

OS:

Social Roles:	**Personal Qualities:**
ambaht	fekni
gaduling	*gi*-durran
ginot	glau
thegan	hosk
	skuldig
	unkust
	wlank

The above chart divides each lexeme into the two aforementioned word classes and organizes them by language. By this stage, both *anmod* and *gitsung* had been removed from the sample group. This table revealed a new problem: the uneven distribution of lexemes, with "Personal Qualities" showing a 34% greater number of terms than "Social Roles."

1.2.3 Schematizing Semantic Development

Because the preliminary analyses had both a.) established that each chosen word's meanings significantly change over the Anglo-Saxon period and b.) categorized each identity lexeme according to lexical type, the next step was to unpack the processes that defined those changes. To describe the impact of these internal and external factors and schematize the semantic development of the above lexical categories, I use a modified version of François Rastier's theory of semantic *minima* and *maxima*, which describe, respectively, the smallest units of semantic meaning and the broad categories of semantic organization to which those minima belong. In "Cognitive Semantics and Diachronic Semantics" Rastier theorizes that semantic "transition points between opposed evaluative zones" are comprised of "local minima" and "absolute maxima," which navigate, respectively, the thresholds

between the smallest substantive units of meaning in the progression between lexeme-specific

denotations, such as "servant" or "retainer," and emotive dimensions, such as "pejorative" or

"positive," which preexist any one lexeme and can be approached at various "depths" via their

metaphorical "basins of attraction" (Rastier 120-21).[24] Rastier's system of classification will be used to

describe more precisely the extent to which identity lexemes navigate their semantic classes over time.

Rastier distinguishes between "high passes" and "low passes" into maxima. For example, the sememe

"pride" signifies a low, or deep, pass of the positive dimension in the early period (i.e., very positive),

but gradually becomes a high pass positive (i.e., not very positive), and eventually, a low pass negative

(i.e., very negative). "Absolute maxima" are not, of course, universal categories independent of human

interaction. While maxima preexist individual lexemes and their semantic minima, those dimensions

are, themselves, formed and maintained by socially agreed upon concepts, such as morality and piety,

and their connotations.[25]

     The sample group reveals two primary phenomena at play throughout the period: amelioration

and pejoration. Amelioration (also known as "elevation") describes the movement of a word's sense

into a more positive dimension, while pejoration (also known as "degeneration") describes the

movement of a word's sense into a more negative dimension (Bloomfield 427);[26] pejoration and

amelioration, then, describe both a word's changes in meaning and its changes of association.[27]

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24 The connotations "ambivalent" and "negative" apply to many cultural contexts. Negative actions, qualities, and desires
     exist on a broad continuum that is, itself, fluidly determined by its sociocultural environment and always subject to
     change. See Heiko Narrog, *Modality, Subjectivity, and Semantic Change: a Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, for more on
     the idea of semantic classification and its relationship to social change.

25 By "morality" I mean "personal qualities judged to be ethical and/or wise," and by "piety" I mean precisely "adherence
     to religious duties and expectations, including religious morality."

26 I.e., I have compared the senses of the early Old English and Old Saxon glosses in my preliminary sample group to the
     later senses outlined in the *DOE*, *BT*, and Tiefenbach's Old Saxon dictionary.

27 That is, the *denotative* meanings of words, and what those meanings *connotate*, in their respective environments, based
     on those meanings. Semantic shift can yield an extension of meaning or a change of intention. For more on associations
     see Martine Vanhove, *From Polysemy to Semantic change: Towards a Typology of Lexical Semantic Associations*,

Pejoration and amelioration, then, describe how identity terms modify their semantic minima by navigating one of two primary semantic maxima: the pejorative or the positive. This dissertation relies on Leonard Bloomfield's classic typology of semantic shift, outlined in *Language* and more recently expanded by Stephen Ullmann in *Semantics*, to describe the processes of amelioration and pejoration.[28] While Andreas Blank's typology outlined in "Historical Semantics" is more recent, it rejects pejoration and amelioration as unobjective on the grounds that both types can be described by other, more specific, systems of change such as *auto-antonymy*: the change of a word's meaning to its antonym (Blank 61-90). The present study, which focuses on pejoration and amelioration as general categories of change, benefits from the flexibility of Bloomfield's typology, which remains the standard description of semantic shift.

To organize the semantic development of words and word-groups according to the processes of pejoration and amelioration is not without precedent in modern Anglo-Saxon studies. For example, in *An Historical Study of English*, Jeremy Smith examines the pejoration of *fremed* from "foreign" to "hostile" alongside the conflict between early and late meanings of the loanword *prud* ("proud"), whose meaning shifted from "noble" to "arrogant" under the influence of the Christian sin of *superbia* (pride) (104-5). Smith's observation that later occurrences of pride experienced pejoration serves, in part, as a model for this study, as does his concept of "variational space," which describes a metaphorical location of meaning in which lexemes can co-exist, conflict, and re-locate, depending on the social and linguistic forces acting upon them (105-6). More recently, Leonard Neidorf has explored the later pejoration of *gædeling*, one of the lexemes explored in this dissertation.[29] Neidorf's study traces the lexeme's semantic evolution from a broad, morally ambivalent term describing "extended

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especially pp. 348-70.

28 Unlike Bloomfield, this study prefers "pejoration" and "amelioration" to "degeneration" and "elevation," as the latter terms are emotionally loaded and suggest modern qualitative value judgements. See also April M. S. McMahon's 1994 study, *Understanding Language Change*, which prefers the terms pejoration and amelioration (179).

29 See Neidorf's "The Pejoration of *Gædeling*: From Old Germanic Consanguinity to Middle English Vulgarity" (2016).

family" in early Anglo-Saxon society, to a more negative term in late Old English meaning a "lesser

kinsman," before becoming a part of what Neidorf calls "Middle English Vulgarity" in the post-

conquest period (Neidorf 441).[30] While pejoration and amelioration have been used to study specific

lexemes in specific environments, these processes have never been applied to a broader study of Anglo-

Saxon and Continental Saxon semantics, nor have they been used to evaluate the impact of large-scale

sociocultural factors on the semantic shift patterns of specific word groups, such as the impact of early

medieval Christianization on the language of identity in Old English and Old Saxon. While this study is

necessarily limited in sample size, these processes indicate broader changes to the semantic makeup of

identity terms in the period of Christian conversion, which Russell describes as a complex system

featuring both "organic evolution within a society" and "cultural assimilation" (13). The lexemes under

scrutiny, then, are representative, rather than unique, examples of more wide-reaching semantic

changes in the early Christian period.

 Using the definitions provided by the *DOE*, *BT*, Tiefenbach, Holthausen, and the Latin lemmata

of the various early glosses, I applied the model of amelioration and pejoration to the preliminary

sample of Old English and Old Saxon lexemes, and produced the following groups:

OE:

Ameliorated:	**Pejorized:**
ambiht	facen
gædeling	gedyrstig
geneat	gleaw
þegn	hosp/hosc
	scyldig
	uncystig

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30 Although Neidorf argues that *gædeling* reveals wholesale pejoration from the earliest period of semantic shift, I argue
 instead that the word undergoes a brief period of amelioration and widening in the early post-conversion period, before
 undergoing pejoration in the late Old English period and subsequently becoming an "all-purpose term of reproach" in
 Middle English (Neidorf 455).

wlencu

OS:

Ameliorated:	**Pejorized:**
ambaht	fekni
gaduling	*gi*-durran
ginot	glau
thegan	hosk
	skuldig
	unkust
	wlank

The above schema indicates that the amelioration and pejoration of identity lexemes correspond, respectively, to the lexical categories of SR and PQ. Unpacking the social and linguistic factors that inform this relationship is a primary aim of this study. However, because the lexeme assignment of this semantic table exactly correlates to the lexeme classification of the lexical categories table, PQ remains over-represented. This distribution is expected, as personal value judgements outnumber nouns describing finite social stations: the latter is limited by available sociopolitical roles while the former can describe potentially limitless degrees of adherence to moral, social, and religious expectations. This distribution is ratified in the final stage of organization.

1.2.4 Reduction of Sample Group and Final Word List

Problems in each stage of classification removed the following Old English/Old Saxon pairs from the sample group: *gleaw/glau*, *gedyrstig/durran*, and *uncystig/unkust*. *Gleaw*/*glau*, for example, showed only slight evidence of pejoration; this pair is absent in the final study, then, because it cannot be considered a representative example of pejoration. Old English *gedyrstig* and Old Saxon *durran* both gloss a form of Latin *ausus* (to venture, to dare), but the OS root *durr-* never appears as an adjective (Tiefenbach 63). Since the "Personal Qualities" portion of this study focuses on values rather than actions*,* this pair was also removed from the final sample group.[31] Like *gleaw*, Old English

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31 That is to say, comparing an Old English adjective *only* to the parent verb of its cognate lexeme in Old Saxon (with no

uncystig and Old Saxon *unkust* were removed at this stage because their pejoration, though observable, is too subtle.[32] Each of these lexemes belongs to the "personal qualities" class and their removal equalized the number of terms in both categories.

The Old English/Old Saxon lexemes *wlencu*/*wlank,* or more specifically the Old English/Continental glosses *uulanclicae/gelplih* found in *EE* 112, show a change in semantic *association* rather than lexical *assignment*, as per Bloomfield's definition of pejoration (427). The significance of *uulanclicae* to this study is not primarily the vernacular word itself, but the abstract assumptions underlying the Latin ideas it glosses. Though problematic, *uulanclicae, gelplih*, and *arrogantissime* are important because they show how shifts in association can preexist words and serve, themselves, as agents of lexical-semantic change.

Ultimately, I reduced the initial sample of thirteen lexemes to eight, and organized them according to semantic and lexical type:

OE:

Social Roles/Ameliorated:	**Personal Qualities/Pejorized:**
ambiht	facen
gædeling	hosp/hosc
geneat	scyldig
þegn	wlanc

OS:

Social Roles/Ameliorated:	**Personal Qualities/Pejorized:**
ambaht	fekni
gaduling	hosk
ginot	skuldig
thegan	wlank

---

adjectival reflex as a control) would present a false equivalency between two different parts of speech and produce an imbalanced discussion.

32 In the *Epinal-Erfurt* and *Corpus* glossaries, Old English *uncystig* renders Latin *frugus* ("uncharitable," "stingy"), while in *GlEe.* Old Saxon *unkust* glosses stropham ("trick," "artifice") (*EE.* 413; *Cp.* 917; *Ee.* 30).

This final sample group harmonized the categories of "Social Roles" and "Personal Qualities" with the semantic processes of amelioration and pejoration and equalized the number of terms in all categories.

1.2.5 Systems of Analysis and Aims

I. Theory

The semantic trends of Old English and Old Saxon identity terms can be generalized as follows: "Social Roles" (sociopolitical systems) remained ambivalent or were ameliorated while "Personal Qualities" (moral value judgements) were pejorated. In his book, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity*, James C. Russell argues that sociopolitical Christian transformations were predicated on "minimal intervention" and integration with native systems (11-3; 93-8). Russell's argument introduces the sociohistorical and sociopsychological machinery of Christian conversion before exploring the syncretism between Germanic religiosity and social structure during the early years of the new faith (11-106, 107-208). Russell describes both *how* and *why* Christianity imposed itself so successfully on the Germanic cultures of the early Middle Ages. Russell's focus on syncretism serves as a lens for my own reading of social amelioration and generalization as products of sociopolitical integration.

Homi Bhabha's theory of hybridization shows how moral transformations can rely on the prior establishment of integrative sociopolitical systems. Bhabha's hybridization is fully outlined in his seminal book, *The Location of Culture*, which theorizes, in broad terms, processes of colonial power, the construction of polysemic identity in the space between the colonizer and the colonized, and how the former's agency over the latter is tied to shifts in ideology and Self. To contextualize the impact of new Christian moral systems on Old English and Old Saxon PQ terms, I employ Bhabha's concept of hybridization, which proposes a "splitting and multiple belief" in the tension between pre- and post-colonial identity signs (81).[33] This hybridity—which Bhabha calls the "ghostly" or the "double"—helps

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33 "Identity signs" refer to any expression of identity. For the purposes of this dissertation, these signs are the vernacular words and meanings that navigate Anglo-Saxon and Continental Saxon sociopolitical/moral selfhood in the post-conversion period.

to visualize, socially and culturally, the polysemy that runs throughout the PQ class of words, where positive (native Germanic) and pejorative (post-conversion) senses tenuously coexist. I call this phenomenon "semantic hybridity": a lexicosemantic reflex of colonial presence like Bhabha's cultural hybridity, which represents a sociocultural reflex of the same. Semantic hybridity differs from traditional polysemy because semantic hybridity is *always* a transitional state—a period of semantic competition that navigates toward a colonial "end-point." In the case of Christianization, this colonial impulse is an ethic of conversion that seeks to overturn native ideology rather than syncretise with it. This theory supplements Russell's model of syncretism, which describes earlier sociopolitical integration, rather than moral colonization. Bhabha's work, then, helps contextualize the semantic pejoration and "splitting" of PQ lexemes as a colonial Christian phenomenon, where Germanic morality ultimately becomes defined by its own alterity.[34]

Gesine Mierke's monograph, *Memoria als Kulturtransfer* (Memory as Cultural-Transfer), also helps illuminate semantic hybridity. In his book, Mierke reads the sociocultural location of the Old Saxon *Heliand* as a moment of both cultural remembrance and innovation. As Mierke points out, hybridization between traditional Germanic and new Christian knowledges not only altered the semantic makeup of commonplace Old Saxon and Old English lexemes but also left an imprint of words and meanings by virtue its presence (171-229, 281-335). At the most foundational level the early Christian Old English and Old Saxon corpora, written in Roman characters, are a performance of their hybridity; their hybridity preexists and prefigures their content. Mierke's study serves as a model for my own blending of linguistic and theoretical concerns.

In summary, my dissertation reads Russell, Bhabha, and other relevant cultural/linguistic theory

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34 The findings here largely agree with Dennis Howard Green, who notes that moral terms of reciprocal exchange like *triuw*, *trost*, *huldi, milti,* and *era* were Christianized in the centuries following conversion. See Chapter 6, "The Vocabulary of the Comitatus," in Green's *The Carolingian Lord* for a comprehensive overview of this phenomenon. In this study, Green also explores the sociopolitical terms, *Balder*, *Fro*, *Truhtin*, and *Herro.*

against the sample group to assess the role of Christianization as an agent in the semantic pejoration and amelioration of identity lexemes in Old English and Old Saxon. While I use Russell's theory of Germanic syncretism to explain the amelioration of SR lexemes—which, I argue, are sociopolitical and integrative—I use Bhabha's theory to explain the pejoration of PQ lexemes, which, I argue, are moral and colonial. I read the semantic history of Old English identity terms against their Old Saxon counterparts, and vice-versa, while accounting for the time period of each occurrence. This comparison accomplishes two things: 1.) it establishes a relative chronology of semantic shift, and 2.) by measuring the chronological distance between each change in sense and the Anglo-Saxon / Old Saxon moments of conversion, it determines the extent to which Christianity might have informed those changes. This dissertation's primary argument, then, is not that Christianity affected Germanic society—which is a commonplace—but that Christianity's affects on Germanic identity can be predictably mapped on a large-scale semantic timeline by schematizing the development of key identity lexemes over time. Because these diachronic changes are generally predictable and reproducible, this semantic timeline can help establish the relative chronology of texts and words not included in the sample group. The limitations of this study preclude in-depth analyses of other factors that may have influenced the development of Old English and Old Saxon identity terms, but such factors are noted, where appropriate.

II. The "Semantic Gaps" Hypothesis

A vital part of this study is assessing the direction of change. I argue that the data reveal a semantic pull-chain: the "dragging" of an antecedent lexeme into the semantic categories created by new cultural expectations (Łubowicz 1720), because new concepts introduced by Christianity, like sin, must preexist the semantic re-assignment of their lexemes and facilitate their semantic shift by producing semantic gaps—problematic spaces of meaning not yet fully occupied by native or borrowed terms—which quickly become "filled" to maintain social, cultural, moral, political, or religious

cohesion. The reassignment of native lexemes to fill semantic gaps agrees with an integrative ethic of sociopolitical conversion in early medieval England and Europe. The direction of semantic shift is important because if new semantic categories preexist the relocation of their lexemes (a pull-shift) then the agent that created those categories must preexist both the categories and words, and would thus emerge from a sociocultural force like Christianization. Conversely, if the words first assume new meanings that then stimulate the production of new semantic categories (a push-shift), then the agent behind those categories is sense itself and, therefore, internal. This "semantic gaps" hypothesis gauges the viability of Christianity as an agent of the changes observable in the sample group. I assess the direction of semantic change by comparing the relative timeline of each word's semantic development to the historical moments in which those developments occurred. If, for example, a lexeme is positive or ambivalent in the early period and later becomes "sinful," this change would have been externally facilitated by the introduction of Christian sin as a semantic category,[35] and, therefore, evidence of a pull-shift.[36]

III. Lexeme Fitness and Linguistic Models

As per the sample group, all terms are first divided by lexical class into SR or PQ. The "social roles" group is well balanced, though not without complications. The development of the Old English/Old Saxon pair, *ambiht*/*ambaht*, while complex, has a well attested semantic history and fits comfortably within the proposed model. Old English *gædeling* and Old Saxon *gaduling*, on the other hand, offer some semantic difficulties. Both words are uncommon in their respective corpora and possess a complex semantic history that showcases amelioration and generalization, or "widening," in the early post-conversion period, and pejoration and specialization, or "narrowing," in the later period.

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35 That is, the abstract introduction of a Christian idea of "offense against God," followed by the concept's association with a broad range of terms associated with injury, followed by progressive specialization to the narrow Christian sense.

36 See Roger D. Woodard's *Indo-European Sacred Space* for an analysis of similar socio-religious semantic chain shifts in classical antiquity (149-52).

Since this dissertation is interested in amelioration and pejoration as broad processes, the multifaceted transformations of *gædeling*/*gaduling* complement the development of more straightforward lexemes. The lexeme pairs *geneat*/*ginot* and *þegn*/*thegan* present the fewest difficulties, though both pairs have complex and uncertain Proto-Germanic etymologies.[37] Despite these difficulties, no lexeme is significantly more problematic than another, and alphabetical ordering remains the most economical choice for the SR group.

The PQ group presents fewer problems than SR, with one notable exception. Old English *facen* and Old Saxon *fekni* are common in both corpora, and fit neatly into the proposed model. Old English *hosp*/*hosc* and Old Saxon *hosk*, however, require extra space to discuss their various root forms. Nevertheless, both words are common and offer many attestations throughout Old English and Old Saxon. Likewise, *scyldig* and *skuldig*, as mentioned, are common in both Old English and Old Saxon, but Old English *scyldig* appears less often in the glosses than its Old Saxon cognate. Nevertheless, *scyldig* and *skuldig* fit well into the model of semantic shift, and follow alphabetical order like the previous pairs. The most problematic pair is *wlencu*/*wlank*, which is discussed last and also comes last in alphabetical priority. Thus, each of my terms are presented first by lexical category and then in alphabetical order, both for organizational ease and because of the relative fitness of each lexeme pair.

For all descriptions of Old English sound changes, I refer to Alistair Campbell's *Old English Grammar* and Richard Hogg's *A Grammar of Old English*. For all descriptions of Old Saxon and West Germanic sound changes, I reference Irmingard Rauch's *The Old Saxon Language* and Wolfram Euler's *Das Westergermanische*, respectively. To describe the phonetic, semantic, and morphological etymologies of each word, I rely on Gus Kroonen's *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic* (2013) and Vladimir Orel's *A Handbook of Germanic Etymology* (2003). While Kroonen's text is more recent, Orel's includes a greater number of words. Kroonen's work, however, presents a more complete picture

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37 See Kroonen (384-85, 536) and Orel (282, 418).

of each lexeme's attested and unattested history. Where applicable, I compare Kroonen and Orel's semantic reconstructions against the first attesting meanings of the Old English and Old Saxon lexemes to assess the extent to which pejoration and amelioration had already occurred in earliest extant texts.

IV. Final Categories and Presentation

The presentation is partly modelled after Stefan Sonderegger's *Althochdeutsche Sprache und Literatur*, which provides an overview of Old High German linguistic and literary development in a compartmentalized format, with chapters, sections, and sub-sections clearly numbered for ease of reference. To facilitate the reader's engagement with this study, I similarly present data, analyses, and conclusions—in that order—as discrete units. Each component is organized in the format: *Chapter.Section.Sub-Section*; two lexemes are examined in each of the four main chapters, and the terms themselves are presented by lexical class, alphabetical order, and language. Thus, Chapter 2 and 3 examine, in alphabetical order, the four Old English and Old Saxon words of the "social roles" category while Chapter 4 and 5 explore PQ lexemes. I begin each word study with a general etymology and history of scholarship, before progressing into linguistic and theoretical investigations, followed by a conclusion that summarizes the results of my analysis. Chapter 6 offers a literary analysis, which visualizes the study's semantic data in more holistic textual environments.

1.3   Texts, Manuscripts, and Editions

Apart from the early Old English glosses, the sample lexemes do not appear together in every text. To ensure variety, this study draws from five Old English and Old Saxon genres: (i) glosses, (ii) religious poetry, (iii) religious prose, (iv) secular poetry, and (v) secular prose. While the line between "secular" and "religious" is often razor-thin due to the prevalence of Christianity in everyday medieval life, I categorize each text according to its dominant theme: if a text focuses on religious concepts, or translates biblical material, then the text is categorized as "religious"; if a text focuses on non-religious

themes, despite the presence of religious content, then the text is classified as "secular." Although the amount of Old English literature outweighs the amount of continental literature, each Old Saxon text contributes more of its material to balance the quantity of continental and insular lexical-semantic data. To ensure a diverse sample group, each category includes texts from the earliest to latest periods of their respective corpora. The following sections describe only the primary sources of data; other texts are occasionally consulted throughout the study for comparison and clarification. I have organized each text and genre in alphabetical order and provide extra information about dialect, date/provenance, edition(s), and linguistic utility only where necessary. Unless otherwise noted, Latin *u/v* and *i/j* are handled according to their respective editions, and dates for Old English MSS produced before 1100 CE are taken from Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (2014).

1.3.1 Old English Texts

I. Glosses

i. *Aldhelm's de Laudibus Virginitatis*

    a.) Short Title: *Aldhelm*

    b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, Royal 6 A. vi, ff. 1r-55v

    c.) Date: MS: s. x ex. or s. xi[1]

    d.) Edition: L. Goossens, *The Old English Glosses of ms. Brussels, Royal Library, 1650* (1974)

ii. *Cleopatra* **(I, II, III)**

    a.) Short Title: *GlCl*

    b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii. ff. 5r-117v

    c.) Date: MS: s. $x^{2/4}$ or x med.

    d.) Edition: Philip Guthrie Rusche, *The Cleopatra Glossaries* (1996)

Cl comprises three collections, or "layers." The first and third glossaries contain older lemmata and

interpretamenta closely related to *Corpus* and *Aldhelm*, while the second is shorter and more recent; collections I and III likely date from the eighth century (Pheifer xxviii-xli).

iii. *Corpus Glosssary*

    a.) Short Title: *Cp*

    b.) Manuscript: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 144, ff. 4r-64v

    c.) Date: MS: s. ix[1]; archetype: s. viii

    d.) Edition: W. M. Lindsay, *The Corpus Glossary* (2014)

A complete study of similarities and differences between *Cp* and the other early glosses appears in Pheifer, pp. xxvii-xxviii. Pheifer records several correspondences between *EE* and *Cp*, which both descend from different, albeit related, archetypes that can be traced back to the same presumptive ur-text. The MS itself was originally dated by Lindsay to the the eighth century, not long after the production of its archetype, but more contemporary scholarship places it in the early ninth-century (Gneuss and Lapidge 54; Pheifer xxviii).

iv. *Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter*

    a.) Short Title: *Eadwine*

    b.) Manuscript: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1, ff. 1r-281v

    c.) Date: MS: s. xii med.

    d.) Edition: Fred Harsley, *Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter* (1973)

Despite an outdated methodology, Harsley's text remains the best edition of the Old English portion of *Eadwine* due to its completeness and accuracy.

v. *Epinal-Erfurt*

    a.) Short Title: *EE*

    b.) Manuscript: Épinal, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 72 (2), ff. 1r-14v; Erfurt, Codex

    Amplonianus f. 42, ff. 1r-37v

c.) Date: MS: *Épinal*, s. vii ex. or vii/viii—*Erfurt*, s. viii med.; archetype: s. vii^3

d.) Edition: J. D. Pheifer, *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* (1974)

Pheifer dates *Épinal*'s manuscript to ca. 700-725 CE but places its exemplar in the late seventh century.[38] *Erfurt* (ca. 750 CE) derives from the same archetype as *Épinal* and features nearly-identical content with many continental corruptions (Pheifer xxxi).

vi. *Harley Glosses*

a.) Short Title: *Harley*

b.) Manuscript: London, British Museum, MS. Harley 3376, ff. 1r-94v

c.) Date: MS: s. x/xi

d.) Edition: R.T. Oliphant *The Harley Latin-Old English Glossary* (1966).

vii. *Lindisfarne Gospels*

a.) Short Title: *Lind*

b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D. iv, ff. 3r-259r

c.) Date: MS: s. x$^{3/4}$, prob. before 970, Northumbrian

d.) Edition: Walter W. Skeat, *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon* (1871-87)

The Old English glosses were added to the original Latin text of *Lind* (ca. 700-725 CE) by a monk named Aldred near the close of the tenth century. The gloss's language and provenance illustrate the relative uniformity of the sample lexemes throughout the Old English dialect continuum. Despite a number of recent studies, Skeat's nineteenth-century text remains the most recent complete edition of the interlinear gloss.[39]

viii. *Priscian and Donatus*

a.) Short Title: *PrDn*

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38 Mechthild Gretsch suggests that the archetype for *EE* may have been composed for Aldhelm at Malmsbury during the latter part of the seventh century ("Literacy" 278).

39 See, for example, Julia Fernández Cuesta and Sara M. Pons-Sanz, *The Old English Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels: Language, Author, and Context* (2016).

b.) Manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Additional C.144, f. 153v

c.) Date: MS: s. xi/xii

d.) Edition: Arthur S. Napier, *Old English Glosses* (repr. 1969)

An early date for the archetype of *PrDn* is supported by archaic spellings that agree with earlier glosses, such as those in *EE* and *Corpus* (Napier 218-9). Napier's text, originally published in 1900, remains the standard edition.

ix. *Prudentius*

a.) Short Title: *Prud*

b.) Manuscript: Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS.189, ff. 4r-28v

c.) Date: MS: s. xi

d.) Edition: Herbert Dean Meritt, *The Old English Prudentius Glosses at Boulogne-sur-Mer* (1959)

x. *Regius Psalter*

a.) Short Title: *Reg*

b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, Royal 2. B. v, ff. 8r-171r

c.) Date: MS: s. xi[40]

d.) Edition: William J. Davey, "An Edition of the *Regius Psalter* and Its Latin Commentary" (1979)

xi. *Rule of Chrodegang*

a.) Short Title: *ChrodR*

b.) Manuscript: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 191, pp. 1-169

c.) Date: MS: s. xi$^{3/4}$

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40 Davey follows Ker in dating the Latin portions of the manuscript to "the end of the 10th century" and the Old English material to the eleventh century (xxii).

d.) Edition: Brigitte Langefeld, *The Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang* (2003)

Langefeld's 2003 edition of *ChrodR* supplants Napier's 1916 edition by offering a more modern critical approach and a better collation of the Old English text with its Latin antecedent. Langefeld also accounts for the last century of scholarship on *ChrodR*, thereby situating the text in its current scholarly context.

xii. *Rushworth Gospels*

a.) Short Title: *Rush*

b.) Manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium D.2.19, ff. 1r-169v

c.) Date: MS: s. x^2,[41] Mercian

d.) Edition: Kenichi Tamoto, *The Macregol Gospels or The Rushworth Gospels* (2013)

Like *Lind*, *Rush* was first produced as a Latin-only text (ca. 800 CE). During the second half of the tenth century, an Anglo-Saxon scribe glossed the manuscript in a Mercian dialect of Old English.

xiii. *Vespasian Psalter*

a.) Short Title: *Vesp*

b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. i, ff. 2v-160v

c.) Date: MS: s. ix, prob. ix med., Mercian

d.) Edition: Sherman M. Kuhn, *The Vespasian Psalter* (1965)

The Latin text of *Vesp* was produced ca. 725-775 CE, but the Old English glosses were inserted ca. 950 CE.

II. Religious Poetry

i. *Andreas*

a.) Short Title: *And*

b.) Manuscript: Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare di Vercelli, MS CXVII (Vercelli Book), ff. 29v-

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41 See Kenichi Tamoto for a complete paleographical description of the text, along with its presumed date (xi-xxi).

52v

c.) Date: MS: s. x^2

d.) Edition: M. Bintley and R. North, *Andreas: An Edition* (2016)

ii. *Christ I, II, III*

a.) Short Title: *ChrI, II, III*

b.) Manuscript: Exeter, Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3501 (Exeter Book), ff. 8r-32r

c.) Date: MS: s. $x^{3/4}$; archetype: s. ix[42]

d.) Edition: George Philip Krapp and Dobbie, *The Exeter Book* (ASPR 3, 1936)

iii. *Christ and Satan*

a.) Short Title: *ChrS*

b.) Manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11 (Junius), pp. 213-29

c.) Date: MS: s. x^2 and xi^1

d.) Edition: Robert Emmett Finnegan, *'Christ and Satan': a Critical Edition* (1977)

In *A History of Old English Meter*, R. D. Fulk argues for an earlier archetype based on metrical and dialectical evidence but does not offer a precise date, opting instead for a relative chronology that places *ChrS* somewhere in the generation prior to Junius (394-96). Together, the manuscript date and Fulk's relative chronology place *ChrS* somewhere in the late tenth century.

iv. *Daniel*

a.) Short Title: *Dan*

b.) Manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11 (Junius), pp. 173-212

c.) Date: MS: s. x^2 and xi^1; archetype s. viii or s. ix

d.) Edition: R. T. Farrell, *Daniel and Azarias* (1974)

The poetic *Daniel* is consulted for its exceptional use of the lexeme, *gædeling*, otherwise found only in

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[42] For more on this dating, see Fulk, *Old English Meter*, pp. 352, 396-99.

the early Old English glosses and *Beowulf*. R. D. Fulk dates the poem itself to the eighth or ninth

century (Fulk, *Old English Meter* 65-6).

v. *Dream of the Rood*

a.) Short Title: *Rood*

b.) Manuscript: Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare di Vercelli, MS CXVII (Vercelli Book), ff. 104v-

106r

c.) Date: MS: s. x^2; archetype: s. viii

d.) Edition: Michael Swanton, *The Dream of the Rood* (1996)

The dating of "Dream of the Rood" is complex. Although the complete poem is preserved only in the

Vercelli Book, a fragmentary runic copy is engraved on the eighth-century Ruthwell Cross, suggesting

a much older archetype.[43] Swanton's edition helpfully includes alternate readings from the runic *tituli* of

the Ruthwell Cross.

vi. *Exodus*

a.) Short Title: *Ex*

b.) Manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11 (Junius), pp. 143-171

c.) Date: MS: s. x^2 and xi^1; archetype: s. $viii^{1/2}$

d.) Edition: Peter Lucas, *Exodus* (1977)

The metrical, lexical, and morphological features of *Exodus* suggest an archetype around the time of

Bede. Peter Lucas suggests that *Exodus* may be earlier than *Beowulf*, and proposes a date somewhere in

the first quarter of the eighth century (Lucas 69-72).

vii. *Genesis A*

a.) Short Title: *GenA*

b.) Manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11 (Junius), pp. 1-12, 40-142

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43 For more on the relationship between "Dream of the Rood" and other Germanic literature, see Éamonn Ó Carragáin's
    Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Rood Tradition (6-7).

c.) Date: MS: s. x^2 and xi^1; archetype: s. viii

d.) Edition: A.N. Doane, *Genesis A* (2014)

A. N. Doane's *Genesis A*, which features the Old English verse with facing-page text from the Latin Vulgate, has remained the most complete edition of the text since its first release in 1978. This study will rely on Doane's expanded and revised edition of *Genesis A* from 2014, which accounts for recent linguistic and theoretical developments, improves the glossary, and expands the commentary to 74 pages.

viii. *Genesis B*

a.) Short Title: *GenB*

b.) Manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11 (Junius), pp. 13-40

c.) Date: MS: s. x^2 and xi^1; archetype: s. x^1

d.) Edition: A.N. Doane, *The Saxon Genesis* (1991)

GenB is interpolated into *GenA* from lines 235 to 851. Using internal evidence, Eduard Sievers first postulated an Old Saxon origin for these 616 lines in his 1875 edition, *Der Heliand und die Angelsächsische Genesis* (Doane, *Saxon Genesis* 7). Sievers's hypothesis was substantiated in 1894 when Karl Zangemeister discovered a fragmentary Old Saxon *Genesis*, overlapping *Genesis B* by 24 lines (Doane, *Saxon Genesis* 7-8). Given its history of transmission, the translation of *Genesis B* likely began in the early part of the tenth century (Doane, *Saxon Genesis* 47).

ix. *Guthlac B*

a.) Short Title: *GuthB*

b.) Manuscript: Exeter, Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3501 (Exeter Book), ff. 44v-52v

c.) Date: MS: s. $x^{3/4}$; archetype s. ix

d.) Edition: Jane Annette Roberts, *The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book* (1979)

Fulk argues that *Guthlac A* and *B* are "no older than the age of Cynewulf," as both poems use metrical

structures incompatible with the "Caedmonian" forms of the late seventh and eighth century, despite a variety of archaisms; together, this evidence suggests a ninth-century date for its archetype (*Old English Meter* 402).

x. *Judith*

    a.) Short Title: *Jud*

    b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius A. xv, ff. 202r–209v

    c.) Date: MS: s. x/xi

    d.) Edition: Mark Griffith, *Judith* (1998)

xi. *Vainglory*

    a.) Short Title: *VainGl*

    b.) Manuscript: Exeter, Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3501 (Exeter Book), ff. 83r-84v

    c.) Date: MS: s. $x^{3/4}$

    d.) Edition: George Philip Krapp and Dobbie, *The Exeter Book* (ASPR 3, 1936)

III. Secular Poetry

i. *Battle of Maldon*

    a.) Short Title: *Maldon*

    b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho A. xii, ff. 57a-62b (destroyed); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B. 203, pp. 7-12 (copy)

    c.) Date: MS (destroyed): s. $xi^{3/4}$ or xi^2; MS (copy): ca. 1724

    d.) Edition: D. G. Scragg, *The Battle of Maldon* (1981)

A poetic account of the eponymous battle that occurred in 991 CE, *Maldon* appeared only as a fragmentary copy attached to an eleventh-century copy of Asser's *Life of Alfred*, which was destroyed during the infamous 1731 fire at Ashburnham House. The oldest extant copy is an early eighteenth-century transcription.

ii. *Beowulf*

    a.) Short Title: *Beo*

    b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius A. xv, ff. 132r-201v

    c.) Date: MS: s. x/xi; archetype: s. viii[44]

    d.) Edition: R. D. Fulk, R. E. Bjork, and John D. Niles, *Klaeber's Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg* (2008)

At 3182 lines, the epic poem *Beowulf* provides the most substantial example of Old English verse. *Beo*'s only extant manuscript was seriously damaged in the Cotton fire of 1731.

iii. *Exeter Riddles*

    a.) Short Title: *Riddle(s)*

    b.) Manuscript: Exeter, Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3501 (Exeter Book), ff. 101r–115r, 124v–130v

    c.) Date: MS: s. x$^{3/4}$; archetype: s. ix[45]

    d.) Edition: Craig Williamson, *The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book* (1977)

iv. *Maxims I*

    a.) Short Title: *MaxI*

    b.) Manuscript: Exeter, Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3501 (Exeter Book), ff. 88v-92v

    c.) Date: MS: s. x$^{3/4}$; archetype: s. viii[46]

    d.) Edition: George Philip Krapp and Dobbie, *The Exeter Book* (ASPR 3, 1936)

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44 The 2014 publication of *the Dating of Beowulf: a Reassessment* (ed. Leonard Neidorf)—a firm response to the 1980 work edited by Colin Chase—condemns *Beowulf* agnosticism, and convincingly leverages a variety of linguistic, onomastic, metrical, orthographic, and historical observations to argue for an early (ca. 700-800 CE) ur-text. While Neidorf's volume is troubled by a confrontational tone and lack of theoretical variety, its conclusions remain convincing. As such, this dissertation assumes an early (ca. 700-800 CE) date for *Beowulf.*

45 See Fulk, *Old English Meter*, for the relative dating of the Riddles (404-10).

46 Neidorf suggest a date of composition in early eighth-century Anglia based on internal evidence ("Maxims I" 150-1).

v. *Meters of Boethius*

    a.) Short Title: *BoethM*

    b.) Manuscript: London, British Museum, Cotton MS. Otho A. vi, ff. 1r-129v

    c.) Date: MS: s. x med.

    d.) Edition: Malcolm Godden and Susan Irvine, *The Old English Boethius* (2009)

Various translations of Boethius in Old English prose and verse appear in two extant manuscripts:

London, British Museum, Cotton MS. Otho A. vi (C) and Oxford, Bodleian Additional MS D.98 (B).

BoethM appears only in C, which was damaged during the Cotton fire of 1731.

vi. *Rune Poem*

    a.) Short Title: *RuneP*

    b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. x, ff. 165r-165v (destroyed)

    c.) Date: MS (destroyed): s. $xi^{4/4}$; archetype: s. viii[47]

    d.) Edition: Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* (1942)

The only recorded manuscript containing *RuneP* was lost in the Cotton fire of 1731. The oldest extant

copy of the poem is now George Hickes' 1705 printed collection, *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium*

thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archæologicus.

vii. *Seafarer*

    a.) Short Title: *Sea*

    b.) Manuscript: Exeter, Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3501 (Exeter Book), f.81v-83r

    c.) Date: MS: s. $x^{3/4}$

    d.) Edition: Anne L. Klinck, *The Old English Elegies* (2001)

Klinck's edition includes a thorough critical study of "elegy" as genre, an appendix with analogues in a

variety of languages, including Welsh and Old Norse, and a glossary that includes a complete index of

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[47] See Van Kirk Dobbie (*Minor Poems* XLIX)

words.

viii. *Solomon and Saturn (I, II)*

    a.) Short Title: *SolSat I, II*

    b.) Manuscript: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 422, 41, pp. 1-6, 13-26

    c.) Date: MS: s. x^1 or $x^{2/4}$ or x med.[48]

    d.) Edition: Daniel Anlezark, *The Old English Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn* (2009)

A prose version of *Solomon and Saturn* also appears in Cotton Vitellius A. xv. Anlezark's edition includes both the prose and verse dialogues.

IV. Religious Prose

i. *De consuetudine monachorum*

    a.) Short Title: *Monac*

    b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A. iii, ff. 2r-177v

    c.) Date: MS: s. xi med

    d.) Edition: Arnold Schröer, "De consuetudine monachorum" (1886)

ii. *Cura pastoralis*

    a.) Short Title: *Cura*

    b.) Manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 20, ff. 1r-98r

    c.) Date: MS: 890x897[49]

    d.) Edition: Henry Sweet, *West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care* (repr. 2007)

The Old English *Cura pastoralis* (*Pastoral Care*), commonly attributed to King Alfred the Great,[50] is extant in three primary manuscripts: London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B. xi (A), Oxford,

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48 Fulk agrees that *Solomon and Saturn* belongs to the period ca. 900-1000 CE (*Old English Meter*, 261).

49 Gneuss and Lapidge date MS Hatton 20 to precisely 890-897 CE (477).

50 See also Malcolm Godden, "Did King Alfred Write Anything?" (2007). Godden concludes that all such attributions are at best uncertain and at worst, spurious. Godden argues that the stylistic and linguistic phenomena used to demonstrate Alfred's authorship can be assigned more plausibly to provenance and date.

Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 20 (B), and Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.2.4 (C). While A

appears to be the ur-text, the MS was badly damaged in the Cotton Library fire of 1731. As such, the

early B copy, addressed to Bishop Wærferth, serves as the foundation for most editions, alongside

variants present in A. The C MS is an eleventh-century copy addressed to Bishop Wulfsige.

iii. *Instructions for Christians*

    a.) Short Title: *IC*

    b.) Manuscript: Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ii. I. 33, ff. 224v-227v

    c.) Date: MS: s. xii$^{3/45}$[51]

    d.) Edition: James Rosier, "Instructions for Christians," "Addenda" (1964, 1966)

iv. *Durham Monastic Canticles*

    a.) Short Title: *Canticles*

    b.) Manuscript: Durham, Durham Cathedral, MS. B.III.32, ff. 46r-56r

    c.) Date: MS: s. xi ex.

    d.) Edition: M. Korhammer, *Die Monastischen Cantica* (1976)

v. *Old English Heptateuch*

    a.) Short Title: *Hept*

    b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, MS. Cotton Claudius B. iv, ff. 1v-156v

    c.) Date: MS: s. xi$^{2/4}$

    d.) Edition: Richard Marsden, *The Old English Heptateuch* (2008)

vi. *Paris Psalter*

    a.) Short Title: *Ps(P)*

    b.) Manuscript: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8824, ff. 1r-175v

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[51] Rosier postulates an earlier archetype, but acknowledges that "the original text, if there was one, must itself have been late" (4).

c.) Date: MS: s. xi med; archetype: s. ix ex.[52]

d.) Edition: George Philip Krapp, *The Paris Psalter and the Meters of Boethius* (1932)

vii. *Vercelli Homilies*

a.) Short Title: *HomV*

b.) Manuscript: Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare di Vercelli, MS CXVII (Vercelli Book), ff. 1r-186v

c.) Date: MS: s. x^2

d.) Edition: D.G. Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts* (1998)

viii. *West Saxon Gospels*

a.) Short Title: *WSG*

b.) Manuscript: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 140, ff. 2-143

c.) Date: MS: s. xi^1

d.) Edition: Roy Liuzza, *The Old English Version of the Gospels* (1994, 2000)

Roy Liuzza objects to the appellation "West Saxon" on the grounds that the best manuscripts are south-eastern in character, and none represent a pure West Saxon dialect (xiii). To avoid confusion with other Gospels used in this study, I continue to use the name *West Saxon Gospels*. The *WSGs* are extant in eight manuscripts: 1.) Cambridge, University Library Ii.2.11 (A), 2.) Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 441 (B), 3.) London, British Library Cotton Otho C. i vol. I (C), 4.) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 140 (Cp), 5.) Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 38 (H), 6.) Oxford, Bodleian Library English Bib. C. 2 (3145) (L), 7.) London, British Library Royal I.A. xiv. (R), and 8.) New Haven, Beinecke Library 378 (Y) (Liuzza, vol. 1, viii).[53] The earliest of these manuscripts is B (ca. 1000-1025 CE), from which H (ca. 1100-1200 CE) and R (ca. 1150-1200 CE) were derived; the most complete copy of the text

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52 See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, for more on the Alfredian dating of *Ps(P)*, as well as discussion of the text's epigraphical problems (72-82).

53 See Liuzza pp. xvi-lxxiii for a full description of the gospel manuscripts and their relationships to each other.

appears in Cp, which also dates to ca. 1000-1050 CE, and forms the basis of modern editions.

ix. *Wulfstan's Homilies*

   a.) Short Title: *Wulfstan*

   b.) Manuscript: Various; e.g., London, British Museum, Cotton Nero A.1[54] (ca. 1000x1023),
   ff. 110r-116r

   c.) Date: MSS: s. xi-xiii[1]; archetypes: before ca. 1023[55]

   d.) Edition: Dorothy Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (1971)

Wulfstan's homilies survive in a variety of manuscripts from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. For a
representative inventory of *Wulfstan* MSS, see Hans Sauer (340-2).

x. *Ælfric's Homilies*

   a.) Short Title: *Ælfric*

   b.) Manuscript: Various; e.g., Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 342[56] (1000x1025), ff.
   203r-218r

   c.) Date: MSS: s. xi-xiii[1]; archetypes: before ca. 1010[57]

   d.) Edition: Malcolm Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies* (2001)

Like *Wulfstan, Ælfric* survives in numerous manuscripts; the most representative examples date from
the early eleventh to late twelfth centuries: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 342, Cambridge,
Corpus Christi College MS 162, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 198, and Cambridge, Corpus
Christi College MS 303. These four MSS are part of an ongoing digital and linguistic analysis
spearheaded by Kathryn Lowe, Elaine Treharne, Orietta da Rold, and Alison Wiggins (*Stanford*,
"Ælfric's Catholic Homilies").

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54 Likely written in Wulfstan's own hand

55 Wulfstan's death ca. 1023 CE provides a *terminus ad quem* for his homilies.

56 The earliest extant copy of Ælfric's homilies.

57 Ælfric's death ca. 1030 CE provides a *terminus ad quem* for his homilies.

V. Secular Prose

i. *Lambourn Church Dues*

a.) Short Title: *LambCh*

b.) Manuscript: London, St. Paul's Cathedral, GL 25516, f. 60v

c.) Date: MS: s. xiii[1]; archetype: s.xii[158]

d.) Edition: Agnes J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (1956)

ii. *Laws of Alfred*

a.) Short Title: *AlfredL*

b.) Manuscript: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173

c.) Date: MS: s. ix/x; archetype: ca. 893, ff. 36r-47r

d.) Edition: Richard J. E. Dammery, *The Law-Code of King Alfred the Great* (1991)

The Laws of Alfred and Ine can be found together in nine MSS: 1.) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 383 (B), 2.) London, British Library, MS Burney 277 (Bu), 3.) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173 (E), 4.) Medway Archive and Local Studies Centre, Strood, England, MS DRc/R1 (Textus Roffensis), Manchester, 5.) John Rylands University Library, MS Lat 420 (M), 6.) London, British Library, MS Additional 43703 (NW), 7.) London, British Library, MS Royal 11 B. ii (R), 8.) Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS Lat. 155 (Rs), and 9.) London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. xxvii (T).[59] The earliest, and most complete copy is E, which also includes the oldest recension of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Alfred's and Ine's laws are read from Richard J. E. Dammery's 1991 doctoral dissertation, *The Law-Code of King Alfred the Great*, which provides a modern two-volume critical apparatus.

iii. *Laws of Æthelstan V/VI*

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58 Susan E. Kelly argues that GL 25516 "dates from the reign of William I or later" (101).

59 For more information on these MSS see Dammery (112-72).

a.) Short Title: *Æthel*

b.) Manuscript: Medway Archive and Local Studies Centre, Strood, England, MS DRc/R1 (Textus Roffensis), ff. 37r-38r

c.) Date: MS: s. xii[1]; archetype: 927x939

d.) Edition: Felix Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (1903-1916)

Æthel appears in six MSS: 1.) Medway Archive and Local Studies Centre, Strood, England, MS Drc/R1 (Textus Roffensis), 2.) London, British Library, MS Additional 49366 (Hk), 3.) Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS Lat. 420 (M), 4.) London, British Library, MS Royal 11 B. ii (R), 5.) Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS Lat. 155 (Rs), 6.) London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. xxvii (T). The Textus Roffensis is the earliest and most complete extant MS of *Æthel.* Despite its antiquity, Liebermann's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* [*Laws of the Anglo-Saxons*] remains the most comprehensive edition of most Anglo-Saxon laws.

iv. *Laws of Cnut*

a.) Short Title: *Cn*

b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, MS Harley 55, ff. 5r-13v

c.) Date: MS: s. xi[1]

d.) Edition: Felix Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (1903-1916)

Cn appears in eight MSS spanning the twelfth to thirteenth centuries: 1.) London, British Library, MS Harley 55 (A), 2.) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 383 (B), 3.) London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian viii (Dm), 4.) London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero A. i (G), 5.) London, British Library, MS Additional 49366 (Hk), 6.) London, British Library, MS Royal 11 B. ii (R), 7.) Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS Lat. 155 (Rs), 8.) and London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. xxvii (T). MS A provides the most complete copy of *Cn*.

v. *Laws of Eadgar I-IV*

a.) Short Title: *EadgarI, II, III, IV*

b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, MS Harley 55, ff. 3v-4v; Cambridge, Corpus Christi, MS 265, pp. 222-27

c.) Date: MS: s. xi[1]; archetype: ca. 960

d.) Edition: Felix Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (1903-1916)

The Late West Saxon Laws of Eadgar focus on the relationships between different classes of freemen, the concept of ðegn, and the rights of the Danelaw. The first three sections of *Eadgar* are preserved in seven MSS: 1.) London, British Library, MS Harley 55 (A), 2.) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201 (D), 3.) London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero A. i (G), 4.) London, British Library, MS Additional 49366 (Hk), 5.) Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS Lat. 420 (M), 6.) and 7.) London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. xxvii (T). *EadgarIV* appears in only two MSS: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 265 (C) and London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero E. i (F). MS A is the earliest and most complete copy of *Eadgar* I-III, while MS C is the best copy of *Eadgar* IV.

vi. *Laws of Hloþere and Eadric*

a.) Short Title: *Hl*

b.) Manuscript: Medway Archive and Local Studies Centre, Strood, England, MS DRc/R1 (Textus Roffensis), ff. 3v-5r

c.) Date: MS: s. xii[1]; archetype: 685x686

d.) Edition: Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (2002)

vii. *Laws of Ine*

a.) Short Title: *Ine*

b.) Manuscript: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173, ff. 47r-52v

c.) Date: MS: s. ix/x; archetype: s. vii ex.

d.) Edition: Richard J. E. Dammery, *The Law-Code of King Alfred the Great* (1991)

Ine, original produced at the end of the seventh century, is extant only as part of Alfred's law-code. See the entry for *AlfredL* for a complete inventory of MSS.

viii. *Laws of Wihtred*

> a.) Short Title: *Wi*
>
> b.) Manuscript: Medway Archive and Local Studies Centre, Strood, England, MS Drc/R1 (Textus Roffensis), ff. 5r-6v
>
> c.) Date: MS: s. xii^1; archetype: s. vii ex.
>
> d.) Edition: Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (2002)

ix. *Laws of Æthelberht*

> a.) Short Title: *Æbt*
>
> b.) Manuscript: Medway Archive and Local Studies Centre, Strood, England, MS DRc/R1 (Textus Roffensis), ff. 1r-3v
>
> c.) Date: MS: s. xii^1; archetype: s. vi ex. or vii in.
>
> d.) Edition: Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (2002)

x. *Letter to Brother Edward*

> a.) Short Title: *LetterEd*
>
> b.) Manuscript: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 178, pp. 137-8
>
> c.) Date: MS: s. xi^1
>
> d.) Edition: Mary Clayton, "Letter to Brother Edward: A Student Edition" (2007)

LetterEd survives in three MSS: 1.) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 178, 162 (R), 2.) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 115 (P), and 3.) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 116 (S). R dates from the first half of the eleventh-century and is the earliest extant text.[60]

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60 For more on the *LetterEd* MSS, see the introduction to Mary Clayton's *OEN* edition of the text (31-46).

xi. *Liber Scintillarum*

   a.) Short Title: *LibScint*

   b.) Manuscript: MS: London, British Museum, Royal MS. 7 C iv, ff. 1r-100v

   c.) Date: s. $xi^{1/26}$[1]

   d.) Edition: Rhodes, E.W. Ed. *Defensor's Liber Scintillarum* (1889)[2]

xii. *Orosius*

   a.) Short Title: *Or*

   b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, Additional MS 47967, ff. 17r-87r

   c.) Date: MS: s. x^1 or $x^{2/4}$

   d.) Edition: Janet Bately, *The Old English Orosius* (2005)

The Old English translation of Orosius's *Historiarum* survives in four MSS: 1.) London, British Library, Additional 47967 (L), 2.) London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. i. (C), 3.) Bodleian, Eng. Hist. e. 49 (30481) (B), and 4.) Vatican City, Reg. Lat. 497, f. 71. (V). MS L provides the earliest text.[3]

xiii. *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*

   a.) Short Title: *Rect*

   b.) Manuscript: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 383, 63v-66v

   c.) Date: MS: s. xi/xii

   d.) Edition: Felix Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (1903-1916)

Rect survives in five MSS dating from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries: 1.) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 383 (B), 2.) London, British Library, MS Additional 49366 (Hk), 3.) Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS Lat. 420 (M), 4.) London, British Library, MS Royal 11 B. ii (R), and 5.) London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. xxvii (T). The earliest MS is B.

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61 See Rhodes (xii-xiii)

62 See also Rolf Bremmer, "The Reception of Defensor's *Liber Scintillarum* in Anglo-Saxon England."

63 For a complete description of these manuscripts, see Bately (xxiii-xxvi).

xiv. *William I to Herfast et al.*

    a.) Short Title: *WillL*

    b.) Manuscript: Medway Archive and Local Studies Centre, Strood, England, MS DRc/R1

    (Textus Roffensis), ff. 80r-81v

    c.) Date: MS: s. xii^1; archetype: ca. 1066x1087[64]

    d.) Edition: Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (1691)

Despite its antiquity, Wharton's edition of William I's brief letter to the clergy remains the only version

in print.

1.3.2 Old Saxon Texts[65]

I. Glosses

i. *Codex Traditionum Westfalicarum*

    a.) Short Title: *TradW*

    b.) Manuscript: Münster, Staatsarchiv, MS. II. 23 S, pp. 9-39

    c.) Date: MS: s. xii[66]

    d.) Edition: Franz Darpe, *Die Heberegister des Klosters Ueberwasser* (1888)

ii. *Urbare Werden*

    a.) Short Title: *UrbW*

    b.) Manuscript: Düsseldorf, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland, Werden Akten Ixa,

    ff. 41v-48r, 49v-66r

    c.) Date: MS: s. xi

    d.) Edition: Rudolf Kötzschke, *Rheinische Urbare* (repr. 1978)

iii. *Essen Evangeliarium*

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64 The death of William I in 1087 provides the *terminus ad quem* for this letter.

65 Tiefenbach includes an index to all Old Saxon MSS in his introduction (XXXIX-XLI).

66 See Franz Darpe (4-8, 20).

a.) Short Title: *EssenE*

b.) Manuscript: Essen, Münsterarchiv und Münsterschatzkammer, MS. 1, ff. 31r-169v

c.) Date: MS: s. ix$^{2/3}$

d.) Edition: Elis Wadstein, *Kleinere altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler* (1899)

The interlinear Old Saxon glosses in *EssenE* represent the earliest surviving example of the Old Saxon glossary tradition. As evidence for the *terminus ad quo* of the Old Saxon interpretations, Gallée notes that the glosses use the commentary of Hrabanus Maurus, which must have been written after 822 CE. To establish a *terminus ad quem*, Gallée notes the conservative morphology and paleography of the glosses, and their resemblance to the glosses of MSS in Mayence and St. Victor at Xanten, which were produced in the later ninth, or early tenth, century (19-20). Gallée suggests, moreover, that the glosses may have been taken from an even earlier manuscript (22). While the glosses' consistent <u> instead of archaic <b> for /v/ suggests a later date closer to ca. 900-925 CE,[67] this spelling peculiarity is likely a consequence of orthographic variation, which appears in the earliest Old Saxon monuments.[68] Based on paleographical evidence, Gallée dates the MS and its Latin text to ca. 800-825 CE. Moreover, All-Saint's day, introduced to the Frankish empire in 835, is absent from the calendar in the Essen manuscript, and the illustrations of Christ and St. Matthew lack beards (Gallée 17).[69] Wadstein's edition offers a comprehensive edition of the entire glossary, with a presentation of the Latin text beside its vernacular interpretamenta, and extensive commentary.

iv. *Gregory the Great Glosses*

a.) Short Title: *GlG*

b.) Manuscript: Düsseldorf, Landesbibliothek, MS. B. 80, ff. 122r-129v

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67 <b> is the preferred form throughout the *Heliand*.

68 See Orrin Robinson for an overview of orthographic variation and normalization in Old Saxon (116-25).

69 Gallée notes that beardless depiction of the Christ and his followers are "an all but unmistakable characteristic of the Carolingian age" (17).

c.) Date: MS: s. x

d.) Edition: Elis Wadstein, *Kleinere altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler* (1899)

The *GlG* correspond to various homilies in Gregory the Great's *opera.* For an inventory and description of these glosses see Wadstein (62-5).

v. *The Marienfeld Glosses*

a.) Short Title: *GlMarf*

b.) Manuscript: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. fol. 735, ff. 2v-168v

c.) Date: MS: s. xii⁴; archetype: s. xi[70]

d.) Edition: R. Pilkmann, "Das Marienfelder Glossar" (1976)

vi. *Seminary of Treves*

a.) Short Title: *GlTr*

b.) Manuscript: Trier, Bibliothek des Priesterseminars, MS. 61

c.) Date: MS: s. xi³ᐟ⁴; archetype: s. x[71]

d.) Edition: Elias Steinmeyer and Eduard Sievers, *Die Althochdeutschen Glossen*, Vol. 1 (1898)

vii. *Werden Prudentius*

a.) Short Title: *GlPw*

b.) Manuscript: Essen-Werden, Archiv der Katholischen Propsteigemeinde St. Ludgerus 8a, 1r-2v

c.) Date: MS: s. x³ᐟ⁴

d.) Edition: J. H. Galleé, *Old Saxon Texts* (1894)

The MS itself is written in two columns, with Old Saxon and Latin interpretations spread throughout the text in a hand nearly contemporary with the core Latin text. The glosses were written by six different hands, and the vernacular interpretations, mostly Old Saxon, contain several Old High

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70 See Tiefenbach (XXVI).

71 For more on the dating of the MS, see Tiefenbach (XXX-XXXI).

German forms, which suggest a scribe of Franconian or Allemanic descent (Gallée 127-29). The language of the glosses is later than that of the *Heliand* and *EssenE*, with a levelling of verbs and a confusion of noun case-endings congruent with the grammatical changes occurring throughout the low-Germanic *sprachraum* in the late tenth century.[72] Old Saxon Prudentius glosses appear three times in other manuscripts of the period: 1.) the "Paris" Prudentius (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. latin. 18554), 2.) the "Brüssels" Prudentius (Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale MS. 9987), and 3.) in the cover of Landesbibliothek F1 (Gallée 378; Wadstein 3).

II. Religious Poetry

i. *Heliand*

a.) Short Title: *Hel*

b.) Manuscript: London, British Library, MS. Cotton Caligula A. vii, ff. 11r-175v

c.) Date: MS: s. x^1; archetype: 821x840[73]

d.) Edition: Otto Behaghel, *Heliand und Genesis* (2016)

Likely produced between 821 and 840 CE at the behest of Louis the Pious (d.840 CE), the *Heliand*, a poetic retelling of the Gospels, is one of the earliest monuments of epic Germanic poetry. At 5983 lines, the *Heliand* also represents the majority of extant Old Saxon verse and contains the most diverse selection of identity lexemes from the sample group: *ambaht* (and its reflexes), *gaduling*, *thegan*, *fekni*, *hosk*, *skuldig*, and *wlank*. The only absent lexeme is *ginot*.

The *Heliand* is extant in six incomplete manuscripts: 1.) London, British Library, MS. Cotton Caligula A. vii (C), 2.) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex Germanicus Monacensis (cgm) 25 (M), 3.) Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum R 56/2537 (P), 4.) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica

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72 Late Old English is the the most commonly cited example of these changes, largely because the Old English corpus dwarfs those of other Germanic language until the high Middle Ages. For a summary and analysis of levelling in Late West Saxon and Early Middle English, see Dieter Kastovsky's study, "Morphological Restructuring" in *Historical Linguistics 1995, Vol. 2: Germanic Linguistics* (141-45).

73 See Doane, *Saxon Genesis*, for more on this dating (46).

Vaticana, Palatini Latini 1447 (V), 5.) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 8840 (S), and 6.)

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, St. Thomas 4073 (L)[74] (Price 15-20). However, only C and M contain

substantive portions of the poem, which form the basis for all modern critical editions. Though

originally published in the nineteenth century, Otto Behaghel's *Heliand und Genesis* (rev. Walther

Mitzka), now in its eighth edition (2016), remains the most complete critical edition of the epic.

Behaghel's edition, which includes a thorough glossary and commentary for both *Heliand* and the

Vatican Genesis, will be the primary text for the *Heliand* portion of this study. I also consult James E.

Cathey's recent (partial) English edition, *Heliand: Text and Commentary* (2002), and Eduard Sievers's

classic 1878 edition with facing page text from MS C and MS M.

ii. *Vatican Genesis*

a.) Short Title: *VatGen*

b.) Manuscript: Vatican Library, Palatinus Latinus 1447, ff. 1r, 2r-2v, 10v

c.) Date: MS: s. $x^{3/4}$, archetype: s. $ix^{3/4}$

d.) Edition: A. N. Doane, *The Saxon Genesis* (1991)

The *Vatican Genesis*—A fragment of the late ninth-century Old Saxon archetype used for the Old

English *GenB* translation—was discovered in 1894 by Karl Zangemeister in Vatican Library, Palatinus

Latinus 1447 and laid the groundwork for more comprehensive studies on Old English and Old Saxon

prosody. This discovery propitiously confirmed Eduard Siever's hypothesis that *GenB* was originally a

continental text that had been translated into Old English by an Anglo-Saxon scribe sometime in the

early tenth century, shortly after the production of its Old Saxon archetype. As with *GenB*, A. N.

Doane's *The Saxon Genesis* is the primary edition referenced.

III. Religious Prose

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74 The one leaf Leipzig fragment was discovered in 2006 and now represents the oldest (ca. 850-890 CE) extant fragment
of the *Heliand*. For a complete codicological and linguistic description, see Hans Ulrich Schmid's *editio princeps* of the
Leipzig fragment in *Perspectives on the Old Saxon Heliand*, pp. 281-302 (ed. Valentine A. Pakis).

i. *Baptismal Vow*

a.) Short Title: *Vow*

b.) Manuscript: Vatican Library, Codex Palatinus 577, ff. 6v-7r

c.) Date: MS: s. viii ex. or s. ix in.

d.) Edition: Elis Wadstein, *Kleinere altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler* (1899)

This short text, recited by new Christian converts at the time of baptism, is extant only in Vatican Library, Codex Palatinus 577 (known as the *Vatican Manuscripts*), which was written almost entirely by a single scribe, ca. 775-825 CE (Gallée 245-46).[75] Like *Heliand*, the Old Saxon copy of the *Vow*, which features both Old Saxon and Old Low Franconian dialectal forms, remains the subject of linguistic contention. Marco Mostert argues on paleographic and orthographic grounds that the *Vow* was written in Utrecht, "auch wenn die sprachliche Argumentation an sich ungenügend ist" ["even though the linguistic evidence alone is insufficient"] to attribute the "Vow" to one Low Germanic area (35). Moreover, the universal application of dative plural *-um* in the "Vow," rather than the leveled *-un* preferred by the *Heliand*, suggests a Franconian origin. The early date of the *Vow*, however, more strongly supports an Old Saxon provenance, since *-um* is the historical dative plural form, as shown by its sporadic use in the *Heliand* and consistent appearance in Old English (Wadstein 3).

The *Vow* has been edited in a number of old collections, such as Gallée's *Old Saxon Texts* (1894), Elis Wadstein's *Kleinere altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler* (1899), and Holthausen's *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch* (1923). While Gallée's text includes detailed manuscript context, I use Wadstein's standard edition for the primary text.

ii. *Beichtspiegel*

a.) Short Title: *Beicht*

b.) Manuscript: Düsseldorf, Landesbibliothek, Ms. D 2, ff. 204r-205r

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75 There is, however, evidence of a second hand's intervention in the last gathering (Gallée 245).

c.) Date: MS: s. xi^1; archetype: s. x^1

d.) Edition: J. R. Köne, *Der Altsachsische Beichtspiegel* (1860)

The *Beichtspiegel*, or *Westfälische Beichte*, illustrates the success of the programme spearheaded by the *Baptismal Vow*. As an orthodox Christian text with no connection to Germanic antiquity in form or content, the *Beicht* reveals a stable religious environment only a generation after hybridized literature like *Heliand* had brought the word of God to the Saxons through the "Theudisca Lingua," the "Language of the People" (Behaghel 1). The most complete stand-alone edition of *Beicht* remains J. R. Köne's 1860 *Der Altsachsische Beichtspiegel*, although Gallée's edition in *Old Saxon Texts* and Wadstein's in his *Kleinere altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler* include useful commentary on the text's manuscript provenance and linguistic features that supplement Köne's release.

IV. Secular Prose

i. *Essen Heberegister*

a.) Short Title: *EssenH*

b.) Manuscript: Düsseldorf, Landesbibliothek, MS. B. 80, ff. 152r, 153v

c.) Date: MS: s. x^1

d.) Edition: Elis Wadstein, *Kleinere altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler* (1899)

EssenH is the earliest Old Saxon rent-roll and survives only in the tenth-century Landesbibliothek MS. B. 80. This unique MS was composed consecutively by the same scribe and contains a wide variety of genres. The language itself belongs to the early tenth century and suggests that the MS. B. 80 *EssenH* is not far-removed from its ur-text (Wadstein 132-33).

ii. *Freckenhorst Heberegister*

a.) Short Title: *FreckH*

b.) Manuscript: Münster, Nordrhein-Westfalisches Staatsarchiv Msc. VII, 1316a, ff. 1r-11v; Friedlaender, Cod. trad. Westfal. I, s. 21

c.) Date: MSS: s. xi$^{3/4}$; archetype s. xi med.

d.) Edition: Elis Wadstein, *Kleinere altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler* (1899)

FreckH survives in two fragmentary manuscripts: Münster, Nordrhein-Westfalisches Staatsarchiv Cod. Msc. VII, 1316a and Friedlaender, Cod. trad. Westfal. I, both of which are copied from a lost archetype from about a generation earlier (Wadstein 133-34). As with most Old Saxon minor texts, the best edition of *FreckH* appears in Wadstein's anthology.

Chapter 2. Social Roles: *ambiht*/*ambaht* and *gædeling*/*gaduling*

2.1 *ambiht* and *ambaht*

Each SR lexeme clarifies the development of Anglo-Saxon and Continental Saxon identity in the centuries following conversion. The semantic histories of Old English *ambiht* and Old Saxon *ambaht* illustrate the evolution of sociopolitical "service."

2.1.1 Current Definitions

The definitions for *ambiht* in the *DOE* and *BT* belong to one of two categories: "agentive" functions, which describe how one performs in particular roles, and "abstract" functions, which describe the roles themselves. The common "agentive" meanings are "servant," "attendant," and "officer," while the "abstract" meanings are "office," "ministry," and "service"; both categories coexist throughout the period (*DOE*; *BT* 36). The *DOE* also supplies the meaning "disciple" for gospels produced in the north, but this sense is a product of the late date and subject matter of the Northumbrian and Mercian glosses, rather than their geographical provenance.

The definitions for Old Saxon *ambaht* can likewise be categorized as either "agentive" or "abstract." Tiefenbach and Köbler give the agentive meanings, under the variant *ambahtio*, as "officer," "steward," and "servant," and the abstract meanings, under *ambaht*, as "office," "service," and "manorial charge" (Tiefenbach 8; Köbler 29). None of these definitions by themselves, however, fully encapsulates the semantic nuances of each lexeme.

2.1.2 Word Studies

Arthur Szogs's 1931 *Die Ausdrücke für 'Arbeit' und 'Beruf' im Altenglischen* remains the only complete word study of Old English *ambiht*. The Old Saxon cognate *ambaht* awaits detailed exploration. Szogs' study serves as a foundation for both the Old English word and its Old Saxon relative, since both lexemes reveal similar semantic developments and appear with similar frequency in

their respective corpora. Alongside the root lexeme, Szogs lists eight Old English *Zusammensetzungen*

(compound words) with *ambiht* as an element; of these compounds, *ambihtmann* is by far the most

common, and will be an important element of this analysis (Szogs 72).

2.1.3 Etymology

As Szogs notes, both the Old English and Old Saxon lexemes derive from Gaulish **ambactos*

(servant), which was loaned into Latin as *ambactus* (retainer) (Szogs 72-4).[76] While the earliest

Germanic meaning of the word appears closer in meaning to the Latin loan than its Gaulish antecedent,

the Germanic lexeme must descend from the Celtic, as Gaulish medial **-c-* has become *-h-* in all

attested Germanic occurrences of the word, in accordance with Grimm's Law (Campbell 163-64). A

loan from Latin *ambactus* would have yielded Proto-Germanic **ambactaz* rather than **ambahtaz*, since

contact between the Roman and Germanic peoples postdates the active period of the First Germanic

Sound Shift (Campbell, *Historical* 49). The semantic evolution, then, of the Germanic lexeme remains

distinct from the development of its Latin cousin, though both eventually express similar referents. As

this chapter's semantic timeline demonstrates, reflexes of the original agent noun developed a more

complex range of semantic possibilities in Old English and Old Saxon.

Gerhard Köbler and Orel reconstruct, respectively, the strong masculine *-a* stem Proto-

Germanic nouns, **andbahtaz* and **andbaxtaz*, both presumably based on Gothic *andbahts* (Wulfila's

Gothic Bible, ca. 350 CE), while Kroonen reconstructs a weak *-an* stem masculine root, **ambahta-*

(Köbler 29-30; Orel 18; Kroonen 24). Though Gothic's antiquity supports Köbler and Orel's strong *-a*

stem over Kroonen's weak *-an* stem, Orel's suggestion that the initial component was **anð-* rather than

*am- is not supported by its Gaulish antecedent nor its later Germanic reflexes, which all begin with

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76 The other commonly cited example of a Celtic > Proto-Germanic loan that predates Grimm's Law is **rik-* (cf. OE *rice*
    and Go *reiks* ["kingdom"]) from **rig-*. See Roger Lass' *A Historical Linguistic Companion* (180) for a detailed
    explanation of the vowel changes that determine this to be a Celtic loan and not a direct descendant from Proto Indo-
    European.

am-; word-initial *and-* is widely considered to be a Gothic innovation (Szogs 74). The Gothic Bible regularly uses *andbahts* for Greek *ὑπηρέτης* (retainer), and less commonly for *διάκονος*, which Wulfila applies to the Christian office of "deacon" and the general sense of "minister." The latter two definitions are less common than *ὑπηρέτης*, which reveals a younger post-Christian layer that preserves echoes of recent pre-Christian meanings. The Gothic Bible, then, generally corroborates the earlier reciprocal and ambivalent maxima, and the later secular/religious polysemy of Old English *ambiht* and Old Saxon *ambaht.*

2.1.4 Frequency in Old English and Old Saxon

Ambiht and its reflexes appear fifty-five times throughout the Old English corpus:

Root lexeme:

26 occurrences

Compounds:

1 *ambihthera*; 1 *ambihthus*; 2 *ambihtmæg*; 15 *ambihtmann*;

2 *ambihtscealc*; 1 *ambihtsecg*; 1 *ambihtsmiþ*; 6 *ambihtþegn*

Total:

55 occurrences in 14 texts

Old Saxon *ambaht* occurs only thirty-four times:

Root lexeme:

20 *ambaht*; 2 *ambahteo*

Compounds:

8 *ambahtmann*; 4 *ambahtskepi*

Total:

34 occurrences in 5 texts

Tiefenbach also includes *ambyhto* and *ambyhtsecg* from *Genesis B*, which this study treats as part of

the Anglo-Saxon corpus (8-9). The root *ambiht* appears frequently in native Old English texts, but *ambyhtsecg* is a hapax legomenon; a parallel compound, *ambihtmann*, however, appears in several Old English texts.

Old English *ambiht* occurs 39% more frequently than *ambaht*, and is nearly tied—twenty-six Old English occurrences to twenty-two Old Saxon ones—when the root lexeme alone is considered. The twenty-six Old English occurrences of *ambiht* and the twenty-two Old Saxon appearances of *ambaht* demonstrate the rareness of the lexeme. Although this study does not consider every occurrence in detail, representative selections of the root and key compounds establish a clear semantic overview.

Old English *ambiht*

2.1.5 Old English Semantic Timeline

I. Early (Seventh and Eighth Centuries)

i. Glosses

Among the earliest sources of *ambiht* are the *Épinal-Erfurt* (*EE*) and *Corpus* (*Cp*) glossaries, which interpret forms of the abstract nouns *collatio* (cooperation, discussion, lit. a coming together) and *ratio(ci)natio* (questioning, reasoning):

EE (187): *collatio*: *ambechtae*[77]

EE (866): *rationato*/*rationato*: *ambect*/*ambaet*

Cp (502): *collatio*: *oembecht*

Cp (1706): *rationatio*: *ambaect*

According to Lindsay, *collatio* comes from Book V.viii.2 of Orosius's *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII* (hereafter *Orosius*), where *conlatio* means "cooperation" or "discussion." The exact section to which *rationatio* belongs remains obscure (Lindsay, *Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt and Leyden* 24, 30). The *DOE*, working from J. D. Pheifer's tentative reconstruction, supplies a passage from *Orosius* VI.i.4 as

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77 Presumably <ch> has the value /x/, as in other Germanic occurrences with <h>.

the most likely source for *rationatio*: "Ubi *ratio(ci)natio* deficit, fides subvenit" ["where *questioning* fails, faith helps"] (Pheifer 117; emphasis mine). Here the *DOE* interprets *ratio(ci)natio* less precisely as "reasoning." Unlike *collatio*, however, nothing in the order of the glosses directly indicates a section of *Orosius* as a source for *ratio(ci)natio*, and Pheifer himself admits this uncertainty.[78] The *DOE* labels both early meanings "anomalous," thereby rendering them tangential to the overall semantic history of the lexeme. These senses are better described as "archaic," since the earliest instances of *ambiht* in the glosses all interpret a form of *ratio(ci)natio* or *collatio.*

Lindsay, Pheifer, and Szogs agree that the source of *ratio(ci)natio* remains problematic (Lindsay, *Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt and Leyden* 30; Pheifer 117,148; Szogs 71-3), because *ratio(ci)natio* specifically describes not just "reasoning" but "reasoning through questioning" (Kraus 126). Because this precise definition more fully agrees with the reciprocal sense of the other archaic lemma, *collatio*, I prefer "questioning" over "reasoning" for this particular lemma. Whether one interprets *ratio(ci)natio* as "reasoning" or "questioning," the abstract-noun *ambiht* and its various forms in *EE* and *Cp* remain equally distinct from later expressions of Christian piety, since faith (*fides*) in *Orosius* VI.i.4 is something that fills or aids (*subvenit*) the space left in the absence (*deficit*) of *ambiht*, not a component of *ambiht* itself. This secular meaning differs from the religious features in late occurrences of the lexeme and, therefore, makes the archaic glosses relevant to the assessment of Christianity's role as an agent of semantic change.

ii. *Laws of Æthelberht*

The *Laws of Æthelberht* feature a single hapax legomenon, which represents the earliest Old English example of *ambiht*:

(13): *ambihtsmiþ*: "court-smith," by extension, "skilled retainer"

According to the *Laws*, *ambihtsmiþ* relates to the other hapax, *laadrincmann* (ambihtsmiþ oþþe

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78 Pheifer prefaces guesswork reconstructions with "?," including *ratio(ci)natio* (117).

laadrincmannan), which describes a "messenger." The parallel between retainership and information distribution reappears in *Beowulf* and *Guthlac B.*

iii. *Beowulf*

Beowulf provides three instances of *ambiht*, all of which are agent nouns, and one of which is a compound:

(287): *ombeht*: "retainer," "officer"

(336): *ombiht*: "retainer," "officer"

(673): *ombihtþegne*: "servant," "attendant"

The dialogue at *Beowulf* line 336 correlates *ambiht* with the role of "messenger": "ic eom Hroðgares / ar ond ombiht" ["I am Hrothgar's / messenger and retainer"] (335-36). This semantic complement recalls the relationship between *laadrincmann* (messenger) and *ambihtsmiþ* (court-smith) in *Æbt* and suggests that the agentive sense of *ambiht* in the early period could refer to information handling in addition to its sociopolitical and military connotations. The compound, *ombihtþegn*, however, is closer in evaluative meaning to "servant" or "attendant" (Klaeber 383).

iv. *Genesis A*

The poetic *Genesis A* features two examples of *ambiht*, both of which are agent nouns and one of which is a compound:

(1870): *ambihtscealcum*: "servants," "attendants"

(2880): *ombihtum*: "retainers," "officers"

As in *Beowulf*, the root lexeme in *Genesis A* denotes a reciprocal and martial relationship—the *ombihtas* are *rincas* (warriors) of high social standing—while the compound, *ombihtscealcum*, describes a more passive master/servant dynamic: "Abead þa þeodcyning þegnum sinum, / ombihtscealcum..." ["Then the king of the people commanded from his thanes and servants..."] (1869-70). These secular meanings continue in the "late" period, alongside new Christian features.

II. Late (Ninth and Tenth Centuries)

i. Glosses

This period contains the earliest attempts to render the Bible in English. Key "late" glosses of *ambiht* in the *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth* glosses include:

Lind (Matt. P. 8): *obsequium*: *embichta*: "duty," "service to Christ"

Lind (Matt. 20.26): *minister*: *ambehtmonn*:[79] "the officer"

Lind (John 20.25): *discipuli*: *æmbehtmenn*: "disciples"

Lind (John 20.30): *discipulorum*: *ðara ambihta*: "of the disciples"

Lind (John 21.20): *illum discipulum*: *ambeh[t]*:[80] "the disciple"

Lind (John 21.23): *discipulus ille*: *ða ambeht*: "the disciple"

Rush (John 7.46): *ministri*: *þa embihtas*: "the officers"

Here, the new Christian sense "disciple" dominates the lemmata of both the root noun and its compound reflexes. Occasionally *ambiht* retains the earlier sense of "officer," but these glosses largely suggest an ongoing process of Christianization. Related compounds in other religious texts, however, are only incidentally Christian**.**

ii. *Paris Psalter*

The important compound, *ambihtmæg*, appears twice in the metrical portion of the *Paris Psalter*:

(101.12): *ambyhtmæcgas*: "servants"

(143.11): *ombihtmæcg*: "retainer"

Unusually, these two instances of *ambihtmæcg* proffer subtly distinct meanings: one in Psalm 101 (39-

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79 Also see Antonette diPaolo Healey's "Letter *A* in the Dictionary of Old English" for an overview of *ambihtmann'*s many interpretations, including plural *ambihtmen* for Latin *femina,* which means "female domestic servant," and thus provides an explicit instance of *men/mann* being used to describe women (75-76).

80 Skeat spuriously supplies *ambeh[tmon]* here for ms. *ambeh*, when <t> alone repairs the grammatical sense of the word.

40) appears in variation with *scealcas* and means "servant," and one in Psalm 143 agrees more with the early period sense of the root noun, now coloured by unilateral service to God rather than reciprocal exchange.

iii. *Christ I*

Christ I provides one instance of *ambiht*:

(370): *onbehtum*: "servants"

The relevant example appears in the plea, "Ara nu *onbehtum* ond usse yrmþa geþenc" ["have now mercy to *servants* and think upon our misery"] (370; emphasis mine). Here, the root lexeme itself lacks the reciprocal sense of retainership and cooperation found in the previous period but does not show the religious features of *discipulus* in contemporary biblical glosses. *Christ I*'s *onbehtum* is, therefore, closer in meaning to the early instances of compounds like *ambihtscealc* and *ambihtþegn*.

iv. *Genesis B*

Genesis B,[81] on the other hand, includes a Christian example of *ambiht*, as well as a single compound:

(518): *ambyhto*: "service to God"

(582): *ambihtsecg*: "servant"

Unlike *Christ I*, *Genesis B* uses *ambyhto* as an abstract noun to describe God's instructions to Adam and Eve, while *ambihtsecg*, like most Old English *ambiht* compounds, means "servant."

v. *Guthlac B*

Guthlac B offers three instances of the compound noun, *ambihtþegn*:

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81 While *Genesis B* is translated from the Old Saxon *Vatican Genesis*, the semantic characteristics of *ambyhto* must broadly agree with other Old English examples, since elsewhere the Anglo-Saxon translator consistently alters words and concepts that were difficult to understand. Doane, for example, suggests that the translator of *Genesis B* was "anxious to make the new [Old English] version conform to a more familiar metrical scheme... and style," exchanging expected cognates for different words that more precisely conform to native semantic nuances (e.g., OS *sconiust* [cf. OE *scynost*; "beautiful"] > OE *betst* ["best"]) (*Saxon Genesis* 56-58).

(1000): *ombehtþegn*: "servant," "attendant"

(1146): *onbihtþegn*: "servant," "attendant"

(1199): *ombehtþegne*: "servant," "attendant"

Like *Beowulf*, *Guthlac B*'s *ombehtþegn* denotes a master/servant dynamic. Catherine Clarke agrees that "hierarchy is very clear" in the passage at line 1000, with Beccel assuming the role of "servant" or "attendant" and Guthlac assuming the role of *lareow* (Clarke 33). This hegemonic relationship returns at 1199-2000, where Beccel remains *ombehtþegne* and Guthlac becomes *frean* (lord). Moreover, like the *ambihtsmiþ* in *Æbt* and the *ombiht* in *Beowulf*, Beccel is both an *onbihtþegn* and a "messenger" or *ar* (*Beowulf* 335; *Æbt* 13; *Guthlac B* 1000).

vi. *Andreas*

Andreas features a single example of the compound *ambihtþegn*, which recalls its semantic range in *Beowulf* and *Guthlac B*:

(1534): *ombehtþegnas*: "servants," "attendants," "cup-bearers"

Here, *ombehtþegnas* unambiguously means "servants," with the added nuance of *byrlas* (cup-bearers) (1533-34). These meanings are unsurprising, since—as illustrated by other contemporary occurrences—late compounds formed from *ambiht* + "man" or "warrior" regularly preserve the early sense of "servant."

III. Very Late (Eleventh Century)

i. Glosses

The following eleventh-century glosses are chronologically problematic because they appear to interpret lemmata of a much earlier period:

Cleopatra I (1193): *collationes*: *ymbeahtas*

Cleopatra III (498): *collationes*: *ymbeahtas*

> *Priscian and Donatus* (53.22): *ex conlatione*: o[b] *ymbeactę*[82]

While the youngest examples of *ambiht* in the *Priscian and Donatus* and *Cleopatra A. iii* glosses interpret forms of *conlationes* and *conlatione* analogous to the lexeme's earliest occurrences in *Cp* and *EE*, these glosses likely descend from much earlier material, as evidenced by the presence of initial *ymb-* for *emb-* (Szogs 71-74).[83] An early source for the *Priscian and Donatus* gloss's exemplar is also suggested by its retention of voiced terminal /β/ in *ob* from Proto-Germanic **aba* (Kroonen 1), an archaic feature found only in texts of the seventh and eighth centuries. Pheifer, for example, notes that *EE* alone "preserve[s] the distinction between Prim. OE. *f* and *ƀ*" (Pheifer lxxxix-xci), whereas the eleventh-century date of *Cleopatra* anticipates the equally-late form, *of*. The eleventh-century glosses of *ambiht* for *collatione*, then, belong linguistically to the seventh or eighth century.

ii. *De Consuetudine Monachorum*

The only "very late" example of *ambiht* that can be confidently assigned to the eleventh century appears in Ælfric Bata's interlinear translation of *De consuetudine monachorum*:

> (1087): *ambihthus*: *officina*: "workshop," "spiritual office"

In Ælfric's translation, the unique compound *ambihthus* interprets *officina*: a spiritually appropriate office or workshop "swa se halga regul byt" ["as the holy rule demands"], and, by extension, "a place of worship" (Logeman 441, 449). Like many of the "late" examples, Ælfric uses *ambiht* here in a religious context, which illustrates ongoing Christianization through to the end of the period.

2.1.6 Old English Conclusions

I. General Trends

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82 Amended from *olymbeactę* (Napier 218; *BT*, suppl. 752).

83 The late Old English analogy with *ymb* (with) + *eahtian* (esteem) features a change from initial <e-> to <y-> (e.g. *embecht* > *ymbecht*), as both vowels are articulated near-front and front respectively and easily confused over time (cf. the later unrounding of Old English /y/, /y:/, written as <y>, to /i/, /i:/ in Mercian and Northumbrian, and /e/, /e:/ in Kentish).

Overall, the sample data suggests that root *ambiht* moved from defining, in its earliest texts, a secular, cooperative referent (*collatio*) and the reciprocal expectation of "questioning" or "reasoning" (*rationatio*), to describing a unilateral and religious master/servant relationship (*discipulus*, *minister*, *officina*) in late and very late texts (*EE* 187, 866; *Cp* 502, 1706; *Lind* Matt. 20.26, John 2.25, 20.30, 21,20, 21.23; *Rush* John 7.46). For the seventh- and eighth-century *EE* and *Corpus*, the connotations of "service" are secular, cooperative, and inflected by the act of shared discussion, while for the later *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth* Gospels, "service" and "servant" are religious, unilateral, and determined by Christian obedience.

The agentive forms of *ambiht* in other early texts largely agree with the cooperative meanings in *EE* and *Corpus* and further distinguish between the active root lexeme and its passive compound reflexes. *Beowulf* and *Genesis A*, for example, use *ambihtþegn* and *ambihtscealc* to denote the passive, stratified sense of "servant," while the root noun retains the earlier, more active meanings of "retainer" and "officer" (*Beowulf* 287, 336, 673; *Genesis A* 1870, 2880). At first, the ambivalent and unilateral sense of "servant" is available only to pleonastic[84] or copulative compounds like *ambihtman* and *ambihtmæg*, which consistently express innovate meanings in the early period. The use of *onbehtum* for "servants" in *Christ I* shows that the root lexeme, by the late period, could denote passive meanings earlier reserved for compounds. The only possible exception to this pattern is *ambihtsmiþ* (*Æbt* 13), which approximates the reciprocal sense of "retainer" more closely than other compounds of its period.

Ambiht and its compound reflexes transition through two broad phases of development. First, the root lexeme is reciprocal, cooperative, and secular, while its compounds are unilateral; next, the root lexeme—in some environments—becomes unilateral and also religious, while compounds remain unilateral and acquire Christian features. Between the early and very late periods, the root noun

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84 A compound whose head is a synonym or hyperonym of the non-head. See also Thomas Gardner who argues that "tautological compounds were responsible for the development of the intensifying formations" in Old English (112). See also the conclusions for *ambiht* in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

gravitates towards more positive, religious, and unilateral maxima, while compound words retain a more stable semantic range because they express unilateral meanings at an earlier date. The semantic development of *ambiht* can be summarized as follows:

Stage I.) "cooperation," "retainer" (reciprocal/ambivalent)

Stage II.) "servant" (non-reciprocal/ambivalent)

Stage III.) "disciple," "servant to Christ" (non-reciprocal/positive)

This summary outlines trends rather than absolutes. Compounds using *ambiht* are already passive and stratified in the early period, and, for the root lexeme, secular minima and maxima coexist with religious minima and maxima throughout the corpus. As Calvin W. Redekop points out, stratified Christian concepts like *discipulus* and *minister* indicate a positive, rather than negative, dimension, simply because a ninth- and tenth-century post-conversion society would have exalted unilateral service to Christ (433-44).[85]

II. Amelioration and Polysemy

The overall semantic range of *ambiht*, then, ameliorates and widens according to the predicted schema. Applying Rastier's model,[86] *ambiht* starts as a low pass of the "ambivalent" dimension in Stage I and transitions into a low pass of the "positive" dimension by Stage 3, where *ambiht* is no longer a general term for cooperative retainership but a favourable signifier of religious service. Early-period glosses never use *ambiht* and its reflexes for terms like *discipulus* and *minister*, but instead prefer forms of *þegen* (cf. *Cp* 77: *adsaeclam*: *þegn*, *minister*). The persistence of secular meanings for *ambiht* alongside new religious ones, however, complicates this otherwise straightforward example of amelioration and Christianization. Susan Fitzmaurice calls this phenomenon "contingent polysemy":

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85 Redekop argues that post-conversion social stratification in the early Middle Ages was a necessary and desirable extension of the hierarchies that define the relationships between God, the Church, and the general populace, yet distinct from the negative, secular concept of domination (433-44). Also see Karl Morrison who describes the related phenomenon of "noble humility" in his book, *Understanding Conversion* (154-84).

86 The modified version of Rastier's "basin" model outlined in the methodology.

the tenuous coexistence of new and old meanings in response to a communicative need created by conflict between cultural and/or political forces (Fitzmaurice 175-76). For *ambiht*, polysemy results from a competition between secular (pre-conversion) and religious (post-conversion) minima, with the latter eventually dominating the former. This pattern reappears in other aspects of the sample data.

Orthographic evidence, for example, corroborates the model of contingent polysemy. Szogs argues that reflexes of *ambiht* beginning with *e-* (e.g. *embichta*, *embihtas* in the Northern glosses) later rounded their initial vowel to <y-> and <œ-> in some environments by analogy with the West Saxon preposition *ymb* (around, with) + *eahtian* (to esteem, to deem worthy),[87] similar to the process by which the Celtic loan, *ambactus*, was assimilated into Gothic as *andbahts* by analogy with Gothic *and-* (through, near) in place of the un-Germanic prefix, *am-* (Szogs 74).[88] This analogy is unsurprising, as *ambiht* generally signifies unilateral service and esteem/loyalty in the late period corpus where the folk etymology *ymb* + *eahtian* is most productive. Indeed, the analogy *e-* > *y-* or *æ-* appears only once prior to the tenth century in the *Corpus* glossary as *oembecht*, rendering *collatio* (*Cp* 502; Szogs 74-75). This development, however, is inconsistent with other representations of *ambiht* during the seventh and eighth centuries, even in *Corpus* itself, which also uses *ambaect* with initial *a-* to interpret *rationatio* (1706). Initial <oe-> in *Corpus* is best explained as a scribal error for earlier <a->, rather than a grapheme for /œ/, since half-uncial <a> is easily confused with <oe> and <oc> in insular hands of the seventh and eighth centuries.[89]

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87 These changes are only demonstrably orthographic, though the roughly phonetic nature of written Old English also suggests a shift in pronunciation (Pheifer lvii-lviii). The environmental patterns underlying these changes in pronunciation, if any, remain unclear.

88 Szogs states that "Beide Wortformen... seien wahrscheinlich eine Umdeutung von embeht unter Anlehnung and die Präposition ws. ymb und das verb eahtian änlich wie got. *andbahts* < *ambactus*" (74).

89 See, for example, Griggs and Sweet on the paleographic characteristics of *Epinal* in their facsimile edition (xii), where the potential confusion between half-uncial <a>, <oc>, and <oe> is apparent at a glance. In *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts*, Michelle P. Brown calls this form the "'oc' a," and notes that its peculiar shape in majuscule Insular display script emerges from the earlier development of half-uncial (48-9). Pheiffer, in his edition of *Épinal-Erfurt*, agrees that the confusion of "horned" majuscule <a> could have produced the anomalous forms <cc> and <oc> in *Erfurt*

III. Messenger and Disciple

As noted earlier, *ambiht* corresponds to forms of *laadrincman* and *ar* (messenger) throughout the early and late periods (*Æbt* 13; *Beowulf* 336; *Guthlac B* 1000).[90] The preponderance of *discipulus* for *ambiht* in the late period, then, extends naturally from the lexeme's earlier secular minima, as a biblical disciple is a "messenger" who both follows and disseminates the teachings of Christ. Although *ambiht* could only refer to a secular messenger in the early period, by the late period *ambiht* and its compounds could also assume the role of information handling in religious contexts. The *Lindisfarne Gospel g*losses, for example, interpret *discipuli* as *æmbehtmenn* and *discipulus ille* as *ða ambeht*, while *Guthlac B* parallels *onbihtþegn* with secular *ar* during the same period (Lind John 20.25, 21.23). The correlation between *ambiht* and "messenger" is a clear example of contingent polysemy: a pre-Christian social role re-assigned to new Christian concepts, while retaining a similar semantic identity and the potential to remain secular in non-Christian environments to facilitate communication in both domains.

IV. Role of Christianity and Historical Context

Contemporary historical and literary evidence helps situate *ambiht'*s semantic developments in their relative sociopolitical environments. Augustine, for example, establishes God as the only universal authority and autocracy as the preferred method of political organization in *De ciuitate dei*: "Deus igitur ille felicitatis auctor et dator, quia solus est uerus Deus, ipse dat regna terrena et bonis et malis" ["God, therefore, is the author and giver of happiness, because he alone is the true God; he himself gives earthly kingdoms to both the good and the bad"] (IV.33.7).[91] In the eighth century, Bede

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(xxvi).

90 This relationship is retained somewhat in Modern English through the French loans *ambassador* and *embassy*, both from the same Proto-Germanic root as *ambiht* via Frankish (Skeat, *Concise* 10).

91 See also Paul Weithman, who demonstrates that Augustine's ideal government, though hegemonic, ultimately "exists to provide" (237).

echoes Augustine's sentiments on the importance of unilateral obedience by describing Edwin's conversion: "si deinceps uoluntati [Dei]... obsecundare uolueris, etiam a perpetuis malorum tormentis te liberans, aeterni secum regni in caelis faciet esse participem" ["If, from now on, you eagerly seek to obey God's will, he will not only liberate you from the torments of the evil ones, but will make you a participant in the eternal Kingdom of Heaven with him"] (Bede II.12). Here, Bede privileges hierarchy by espousing its soteriological benefits. As N. J. Higham notes, the *Historia ecclesiastica* is often historically dubious (Higham 8).[92] Nevertheless, Bede illustrates the Christianized ideal of kingship as viewed by a contemporary: unilateral, universal, and pious. This ideal would not appear in the vernacular until after the naturalization of unilateral hierarchy later in the Anglo-Saxon period. Therefore, the writings of Bede and Augustine anticipate later developments.

In the very late period, Wulfstan, in the vernacular, describes the role of a good king: "Cristenum cyninge gebyreð on cristenre þeode [ðæt] he sy eal swa hit riht is, folces frofer, and rihtwis hyrde ofer cristene heorde" ["It is necessary for a Christian King in a Christian nation that he will be— as it is entirely proper—a comfort to the people and a righteous shepherd over the Christian herds"] (Thorpe 304). The shift to unilateral sacral kingship, illustrated by Wulfstan through the biblical parallel of "king" and "shepherd," mirrors the semantic range of the late and very late corpora, where the root lexeme has lost its older reciprocal meanings and gained a variety of hierarchical Christian sememes in competition with earlier secular referents, such as *onbehtum* (servants) in *Christ I* besides *ambyhto* (service to God) in *Genesis B* (*Christ I* 370; *Genesis B* 518).

In this way, the polysemic range of *ambiht* participates in the gradual "legitimation of... sacral kingship," which signified the post-conversion transition from reciprocal *comitatus* to unilateral autocracy (Russell 209). The role of *comitatus* in the early Anglo-Saxon period remains contentious. In

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92 Higham's comment that our understanding of Anglo-Saxon history "has been shaped primarily by Bede's attempt to write a history of the English church" problematizes Bede's role as an historian (Higham 8-9). Bede's account is not just a history but an *ecclesiastical* history: a reflection of the mostly non-Christian past inflected by the Christian present.

"Tacitus and Ethnographic Preconceptions" (1996) and "Quid Tacitus...?" (2010), M. J. Toswell

provides a strong argument against using comitatus as a "blueprint" for the Anglo-Saxon heroic code.

Likewise, in "Tacitus, *Beowulf*, and the *Comitatus*," Stephen Fanning argues that "the Anglo-Saxon

comitatus, as it has been described by modern scholars, is a fiction, for it is not an accurate depiction of

actual Anglo-Saxon retinues" (Fanning 29). Though gubernatorial systems in Anglo-Saxon England do

not fully agree with those in Tacitus' *Germania*, the relationships between leaders and their followers

during the early period remained largely reciprocal. While Tacitus's exact terminology may be a-

historical, in lieu of a more precise term, I use comitatus throughout this study as a shorthand to

describe pre-autocratic reciprocal exchange in Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon society.[93] The amelioration

and widening of *ambiht*, moreover, agrees with Russell's observation that the fundamental

sociopolitical conversion of early Germanic people was "accomplished through the semantic

transformation of Germanic concepts... and the metaphorical interpretation of those Germanic elements

which were deemed beyond the pale of accommodation" (205-6). *Ambiht*'s extension from "messenger"

to "disciple" and the gradual reevaluation of "service" during the lexeme's semantic development were,

as Russell notes, a way to "bridge the gap" between native sociopolitical knowledges and new

Christian forms of social organization, before colonizing more difficult moral domains, such as the

Christian value of "meekness" beside the more prideful Germanic value of *lof* (glory) (207). Karl

Morrison agrees that when applying Christian values to new social contexts, "readjustments were made

as needed to preserve what were deemed to be essentials" (10). Thus, the gradual re-imagining of

ambiht and "service" would have allowed one aspect of the new faith to be naturalized within the limits

of preexisting sociopolitical machinery. These processes are corroborated by the development of Old

Saxon *ambaht*.

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93 See also William A. Chaney's study, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England* for an in-depth look at the transition
   from pre-Christian communalism to post-conversion autocracy.

Old Saxon *ambaht*

2.1.7 Old Saxon Semantic Timeline

I. Early (Ninth Century)

i. *Heliand*

Unlike the Old English corpus, there are no extant glosses from the earliest period of Old Saxon Christianity. However, *Heliand* alone contains a wide variety of meanings and contexts. Because the *Vatican Genesis* offers no examples of *ambaht* or its reflexes, the "early" sample group focuses only on the most illustrative occurrences of the word in the *Heliand*:

(284): *ambahtskepi*: "(God's) service"

(1118): *ambahtscepi*: "(God's) service"

(1193): *ambahteo*: "retainer"

(2007): *ambahtman*: "servant," "cup-bearer"

(2059): *ambahtman*: "servant," "cup-bearer"

(2699): *ambahtman*: "servant," "messenger"

(3424): *ambahtion*: "retainers"

(4211): *ambahtscepi*: "service"

(4522): *ambahtscepi*: "service"

Strikingly, the agentive forms of *ambahteo* at lines 1193 and 3424 preserve the reciprocal sense of "retainer" as in the early Old English corpus, even though the *Heliand*, a biblical paraphrase, anticipates a more unilateral, Christianized set of meanings.[94] This archaic semantic range suggests that the agent noun's development from "reciprocal" to "unilateral" could occur independently from the

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94 G. Ronald Murphy notes that the *Heliand,* though rooted in Germanic poetic conventions, is a fundamentally Christian product. Murphy further suggests that the Germanic-Christian synthesis of "warrior virtue" with "Christian religion" is the source for "Germanic-Christian knighthood" in the high and late Middle Ages (Murphy, *Heliand* 8).

environment of its source texts. The abstract compound *ambahtscepi*, on the other hand, already exhibits polysemy, since it describes both secular "service" (4211, 4522) beside the newer sense of "service towards God" (284, 1118); the religious example at 1118 also parallels *iungardom* (following). John is later described as an *ambahtman* of God because he "lerde thea liudi langsamne rad" ["taught the people long-lasting advice"], thereby equating "service" with "information distribution," like the Old English relationship between *ambiht* and "messenger" (2699).

As with early instances of Old English *ambiht*, early Old Saxon prefers to render "disciple" with forms of *thegan* rather than *ambaht.* For example, *Heliand* describes Simon Peter in Gethsemane as a "snel swerd-thegan" ["bold sword-disciple"], while Thomas is a "diurlic drohtines thegan" ["precious disciple of the lord"] (4866, 3994). The *Heliand*, moreover, consistently distinguishes between "servant" and "retainer." As G. Ronald Murphy notes, the *Heliand* "uses the image of warrior-companionship for discipleship throughout the poem to explain the role of Peter and the apostles" (Murphy, *Heliand* 8-9). In *Heliand*, Christ is a "ring-giver" in cooperative alliance with his apostles, whereas "servants," represented mostly by compound nouns, passively distribute food and drink to serve their masters. The *ambahtman* at lines 2006-7, for example, is said to "skenkeon mid scalun... skirianne uuin" ["serve clear wine with a drinking bowl"], and the *ambahtman* at 2058-9 is commanded to bring forth all the *uuines* (wine). The *ambahtman*'s partial role as "server of wine" in the *Heliand* parallels the relationship between *ombehtþegnas* and *byrlas* (cup bearers) in the Old English *Andreas* (1534). Conversely, the *ambahteo* at line 1193 refers to Christ's retainer, Matthew, while the *ambahtion* (servants) at 3424 receive reciprocal *meoda* (rewards) for their service.

II. Late (Tenth Century)

i. *Beichtspiegel*

There are no Old Saxon equivalents for *discipuli* and *minister*. The *Beichtspiegel*, however, offers a single example of abstract *ambaht*, which suggests the word's ongoing acquisition of unilateral

Christian features:

(16.13): *ambahtas*: "(God's) commandments"

The full context appears in the following confession: "Ik giuhu nithas... endi tragi godes *ambahtas"* ["I confess my bad deeds... and my unwillingness to follow God's *commandments*"] (emphasis mine). By the tenth century, then, even the root noun *ambaht* could be unilateral and passive. Conversely, the sense of "God's services" in the early period, as represented by the *Heliand*, could only be articulated by the compound *ambahtscepi* and the secular sense of "servant" could only be assumed by the compound *ambahtman*.

ii. *Essen Heberegister*

The majority of later Old Saxon texts are rent-rolls, the earliest of which dates to the end of the tenth century and features one instance of *ambaht*:

(21.10): *ambahto*: "estate management"

This example can be interpreted as "office" or "duty." However, the managerial context of the lexeme here demands the more precise interpretation of "estate management": "ne geldet thero *ambahto* neuuethar" ["neither pay for the *estate management*"] (Gallée 116; emphasis mine).

III. Very Late (Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries)

i. *Freckenhorst Heberegister*

The *Freckenhorst Heberegister* provides, apart from the *Heliand*, the largest source for *ambaht* and its compounds. The entire text contains twenty agentive and abstract occurrences, but only the most salient examples are discussed:

(38.26): *ambahte*: "office," "service of"

(40.29): *ammahte*: "office," "service of"

(41.18, 20, 21, 22, 24): *ambehta*: "office," "service of"

(43.7): *ammahtmanne*: "manager"

(43.10): *ammathman*: "manager"

(43.19, 21, 23): *ammathta*: "office," "service of"

(43.25): *ammathte*: "office," "service of"

Here, all instances of the root lexeme remain abstract, while agentive meanings require the compound, *ambahtman*. Although the root universally exhibits the expected shift from "reciprocal" to "unilateral," the sense of directional "obligation" has been extended from "service" to "office." This meaning was already productive in the late period, as in the *Essen* register's use of *ambaht* for "estate management." The compound *ambahtman* lacks its earlier passivity, instead referring to the active denotation, "manager." The change from the passive "servant" is a logical extension of "servant" in a new context. The business-oriented sememes in the *Freckenhorst Heberegister* emerge naturally from the text's genre and remain consistent with the trends begun in the early and late periods, as well as the trends of Old English *ambiht*, such as the the polysemic extension of "messenger" to "disciple" and the semantic innovation of compound reflexes.

2.1.8 Old Saxon Conclusions

I. General Trends

Like its Old English counterpart, Old Saxon *ambaht* prefers active, reciprocal referents in the early period, but passive, unilateral referents in later periods. Eventually, *ambaht* ameliorates according to contemporary Christian expectations of obedience and hierarchy. The absence of agentive meanings for the root lexeme after the ninth century corroborates the lexeme's development from active to passive maxima, while *ambahtas*' religious features in *Beichtspiegel* suggest a state of contingent polysemy in the late and very late periods (16.13). The macroscopic development of Old Saxon *ambaht*, then, can be summarized as follows:

Stage I.) "retainer" (reciprocal/ambivalent)

Stage II.) "services," "servant" (unilateral/ambivalent)

Stage III.) "commandment," "office," "management/manager" (unilateral/positive)

The narrowing distinction between the root lexeme and its compounds demonstrates *ambaht*'s

transition from "reciprocal" to "unilateral" between Stage I and Stage III, while the loss of agentive

forms during the late period corresponds to the polysemy of secular and Christian minima in the ninth

and tenth centuries.

II. Abstraction and Amelioration

Agentive articulations of the root lexeme cease to be productive in Stages II and III. The

eleventh-century *Freckenhorst Heberegister*, for example, relies on the compound *ammahtmanne* to

denote the agentive sense of "manager," while the tenth-century corpus lacks any agent nouns featuring

ambaht, compound or otherwise (43.7). Although the internal reasons behind this semantic change

cannot be deduced, a sociocultural parallel exists in the distinction between native Old Saxon and

Christian understandings of the supernatural. As Russell notes, Germanic polytheism focused on the

observable world while Christianity focused on the unseen divine (Russell 43); for the Germanic

peoples, *objects* preceded *ideas*. Morrison maintains that Germanic Christianization was "a study in

active and passive relations," because of the new faith's interest in obedience and mystery (xiv).[95] The

relationship between agentive and abstract forms of *ambaht*, then, correlates to the distinction between

measurable and abstract objects in the early Germanic world, and the gradual loss of agentive *ambaht*,

itself, suggests semantic Christianization. Like the post-conversion preferences for spiritual, rather than

physical, worship and unilateral, rather than reciprocal, maxima, *ambaht*'s transition from "agentive" to

"abstract" illustrates the effects of Christianization on a structural level.[96]

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95 Morrison further suggests that "the experience of transformation in Christianity was, in the literal sense, passive or
    passionate" because of the new faith's interest in deference towards the Lord and Christ's *passionem* (suffering) (148).

96 However, as described above, this change occurs on a morphological, rather than semantic, level. See Elizabeth Closs
    Traugott and Richard B. Dasher's *Regularity in Semantic Change* for a discussion of semantic shift's "predictable paths"
    that both parallel and inform other linguistic developments (1-50).

Ambaht's shift from "ambivalent" to "positive," therefore, reflects the changing perspectives on "service" following Christian conversion. In the early period, *ambaht* and its reflexes refer to secular and ambivalent sememes, with the exception of *ambahtscepi* (God's services) in the *Heliand*. In the late period, however, *Beichtspiegel*'s *ambahtas* (commandments) and *Essen Heberegister*'s "estate management" exhibit religious amelioration through their loss of agentive forms and contingent polysemy in the coexistence of their secular and religious sememes. This trend continues in the eleventh-century *Freckenhorst Heberegister* with the positive senses of "manager" and "service." Stage I of *ambaht*, then, reveals a high pass of the ambivalent dimension, while Stage III represents a low pass of the positive dimension. The managerial features in Stage III suggest a different class of minima than those of the religious *Beichtspiegel*, though they implicate the same evaluative connotations.[97]

III. Role of Christianity and Historical Context

Historical and theological sources further contextualize the causes and symptoms of *ambaht*'s journey through its three semantic periods. In the early period, for example, the Frankish theology of Hrabanus Maurus reveals a Christian understanding of "service" that agrees with the later development of *ambaht*:

> Non intelligunt se contra Dominum pugnare qui eius devotionem servitii dicunt pensum esse naturae, cum nulla sit melior maiorque potestas quam servire
>
> [Those who say that one's vow of service is a duty of birth do not understand that they fight against the lord, for no power could be greater than to serve].
>
> (*Liber de oblatione puerorum*, *PL* 107, quoted in Gillis 40-41)

John Vickrey notes that Hrabanus and Hincmar, "magnates of the Carolingian church," embody the theological orthodoxy of ninth-century Saxony (218). By extension, the writings of Hrabanus illustrate

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97 Bloomfield notes that the turnover of semantic categories is a result of gradual "expansion and obsolescence" (431). The degree of obsolescence depends, of course, on the evaluative zone(s) in question, and in the case of secular/religious polysemy, "obsolescence" denotes "ongoing competition between meanings."

the dominant Christian valuation of "service" immediately following the Old Saxon conversion: positive, hierarchical, and pious. The early examples of *ambaht* in the *Heliand*, however, do not yet fully agree with these ideals. Although the compounds *ambahtman* and *ambahtscepi* are unilateral, the root itself remains reciprocal (e.g., 284, 1118, 1193, 2007). These semantic discrepancies are unsurprising, however, in a Christian society only a few decades removed from its polytheistic past.

This philosophy of subordination continues through the late and very late periods. In the eleventh century, Lanfranc offers "service and due obedience" to Pope Gregory VII in an act of hierarchical deference (129). For Lanfranc, the duty of service relates to acquiescence, and acquiescence to piety. As Russell reminds us, the re-organization of sociopolitical thought after conversion would have been gradual and integrative (24, 43, 131). The semantic makeup of *ambaht* eventually converges with the philosophy of service espoused by Hrabanus and Lanfranc in texts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, as the root lexeme *ambaht* continues to migrate toward new unilateral meanings.

2.1.9 Old English and Old Saxon Observations

Old English *ambiht* and Old Saxon *ambaht* share semantic developments with only a few key differences. Religious polysemy manifests earlier for Old Saxon *ambaht* than for Old English *ambiht.* However, the *Heliand*'s early adoption of *ambahtscepi* for "service toward the divine" is anticipated by the epic's subject matter and both late-period corpora otherwise exhibit contingent polysemy at the same relative distance from conversion. Moreover, all additional dimensions of change, including the semantic range of the root noun, are shared by OE and OS, despite centuries of separation, and thereby suggest analogous sociocultural influences. Notably, the transition from "reciprocal" to "hierarchical" appears in both sample groups during the late and very late periods. Moreover, by analogy with this overarching changeover, Old Saxon further realigns its semantic preferences from "agentive" to "abstract." Likewise, Old English compounds of the Late Period remain unilateral and passive (e.g.,

ombehtþegn in *Guthlac B*, 1000), except for *ombihtmæcg* for "retainer" in the *Paris Psalter* (143.11), while the Continental data contains no compounds during the same time-frame.

Semantic affinities notwithstanding, both lexemes diverge in structural development. Old Saxon did not, for example, transform by folk-analogy with *umbi* like Old English with *ymb* because the Old Saxon corpus lacks a variant of *ambaht* with intial *e-* like Old English *embicht* (e.g., *Lind*, Matt. P. 8); therefore, *ambaht* would have been too phonetically distant to facilitate such a change.[98] Even so, the absence of this analogical development had minimal impact, since the Old Saxon lexeme assumed, by the very late period, the same positive and unilateral maxima as its Old English counterpart.

Instances of *ambehta* for "office" in the Old Saxon *Freckenhorst Heberegister* mirror Ælfric's use of *ambihthus* for *officina* in the Old English translation of *De consuetudine monachorum*. Although "office" in *Freckenhorst* is an abstract noun (i.e., "service towards something") and *officina* is agentive (i.e., a physical ecclesiastical "office"), both describe taxonomies of "work" or "responsibility," which are absent in earlier periods (*Freck* 41.18,20,21,22,24; *Monachorum* 1087). Moreover, the extension of "servant" to "manager" (*ammathman*) in *Freckenhorst* and "estate management" (*ambahto*) in *Essen* echo the extension of "servant"/"messenger" to "disciple" in the late OE period (*Freck* 43.7,10; *Essen* 21.10). Although this relationship presents a minor period discrepancy, both corpora advance "official responsibility" as a late-stage component of their respective experiences of amelioration, so in the very late period, OS *ambaht* ameliorates like its OE cognate by privileging the act of service (i.e., both acquire similar maxima), though the Old Saxon word gravitates towards more secular minima (management versus ecclesiastical office). With high probability, then, the semantic timeline of *ambaht*, like its Old English cognate, emerges from the changing expectations of service that

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98 For example, Old English *ymbeaht.* However, a similar Old Saxon shift would entail a change from (*ambaht + umbi > umbacht*), and such a mutation would have been improbable since the Old Saxon vowels are articulated so far apart (the former a central open-vowel and the latter a closed back-vowel). Irmingard Rauch discusses the apparent absence of umlaut in Old Saxon words like *umbi* in *The Old Saxon Language* and "Heliand i-Umlaut Evidence for the Original Dialect Position of Old Saxon."

accompanied the sociopolitical normalization of Christian thought.

2.2   *gædeling* **and** *gaduling*

Like *ambiht* and *ambaht*, Old English *gædeling* and Old Saxon *gaduling* illustrate the development of interpersonal relationships during Christianization. In particular, this word pair complements *ambiht*/*ambaht* by exploring the relationship between "service" and "family."

2.2.1 Current Definitions

The *DOE* and *BT* define Old English *gædeling* as "kinsman," "relative," and "companion" (*DOE*; *BT* 356). These definitions, however, do not account for the lexeme's more precise consanguineous meanings in the early period.

Tiefenbach and Köbler similarly define Old Saxon *gaduling* as *Verwandter* and *Landsmann* (relative, fellow countryman), though Tiefenbach's entry further specifies "(close) relative" (Tiefenbach 114; Köbler 363). The latter of these definitions, "fellow countryman," agrees semantically with the *BT* and *DOE* entries for "kinsman" and "companion." Unlike *ambiht/ambaht*, both *gædeling* and *gaduling* appear only as agent nouns.

2.2.2 Word Studies

The most thorough study of Old English *gædeling* is Leonard Neidorf's 2016 paper, "The Pejoration of Gædeling: From Old Germanic Consanguinity to Middle English Vulgarity," which traces the lexeme's semantic history through the Anglo-Saxon period and into the High and Late Middle Ages, where it assumes a variety of negative meanings. As with *ambaht*, however, no stand-alone study of Old Saxon *gaduling* currently exists. Although the Middle English sections of Neidorf's analysis rest outside the chronological limits of the present study, the Old English, Old Saxon, and Proto-Germanic portions help illuminate contentious elements of the word's early medieval development. Importantly, Neidorf observes that similar lexemes like *mæg*, *gesibb*, *gefera*, and *gesið*, which occur hundreds of

times throughout the Old English corpus, all mean "kinsman," and would thus obviate the need for a term as rare as *gædeling* to articulate the same minima, unless the word possessed unique semantic characteristics (441). This observation shows that *gædeling*'s original semantic range must have been more nuanced than subsequent occurrences imply. Despite its insights, however, Neidorf's overall semantic argument—that the pejoration of *gædeling* began in the Anglo-Saxon period—does not agree with the available Old and Middle English evidence.

2.2.3 Etymology

Old English *gædeling* and Old Saxon *gaduling* descend from the same root as Old English *(ge)gada* (companion, associate) and its ablaut variant, *gæd* (a union, a joining together) (*DOE*).[99] Kroonen further suggests a relationship to Proto-Germanic **gadojan* (to fit together) via the adjectival derivation, **gada* > Old English *(ge)gada*, and *gæd* (162-63). Kroonen's etymology for *gædeling* agrees with its two lemmata in *Corpus*, *patruelis* (cousin) and *fratuelis* (nephew), as well as the early meanings of *ambiht* (cf. *collatio*, "a coming together," "cooperation") in *Corpus* and *EE*, and the reciprocal socio-political climate of seventh- and eighth-century England (*Cp* 6.318, 14.104). Vladimir Orel reconstructs the Proto-Germanic root as **ʒaðilingaz* with the meaning "cousin" (Orel 121). Wulfila's Gothic Bible offers the cognate term, *gadiliggs*, as a translation for Greek ἀνεψιὸς (cousin, sister-son), which corroborates Orel's reconstruction (Streitberg 41).

2.2.4 Frequency in Old English and Old Saxon

Old English *gædeling* appears only five times throughout the Anglo-Saxon corpus:

Root lexeme:

    5 occurrences

Total:

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99 Despite their orthographic similarities, neither *(ge)gada* nor *gæd* are related to Old English *gad* (lack), which descends instead from Proto-Germanic **gaidwa*, cf. Gothic *gaidw* and old Saxon *ged*, *gedia* (all with the same sense as the Old English) (Kroonen 163; Tiefenbach 119; Holthausen 25).

5 occurrences

Old Saxon *gaduling* occurs more often that its Old English cognate, despite appearing only in the *Heliand*; *gaduling* also appears once as a compound word—the only such compound in any Germanic language:

Root lexeme:

7 occurrences

Compounds:

1 *gadulingmag*

Total:

8 occurrences

Both *gædeling* and *gaduling* remain exceptionally rare. Notably, the Old Saxon word appears more often than its Old English cousin, though this frequency likely results from the *Heliand*'s early date. Because of the word's scarcity, the following analyses examines all occurrences of *gædeling* and *gaduling*.

Old English *gædeling*

2.2.5 Old English Semantic Timeline

Old English *gædeling* appears only in texts of the "early" and "late" periods, with no examples after the ninth century.

I. Early (Seventh and Eighth Centuries)

i. Glosses

The *Corpus* glosses offer the earliest source for Old English *gædeling*, which occurs twice:

Cp (318): *fratruelis*: *geaduling*

Cp (104): *patruelis*: *geaduling*

Both examples appear only in *Corpus*, and thereby present more difficulties in source-analysis than vernacular glosses with companion lemmata in *Épinal-Erfurt* or *Leyden*. Lindsay gives a putative source for *fratruelis* (nephew) as the *Abstrusa* glossary (Lindsay, *Corpus* 80, 32), which also provides the Latin interpretation, *materterae filius* (son of the mother's sister) (Lindsay, *Corpus* 91). Lindsay likewise proffers *Abstrusa* (138, 13) as the source for *patruelis* (cousin), which the earlier glossary interprets precisely as *filius patrui* (father's son) (92). This reading is corroborated by the alternative *Corpus* gloss for *patruelis*, *faedran sunu* (father's son) (*Cp* 95).

Just as *faedran sunu* glosses *patruelis* alongside *geaduling* in *Corpus*, *suhterga* and *broðorsunu* (brother-son) also interpret *fratruelis* (*Cp* 319, 320). *Corpus*, then, shows that multiple Old English lexemes could render the referents "nephew" and "cousin" at an early date, while *geaduling* itself could broadly correspond to a variety of sememes within the same dimension. Both *suhterga* and *broþorsunu*, however, are apparently later additions, since the *Abstrusa* glossary specifies a female *matertera* (mother's sister) as the nephew's blood relation. Unlike the senses found in subsequent texts, *Corpus* consistently associates consanguineous, rather than sociopolitical, minima with *gædeling*.

ii. *Beowulf*

Beowulf offers two instances of *gædeling*:

(2617): *gædelinges*: "nephew"

(2949): *gædelingum*: "kinsmen"

Although *Corpus* preserves the only certain examples of *gædeling* as "member of the extended family," the first occurrence in *Beowulf* may also be read as "nephew" or "brother-son": "...his *gædelinges* guðgewædu, / fyrdsearo fuslic, — no ymbe ða fæhðe spræc, / þeah ðe he his *broðor bearn* abredwade" ["...his *nephew's* war-garment, eager war-clothing, nor spoke about that feud, though he had slain his *brother's-son*"] (2617-19; emphasis mine). Cyrill Brett first suggested this reading in 1919 based on the lemmata in *Corpus*. Most recently, Leonard Neidorf has proposed that *gædeling* should be interpreted

here as "nephew" based on the adjacent phrase, "broðor bearn" ["brother's son"] (Brett 5; Neidorf 445; *Beowulf* 2617-19). The second instance of *gædeling* in *Beowulf*, however, means "kinsman" rather than "cousin" or "nephew" (2949). While "kinsman" also implies interpersonal closeness, it lacks the consanguinity of earlier meanings. Neidorf proposes that *gædelingum* at line 2949 means "companion" not "kinsman" (450). However, the tribal context of the *fæhðe* (feud) between Swedes and Geats more precisely anticipates "kinship." Neidorf's assertion that Ongenþeow must have assembled a "heterogeneous group" of non-Swedish followers remains conjectural, as does the implicit notion that a "kinsman" could never have applied to a chosen relationship with someone from beyond one's native geographical or sociocultural environment, a problematic assumption that Thomas Charles-Edwards has repudiated (Neidorf 452; Charles-Edwards 171-210).[100] Connor Mcarthy agrees that "the extent of broader kinship links may not have been hard and fast" in Anglo-Saxon England; close family relations were "most important," but "the circle of effective kin" could extend beyond immediate family and even beyond blood ties (127, 136). Given the available evidence, I conclude that *Beowulf* preserves the consanguineous sense found in *Corpus* and the Gothic Bible alongside an early example of the familial sememe that would expand to "companion" in the ninth century.

II. Late (Ninth Century)

i. *Daniel*

The poetic version of *Daniel* contains one example of *gædeling*:

(420): *gædelingum*: "companions," "followers"

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100 In "Anglo-Saxon Kinship Revisited," Charles-Edwards outlines the relationship between kinship, friendship, and social class (171-210). Charles-Edwards notes specifically that baptismal kinship was "one example of a whole class of constructed kinships" based on choice and socialization within a particular kin-group while other examples of "kinship" depend incidentally on blood-ties. He further differentiates between examples of "given friendship," such as "kinship" and "neighbourhood," and examples of "constructed friendship," such as "marriage," "lordship," and "guilds," each of which represents a product of choice (173-74). Russell also notes that the bonds of kinship could be extended to others "through an oath of loyalty" (121).

In response to Nebuchadnezzar's shock at witnessing Annanias, Azarias, and Misael ambulate safely through fire, the non-biblical *cyninges ræswa* (king's counsellor), implores the Babylonian leader to "ongyt georne hwa þa gyfe sealde / gingum *gædelingum*" ["understand eagerly who has given grace to the young *companions*"] (419-20; emphasis mine). Modern scholars often render "gingum gædelingum" as "young men" or "youth,"[101] but this reading erroneously attributes a sense of "age" to the lexeme. In his edition of the poem, Daniel Anlezark translates *gædelingum* as "companions," and Neidorf agrees that "a new sense for the word has plainly developed [in *Daniel*]... *gædeling* must mean 'companion'" (Anlezark 275-77; Neidorf 450). The sociopolitical sense of "companion" is preferable, moreover, because the *cyninges ræswa* implies an elective relationship between the youths without the de facto familiarity anticipated by "kinsman" or "blood relation."

2.2.6 Old English Conclusions

I. General Trends

The earliest attestations of Old English *gædeling* and its reflexes refer to members of the extended family, such as "cousin" or "nephew," while later occurrences mean "kinsman" and then "companion" in the ninth century, before disappearing from the Old English record. The most archaic consanguineous lemmata, *fratruelis* and *patruelis*, agree with the semantic range of *gadiliggs* (ἀνεψιὸς; "cousin," "sister-son") in the Gothic Bible, while the sociopolitical sememe, "companion," in *Daniel* (420), evolves from the general familial referent "kinsman," which first appears as *gædelingum* in *Beowulf* (2949). The semantic range of *gædeling*, then, moves through three stages:

Stage I.) "extended family member" (consanguineous/ambivalent)

Stage II.) "kinsman" (familial/positive)

Stage III.) "companion" (sociopolitical/ambivalent)

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101 See, for example, R. T. Farrell who translates *gædeling*, *cniht*, and *hyse* as variations of "youth" in his edition of *Daniel and Azarias* (114).

The "consanguineous" and "familial" dimensions of Stage I and Stage II differ because the former requires a blood relation, while the latter allows for choice in addition to interpersonal familiarity. The meaning "kinsman," therefore, develops logically into "companion" by further abstracting the sense of "relationship" from its consanguineous and familial origins.

II. Amelioration and Widening

Although *gædeling* shows amelioration at Stage II with *gædelingum* (kinsman) in *Beowulf* (2949), the lexeme ultimately trends toward ambivalent widening. Indeed, even *gædeling*'s most pejorative referents remain ambivalent: consanguineous *gædelinges* (nephew) in Stage I and sociopolitical *gædelingum* (companions) in Stage III (*Daniel* 420). Thus, *gædeling* begins in Stage I as a high pass of the ambivalent dimension before transitioning to a high pass of the positive dimension during Stage II, and finally to a deep pass of the ambivalent class in Stage III. "Consanguineous" senses belong to the ambivalent class because a "cousin" or "nephew," is not necessarily desirable, as a blood relative cannot be chosen. Conversely, "familial" senses like "kinsman" belong to the positive dimension because they remain potentially elective, despite their interpersonal nature.[102] Conversely, the ambivalent *gingum gædelingum* (young companions) in *Daniel* signify a more distant social relationship without positive *a priori* value judgement (420). Neidorf's contention that *gædeling*'s semantic variety adumbrates pejoration as early as the eighth or ninth century neglects the possibility of ambivalent widening as a precursor to the term's later "vulgarity" and misreads the semantic range of its Middle English reflexes (445-48). *Gædeling*, in fact, means "companion" until the fourteenth century, six-hundred years later than Neidorf's proposed date.[103] Clearly, the pejoration of *gædeling*

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102 According to the *DOE*, the root *cynn* (kin) could refer generally to "people," "a nation," or "a social rank," as in the compound *cynedom* (kingdom), which is defined not by blood but by sociopolitical affiliation (*DOE*). This way, "kinsman" could represent a socially adopted relationship—as per Charles-Edwards' model—rather than a genetically determined one. See also Nicholas Brooks who discusses the heterogeneity of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and the often-elective nature of kinship (26-28, 162).

103 According to the *Middle English Dictionary*, the primary meaning of ME *gadeling* is "a companion in arms; man,

began not in the Anglo-Saxon period but in the High Middle Ages.

III. Role of Christianity and Historical Context

In Book VIII of *De ciuitate dei*, Augustine outlines a hierarchical "diuina auctoritas ueritasque" ["divine authority and truth"], through which "facta sunt omnia" ["everything is made"]: wisdom, reason, and social organization (VIII.i).[104] In his *Historia ecclesiastica*, Bede similarly extols the "regni temporalis auctoritate" ["authority of a temporal king"] and refers to the Germanic inhabitants of Britain not by their tribal endonyms, but as a centralized *Gentes Anglorum* (IV.xiv). By the eighth century, Bede had assimilated Augustine's "divine authority" into a terrestrial power-structure based on shared Christian faith rather than consanguinity or tribal kinship. H. E. Walker argues that kinship designations in early medieval England were "necessarily weaker [in Britain] than on the continent" because the Anglo-Saxons were more chronologically removed from the European homeland where such designations originated (175). The centralization of Christian authority in the eighth century would have accelerated the development of *gædeling* from tribal consanguinity to hierarchical companionship. *Beowulf*, especially, illustrates the transitional polysemy of *gædeling* in Stage II, where the root-lexeme could mean both "extended relative" and "kinsman" (*Beowulf* 2614, 2949). Russell notes that the collective security of Germanic consanguinity and elective kinship differed significantly from the individualism of Christian salvation (121), and, as a by-product of the aforementioned centralization of power, reciprocal group affiliations gave way to unilateral individualism, which in turn affected expressions of kinship and family. Thus, *gædeling* no longer needed to describe general

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fellow." Examples of this sense include: "Alle þa gadelinges alse heo weoren sunen kinges" ["all the companions as though they were the sons of kings"] (*Layamon's Brut* 12335; ca. 1200 CE); "So is mani *gadelig* godelike on horse" ["so is many a *companion* good on horseback"] (*Proverbs of Alfred* 341; emphasis mine); and "stalworþe gadelynges" ["loyal companions"] (*King Alexander* 1192; ca. 1300 CE). The pejorative sense of "rascal" or "scoundrel" does not appear until *Havelok the Dane* (ca. 1300 CE) (*Havelok* 1121) (*MED*).

104 See Jason David BeDuhn's *Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma, Volume 1* for a comprehensive discussion of Augustine's views on hierarchical authority, shared belief, and the centralization of divine power (esp. 26-30).

consanguineous meanings, because the collective referent "extended family" had been superseded by multiple sememes for individual consanguineous relationships, such as "nephew" (*nefa*) and "cousin" (*geswigra*) (*BT* 422, 713). In response, *gædeling* gravitated towards the more socially valuable concepts of "follower" or "companion," eventually losing to more common lexemes like *gefera* (c. 450 occ.) and *gesið* (c. 150 occ.), which already belonged to semantic field of "companion" (*DOE*; *BT* 442, 378).

Old Saxon *gaduling*

2.2.7 Old Saxon Semantic Timeline

I. Early (Ninth Century)

i. *Heliand*

The only Old Saxon source for *gaduling* is the *Heliand*, which includes seven instances of the root lexeme and one compound:

(221): *gaduling*: "kinsman"

(577): *gadulingo*: "kinsmen"

(1266): *gadulingos*: "(extended) family members"

(1450): *gadulingun*: "kinsmen"

(3171): *gadulingos*: "kinsmen"

(5212): *gadoling*: "kinsman"

(5214): *gadulingos*: "kinsmen"

(838): *gadulingmagun*: "blood relatives"

Most occurrences here clearly mean "kinsman" (221, 577, 1450, 3171, 5212, 5214). One example of the root-lexeme, however, implies a familial referent: "Iacob oðran, / *is selbes suuiri*: sie uuaron fon gisustruonion tuuem / ...gode *gadulingos*" ["the other Jacob, *his own cousin*: they were descended from

two sisters... good *family members*"] (1263-66). Frank Siegmund and Giorgio Ausenda admit the difficulty in schematizing Old Saxon kinship terms, and remain unsure whether to categorize varieties of "kinsman" under "social relations," like T. Charles-Edwards, or to assign them closer to "blood relation" (333-34). While "kinsman" certainly connotes greater familiarity than "companion," Germanic kinship was, as Edwards and Nicholas Brooks point out, more a product of socialization and group-acceptance than consanguinity and, thus, distinct from "blood relation." Therefore, *gadulingos* at line 1266, presented in variation with *suuiri* (cousin),[105] precisely means "extended family members" rather than "kinsmen" because it refers precisely to blood relation.

Neidorf proposes that *gadulingmagun* at line 838 should be interpreted literally as the redundant "kinsman-kinsman" (447). However, the word's context in parallel with *aldron* (parents) suggests a precise meaning of "relatives" or "blood relatives" (*Heliand* 839). This reading is supported by Tiefenbach, who translates the compound as *Blutsverwandter* (blood relative), Köbler, who gives *Verwandter* (relative), and the glossary to Behaghel's *Heliand und Genesis*, which also provides *Verwandter* (Tiefenbach 114; Köbler 363; Behaghel 204).

2.2.8 Old Saxon Conclusions

I. General Trends

Since Old Saxon *gaduling* occurs in only one text, the lexeme's change over time remains unknown. Nevertheless, the synchronic data in *Heliand* agrees with the expansion of Old English *gædeling* and shows sufficient variety to propose a tentative semantic timeline:

Stage I.) "extended family member" (consanguineous/ambivalent)

Stage II.) "kinsman" (familial/positive)

Unlike Old English *gaedeling*, Old Saxon *gaduling* never widens into "companion" (Stage III) because

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105 *Gaduling* is not exactly synonymous with *suuiri* (cousin) but belongs to the same semantic field. As with other examples of variation in Germanic verse, *gadulingos*/*suuiri* represents a general relationship of *type*, not a denotative gloss.

it appears only in texts of the early period. Familial "kinsman" accounts for six out of eight examples of *gaduling* in *Heliand*, whereas consanguineous *gadulingos* (extended family) occurs only once (1266). For example, the *gadulingun* at line 1450 are presented in parallel with *magun* (kinsmen), and *gadoling* at 5212 parallels both *giudio liudio* (Jewish people) and *maguuini* (dear kinsman) (577, 1449-50, 5212-13). The consanguineous and familial senses in Old Saxon agree, then, with the polysemy of "kinsman" and "nephew" in *Beowulf*, while *gadulingmagun* illustrates the limitations of pure Stage I meanings in *Heliand* (838).

II. Roots and Compounds

The unique Old Saxon compound *gadulingmagun (*Heliand 838) shows *gaduling*'s compatibility with other lexemes, and how compounds could extend or narrow the root's semantic range. *Gadulingmag* (blood relative) preserves the most archaic Old Saxon referent, since the other consanguineous sense, *gadulingos,* can potentially mean "kinsman" (838, 1266).[106] The combination, then, of *gaduling* (kinsman) with *mag* (kinsman) suggests that the reduplication of Old Saxon identity sememes could alter the depth of their respective maxima. In this case, *gaduling* could only represent a shallow pass of the consanguineous dimension, but *gaduling* together with *mag* as a tautological co-compound could represent a deep pass. Put simply, familial lexemes could be reduplicated to become more of themselves.[107] This phenomenon inversely affects *ambiht* and *ambaht*, which instead use compounds to decrease the depth of the older "reciprocal" dimension. *Gadulingmag*, then, provides an unambiguously consanguineous referent in the latter part of the early period where the root lexeme's newer sense, "kinsman," dominates.

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106 Neidorf, for example, observes that *gadulingos "*can be translated as 'kinsman,' though it appears to possess the more definite meaning 'member of the extended family'" (446). The most precise translation, however, remains "members of the extended family."

107 See, for example, Bernhard Wälchli, who outlines the semantic machinery of redundant or "synonymic" co-compounds in other Indo-European languages (Wälchli 135-85).

III. Role of Christianity and Historical Context

Christianity's role in *gaduling*'s development remains obscure, since *gaduling* appears in only one text. Nevertheless, contemporary perspectives can help clarify the word's semantic range. Hrabanus consistently refers to a Christian *gentes* (people, nation), limited by chosen faith rather than consanguineous tribal affiliation. For example, in *Ep.*18 of his *Epistolae*, Hrabanus describes a collective *ecclesia gentium* that was, as Gerda Heydemann and Walter Pohl note, constructed from "diverse people (*nationes*) and the diversity of virtues" (27). Hrabanus' perspective correlates with the prevalence of elective "kinsman" in Old Saxon and the use of *gadulingmag* for the earlier collective sense of "extended blood relative," which had become less relevant by the earliest Continental literature. Russell notes that early Christianity, with its focus on personal salvation and centralized authority, stimulated a "dissolution of the family unit" as a communal social structure, and placed greater importance on hierarchy and individual relationships united by faith rather than blood (88). The *Heliand*'s semantic snapshot of *gaduling*, therefore, follows the expected trajectory of a collective consanguineous lexeme in the post-conversion period and agrees with the development of its Old English cognate.

2.2.9 Old English and Old Saxon Observations

Reflexes of Germanic **gaðulingaz* occur primarily in Old English and Old Saxon texts of the early period; all examples of Old English *gædeling*, except for one, appear in *Corpus* and *Beowulf*, while only the *Heliand* attests Old Saxon *gaduling*.

Neidorf notes that early examples of Old English *gædeling* and Old Saxon *gaduling* never refer to members of the immediate family, such as parents, children, or siblings (446). The consanguineous distance of Germanic **gaðulingaz* explains, in part, its expansion to "kinsman" and eventually to "companion" or "follower." Neidorf's contention, however, that the Old Saxon word develops

differently because *gaduling* means "countryman" remains unconvincing primarily because "countryman" and "kinsman" are not mutually exclusive referents: a "kinsman" is a type of "countryman," though a "countryman" is not necessarily a type of "kinsman" (448). Neidorf argues that the surrounding words in the passage from *Heliand* line 5211 to 5217—*riki*, *liudi*, *kunni*—prove that *gaduling* here represents "a member of a territorial or ethnic group, not a member of one particular family or kin-group" (Neidorf 447-48). This argument, however, neglects the heterogeneous connotations of "kinsman," which—as noted earlier—could refer to any sufficiently socialized members of a kingdom (*riki*), sociopolitical group (*liudi*), or people (*kunni*); the evaluative distinction between a "territorial or ethnic group" and a "kin group" is a modern one. Two circumstances inform this development: 1.) The Old Saxon corpus is almost entirely composed of early period texts, and 2.) The Continental Saxons remained geographically closer to their tribal heritage.[108] The timeline of *gaduling*, then, correlates exactly with Old English *gædeling* through stages I and II, and implies that the Old Saxon cognate was subject to similar processes of expansion or widening.

2.3 Chapter 2 Final Thoughts

Altogether, the semantic timelines of *ambiht/ambaht* and *gædeling/gaduling* agree with the relative chronology of sociopolitical change following the conversion of England and Saxony, and suggest ongoing Christianization as a critical agent in the semantic development of service and companionship. Structurally, all four groups of sample data suggest a semantic pull-chain, where Christianity first introduced referents, as with *ambiht*/*ambaht*, or reevaluated preexisting sememes, as with *gædeling*/*gaduling*, before vernacular lexemes could move to fill those new or modified categories. These processes agree with Traugott and Dasher's "Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change" (IITSC), which outlines the historically predictable path from pragmatic meanings to new "polysemous," or "coded," meanings in response to both external social pressures and the internal

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108 See Walker, "Bede and the Gewissae" (175-76).

proclivity for lexemes to occupy multiple referents (49-50). Russell likewise argues that post-conversion semantic shift could only be successful if changes in meaning were organic and "slowly became apparent" in everyday use; Russell also suggests that these polysemous mechanisms produced a familiar-yet-transformative Christian *communitas* that gradually replaced native Germanic *comitatus* (81-82, 205). In this model, *gaedeling*/*gaduling* and *ambiht*/*ambaht* adumbrate the stratification of service and interpersonal relationships, as Christianized ideals of unilateral duty, spiritual service, and hierarchical companionship incrementally divided and displaced pre-conversion ethics of reciprocal retainership, material exchange, and tribal consanguinity. The amelioration of *ambiht*, the abstraction of *ambaht*, and the widening of *gædeling*/*gaduling* are not consequences of geographical provenance, then, but the result of their chronological placement relative to Christianization and the reassignment of pre-Christian identity lexemes to fill the semantic gaps created by new post-conversion referents, as older sememes became obsolete or altered. This process reemerges in the other SR lexemes of the sample group.

Chapter 3. Social Roles: *geneat*/*ginot* and *þegn*/*thegan*

3.1 *geneat* and *ginot*

The next two SR lexemes, Old English *geneat* and Old Saxon *ginot*, illustrate the complex relationship between "companionship," "tenancy," and "unity" in insular and continental contexts, and how those sememes relate to a broader sense of "dependency."

3.1.1 Current Definitions

Clark-Hall defines Old English *geneat as* "companion," "follower (esp. in war)," while *BT* supplies a wider ranger of meanings: "dependant," "vassal," and "one who works for a lord" (Clark-Hall 247; *BT* 378, 420). *BT* defines *geneat* as "one who enjoys" and "householder," both of which agree with the sense of "tenancy" found in the earliest English glosses.

Tiefenbach translates Old Saxon *ginot* as "gefährte" (companion) while Holthausen supplies the Modern High German cognate, *Genosse*, which also means "companion" or "partner" (Tiefenbach 294; Holthausen 56). Holthausen notes a number of etymologically related terms: *notil* (Zugtier, beast of burden), *notian* (Sich zugesellen, to associate oneself with), and *niotan* (genießen, to enjoy) (56). Tiefenbach also translates *notil* as *Nutztier* (livestock), and *niotan* as *genießen* (to enjoy, to make use of), but offers no interpretation for *notian* (294). Together, all Old English and Old Saxon reflexes of Proto-Germanic **nautaz* refer to companionship or dependency. These meanings, however, miss the lexeme's full semantic range when compounded with other stems.

3.1.2 Word Studies

Most studies for Old English *geneat* focus on one aspect of the word's semantic history. An early analysis of *geneat* appears in *The Old English Manor: A Study in English Economic History* (Vol. 12, 1892) by Charles McLean Andrews (120-175). Andrews schematizes the components of an Anglo-Saxon manor house and explores the role of the *geneat* as both a lodger and a companion within that

system. Andrews outlines the *geneatriht* (duties of a *geneat*) and its social-semantic relationship to the root lexeme.[109] Carole Hough has more recently included a partial analysis of *geneat* in "The Structure of English Society in the Seventh-Century" in *"An Ald Reht" Essays on Anglo-Saxon Law* (83-86). Unlike Andrews, Hough focuses on the sociopolitical referents, "dependent" and "companion." Hough's word study relies particularly on *geneat*'s role as a "tenant" in early laws.

Frank M. Stenton's 1970 survey, *Anglo-Saxon England*, complicates the sociopolitical function of *geneatas* and argues that the Old English term should be interpreted as a discrete social class rather than an aggregate semantic category (473).[110] Because *geneat* expresses different sememes throughout the Early Middle Ages, this study will explore senses beyond Stenton's legal definition. Other major and minor analyses of *geneat* exist, but these studies mirror the findings of Andrews, Hough, and Stenton.[111]

Apart from the dictionary entries in Köbler and Tiefenbach, no studies of Old Saxon *ginot* currently exist. The absence of dedicated Old Saxon criticism is unsurprising, given the word's exceptional rarity. Nevertheless, both terms descend from the same Proto-Germanic parents, and both occupy similar semantic fields.

3.1.3 Etymology

Along with the senses provided by Tiefenbach and *BT*, Orel suggests the meanings "mate" and "fellow" for his reconstructed Proto-Germanic **nautaz* (282). Kroonen does not reconstruct the root

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109 For more on the sociopolitical role of the Anglo-Saxon manor house, see Rosamond Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*, John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, and Paul Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor* (Faith 56-88; Blair 386-400; Vinogradoff 232-34).

110 See also Eric John, *Reassessing Anglo-Saxon England*, James Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon State*, and *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain* (Eds. William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrrell) for a general overview of social class and person-hood in Anglo-Saxon England.

111 Minor discussions on *geneat* also appear in H. Munro Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, John Hudson, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England Volume II*, and Peter Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (Chadwick 136-39; Hudson 206-7; Blair 263-64).

noun, *-neat*, in his recent Proto-Germanic dictionary, but includes entries for the antecedent verb, **neutan-* (to enjoy, to make use of), and its agricultural derivation, **nauta-* (cattle) (385,89). The exact relationship between the categories of "service" and "cattle" in the *-neat-* group defies analysis, though an early connection clearly exists between both semantic fields, which began to separate during the Proto-Germanic period. The correspondence between "utility" and "cattle" illustrates the word's evaluative connotations of "dependency" and "usefulness," which the earliest Old English examples partially retain. As such, one can reconstruct an earlier Proto-Germanic root, **naut-*, meaning "a useful thing or things," with the added connotation of "dependent."[112] The collective agricultural reflex appears in the Old English and Old Saxon corpora as *neat* and *notil*, respectively, but this chapter focuses on the sociopolitical sense.

3.1.4 Frequency in Old English and Old Saxon

Geneat and its reflexes occur thirty-two times in the Old English corpus:

Root lexeme:

> 19 occurrences

Compounds:

> 1 *geneatscolu*; 6 *heorðgeneat*; 2 *beodgeneat*; 2 *geneatland*

> 1 *geneatman*; 1 *geneatriht*

Total:

> 32 occurrences

Old Saxon *ginot*, on the other hand, occurs only four times, with one recorded example of the

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112 This development agrees with early Germanic's propensity to form singular agent nouns from masculine *-a* or neuter *-an* stems and to build abstract and/or collective nouns using the *-ja* declension and its variants. For example, Gothic *waurd* (word) besides *gawaurdi* (conversations between people) and presumptive East Germanic **airils* (noble or warrior) beside **Airili* (the Heruli tribe, lit. the group of nobles or warriors). Thus, **nautaz* and its descendants could describe an *individual* who is useful, while **nautaN—*or possibly **nautjaN—*could collectively describe *things* that are useful to others (e.g., beasts of burden or cattle).

root noun:

> **Root lexeme:**
>
> > 1 occurrence
>
> **Compounds:**
>
> > 1 *ginozskaf*; 1 *husginot*; 1 *spilginot*
>
> **Total:**
>
> > 4 occurrences

Tiefenbach chooses to include an entry for Old Saxon *ginotas*, reconstructed from Old English *geneatas* in *Genesis B* (Tiefenbach 294). Despite its rarity, the Old Saxon lexeme appears in semantic categories that mirror those of its Old English counterpart. Unlike *gaduling*, Old Saxon *ginot* also appears in different kinds of texts over time.

Old English *geneat*

3.1.5 Old English Semantic Timeline

All sources for *geneat*, apart from the glosses, appear in chronological order. No glosses featuring *geneat* appear in the late period, which begins instead with *Genesis B*.

I. Early (Seventh and Eighth Centuries)

i. Glosses

The *Corpus Glossary* contains one instance of nominative *geneat*:

Cp (244): *inquilini*: *coloni*

Cp (245): *inquilin*[*us*]:[113] *genaeot*

Cp 245 uses *genaeot*[114] to interpret *inquilin*[*us*] ("lodger," "tenant," "dependent").[115] Lindsay suggests a

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113 Ms. *inquilinis.* Lindsay amends the lemma to nominative singular masculine *inquilin*[*us*] in agreement with its Old English interpretation, which is also in the nominative (Lindsay, *Corpus* 96).

114 The phonetic orthography for *genaeot* (/jənæɑt/) is unique to *Cp*; elsewhere the word is spelled *geneat*.

115 In Latin, *inquilinus* can also refer to an inmate or drifter.

composite *Abstrusa* and *Abolita* Gloss as the source for the related nominative plural lemma, *inquilini*, which *Cp* 244 interprets with the Latin synonym, *coloni*, but remains silent about an exact source for *Cp* 245's singular *inquilin*[*us*], glossed by Old English *genaeot*. The Latin interpretation of *coloni* at *Cp* 244 can be read as both "farmer" and "tenant"; these referents are both analogous with the connotations of residency signified by *genaeot* and its legal reflex, *geneatman. Cp* 244, then, suggests a possible solution for the source of *Cp* 245. As Mariken Teeuwen argues, glossaries like *Corpus* were not produced just to instruct, but to generate "new learning based on the ancient building blocks found in the main text" (23). With high probability, an Anglo-Saxon glossator of the eighth century, in an effort to "generate new learning" from the old *Abstrusa* and *Abolita* Gloss, chose to further unpack plural *inquilini*—glossed with *coloni*—by both reconstructing the word's singular form and offering an Old English interpretation. This explanation agrees with early *genaeot* (245), which occupies the same semantic field as *coloni* (244). Andrews notes that *inquilini*, *coloni*, and other lexemes, such as *gebur* and *inbuend*, were used almost interchangeably throughout Old English, though only texts of the early period connect *geneat* to *inquilinus* (150).[116]

ii. *Law of Ine*

The West Saxon *Law of Ine* includes two identical occurrences of the root lexeme:

(19): *geneat*: "villein," "retainer"

(22): *geneat*: "villein," "retainer"

Ine is the first text where *geneat* refers to a specific social class. Stenton notes that the legal *geneat* was a free man who would accomplish work in service to his lord and pay rent in exchange for land.[117] Ine's *geneat* denotes a variety of sociopolitical roles: "landed worker," "servant," "errand-man," and

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116 Accordingly, the eleventh-century *Harley Gloss* (C1564) interprets *colonus* as both *inquilinus* and *inbuend* (lodger) but does not include *geneat.*

117 Stenton describes this work as "not... unbecoming a free man." Stenton's assertion that the *geneat* formed a "peasant aristocracy," while technically correct, is hyperbole (473).

"retainer." The last of these minima anticipates the lexeme's later development to "companion," while the *geneat*'s residential obligations extend logically from *inquilinus* in *Corpus* 245. Andrews observes that the twelfth-century Latin glosses to *Ine* and the *Rectitudines* interpret *geneat* as *villanus* (150). Although PDE "villein" is partly anachronistic, it remains the most suitable term to describe the legal role of *geneat* in the Anglo-Saxon period, since it agrees with the *villanus* used by twelfth-century interpreters and the overall sense of a freeman who works a lord's land.

iii. *Beowulf*

Beowulf, on the other hand, features seven *geneat* compounds and no occurrences of the root lexeme:

(261): *heorðgeneatas*: "hearth-companions"

(343): *beodgeneatas*: "table-companions"

(1580): *heorðgeneatas*: "hearth-companions"

(1713): *beodgeneatas*: "table-companions"

(2180): *heorðgeneatas*: "hearth-companions"

(2418): *heorðgeneatum*: "hearth-companions"

(3179): *heorðgeneatas*: "hearth-companions"

Each compound in *Beowulf* begins with the head-word *heorð* or *beod*, in the format: "location noun" + *geneat.* This reliance on "place" mirrors the earlier meaning, "lodger," and the *geneat*'s later status as a legal landholder. Here, however, "place" establishes a relationship of shared experience. The hearth has long been a symbol of social familiarity,[118] and *beod* denotes a communal table for eating and social interaction (*DOE*). As with *heorð*, the *beod* of *beodgeneatas* connotes greater intimacy than the sociopolitical sense of "lodger" in the glosses or the legal role mentioned in *Ine*. *Beodgeneatas*, for example, appears in variation with *eaxlgesteallan* (right hand man; lit. shoulder-companion), while

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118 As today, *heorð* (hearth) is often used in Old English as a metonym for "home." See *BT* (531, 356) and the online entry in the *DOE* for examples.

heorðgeneatas parallels the collective phrase "Geata leode" ["Geatish people"] (1713-14, 3178-79). By combining socially intimate *loci* like *heorð* and *beod* with the less-intimate *geneat* ("villein" or "lodger"), the compound reflexes in *Beowulf* approach the later root denotation of "companion."

II. Late (Ninth and Tenth Centuries)

i. *Genesis B*

Genesis B provides a single example of the root noun:

(284): *geneatas*: "companions"

During the rebellion in Heaven, Satan describes his army as a group of "strang geneatas þa ne willað [him] æt þam striðe geswican ["strong *companions* who will not betray [him] during this strife"] (284). In the following line, Satan declares those same *geneatas* to be "hæleþas heardmode" ["warriors of sturdy resolve"] (285). Here, *geneatas* must refer to "companions," not to villeins or tenants.

ii. *Laws* of *Eadgar II/IV*

The *Laws of Eadgar* contain two *geneat* compounds, the second of which occurs nowhere else in early Germanic:

(II.1.1): *geneatlande*: "villein-land," "demesne land"

(IV.1.1): *geneatmanna*: "tenants," "lodgers"

The first of these compounds, *geneatlande*, refers to the land worked and rented by a *geneat* in service to his lord and belongs to the same semantic group as the social rank introduced by *Ine*. The example in *Eadgar* IV, however, belongs to a different semantic group: "Gif *geneatmanna* hwilc forgymeleasaþ his hlafordes gafol..." ["If any *tenant* neglect his landlord's payment..."] (Liebermann 206-14; emphasis mine). Because *Eadgar IV* refers to *geneatmanna* only in matters of rent, *geneatmanna* must mean "tenants" or "lodgers." W. G. Runciman agrees that *Eadgar IV* refers to a "persistently defaulting tenant" and not to *geneat* as a precise social class (242). If the law-code were about a "villein," then rent would be ancillary to the *geneat*'s other roles and responsibilities. This compound, then, preserves

the earlier sense of "dependant," which was otherwise unproductive by the ninth century (BT 421).[119]

iii. *Battle of Maldon*

The *Battle of Maldon*, contains one example of the root noun and one compound reflex:

(203): *heorðgeneatas*: "hearth-companions"

(310): *geneat*: "companion"

After Byrhtnoth falls to the Viking *here*,[120] the narrator describes how "ealle gesawon/ heorðgeneatas þæt hyra heorra læg" ["all the hearth-companions saw that their lord lay [dead]"] (203-4). Here, nominative plural *heorðgeneatas* parallels *ealle*. In *Maldon*, a *heorðgeneat* is evaluated not only by loyalty to his lord but also through companionship with his cohort. The poem later describes Byrhtwold as an "eald geneat" ["old companion"] of the *fyrd* (310). As in *Genesis B*, the root lexeme expresses an interpersonal sememe once available only to compounds. As noted earlier, *heorðgeneatas* also appears in *Beowulf* with the same meaning; thus, its occurrence in *Maldon* possibly reflects earlier epic conventions.[121]

III. Very Late (Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries)

i. Glosses

Together, the *Cleopatra A. iii* and *Harley* glosses feature three instances of the root. Each gloss interprets a different Latin lemma:

Cleopatra I (3189): *inquilinis*: *geneat*

Cleopatra I (4735): *parasitis*: *geneatum*

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119 See, for example, the *Battle of Maldon* and *Genesis B*, which deploy *geneat* only with the later sense of "companion" (*Maldon* 309-10; *Genesis B* 284-85).

120 In Viking Age literature, *fyrd* commonly refers to the defending English army while *here* describes the military forces of the Northmen.

121 Thomas Bredehoft records many full-line analogues between *Battle of Maldon* and earlier Old English poetry, especially *Beowulf* (Bredehoft, *Authors*, 137). Others agree that *Maldon* uses archaic elements to evoke the literary past**.** Scott Gwara, for example, argues that the *mises-en-scène* and language of *Maldon* correspond analogically to *Beowulf*'s dragon fight (Gwara 311-50).

> *Harley* (F26): *Fasellus vel geneat*, i. *genus holeris*

As first demonstrated by *ymbeahtas* in *Cleopatra I and III* (Szogs 71-74), the archaic senses in *Cleopatra A. iii* reflect earlier models. While the anomalous *geneat: inquilinis* pair in *Cleopatra I* appears in a manuscript of the eleventh century, it belongs semantically to the eighth. Elsewhere, *Cleopatra I* glosses nominative singular *inquilinus* with *tungebur* (town-dweller) (3470). At 4735, *parasitis* (dependants, lodgers, guests) provides yet another early referent compatible with "tenant."

The meanings in *Cleopatra I* remain clear, despite their complex provenance. *Harley* F26, on the other hand, clearly belongs to the very late period but is nonsensical as a straightforward gloss, as nowhere else does *geneat* refer to nautical terms. *BT* interprets *Harley* F26 as "the boat belonging to a larger vessel," where *geneat* refers not to the boats themselves but to the relationship between the smaller vessel and its parent-ship (378). *BT* broadly defines this sense as "used of a thing which is an adjunct of another." This definition agrees with the evaluative range of the contemporary legal referent, "retainer," and the social referent, "companion," since the smaller boat that relies on the larger ship represents part of a greater whole comprised of both vessels. *Geneat* in *Harley* F26, then, properly means "a thing that is a component of another."

ii. *Lambourn Church Dues*

The *Lambourn Dues* contains a single instance of the root lexeme alongside one compound reflex:

(13a): *geneatlandes*: "villein-lands"

(13b): *geneat*: "villein," "retainer"

The *Lambourn Dues* is the only Old English manorial register to include *geneat*. This register highlights the harvest-time responsibilities of a *geneat*, who serves as both "villein" and "retainer," as in *Ine*. Accordingly, *geneatlandes* refers to the land held by a *geneat*.

iii. *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*

Rectitudines Singularum Personarum (*Rules for Each Person*) contains one example of the root lexeme in the genitive singular and one semantically parallel compound:

(2a): *Geneates riht*: "villein's law"

(2b): *Geneatriht*: "villein-law"

As Stenton notes, the *Rectitudines* offers the most comprehensive description of a *geneat*'s *mistlic* (various) legal obligations and rights (473). Although *geneatriht* is a hapax legomenon, it belongs to the same semantic field as occurrences in the *Lambourn Dues*, *Eadgar II*, and *Ine*.

iv. *William I to Herfast et al.*

The root lexeme appears once in King William I's post-conquest letter to Bishop Herfast:

(5): *geneatas*: "companions," "villeins"

William's letter refers to "companions" or "villeins" as *geneatas*: "swaswa þurbearn & goti of harolde heolden, on eallan landan & mæde & læse & weode & *geneatas* & socumen & ealle þing þe þas togebyriað" [just as Turbartus and Gotinus held it of Harold, with all lands, and meadows, and pastures, and woods, and *villeins*, and socmen, and all things that are thus appropriate"] (5). The absence of specific duties or rights suggests a less precise denotation than the social class found in earlier legal and manorial documents, while the use of *heolden* (held) to govern *geneatas* alongside property like *landan* (lands) and *weode* (woods) connotes ownership and landed servitude (5). The Latin text of the document supplies *rustici* for *geneatas*, which supports a reading of "villeins."

3.1.6 Old English Conclusions

I. General Trends

To summarize, the oldest senses of *geneat* interpret dependent lemmata like *inquilinus* and *parasitis* (tenant, lodger) (*Cp* 245; *Cleopatra I* 4735). Beginning in the same period, the manorial sense found in *Cp* and *Cleopatra I* specializes to the precise social denotation, *geneat* (villein), which

encompasses the responsibilities of a retainer, servant, and landed worker. During the late period, the referent "retainer" generalizes to "companion," which coexists with "villein" throughout the rest of the corpus. Thus, *geneat* occupies two semantic fields during the late and very late periods: "legal" and "social." The legal referents—the social ranks of "villein" or "retainer"—develop from the archaic sense of "lodger," while the social meaning—the more intimate referent, "companion"—emerges from a villein's loyalty and interpersonal relationship to his lord.

Since the social category extends from the legal, both semantic groups can be placed on a linear timeline:

Stage I.) "lodger," "tenant" (social / ambivalent)

Stage II.) "villein," "retainer" (legal / positive)

Stage III.) "companion" (social / positive)

The root lexeme assumes Stage II and Stage III minima by the eighth century. Despite this early shift, both polysemes remain through the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. Stage II meanings, however, dominate the late and very late periods, because *geneat* primarily occurs in legal literature in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The loss of "lodger" as a stand-alone sememe is corroborated by the eleventh-century *Harley Gloss*, which interprets the earlier lemmata *inquilinus* and *colonus* with Old English *inbuend*, as the root could no longer clearly articulate Stage I features (C1564).

II. Amelioration and Compounds

Geneat first occupies a high pass of the ambivalent dimension in Stage I before trending toward a high pass of the positive dimension in Stage II. Lastly, *geneat* occupies a low pass of the positive dimension in Stage III alongside Stage II minima and maxima throughout the remainder of the period. Both Stage II and Stage III referents ameliorate from earlier emotive sememes, though the former belongs to the legal stream while the latter belongs to the social stream.

Compounds alone preserve the Stage I denotation "lodger" after the early part of the late period,

whereas the root during the same period can refer only to innovative senses like "companion." *Beowulf* provides the first examples of *geneat* for "companion," but only in the compounds *heorðgeneatas* and *beodgeneatas* (1713, 3179). After the middle of the ninth century, the root noun also refers to Stage III sememes.

III. Role of Christianity and Historical Context

As with other SR lexemes, the semantic timeline of *geneat* corresponds to contemporary social and religious developments. Bede, while discussing the founding of St. Colman's monastery, observes how spiritual unity relates to social hierarchy and labour: "Ad exemplum uenerabilium patrum sub regula... in magna continentia et sinceritate, proprio labore manuum uiuant" ["After the examples of the venerable fathers, under a rule, they live by the labour of their own hands in great purity and unity"] (IV.iv).[122] The divine relationship between "labour" and "unity" explains the coexistence of the Stage II referent, "villein," and the Stage III referent, "companion": "villein" emerges directly from Christian expectations of hierarchy and labour, while "companion," a secular corollary of Bede's spiritual unity, extends from "villein." *Harley* F26 further generalizes "companion" to "part of a greater whole," which agrees with Bede's ideal of divine connectedness. Russell calls this phenomenon "religiopolitical unity," while Morrison connects the relationship between labour and spiritual unity to the medieval development of monastic discipline (Russell 210; Morrison 133-6). Morrison attributes the positive attitude toward manual labour in the early Middle Ages and the development of feudalism in the High Middle Ages to the normalization of "esthetic ironies" in ascetic discipline, where self-denial and work —often agricultural—encouraged spiritual unity that brought participants closer to the divine (136-7). While life as a monk or nun remained a minority vocation, ascetic values grew more desirable as

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122 See Paul C. Hilliard's "Quae res Quem sit Habitura Fidem, Posterior Aetas Videbit" for more on Bede's views of unity and work (181-206). Hilliard suggests that for Bede, divine unity can be achieved through Christ and the church in a number of ways. Unity of the wicked, however, only requires one element: rejection of unity in Christ (191).

monastic piety became the spiritual ideal.[123] Barbara Yorke suggests that Alfred's interest in unifying the *Angelcynn* and codifying social classes like *geneat* evolved from Bede's more limited focus on the English Church (73-74). While Bede did not propose a unified Anglo-Saxon "Self," his loose idea of a religiopolitical *gens Anglorum* helped codify political identity in the late ninth century, thereby informing *geneat*'s semantic development during the same period.

Old Saxon *ginot*

Old Saxon *ginot* appears more semantically developed than its Old English cognate. These differences, I argue, are products of Frankish influence.

3.1.7 Old Saxon Semantic Timeline

I. Early (Eighth and Ninth Centuries)

i. *Baptismal Vow*

The *Baptismal Vow*—the earliest extant Old Saxon prose text—offers the only continental occurrence of the root lexeme:

(12): *genotas*: "retainers," "companions"

The *Vow* names three continental Germanic gods to be "forsaken" in favour of Christ: *Thunær*, *Uuoden*, and *Saxnote*[124] as well as "allvm them unholdum the hira *genotas* sint" ["all the deceitful ones who are their *companions*"] (Wadstein 3; emphasis mine). Here, the *genotas* denote *unholdum* (unloyal ones, fiends) who serve the aforementioned gods or *dioboles* (devils).

II. Late (Tenth Century)

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123 For more on the development of asceticism and monastic selfhood, see Giorgio Agamben, *The Highest Poverty: Monastic Rules and Form-of-Life*. Also see Catherine Cubitt, "Monastic Memory and Identity in Early Anglo-Saxon England" in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*.

124 William Chaney observes that the *Vow* contains the only religious mention of Saxnot. In Old English, the god appears in royal genealogies as "Seaxneat," but is not referred to as a deity. As Chaney suggests, Saxnot (lit. the need of the Saxons) was considered a son of Woden, and possibly a regional variant of Tiw or Baldur (33).

i. Glosses

The *Seminary of Treves Glossary*, on the other hand, includes two reflexes of *ginot* in two semantic groups:

GlTr (V, 137): *contubernium*: *geno[t]ska[p]*[125]

GlTr (VI, 60): *contectalis*: *husgenot*[126]

The first of these lemmata, *contubernium*, means "companionship." While Old Saxon *genotskap* is a hapax, its meaning agrees with Old English *geneat* in the late and very late periods and shows how the agent noun *ginot* could be abstracted to describe a *state* rather than a *thing.*

The lemma *contectalis*, on the other hand, means "one who dwells in the same home" or "lodger." The semantic field of *husgenot* agrees with the oldest sense of Old English *geneat.* Like Old English, late Old Saxon uses a compound here because the root lexeme alone could no longer denote "tenant."

III. Very Late (Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries)

i. Gloss

The *Marienfeld Glossary* contains a single compound:

GlMarf (IV, 178, 3): *collusor*: *spilegeno[t]*[127]

The compound lemma *collusor* is constructed from *con* (and, with) and *ludo* (play), together meaning a "play companion" or "playmate." The Old Saxon gloss literally interprets the Latin as *spilegenot* (Old Saxon *spile* ["game"] + *genot* ["companion"]). Here, *genot* must mean "companion" with a positive connotation.

3.1.8 Old Saxon Conclusions

I. General Trends

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125 Amended from MS *genossca*.

126 Amended from MS *husgenoz*.

127 Amended from MS *spilegeno*.

Although both Old English *geneat* and Old Saxon *ginot* move toward similar minima and maxima, the earliest instances of *ginot* as "companion" present categorical difficulties. As evidenced by the *Baptismal Vow*, the Old Saxon term's rapid semantic development in the early period likely resulted from Frankish influence, while the later compound, *husginot*, suggests an earlier, unattested, referent meaning "tenant." Thus, the semantic development of Old Saxon *genot* can be tentatively reconstructed:

Stage I.) "lodger," "tenant" (social / ambivalent)

Stage II.) "retainer" (social / positive)

Stage III.) "companion" (social / positive)

In the limited sample data, Old Saxon *ginot* never refers to a "villein" class. The secondary referent "retainer" in the *Vow* denotes, instead, a general lord/retainer relationship. The Old Saxon lexeme therefore, lacks a legal stream entirely, transitioning instead into a complex social stream comprised of nuanced compounds like agentive *spilegenot* and abstract *genotskap*. As in Old English, Stage II and Stage III meanings coexist at an early date, and *ginot* appears more frequently in texts of the late and very late periods. Unlike Old English, the majority of Old Saxon literature belongs to the early period corpus. The fact that all *ginot* compounds appear in texts of the less dense late and very late periods suggests that *ginot*—like *geneat*—became more commonplace as the early Middle Ages progressed, a development incompletely attested by the limited corpus. Despite its problematic textual history, the Old Saxon lexeme overall follows a similar semantic path to its Old English cognate.

II. Amelioration and Language

As with Old English *geneat*, *ginot* first occupies a high pass of the ambivalent dimension before approaching a high and low pass of the positive class in Stages II and III. There are, however, a number of linguistic and codicological problems in *ginot*'s sample data. *GlMarf* appears only in a manuscript of the late twelfth century, while *GlTr* appears only in a manuscript of the late eleventh century; the

former derives from an eleventh-century exemplar and the latter from a tenth-century copy. The provenance of these manuscripts explains the intrusion of Old High German forms, such as <z> and <s> for <t>,[128] and scribal errors, such as the omission of terminal <-t> and <-p> in *GlTr genossca* and *GlMarf spilegeno* (for *genotscap* and spilegenot, respectively). Nevertheless, these scribal errors are readily accounted for, and the word's semantic range broadly agrees with the late dates of *GlMarf* and *GlTr*.[129]

III. Role of Christianity and Historical Context

The development of the Old Saxon word was more rapid than its insular cognate. In the *Baptismal Vow*, *ginotas* already denotes "companions" or "retainers," though with a pejorative connotation. However, because the *Vow* is a literary product of the conquering Franks, it exposes a Frankish sense. As attested by the later compound, *husginot*, pre-literate *ginot* meant "lodger." By the time of the Old Saxon conversion, the Franks had been Christian for nearly four-hundred years and would have possessed an equally-developed semantic inventory.[130] After the Franks used *ginot* in the *Baptismal Vow*, the lexeme's new denotations and connotations persisted.[131] This early context explains the word's rarity in Old Saxon: other lexemes without association with the Devil, such as *mag*, could

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128 Tiefenbach describes the problematic state of *GlMarf* and *GlTr*: "In beiden Glossaren sind hochdeutsche Formen anzutreffen, die jedoch nicht alle durch südliche Vorlagen bedingt sein müssen. Manche von ihnen sind vielleicht schon Zeugnisse für das Vordringen des Hochdeutschen auf der Ebene der Schriftlichkeit" ["In both glossaries one can find High German forms. However, not all must be qualified by Southern templates. Some of them may already be testimonies to the advance of High German at the level of writing"] (1233). Tiefenbach, however, ultimately agrees that the entries for *ginot* descend from Low Germanic exemplars and includes them in his Old Saxon dictionary.

129 In *Die Stellung des Altsächsischen im Rahmen der germanischen Sprachen* (*The Position of Old Saxon in the Context of the Germanic Langauges*), Steffen Krogh shows that Old Saxon belonged to a Low Germanic *sprachbund* with clear differences to High German (83-89). See also Gallée's *Old Saxon Texts* for an early analysis of Old High German forms in late copies of Old Saxon literature (XLIV-XLV).

130 Compare High Franconian *ginoz*, which, like the Old English word, meant "companion" during the same relative period (Köbler, *Althochdeutsch* 261).

131 The only other putative example of root *ginot* for "companion" describes the Devil's comrades in *Genesis B* (translated from the Old Saxon).

accomplish the same semantic work.

The condemnation of the Germanic gods in the *Vow* implies that the early missionaries portrayed pre-Christian deities as false gods—or "devils"—rather than non-existent ones. As Morrison puts it, "spiritual feelings—in the realm of empathy—were made thinkable and validated by the supernatural" and its perceived reality (28). In recognizing the presence of the Germanic pantheon before condemning it, missionaries could invalidate the gods' power over the spiritual reality of their believers and construct new Christian realities in response.

3.1.9 Old English and Old Saxon Observations

The differences between Old English *geneat* and Old Saxon *ginot*, then, emerge from their distinct socioreligious environments. While the Anglo-Saxon Christianization was, for the most part, a non-violent process, the Old Saxon conversion was antedated by a lengthy war with the Franks and completed, both literally and metaphorically, at knife-point.[132] The violence of the Carolingian Wars cultivated a more rapid and uncertain semantic shift for *ginot*, which both ameliorated from its prior sense of dependency, and pejorated as a relic of the same Germanic communalism that had so recently opposed autocratic Carolingian rule. While the semantic timelines of *geneat* and *ginot* implicate similar sociocultural influences, the paucity of Old Saxon data obfuscates the extent to which these external factors directed *ginot*'s semantic development.

3.2 *þegn* and *thegan*

The final "Social Roles" of the sample group, Old English *þegn* and Old Saxon *thegan*, illustrate the relationship between "youth," "dependency," "service," and "retainership."[133] As with

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132 See Dennis Howard Green and Frank Siegmund's *The Continental Saxons from the Migration Period to the Tenth Century* for a thorough study of the long and bloody history of the Carolingian Wars and subsequent Christianization of the Saxons at the hands of Charlemagne (esp. 299-328).

133 "Thane" will be used throughout this section to describe the precise legal referent that emerged during the ninth century, and "retainer" for the more general sense of sociopolitical subordination associated with *þegn* in earlier periods.

geneat and *ginot*, *þegn* and *thegan* specialize in later stages of development. The verb, *þegnian*, and its reflexes, which appear in a variety of contexts, are critical in assessing *þegn*'s semantic development.

3.2.1 Current Definitions

BT defines *þegn* as "servant," "officer," "soldier," "retainer" (1043). Most compounds and reflexes, including the verbal derivative *þegnian* agree with the semantic range of the root lexeme (1045). None of the available definitions encompass the word's diachronic variability.

Tiefenbach defines Old Saxon *thegan* as "Knabe," "Mann," "Gefolgsmann," "Krieger," "Held," and "Diener" (boy, man, follower, warrior, hero, and servant) (Tiefenbach 407). Tiefenbach records "servant" as the final, and least common, sense, while *BT* places "servant" at the beginning of the Old English entry (BT 1043).

3.2.2 Word Studies

Old English *þegn* has appeared in many dedicated and collected word studies over the past 150 years. In an early study, *The Constitutional History of England* (1874), William Stubbs outlines the semantic relationship of *þegn*, *gesiþ*, and *ealdormann* as social classes (152-59). In a later 1955 article, "*Gesiths* and *Thegns* in Anglo-Saxon England from the Seventh to the Tenth Century," H. R. Loyn expands on the shift from *gesiþ* to *þegn* as the dominant term for "military retainer," while John Gillingham's more recent paper, "Thegns and Knights in Eleventh-Century England" (2000), explores the parallel evolution of *þegn* and *cniht*. Peter R. Richardson's "Making Thanes" (1999) further unpacks the development of the Anglo-Saxon "thane" and its relationship to state formation. Recently, David Roffe released an online database called "The King's Thegns of England on the Eve of the Norman Conquest," which maps the distribution of *þegnas* in the *Domesday Book*. Roffe's database suggests that the *þegn* class—having grown too large—became devalued by the close of the eleventh century, despite the term's positive connotations. In 2016, Frank Thorn published a study of *þegn* and

other sociopolitical lexemes, which agrees with Roffe's data (Thorn 117, 130). Although works on *þegn*

are numerous, most studies focus on the word's role as a social class, neglecting its earlier sense of

dependency or later relationship to Christian service.

Fewer studies examine the Old Saxon cognate. In *Saxon Savior*, G. Ronald Murphy interprets

thegan in *Heliand* as an element of *comitatus* between Christ and his apostles, while John Vickery, in

his recent monograph on *Genesis B*, discusses *thegan*'s diversity in continental Germanic literature of

the ninth and tenth centuries (Murphy, *Savior* 61-62; Vickery 29). Vickery quotes D. H. Green, who

proposes a parallel between the evolution of Old Saxon and Old High German morality terms and the

semantic shift of social roles like *thegan*, which became less "heroic" under the influence of unilateral

Christian piety (29-30).[134] Like the Old English studies, scholarship on OS *thegan* focuses on social

class, rather than the word's other available meanings.

3.2.3 Etymology

According to Orel, Old English *þegn* and Old Saxon *thegan* descend from Proto-Germanic

*þeȝnaz (thane, freeman) (Orel 418). This definition agrees with later semantic developments in the

word's daughter languages, but does not reflect the lexeme's original sense of dependency. Kroonen, on

the other hand, reconstructs **þegna-* (retainer, servant; from v. **þegjanaN—*to request, to beg) (536).[135]

More distantly, the Proto-Germanic lexeme derives from Indo-European **tek-* (to give birth), cf. Greek

τέκνον (child). Stefan Zimmer and Kroonen reject this etymology based on stress-placement and

Kluge's law (Zimmer 291-99; Kroonen 536).[136] Orel, however, disagrees and offers additional Indo-

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134 Vickery argues that *Heliand*, despite its early date, offers a "middle stage" of semantic development (30). This position
     is corroborated by *Heliand* 's use of *thegan* for "retainer" and "warrior" (in compounds); in *Heliand*, the term does yet
     describe a specific social class, but has begun to ameliorate from its earlier sense of dependency.

135 **ÞegjanaN* is distinct from Old English *þegnian*, which instead derives from the Old English root noun.

136 In his article, Zimmer leverages anthropological data for early lord/retainer interactions as well as what he
     problematically calls the "theory of Germanic heathen baptism" (291-99). This cultural evidence, however, simply
     fortifies the lexeme's established connection to subordination, and agrees just as strongly with the traditional etymology.
     Given the paucity of corroborating linguistic evidence, Zimmer's argument remains unconvincing.

European cognates to *tek-, such as Sanskrit *tákman-* (offspring), which corroborate the lexeme's semantic features in early Old English and Old Saxon, the oldest Germanic attestations (Kroonen 536; Orel 418). Stress-patterns, moreover, remain a contentious topic in Germanic philology, and should not alone be used to reject an otherwise sound etymology.[137] Considering the available evidence and history of scholarship, this study follows Orel and interprets Germanic *þegna-* as a reflex of Indo-European *tek-, and a cognate of Greek τέκνον.

3.2.4 Frequency in Old English and Old Saxon

Old English *þegn* is very common. Because of its many orthographic and morphological variants, a precise number of occurrences is unfeasible for the present study.[138] The *DOEEC*, however, offers a close estimate of total instances and a list of the lexeme's many reflexes:

Root Lexeme:

ca. 700 *þegn*

Compound Nouns:

10 *æfenþegnung*; 1 *arþegn*; 6 *ambihtþegn*; 10 *discþegn*

1 *duruþegn*; 6 *ealdorþegn*; 3 *handþegn*; 3 *healþegn*

1 *helleþegn*; 15 *horsþegn*; 7 *hræglþegn*; 4 *huselþegn*

6 *maguþegn*; 1 *meteþegn*; 1 *scohþegn*; 1 *seleþegn*

1 *tintregþegn*; 1 *þegnboren*; 1 *þegnestre*; 1 *þegnisc*

4 *þegnlagu*; 1 *þegnland*; 13 *þegnlic*; 2 *þegnrædene*

3 *þegnriht*; 12 *þegnscip*; 1 *þegnscol*; 1 *þegnsorg*

7 *þegnsum*; 2 *þegnungboc*; 1 *þegnungfæt*; 1 *þegnunggast*

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137 See Frans van Coetsem and Herbert L. Kufner, *Toward a Grammar of Proto-Germanic*, for the problems present in early Germanic prosody and the possibility of variable stress as late as the early Middle Ages (99-117).

138 The *DOE* also relies on estimates when a precise quantity is untenable. See, for example, the entry for *dæg* (day), which records "ca. 9100" occurrences in lieu of an exact amount (*DOE*).

1 *þegnunghus*;16 *þegnungmann*; 1 *þegnungweorod*; 19 *wicþegn*

 16 *weofodþegn*

Verbs and Substantives:

8 *bisceopþegnung*; 3 *cycenþegnung*; 1 *Easterþegnung;* 1 *flæscþegnung*

1 *fulluhtþegnung*; ca. 100 *(ge)þegnian*; 7 *(ge)þegnsum*; 9 *heahþegn(ung)*

7 *licþegnung*; 3 *mæsseþegnung*; 1 *middægþegnung*; 1 *mynsterþegnung*

1 *tidþegnung*; 6 *toþegnung*; ca. 480 *þegnung* 1 *uhtþegnung*

1 *underþegnian*; 2 *weoroldþegnung*; 5 *wicþegnung*; 1 *weofodþegnung*

Total: ca. 1520 occurrences

Most reflexes of *þegn* appear as compound nouns or verbal substantives, while the verb assumes a limited number of forms. Any reflex of *þegn* can be either agentive or abstract, but the majority of abstract examples take the form of substantives like *þegnung* (service), while nouns themselves are primarily agentive.

Old Saxon *thegan* occurs in fewer sources than the Old English cognate, and exact totals can be determined:

Root lexeme:

70 *thegan*

Compounds:

1 *theganlik*; 2 *theganskepi*; 1 *swerdthegan*

Names:

1 *Thegenhard*; 1 *Theganrad*

Total:

76 occurrences

Although a relatively common word, *thegan* occurs twenty times less frequently than Old English

þegn. The bulk of *thegan* appears in the *Heliand*, where the root lexeme dominates. *Thegan*'s

derivations include: one adverbial form (*theganlik*), one abstract adjective (*theganskepi*), and one

agentive compound (*swerdthegan*). Of these three compounds, all but *theganskepi* are hapax legomena.

Old Saxon *thegan* also appears in two late proper names: *Thegenhard* and *Theganrad*, which are not

relevant to the word's semantic history (Köbler, *Altsächsisches* 60).

<h2 style="text-align:center">Old English *þegn*</h2>

3.2.5 Old English Semantic Timeline

I. Early (Seventh and Eighth Centuries)

i. Glosses

> *Þegn* appears once in *Épinal-Erfurt* and once in *Corpus*; both refer to the same lemma:
>
> *EE* (101): *adsaeculam—adsexulam*: *thegen—degn*
>
> *Cp* (77): *adseculam*: *þegn*

Épinal 101 interprets uses *thegen*—with archaic <th> for /θ/—to interpret forms of Latin *adsaeculam*

(servant, dependant), while *Erfurt* provides the Old High German reading, *degn*.[139] Like *EE*, *Cp*

provides *þegn* for *adsaeculam*. *EE* and *Corpus*'s *thegen* and *þegn* are closer in connotation to PIE

*tekn- (lit. young male dependant) than later Germanic reflexes.[140] The source for Latin *adsaeculam* in

EE and *Corpus*, provided by Lindsay and Pheifer as *Orosius* I.xii.5 (Lindsay, *Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt*

and Leyden 24; Pheifer 136), clarifies the word's semantic range:

> Fanocles poeta confirmat... siue quia hunc ipsum Tantalum utpote *adsaeculam* deorum uideri
>
> uult raptum puerum ad libidinem Iouis familiari lenocinio praeparasse, qui ipsum quoque filium

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139 Pheiffer notes that Old High German features in *Erfurt* usually result from a misunderstanding of Old English letter
forms (xxvi, xli). Rather than rendering /θ/ with <th>, as in *Epinal*, *Erfurt*'s exemplar likely used <ð>, which was
misinterpreted as insular <d>.

140 Germanic cognates include Old Norse *þegn* (thane, retainer) and Old High German *degan* (retainer, man), none of
which share the sense of "dependency" implied in *EE* and *Cp*.

Pelopem epulis eius non dubitaret inpendere.

[Phanocles recounts this... perhaps because he desired this Tantalus to appear as a *servant* of the gods, having compelled the stolen boy in his home to prepare him for the lust of Jove; Tantalus, moreover, did not hesitate to employ his own son, Pelops, at Jove's feasts].

(*Orosius* I.xii.4-5; emphasis mine)

Outlining the "malorum saeculi circumstantia" ["evil conditions of the age"], Orosius narrates how the Phrygian king, Tantalus, steals Ganymedes, son of the Dardanian king, Tros (I.xii.1).[141] Orosius implies that Phanocles altered his own account of the misdeed to cast Phanocles as an "adsaeculam" (servant) of the gods, rather than a criminal. Therefore, reflexes of *þegn* in *EE* and *Cp* also mean "servant."

ii. *Beowulf*

Beowulf contains twenty-six instances of the root, one example of verbal *þegnian*, and a variety of compounds. The most illustrative occurrences are:

(194): *þegn*: "retainer"

(2033): *þegna*: "servants," "attendants"

(673): *ombihtþegne*:[142] "servant," "attendant"

(1308): *aldorþegn*: "chief retainer"

(560): *þenode*: "served"

The phrase "Higelaces þegn" establishes Beowulf as a retainer (*þegn*) to his chieftain, Hygelac (194). The "*þegna* gehwam þara leode" ["every *thane* of that people"] at line 2033 is more ambiguous. Here, *þegna* likely means "servants" or "attendants" (cf. *EE* and *Cp*), since 2033 provides no lord/retainer dynamic, and because lower class dependants outnumbered members of the landed nobility throughout

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141 See S. Giora Shoham, *The Myth of Tantalus*, for an ontological overview of the eponymous Greek figure, and Francis Cairns' *Tibullus* for more on this narrative's role in Orosius' *Historiarum* (55-56).

142 The compound *ombihtþegne* (servant), which preserves the connotation of dependency from *EE* and *Cp*, has already been discussed in Chapter 2.

the Anglo-Saxon period.[143] We later learn that Hrothgar was "on hreonmode/ ...syðþan he aldorþegn unlyfigendne / þone déorestan déadne wisse" ["of a sorrowful mind after he discovered that the chief retainer was no longer living—the dearest one, was dead"] (1306-9). *Aldorþegn* here means "chief retainer" and gestures toward *þegn*'s later legal referents.

Preterite *þenode* appears in Beowulf's account of his swimming contest with Brecca: "Swa mec gelome laðgeteonan / þreatedon þearle. Ic him *þenode* / deoran sweorde, swa hit gedefe wæs" ["Thus did the evil-doers continuously set upon me fiercely. I *served* them with my sword, just as it was fitting to do"] (559-61; emphasis mine). In his account, Beowulf sardonically applies the concept of "proper service" to the battle against "mihtig meredeor" ["mighty sea-creatures"] (558).[144] Unlike *EE* and *Cp*, which use *þegn* to literally denote passive service, Beowulf's *þenode* articulates a "service" that is both active and metaphorical. *Þenode*, then, is closer in connotation to "retainer": the dominant referent of the root lexeme in the poem.

iii. *Exodus*

The poetic *Exodus* offers one example of the root, one compound noun, and one verbal substantive:

(96): *heahþegnunga*: "high service"

(131): *meteþegnas*: "stewards," "servants"

(170): *þegnas*: "retainers"

The phrase "wlance þegnas" ["stern retainers"] agrees with the semantic range of *þegn* in *Beowulf*,

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143 The basic assumption, that common-folk outnumbered the nobility, is a commonplace. Roffe's database clearly shows this disparity: even by the Norman Conquest, when the *þegn* class had grown too swollen to maintain its social capital, thanes were few compared to England's total population, estimated at over two million. See Bartlett (290-92) for more on population density in early post-conquest England.

144 Beowulf's metaphorical *þenode* fits the acerbic tone of the hero's flyting scene against Unferth. This non-literal meaning partly survives in PdE via the fossilized idiom "to serve justice," with the sense of "dealing out justice." For more on the metaphoric use of lexemes in utterance tokens see Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Richard B. Dasher (34, 88-89).

while the compound *meteþegnas* mirrors the root lexeme in *EE* and *Cp* by combining *mete* (food) with "servant." The compound *heahþegnunga* (service) appears alongside "haliges gastes" ["of the holy ghost"]. Although *heahþegnunga* itself does not possess Christian features, its religious context in *Exodus* anticipates Christian referents in the late and very late periods.

iv. *Dream of the Rood*

The *Dream of the Rood* contains one instance of the root lexeme:[145]

(75): *þegnas*: "retainers"

This example appears after the crucifixion and burial of Christ: "Hwæðre me þær dryhtnes þegnas / freondas gefrunon" ["nevertheless the Lord's retainers, friends, found me there"] (75-6). As in *Beowulf*, the *Dream of the Rood*'s *þegnas* are clearly "retainers," not "servants."

II. Late (Ninth and Tenth Centuries)

i. Glosses

The most numerous "late" glosses of *þegn* appear in the vernacular portions of the *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth* Bibles:

Lind (Matt. 24.45): *fidelis servus*: *geleaffull ðegn*:[146] "faithful servant"

Lind (Matt. 5.1): *discipuli ejus*: *Ðeignas his*: "his disciples"

Lind (Matt. 9.11): *discipuli ejus*: *ðeignum his*: "his disciples"

Lind (John. 19.2): *milites*: *ðegnas*: "soldier," "retainer"

Rush (Matt. 5.1): *discipuli eius*: *his discipuli—his þegnas*: "his disciples"

Rush (John 19.2): *milites*: *ðegnas*: "soldier," "retainer"

Certain elements in *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth* preserve the early referents "retainer" and "servant." The lemma *milites*, for example, militarizes *ðegnas* while maintaining the "loyalty" and "service"

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145 The infinitive *þenian* also appears in *Dream of the Rood* (52). This verb, however, derives from *þennan* (to stretch out), rather than *þegnian*.

146 *Rushworth* glosses the same lemma with *esne* while the *West Saxon Gospels* use *þeow* (both "servant").

connoted by a lord/retainer relationship.[147] For the first time, *þegn* also refers to the innovative Christian sememe, "disciple," unambiguously expressed by *discipuli* in both *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth*.

ii. *Genesis B*

The Old English Genesis B offers four examples of the root noun, one verbal reflex, and two abstract compounds; the most illustrative examples include:

(326): *þegnscipe*: "service"

(414): *þegna*: "retainer"

(585): *þegnode*: "served"

(597): *þegn*: "retainer"

(640): *þegnas*: "retainers"

(705): *þegne*: "retainer"

(744): *þegnscipe*: "service"

Following *Beowulf*, each agentive occurrence of the root in *Genesis B* refers to a military "retainer," while abstract *þegnscipe* always denotes "service." Line 326, for example, recounts how Satan and his companions "*þegnscipe* / godes forgymdon" ["neglected the *service* of God"] (emphasis mine). The example at line 744 narrates Adam's postlapsarian regret: "unc gegenge ne wæs / þæt wit him on *þegnscipe* þeowian wolden" ["it was not suitable to us that we would serve him in *service*"] (733-44; emphasis mine). The verbal reflex *þegnode* acquires the same meaning as *þeowian*: " þæt ic geornlice gode *þegnode*" ["so that I eagerly might *serve* God"] (585; emphasis mine).

iii. *Laws of Athelstan V/VI*

The *Laws of Athelstan* contain two instances of the root lexeme:

(V.1.4): *ðegen*: "thane"

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147 Britt Mize connects the material realities of loyalty and gift-giving in the lord/retainer dynamic to the spiritual importance of wisdom in the "sapiential economy" which informs moral and emotional mind states (76).

(VI.11): *þegna*: "thanes"

Þegn first appears in *V Athelstan* where the law discusses what happens if a "gerefa swylc medsceat nime" ["gerefa were to take such a fee"] (V.I.3). The following line adds: "gif hit sy ðegen ðe hit do, sy þæt ilce" ["if it is a thane who does it, it will be the same"] (V.1.4). For Athelstan, a *þegn* was financially and socially equivalent to a *gerefa*.[148] *VI Athelstan* defines a *þegn* as a member of the landed nobility who is close to the king: "gesylle me CXX scillinga & be healfum þam ælc minra þegna, þe gelandod sy" ["give me 120 shillings and half of that to each of my thanes who are landed"] (VI.11).[149] Together, these occurrences provide the earliest extant legal evidence of *þegn* as a social class.[150]

III. Very Late (Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries)

i. Glosses

The most notable "very late" glosses for *þegn* appear in the vernacular portions of the *Rule of Chrodegang*, and the glosses in Aldhelm's *De Laudibus Virginitatis* in Ms. Brussels 1650:

Chrod. (83.1): *acolitus*: *huslþen*

Ald. (1919): *prosequitur*: *þenaþ*

Ald. (5065): *sacrificio*: *þenunge*

Ald. (4165): *parasitorum*:[151] *forspillendra þena*

The very late glosses develop earlier referents while introducing a number of innovative sememes.

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148 See Richard Abels, "Sheriffs, Lord-Seeking and the Norman Settlement of the South-East Midlands," for a description of the *gerefa*'s development to "sheriff" (from OE *scirgerefa*: "shire-reeve") in late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman England.

149 *Landed*: i.e., servants who are given land to work.

150 The "cyninges þegn" in *Wihtred, Ine*, *Alfred,* and *Guthrum* is the word's only legal usage prior to *Æthelstan* (Chadwick 84). In this phrase, *þegn* simply means "retainer" without the specificity of later instances. *Wihtred* and *Ine*, moreover, appear only in manuscripts of the late and very late periods, and partially reflect later language. The general idea of a *þegn* also appears in earlier charters. These examples suggest that the word had already begun to specialize prior to its appearance in *Æthelstan*, though not enough to codify a complex sociopolitical role (Chadwick 83-84).

151 cf. *geneat* for *parasitis* in *Cleopatra I* (4735).

Chrodegang, for example, supplies *huslþen* for Latin *acolitus* (acolyte, religious servant). Although vernacular interpretation of *acolitus* demands the presence of both *þegn* and *husel*, the root lexeme itself possesses religious features, as evidenced by substantive *þenunge* for *sacrificio* (religious sacrifice) in the contemporary *Aldhelm* glosses. Older meanings also persist during the period, despite the ongoing naturalization of new sociopolitical and Christian features. *Aldhelm*, for instance, interprets the lemma *prosequitor* (follows, pursues) with *þenaþ,* and *parasitorum* (dependants, guests, lodgers) with *forspillendra þena* (obsequious lodger).[152]

ii. *Wulfstan's Homilies*

Although *þegn* commonly appears in *Wulfstan's Homilies*, the following three selections from Homily VIII best illustrate the word's senses:

(VIIIc.38): *þenunga*: "religious service," "devotional service"

(VIIIc.76): *þenunge*: "religious service," "devotional service"

(VIIIc.120): *fuluhtþenunge*: *"*baptismal service"

As with the glosses, Wulfstan's *þenung* can refer either to general "service," with a primary compound element defining the *kind* of service (e.g., *fuluhtþenunge*) or *þenung* by itself can articulate religious devotion.

iii. *Heptateuch*

A transparent example of religious *þegnung* also appears in the Old English *Heptateuch*:

(Lev. 1.0): *ðenungboc*: *Leuiticus*: *Ministerialis*: "book of religious service"

The Old English prologue to Leviticus offers *ðenungboc* as the English translation for *Leviticus* (from Greek *Λευιτικόν*): "Her ongynð seo ðridde boc, ðe is genemned... *Leuiticus* on Grecisc, & *Ministerialis* on Leden, ðæt is *ðenungboc* on Englis" ["Here begins the third book... which is named *Leviticus* in Greek, and *Ministerialis* on Leden, that is, 'book of service to God' in English"] (1). This compound is

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152 See also the early lemmata for *geneat* in Chapter 3.

best interpreted as "Book of Service to God" or "Book about God's Servants," with the primary element, *ðenung-*, establishing Christian features, and the secondary element, *-boc*, defining the environment of *ðenung*.

iii. *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*[153]

The *Rectitudines* details the legal rights of a *þegn*, described here as a distinct social class:

(1a): *Ðegenes lagu*: "Thane's Law"

(1b): *Ðegenlagu*: "Thane-law"

Similar to the *geneatriht*, the *Ðegenlagu* of the *Rectitudines* details the expectations and rights of a "thane." According to the *Ðegenlagu*, a *þegn* is obligated to do "ðreo ðinc" ["three things"] from his land: "fyrdfæreld & burhbote & brycgeweorc" ["miltary service, and city repairs, and bridge-work"]. The *þegn* class of the *Rectitudines* consolidates the earlier denotations, "retainer," "soldier," and "servant," into one comprehensive sociopolitical referent. This document also codifies the *þegn*'s financial obligations, his relationship to the *cyniges ham* (king's township), and his rising status as a member of the landed nobility.

3.2.6 Old English Conclusions

I. General Trends

Þegn, then, transitions through several periods with significant overlap. The agentive root first denotes a "servant" or "dependent," while abstract and substantive reflexes mean "service"; later in the early period, the root commonly refers to "retainer" whereas abstract forms continue to denote "service." Earlier senses persist in the later corpus alongside new Christian and legal referents (585). *Þegn*'s development, then, can be broadly divided into three stages:

Stage I.) "servant," "dependent" (social / ambivalent)

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153 Similar entries appear in the contemporary *Geþyncðo* and *Norðleoda Laga*, which Patrick Wormald calls the "Geþyncðo Group" (390-93).

Stage II.) "retainer," "service" (military, social / positive)

Stage III.) "thane," "disciple," "religious service" (legal, religious / positive)

As with other lexemes of the SR sample group, this schema outlines trends rather rather than absolutes. By the eleventh century, all primary meanings coexist as polysemes. However, Stage III referents only emerge near the end of the late period, and Stage I senses are exceptional by the very late period. Compounds of the early period, moreover, are generally innovative while the root lexeme remains conservative; in later periods, root and compound reflexes appear equally innovative and conservative. *Genesis B* is exceptional because of its wholesale preservation of older meanings. This disparity is to be expected, since *Genesis B* originates from Old Saxon: a language at an earlier stage of semantic development.[154]

II. Amelioration

Like *geneat*, *þegn* appears as a high pass of the ambivalent dimension in Stage I but ultimately becomes, in the eleventh century, a deep pass of the positive dimension. Although the later specializations of *þegn* trend toward amelioration, both emotive maxima—ambivalent and positive— coexist throughout the period in various forms, reflecting the contingent polysemy of Stage I, II, and III minima. As Ken-ichi Seto notes, this type of polysemy is a natural product of semantic specialization (205-208). However, Brigitte Nerlich cautions that specialization, like synecdoche, is not the only route of semantic extension; metaphor and metonymy can also facilitate polysemy (205). [155]

III. Specialization

During the late and very late periods the military and sociopolitical connotations of Stage II consolidate into the legal sememe, "thane," while the religious features of "service" specialize into a variety of Christian denotations, such as "disciple," "sacrifice," and "religious devotion." As the sample

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154 Because earlier meanings persist throughout the Old English period, the earlier referents "retainer" and "servant" would have been understood by a contemporary Anglo-Saxon audience.

155 See Traugott and Dasher (11-5) for more on polysemy and adjacent phenomena.

data show, Stage I and II agent nouns usually appear in active and/or military environments, while abstract examples often appear in passive and/or religious environments. Consequently, Christian referents emerge from abstract nouns and substantives like *þegnung*,[156] whereas agentive *þegn* commonly develops into legal "thane," creating a semantic gap between "those who actively serve" and "passive service rendered." This gap widens when *þegn* describes members of the landed nobility in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Exceptions appear in the *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth* glosses where Christian *ðeignum* (*discipuli*, disciples) appears beside secular *ðegnas* (*milites*, soldiers); the latter example corresponds instead to legal "thane" (*Lind*. Matt. 9.11, John. 19.2).

Þegn, as previously noted, emerges as a social class by the close of the ninth century (Chadwick 87). The term's maturation in the *Laws of Æthelstan* and the *Rectitudines* agrees with Richardson's suggestion that the legal "cultivation of thaneship" relates to the "consolidation of royal power in the tenth century" (224). Although the mechanisms behind this shift are difficult to interpret, Gillingham offers a clue in his anthropological study of *þegn* and the Anglo-Saxon gentry: the parallel development of *cniht* from "boy"/ "servant" to "young nobleman" to "knight" (138-39). Gillingham's observations mirror *þegn*'s legal evolution; *þegn*, originally a subordinate or servant, increasingly corresponded to the general relationship between lord and retainer, and, eventually, to the more specific relationship between king and gentry.

IV. Role of Christianity and Historical Context

Þegn offers a concrete glimpse into Christianity's influence on Old English identity. The newly-introduced biblical referent "disciple" acquires a stable lexical complement in *þegn* during the ninth and tenth centuries, while *þenunge* for *sacrificio* (sacrifice) in *Aldhelm* and "devotional service" in *Wulfstan* show "service" metaphorizing toward forms of religious devotion according to Christian orthodoxy.[157] Bede describes the value of *sacrificio* in Chapter 20 of the *Historia ecclesiastica*:

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156 Cf. the substantives in *Wulfstan's Homilies* and the very late glosses.

"Intellexerunt enim, quia sacrificium salutare ad redemtionem valeret et animae et corporis sempiternam" ["It is known, therefore, that such a saving sacrifice is for the eternal redemption of body and soul"] (IV.20). The development of sacrificial piety, then, represents the ultimate extension of "service": absolute subordination to attain absolute salvation. The legal specialization of "thane" shows an increase in sociopolitical agency and corresponds to the post-conversion emergence of a unilateral polity, outlined in Chapter 2.[158]

Old Saxon *thegan*

3.2.7 Old Saxon Semantic Timeline

As with *gaduling* and *ginot*, Old Saxon *thegan* offers a limited corpus. The *Heliand* contains most occurrences of *thegan*, while the late period *Werden Prudentius* offers the only vernacular/Latin gloss. Despite the word's small sample size, its productivity in *Heliand* and plentiful cognate Old English data allow a tentative semantic timeline to be constructed. Certain examples in *Heliand* suggest semantic Christianization of *thegan* at a much earlier relative date than Old English *þegn*.

I. Early (Ninth Century)

Although no glosses for *thegan* appear in texts of the early period, examples in the *Heliand* and *Vatican Genesis* offer sufficient variety to determine the lexeme's semantic range during the ninth century.

i. *Heliand*

Most data for *thegan* come from the *Heliand*, which contains the root lexeme and two compound reflexes in a variety of semantic fields:

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157 This *sacrificio* refers, of course, to metaphorical sacrifice as a form of devotion, not the earlier Germanic practice of animal sacrifice observed during periods such as *Blotmonaþ*. See Traugott and Dasher (27-33) for more on metaphorization and metonymization as mechanisms of semantic shift.

158 Also see Richardson (215-6) and Russell (196-7) for more on the development of social stratification and sacral kingship during the Christianization of the Germanic peoples.

(178): *thegno*: "servant," "man"

(253): *thegan*: "husband," "man"

(543): *thegnos*: "magi," "retainers"

(862): *thegan*: "servant"

(1239): *thegnos*: "retainers"

(2295): *thegan*: "subordinate," "dependent"

(3994): *thegan*: "apostle," "disciple," "retainer"

(4574): *theganskepi*: "service," "disciplehood"

(4866): *swerdthegan*: "sword-retainer," "warrior disciple"

(5475): *thegan*: "retainer"

Köbler notes that *theganskepi* in *Heliand* contextualizes *discipulus* (disciple, apostle) in the Vulgate (Köbler 61). The example at 4574, for instance, occurs when Christ lauds the loyal *theganskepi* of his apostles. *Theganskepi*, then, refers precisely to the relationship between Christ and his followers.

Root *thegan* expresses a wider range of meanings. Most commonly, the word refers to a positive retainer or servant, as with *thegan* (servant) at line 862 and *thegnos* (retainers) at 1239. Line 5475, however, describes Pilate as "thegan kesures" ["Caesar's retainer"]. This usage shows that *thegan* could also carry negative connotations. A more ambivalent sense appears at line 2295, where *thegan* means "subordinate" or "dependent," agreeing with the earliest examples of Old English *þegn*, while line 253 refers to the general referents, "man" and "husband." *Thegno* at 178 describes a "servant" or "man" at the *uuiha* (temple), which introduces religious features absent from line 2295's *thegan.* The description of the Three Magi as *thegnos*, moreover, implicates both sociopolitical and religious connotations (543). Later, when Christ reveals his imminent death, the apostle (*thegan*) Thomas, decrying the other followers' discontent, argues that they should "im uuonian mid, / thuoloian mid [ira] thiodne: that ist thegnes cust, / that hie mid is frahon samad fasto gistande, doie mid im thar an duome." ["remain with

him, to suffer with [their] lord: that is the retainer's choice, that he might stand fast together with his chieftain, and die with him there at the moment of judgement."] (3994-98).[159] This semantic reassignment is multi-directional: it both Christianizes the meaning of *thegan* and Germanizes the role of "apostle." Showcasing the lord/retainer relationship, *swerdthegan* describes Simon Peter before his attack on Malchus in Gethsemane: "Tho gibolgan warð / snel *swerdthegan*, Simon Petrus" ["Then the noble *sword-retainer*, Simon Peter, became enraged"] (4865-66; emphasis mine).[160]

ii. *Vatican Genesis*

Despite its limited sample size, the *Vatican Genesis* fragment offers many examples of *thegan*, both as a root noun and an adjectival compound:

(100): *thegnas*: "retainers"

(104): *thegnos*: "retainers," "men"

(130): *theganlica*: "nobly," "manly"

(214): *thegno*: "retainers," "men"

(329): *thegna*: "retainers," "soldiers"

Thegan in *Vatican Genesis* usually means "retainer." The first example at line 100 describes Adam and Eve as forsaken *thegnas* (retainers) of God, while *thegna* at line 329 describes "retainers" during the fall of Sodom. *Thegnos* at 104 can also mean "men" because it parallels *thiornun* (women); likewise,

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159 Thomas's speech parallels Byrhtnoth's in *Battle of Maldon*. See Brian Murdoch's *The Germanic Hero: Politics and Pragmatism in Early Medieval Poetry* for a full description of the heroic parallels between *Maldon* and *Heliand* and a scholarly history of the same (27-30). See also Stephen J. Harris's "Oaths in the Battle of Maldon" for the parallels between oath-taking on *eðstaf* (oath-staff) in *Heliand* and the *æsc* (spear) that Byrhtwold shakes as a show of loyalty to his lord. Harris argues that "the words uttered by Byrhtnoth and his *folc...* are intended to look like an oath to the Viking, an oath on an 'ealde swurd' (line 47b) [old sword], on earth, on a spear or *eðstaf*, and on ash-wood. This is a promise made in two concurrent cultural systems, one Christian, and the other pagan" (16).

160 The passage from John 18:10 in the *Vulgate* reads as follows: "Simon ergo Petrus habens gladium eduxit eum et percussit pontificis seruum, et abscidit auriculam ejus dexteram. Erat autem nomen seruo Malchus" ["Simon, also known as Peter, who had a sword, drew it and struck the High Priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. The servant's name, moreover, was Malchus"].

the narrator at 214 presents *thegno* in variation with *uueros* (men). Unlike *Heliand*, however, *Vatican Genesis* contains no clear instances of *thegan* as "servant" or "dependent."

I. Late (Tenth Century)

i. Glosses

Old Saxon *thegan*, appears in one gloss: the tenth-century *Werden Prudentius*:

Pw (96.43a): *uiri*: *thegnos*

Here, *thegan* renders the Latin lemma *uiri* (men, foot soldiers). This lemma agrees with the referents "husband" and "man" in *Heliand* and *Vatican Genesis*, as well as the lexeme's martial features, since *uiri* can also mean "soldier" (Wadstein 96; Galée 127, 139). Köbler notes that both words were interchangeable, with *thegan* appearing at line 1199 in *Heliand* MS M and *man* in MS C (Köbler 60).

3.2.8 Old Saxon Conclusions

I. General Trends

With a few key differences, the semantic makeup of Old Saxon *thegan* agrees with that of Old English *þegn*. In its three attested sources, the lexeme and its reflexes express a variety of referents: "servant," "service," "retainer," "man," and religious senses like "apostle." In *Heliand*, the referent "soldier" only appears as a compound. In later texts, the root lexeme denotes military service, while "dependent," "servant," and "service" cease to be productive. Despite its small data-pool and prominent polysemes, a tentative schema for Old Saxon *thegan* can be articulated:

Stage I.) "servant," "dependent," "service" (social / ambivalent)

Stage II.) "retainer," "man," "service" (social / positive)

Stage III.) "soldier," "disciple" (social, religious / positive)

As in Old English, Stage I meanings become less productive in later texts. This shift is accelerated in Old Saxon, occurring over a single generation.

II. Specialization

While *thegan* acquires a number of Christian features, the Old Saxon term never undergoes legal specialization for the same reason Old Saxon *ginot* appears in pejorative contexts: the violent conversion of the continental Saxons. This process positioned native Germanic retainership (Stage II) as a negative social element, such that a legal specialization of *thegan* in Stage III would have contravened the autocratic sociopolitical expectations of post-conversion Saxony. It would have been incongruous for tribal reciprocity, a hallmark of pre-conversion Saxon society, to associate with a non-reciprocal social role.[161] Thus, *thegan* remained a "retainer"—an element of pre-Christian society—but never became a "thane"—an element of post-conversion nobility. Instead, agentive *thegan* fortified the martial connotations from Stage II "retainer" to yield Stage III "soldier," while the word's passive and abstract forms rapidly associated with new Christian sememes.

III. Role of Christianity and Historical Context

Thegan's relationship to Christianity is problematic. As noted, the Old Saxon lexeme becomes uncommon by Stage II, and never specializes into a social class. Unlike Old English *þegn*, *thegan* never participated in the post-conversion class-system because Continental Saxony's religious transition was less gradual, occurring over less than 100 years on the continent compared to ca. 200 years in Anglo-Saxon England.[162] This process is corroborated by the early appearance of orthodox Old Saxon texts like the penitential *Beichtspiegel* and the disappearance of North Sea Germanic runes and pre-Christian formulae less than a century after Charlemagne's conversion, compared to the continued use of Anglo-Saxon runes in various contexts nearly four centuries after Augustine's mission.[163]

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161 Old Saxon, instead, preserves the social class of *gisith*, which was also the preferred term in early Old English laws. See also Ian Wood "Beyond Satraps and Ostriches" for an analysis of Old Saxon social roles, including the *edhilingui*, *frilingi*, and *lazzi* (276-78).

162 See Dennis Howard Green and Frank Siegmund's *The Continental Saxons from the Migration Period to the Tenth Century* (299-328).

163 See R. I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, for more on the history of Anglo-Saxon runes from the sixth to

Old Norse *þegn* is also commonly translated as the social class, "thane," despite appearing prior to Christianization.[164] Clear denotative context for the North Germanic word, however, post-dates Scandinavian conversion and belongs to the same general socio-religious milieu as its Old English and Old Saxon cousins. Despite *þegn*'s presence on a number of Viking-Age rune-stones, its semantic range remains unclear until the word reemerges in Icelandic literature during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Katherine Holman suggests that the "semantic range of the Old Norse word... has certainly been influenced by its use in Anglo-Saxon England... in Viking-Age Scandinavia, a *thegn* was simply a free man" (265). While Scandinavia falls outside the scope of the present study, the possible impact of Christianity on the semantic range of Old Norse *þegn* warrants further investigation.[165]

3.2.9 Old English and Old Saxon Observations

Their different sociopolitical environments notwithstanding, Old English *þegn* and Old Saxon *thegan* exhibit more similarities than differences: they both specialize into two categories according to Christian influence, and they both deprecate sememes of dependency like "servant" during the late period. Distinctions emerge primarily in minutia and do not invalidate their broad similarities.

3.3   Chapter 3 Final Thoughts

The semantic timelines of *geneat*/*ginot* and *þegn*/*thegan* correspond to contemporary sociopolitical and religious innovations following the introduction of Christianity. Like the results in Chapter 2, both word-pairs agree with the semantic gaps hypothesis and suggest a series of pull-chains

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eleventh century. Page notes that the latest Anglo-Saxon runic inscription appears on an early eleventh-century gravestone at Whithorn (21). Continental North-Sea Germanic runes, on the other hand, disappear from the record in the ninth-century, while Alemannic runes vanish by ca. 700 (Loijenga 178-92, 132-52). See also Elisabeth Okasha, "Anglo-Saxon Inscribed Rings" (2003) for a discussion of the uniquely English phenomenon of runic rings in the ninth and tenth centuries.

164 See, for example, Geir Zoëga (60).

165 See also Lauren Goetting's 2006 article, "*Þegn* and *drengr* in the Viking Age," for a discussion on the social role of the two terms in Old Norse literature, and the problems inherent in reading either word as a component of *comitatus*; as Goetting notes, "few words have stirred such debate" during the past century of scholarship (375).

facilitated by Christianization, which either generated and filled sememes by relocating native lexemes, or extended the features of preexisting referents by altering their emotive or evaluative connotations. A lack of of diachronic information negatively impacts the Old Saxon analysis. Nevertheless, the data reveal similar semantic transformations, though with notable differences that emerge from the two society's distinct experiences with Christian conversion. The most fundamental difference relates to speed. While both corpora developed along similar paths, Old Saxon referents generally changed at an accelerated rate because of the haste of Old Saxon conversion. Both lexeme-pairs, however, follow a general trend: referents associated with "dependency" ameliorate towards agentive senses, which either specialize to more precise sociopolitical referents or migrate toward religious minima and further develop a sense of subordination. In this system, *geneat*/*ginot* and *þegn*/*thegan* also ameliorate from the "ambivalent" to "positive" dimension and, as in Chapter 2, root lexemes and compound reflexes commonly show different stages of semantic development.

  Like *ambiht*/*ambaht* and *gaedeling*/*gaduling*, the semantic reassignment of *geneat*/*ginot* and *þegn*/*thegan* agrees with the integrative ethic of sociopolitical Christianization in early medieval England and Continental Saxony, which Russell calls an "effective instrument of central control" (Russell 196). This "instrument" of amelioration differs from the moral tools that shaped the pejoration of the PQ lexemes.

Chapter 4. Personal Qualities: *facen*/*fekan* and *husc—hosp*/*hosk*

4.1 *facen* and *fekni*

The PQ terms of the sample group assess moral value rather than sociopolitical function. *Facen* and *fekni*, the first words in this category, correspond to the development of "cunning," "deceit," and "sin."

4.1.1 Current Definitions

The *DOE* defines *facen* as "deceit," "guile," "treachery," and "fraud," and its adjectival reflex as "deceitful," "treacherous," and "fraudulent" (*DOE*). Early instances of *facen* possess meanings other than "deceit." *BT* accounts for these earlier meanings only in its entry for *fræfel* (cunning, craft), which *BT* lists as a synonym for Old English *facen* and Latin *astu*, according to the occurrence of *fraefeli* in *Cp* (*BT*; 230). The *DOE* follows *BT* in defining *facen* itself as only pejorative, while simultaneously interpreting the noun form of *fraefel—*a synonym for *facen* in *Corpus—*as "cunning" (*DOE*; *BT* 195, 260).

Tiefenbach defines the Old Saxon noun, *fekan*, as *Arglist* and *Tücke* (guile and malice) and its adjectival reflex, *fekni*, as *hinterlistig*, *tükisch*, *betrugerisch*, and *heimlich* (treacherous, malicious, deceitful, fraudulent, and stealthy) (86).

4.1.2 Word Studies

Facen has been discussed in a variety of works. In his 1996 study, *Old English Legal Language*, Jürg R. Schwyter explores *facen* as part of the semantic field of "theft" (133-135). Schwyter's study reads *facen* alongside related Old English nouns to determine the role of theft in Anglo-Saxon law codes, charters, and rent-rolls. Sam Newton's *The Origins of Beowulf* discusses the hapax legomenon, *facenstafas*, and its probable relationship to the root lexeme (84).

Sergej Griniewicz's "Eliminating Indeterminacy" (2007) instead uses *facen* to evaluate the

problem of referential "kind" in the study of Old English polysemy (41). Griniewicz observes that differences between referents are often difficult to ascertain from literary context, since a modern reader's semantic boundaries differ from an Anglo-Saxon's. This ambiguity, however, is surmountable, since polysemy between categorical "kinds" can be determined by a lexeme's literary pragmatics. There exists, for instance, a pragmatic distinction between *facen* as positive "cunning" in the earliest glosses and *facen* as pejorative "deceit." This categorical difficulty is mitigated not by literary context, but by examining the development of evaluative maxima—connotations like "positive" or "pejorative"— alongside their constituent minima, such as "cunning" and "deceit." As a dimension develops and migrates, so too does the related lexeme's polysemy. If, for example, the positive idea of "cunning" itself were to pejorate, then *facen*, its lexical signifier, would also acquire a pejorative connotation equivalent to the state of "deceit," eliminating polysemy between the two referents.[166] Thus, even when literary context is unclear about the precise state of polysemy between minima, it can clarify pragmatic polysemy between maxima. Regardless of their merits, all available studies focus only on *facen*'s pejorative referents. Old Saxon *fecan* and *fekni*, however, appear in no scholarly texts apart from dictionaries and grammars.

4.1.3 Etymology

Kroonen does not offer a Proto-Germanic parent for *facen*, while Orel reconstructs **faiknan* (fright, misfortune, deceit, fraud) for the root noun and **faiknaz* (perishable, deceitful, fraudulent, wicked) for the modifier (Kroonen 122-23; Orel 90). While orthographically and morphologically

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166 This process affected the Germanic ideal of pride, which was largely positive in the pre-Christian and early Christian periods, but pejorative in later centuries. Consequently, associated lexemes like *lof* and *modig* became universally pejorative because there was no longer a positive dimension available to the referent "hubris." See Bede, who, in the *Historia ecclesiastica*, equates *prudentia* (wisdom) with *humilitas* (humility), but equivocates *superb[ia]* (pride) with *conamen* (insolent) and *impium* (wicked) (v. 21; ii.19). See also Jeremy Smith's *An Historical Study of English.* Smith examines the conflict between the early and late senses underlying the loanword *prud* ("proud"), which had shifted from "noble" to "arrogant" under influence from the Christian sin of *superbia* (104-5).

correct, Orel's reconstruction, which is defined only by its later pejorative sense, suffers from the same semantic limitations as the entries in *DOE* and *BT*.

4.1.4 Frequency in Old English and Old Saxon

Old English *facen*[167] is extremely common in poetry and prose:

Root lexeme:

ca. 450 occurrences

Compounds:

1 *facendæd*; ca. 160 *facenfull*; 3 *facengecwis*; 2 *facenleas*

37 *facenlic*; 1 *facengeswipere*; 2 *facensearu*; 1 *facenstafas*

1 *facentacen*

Total:

ca. 660 occurrences

Old Saxon *fekan* occurs only sixteen times:

Root lexeme:

15 occurrences

Compounds:

1 *fekanlik*

Total:

16 occurrences

Despite the size difference between the Old English and Old Saxon sample data, both *facen* and *fekan* appear in multiple genres across different centuries and offer a sufficient amount of semantic variety to

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167 This chapter uses West Saxon *facen* (nominative singular), except when addressing specific occurrences. The *DOE* records the following alternative forms of *facen*: *faken, facæn, facon, facun, facyn, facn, facne, faon, fanc, fæcen, facnes* (genitive), *facnys* (genitive), *facnyss* (genitive), *facne, facni* (instrumental), *facna* (dative), and *facnum* (dative). Many of these variants are orthographic, rather than phonetic, as unstressed vowels in terminal syllables had been levelled to /ə/ by the end of the Old English period.

track their development.

<h1 align="center">Old English facen</h1>

4.1.5 Old English Semantic Timeline

I. Early (Seventh and Eighth Centuries)

i. Glosses

> *EE* and *Cp* offer the earliest examples of Old English *faecen*:
>
> *EE* (83): *astu*: *facni*
>
> *EE* (938): *subs[i]ciuum*: *fæcne*
>
> *Cp* (833): *fictis*: *facnum*
>
> *Cp* (844): *astu*: *facni*, *fraefeli*
>
> *Cp* (2112): *ueterno*: *faecnum*

Facni in *EE* qualifies intellectual intelligence, rather than dishonesty, by interpreting Latin *astu* (cunning, craft). *Cp* renders this lemma with *fictis* (deceit) and *ueterno* (sloth, vanity), alongside the less pejorative meaning first preserved in *EE*. While both sememes coexist in *Cp*, the unambiguously-pejorative *fictis*, absent in *EE*, is a new addition to the glossator's lemmata and represents the newer meaning of Old English *facnum*. *Épinal-Erfurt* also includes one instance of *fæcne* for Latin *subs[i]ciuum* (imperfect, inferior) (938). According to Pheifer and Lindsay, *subsiciuum* is taken from *Orosius* IV.vi.36: "nihil non prauum, nihil non *subsiciuum*" ["Nothing crooked, nothing *inferior*"] (Lindsay, *Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt and Leyden* 30; Pheifer 150; emphasis mine). The isolated Christian lemma, *ueterno*, foreshadows *facen*'s later religious referents.

  While Latin *astu* commonly means "cunning" or "craft," the word's source text confirms its meanings in *EE* and *Corpus*. Pheifer and Lindsay give the source of *facne* from *Orosius*, Chapter 2:

> Cyrus itaque Scythiam ingressus, procul a transmisso flumine castra metatus, insuper *astu*

eadem instructa uino epulisque deseruit, quasi territus refugisset. hoc conperto regina tertiam

partem copiarum et filium adulescentulum ad persequendum Cyrum mittit.

[Cyrus then went into Scythia, and made camp far from the river he crossed; then, after

providing wine and feasting, he *cunningly* deserted the camp and sought refuge as though he

were terrified. Learning this, the queen sent a third of her forces, and her young son, to pursue

Cyrus]. (Pheifer 132; Lindsay, *Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt and Leyden* 23; Orosius II.Vii.2;

emphasis mine)

In this scene, Cyrus devises a plan in which he pretends to be frightened and helpless in order to

ambush the enemy forces. In *EE* and *Cp*, then, *facen* denotes military cleverness.[168]

ii. *Laws of Æthelberht*

The *Laws of Æthelberht* contain a single instance of *facne* and two occurrences of its antonym,

unfacne:

(30): *unfacne*: "openly"

(77): *unfacne*: "openly"

(77.1): *facne*: "secretly"

The first, isolated, example at line 30 outlines how *feo* (money) should be paid (*gelde*) as recompense

for murder. The second two examples, however, appear in opposition: "Gif mon mægþ gebigeð, ceapi

geceapod sy, gif hit *unfacne* is. Gif hit þonne *facne* is, ef[t] þær æt ham gebrenge, & him man his scæt

agefe" ["If one buys a maiden, let it be sealed with a bargain, if it is done *openly*. If, however, it is done

secretly, may she be returned home again, and let his property be returned to him"] (77-77.1). Lisi

Oliver observes that *facne* means "deceptive" (239). Oliver's reading, however, is influenced by the

word's later, more common, semantic developments and not borne out by internal evidence, as the

Laws themselves draw a distinction between "open" and "hidden" activities. While deception is a

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168 The Alfredian Old English *Orosius* does not interpret *astu*, and instead offers a more neutral account of Cyrus's plans.
    See Janet Bately, *Old English Orosius* (33-34).

potential consequence of acting without the knowledge of others, *facne* itself specifically denotes "secretly," as "secrecy" is not intrinsically pejorative.[169] *Æbt*'s distinction, however, between acts done openly (*unfacne*) and acts performed in secret (*facne*) contextualizes the term's later pejoration: because a clandestine offense was treated more harshly than a public one, "secrecy," and its lexical signifier, would have faced similar deprecation.

iii. *Law of Ine*

The *Law of Ine* offers a single example of *facen* as a noun:

(56): *facn*: "deceit," "secret," "treachery"

Ine's *facn* agrees with *Æbt*'s sense of "in secret" but precisely describes clandestine thoughts, rather than actions. The accompanying verb, *nyste* (does not know), in the parent clause "þæt he him nan facn on nyste" ["that he knows of no deceit from him"], shows that *facn* evaluates knowledge and, therefore, means "deceit."

iv. *Beowulf*

Beowulf contains only two examples of *facen*, including the hapax legomenon, *facenstafas*, which remains a subject of scholarly contention:[170]

(1018): *facenstafas*: "deceitful letters," "treacherous words"[171]

(2009): *fæcne*: "deceit," "guile," "treachery"

The unique compound, *facenstafas* (1018), foreshadows later conflict among the Sclydings: "freondum afylled; nalles facenstafas / Þeod-Scyldingas þenden fremedon" ["It was filled with friends; no treacherous words had yet been given by the people of the Scyldings"] (1018-19). *Facenstafas* is

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169 See Oliver's *The Beginnings of English Law* (25-58) for a discussion of the lexical-semantic complexities in *Æbt*.

170 For more on *facenstafas* and its complexities see Fulk, Bjork, and Niles (177). See also Benjamin Slade's explanatory notes in his online edition of the text, *Beowulf on Steorarume*. Slade contends that *facenstafas* should be read as "treacherous strokes," though acknowledges that the word literally means "'treacherous writing' or perhaps 'baleful runes'" (*Steorarume*).

171 cf. ON *fekinstafir* (deceitful runes) and OE *arstafur* (kindness).

commonly translated as "deceitful strokes" or as a half-kenning for "treachery" or "deceit."[172] The second component, however, properly denotes "letters" or "words;" no internal evidence suggests otherwise. Indeed, related compounds like *wrohtstafas* (accusations) belong to the semantic field of "communication" and can be literally translated with "word" or "letter" as the second element. The more straightforward example at line 2009 describes how Grendel is *fæcne bifongen* (surrounded by guile). Here, the poem defines Grendel, frequently associated with shadows and darkness, by his deceptiveness.[173] The demonization of Grendel's nocturnal violence agrees with the distinction between "open" and "hidden" activities in *Æbt*.

II. Late (Ninth and Tenth Centuries)

i. *West-Saxon Gospels*

The *West-Saxon Gospels* contain eight occurrences of the root lexeme:

WS (Matt. 22.18): *nequitia*: *facn*: "wickedness"

WS (Matt. 26.4): *dolo*: *facne*: "guile," "deceit"

WS (Mark 7.22): *dolus*: *facnu*: "guile," "deceit"

WS (Mark 10.19): *fraudum*: *facne*: "fraud," "deceit"

WS (Mark 12.14): *dolo*: *facne*: "guile," "deceit"

WS (Mark 14.1): *dolo*: *facne*: "guile," "deceit"

WS (Luke 20.23): *dolum*: *facen*: "guile," "deceit"

WS (John 1.47): *dolus*: *facn*: "guile," "deceit"

The first example of *facn* (Matt. 22.18) translates Latin *nequitia*, or "wickedness," while the second instance at 26.4 interprets *dolo* (guile, deceit); *dolo* reappears in Mark (7.22, 12.14, 14.1), Luke

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172 For instance, Klaeber's *Beowulf* translates *facenstafas* as "treachery" (325). Discounting the second stem of the compound as a superfluous element of a half-kenning, however, is unnecessary because *stafas* is necessary to understand the term's full denotation: *facenstafas* describes not just "treachery" but "treachery delivered through letters or words."

173 *Beowulf* describes Grendel as a *sceadugenga* (lit. shadow-goer), who occupies himself with darkness (*wanre niht*) and shadows (*sceadu*) (702-16).

(20.23), and John (1.47). Matt 10.19 translates the related lemma, *fraudum* (fraud). Like Matt. 22.18, Mark 7.22 interprets the sin of *nequitae*, this time with Old English *man* (wickedness) in agreement with the semantic range of *facn* at Matt. 22.18. The *West Saxon Gospels*, then, primarily use *facen* to articulate "guile," "deceit," and "wickedness" in religious contexts. These contexts corroborate contemporary religious denotations associated with the Old English word.[174]

ii. *Christ I, II, III*

The *Christ* poems contain four examples of *facen* and its reflexes:

(207): *facne*: "sin," "guilt"

(870): *fæcne*: "deceitfully," "treacherously," "with guile"

(1394): *fæcnum*: "deceitful," "treacherous"

(1565): *facentacen*: "false sign," "deceptive sign"

The virgin Mary, describing her pregnancy, delivers the poem's first instance of *facne*: "Nu ic [Cristes] tempel eam / gefremed butan *facne*" ["Now, without *sin*, I have been made Christ's temple"] (206-7; emphasis mine). While *facne* here denotes "guilt," it also connotes "sin," as per orthodox belief in the immaculate conception.[175] *Fæcne* at line 870 describes deceit:

oft sceaða *fæcne*,

þeof þristlice, þe on þystre fareð,

on sweartre niht, sorglease hæleð

semninga forfehð slæpe gebundne

[often the enemy,

the thief, who travels in the shadows,

---

174 The *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth* glosses prefer *inwit* (guile, deceit) for the same lemmata; this is possibly a dialectical difference between the Mercian and West Saxon dialects.

175 For more on the reception of the Virgin Mary and the Immaculate Conception in Anglo-Saxon England, see Mary Clayton's anthropological study, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*.

in the dark night, confidently and *deceitfully*,

suddenly snatches up the sorrowless man,

bound up in sleep]. (870-73)

Like Grendel, *Christ*'s *sceaða*, a personification of death, is defined by its treachery: it sneaks in the shadows and assaults its prey while they sleep. The example of *fæcnum* at 1394 also denotes treachery by referring to Satan and his deceptive advice: "*Fæcnum* feonde furþor hyrdes, / sceþþendum scaþan, þonne þinum scyppende" ["you heeded that treacherous fiend, that harmful enemy, more than your creator"] (1394-5; emphasis mine). *Facentacen*, in variation with *werges bleo* (malicious color), refers to a "false" or "deceptive" sign of *feores* (life) (1564-65). By the ninth century, *facen* had shifted to "deceitful" and "sinful."

iii. *Laws of Alfred*

Alfred's law-code offers two examples of *facen* as a noun:

(17): *facnes*: "crime," "evil act"

(19.2): *facn*: "deceit," "treachery"

Facn at 19.2 parallels *ne wiste* (does not know), which describes an action undertaken without knowledge of others: "Gif he hine triewan wille, þæt he to ðære læne facn ne wiste, þæt he mot" ["If he wants to swear that he did not have any suspicion in that loan, let him do so"]. The first example of the root lexeme does not refer to "knowledge." Instead, *facnes* parallels *getriowe*, a measure of "belief": "Gif hwa oðrum his unmagan oðfæste, & he hine on ðære fæstinge forferie, getriowe hine *facnes* se ðe hine fede, gif hine hwa hwelces teo" ["If anyone entrusts his dependent to another, and he in that duty lets him perish, he who fostered him shall absolve himself of *evil*, if someone accuses him of any"] (17; emphasis mine). *Facnes*, then, broadly denotes a "crime" or an "evil act" (17).

iv. *Paris Psalter*

The *Ps(P)* includes 57 occurrences of *facen*. The following six examples exemplify the term's

semantic range:

(54.23): *fæcne*: "treacherously"

(55.1): *facensearu*: "temptations," "sinful designs"

(72.6): *fæcne*: "wicked"

(88.20): *facen*: "wicked"

(93.18): *facen*: "wickedly"

(118.53): *facendædum*: "sins"

The adverbial reflex at 54.23 describes a "wer bealuinwites fæcne gefylled" ["a man treacherously filled with guile"]. *Fæcne* here agrees with the noun, *bealuinwit* (*dolus,* guile, deceit), which itself agrees with *inwit* (*dolus*) in *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth* and *facen* (*dolus*) in the *West Saxon Gospels*. *Facensearu* appears alongside *fynd* (fiend, devil), and refers to the "sinful designs" or "temptations" of one's enemies. As a group, the examples at 72.6, 88.20, and 93.18 parallel *unriht* (evil). Thus, *facen* here denotes "wicked" or "evil." The dative compound *facendædum* in Psalm 118, on the other hand, translates *peccatoribus* (sins) as "sin-deeds."

III. Very Late (Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries)

i. Glosses

Facen and its variants appear thirteen times in *Cleopatra A. iii* with a wide range of pejorative referents:

Cleopatra I (509): *Astu*: *facne*

Cleopatra I (543): *Astu*: *facne*

Cleopatra I (600): *Astu*: *facne*

Cleopatra I (1266): *Conspiratio*: *facengecwis*

Cleopatra I (1934): *De fraude*: *of facne*

Cleopatra I (2341): *Factiosam*: *facenfullan*

Cleopatra I (2342): *Factiones*:[176] *facn*

Cleopatra I (2357): *Fraudulenta*: *facenfulle*

Cleopatra I (2488): *Fictis*: *facnum*

Cleopatra I (2523): *Fraudulenter*: *facenlice*

Cleopatra I (4714): *Probrosis*: *facenfullum*

Cleopatra III (1283): *Conspiratio*: *facengecwis*

Cleopatra III (1515): *Strophosa*: *fæcnan*

Like *EE*, *Cleopatra* interprets *astu* with *facen*, but the *Cleopatra* lemma comes from a different source, given by the *DOE* as Aldhelm's *Carmen de Virginitate*: "Hic ergo aspexit tremulus tormenta priorum, Qualiter Altithronus pellaces plecteret *astu,* Horrendi sceleris scenam patefecit opacam" ["Trembling thus, he saw the torments of his forebears, how the High-Throned One punished the wicked men for their *treachery*; he revealed the darkened stage of their horrible villainy"] (959-960; emphasis mine).[177] Like other texts of the ninth and tenth centuries, the *Cleopatra* glosses connect *facne* to unambiguously pejorative minima.

Latin *astu* appears later in *Cleopatra* with the gloss *gleawnisse* (wisdom) (546), suggesting that by the eleventh century, *astu*'s polyseme, "cleverness" or "wisdom" (as in *EE* and *Corpus*), required a different Old English word than *facen.* This shift is corroborated elsewhere in *Cleopatra* I and III, where *facengecwis* interprets pejorative *conspiratio* (conspiracy, treachery) (I.1266, III.1283). The other lemmata interpreted by *facen* in *Cleopatra* include: *de fraude* (of fraud), *fraudulenta* (fraudulent), *fictis* (falsehoods, fictions), and *fraudulenter* (fraudulently). In the same semantic field, but more

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176 Possibly an error for *factiosis* or *factiosus*. See the Lewis and Short entry for *factiosus* (adj. factio, II) (cf. PdE "factious").

177 That is, while the lemma, *astu*, remain identical, comparative batch analysis reveals different sources for those lemmata: one for *EE* and *Corpus*, and one for *Cleopatra*. See *facen* in *DOE* for more on *Cleopatra*; see Pheifer and Lindsay for the source of *EE* and *Corpus* (Pheifer 137; Lindsay, *Corpus* 23).

precise, is *strophosa* (trick, artifice) (1515).[178] *Factiosam*, *factiones* (treasonous, seditious), and *probrosis* (dishonor) (4714) can be grouped together as "disgrace" words. Unlike previous lexemes, the distinction between root and compound is not semantically motivated: both can refer to similar minima, and neither category appears more archaic or innovative than the other.

ii. *Wulfstan's The Last Days*

The Last Days contains one example of *facen*:

(23): *facne*: "sins"

Rather than adumbrating "deceit" or "treachery," *facne* parallels *mane*: "ðeos woruld is gemæncged mid mænigfealdan *mane* & mid felafealdan *facne*" ["this world is mixed up with manifold *evils* and with numerous *sins*] (emphasis mine). Old English *facne* complements the secular denotation, "evils," (*mane*) by expressing the Christian referent, "sins."

iii. *Ælfric's Dominica Palmarum*

The *Dominica Palmarum* contains two reflexes of *facen*:

(142.152): *facne*: "treachery"

(142.155): *fæcne*: "treacherously"

The first of these examples describes the silver pieces "þe [Iudas] mid facne genam" ["which Judas acquired by treachery"] (142.152). The second instance narrates how the Judei "noldon... þæt feoh gelecgan on heora fætelsum, swilce hi fæcne næron" ["did not wish to put that money in their vessels, such they might not be treacherous"] (142.155). Both examples denote the same kind of malicious activity: active, clandestine, and inflected by betrayal.

iv. *Liber Scintillarum*

The *Liber Scintillarum* contains nine instances of *facen*:

(4.15): *facne*: "deceitful"

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178 s.v. *stropha*, Lewis and Short

(15.3): *facn*: "deceit"

(21.37): *facne*: "sin," "crime"

(37.16): *facne*: "deceitful"

(37.5): *facenfull*: "fraudulent"

(38.9): *facenfulle*: "fraudulent"

(38.10): *facen*: "deceit"

(49.29): *facnfull*: "fraudulent"

(64.16): *facenfulles*: "deceitful"

(64.46): *facenlice*: "fraudulently"

(64.47): *facenfull*: "fraudulent"

Because the Old English text offers a verbatim translation of its Latin source, defining the *Liber*'s vernacular lexicon is uncommonly straightforward. As with other sample-texts, each occurrence of *facen* divides into a handful of semantic "groups." Five instances at 4.15, 15.3, 37.16, 38.10, and 64.16 translate forms of *dolus* (deceit), while the related compounds *facenfull* and *facenlice* all translate forms of *fraudulentus* (fraudulent). *Facne* at 21.37, on the other hand, translates *flagitio* (crime or atrocity). Elsewhere in the *Liber*, *synne* (sin) more precisley translates *flagitio* (37.17), thereby qualifying the religious features of *facne* earlier in the text. As in *Cleopatra*, the distinction here between compounds and roots is morphological, not semantic.[179]

4.1.6 Old English Conclusions

I. General Trends

In the earliest period, *facen* denotes "secrecy" and "cunning." *Æbt* condemns *facne* (secret) transactions not because secrecy itself is pejorative, but because secrecy in this context obviates consent. *EE*'s use of *facni* for *astu* (cunning) corroborates the lexeme's positive meanings in *Æbt*. The

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179 For example, *facenfulles* (deceitful) is merely the adjectival reflex of *facen* (deceit).

ambivalent/positive senses of "secrecy" and "cunning," used in increasingly negative contexts, quickly

pejorized into "deceit" by the ninth century. Also during this period, malicious referents like

"wickedness" and "crime" develop the Christian sense "sin." This religious meaning persists in the

Very Late period alongside other pejorative referents. The semantic range of *facen*, then, develops

through four stages:

Stage I.) "cunning," "secret," "inferior" (social / positive—ambivalent)

Stage II.) "deceit," "guile," "treachery" (social / negative)

Stage III.) "wicked," "evil," "crime" (social—legal / negative)

Stage IV.) "sin" (Christian / negative)

There are some notable exceptions to this schema. Stage II and III senses are polysemic from the late

eighth century onward, though later examples trend towards more pejorative and more active sememes,

and the development of "sin" in Stage IV is antedated by an isolated occurrence of *ueterno* (sloth) in

Cp. Many compounds extend the sense of the root lexeme at various stages of development without

altering the core meaning of *facen*. For example, *facengecwis* for *conspiratio* (conspiracy) in

Cleopatra, combines "guile" and "speech," where the *facen* stem agrees with its Stage II sememes. As

Jürg R. Schwyter notes, late examples of *facen* are synonymous with *unriht* (crime, lit. "un-right") and

Latin *facinus* (crime) in both secular and religious contexts (134).[180] The development from *astu* >

dolus > *fraude* as the most common lemmata associated with "deceit" corroborates these trends, since

astu (cunning, treachery) and *dolus* (deceit, stratagem) can be positive or negative, whereas *fraude*

(fraud, crime) is universally pejorative.

II. Pejoration and Christianization

Facen first appears in *Æbt* as a high pass of the ambivalent dimension and in *EE* as a high pass

of the positive dimension. These maxima coexist during Stage I, before progressing deeper through the

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180 Latin *facinus* is etymologically unrelated to Old English *facen* or Old Saxon *fekan*.

negative dimension in Stages II, III, and IV. Although the appearance of an ambivalent connotation for *facne* in *EE* (938) complicates the word's semantic timeline, its lemma, *subs[i]ciuum*, remains less pejorative than *fictis* and *ueterno*, found later in *Cp*, because *subsiciuum* denotes inferiority, rather than wilful deception. The *subsiciuum* / *faecne* pair in *EE* signifies a deep pass of the ambivalent dimension or a high pass of the negative dimension (121). On the other hand, *ueterno* in *Cp* represents both an early transitional semantic form in the word's migration from a positive to pejorative dimension, and a transitional social form in its journey from describing individual skill to codifying Christian morality, as in later texts like the *Paris Psalter*, *Wulfstan's Homilies*, and the *Liber Scintillarum*. The lemmata *factiosus* (seditious, revolutionary) and *probrosis* (dishonour) in *Cleopatra* further correspond to *facen*'s developing association with Christian disobedience.[181] *Facne* in *Christ* simultaneously means "sin" and "guilt," which belongs to the same semantic field as "sin" and can only be differentiated by the presence or absence of Christian features.

III. Historical Context and Semantic Hybridity

As with other lexemes, contemporary literature contextualizes *facen*'s semantic history. Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* explains *facen*'s early transition from passively negative denotations like "inferior" to actively negative denotations like "crime" and "sin." Bede notes that: "enim malignus spiritus peccatum suggerit in mente, si nulla peccati delectatio sequatur, peccatum omnimodo perpetratum non est; ...si autem ex deliberatione consentit, tunc peccatum cognoscitur perfici" ["if the evil spirit suggests a sin to the mind, if no delight follows in the sin, then the sin is in no way committed; ...if, however, it is deliberately consented, then the sin is known to be perfected"] (I.xxvii). The characterization of "perfected" sin as a wilful expression of disobedience helps illustrate *facen*'s

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181 Peter Dendle notes that the earliest visions of hell "mention Satan in moral contexts" (68). *Facen*'s pejoration and Christianization extends, in part, from the early medieval conception of Satan as a moral, rather than corporeal, symbol of disobedience and treachery. See Dendle's *Satan Unbound: The Devil in Old English Narrative Literature* for more on the Anglo-Saxon reception of Satan and his rebellion.

descularization: *facen* could only correspond to the *mens rea* (guilty mind) of "sin" after its secular referents had become actively malicious in Stages II and III. Theorizing this development in the context of Christian conversion is paramount to understanding the semantic divide between sociopolitical and moral signifiers in post-conversion Germanic society.

As outlined in the methodology, *facen*'s pejoration can be explained, in its sociological context, as an expression of semantic hybridization. In *Location of Culture*, Bhabha argues that post-colonial formulations of difference "disturb the systematic... construction of discriminatory knowledges" (115). Bhabha describes how these "contradictory knowledges" in post-colonial contexts split the perception of "self" into two psychical attitudes (111, 114-5). These contradictory attitudes emerge in *facen* as secular and Christian polysemes: the coexistence of "positive" and "ambivalent" denotations in Stages I and II, and the coexistence of "ambivalent" and "negative" maxima in Stages II and III. These maxima remained polysemic as long as their constituent Christian knowledges represented a "difference" rather than an "expectation." As Russell observes, the concepts of morality, "sin and salvation," had been irrevocably Christianized by ca. 1000 CE (207-8).[182] Bhabha theorizes that "culture, as a colonial space of intervention and agonism, as the trace of the displacement of symbol to sign, can be transformed by the unpredictable and partial desire of hybridity" (Bhabha 115). This symbolic displacement corresponds to *facen*'s movement from non-pejorative *astu* (cunning) to deeply pejorative *fraude*, *flagitio*, and *peccatoribus* (fraud, crime, sins) after first transitioning through intermediate positions in hybridity between moral boundaries. *Facen*'s contradictory senses embody semantic hybridity because they render a transitional state: multiple signs (e.g., sememes) encoded by a pre-colonial signifier (e.g., the word *facen* itself) in a post-colonial environment, where the native Germanic word and its referents both reinforce the new Christian "civil authority and order" and resist

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182 See also G. R. Evans, *The Church in the Early Middle Ages* for more on the elements responsible for Christian naturalization and desecularization, including the Church's ability to define the "outsider," and thereby facilitate cohesion among the "insiders" (19-82).

that order by preserving earlier, less pejorative minima (Bhabha 107-9). As a post-conversion assessment of personal quality, then, *facen* demonstrates the resistance of the lexical self to new categories of meaning imposed by the moral Christian other.

<div align="center">

Old Saxon *fekan*

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4.1.7 Old Saxon Semantic Timeline

Old Saxon glosses of the early period provide few instances of *fekan*. Conversely, the Late period contains evidence only from glosses, while the Very Late period offers no extant examples.

I. Early (Ninth Century)

iii. Glosses

The *Essen Evangeliarum* glosses contain one example of the compound reflex, *fekanliko*:

EeG (60.34-35b): *fraudis*: *fe[ca]n[l]ico*[183]

The Latin with Old Saxon gloss in *EeG* reads: "a pontificibus atque Pharisaeis ministros accepit *fraudis* meditandę: the ina *fe[ca]n[l]ico* anquamin" ["from the chief priests and the Pharisees, who took to meditating in a *fraudulent* way: those who set upon him in a deceitful way"]. Rather than offering a straightforward gloss, *EeG* interprets a longer passage from John 18.3: "Iudas ergo cum accepisset cohortem, et a pontificibus, et Pharisaeis ministros, venit illuc cum laternis, et facibus, et armis" ["Then Judas, having received a cohort, both from the chief priests and from the Pharisees, went there with lanterns, and torches, and arms"]. As with other material in *EeG*, both the Latin and vernacular glosses summarize and clarify the Gospels. Here, the glossator uses *fekanliko* to denote the concealed actions of Judas and his cohort.

i. *Heliand*

The *Heliand* provides the earliest examples of *fekni*:

(1228): *fegni*: "deceitful," "cunning"

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[183] The manuscript is damaged here; the suggested emendation is Wadstein's (60).

(1230): *fegnien*: "deceitful," "cunning"

(1738): *fecnan*: "deceitful," "cunning"

(1883): *fecneon*: "treacherous," "wicked"

(2274): *feknea*: "deceitful"

(2495): *feknes*: "guile," "fickleness"

(2556): *fecni*: "deceitful"

(3597): *feknu*: "guile," "cunning"

(4954): *fekni*: "cunning," "inquisitive"

(5231): *feknea*: "false," "untrue"

(5652): *fegnes*: "secret acts"

While *fekanliko* in *EeG* is unambiguously negative, the referents in *Heliand* offer greater semantic variety. The examples at lines 1883, 2495, and 5231 can be grouped together as "universal pejoratives." 1883, for instance, references the *fecneon dadiun* (wicked deeds) of the treacherous "wolves in sheep's clothing," while *feknes ful* (full of guile) at 2495 parallels *uuancolan hugi* (fickle mind) (2494), and 5231 narrates how Pilate could not find a *feknea uuord* (false word) in Christ's testimony. The occurrence at 2274 describes the "feknea jungoron" ["deceitful followers"] of Satan, and the occurrence at 2556 describes the metaphorical weeds secretly planted by the *unhold* (disloyal) man: "im thar unhold man aftar saida, fiond fekni krud" ["a disloyal man, his enemy, had deceitfully sown weeds after him there"] (2555-6). Both examples refer to deceit. Likewise, the referents at lines 1228, 1230, 1738, 3597, 4954, and 5652 can be described as "pejorative-positive." *Feknu* at 3597, for instance, denotatively means *cunning*, but connotatively refers to *guile* because it describes the clandestine actions of the *fiund* (fiend, enemy). The example at 4954 describes the "cunning" or "inquisitive" woman who questions Simon Peter about his knowledge of Christ,[184] while the example at

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184 Murphy problematically translates *fekni* at 4954 as two words: "clever, nasty" (*Saxon Gospel* 163). While the Gospels
    imply that the woman has "nasty" intentions, *fekni* and the surrounding narrative focus only on her inquisitive nature.

5652 parallels *mirkiun dadi* (hidden deeds). As with *Æbt*, pejorative interpretations rely on context; alone, *fekni* and its pejorative-positive variants simply denote secret or cunning actions.

ii. *Vatican Genesis*

The fragmentary *Vatican Genesis* contains a single example of the root lexeme:

(187): *feknia*: "sinfully," "wickedly"

Feknia here is semantically ambiguous. Near the end of "Fall of Sodom" fragment, God details the consequences of disobedience:

Ef thia mann... sulic men fremmiat,

uueros uuamdadi, thanna scal sea uuallande

fiur biuallan; sculun sia hira firinsundeon

suara bisenkian: sueþal fan himile

fallit mid fiure, *feknia* stereþat,

mendadige men, reht so morgan kumit.

[If the men... do such sins,

the wicked deeds of men, then the swelling fire

will engulf them, and their evil sins

will sorely sink them: sulfur from the heavens

will fall with fire, they will *sinfully* die,

the sinful men, just as morning comes]. (183-88; emphasis mine)

While *feknia*'s meaning is clearly pejorative, it remains unclear whether it describes "wickedly" or "sinfully," as both differ only in their religious or secular features. The parallel phrase *mendadige men* (sinful man) strongly supports the reading "sinfully."[185]

II. Late (Tenth Century)

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185 See Doane, *Saxon Genesis*, for more on the poem's Germanic-Christian syncretism (93-107).

i. Glosses

The *Werden Prudentius* glosses contain two occurrences of the root lexeme, while the fragmentary *Psalmenauslegung* offers one example:

Pw (93.28a): *subtacitam*: *uegniun*[186]

Pw (95.35a): *subdolam*: *feknia*

Pa (14.11): *dolosus*: *fe(k)ni*

Fekan appears in *Pw* as the adjective *feknia* (accusative singular feminine), glossing Latin *subdolam* (deceitful), and as *uegniun*, glossing *subtacitam* (tricky, stealthy) (Wadstein 95, 93; Gallée 138, 136; *Pw* 392, 174). The first gloss in *Pw* translates Latin *sectam* (manner, principle). *Uegnium* (*subdolam*) defines a particular mode of conduct: secret and dissimulative. The relationship between *dolosus* (deceitful) and *fekni* in *Pa* agrees with the lemmata of the Old English glosses in the *West Saxon Gospels* during the same relative period.

4.1.8 Old Saxon Conclusions

I. General Trends

Because *fekan* vanishes from the corpus so early, the lexeme's later developments remain obscure. Nonetheless, a few trends can be observed in texts of the ninth and tenth centuries. The widest variety of meanings appear in the *Heliand*, where *fekni* already refers to negative senses, such as "guile," "deceit," and "falsehood." Alongside its pejorative referents are the positive polysemes, "cunning," and the ambivalent denotations, "inferior" and "fickle." A generation later in *EeG*, *fecanlico* only means "fraudulently," and in the *Vatican Genesis*, pejorative *feknia* acquires negative Christian

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186 The badly damaged parchment here has been overwritten in dry-point with the nonsensical gloss, *gegnion.* Gallée retains the corrupt manuscript reading, whereas Wadstein suggests an emendation to *uegniun* in agreement with the vernacular interpretation of the lemma's semantic counterpart, *subdolam*, a few lines later (Gallée 136; Wadstein 93). *Uegniun* is a Franconian orthographic rendering of Old Saxon *fekniun* articulated as /vekniən/ or /fekniən/ with a devoicing of medial <g> to /k/ and allophony between /v/ and /f/ in word-initial position.

features.[187] By the tenth century, the word has lost any positive denotations or connotations. From these examples *fekan's* semantic development can be tentatively extrapolated:

Stage I.) "cunning," "secret," "stealth" (social / positive—ambivalent)

Stage II.) "deceit," "wickedness," "fickleness" (social / negative)

Stage III.) "sin" (Christian / negative)

This timeline presents a variety of problems. Like Old English *facen*, Old Saxon *fekan* rapidly becomes polysemic. Christian features appear as early as the *Vatican Genesis*, and *fecanlico* already interprets *fraude* by the close of the ninth century. The absence of very late examples obscures whether *fekan* continues to Christianize. The Christian reading of "sinfully" for *feknia* in *Vatican Genesis* is only discernible through emotive context; otherwise, the word denotes "wickedly." While pejorative senses appear earlier in the Continental corpus, the Old Saxon lexeme loses its positive referents during the same relative period as Old English *facen*.

II. Pejoration

In its earliest attestations Old Saxon *fekan* fluctuates between a high pass of the positive dimension and a high pass of the pejorative dimension, whereas later sememes gravitate towards a deep pass of the pejorative dimension. While OS *fekan* pejorates earlier than OE *facen*, the Old Saxon sample data exposes a similar trend to its Old English counterpart: a swift dismissal of positive referents, and progressively more negative sememes. In *Pw*, the deeply pejorative lemma *subdolam* (deceitful) coexists with *subtacitam* (stealthy), which only articulate a high pass of the pejorative dimension, similar to *faecne* for *subs[i]ciuum* in *EE. Fekni*, then, is polysemic in both early texts, where strong and weak pejorative connotations coexist. Despite the preponderance of negative senses in the early period, the *Heliand*'s retention of positive referents—albeit in pejorative contexts—

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187 That is, the features themselves further pejorate their constituent referents. See Traugott and Dasher for more on the mechanisms of pejoration in relation to specialization or restriction (54-55, 73).

highlights *fekan*'s archaic semantic range during the early years of the ninth century.

III. Historical Context and Semantic Hybridity

Like OE *facen*, socioreligious trends corroborate OS *fekan*'s semantic data. In *Tractatus de anima* Hrabanus argues that "prudentiam quippe omnibus provide prospiciens, caute et rationabiliter ea quae provenire possunt, considerat" ["prudence, which openly oversees everything, cautiously and reasonably considers that which is able to happen"] (10, 1118B). As Istvan P. Bejczy notes, Hrabanus' theology established a paradigm of moral leadership, where a ruler had to be "prudent rather than cunning, courageous rather than proud, moderate rather than indolent, and just rather than cruel" (61).[188] Hrabanus's preference for open prudence, as opposed to secrecy and cunning, corresponds to the pejoration of "cunning" and the rapid ascendancy of sememes like "deceit" and "crime" for *facen*. Doane notes that less orthodox Saxon theologians like Gottschalk were "so overawed by the universal, immutable power and will of God" that they conflated "God's prescience with predestination" (Doane, *Saxon Genesis* 103-105).[189] This heretical position, which debases the promise of salvation, contradicts Hrabanus's mainstream proposal that freewill offers a choice between redemption or damnation, depending on one's actions—in the case of *fekan*, whether one is overly prideful (cunning) and deceitful, or honest (open) and pious. Ultimately, the choice between "openness" or "deceit," and its semantic relationship to "cunning," better agrees with Hrabanus's theology than Gottschalk's and reflects the dominant orthodoxy of ninth- and tenth-century Saxony.

Fekan moves and splits according to its historical context, with pre- and post-conversion referents coexisting in hybridity until the latter dominate the former. As Mierke notes, Christianity's dominion over native Old Saxon knowledges originated with the legitimization of Christian authority by combining "die Idee des westlichen Kaisertums" ["the idea of the Western Empire"] with

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188 Hrabanus's commentary also corresponds to the loss of "pride" as a positive quality in continental Germany.

189 For more on the relationship between Gottschalk and Old Saxon orthodoxy see Matthew Bryan Gillis's recent book, *Heresy and Dissent in the Carolingian Empire*.

ecclesiastical doctrine: "Durch die Synthese dieser Vorstellungen wurde der Geist eines antiken Kaisertums mit christlichem Herrschaftsanspruch verein" ["through the synthesis of these ideas, the spirit of an ancient empire was united with the Christian claim to power"] (65). After Charlemagne's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in 800 CE, the Christian domination of the native Saxon populace, beginning with sociopolitical integration and concluding with moral colonization, was a foregone conclusion. *Fekan*'s pejoration corresponds to the latter stages of Russell's conversion timeline, when Christianity had overcome the "fundamental distinctions between traditional Germanic and traditional Christian world-views" through sociopolitical integration and accommodation in order to "make permanent inroads" in more challenging moral contexts (213).

4.1.9 Old English and Old Saxon Observations

The parallels between the earliest referents of *fekan* in *Pw* and *Heliand*, and those of *facen* in *Æbt* and *EE* are striking. The Old English glosses in *EE* are much earlier than than those in the Old Saxon *Pw* in an absolute chronological sense. However, the relative chronological distance of the Anglo-Saxon conversion and the Old Saxon conversion, and thus the relative sociocultural impact of Christianity, manifests similarly in both corpora. The evidence suggests that the moral naturalization of "sin" and the pejoration of "cunning" shifed *facen* and *fekan* from positive "cunning" to negative "deception" after first transitioning through the intermediate position of semantic hybridity. These similarities highlight the substantial role that Christian "sin" played in colonizing *facen*/*fekan* and the other PQ lexemes of the sample group.

4.2 *hosp—husc*, and *hosk*

The second group of PQ lexemes, *hosp—husc* and *hosk*, offers unique difficulties. *Hosp* commonly appears as the velar variant, *husc*, which expresses a similar semantic range.[190] Similar to *facen* and *fekan*, *hosp*, *husc* and *hosk* demonstrate the relationship between cleverness and blasphemy.

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190 *Husc* assumes a variety of forms throughout the Old English corpus: *husc, hucs,* and *hux* (*BT* 568)**.**

4.2.1 Current Definitions

The *DOE* translates *hosp* as "disgrace," "shame," "opprobrium," and "blame" and *husc* as "mockery," "scorn," and "derision." Tiefenbach interprets Old Saxon *hosk* as "Ulk, Spott, [und] Hohn" ["prank, ridicule, and scorn"], while Köbler translates the root lexeme as "Spott" (derision), "Hohn" (scorn), and "mockery" (Tiefenbach 178, Köbler 599).

4.2.2 Word Studies

Old English *hosp* appears infrequently in word studies. Ingegerd Lohmander's *Old and Middle English Words for "Disgrace" and "Dishonour"* places *hosp* in the semantic field of "dishonour," or what Lohmander calls "*bismer*-words," which he divides into sub classes such as "men-men-insult": *hosp* and *edwit*'s category (63, 180-1). Lohmander directly references the earliest glosses for *hosp*. Mechthild Gretsch also includes a brief study of *hosp* and *edwit* in the glosses (*Intellectual Foundations* 207-11). Outside of dictionaries and grammars, however, Old Saxon *hosk* appears only in Peter Ilkow's *Die Nominalkomposita der altsächsischen Bibeldichtung*, which studies the lexeme as a compound stem (223, 429).

4.2.3 Etymology

Neither Kroonen nor Orel attempt to reconstruct a Proto-Germanic parent for *hosp* or *husc* (Orel 197; Kroonen 260-61). While OE *hosp* and *husc* are complements, their exact etymological relationship remains uncertain. In *Nominale Stammbildungslehre der Altgermanischen Dialekte* Friederich Kluge proposes *-spa-* as a labialized reflex of the suffixes *-ska-* and *-sku-*, based on his reconstruction of Germanic **wlisq-* for Old English *wlisp* (103). If, according to Kluge's model, Old English *husc* descends from **hutska-*, then *hosp* from **hutspa-* would be, like *wlisp*, another instance of isolated labialization, which may be schematized as: **hutsku-* > **hutspu-* > **huspa-* (transition from u- to a-stem via analogy) > **hospa-* (via a-mutation)[191] > *hosp* (loss of unstressed terminal *-a-*). Both

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191 Also see, for example, Proto-Germanic **gulþaN* > *gold* (Old English). A-mutation before a liquid or fricative is a rare,

forms of the word, however, signify similar referents, though *hosp* appears earlier in the Old English corpus, and features more archaic semantic characteristics. Likewise, Old Saxon descends from **hutska* > **huska* > *hosk*. Because of its antiquity, *hosp* forms the foundation of the Old English portion of this section while *hosk*, cognate with *husc*, forms the foundation of the Old Saxon analysis.

4.2.4 Frequency in Old English and Old Saxon

Old English *hosp* and *husc* are extremely common, with over 433 occurrences, mostly in glosses:

Root lexeme:

ca. 250 *hosp*; 8 *husc*

Compounds and Verbs:

4 *hospan*; 1 *hospcwide*; 1 *hosplic*; 1 *hospspræc*

2 *hospul*; 6 *hospword*; 1 *hospettan*; 36 *husclic*

2 *huscword*; 11 *hyscan*; 1 *hyscend*; 110 *hyspan*

Total:

ca. 433 occurrences

Old Saxon *hosk*, on the other hand, occurs fewer than twenty times:

Root lexeme:

15 occurrences

Compounds:

2 *hoskword*

Total:

17 occurrences

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predominantly West-Germanic metaphonic process either absent or incomplete in both East and North Germanic (cf. Gothic *gulþ* and Old Norse *gull*).

The Old Saxon portion of the study examines every occurrence, while the Old English portion examines only the most salient examples.

Old English *hosp* and *husc*

Although seventh- and eighth-century texts offer few examples of *hosp* or *husc*, later glossaries include archaic layers that corroborate the scanty information found in earlier texts.

4.2.5 Old English Semantic Timeline

I. Early (Seventh and Eighth Centuries)

i. Glosses

The earliest occurrences of *hosp* appear in the second *Corpus* glossary:

Cp (239): *per ironiam*:[192] *ðorh hosp*

Cp (697): *subsannat*:[193] *hospetęt*

Per ironiam, is taken from a gloss in book two of Rufinus's *Historia ecclesiastica*, a continuation of Eusebius's work on the same subject: "de impietate atque impuritate Gai quam plurima scripsisset, quae *per ironiam* de virtutibus attitulavit" ["much of the impiety and impurity of Gaius was written down, which, *through irony*, was entitled the virtues"] (Rufinus II.xviii.8; emphasis mine). Here, Rufinus' *Historia* uses "per ironiam" (through irony) to criticize the recognition of Gaius's impious actions as "the virtues" (Lindsay, *Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt and Leyden* 22; Rufinus II.xviii.8; Mommsen 157). Its negative context notwithstanding, *ðorh hosp* clearly articulates an "ironic" rather than "malicious" sense. In the second *Cp* gloss, *hospetęt* (inf. **hospettan*) interprets *subsannat* (inf. *subsannare*). The *DOE* offers Proverbs 30:17 as a probable source: "oculum qui *subsannat* patrem et qui despicit partum matris suae" ["the eye that *mocks* his father and which despises obedience of his mother"] (emphasis

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192 The manuscript reads *perhironiam*, with un-etymological <h> before *ironiam* (Corpus 1549). Hessels and Sweet preserve the corrupt manuscript form of the phrase, which must have originally been *per ironiam* (through irony).

193 Latin *subsannare*, a compound of "sub" (under) and "sanna" (grimace, deriding look), can be interpreted as either "mock" or "insult." *Subsannare* literally refers to an action under the purview of a mocking grimace.

mine). Thus, *hosp-* as a noun expresses an ambivalent denotation while *hosp-* as a verb expresses a pejorative denotation that more closely resembles later occurrences. The distinction between innovative verbal reflexes like *hospian* and their more conservative parent nouns reappears later in the corpus.

ii. *Maxims I*

The gnomic *Maxims I* includes a single instance of *hosp*:

(65): *hospe*: "complaints," "insults"

The full passage criticizes women who gossip: "widgongel wif word gespringeð, oft hy mon wommum bilihð, / hæleð hy *hospe* mænað, oft hyre hleor abreoþeð" ["a wide-wandering woman stirs up words, often she is condemned for her vices, / a man will censure her *with complaints*, often her face falls"] (64-65; emphasis mine). The associated verb, *mænan*, means to "account" with or "complain" against someone and has an evaluative connotation of "censure." *Hospe* means either "complaints" or "insults,"[194] though the former better agrees with the sense of the passage.

iii. *Genesis A*

Genesis A offers two examples of *husc*:

(2339): *hucse*: "mockery," "scorn"

(2384): *husce*: "scorn"

The first example details Abraham's cynical reaction to the Lord's prophecy that Sarah, his barren wife, will bear a son: "Abraham ða ofestum legde / hleor on eorðan, and mid *hucse* bewand / þa hleoðorcwydas on hige sinum ["Abraham then swiftly laid his face on the ground, and those prophecies wound about his mind with *scorn*"] (2338-40; emphasis mine). A second, nearly identical occurrence appears when Sarah herself questions God's prophecy: "Þa þæt wif ahloh wereda drihtnes... / þone hleoðorcwyde *husce* belegde / on sefan swiðe" ["Then the woman laughed at the Lord of Troops, …/ she swiftly engulfed the prophecy in her heart *with scorn*"] (2382-85; emphasis mine). Both passages

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194 Despite its clear grammatical relationship to *mænað*, *hospe* in *Maxims* is commonly translated as "insults." For more on Anglo-Saxon insults, see Don Chapman, "'You Belly-guilty Bag': Insulting Epithets in Old English."

illustrate the experience of disbelief as a "swift" (*ofestum*, *swiðe*), cynical affectation, which "winds around" or "covers" the mind. *Husc* is best interpreted here as "scorn": disdain towards a concept deemed unworthy of respect.[195] The parallels between *husc* at 2384 and its metathesized variant at 2339 shows that both forms could be used interchangeably and, like other Old English words with similar variation,[196] should be considered reflexes of a single lexeme.

II. Late (Ninth and Tenth Centuries)

i. *West Saxon Gospels*

The root lexeme appears several times throughout the *West Saxon Gospels*:

WS (Matt. 11.20): *exprobare*: *hyspan*

WS (Matt. 27.44): *inproperabant*: *hyspdun*

WS (Matt. 27.44): *inproperabant*: *hospodon*

WS (Lk. 1.24): *obprobrium*: *hosp*

The above Latin lemmata express similar referents. *Exprobare* means "to reproach," while *inproperare* means "to shame," "to disgrace," or "to taunt." *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth* interpret the same West Saxon lemmata with forms of *ætwitan*, except for Matthew 11.20 in *Lindisfarne*, which renders *exprobare* with *ofsceomage* (to shame) and *forcuoeða* (to blame)*,* and Luke 1.24, which interprets *obprobrium* with *tælnes* (slander)*.* The pejorative lemma *obprobrium* (insults, disgrace) reappears frequently in the very late glosses.

ii. *Judith*

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195 For more on the relationship between scorn and laughter see John D. Niles, "Byrhtnoth's Laughter and the Poetics of Gesture" (213-4), and Susanne Kries, "Laughter and Social Stability in Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse Literature." Kries notes that communal laughter in *Genesis* emerges in positive contexts whereas laughter "done in isolation" emphasizes "the vanity of the one who laughs" (5).

196 See, for example, the common metathesized pairs, *bird—brid* and *græs—gærs*. For a general overview of metathesis see Roger Lass's *Phonology* (188-90). For a study on metathesis in Old English see Robert B. Howell's *Old English Breaking and its Germanic Analogues* (11-2).

The poetic *Judith* contains one instance of *hosp*:

(216): *hosp*: "insult"

Like other examples of the period, the labial root verbalizes insult: "edwit þoledon / hæðenra hosp"

["they suffered disgrace, / the insult of the heathens"] (215-16). Here, *hosp* appears in variation with

edwit, which elsewhere interprets *obpropbrium* and is a noted synonym of *hosp* (*BT* 240, *DOE*).[197]

iii. *Andreas*

Andreas contains one compound with velar *husc* and one verbal reflex of the labial root:

(669): *huscworde*: "mocking words," "scornful words"

(671): *hyspan*: "mock," "scorn"

Andreas parallels *huscworde* and *hyspan* in the same clause to emphasize the maliciousness of the

high-priest: "Huscworde ongan / þurh inwitðanc ealdorsacerd / herme hyspan" ["The high-priest began

with scornful words, / through deceitful thoughts, / *to mock* harmfully"] (669-71; emphasis mine). Both

words connote "mocking," since Christian divinity is actively derided by the *ealdorsacerd*, not merely

denied or ignored. Line 669 is one of only two occurrences of Old English *huscword*.[198]

iv. *Meters of Boethius*

The *Meters of Boethius* contain one instance of the labial root:

(4.44): *hospe*: "scorn," "evil"

Here, *hosp* describes the jealous calumny of the unrighteous: Unrihtwise eallum tidum / habbað on

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197 Mechthild Gretsch discusses at length the variation between forms of *hosp* and *edwit* in the Old English *Regula*, the
Psalter Glosses, and the Gospels (*Intellectual Foundations* 207-11).

198 The continental cognate, *hoskword*, appears only twice and only in Old Saxon. For more on Old Saxon *hoskword*, see
Peter Ilkow (223). Despite Bill Friesen's contention that Anglo-Saxon hagiographies like *Andreas* "had no European
analogue" (297), Megan Cavell convincingly demonstrates a lexical and semantic relationship between *Andreas* and the
Old Saxon corpus in "The Binding of Religious Heroes in *Andreas* and the *Hêliand*." Although the meter and style of
Andreas remains distinctly Anglo-Saxon, lexical anomalies like *huscworde* suggest ongoing literary trade between
England and the continent during the ninth and tenth centuries. See also Brian Shaw's "Translation and Transformation
in the Old English *Andreas*" (164-76).

hospe ða þe him sindon / rihtes wisran, rices wyrðran ["The unrighteous, at all times, / treat with scorn those who are / more righteous and more worthy to rule"] (43-5). *Hospe* defines the negative treatment of the righteous, and precisely denotes "scorn," or more generally, "evil."

v. *Orosius*

The Old English prose *Orosius* contains a single example of the verb, *hyspton*:

(135.13): *hyspton*: "blasphemed"

The relevant passage paints a dire picture of Roman Christianity during the reign of Caligula: "hie Cristes bebod hyspton 7 hit forsawon" ["they [the Romans] blasphemed [against] Christ's commandment and rejected it"] (13-14). As Bately notes, the parallel verb *forsawon* (*forseah*) precisely means "held in contempt" or "rejected with scorn," while its adjectival reflex, *forsewennesse*, expresses "contempt" (364). *Hyspton* denotes "blasphemy" through the Romans' willful rejection of Christian law. These Christian features agree with the Latin original, which explicitly references a *blasphemantibus* (blaspheming) group of Romans (VII.v.i).

III. Very Late (Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries)

III.i. Glosses

The phrase, *þurh hucx*, translates *per [h]ironiam* in the earliest layer of the *Cleopatra Glosses*. The *Prudentius Glosses* include a gerundive reflex of the velar root, while the more common labial root, *hosp-*, appears in *Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter*, the *Harley Glosses*, and the *Regius Psalter*:

Cleopatra I (186): *per [h]ironiam*: *þurh hucx—þurh smicernesse and hiwunge*

Cleopatra I (3123): *inproperio*: *hospe*

Cleopatra III (1323): *per hironiam*: *þurh hucx*

Eadwine (88.42): *obprobrium*: *hosp*

Harley (C160): *calumpnia—accusatio falsa*: *hosp—hearmspræc—holtihte*

Prudentius (702): *conuitiator*: *hiscend*

Regius Psalter (88.35): *inrita*: *hospula*

As noted earlier, the first layers of the *Cleopatra Glosses*—represented here by *Cleopatra I* 186 and *Cleopatra III* 1323—belong semantically to the eighth century. However, *inproperio* (indignity, reproach) represents an authentically late pejorative sense.[199] *Cleopatra* reaffirms that both *hosp* and *husc* could be used more-or-less interchangeably during the same period. As with *hosp* in *Cp*, the lemma for *þurh hucx* appears in Rufinus II. Like *Cp*, *Cleopatra I* (186) interprets the Latin phrase *per ironiam* as *þurh smicernesse and hiwunge* (through elegance and shaping); the Latin lemma alone reappears in *Cleopatra III* (1323). As *BT* notes, Anglo-Saxon "irony [*ironiam*] is explained as combining elegance and dissimulation" (Wright 417; *BT* 888). In this way *Cleopatra I* illuminates the shift from "irony" to "deceit": irony itself was a positive articulation of deceptive speech-craft. The *Harley Glosses* likewise feature *hosp* beside *hearmsprac* (harmful language) for *calumpnia* (claim, accusation) and *accusatio* (accusation), whereas *Eadwine* uses *hosp* to interpret the common lemma, *obprobrium*, and *Prudentius* renders *conuitiator* (reviler) with *hiscend*. *Eadwine*, *Harley*, and *Prudentius* show the lexeme's true semantic range in the very late period: active and scornful. *Hospula* in the *Royal Psalter* interprets *inrita* (void, idle), which the other Psalm glosses translate with *bysmere*, *idele*, and *onleccungæ*: all Christian analogs of vanity and idleness (*DOE*).[200]

ii. *Letter to Brother Edward*

Ælfric's Letter to Brother Edward, from a fragment of *de Sanguine*, offers one instance of *huxlic*:

(26): *huxlic*: "disgraceful," "blasphemous"

Beginning with a biblical condemnation of blood consumption (1-4), the *Letter* outlines how "hit is

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199 *Cleopatra* I and III are largely based on eighth-century material, though the manuscript itself dates to the late tenth or early eleventh century. The later and shorter *Cleopatra* II closely follows the *Brussels Glossary.* See N. R. Ker *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (180-82) and Wolfgang Kittlick "Die Glossen der Hs. British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A. III: Phonologie, Morphologie, Wortgeographie."

200 See also Gretsch (*Intellectual Foundations* 207-8) and Lohmander (180-81).

bysmorlic dæd and micel higeleast and *huxlic* bysmor" ["it is a blasphemous deed and great folly and *disgraceful* debasement"] to eat and drink while *on gangsetlum* (on the toilet) at a *gebeorscipe* (beer-party). Rather than denoting debasement itself, *huxlic* describes the *bysmor* (debasement) of blasphemous consumption.

iii. *Durham Monastic Canticles*

The *Canticles* feature three examples of *hosp*:

(10.21): *hospe*: "censure," "disgrace"

(11.1): *hosp*: "censure," "disgrace"

(26.18): *hosp*: "censure," "disgrace"

Like glossaries of the late and very late periods, the *Canticles* translate Latin *obprobrium* with *hosp*. The first example at 10.21 appears in the devotional clause, "Ne us sele ðu to *hospe* for naman þinum," which translates Latin "Ne nos des in *obprobrium* propter nomen tuum" ["do not give us into *disgrace* for your name"] (emphasis mine). The instances at 11.1 and 26.18 also interpret *obprobrium* in similar contexts, all of which refer to "disgrace" or "censure."

4.2.6 Old English Conclusions

I. General Trends

Despite its complex semantic history, *hosp* and *husc* trend towards pejorative meanings in the late and very late periods. "Irony" quickly gives way to "mockery," while less common early senses, like "complaints," are clearly pejorative, but develop outside of the core timeline. Near the end of the Anglo-Saxon period *hosp* and *husc* experience a final stage of pejoration, yielding the negative referent, "censure," and the Christian denotations, "disgrace" and "blasphemy." The semantic range of *hosp* develops as follows:

Stage I.) "irony," "complaints" (social / ambivalent—negative)

Stage II.) "insult," "mockery," "scorn" (social / negative)

Stage III.) "censure," "disgrace," "blasphemy" (social—Christian / negative)

While "irony" becomes unproductive by the ninth century, all Stage II and Stage III sememes coexist throughout the remainder of the period; "mockery" remains most common, whereas Christian senses like "blasphemy" are rare but significant.[201]

II. Pejoration and Christianization

Hosp and *husc* are first attested in a state of polysemy, belonging to both ambivalent and pejorative dimensions. The semantic range of *hosp* in *Cp* expresses both low pass pejorative ("mocks") and low pass ambivalent ("irony") connotations. By the late period, ambivalent maxima become unproductive, and the lexemes' subsequent minima remain deeply pejorative. The early development from "irony" to "mockery" remains unsurprising. As Traugott and Dasher note, pejoration is simply "the tendency to semanticize the more negative connotations of a word," not necessarily a sudden paradigm shift in the word's foundational denotations (55). Accordingly, the tacit implication of "trickery" in "irony" naturally extends to "insult" or "mockery," since generating false or misleading information under the pretense of truth supposes an audience's inability to distinguish fact from fiction. As with other PQ lexemes, the gradual introduction of Christian features accompanies pejoration. Christianity affects *hosp* and *husc* primarily through evaluative connotations, rather than fundamental changes in denotation.

III. Historical Context and Semantic Hybridity

Following Donatus, Bede seems ambivalent towards irony, defining *ironia* as "tropus per contrarium quod conatur ostendens" ["a trope that attempts to express itself through the opposite of its meaning"], and providing a less-than-positive example with the false god, Baal: "Clamate voce majore,

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201 The rarity of Christian minima agrees with *hosp*'s role as a generic moral qualifier: *Hosp* does not correspond to a specific sin, but instead to a broad range of pejorative senses that contextually relate to the concept of sin.

Deus est enim Baal, et forsitan loquitur, aut in diversorio est, aut in itinere, aut dormit, ut excitetur" ["Cry with loud voice, for it is God Baal, and perhaps he speaks, or is gone, or is on a journey, or has fallen asleep, so that he must awaken"] (Bede, *De schematis et tropis sacrae scripturae liber* CCSL CXXIIIA 162).[202] Bede's example of "irony" agrees with the pejorative direction of *hosp*'s semantic shift and his definition anticipates the deceitful and derisive quality of *hosp*'s earliest pejorative polysemes.

Hosp's positive and negative polysemes exemplify semantic hybridity: transitional forms that trend towards a more stable, pejorative identity. In the early period, referents like "irony" and "mockery" coexist in polysemy between positive and pejorative connotations—a hybridized state of competition that Bhabha calls the "ghostly" or the "double": the instability of post-colonial identity experienced by both colonial agents and colonial subjects (Bhabha 142-44). With *hosp* and *husc*, stability develops in the ninth century, when Christianity, as a colonial agent, had established pejorative sememes—with both Christian and non-Christian features—while the word's earlier, non-pejorative referents had ceased to be productive. Gretsch notes that in the *Royal Psalter*, *hosp* and its reflexes could only interpret negative lemmata like *deridere* (deride), *inritare* (scorn), and *calumnia* (guile) (*Intellectual Foundations* 208). By the late period, *hosp* and *husc* had transitioned through semantic hybridity into a sustainable state of pejorative polysemy, consolidating into what Russell calls the "organizational stability" and moral-psychological solidarity of Christian thought (91).

Old Saxon *hosk*

The Old Saxon data-pool suffers from a lack of textual variety. The ninth century offers no glossary evidence, which obscures the lexeme's semantic range during that period. *Hosk* disappears

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202 Donatus, Bede's antecedent, offers the same definition, but uses a less pejorative example: "Egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis, / tuque puerque tuus" ["Splendid indeed are the praises and packed with ample spoils, / both you and your boy"] (*Grammatici Latini* IV, 401, 30 ff.).

from the corpus by the tenth century.[203]

4.2.7 Old Saxon Semantic Timeline

I. Early (Eighth and Ninth Centuries)

i. *Heliand*

The *Heliand* contains the greatest quantity of *hosc* and its reflexes, with fourteen examples of the root lexeme and two examples of *hoskword*:

(1083): *hoscuuordun*: "boastful words," "insulting words"

(1338): *hosca*: "insults," "mockery"

(1896): *hosc*: "mockery," "derision"

(3528): *hoskes*: "mockery," "derision"

(3929): *hoska*: "mockery," "boasts"

(5053): *hosca*: "mockery," "boasts"

(5115): *hosce*: "mockery," "derision"

(5292): *hoske*: "mockery"

(5295): *hosche*: "mockery"

(5300): *hosku*: "mockery," "laughter"

(5303): *hosc*: "insults," "mockery"

(5495): *hoske*: "mockery"

(5503): *hoske*: "mockery"

(5565): *hoscuuord*: "boastful words," "insulting words"

(5640): *hosce*: "mockery"

Most early examples refer to vocal expression in parallel with *word* (word) or *quidi* (speech). Physical

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203 On the other hand, see Old Saxon *gaduling* (Chapter 2), whose heterogeneous minima in *Heliand* gesture toward later developments, despite the absence of late or very late occurrences.

"mockery," on the other hand, appears most frequently in the last 1000 lines of the poem, where Christ faces his greatest adversity. Rather than describing mocking words, *hoske* at line 5495 illustrates the emotive sense of derision that accompanies the passion, whereas the example at 5640 accompanies the vocal action, *hlogun* (they laughed).

The occurrences in *Heliand* can be divided into five overlapping categories:

1.) "Habdun im te hosca" ["brought him to mockery"] formula: 1338, 3929, 5053, 5495

2.) *Gelp* (Boast) Parallels: 1083, 3929, 5053, 5565

3.) Passion Mockery: 5292, 5295, 5300, 5303, 5495, 5503, 5565, 5640

4.) Scornful Laughter: 5300, 5640

5.) Physical Mockery 1896, 3528, 5115

Gelp and Scornful Laughter illustrate how language inflects the experience of mockery. "Scornful Laughter," especially, has precedent elsewhere in the Old English and Continental Germanic corpus,[204] and reflects the early Germanic belief in the power of voice to shape experiential reality.[205] While all examples in *Heliand* are clearly pejorative, the only reference to "active" injury appears at line 1338, where *hosca* parallels *harmes filu* (much harm). "Harm," however, is framed not as a synonym of *hosca* but as a separate consequence. *Hosca* itself refers to "insults" or "mockery."

II. Late (Tenth Century)

i. Glosses

The *Werden Prudentius* glosses contain two instances of *hosc*:

Pw (101.21a): *acroma* (*festiuum*): *hosc*

Pw (101.16a): *cauillo*: *hosca*

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204 For more on the social politics of Germanic laughter, see Donald Scragg, "Sin and Laughter in Late Anglo-Saxon England" and John D. Niles, "Byrhtnoth's Laughter and the Poetics of Gesture."

205 The power of the "voice" in Germanic culture appears, for example, in Bede's well-known account of Caedmon, whose social capital hinged on his ability to perform oral poetry (O'Donnell 39, 60-61).

Hosk appears only twice in *Pw*: once as *hosca*, interpreting *cauillo* (quibbling), and once as *hosc* for *acroma* (lit. "metrical vocal contractions"), which modifies *festiuum* in Prudentius 321-24, yielding "festival recitations" or "festival words." Pierre-Yves Fux notes that *acroma festiuum* "repris de CIC. Verr. II 4, 49 (avec la forme habituelle *acroama*)" ["comes from CIC. Verr. II 4, 49 (with its usual form, *acroama*)]," and reads *acroma* itself as a "contraction vocalique (raisons métriques)" ["vowel contraction (for metrical reasons)]" (196).[206] Thomas Hewitt Key similarly interprets *acroama* as "a poem, etc. recited or sung at festivals" and offers a variety of examples outside of *Prudentius* (24). The Old Saxon glossator of *Pw* has clearly taken the Latin lemma out of context, rendering *acroma*'s ambivalent connotation of "word-play" with *hoska*, which expresses dissimulation and elegance at its most positive and deceit at its most pejorative (*Pw* 319, 324). *Husca* for *cauillo* also preserves an early referent, since "quibbling" and "argumentation," though undesirable, are less pejorative than "insult" or "treachery." Like many examples in *Heliand*, *hosk* in *Pw* denotes a speech act.

4.2.8 Old Saxon Conclusions

I. General Trends

Unlike *fekan*, *hosk* is semantically homogeneous in *Heliand*, with only minor variations between each occurrence. This complication makes it difficult to hypothesize the word's trajectory, and to explain the unusual semantic features in *Pw*, the only source for *hosk* that post-dates the *Heliand*. Although *hosk*'s rarity makes the earliest and latest referents uncertain, *Pw* suggests the continued presence of non-pejorative sememes into the tenth century. Unlike Old English *hosp* and *husc*, Old Saxon *hosk* becomes *less* pejorative over time. However, despite the absence of truly positive or ambivalent referents in the early period, examples of *hosk* in *Heliand* most commonly refer to "mockery" or "derision," rather than the active senses of "sin" and "injury" present in the latest Old

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206 For more on the use of *acroma* in *Prudentius* see Fux (195-6) and Key (24).

English examples. From these observations we can tentatively reconstruct a semantic summary:[207]

Stage I.) "word-play," *"irony" (social / ambivalent—positive)

Stage II.) "mockery," "boast," "argumentation" (social / negative)

While non-pejorative "word-play" persists in *Pw* alongside pejorative "quibbling," an unattested sense of "irony" likely predates the common referent "mockery" for the same reasons outlined in 3.2.6.I. The Christian concept of "blasphemy" is anticipated by the scornful laughter in *Heliand*, but cannot be confidently placed in the semantic summary based on the available evidence. Old Saxon *hosk* offers no internal evidence for semantic Christianization, but the word's pejorative senses in *Heliand*, which appear in contexts similar to Old English *hosp—husc*, suggest comparable sociocultural influences.

II. Pejoration and Classification

In the reconstructed summary, *hosk* begins at a high pass of positive dimension before transitioning through the ambivalent dimension and settling in the negative dimension. While the most positive and negative maxima remain hypothetical, the extant minima support their inclusion. Based on the development of "mockery" and the polysemes in *Heliand* and *Pw*, *hosk*'s earliest, oral referents likely referred to "word-play" or "irony" as in Old English, while later referents continued to pejorize. Further, the *Heliand* was produced with an explicitly Christian imperative: the moral and spiritual colonization of the Saxons. As a written text—a new non-oral medium—*Heliand* necessitated a new, non-oral referent for *hosk.* Examples of the word in *Heliand* commonly retain oral features, albeit pejorized, but introduce more deeply pejorative mockery to accompany Christ's physical passion.

III. Historical Context and Semantic Hybridity

The most pejorative Old Saxon senses correlate only to the second stage of Old English *hosp*'s semantic development, as no extant Old Saxon usage renders the sense of direct physical hostility expressed by the Old English cognate's most pejorative denotations. This divergence is unsurprising, as

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207 Entries marked by <*> are reconstructions.

the Old Saxons, having been converted in the early ninth century, had less time to engage with Christian morality. This moral pejoration is illuminated by contemporaneous theological orthodoxy. Celia Chazelle notes that Hrabanus, throughout his commentaries, is keenly interested in the "mystical significance" of the "flogging and humiliation" of Christ during his passion, whose corresponding scenes in *Heliand* contain the greatest concentration of *hosk* as a term of physical—rather than oral— derision (Chazelle 145).[208] Hrabanus' focus on physical derision illustrates the correlation between *hosk*'s pejoration and its shift away from the semantic field of voice in *Heliand*: the oral referent "mockery," tethered to the material suffering of Christ, became both physical and more deeply pejorative. This "physicality" focuses uniquely on Christ's passion, since a key element of Germanic Christianization was a movement away from a physical towards a more intangible soteriology, while actively negotiating the materiality of pre-Christian Germanic belief (Russell 118). Here, both the "colonizer and colonized [exist] in a process of miscognition where each point of identification is always a partial and double repetition of the otherness of the *self*" (Bhabha 138-9). Like Old English *hosp*, the hybridity of *hosk* emerges in the transitional "ghostly double" between its positive and pejorative sememes.[209]

4.2.9 Old English and Old Saxon Conclusions

A shared aspect in both corpora is the focus on laughter and speech as vehicles for mockery. The second example of *husce* in *Genesis A*, for example, narrates Sarah's scornful laughter, while *Andreas* uses the compound *huscworde* and the verb *hyspan* to express vocal derision (*Genesis A* 2384; *Andreas* 669, 671). *Heliand* also uses vocalization and laughter to express mockery, especially at lines 5300 and 5640. Both sample groups move towards more generalized, physical mockery, though only *Heliand* highlights a relationship to Christ's passion.

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208 See, for example, Hrabanus in Matth. 8.27, PL 108.1133.

209 See also Mierke, "Christliche Rhetorik im altsächsischen *Heliand* im Kontext von Kulturtransfer un karolingischer *Translatio studii*" (171-74).

Unlike *facen* and *fekan*, Old English *hosp* and *husc* partially semanticize the difference between the root lexeme and its various reflexes. This distinction, however, is asymmetrical throughout the sample data: in early texts compound and verbal reflexes tend to be most innovative, whereas later texts tend to innovate with the root lexeme. The relationship between semantic quality (i.e., the innovation or preservation of sememes at certain points in time) and lexical class (i.e., whether a term is a root noun, a compound, etc.) remains absent in occurrences of Old Saxon *hosk.* While a more varied data-pool might uncover such a relationship, the current evidence—only two compound reflexes in the same semantic field—remains too sparse to draw firm conclusions.

4.3   Chapter 4 Final Thoughts

The lexemes of this chapter show how Christianity's moral influence could develop negative referents of deceit and derision from positive senses of cleverness and word-play. Both word-pairs transition through semantic hybridity before sustaining pejorative polysemy with Christian and non-Christian referents. These PQ terms do not, for the most part, agree with the semantic distinctions between the compounds/reflexes and root lexemes of the SR sample group. As participants in a semantic pull-chain during the post-conversion period, *facen* and *fekan* responded to gaps in meaning by developing new denotations like "sin" and pejorizing the relevant moral referents that antedated the introduction of the new faith. Old English *hosp—husc* and Old Saxon *hosk* fit less comfortably within the predicted model than *facen* and *fekan* and the four previously explored terms. The value of these outlying word-pairs lies in their partial adherence to the general trends shared by the more straightforward lexemes. Despite disagreeing with certain elements of the hypothesized model, *hosp*, *husc*, and *hosk* still illustrate pejoration and suggest the effects of Christianization as a semantic influence. This complex hybridity is shared by the next two lexeme pairs, *scyldig/skuldig* and *wlanc/wlank.*

Chapter 5. Personal Qualities: *scyldig*/*skuldig* and *wlanc*/*wlank*

5.1 *scyldig* and *skuldig*

Scyldig and *skuldig* show the development from secular injury to Christian sin. Here, "sin" refers precisely to the addition of Christian features to the denotation "guilt." The morphological distinction between, for example, "guilt" and "guilty" is only detailed where it produces a significant semantic difference.

5.1.1 Current Definitions

BT defines *scyldig* as "guilty," "sinful," and "criminal," with the alternative meanings of "liable," "forfeit," and "deserving of punishment" (*BT* 699, 847). Köbler consolidates Old Saxon *skuldig*'s referents into "guilty," while Tiefenbach offers the additional sense, "liable" (Köbler 1002-3; Tiefenbach 351).

5.1.2 Word Studies

Scholarship on *scyldig* is scarce. Relevant studies feature *scyldig* only as part of larger studies of liability, theft, and guilt. In *"An Ald Reht,"* Carole Hough briefly examines *scyldig* in the early and late Anglo-Saxon laws, while Richard Dance explores the cultural and literary import of Wulfstan's preference for *scyldig* and its compounds with the precise legal sense of "guilty, so as liable to forfeit" (Hough 55, 59, 93, 173; Dance 56-7). Alexander Haselow's *Typological Changes in the Lexicon* offers a more mechanical way to read *scyldig* and its reflexes: by schematizing the creation and direction of derivational nouns. This order of operations will be important in evaluating the semantic differences between *scyldig* and its various compound and verbal derivations. As with *facen*, Jürg R. Schwyter briefly touches upon *scyldig*'s legal and moral role as a valuation of guilt in *Old English Legal Language: The Lexical Field of Theft*. Here, Schwyter focuses on *scyldig*'s sense of "liable to pay debt" (123). Victoria Thompson's anthropological study, *Dying and Death in Late Anglo-Saxon England*,

examines *scyldig* as a determinant of theological and moral liability (23, 86, 182-87).

Old Saxon *skuldig* is similarly underrepresented. Seiichi Suzuki's *Meter of Old Saxon Poetry* includes *skuldig* in a list of words whose root consonants feature homorganic clusters of /l/ or /r/ with a second element in dental or alveolar position negating vowel epenthesis (14-15). While thorough, Suzuki's study reveals little about *skuldig* itself. Michael Philip Coffey examines the negative reflex *unskuldig* (innocent) in his discussion of Old Saxon word-stress in *Autosegmental Processes in Early Germanic* (21-2), but like Suzuki, Coffey's study focuses only on prosody and reveals little about the lexeme's social-semantic faculties. Apart from references in editions, anthologies, and dictionaries, the Old Saxon term appears in no dedicated studies.[210]

5.1.3 Etymology

Kroonen reconstructs the Proto-Germanic root noun as **skuldi-* (debt, guilt) without specifying its declension (Kroonen 450). Orel reconstructs the more precise masculine i-stem noun, **skulđiz* (tax, due) (Orel 345). While Kroonen's reconstruction corroborates the meaning of "sin" found in later examples of Old English *scyldig*, Orel's entry agrees with the earlier sense of "liability" found in the *Corpus* gloss, and, therefore, more closely resembles the word's oldest semantic minima. Orel's reconstruction fully accounts for the Proto-Germanic noun's phonology and morphology, specifying both the word's declension and the phonetic value of inter-vocalic /ð/, represented by Orel as <đ>, compared to Kroonen's more ambiguous <d>.[211] Originally, *scyld-* and *skuld-* descend from PIE **skel-* (owe, obligated), which is also the parent of Old English *sculan* and Old Saxon *skulan*, from PGmc **skulanaN* (must, should).

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210 See also Paul Derks' recent study, *Die Siedlungsnamen der Stadt Sprockhövel: Sprachliche und Geschichtliche Untersuchungen*, which looks at the High Medieval legal development of *Schult*, with reference to Old Saxon *skuldheto*, Old High German *skultheizo*, and the Latinized *scultetus* (127).

211 Kroonen's <d> implies a pronunciation of /d/, which was realized as /ð/ between vowels in Proto-Germanic. See Don Ringe, *From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic*, for an overview of Common Germanic phonology (100-140).

5.1.4 Frequency in Old English and Old Saxon

Old English *scyldig* is an extremely common lexeme, which features in a large variety of compounds and verbs throughout the Anglo-Saxon corpus:

Root lexemes:

ca. 300 (*ge*)*scyld*; ca. 200 *scyldig*

Compounds and Verbs:

1 *bescyldigian*; 2 *deaþscyld*; 2 *deaþscyldig*; 1 *deaþscyldigness*

1 *efenscyldig*; 3 *feorhscyldig*; 2 *forscyldig*; 44 *forscyldigian*

1 *frumscyld*; ca. 100 *(ge)scyldan*; ca. 105 *(ge)scyldend*; 1 *godscyld*

1 *godscyldig*; 1 *handscyldig*; 1 *healfscyldig*; 2 *manscyldig*

1 *morðorscyldig*; 4 *scyldfull*; 5 *scyldhata*; 2 *(un)scyldiglic*

15 *(un)scyldigness*; 3 *(un)scyldigung*; 1 *scyldlæta*; 3 *scyldleas*

1 *scyldwreccende*; 4 *scyldwyrcende*; 1 *synscyldig*; 1 *þeofscyldig*

1 *þurhscyldig*; 4 *unscyld*; ca. 223 *unscyldig*; 1 *wambscyldig*

1 *wammscyldig*

Total:

ca. 1040 occurrences

Old Saxon *skuld-* is a relatively common stem that appears in multiple compounds and verbs:

Root lexemes:

15 *skuld*; 15 *skuldig*

Compounds and Verbs:

1 *farskuldian*; 4 *giskuldian*; 1 *hofskuld*; 2 *kogskuld*

1 *landskuld*; 1 *malskuld*; 2 *menskuld*; 3 *skuldhetio*

7 *skuldlakan*; 1 *skuldpenning*; 3 *unskuldig*

Total:

56 occurrences

Despite appearing much less frequently than its Old English cognate, *skuldig* is common compared to other Old Saxon roots of the sample group. *Skuldig*, moreover, appears in a wide variety of forms and genres; this variety will ensure a more comprehensive social-psychological comparison with its Old English counterpart. Because both terms appear so frequently, their data will be selective.

<div align="center">

Old English *scyldig*

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5.1.5 Old English Semantic Timeline

I. Early (Seventh and Eighth Centuries)

i. Glosses

The early period glosses feature *scyld-* only once in *Corpus*:

Cp (1422): *obnoxius*: *scyldig*

Here, adjectival *scyldig* interprets Latin *obnoxius* (liable),[212] an ambivalent sense that preexists the naturalization of "sin." Lindsay is unsuccessful in deriving a source for the lemma *obnoxius*, which is unique to *Corpus* and cannot be cross-analyzed with the *EE* and *Leiden* batches. Based, however, on source-frequencies in *EE* and other early glosses,[213] *obnoxius* in *Cp* may be a nominative singular derivation from accusative singular *obnoxiam* in *Orosius* I.ix.4 or nominative plural *obnoxii* in *Orosius* IV.xvi.9, which both mean "subject to" or "liable to."

ii. Kentish Laws

The early Kentish laws of the *Textus Roffensis* contain four instances of *scyldig*; no examples appear in *Æbt*.

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212 Lewis and Short, for example, define *obnoxius* as "Subject, liable to punishment, obnoxious to punishment, punishable" (1238).

213 For the relative frequency of *Orosius* and other source-texts, see Pheifer (xli-lvii).

(*Hloþhere and Eadric* 12): *scylde*: "fault"

(*Wihtred* 11): *scyldig*: "liable for," "liable to pay"

(*Wihtred* 12): *scyldig*: "liable for," "liable to pay"

(*Wihtred* 13): *scyldigo*: "liable for," "liable to pay"

The root noun in *Hloþhere and Eadric* describes the payment for taking a person's cup if they drink "buton scylde" ["without fault"]. *Scylde* here refers to "fault" as a relative category rather than "guilt" as an absolute category (Oliver 133). All three examples of *scyldig* in *Wihtred* refer instead to the reparation of *æhtan* (possessions) or *healsfange* (neck-payment). *Scyldig*, then, does not define the guilt of the crime but assesses how that guilt is processed; like *scylde* in *Hloþhere and Eadric*, the guilt itself is already established.[214]

iii. *Laws of Ine*

The *Laws of Ine* contain five instances of *scyldig* and one example of the parent-noun, *scylde*:

(4): *scyldig*: "liable for," "liable to pay"

(5): *scyldig*: "liable"

(28.1): *scyldig*: "liable"

(37): *scylde*: "crime," "wrongdoing"

Like the Kentish Laws, *Ine* use *scyldig* to describe liability. Section 4, for example, describes the consequences of not paying *ciricsceattas* (church money) at Martinmas: "sie he *scyldig* LX scillinga be XIIfealdum agife þone ciricsceat" ["may he be *liable for* 60 shillings and give twelve-times the church dues"] (emphasis mine). Likewise, clause 5 describes how one who is "deaðes scyldig" ["liable to die"] can seek sanctuary at church, while section 6 outlines the penalty for fighting in the King's house: "sie he scyldig ealles his ierfes" ["may he be liable to pay all his possessions"]. *Scylde*, however, expresses the precise legal referent, "crime," rather than "fault" (37). This semantic innovation agrees with

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214 See Tom Lambert, *Law and Order in Anglo-Saxon England* (101-2, 76-7) for more on guilt and liability in the early Kentish laws.

Patrick Wormald's contention that *Ine* represents a radical transition from pre-conversion oral law. A more confident work of prose, Ine's laws are removed from the "pre-existing observance" of *Hloþhere and Eadric* and *Wihtred,* and instead stand on the precipice of a new tradition: for the first time among the Anglo-Saxons, "law was actually being *made in writing*" (Wormald 188).[215]

iv. *Beowulf*

Beowulf offers three examples of *scyldig* in similar narrative contexts:

(1338): *scyldig*: "forfeit"

(1683): *scyldig*: "guilty"

(2061): *scyldig*: "forfeit"

(3071): *scildig*: "guilty"

The half-line "ealdres scyldig" ["forfeit of life"] at lines 1338 and 2061 agrees with the sense of liability found in the earliest laws. The phrase "morðres scyldig" ["guilty of murder"] at line 1683 clearly belongs to the same metrical pattern as the examples at 1338 and 2061,[216] but introduces the sense "guilty," which refers more directly to moral quality. Thus, unlike the laws, *scyldig* at 1683 evaluates guilt itself, rather than its consequences. The phrase "synnum scyldig" ["guilty of sin"] at 3071 distinguishes between "sin" and "guilt" because *scyld* itself cannot yet mean "sin."[217]

v. *Genesis A*

The poetic *Genesis A* includes eight occurrences of *scyldig*, including a variety of Christian compounds:

(869): *scyldfull*: "guilty," "wicked"

(895): *scyldfrece*: "avarice,"[218] "guilty greed"

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215 Wormald notes, especially, the increased complexity of Ine's syntax, which permits more nuanced legal procedure and principle (188-90).

216 That is, genitive + nominative complement, with a genitive of judgement.

217 See Klaeber's Fourth Edition of *Beowulf*, which corroborates these readings (429)**.**

218 For example, see Go *faihufrikei*, which uses a redundant co-compound to express the sin of avarice.

(949): *womscyldig*: "criminal," "sinful"

(1028): *manscyldigne*: "sinful"

(1048): *manscyldigne*: "sinful"

(1252): *scyldfulra*: "wicked," "sinful"

(1267): *scyldige*: "guilty"

(1302): *scyldfullum*: "wicked," "sinful"

In *Genesis A*, the semantically heterogeneous compound *scyldfull* means "wicked" or "guilty" and only possesses Christian features in context, while the intensifying co-compounds *scyldfrece* (lit. "guilt-greed"), *manscyldig* (lit. "guilt-guilty"), and *womscyldig* (lit. "impure-guilty") refer to sin, *ad litteram*.[219] Doane comments, for example, on Cain's *manscyldigne* (sinful) "outburst of remorse" at 1028, which exemplifies Cain's despair, "one of his traditional sins" (Doane, *Genesis A* 248).[220] The example at 1267, on the other hand, belongs to the half-line "dædum scyldige" ["guilty in deeds"] and agrees with the secular sense in *Beowulf* (1683 and 3071).

II. Late (Ninth and Tenth Centuries)

i. Glosses

The late period of *scyldig* is dominated by biblical glosses, where the root adjective and parent-noun interpret a variety of legal and Christian lemmata. The following examples are taken from the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, *Rushworth Gospels*, and *Vespasian Psalter*:

Li/Ru (Matt. 6.12): *debita*: *scylda*

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219 See also Thomas Gardner who argues that "tautological compounds were responsible for the development of the intensifying formations" in Old English (112). See also the conclusions for *ambiht* in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

220 *Genesis A* has long been divided between what Charles D. Wright calls interpretations *ad litteram* and interpretations *ad Christo* (the former reads the text literally while the latter reads the text allegorically; Wright 121). For the long-held position that *Genesis A*'s moral-thematic unity depends upon Augustinian allegorical exegesis, see B. F. Huppé's 1959 work, *Doctrine and Poetry*. For a corroboration of Huppé's position, see Doane's edition of the poem (esp. 40-44). Most recently Wright has convincingly argued that *Genesis A* is grounded in literal, rather than allegorical (or more specifically, typological), questions of morality and credibility (121-23).

Li/*Ru* (Mk. 3.29): *reus*: *scyldig*, *synnig*

VP (11.3): *culpam*: *scyld*

VP (12.3): *reos*: *scyldge*

VP (12.6): *culpa*: *scyld*

VP (37.19): *peccato*: *scylde*

Examples of *scyld* in *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth* primarily gloss the legal lemmata, *debita* (debt) and *reus* (guilty, criminal). *Debita* refers analogically to "sin" in the Lord's Prayer, while *reus* is also glossed by *synnig* (Mk. 3.29), suggesting that both "scyldig" and "synnig" (lit. "sinful") belonged to the same semantic field. The *Vespasian Psalter* also uses *scyld* to interpret *culpa* (crime, offence), and *peccato* (sin). Elsewhere, *VP* renders *peccato* with *synn-*, again showing that *synn* and *scyld* could be treated as synonyms.[221]

ii. *Cura pastoralis*

The root *scyld-* appears over one-hundred times in the Old English version of Gregory the Great's *Cura pastoralis.* The following selection illustrates the term's semantic range:

(2.31.14): *scylde*: "sin"

(5.45.20): *scyldum*: "sins"

(5.45.20): *scyldige*: "guilty"

(15.91.2): *scyldegan*: "sinful"

The first example of *scylde* in the text outlines how the priests "woldon selfe fleon ða byrðenne sua micelre *scylde*" ["wanted, themselves, to flee from the burden of so great a *sin*"], in parallel with the "*synna* suiðe gebrædda" ["the very far-reaching *sins*"] one line earlier (2.31.12-14; emphasis mine). The parallel example at 5.45.20 focuses instead on cause and effect; if people neglect to glorify God for his mercy, then "beoð hie sua monegum *scyldum scyldige*" ["they are guilty of very many *sins*"]

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221 *VP* Psalm 38.2, for example, interprets *peccator* (the sinner) with *se synfulla.*

(emphasis mine). Both terms connote "sin," but only the root noun, *scyldum*, is explicitly Christian, since *scyldig* itself describes the *guilt* of sin, not the sin itself.[222] The adjective at 15.19.2 refers instead to "scyldegan folce" ["sinful people"].

iii. *Solomon and Saturn*

The metrical *Solomon and Saturn* includes five occurrences of *scyld-* and its reflexes:

(61): *scyldum*: "guilts," "sins"

(85): *scyldigra*: "sinful," "guilty"

(134): *scyldigne*: "sinful," "guilty"

(488): *frumscylda*: "first sin," "original sin"

(542): *scyld*: "sin"

Examples in *Solomon and Saturn* corroborate the Christian denotations found in the *Cura pastoralis* and anticipate later semantic developments. The first example rehearses how to transform sorrow into happiness, "asceadan of scyldum" ["separated from *guilts*"] (emphasis mine). *Scyld-* here can refer to guilt or sin because of its ambiguous context. Later, Solomon extols "Godes cwide" ["the word of God"] as a "scyldigra scyld" ["shield for the sinful"] (85). Although one can interpret *scyldigra* here as "guilty," both the Christian import of Solomon's praise and the dialogue's edifying context support the reading "sinful." This context is shared by the example at line 134. Notably, the Christian referent at 488 is not generated by semantic redundancy. The posterior stem, *fruma* (first), modifies *scyld* but does not intensify the anterior referent as it does for the co-compounds in *Genesis A*; instead, *scyld* itself means "sin." Likewise, Solomon at 542 narrates how a man who turns toward despair and rage ultimately turns toward the Devil, "ðurh earmra scyld" ["through poor sin"]. Solomon's admonishment recalls Cain's *manscyldigne* (sinful) despair in *Genesis A*, but here the root lexeme alone can express Christian features.

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222 For more on the construction of sin in the Old English *Cura pastoralis* see Catherine Cubitt, "Pastoral Care and Religious Belief."

iv. *Old English Heptateuch*

Scyld- appears eight times in the prose *Exodus*. To avoid repetition, however, only the most salient examples are examined:

(*Exodus* 20.7): *unscyldig*: "innocent," "sinless"

(*Exodus* 21.18): *unscyldig*: "innocent"

(*Exodus* 21.21): *unscyldig*: "innocent"

(*Exodus* 21.28): unscyldig: "innocent"

(*Exodus* 22.2): *unscyldig*: "innocent"

(*Exodus* 22.3): *scyldig*: "sinful"

(*Exodus* 23.7): *unscyldigne*: "innocent"

(*Exodus* 32.30): *scylde*: "sin"

Instances of *scyld* in the prose *Exodus* can be placed into one of three classes: i.) agentive, ii.) negative-abstract, and iii) positive-abstract.[223] Agentive nouns like *scylde* (21.21) express concrete "sin," while adjectival derivatives like *scyldig* ("sinful"; 23.7) describe the abstract quality of those who engage with sin. Negative-abstract *unscyldig* (lit. un-guilty) means "innocent," since *un-* modifies the earlier sense of "guilty" rather than the more innovative Christian referent, "sin." The two morphemes, then, were bound before the naturalization of "sin" in the seventh and eighth centuries. In these instances, the root itself remains "guilty."[224]

v. *Vercelli Homilies*

Together, the *Vercelli Homilies* contain twenty-one instances of *scyld*, *scyldig*, and related derivations; the following examples best illustrate the lexeme's semantic variety:

(HomS 1, 66): *scylda*: "of crimes"

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223 "Negative" and "positive" here refer to the absence or presence of a negative bound morpheme, not the semantic maxima "positive" or "negative."

224 See Paul Cavill (33-59) for the assimilation of sin during this transitional period.

(HomS 4, 82): *scyldegan*: "sinful"

(HomS 11.2, 40): *scylda*: "of sins"

(HomS 11.2, 107): *scylde*: "sin"

(HomS 24, 77): *scyldig*: "liable"

(HomS 24.1, 284): *unscyldig*: "innocent," "sinless"

(HomU 10, 48): *scyldgum*: "sinners"

(HomU 9, 207): *wambscyldiga*: "gluttonous"

While most examples in the *Vercelli Homilies* agree with the moral and legal range of meanings found elsewhere in the late corpus, the hapax *wambscyldiga* in Homily IX[225] exhibits a novel Christian development in the history of insulting epithets. In her analysis of form-to-function mappings, Ursula Lenker notes that *wambscyldig*, or "gluttonous," belongs to the semantic field of sin, and thereby maps the sociocultural value of "insult" to the moral-psychological dimension of Christian goodness (333-34). *Wambscyldig* (lit. "stomach-sinful"), then, shows not only the ongoing specialization of Christian features, but how those features were processed and expressed in their new social and moral environments.

III. Very Late (Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries)

i. Glosses

The *Cleopatra* and *Harley* glosses offer three instances of *scyld* and its reflexes; the examples taken from *Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter* are not exhaustive:

Cleopatra I (4751): *piacula*: *scylda*, *synna*

Eadwine (5.13): *innocentiam*: *unscyldinesse*

Eadwine (8.3): *inimicum*: *gescyldend*

Eadwine (9.29): *innocentem*: *unscyldigne*

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225 Vercelli Homily IX is the earliest extant eschatological prose homily in Old English and has no direct source.

Eadwine (17.19): *afflictionis*: *scyldend*

Eadwine (18.14): *delicto*: *scylde*

Eadwine (58.13): *delicta*: *scyldes*

Harley (C2095): *peccatum*: *scyld*

Harley (E424): *exactor*: *scyldlæta*

Cleopatra glosses *piacula* with both *scylda* and *synna*, suggesting that both lexemes could be used interchangeably. In *Eadwine*, forms of *unscyldig* gloss *innocentiam* (innocent), an antonym of "guilty." *Gescyldend* interprets *inimicum* (enemy) and *scyldend* translates *afflictiones* (hardships); the root noun instead translates the more general *delicto* (offense, wrongdoing). *Harley* interprets *peccatum* (sin) with the root noun and uses *scyldlæta* for the precise legal term, *exactor* (creditor). The very late glosses, then, offer a wide range of senses, both secular and Christian, which are either legal or religious.

ii. *Laws of Cnut*

In total, *II Cnut* contains thirteen instances of *scyldig* and its reflexes. The following examples are representative:

(II, 15.1a): *scyldig*: "guilty"

(II, 15.2): *scyldig*: "liable"

(II, 43): *deaðscylde*: "capital crime," "death-crime"

(II, 44): *deaðscyldig*: "comdemned," "death-guilty"

(II, 57): *scyldig*: "liable for"

(II, 76.2): *efenscyldig*: "equally guilty"

The example at 15.1a belongs to the phrase "lahslites scyldig" ["guilty of a law violation"], while the example at 57 describes how one who commits treason will be "feores scyldig" ["liable for his life"]. The occurrence at 15.2 further outlines how a criminal will be "scyldig wið þone þe hit age" ["liable

for that which he might own"].[226] While both commonly take genitives like *feores* and *lahslihtes*, compound adjectives denote "guilt" rather than "liability," while the agentive root refers to "crime" itself. Because "liability" requires a sense of "for" or "by," genitives with this meaning express an idiomatic dative. Conversely, genitives connected to "guilty" retain their morphological sense of possession. Using the same morphology, *II Cnut* refers to both the earliest legal sense of "liable" and the newer sense of "guilty," though the latter appears more frequently.

iii. *Homilies of Wulfstan*

Scyldig appears four times in Wulfstan's homilies:

("Last Days," 16): *forscyldgode*: "become sinful," "become guilty"

("Christian Life," 38): *scyldig*: "guilty"

("Isaiah Sin," 227): *unscyldig*: "innocent"

("Sermo Lupi," 78): *unscyldgige*: "innocent"

Like contemporary texts, *scyldig* articulates "guilty" and "sinful" in the *Homilies of Wulfstan*, while negated *unscyldig* expresses "innocent."[227] The example in "Christian Life" is significant because, despite its religious context, it belong to the phrase "morðres scyldig" ["guilty of murder"] and refers to "guilt" rather than "sin."[228] The re-appearance of the "morðres scyldig" half-line over 200 years after its appearance in *Beowulf* shows that Wulfstan could draw from much older poetic formulae. The formulaic nature of this expression also helps explain its conservative semantic range and demonstrates the persistence of the polyseme "guilt" as late as the eleventh-century.

iv. *Instructions for Christians*

The *Intsructions for Christians* (*IC*) contains a single instance of *scyldig*:

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226 See also Tom Lambert (318) for more on forfeitures in *II Cnut.*

227 Dolores Fernandez Martinez, "A Critical Approach to Social Function in *Sermo Lupi Ad Anglos*" explores the sociocultural machinery behind the development of guilt and general ethics in Wulfstan's writing.

228 Though murder itself is a sin, the word's literary-semantic context makes such a reading impossible. See Traugott and Dasher for the distinction between absolute and potential semantic categories (19-23).

(53): *scyldig*: "sinful"

As with other religious texts of the period, *scyldig* in *IC* refers to the sin of those who neglect God's Law: "he bið lað Gode, and his saul bið swiðe scyldig" ["he is loathsome to God, and his soul is very sinful"]. While *scyldig* alone can mean "guilty," the lexeme's context here demands the reading "sinful."

5.1.6 Old English Conclusions

I. General Trends and Co-compounds

In the earliest examples, *scyld* and *scyldig* refer to liability. Quickly, however, "guilt" becomes the dominant referent. The late period develops a variety of more pejorative referents like "crime" and "sin," though secular and religious meanings coexist. For example, the *Vercelli Homilies* and *Vespasian Psalter* use *scyldig* with the older sense of "liable" alongside more innovative Christian referents. *Scyld-*, then, transitions through three stages of polysemy:

Stage I.) "liable" (social—legal / ambivalent)

Stage II.) "guilt," "criminal" (social—legal / negative)

Stage III.) "sinful," "wicked" (Christian—social / negative)

Morphologically, the Stage I sense of "liable" commonly takes a dative (i.e., "liable to/for"), while the Stage II sense of "guilty" commonly takes a genitive (i.e., "guilty of"). Alexander Haselow's derivational relation theory explains both the direction and quality of these changes. Haselow outlines the "construction of event schemas" that produce deadjectival nouns, such as *scyldigness* (guilt) from *scyldig* (guilty), and other adjectival and gerundive reflexes. As Haselow argues, event schemas of derivational nouns relate "to a predicate in that they represent the evaluation of the result of an action, and on the other hand, to a person who performed the action," yielding the relation: Abstract > Action > Person (62). As per Haselow's model, *scyld* and *scyldig* trend toward more concrete and specialized

referents: a.) abstract liability with implied guilt in Stage I, b.) guilt itself in Stage II, and c.) "sin," a personal reflex of guilt, in Stage III. This schema also agrees with the development of *scyld* and *scyldig*'s compound derivations.

Throughout *scyldig*'s semantic timeline, heterogeneous copulative compounds[229] encourage innovation while pleonastic or tautological compounds facilitate semantic fortition. Bernhard Wälchli notes that where the meanings of two elements of coordination overlap, their aggregate meaning "is not the intersection of A and B... Rather, it is the union of the meanings of A and B" (77). In the case of synonyms or hyperonyms, this union produces a "stronger" expression of the shared referent. *Genesis A*, for example, uses compound redundancy to increase the pejorative "depth" of *scyldig.* Similar to *gædelingmæg* in Chapter 2, the co-compounds *manscyldigne* (guilt-guilty) and *womscyldig* (impure-guilty) strengthen their constituent stems' moral-psychological maxima through semantic reduplication to generate the innovative referent, "sinful": a meaning otherwise unavailable to *scyldig* during the early period. Wälchli argues that this referential emphasis emerges from "contextual motivation," where co-compounds express innovative meanings "only under specific conditions" (172), like the need for specialization in a new moral environs inflected by Christianity.

II. Pejoration and Christianization

Scyld and *scyldig* first appear in Stage I at a high pass of the ambivalent dimension, but swiftly transition toward a high pass of the pejorative dimension. Later, in response to the influence of Christianity in Stage III, *scyld* and *scyldig* occupy a low pass of the pejorative dimension, which was earlier available only to compound reflexes in accordance with Wälchli's principle of reduplication. Schwyter suggests that moral evaluations of "guilt," "liability," and "sin," as well as legal concepts like "theft," belong to the larger lexical field of "GUILT-SIN-OFFENCE" (37). Schwyter's work models the

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229 That is, compounds formed from semantically distinct stems, whose referent is the sum total of both. For more on compound classification see Zeki Hamawand's *Morphology in English: Word Formation in Cognitive Grammar*, Chapter IV: "Compounding" (201-51).

development from legal to moral categories: By moving along a semantic chain, pejorative legal referents like "liable" could extend to the moral valuations of those legal states.[230] Indeed, the alternation between *scyldig* in the *TR* copy of the *Laws of Ine* and *synnig* in the twelfth-century Corpus Christi College Cambridge (CCCC) 383 copy shows that Christian referents extended from, and related back to, earlier notions of liability; by the the very late period, *synnig* and *scyldig* were functionally interchangeable because their referents occupied the same semantic field (Hough 59).[231] However, as Hough points out, "while the semantic range of both *synnig* and *scyldig* includes the idea of guilt, only *scyldig* refers to forfeiture," a fact that suggests the two lexemes—in a legal context—could only be used synonymously in the former sense (59). Hough's observation anticipates the word's semantic variety later in the corpus, where liability and forfeiture are clearly distinct from Christian sin.[232]

III. Role of Christianity and Semantic Hybridity

The development of legal and moral categories is reflected in contemporary theological history. Bede, in the "Dialogue between Gregory and Augustine," already distinguishes between earthly and sacred law: "Quaedam terrena lex... permittit, ut siue frater et soror, seu duorum fratrum germanorum, uel duarum sororum filius et filia misceantur... Et sacra lex prohibet cognationis turpitudinem reuelare" ["A certain *earthly law*... allows that the son and daughter of a brother and sister, or of two brothers, or two sisters, may be joined together... And the *sacred law* prohibits one to uncover the nakedness of his kindred"] (I.xxvii; emphasis mine). Here, Bede establishes a contradiction between the two fields of

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230 See also Cynthia Long Westfall's *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews*, which describes the "semantic chain of 'Sin, Wrongdoing, Guilt'," and examines how lexical items in the same semantic domain can move along semantic chains and "be extended if a context clearly indicates that the author is placing a word in the same semantic category as other words in a chain" (49-51). Westfall's analysis focuses on Greek, but depends upon universal semantic laws.

231 Both lexemes had become hyperonymic rather than truly synonymic. See Lambert for more on liability and guilt in the *Laws of Ine* (67-70).

232 Ultimate judgement was still, of course, tied to spiritual concerns. See also Victoria Thompson (96-99) for the relationship between "sin" and material consequences like illness.

law with respect to marriage and gender, and how that contradiction problematizes the pragmatic application of both categories. As Bhabha argues, the disruption "between the letter and spirit of the Law displays otherness of Law itself; the ambiguous grey area between Justice and Judicial procedure is, quite literally, a conflict of judgment," because the Other's representation in the social process of Law "is always ambivalent, disclosing a lack" (Bhabha 74). The division between religious and secular law in late post-conversion England shows this theory in action: a splitting and re-ordering of legal identity to facilitate moral expression in a colonial environment where the Germanic Self had become the Other.

In this way, *scyld*-'s developments fall into two classes: 1.) a legal stream that retains secular minima and maxima, and 2.) a moral stream that desecularizes into "sin" near the end of the Old English period. In the Middle English period, however, both streams—legal and moral—collapse into the referents "guilt" and "crime" before the word falls out of use. While Old English developments are most vital to this study, *scyld*-'s derivations in the High Middle Ages are illuminating because their referents develop from Stage II rather than Stage III minima. The *Worcester Ælfric Gloss* (ca. 1225 CE), for example, glosses *scelus* (crime, guilt) with *sculd*, the South-Western Middle English reflex of Old English *scyld*,[233] whereas terms relating to "sin" universally prefer *sinne* (*Worcester* 313-33).[234] Although inflected by religious liability, ME *sculd* refers to the sociopolitical sense of criminal guilt, not the Christian sense of sin.

This phenomenon suggests that, given enough time and a variety social factors, semantic hybridization is not necessarily linear;[235] a lexeme's end-point need not agree with the latest set of

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233 *Sculd* emerges from the unrounding of /y/ to /u/, common to the South-Western dialects during the early Middle English period.

234 The examples that mean "sin" in the Middle English corpus are found in late Old English texts from the twelfth century, like the *Vespasian D Homilies* (c.1150) (*MED*).

235 For more on the subject of the Norman Conquest, see Matthew Bennett, *Campaigns of the Norman Conquest* (esp. 64-72), which outlines the sociopolitical paradigm shifts in the years following 1066.

meanings to develop, as a term can reverse semantic direction while still remaining consistent with the overall trend.[236] The most disruptive colonial event in Old English was Christianization, hence the moral-psychological terminal referent "sin," while the most disruptive colonial event in Middle English was the Norman conquest and its restructuring of political order, hence the social/legal terminal referents, "crime" and "guilt." Victoria Thompson notes that new "categories of sinner and criminal," which offered "an elaboration of existing practice," appeared near the end of the Anglo-Saxon period in the laws of Athelstan onward (177). Christianity, then, facilitated a hybridized moral orthodoxy where lexical "goodness" was divided into spiritual and earthly judgement: distinct semantic correlates of the same moral-psychological maxima, reflected in Old English *scyldig*'s two semantic paths.[237]

Old Saxon *skuldig*

5.1.7 Old Saxon Semantic Timeline

Aside from their many occurrences in *Heliand*, Old Saxon *skuld* and *skuldig* appear primarily in glosses and legal documents.

I. Early (Ninth Century)

i. Glosses

In the early period, *skuld* and *skuldig* appear exclusively in *Heliand* and the *Essener Evangeliarglossen*:

> *GlEe* (52, 8b): *conscius*: *sculdigo*
>
> *GlEe* (53, 14a): *desideria*: *sculd*
>
> *GlEe* (53, 29a-30a): *debuit*: *sculdig*

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236 Despite being superseded by "guilt" in the centuries following the Anglo-Saxon period, "sin" remains a Stage III meaning because, a.) "sin" represents the terminal referent in Old English, and b.) "sin" develops later than "guilt," despite "guilt"'s later dominance.

237 See J. Allan Mitchell, *Ethics and Eventfulness in Middle English Literature*, for more on the development and contexts of morality in the Middle English period (esp. 77-82).

GlEe (54, 7a): *damnabiliores*: *sculdigerun*

GlEe (55, 4a): *damnabiliores*: *sculdigerun*

GlEe (55, 29a): *debet*: *gisculdid*

GlEe (56, 13a-14a): *transgressor*: *sculdig*

GlEe (58, 22b): *centurio*: *sculthetio*

GlEe (61, 4b): *implicatos*: *sculdig[a]*

GlEe (60, 24b): *perdidit*: *farsculda*

The glosses in *GlEe* offer a much wider variety of referents than the earlier *Heliand*, including a variety of innovative Christian minima expressed by roots rather than compounds. Because *GlEe* is later—in relative terms—than the OE *Cp* glossary, *GlEe* does not associate *obnoxius* with *skuldig*. Instead, *Sculdigo* (52, 8b) glosses *conscius*, a legal term that denotes "accessory" and connotes "accessory [to a crime]". These criminal features are shared by *sculdig[a]* for *implicatos* (implicated [in a crime]) (61, 4b). Also belonging to the legal category are *debuit* (debtor, one who owes) and *debet* (debted, owed), which both agree with the Christian senses of "debtor" and "debt" in the Old English *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth Gospels*. The confluence of legal and Christian features becomes more pronounced later in the corpus. Lemmata like *desideria* (sin of lust, covetousness) and *damnabiliores* (damned) show how the root lexeme could express Christian referents in the generation following *Heliand*. *Transgressor* (trespasser, offender) is synonymous with *peccans* (sinner), which is introduced alongside Christianity and interpreted elsewhere in the Old Saxon corpus with reflexes of *sundia*, cognate with Old English *synn-* and PDE "sin-."

The gloss for *centurio* (centurion) (58, 22b) presents analytical difficulties. Here, *sculthetio* (guilt, sinfulness), must describe the the morality of the centurion, not the "centurion" himself. *GlEe* (58, 22b), then, is an exception to the majority of glosses, since *sculdhetio* interprets the quality of its lemma rather than the lemma itself. This type of confusion reappears in *GlEe* (60, 24b) where rather

than translating its lemma, *farsculda* describes how one may be *perdidit* (destroyed). Here, the

intervention of guilt (*farsculda*) facilitates destruction but is not, itself, destruction.

ii. *Heliand*

The *Heliand* includes fourteen examples of *skuld* and *skuldig*, including a variety of compound

reflexes; these occurrences provide the earliest evidence for *skuld-* in Old Saxon:

(752): *unsculdiga*: "innocent"

(1609): *mennsculdio*: "sin"

(1620): *mennsculdeo*: "sin"

(3086): *unsculdigna*: "innocents"

(3218): *sculdi*: "guilt"

(3820): *sculdige*: "guilty"

(4592): *sculdigna*: "guilty"

(5181): *gisculdit*: "be guilty"

(5232): *sculdig*: "liable for"

(5244): *gisculdian*: "to be liable for"

(5319): *sculdig*: "liable for"

(5331): *gisculdid*: "liable for"

(5647): *sculdig*: "guilty"

(5693): *sculdige*: "guilty"

Unlike the later *GlEe*, *skuld* and *skuldig* in *Heliand* express a limited range of meanings. Like the

earliest Old English glosses and laws, Old Saxon *skuldig* both evaluates "guilt" and expresses the

liability of guilt that has already been established. Phrases like "ferhes... sculdig" ["liable... for his

life"] (5231-32) and "mordes gisculdit" ["guilty of murder"] (5181) directly parallel the Old English

expressions "feores scyldig" (*Laws of Cnut* II, 57) and "morðres scyldig" (*Beowulf* 1683). In *Heliand*,

only the co-compound *mennsculdio* means "sin". Other examples refer to "guilt" and "liability." As in OE, the OS compound *unskuldig*, which develops from the early sense of "guilty" rather than "sinful" and appears twice in *Heliand*, means "innocent."[238]

II. Late (Tenth Century)

i. Glosses

Skuld and *skuldig* appear only four times in the late period, exclusively in glosses:

GlPw (95, 4b): *debet*: *sculdig*

GlPw (97, 15b): *crimen*: *scvld*

GlPw (98, 12a): *membra... obnoxia interfecis*: *scvldiga*

GlG (63, 8b): *maliciam uenditores*: *sculdige*

Glosses of the late period continue the innovations begun in *GlEe* while preserving a variety of earlier referents. The tenth-century *Gregory the Great Glosses* (*Gg*) interpret *malicium uenditores* (givers of malice) with *sculdige.* These *sculdige*, then, are not passively guilty but actively malicious. This innovation exhibits fortition of the term's earlier pejorative minima, which first emerged in *GlEe* at the close of the early period. During the same period, *Werden Prudentius* inteprets *debet* (debtor, one who owes) with *sculdig* and the phrase "membra... *obnoxia* interfecis" ["members liable to be destroyed"] with *scvldiga*; the latter of these *Pw* glosses is significant, as it shares its lemma, *obnoxia*, with the one instance of Old English *scyldig* for *obnoxius* in *Corpus*. *GlPw* (95, 4b) has an earlier Old Saxon parallel in *GlEe* where *gisculdid* glosses *debet* and *sculdig* glosses *debuit.* Also noteworthy is the lemma *crimen* (crime), which agrees more with the agentive phrase in *GlG* than its neighbouring glosses in *Pw.* Thus, glosses of the late period express both active and passive referents, with a preference for more active and negative senses.

III. Very Late (Eleventh and Twelfth Century)

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238 See Coffey (22) for more on the formation and application of *unskuldig*.

i. Glosses

Skuld appears in a variety of obscure legal glosses from the eleventh and twelfth-century

Urbare Werden and *Codex Traditionum Westfalicarum*:

> *Urbare Werden* (S 90, 27): *uillicus*: *scultheto*

> *Urbare Werden* (S 91, 12): *uillicus*: *scultheto*

> *Westfalicarum* (20, 16): *redditus*: *malscult*

The lemma, *uillicus* (overseer), first appears in the *Urbare Werden* in an entry that defines the term's

legal use: "uillicus est abbatis quod nos uulgo dicimus *scultheto*" ["a villicus is an abbot that we call

overseer"] (90, 27; emphasis mine). Here, the sense of "liability" has been re-interpreted as "legal

obligation" and narrowed to the precise meaning, "overseer of a country house."[239] *Skuldheto*

reappears, with the same sense, later in the document: "quos ipse *scultheto* uel alius nuncius abbatis

suscipiens pisces abbati cum eis adquirat" (91, 12; emphasis mine).[240] *Skuldheto* clearly demonstrates

the relationship between *skuld*, *skuldig*, and the auxiliary verb *skuldan* (should), since the construction

of a legal *villicus*—one who maintains and manages an estate—is consistent with both the early root-

adjective's sense of "liability" and the verb's sense of "obligation."

The contemporary *Codex Traditionum Westfalicarum* features a similar compound which

describes payment rather than land-management: "Hi sunt redditus qui vocantur *malscult*" ["this is the

rent that is called *malscult*"] (20, 16; emphasis mine). The *malscult* (rent) in *Codex Westfalicarum*,

then, specializes from the same sense of "obligation" as *skuldheto*.

These two texts represent the youngest bilingual examples of *skuld-*. Rather than developing the

pejorative and Christian referents in *GlEe*, *skuld* compounds in the *Urbare Werden* and *Westfalicarum*

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239 See John Sabapathy, *Officers and Accountability in Medieval England 1170-1300* (esp. 41-43), for the range of
     meanings and contexts associated with a *villicus*.

240 Paul Derks also notes that "Das wort *skuld-hêto* > mnd. *schuldhete*, *schultete,* haplologisch verkurzt zu schulte" ["The
     word *skuld-hêto* > mlg. *schuldhete*, *schultete*, haplologically shortened to *schulte*"] (127).

glosses extend from the earliest sense of "liable" > "necessary tribute" + "necessary obligation."[241]

These glosses, therefore, do not show a continuation of earlier developments, but instead serve as semantic isolates that agree only with the legal texts of the very late period.

ii. *Freckenhorst Heberegister*

The *Freckenhorst Heberegister* offers eighteen examples of *skuld* and *skuldig*, albeit with a limited range of legal meanings consistent with the text's subject matter:

(24, 7): *sculde*: "tax," "tribute"

(24, 13): *sculdlakan*: "tribute-sheet"

(24, 18): *sculdi*: "tax," "tribute"

(24, 24): *sculdlakan*: "tribute-sheet"

(28, 25): *sculdi*: "tax," "tribute"

(29, 7): *sculdi*: "tax," "tribute"

(29, 14): *sculdlakan*: "tribute-sheet"

(31, 14): *sculdi*: "tax," "tribute"

(31, 35): *sculdi*: "tax," "tribute"

(32, 22): *sculdi*: "tax," "tribute"

(32, 26): *sculdlakan*: "tribute-sheet"

(32, 30): *sculdi*: "tax," "tribute"

(37, 13): *sculdi*: "tax," "tribute"

(38, 28): *sculdi*: "tax," "tribute"

(39, 9): *scult*: "tax," "tribute"[242]

(39, 15): *sculdlakan*: "tribute-sheet"

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241 See also *ginot* in Chapter 3 of this study.

242 The manuscript is damaged here, partially erasing <s> and <t>, which Wadstein repairs according to the *sculdi* formula found elsewhere in the text (39).

(40, 7): *sculdi*: "tax," "tribute"

(40, 13): *scultlakan*: "tribute-sheet"

Occurrences in *FK* articulate one of two referents: "tax" or "tribute-sheet." The phrases themselves vary only in spelling and follow the same formula throughout. Forms of *skuld* describe land-tax: e.g., "Thit sint thie sculde uan thiemo urano uehusa" ["This is the tribute from the manorial farmhouse"] (24, 7). Here, the root lexeme in a legal context expresses the same sememe represented by the compound *malscult* in *Westfalicarum*. *Scultlakan*, on the other hand, refers to a more obscure aspect of early Germanic tax-law: cloth sheets paid as a tax. *Skuldlakan* has no lexical parallel in other early Germanic languages, though the custom agrees with legal practices in early medieval Friesland, where the *wergeld* (man-payment) was measured in units of cloth known as *wede*, valued at 1 *schilling* or 12 *pfennige* (Einzig 257).[243] Since cloth itself was a valuable commodity, its currency in *FK* is unsurprising.

5.1.8 Old Saxon Conclusions

I. General Trends and Co-compounds

Skuld- initially lacks Christian features, instead referencing "liability" and "guilt," as in Old English. The *Heliand* uses the co-compound *mensculdio* (lit. "harm-guilt") to express "sin" through the same process of fortition experienced by *Genesis A*'s *manscyldigne* and *womscyldig*. This shared phenomenon anticipates semantic Christianization despite the paucity of Christian sememes in the late and very late periods. Later, a number of legal referents, which evolved from earlier senses, emerge in the corpus. The development of Old Saxon *skuld-*, then, can be tentatively summarized:

Stage I.) "liable" (social / ambivalent)

Stage II.) "tax," "tribute" (legal / ambivalent)

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243 The barter economy of the early Germanic world, in which coinage was scarce, is well-established. See Paul Einzig for a detailed look at "Cattle, Cloth and Weighed Metal Money" in early medieval Germany (255-258).

Stage III.) "guilt," "criminal" (social—legal / negative)

Stage IV.) "sin," "condemned" (Christian—social / negative)

As noted previously, the quantity of archaic legal minima in the very late period owes itself to the dominance of the Old Saxon legal genre from the late tenth century onward, rather than a sudden shift in meaning. These legal referents extend from the earliest pre-Christian sense of liability, rather than later ideas of religious morality, and must have developed prior to the very late period. This bifurcation produced two distinct semantic paths: one legal and one religious. As with other lexemes of the sample group, early senses coexist with more innovative referents throughout the late period. Ultimately, *skuld-* trends toward more concrete and specialized meanings, such as "tribute," "tax," and "sin," and largely agrees with Haselow and Wälchli's models, despite the rarity of compounds.

II. Pejoration and Christianization

Following the stages above, *skuld* and *skuldig* begin at a high pass of the ambivalent dimension, before progressing deeper into the pejorative dimension through states III and IV. Like Old English *scyld-*, the Old Saxon lexeme splits into a legal and moral stream; the legal category preserves the word's older ambivalent senses, while the moral category expresses increasingly more pejorative referents. The legal component of Old Saxon *skuld-*, however, is more developed than its Old English counterpart. Although *GlEe* expresses Christian referents with the root lexeme during the early period, *GlEe* was produced a generation later than *Heliand*,[244] which consistently renders "sin" with *sundia*.[245]

III. Role of Christianity and Semantic Hybridity

244 Gallée's argument for the date of the manuscript focuses on the absence of All Saint's Day, which was established by the Frankish empire in 835 CE. Gallée, however, admits that this dating is somewhat speculative, and that the MS could have been produced well after, this date (17-8). Later, Gallée notes that many of the glosses and their explanations are "couched in the same terms" as used by Hrabanus Maurus in his commentary on Matthew, thereby placing the date of *GlEe's* vernacular content no earlier than the first half of the ninth century, and likely closer to ca. 900 CE (20-2, 26).

245 See also Sietze Buning, who suggests a relationship between West Germanic *sundio-* (from Proto-Germnanic *sunjo-*) and Latin *sons*, *sontis* (guilty) (28-9). Phonetically, Old Saxon *sundia* (sin) is a natural development from Indo-European *sont-* by way of Verner's Law: (*/t/ > */ð/ > */d/).

Skuld-'s moral division further corroborates Bhabha's model of legal hybridization, where the Self emerges from a newly-established Christian autocracy, and the Other emerges from the intersection between Christian power-structures and pre-Christian Germanic identity. The gradual split between legal and religious morality reaches its zenith in the very late period when Stage II senses like "tribute" dominate. Legal and religious morality, though lexically distinct, occupied the same semantic field and the line between them was often razor-thin. As Matthew Gillis points out, to discredit Gottschalk's heterodox arguments Hrabanus "transformed Gottschalk's legal case into a doctrinal one, employing biblical and patristic authorities against his opponents' canon and secular law" (48). Hrabanus' method reveals the hierarchical tension between religious law and secular law in the early post-conversion world. Russell notes that "religion was a concern of the political community and was intimately associated with the legal, political, and social life" of pre-Christian Germanic society (172). This early "socio-politico-religious" unity, Russell suggests, is most visible in the king's role as both religious figure-head and socio-military chieftain (172-3).[246] As *scyld-* and *skuld-* demonstrate, the post-conversion dissociation of these two roles cultivated a semantic divide between religious and secular morality, despite the latter's reliance on the former.[247]

5.1.9 Old English and Old Saxon Observations

Like Old English *scyldig*, the hybridization of *skuld* and *skuldig* is teleological but non-linear. By the Middle Low Germanic period, reflexes of *skuld* and *skuldig* could refer only to the Stage III sense, "guilt," while the precise legal referents of Stage II and the Christian referents of Stage IV had become unproductive (*MNDD*). *Skuld-* and its derivations differ from their English counterparts because of the wider gap between legal and moral senses prior to the close of the Old Saxon period. *Skuld*-'s sociopolitical referents ceased to evolve in the High Middle Ages because no sociopolitical

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246 For further reading on early Germanic kingship see J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent*.

247 For more on this division, see Mierke, *Memoria als KulturTransfer* (97-9).

force as disruptive as the Norman Conquest facilitated their development.

5.2 *wlanc* **and** *wlank*

The final words of the sample group, Old English *wlanc* and Old Saxon *wlank*, show the development of "resolve" and "pride." Importantly, these terms also contextualize the evaluative pejoration of "arrogance" beyond the level of lexical signification.

5.2.1 Current Definitions

BT defines adjectival *wlanc* as "proud, high-spirited, bold," and its later unfavourable senses as "proud, bold, arrogant, haughty, insolent"; *BT* also interprets the root noun as favourable "pride" (1258-9). The dual nature of "pride" as both "favourable" and "unfavourable" in *BT* alludes to the referent's complex history.[248]

Tiefenbach also defines Old Saxon *wlank* as "proud" and "arrogant," but does not differentiate between early and late senses. Holthausen agrees that Old Saxon *wlank* can mean both *Stoltz* (proud, hearty), and *Übermütig* (high-spirited, haughty) (89). Köbler, on the other hand, offers a more positive set of evaluative meanings, "proud" and "wanton," since "pride" and "arrogance" represent two possible associations of the same referent.

5.2.2 Word Studies

Old English *wlanc* and related terms appear in a number of studies. In his 1972 paper, "The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester," Helmut Gneuss develops the idea of a "Winchester Vocabulary" that rendered the sin of *superbia* with originally-positive Old English terms of pride and self-worth. Walter Hofstetter's 1988 article, "Winchester and the Standardization of Old English Vocabulary," builds on Gneuss' study. Gneuss and Hofstetter focus on the application of *modig* for *superbia*, but the exploration of pejorative "pride" remains relevant to the current discussion of *wlanc*.

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248 For more on the disparate dictionary definitions of Old English *wlanc*, see von Rüden, pp. 12-7.

More specifically, Hans Schabram's *Superbia. Studien zum altenglischen Wortschatz I* (1965), and "*Wlanc* und Ableitungen: Vorarbeiten zu einer wortgeschichtlichen Studie" ["*Wlanc* and Derivations: Preparatory Work for a History-Based Study"] (1974), laid the groundwork for later socio-historical analyses of *wlanc*, such as Michael von Rüden's 1978 book, *'Wlanc' und Derivate im Alt- und Mittelenglischen: eine wortgeschichtliche Studie* [*'Wlanc' and derivatives in Old and Middle English: a history-based study*], which examines the diachronic development of *wlanc* and its anthropological context across the entirety of the Middle Ages. Von Rüden's text currently offers the most thorough study of *wlanc* and its reflexes, though his conclusions present a variety of problems. In "Wortbedeutung und literarische Gattung. Ein Versuch am Beispiel von ae. *wlanc*" ["Word meaning and Literary Genre. An Experiment using the Example of OE *wlanc*"] (1986) Hans-Jürgen Diller explores how *wlanc* reveals differences in genre across the poems that contain the word. More narrowly, Patrizia Lendinara's 1976 paper, "*wlanc*: alcune annotazioni" ["*wlanc*: some notes"], focuses on Riddles and glosses featuring *wlanc*, though her study is not exhaustive. Jeremy Smith's 1996 analysis explores the conflict between the early and late senses of the loanword *prud* ("proud"), which had shifted from "noble" to "arrogant" under Christian influence (104-5). While Smith's study does not examine *wlanc*, his model of "variational space" and its role in the pejoration of "pride" illuminates the word-pair examined in this section. Apart from dictionaries and word lists, no modern studies feature Old Saxon *wlank*.

5.2.3 Etymology

Kroonen and Fick reconstruct Proto-Germanic *wlankaz with a flexible set of ambivalent and positive referents, such as "bold," "firm," "proud," and "stern" (Kroonen 591; Fick et al. 420). Both reconstructions, however, incorrectly lemmatize adjectival *wlanc* as a weak an-stem (*vlanka* and *wlanka-,* respectively), rather than a strong a-stem.[249] Fick also provides *übermütig* ("too proud,"

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249 Since attested reflexes in all daughter languages belong to the strong a-declension, *wlankaz remains the most likely

"arrogant"; cf. OE *ofermod*) as a likely translation of the Proto-Germanic adjective, which disagrees with the earliest Old English and Old Saxon attestations. Orel does not attempt a reconstruction.

5.2.4 Frequency in Old English and Old Saxon

Old English *wlanc* is an uncommon term. The root lexeme occurs just over eighty times throughout the corpus while the adverbial form, *wlanclice*, occurs only thrice: once in *Épinal*, once in *Corpus* and once in *Cleopatra*. Other reflexes are similarly rare.

Root lexemes:

82 *wlanc*

Compounds and Verbs:

1 *æscwlanc*; 9 *(a)wlancian*; 1 *felawlanc*; 2 *goldwlanc*

2 *hygewlanc*; 2 *modwlanc*; 1 *symbelwlanc*; 3 *wlanclice*

Total:

103 occurrences

Old Saxon *wlank* is extremely rare, with only seven extant examples of the root lexeme and one attestation of a verbal derivation:

Root lexemes:

7 *wlank*

Compounds and Verbs:

1 *wlenkian*

Total:

8 occurrences

To narrow the data-pool, this Old English section focuses only on *wlanc* and its immediate reflexes;

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reconstruction.

substantive derivations like *wlencu* remain absent.[250]

Old English *wlanc*

5.2.5 Old English Semantic Timeline

I. Early (Seventh and Eighth Centuries)

i. Glosses

The most important early attestations of *wlanc* appear in the *EE* and *Corpus* glosses, which gloss forms of Latin *arrogantissime*:

> *EE* (112): *adrogantissime—adrogantissimæ: uulanclicae—gelplih*

> *Cp* (235): *adrogantissime: wlonclice*

The adverb *uulanclicae* for superlative *arrogantissime* in *Épinal* illuminates its corresponding *Erfurt* gloss, *gelplih* ("arrogantly," "haughtily"; cf. OE *gilplic*), a remarkably different interpretation for the same lemma. As Pheifer notes, *Erfurt* was produced on the continent and includes many Franconian and Old High German interpolations (xxv-xxviii).[251] For the glossator of *Épinal*, "arrogance" is an ambivalent referent, interpreted here with an early adjectival reflex of *wlanc* ("proud," "stern"), rather than the unambiguously-pejorative sense anticipated by Latin *arrogantissime*;[252] on the surface, *gelplih* seems a more appropriate interpretation. As Pheifer points out, *Épinal*'s use of *uulanclicae* for "arrogance" is exceptional (Pheifer 65).

To evaluate the semantic range of Latin *arrogantissime* in *EE*, we must first examine the relevant passage from *Orosius*. Lindsay gives a selection from book VII as the most probable source for *EE*'s *uulanclicae*/*gelplih* glosses. Pheifer concurs with Lindsay's assessment, and adds that the

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250 For more on the relationship between *wlanc* and *wlencu* see von Rüden (esp. 11-17), who notes that both terms develop along nearly identical paths, despite their uncertain phonological relationship.

251 Pheifer notes that the many Germanisms in *Erfurt* betray its continental provenance (xxv-xxvii).

252 Superlative of *arroganter* (presumptuously), derived from *arrogans*, present participle of *arrogo* (*ad* + *rogo* > *adrogo* > *arrogo*; "to speak toward someone," "to assume")

common Old English cognates *gilplic* and *gilplice* both have identical meanings to their counterpart in *Erfurt* (Lindsay, *Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt and Leyden* 24; Pheifer 136). The section reads:

> Praeterea Galerius Maximianus cum duobus iam proeliis aduersus Narseum conflixisset, tertio inter Gallinicum et Carras congressus et uictus, amissis copiis ad Diocletianum refugit: a quo *arrogantissime exceptus*, ita ut per aliquot milia passuum purpuratus ante uehiculum eius cucurrisse referatur.

> [Galerius Maximianus then fought two battles against Narseus, and in a third battle, which occurred between Gallinicus and Carrhae, Galerius was defeated by Narseus; after losing his troops, Galerius fled to Diocletian who received him *very sternly*, such that Diocletian commanded Galerius, in his own purple robes, to run for many miles in front of Diocletian's chariot]. (Orosius VII.xxv.9; emphasis mine)

Above I translate *arrogantissime* as "sternly" to demonstrate the flexibility of the term; according to Lewis and Short[253] and the entries for *wlanc* in *BT* and Clark Hall, we can interpret *arrogantissime* as "proud," or "resolute" (*BT* 1258-9; Clark Hall 356). The latter illustrates the toughness of Diocletian, a tyrannical, but "firm" ruler, while the former agrees with other early Germanic representations of heroic pride.[254] Here, Diocletian responds to Galerius—who fought on Diocletian's home-turf—with a punishment less severe than the worst penalties proffered by early Anglo-Saxon law, such as execution and banishment.[255]

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253 For example, "proudly," "sternly," or "overbearingly" (Lewis and Short 165)

254 For more on Anglo-Saxon heroism and its complex relationship to Christian morality see Brian Murdoch, *The Germanic Hero: Politics and Pragmatism in Early Medieval Poetry* (esp. 61-88). See also Peter S. Baker, *Honour, Exchange and Violence in Beowulf.*

255 Although Galerius could have died in his banishment, he was given the possibility of life; early Germanic law prefered much harsher penalties. Æthelberht mandates that "Gif in cyninges tune man mannan ofslea, L scill[inga] gebete" ["If a person should kill someone in the king's dwelling, let him pay 50 shillings"] while the West Saxon laws of Ine (688-95) require that "Gif hwa gefeohte on cyninges huse, sie he scyldig ealles his ierfes, ond sie on cyninges dome, hwæðer he lif age þe nage" ["If anyone fights in the King's dwelling, may he be liable for all his inherited property, and may it be by the king's judgement whether he lives or dies"] (Aethelberht 5; Ine 50; Liebermann 3, 90; Eckhardt 12, 72). See also

ii. *Exodus*

The verse *Exodus* contains three examples of the root lexeme, all of which articulate negative senses:

(170): *wlance*: "arrogant," "proud"

(204): *wlance*: "arrogant," "proud"

(487): *wlance*: "arrogant," "proud"

Prefaced by the beasts of battle,[256] the first instance of *wlanc* describes the army of Egyptians as "arrogant" or "proud": "Hwilum of þam werode *wlance* þegnas / mæton milpaðas meara bogum" ["Sometimes from the troop the *arrogant* thanes / measured the mile-paths on their horses' haunches"] (170-1; emphasis mine). Later instances also refer to the opposing armies of the Pharaoh and are best translated as "haughty" or "arrogant." Following Irving, Lucas notes that the routing of the *wlance* enemies at line 204 clearly emphasizes "God's power effectively employed against the Egyptians" (107). Despite metrical and lexical ambiguities, Lucas maintains that the syntax at line 487 demands the *wlance ðeode* be the same enemy forces as the *wlance* at 204.[257] Michael von Rüden agrees with Lucas and notes that "ein weiteres Mal die Ägypter, die, im Roten Meer umkommend, *wlance ðeode* genannt werden" ["The Egyptians once again, who, being killed in the Red Sea, are called *wlance ðeode*"] at line 487 (161). *Wlanc's* negative senses in *Exodus* are exceptional for the early period and anticipate the later pejoration of the referent itself.

iii. *Beowulf*

Beowulf offers five instances of *wlanc* and one compound reflex:

Oliver (85-89) for an in-depth analysis of martial kingship in the earliest Kentish Laws.

256 The "beasts of battle" motif entails some combination of eagles, ravens, and wolves during war-time, usually feeding on carrion. For more on this motif, see M.S. Griffith, "Convention and Originality in the Old English 'Beasts of Battle' Typescene." See also Thomas Honegger, "Form and Function: the Beasts of Battle Revisited" and Francis P. Magoun, Jr., "The Theme of the Beasts of Battle in Anglo-Saxon Poetry."

257 See Lucas 136-7 for a thorough description of the linguistic and interpretive issues surrounding *Exodus* lines 485-7.

(331): *wlonc*: "proud," "resolute," "firm"

(341): *wlanc*: "proud," "resolute," "firm"

(1332): *wlanc*: "proud," "glorifying"

(1881): *goldwlanc*: "gold-proud," "wealthy"

(2833): *wlonc*: "proud"

(2953): *wlonces*: "proud man's"

As with most early occurrences of *wlanc*, all instances of the root lexeme in *Beowulf* refer to positive or ambivalent pride. At line 331, Hrothgar's messenger (*ar*) is a *wlonc hæleð* (proud warrior) who correctly fulfills his duty as a gatekeeper and messenger for the king (331). Ten lines later, the narrator describes Beowulf himself as *wlanc Wedera leod* (the proud one of the Wedera peoples) alongside the positive adjective, *ellenrof* (renowned) (340-1). Later, in a grotesque inversion of these first two examples, Grendel's Mother becomes *æse wlanc* (corpse-proud) after slaughtering Æschere (1332). For Grendel's Mother, the circumstances of pride are more problematic than "pride" itself. This inversion makes sense, since monsters in Beowulf exist outside the human condition and only act in opposition to it.[258] Nowhere else in the poem does *wlanc* appear in a denotatively negative context.[259]

However, the compound reflex *goldwlanc*, with anterior stem "gold" and posterior stem "proud," presents some semantic difficulties. Von Rüden outlines the complications in translating *goldwlanc*, but ultimately settles on the senses *goldreich* (gold-rich) and "mit gold geschmückte"

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258 See Kathryn Powell, "Meditating on Men and Monsters: A Reconsideration of the Thematic Unity of the Beowulf Manuscript," for more on the relationship between Beowulf and his antagonists. Building on Kenneth Sisam's reconsideration of *Beowulf's* monstrous elements, Powell argues that the monsters in *Beowulf* and its surrounding texts do not merely represent internal conflict but a deep anxiety toward external aggression and its relationship to the heroic self. See also Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf Manuscript.* Orchard studies the monsters of the *Beowulf* manuscript by exploring the development of Anglo-Saxon attitudes toward the monstrous.

259 Von Rüden suggests that *wlanc* is positive or ambivalent in *Beowulf* and offers a variety of semantic and metrical parallels in other early poems like *Genesis A* and *Maxims* (117-8). Internal evidence, however, suggests that *goldwlanc* is at least proleptically pejorative.

["decorated with gold"], to describe how the titular hero "mit kleinodien beschenkt worden ist" ["is presented with precious jewels"] upon leaving Hrothgar and the Danish court after defeating Grendel and his mother (119-20). Von Rüden's conclusions, however, are incomplete. Literally, *Beowulf* uses *goldwlanc* to mean "gold-proud" or "wealthy". However, by using its anterior stem, *gold-*, to facilitate semantic innovation, *goldwlanc* connotatively anticipates the pejorative lemma, *diues* (rich, haughty), found in biblical glosses of *wlanc* during the late Old English and early Middle English periods. The only other occurrence of *goldwlanc* negatively describes the Chaldeans at the Tower of Babel in the tenth-century *Solomon and Saturn*, where it more closely approaches the pejorative sense of *diues* (207). In agreement with Hamawand and Wälchli, then, *wlanc* compounds in *Beowulf* anticipate pejorative features that would only become commonplace centuries later.

iv. *Rune Poem*

The Old English *Rune Poem* contains two occurrences of root *wlanc*:

(39): *wlancum*: "proud [ones]"

(56): *wlanc*: "high-spirited," "happy"

All instances of *wlanc* in the *Rune Poem* are positive. The first example appears in the entry for *peorð*, which the narrator describes as "plega and hlehter / *wlancum* ðar wigan sittaþ / on beorsele bliþe ætsomne" ["recreation and laughter for the *proud ones*, where warriors sit happily together in the beer-hall"] (38-40; emphasis mine). Although *peorð*'s meaning remains obscure,[260] *wlancum* must refer to the warriors themselves, since the noun in question has no grammatical complement outside the phrase "plega and hleahtor." Instead of warriors, the example at line 56 describes a "hors hofum wlanc" ["a horse high-spirited in its hooves"]. Von Rüden supplies *Wonne,* and *Freude* (delight and joy) for *wlanc* (258), though the translation "high-spirited" better articulates the lively relationship between a horse

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260 Helmut Birkhan hypothesizes a relationship to *pairþra* (pear tree), the corresponding name for /p/ in Gothic, and further suggests that the sense "pear wood" could have been a metonym for a woodwind instrument or game made from wood. Birkhan also offers a variety of Celtic analogues for both (85-99).

and its hooves.

II. Late (Ninth and Tenth Centuries)

i. Glosses

Among late glosses, the primary witnesses of *wlanc* are the *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth* Gospels,

which together contain twelve examples of the root noun:

Lindisfarne (Mat. 19.23): *diues*: *wlonc*

Lindisfarne (Mat. 19.24): *diuitem*: *wlonca*

Lindisfarne (Mat. 27.57): *diues*: *wlong*

Lindisfarne (Mk. 10.25): *diuitem*: *wlonca*

Lindisfarne (Mk. 12.41): *diuites*: *wlonco*

Lindisfarne (Lk. 12:16): *diuitis*: *wloncas*

Lindisfarne (Lk. 12.21): *diues*: *welig & wlonc*

Lindisfarne (Lk. 16:21): *diuitis*: *wlonces*

Lindisfarne (Lk. 16:22): *diues*: *wlonc*

Rushworth (Mk. 10.25): *diuitem*: *wlonca*

Rushworth (Mk. 12.41): *diuites*: *wlonca*

Rushworth (Lk. 12:16): *diuitis*: *wlonches*

Although narrowly distributed, these pejorative senses contextualize the broader changes affecting

wlanc during the late period. In the interlinear glosses to the *Rushworth* and *Lindisfarne* Gospels,

wlanc commonly interprets *diues* ("rich"). In context, each example of *diues* criticizes the divine

morality of wealth and corresponds to the Christian preference for meekness over pride. The famous

passage in Matt. 19.23 reads: "amen dico uobis quia *diues* difficile intrabit in regnum caelorum"

["Truly I say to you that it is difficult for a *rich man* to enter into the kingdom of Heaven"]. The

Lindisfarne glossator translates this clause as: "soðlice ic sægo iuh forðon *wlonc* uneaðe & hefig

inngeongas in ric heofna" ["truly I say to you because it is difficult and heavy for a *rich man* to enter

into the Kingdom of Heaven"] (emphasis mine). While *diues* alone remains neutral, the word's context

in the Gospels is uniformly pejorative and can be alternatively translated as "haughty" or "arrogant."

Rushworth is less consistent in its application of *wlonc* for *diues* and often prefers forms of *welig*: a

common synonym of *wlonc* in *Lindisfarne*.[261]

ii. *Seafarer*

The *Seafarer* offers two representative examples of *wlonc* and its derivations:

(29): *wlanc*: "proud," "complacent"

(39): *modwlonc*: "haughty," "arrogant"

The phrase "wlanc and wingal" ["proud and wine-drunk"] chastises pride and drunkeness as hedonistic

and undesirable qualities (29). This half-line also appears verbatim in the *Ruin* (34). Von Rüden,

however, notes that the *Ruin*'s use of the phrase is neutral rather than pejorative (136-7). Hans-Jürgen

Diller agrees that "wlanc and wingal" in *Ruin* "ist freilich weder negativ noch positiv" ["is neither

negative nor positive"] (8-9). The lone compound reflex in *Seafarer*, *modwlonc*, articulates the

pejorative sense of "haughty" or "arrogant" in reference to overweening men who do not recognize the

transience of their worldly pleasures. By introducing a string of positive attributes that relate to

physical, rather than spiritual, concerns, *modwlonc* articulates a negative preoccupation with material

possessions. Von Rüden outlines a variety of alternative translations for the compound, such as

selbstsicher (self confident) and "lordly of mood," but the sense *elatus animo* (haughty, arrogant)

originally offered by Hall best agrees with *modwlonc*'s didactic context in *Seafarer* (von Rüden 141-2).

As with *goldwlanc* in *Beowulf*, then, the copulation of unlike anterior (*mod*; "mind," "spirit") and

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261 Von Rüden outlines the semantic range of *wlanc* in *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth* in Chapter I.2.i of his study (43-8). Von
    Rüden defines *wlanc* as *reich*, but agrees that the term's maxima depend on the context of *diues*, which is indisputably
    negative in the Gospels. For more on the development of "pride" and *superbia* during the late period, see Schabram
    (*Superbia*, esp. 30-1) and Gretsch (*Intellectual Foundations* 401-24).

posterior (*wlonc*; "proud") elements in *modwlanc* generates a more innovative expression of the whole.

iii. *Exeter Riddles*

The *Exeter Riddles* contain four key examples of *wlanc* and its reflexes:

Riddle 19 (2): *hygewloncne*: "wanton," "proud"

Riddle 25 (7): *modwlonc*: "proud," "promiscuous"

Riddle 45 (4): *hygewlonc*: "wanton," "promiscuous"

Riddle 50 (10): *wloncne*: "haughty," "proud"

The root lexeme in Riddle 50 refers to the consequences of letting fire—the riddle's clearest solution—"wloncne weorþan" ["grow proud"] (10). This negative "pride" recalls the contextual pejoration of *diues* in *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth*. *Hygewlonc* appears once in Exeter Riddle 19 and once in Riddle 45. The similar compound, *modwlonc*, appears in Riddle 25. All compounds express the pejorative referents "wanton" or "proud," but the instances in Riddles 25 and 45 can also mean "promiscuous": "bryd grapode, *hygewlonc* hondum" ["the woman seized it, *wanton* with her hands"] (45, 4; my emphasis).[262] Lendinara notes that Riddle 25 uses *wlanc* precisely because of its semantic ambiguity: the innocent solution, "onion," requires that *modwlonc* be read as "proud," while the sexual solution, a man's penis, demands that the compound be read as "sexually wanton" or "promiscuous" (53-81).[263] Like other compound reflexes, both *modwlonc* and *hygewlonc* assume a novel dimension unavailable to the root lexeme: sexual promiscuity.[264]

III. Very Late (Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries)

i. Glosses

262 See D. K. Smith's paper, "Humour in Hiding: Laughter Between the Sheets in the Exeter Book Riddles" for a comprehensive study of the so-called "Obscene Riddles," including Riddle 43 (33-49).

263 In her essay on the ambiguities of Riddle 12, Nina Rulon-Miller expands on the role of *-wlonc* in Riddle 25, which she argues has "been curiously overlooked by dictionaries" (105).

264 See also von Rüden (153-6, 169) for more on the semantic range of *wlanc* in the *Exeter Riddles* alongside a discussion of the Riddles' problematic history of interpretation.

The *Aldhelm* and *Cleopatra* glosses offer a variety of overlapping lemmata and interpretamenta featuring *wlanc*:

Aldhelm (1214): *insolescat*, *superbiet*: *awlancige*

Aldhelm (4241): *adolesceret*: *gynglæhte*, *wlancude*, *Adolesco*: *ic geonglæce wlancige*

Aldhelm (5177): *frontosam*: *þa wlanca*

Cleopatra I (124): *adolesceret*: *wlancode*

Cleopatra I (422): *adrogantissime*: *wlanclice*

Cleopatra I (3060): *insolescat*: *wlancaþ*

Cleopatra I (3063): *indruticans wræstende*: wlancende.

Cleopatra III (2086): *typhus*: *wlanc*

Despite appearing in both glossaries, the lemma *adolesceret* is anomalous. *Adolesceret*'s additional interpretations—*gynglæhte* and *geonglæce* (become an adult)—in *Aldhelm* help explain its positive semantic range in *Cleopatra*: "to fortify" or, by extension, to "grow up."[265] As the corresponding entry in *Cleopatra* I (124) belongs to the eighth-century layer of the *Cleopatra* glosses along with *adrogantissime* (cf. *EE* and *Cp*) and *indruticans*, both *adolesceret* and *wlancian* should be read with positive connotations. Michael Lapidge notes that *indruticans* (parading?, wanton?) appears no earlier than *Aldhelm* and defies a precise definition (41-2). The full section reads "stolidis ornamentorum pompis indruticans." Lapidge translates this passage as "parading with the senseless pomp of her ornaments" and suggests that the additional substantive *wræstende* (twisting) may instead derive from, or be a corruption of, *wrænsian* (to be wanton) (42). This likely reading corresponds to the sexually "wanton" (*hygewlonc*) women in the Riddles and to *wlanc*'s pejorative denotations in contemporary texts. The other entries offer fewer difficulties. In late Latin, *frontosam* (from *frontosus*; lit. many-browed) refers to Janus' multiple foreheads and figuratively means "shameless," "forward," and

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265 *BT* translates *wlancian* here as "to grow proud, great" (1259), which agrees in spirit with my reading. Von Ruden also interprets the verb as *heranwachsen* (to grow up) (60).

"impudent." In the youngest layer of *Cleopatra*, Latin *typhus*, which derives from Greek *τῦφος* (smoke, fever), refers to "vanity," a pejorative consequence of pride (*BT* 1258).

ii. *Vainglory*

The gnomic *Vainglory* includes two example of *wlonc*:

(14): *wlonce*: "proud," "arrogant"

(40): *symbelwlonc*: "feast-proud," "feast-arrogant"

The first instance appears in the noun-phrase, "wlonce wigsmiþas winburgum in" ["proud war-smiths in wine-halls"] (14). Here, *wlonce* problematizes the arrogance of the *mæþelhegendra* (assembly holders) who are "druncen to rice" ["drunk with power"] and doomed to fall (12-14). As Diller notes, dative *winburgum* recalls the phrase "wlonc and wingal" in *Seafarer* and the *Ruin* (8). Like previous examples, the root lexeme's pejoration depends on contextual motivation;[266] alone, *wlonce* remains neutral. The instance at line 40 illustrates the hedonism of a man overcome with worldly pleasures: "he... / siteþ symbelwlonc searwum læteð / wine gewæged" ["he... sits feast-proud, overwhelmed with wine"] (39-1). Even more than *winburgum*, "wine gewæged" echoes "wlanc and wingal." This intertextual parallel strongly supports a pejorative interpretation of *symbelwlonc* in *Vainglory*.[267] Unlike *wlonce*, the compound *symbelwlonc* retains its pejorative dimension regardless of context and, therefore, expresses a newer meaning than the root itself.

iii. *Wulfstan's The Last Days*

Wulfstan's homily, *The Last Days* or *Secundum Marcum*, offers a single example of *wlance*:

(20): *wlance*: "proud," "arrogant"

Like *Vainglory*, Wulfstan's *wlance* offers a repudiation of material wealth and worldly pride: "men þonne lufiað... ealles to swyðe þas swicolan woruld & beoð ofergrædige woruldgestreona, & to manege

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266 See Wälchli (172)

267 Von Rüden outlines a variety of alternative translations for *symbelwlonc*, including the literal *epulando elatus* (elated with feasting), though none encapsulate the necessary connotation of arrogance (139).

weorðaþ to *wlance* & ealles to rance & to gylpgeorne" ["people now love... this deceitful world much too greatly, and are too greedy for worldly possessions, and too many become too *proud*, and entirely too arrogant, and too eager to boast"] (16-21). Here, "pride" becomes "arrogance": both now undesirable.

5.2.6 Old English Conclusions

I. General Trends

The early Old English corpus consistently uses *-wlanc-* to articulate positive or ambivalent referents; even where not unambiguously positive, early derivations remain comfortably outside the negative range implied by *Épinal*'s *arrogantissime*, which exhibits positive or ambivalent features in the earliest glosses. By the late period, positive and neutral *wlanc* could no longer refer to "pride" because pride itself had acquired pejorative connotations.[268] The *Exeter Riddles*, however, show that negative and ambivalent maxima coexisted throughout the ninth and tenth centuries.[269] Like *scyldig*, copulative compounds[270] commonly encourage semantic innovation as per Hamawand's model of word formation. *Wlanc*, then, broadly agrees with Wälchli's theory of compound innovation through contextual motivation (172)—in this case, the Christian condemnation of material wealth and pride. Examples of this phenomenon include: *goldwlanc* (gold-proud), *hygewlonc* (lit. mind-proud), and *symbelwlonc* (feast-proud) (*Beowulf* 1881; Riddle 45, 4; *Vainglory* 40). The development of *wlanc* and the referent "proud" can be summarized:

Stage I.) "proud," "resolute" (social / ambivalent—positive)

Stage II.) "proud," "arrogant" (social / negative)

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268 For a study of the relationship between *wlanc* and the sin of *superbia* in the late and very late periods see von Rüden, pp. 38-40.

269 See also Hans Schabram's "*Wlanc* und Ableitungen," which laid the groundwork for Lendinara's later study of *wlanc*.

270 I.e., amalgamating compounds of unlike stems, not pleonastic or tautological compounds, which remain absent in *wlanc*'s corpus.

Stage III.) "proud" (*superbia*), "rich" (*diues*), "vain" (Christian / negative)

From Stage I to Stage III, "proud" shifts from a social-positive, to a social-negative, and finally, to a

Christian-negative sense. In Stage III, the early compound *goldwlanc*, first found in *Beowulf*, also

extends to the root lexeme and now articulates "wealthy" or "rich" as a pejorative, biblical referent,

represented by *diues* in *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth*; all negative minima remain polysemic throughout

the remainder of the period.

II. Pejoration

Wlanc is deeply ambivalent and positive in Stage I, before quickly becoming deeply negative in

Stage II. Under the influence of Christian *diues* and *superbia*, the root lexeme achieves a low pass of

the negative dimension by Stage III. As noted, the pejoration of *wlanc* accompanies the pejoration of its

referents. The *Epinal* gloss for *arrogantissime* articulates pride—or "arrogance"—at a less pejorative

stage in Old English, before the referent's positive features had become anathema, and at a more deeply

pejorative stage in ninth-century Carolingian Germany, by which point *arrogance* could only be read as

"arrogance" in the modern sense (cf. *gelplih* for *arrogantissime* in *Erfurt*). In this case, the *relative*

minima ("proud" and "firm") associated with *arrogantissime* remained the same, but transferred their

parent maxima to the new *absolute* dimension, "negative."

Jeremy Smith's theory of "variational space," or the "potential for change within a linguistic

system," helps schematize this process (5). According to Smith, linguistic elements "occupy fairly

broad slots in the *langue* in which they are situated"; this *langue* creates room, or "variational space,"

for multiple phonological, semantic, and morphological realizations (34). Dominant realizations within

a word's variational space, however, are not always the most efficient, but those that are

"communicatively necessary" (34). In this model, Smith marks semantic shift with the following

stages: 1.) Conceptual meanings relocate within their lexeme's variational space; 2.) Referents within a

lexeme's variational space become unproductive; 3.) Lexemes acquire new meanings via external

motivation and extend their space (92. 104-5). *Wlanc* illustrates these stages in linear order: 1.) The concept of "proud" relocates from a positive to negative area in *wlanc*'s variational space; 2.) Positive referents such as "firm" and "resolute" become unproductive; 3.) both social and religious expressions of "arrogance" are introduced by communicative necessity to *wlanc*'s variational space and subsequently become the word's dominant referents.[271] Smith's model suggests that the pejoration of *wlanc* depended not only on new Christian *meanings* but also on earlier developments engendered by new Christian *expectations*. The introduction of precise Christian referents facilitated only the word's final stage of development, reflected by the Stage III religious senses outlined in General Trends.

III. Role of Christianity and Semantic Hybridity

Early Christian sources illustrate the motivation for *wlanc* to transform its variational space. In the earliest period, Augustine's *De ciuitate dei* argues that "nisi scientiam tunc prodesse, cum caritas inest; sine [caritas] [scientiam] autem inflare, id est in *superbiam* inanissimae quasi uentositatis extollere" ["Unless charity informs it, knowledge is nothing; without charity knowledge inflates, that is, into *pride*, which is nothing but a windy nothingness"] (IX.xx; emphasis mine). Later, Pseudo-Bede's *Liber prouerbium* notes that "Difficilius arrogantia quam auro et gemmis caremus" ["arrogance is harder than forgoing gold and gems"] and "Initium omnis peccati superbia" ["Pride is the root of all sins"], quoting Jerome and the Bible, respectively (D.46, I.15). Like later examples of *wlanc*, contemporary Christian texts censure earthly "arrogance" and "pride" as moral and spiritual folly. Corroborating previous trends, Christian doctrine pejorizes the favourable Germanic qualities of *arrogantissime* and *superbia* to accommodate the semantic gaps introduced by the new religion's moral expectations.[272]

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271 Smith's "communicative necessity" is similar to Wälchli's model of contextual motivation, except Smith accounts for a wider range of external forces and adjacent internal developments.

272 For more on the complexity of *superbia* and "pride" in Old English, see George Clark's "The Anglo-Saxons and *Superbia*: Finding a Word for it." In his essay, Clark explores both positive and negative expressions of Latin *superbia*, and the problems in translating a term whose moral valuation began to fluctuate as soon as it was introduced. See also

Russell argues that the Christian re-purposing of native Germanic pride is consonant with the "general strategy of accommodation" employed to ease the conversion of the polytheistic Germanic populace (205-6). In the case of *wlanc*, however, the observable end result of this process was not *integration* but *replacement.* As Bhabha notes, in the "subtle warfare of colonial discourse... language itself become doubly inscribed and the intellectual system uncertain" (191). This hybridity creates a "displacement of truth" maintained by the anxiety of multiple symbols (191-2). Only when the relationship between signifier and signified is collapsed can this "displacement" resolve. As an example of semantic hybridity, then, native Germanic pride became polysemic as a means of colonial resolution: the relocation and transformation of *wlanc*'s variational space. Before it can extend its variational space, *wlanc* loses the ability to express pre-Christian meanings and "pride" itself declines. Thus, the early *Épinal* glossator could read the "proud" Diocletian as a "good" king for the strength of his resolve against Galerius, whereas Wulfstan, writing three centuries later, would condemn pride as immoral and impious. As Catherine Cubitt notes, by the eleventh century, "pride" was not only a *bad* quality but an actively *hostile* one, no less dangerous than physical violence ("Images" 49). In this way, the end of the Anglo-Saxon period witnessed the end of "pride" and the rise of *superbia*.

Old Saxon *wlank*

5.2.7 Old Saxon Semantic Timeline

The continental *Erfurt* gloss of *arrogantissime* and examples of *wlank* in the *Heliand* illustrate the development of "arrogance" as a referent and anticipate cognate developments in Old English during the late and very late periods. The value of Old Saxon *wlank,* then, lies primarily in its relationship to the pejoration of "pride," rather than its own semantic range, which remains confined to a single text.

I. Early (Ninth Century)

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von Rüden (83-4).

i. Glosses

ii. *Heliand*

As the only source for Old Saxon *wlank*, the *Heliand* offers eight occurrences of the root lexeme, most of which are positive or neutral:

(2747): *giuulenkid*: "emboldened," "fortified"

(3185): *uulankan*: "proud," "firm"

(3927): *uulanca*: "arrogant," "firm"

(4134): *uulankun*: "arrogant," "firm"

(4220): *uulanka*: "arrogant," "firm"

(4942): *uulanke*: "proud," "firm"

(5210): *uulank*: "proud," "arrogant"

(5271): *uulanke*: "proud," "arrogant"

The first example at line 2747 describes a man who is *uuinu giuulenkid* (emboldened with wine). As an element of celebration, this phrase corresponds more closely to the positive Old English pair *adolesceret*: *wlancode* in the oldest layer of *Cleopatra* I than the pejorative noun-phrases featuring *wingal* and *wine gewæged*.[273] The reflex at line 3185 also illustrates the positive relationship between firmness and pride. Here, *wlankan* modifies the *kuninges thegn* (retainer of the king), who is loyal and resolute in his duty, much like Hrothgar's *wlonc* emissary in *Beowulf* (331). The *uulanke man* (proud men) at line 4942 are also loyal retainers, firm in their stations.

Other occurrences in *Heliand* alternate between positive, neutral, and pejorative, with a consistent sense of "firmness." The third example narrates how the *wlanca Iudeon* (arrogant people of Judea) "sprakun gelp mikil" ["spoke great boasts"] and "habdun it [Krist] te hosca" ["insulted Christ"] by condemning his teachings as a source of *aƀu* (evil) (3927-9). Despite the negative context of this

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273 Cf. the Old English *Ruin*, which instead uses the phrase *wlanc and wingal* in a positive or neutral way, corroborating other positive examples of *wlanc* in the early period.

scene, *wlanca* retains a neutral connotation of "firmness": the *Iudeon* are haughty and misguided, but resolute in their beliefs. Similarly, line 4134 describes the "uuiðeruuord uulankun mannun" ["antagonistic, arrogant men"] who question Christ; these antagonists are not merely a crowd of naysayers but a *meginthioda*: a "mighty host."[274] Again, the opposing parties remain firm, powerful—almost heroic—in their resistance, and "arrogance," as a referent, preserves something of its original epic import. This resistance escalates at 4220, where the *uulanka thioda* express *morðhugi* (murderous thoughts) towards Christ. Nevertheless, the narrator pardons the throng's *inuuid* (hostility) as misguided rather than willfully malicious, arguing that the group believed Christ's word to be delivered *an aƀuh* (with evil) (4220-2).

The penultimate example characterizes the *kesures bodo* (Caesar's messenger) as "uulank endi uureðmod" ["proud and of hostile mind"]; here, the *bodo*'s pride undergoes contextual pejoration to "arrogant"—an inversion of the positive moral dimension of Hrothgar's *wlonc* messenger (*ar*) in *Beowulf* (*Heliand* 5209-10; *Beowulf* 331). A similar semantic reversal occurs at line 5271 when the *uulanke uuigandos* (proud warriors) demand a demonstration of Christ's abilities. Murphy notes that *Heliand* prefers terms like *malsce* to express the straightforward sense of "haughty" (Saxon Gospel 162). The poem reserves *wlank* for more complex articulations of pride.[275]

5.2.8 Old Saxon Conclusions

I. General Trends

The antiquity of *wlank*'s positive range in the early North Sea Germanic *sprachbund* is evidenced by the *Heliand*'s consistent—though not exclusive—use of *wlank* to articulate "resolve" or

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274 As Murphy demonstrates, the Jews in *Heliand* are often treated with both respect and hostility, in order to create a "consistent, powerful opposing force" to combat the hero of the epic ("The Jews" 238).

275 See also D. H. Green, who argues that the lexicon of the Old Saxon *Heliand* reveals an earlier stage in this semantic pull-chain. Green suggests that the conclusion of this development, of which the *Heliand* represents only a middle-point, is a fundamental shift away from reciprocity toward unilateralism and wholesale transformation of moral imperatives (Green 377).

"firmness." While the absence of *wlank* compounds means we cannot evaluate the Old Saxon lexeme's adherence to Wälchli and Hamawand's models of compound innovation, the root lexeme's polysemes in *Heliand* and cognate developments in Old English suggest a pejorative trend for *wlank* and its referents. As with Old Saxon *gaduling*,[276] *wlank*'s occurrences in *Heliand* offer enough semantic variety to reconstruct, tentatively, the word's semantic trajectory:

> Stage I.) "proud," "resolute" (social / ambivalent)

> Stage II.) "proud," "arrogant" (social / negative)

Like its Old English counterpart, *wlank* describes two kinds of "pride": "resolve" and "arrogance." The Old Saxon lexeme however, exhibits a more advanced stage of pejoration than its early appearance in *Heliand* might suggest, likely under influence from the more deeply Christian Carolingians, whose unfavourable view of "pride" is evidenced by their rejection of *wlanc* in *Erfurt* in favour of *gelplih*. Indeed, Diller shows that the most deeply pejorative examples of Old English *wlanc*—especially in the early and late periods—appear in biblical poetry (6-8). Despite its early date, then, the appearance of pejorative features for *wlank* in the *Heliand*—a locus of religious transformation—is unsurprising.

II. Pejoration

In *Heliand*, *wlank* expresses a high pass of the ambivalent and pejorative dimensions. However, the absence of later attestations precludes a diachronic analysis of the word's pejoration. The absence of Stage III Christian referents in General Trends corresponds to *wlank*'s incomplete participation in Smith's model of variational space. Although *wlank* prefigures movement from a positive to negative area in its variational space (Smith stage 1), the Old Saxon lexeme cannot progress through Smith stage 2—the dissolution of earlier meanings—and stage 3—extension via the interpolation of precise minima, because the word's early attestation ensures that the oldest sememes remain productive and have not yet cleared space for new Christian referents. Therefore, OS *wlank* affords a less complete

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276 See Chapter 2, Part 2.

schema than OE *wlanc*.

III. Role of Christianity and Semantic Hybridity

In agreement with Christian orthodoxy, Hrabanus condemns *superbia* as the foundation of sin: "quoniam initium peccati omnis est superbia" ["for the origin of all sins is pride"] ("Comments in Eccl." 829.III). Working from the same biblical archetype as Pseudo-Bede, Hrabanus unambiguously censures *superbia* and its associated meanings. Despite *wlank*'s complexity in *Heliand*, "pride," according to contemporary orthodoxy, is clearly pejorative. As per Bhabha's theory of "hybrid tongues of the colonial space" in the semantic anxiety of Christianization (144), Old Saxon *wlank* pejorizes like its Old English cognate, albeit without achieving colonial resolution in its attested corpus: a single-text corpus that uses *wlank* for both neutral and pejorative circumstances, commonly through the interactions between Christ and his antagonists. Martin Friedrich suggests that the poet of the *Heliand* "applies the concept of the *Volk* to both sides—to that of the pagan foreigners, who represent his Saxons, and to that of the Jews" (276-7). These foes embody the complex hostility of pride: dangerous and foreign, but at the same time heroic and familiar, just as *wlank* complicates the division between positive and pejorative pride.

5.2.9 Old English and Continental Germanic Observations

Although Old Saxon *wlank* remains absent in the Old Saxon glosses, the distinct treatment of *arrogantissime* in *Épinal* and *Erfurt* suggests different attitudes toward the idea of "arrogance" in Anglo-Saxon and continental Germanic contexts during the seventh and eighth centuries. As previously noted, *Heliand* most commonly uses *wlank* to express "resolve." In agreement with Old English and Old Saxon practice, the continental glossator of *Erfurt* substitutes negative *gelplih* for *Épinal*'s more flexible *uulanclicae.* Pheifer takes the *Erfurt* gloss to be ubiquitously German, yet *gelplih* and similar High German forms in *Erfurt* agree, in orthography and morphology, with the Middle Franconian

portions of the *Wacktendonck Psalms* (Kyes 1-5). The *Erfurt* gloss's production in Cologne,[277] the capital of the Salian Franks and seat of Charlemagne's Saxon conversion, also supports a Frankish origin.[278] Whatever its linguistic provenance, *gelplih* demonstrates the pejoration of "arrogance" as a moral signifier in late eighth-century continental Germany, while at the same time illustrating how Old High German or Franconian *wlank* agreed with Old English *wlanc*'s semantic range throughout the early Christian period.

Importantly, *gelplih* does not offer a fresh interpretation of its lemma, as the glossator of *Erfurt* directly translates *Épinal*'s inflection, *-licae*, which corresponds imperfectly to the morphology of the superlative, *arrogantissime*.[279] The continental scribe clearly worked with the Old English gloss, and modified it as necessary. Taken, then, as a Middle Franconian lexeme, *Erfurt*'s *gelplih* suggests that *uulanclicae* was perceived by its Carolingian glossator as an inappropriate reading of *arrogantissime.* Indeed, the Franks had been Christian for at least three centuries by the time of *Erfurt*, and would have reorganized their semantic inventory to accord with the expectations of the new faith. *Épinal*'s *uulanclicae* and *Erfurt*'s *gelplih* are not, therefore, synonyms, but two different semantic treatments of the same idea from two cultures at different stages in Christianization.

5.3 Chapter 5 Final Thoughts

Examined together, both word-pairs reveal similar semantic trajectories. Although *scyldig*/*skuldig* offers evidence for non-linear hybridization by the High Middle Ages while *wlanc*/*wlank* remains linear, both pairs largely agree with Hamawand and Wälchli's theories of

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277 See Pheifer, pages xxv-xxvi

278 Little, however, distinguishes Middle Franconian from other continental Germanic languages during the early Middle Ages. Without sufficient orthographic evidence, uniquely Franconian features, such as /ɣ/ or /x/ in all positions for <g>, remain invisible. See also J. Knight Bostock, K. C. King, et al. *A Handbook on Old High German Literature*, which discusses at length the socio-linguistic problems of dividing the High, Middle, and Low German languages in the early Middle Ages.

279 Von Rüden notes this inconsistency in his word study (38-9). We might expect, for example, a one-to-one Germanic interpretation of the Latin superlative to be modified by *mast* (most) or the superlative inflection, *-est*.

compound innovation and contextual motivation. Only *scyldig* and *skuldig*, however, exhibit Wälchli's model of semantic reduplication. Moreover, *scyldig/skuldig* agrees better with Haselow's "Derivational Relation Theory" than Smith's theory of variational space, though both models trend toward more concrete and harmonized minima through internal and external conditioning. These correspondences suggest that ideas of liability, fortitude, and self-worth were subject to shared sociopolitical experiences, particularly Christianity's soteriological ambitions to condemn "pride" and strengthen the negative depth of moral "guilt." Within the lexical machinery of the target culture, pejoration of lexemes could depend—to varying degrees—on the pejoration of their referents; in the interim, pejorative "pride" and "liability" would rely on "fortified" tautological compounds and innovative compounds—with descriptive, contextual stems like *symbel* (feast), *gold* (gold), and *wamb* (stomach) —to temporarily relocate their appropriate roots to a more negative dimension. Like earlier lexemes, then, the hybridity of *scyldig*/*skuldig* and *wlanc*/*wlank* corresponds to Traugott and Dasher's "Invited Inferencing Theory," where pragmatic meanings trend toward coded polysemes (49-50). Here, this model is transitional rather than teleological, as both pairs move through polysemy toward colonial resolution.

Chapter 6. Semantic Shift in *Heliand* and Old English Poetry

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 Justification and Concept

This chapter develops a literary analysis to visualize the two primary semantic patterns observed in previous chapters: 1.) the sociopolitical shift from reciprocal exchange, or *comitatus*, to unilateral autocracy observed in Chapters 2 and 3, and 2.) the moral pejoration of Germanic resolve and pride observed in Chapter 4 and 5. This chapter also explores the transition from heroic/material to abstract/spiritual soteriology;[280] this new category agrees with the social-psychological and semantic developments explored in previous chapters and illustrates how models like hybridization, variational space, reduplication, invited inferencing theory, and derivational relation theory can be applied to different themes. Specifically, the development of material soteriology corresponds to the loss of Germanic morality between the early and late periods and the focus on Christian integration with reciprocal Germanic social structures in the early period. The experience of redemption and punishment in Old English and Old Saxon literature further illuminates the transformation of reflexive Germanic "self."[281]

My use of the term *comitatus* requires explanation. In "Tacitus and Ethnographic Preconceptions" (1996) and again in "Quid Tacitus...?" (2010), M. J. Toswell convincingly argues against using Tacitus' *Germania* as a prescriptive rule-book for Anglo-Saxon martiality. The present chapter, however, uses *comitatus* not as a "heroic code" encompassing the specific socio-military

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280 For more on the development of soteriology in Anglo-Saxon verse, see Margaret Bridges, "The Economics of Salvation: the Beginnings of an English Vocabulary of Reckoning" and Judith N. Garde, *Old English Poetry in Medieval Christian Perspective: A Doctrinal Approach* (esp. 9-24, 212-5).

281 As noted in the methodology (Chapter 1), "self" and "identity" are defined endonymically according to Bhabha's model: "a process of self-reflection in the mirror of (human) nature" (66). The study of self, then, is the study of internal reflection—how the Anglo-Saxons and Old Saxons understood and shaped themselves from within, rather than how others perceived them from without.

elements outlined by Tacitus, but as a general term for the collective reciprocal practices of early Anglo-Saxon England and Saxony. In this sense, I apply comitatus as Toswell proposes: only "as a parallel to or an analog for Old English poems" like *Beowulf* and Old Saxon poems like *Heliand*, not as a "blueprint" for martial heroism (Toswell, "Ethnographic Preconceptions" 493).[282]

6.1.2 Texts

The most important text for this chapter is the Old Saxon *Heliand*, specifically lines 4525-5998, covering the betrayal and crucifixion. As the longest Christian Germanic poem, *Heliand* captures a culture in flux and offers a unique look into the development of sociopolitical and moral concepts in the early post-conversion period. Alongside *Heliand* are *Dream of the Rood*, and *Genesis B* as "early" control texts, and *Christ and Satan* and Cynewulf's *Christ II* as later examples to show the diachronic development of the three selected themes. These texts, which were chosen on stylistic and narrative grounds, all explore "redemption" and the relationship between Christ, Satan, and their respective followers. Each text provides its own representation of Christ, though explicit depictions of the crucifixion appear only in *Dream of the Rood* and *Heliand*.

Despite belonging to the late period in Old English, *Genesis B* was originally composed in Old Saxon only a generation after *Heliand*, and belongs to the early period of continental poetry. Where possible I cross-reference *Genesis B* with the corresponding lines in the more fragmentary Old Saxon *Vatican Genesis*. Of the three *Christ* poems in the *Exeter Book*, *Christ II* (440-886) was chosen over *Christ I* and *Christ III* because only the second poem explores the Ascension and directly parallels the *Heliand*. *Christ and Satan*, on the other hand, is explored in its entirety to illustrate the development of the two titular characters between the early and late periods. To account for stylistic and lexical differences between genres,[283] all texts are poems that foreground Christian themes.

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282 For a similar use of Tacitus as an analog to Old English poetry, see Ó Carragáin's analysis of the military values in *Dream of the Rood* (1-2).

283 For the problems associated with Old English genre see Paul Battles, "Toward a Theory of Old English Poetic Genres:

6.2 Development of Patterns

6.2.1 Reciprocal to Unilateral Social Order (Chapter 2 and 3)

I. Early

i. *Heliand* (4525-5998)

The *Heliand* defines Christ as a *meðom-giƀo* (treasure-giver) who exchanges gifts for loyalty (1200).[284] As established in Chapter 2 and 3, reciprocal exchange defined the sociopolitical makeup of the early Germanic world before Christianity naturalized a more unilateral dynamic (Russell 209).[285] During the Last Supper, Christ outlines the rewards and expectations of faith in God: "'Huat, ik iu godes riki', quað he, / 'gihet himiles lioht, endi gi mi holdlico / iuuan thaganskepi'" ["Lo, to you I promise God's Kingdom, the light of Heaven, and to me, you will be loyal in your service"] (4572-4). Here, Christ defines the relationship between himself and his followers as one of exchange, framed in parallel datives: "ik iu" (I to you) and "gi mi" (you to me). Christ then prophesies his betrayal as a violation of this arrangement:

.... Nu seggiu ik iu te uuarun her,

that uuili iuuuar tueliƀio en treuuono suikan,

uuili mi farcopan undar thit kunni Iudeono,

Epic, Elegy, Wisdom Poetry, and the 'Traditional Opening'," John D. Niles, *Old English Heroic Poems and the Social Life of Texts*, and Ivan Herbison's "The Idea of the 'Christian Epic'."

284 See also James E. Cathey, who argues that the *Heliand* foregrounds pre-Christian reciprocal exchange as the dominant social order, with Christ as a "*drohtin* at the head of a band of faithful followers" (Cathey, *Heliand* 157).

285 As noted earlier, the legitimization of sacral hierarchy stimulated the post-conversion transition from reciprocal comitatus to unilateral autocracy throughout England and the Continent (Russell 209). As Calvin W. Redekop suggests, the post-conversion interest in unilateral service to Christ precipitated the development of more unilateral secular social structures like autocratic kingship (433-44). Morrison, in part, attributes the development from early medieval unilateralism to feudalism in the High Middle Ages, to the development of "esthetic ironies" in ascetic discipline, where self-denial and work—often agricultural—produced spiritual togetherness and brought participants closer to the divine (136-7).

gisellien uuiðer siluƀre, endi uuili imu ther sinc niman.

[.......... Now, truly, I say to you here,

that one of your twelve will betray his loyalty.

he will sell me to the Jewish people,

sell me for silver, and will receive treasure from them]. (4575-8)

Here, Christ emphasizes terms of material exchange: *farcopan* (sell), *gisellien* (sell), *sinc* (treasure), and *siluƀre* (silver). While the Book of Matthew famously features silver, the *Heliand*'s preoccupation with treasure and transaction is innovative, as the biblical accounts feature only a prediction of the betrayal, not a prediction of its financial details.[286] By accepting treasure—*siluƀre* and *sinc* rather than salvation—from a different *kunni* (kin-group) in exchange for service against his Lord, Judas engages in a new arrangement with new masters in direct conflict with his oath. Judas' betrayal is not merely a betrayal of Christ, but a contravention of their sociopolitical agreement of mutual exchange. In Matthew, Christ condemns Judas's betrayal directly: "bonum erat ei si natus non fuisset homo ille" ["it were better for him, if that man had not been born"], and in Mark: "bonum erat ei, si non esset natus homo ille" (Matt. 26.24; Mk. 14.21). In *Heliand*, Christ censures the transaction rather than the betrayal: "that imu uuari uuoðiera thing / … [that he] *lon nimid*, / uƀil arƀedi inuuidrado" ["that will be, for him, a more loathsome thing, … that he *receive that wage*, for evil work with malicious intent"] (4583-6; emphasis mine). G. Ronald Murphy notes that once a retainer changes loyalties or betrays his lord, "he has no right to expect the Chieftain's reciprocal duty of help and support against enemies," such as Satan and his devils (*Saxon Gospel* 152). Reciprocal exchange assumes both a sociopolitical

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286 Christ's prediction of the betrayal occurs in each of the canonical Gospels: "amen dico vobis quia unus vestrum me traditurus est" ["truly I say to you that one of you is my betrayer"] (Matt. 26:21); "amen dico vobis quia unus ex vobis me tradet qui manducat mecum" ["truly I say to you that one of you who eats with me will betray me"] (Mk. 14:18); "verumtamen ecce manus tradentis me mecum est in mensa" ["truly, behold, the hand of the betrayer is with me at the table"] (Lk. 22:21); "amen amen dico vobis quia unus ex vobis tradet me" ["truly, truly I say to you that one of you will betray me"] (Jn. 13:21).

and spiritual imperative; as the narrator of the *Heliand* puts it, *uue* (damnation) awaits those "so undar thesumu himile scal herron uuehlson" ["who, under this Heaven, change lords"] (4624-5).

Judas's regret highlights his betrayal's transactional nature: "Tho on sorgun uuarð / Iudases hugi ... / that he haƀde is herron er / sundea losen *gisald*" ["Then Judas's mind was sorrowful... because he had earlier *traded* his lord to forfeit his life"] (5144-8; emphasis mine). Then he attempts to reverse the agreement with his lord's enemies by returning their treasure: "Geng imu tho to them Iudiun endi im is grimmon dad, / sundeon sagde, endi im that siluƀar bod / gerno te ageƀanne" ["Then, he went to Jewish people and truly recounted his grim deed, his sins, and eagerly offered to give them that silver"] (5150-2). This deed is permanent, however, since Judas' reciprocal transaction has already determined his new allegiances—to both Satan, as a spiritual lord, and the Jewish priests, as material lords. Through his betrayal, Judas suffers "uuiti ..., / hard hellie gethuing, het endi thiustri, / diap dodes dalu, huand he er umbi is drohtin suek" ["pain ..., the difficult torment of hell, heat and darkness, the deep valley of death, because he had earlier betrayed his lord"] (5168-70, 6520). *Heliand* correlates the secular concept of betraying one's chieftain with the theological concept of damnation through what Murphy calls the "vacillations between religions" (152-3). In this way, *Heliand* offers both religious and social instruction and establishes a narrative world that is both conservative and innovative.

This reciprocal loyalty also transforms the arrest at Gethsemane. When the Jewish forces descend upon Christ, Simon Peter works himself into a rage: "tha gibolgan warð / snel suuerdthegan, Simon Petrus" ["the proud sword-thane Simon Peter / became enraged"] (4865-67). In his anger, the "sword-thane" Simon Peter violently attacks Malchus as a show of loyalty: "Malchus uuarð makeas eggiun, / an thea suiðaron half suerdu gimalod" ["with the edge of the blade, Malchus was sliced with the sword on his right side"] (4875-76). This much is similar to the account in John, which specifies Malchus's ear as Simon Peter's target: "Simon ergo Petrus habens gladium eduxit eum et percussit pontificis servum, et abscidit auriculam ejus dexteram. Erat autem nomen servo Malchus" ["Simon,

also known as Peter, who had a sword, drew it and struck the High Priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. The servant's name, moreover, was Malchus"] (John 18:10). *Heliand*, however, embellishes the scene's gory aftermath: "beniuuendun brast: blod aftar sprang, / uuell fan uundun. Tho uuas an is uuangun scard / the furisto thero fiundo" ["bone-wound burst: blood sprayed out, gushing from the wound. Then, the cheek of the leader of those enemies was all ripped-up"] (4879-81). In the Gospel of John the attack against Malchus lacks the martial impact of *Heliand*'s account. The biblical Simon Peter is not a battle-ready *suuerdthegan*, but an apostle whose violence defers to his piety. But in the *Heliand*, when Christ, Simon Peter's *meðom-giƀo* (treasure-giver), faces danger, the young apostle reacts offensively to maintain social order. The application of reciprocal loyalty to this Christian narrative exemplifies the contradictory syncretism of semantic hybridity. As Russell observes, "When Christian essentials are minimalized, and indigenous cultural and religious customs are readily incorporated, the likelihood of religious syncretism increases" (11). By re-framing the relationships between religious agents as reciprocal rather than unilateral, Christianity had to re-interpret itself within the sociolinguistic confines of its host population.

In accordance with the development of kinship links observed in Chapter 2,[287] *Heliand* emphasizes the importance of reciprocal order by focusing on mutual kinship. During the trial and crucifixion (4577-5783), Christ and his relationships are described in terms of kinship thirteen times— more than once every 100 lines. Despite the mocking of Pilate and Herod, each word and phrase appears in a positive or ambivalent context: "kunni Iudeono" ["Jewish people"] (4577, 4837, 5127, 5358), *mankunni* (mankind; lit. human-kin) (4761, 4979, 5051, 5096, 5505, 5711), "heliðo kunnie" ["kin of man"] (5096), *kunnie* (kin) (5217, 5248), and *gumkunnies* (kin of the people) (5783). Importantly, Pilate's inquiry into "huilikumu kunnie Krist afodid" ["what kin nurtured Christ"] seeks to interpret Christ's culpability through his vestigial kin-group (5248). Indeed, "kinship" appears so often

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287 Cf. the semantic development of *gædeling*, which describes both "family" and "kin" in the early period before becoming pejorative in Middle English.

in the latter portion of *Heliand* that it becomes epistrophic.[288] With kinship, emphasis emerges not only from the repetition of individual lexemes or referents (e.g., *kunni*) but from the repetition of contexts formed by those referents; like earlier lexemes, *Heliand* highlights the importance of kinship by repeating it.[289] Judas's betrayal makes more sense in this context: by engaging in an agreement with Christ's enemies, Judas not only changes lords but abandons his kin. As established in Chapter 2, the occurrences of *gaduling* at lines 5212 and 5214 mean "kinsman." However, the earlier instances of *gadulingos* (1266) for "family members" and *gadulingmagun* (838) for "blood relatives," alongside the two examples of *gaduling* for "kinsman" during Christ's trial imply greater familiarity than their denotations, and occupy a meaning somewhere between "kinsman" and "family member" in their variational space.

ii. *Dream of the Rood*

While less interested in the relationship between Christ and his apostles on a narratological level, *Dream of the Rood* illustrates the soteriological imperative of Christ as a chieftain, and retains pre-Christian reciprocal exchange through its tropological re-framing of Christ's relationship to the Rood, the Dreamer, and the audience. Adelheid L. J. Thieme notes that *Dream of the Rood* "is a poem which effectively fuses vital elements of the heroic code with one of the most conventional themes in Latin Christian poetry, the crucifixion and its significance for mankind" (108). *Dream of the Rood* introduces Christ as a "geong hæleð .../ strang ond stiðmod" ["young warrior, strong and resolute of mind"], who is both chieftain and gift-giver (39-40), while the Rood itself is tropologically both wooden cross and retainer to Christ,[290] a role also occupied by the Dreamer and the audience.

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288 For more on the rhetoric of repetition in poetry see Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (esp. 102-130).

289 This rhetorical prioritization mirrors Wälchli and Hamawand's aforementioned models of semantic fortition, where reduplicated stems yield referential emphasis through contextual motivation (Wälchli 172; Hamawand 201-51)

290 The social-military *sacramentum* between the Rood and Christ has been much discussed. See Éamonn Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood* (123). See also James Smith, "The Garments that Honour the Cross in *The Dream of the Rood*," and

Adelheid Thieme argues that the reciprocal exchange between Christ and the Cross "inspires the Dreamer" and establishes gift-giving as a soteriological imperative (109-10). At the outset of the poem the Dreamer describes how the Rood was "begoten mid golde, gimmas stodon / fægere æt foldan sceatum" ["covered with gold; beautiful gems appeared at the corners of the earth, just as there were five upon the cross-beam"] (6-9). As Thieme notes, by exchanging service for treasure, the faithful cross is "transformed into a trophy of victory" and establishes itself as Christ's retainer (115-6). Later the Rood tells the Dreamer that his obedience has been *geweorðode* (honoured) by the "wuldres Ealdor" ["Lord of Glory"], just as "Mary is raised above all other women in heaven" (Thieme 90-4). By foregrounding material exchange, *Dream of the Rood* connects the sociopolitical Germanic paradigm of reciprocal exchange to the spiritual Christian paradigm of redemption.[291]

The relationship between Christ and his apostles is also defined through "friendship" and exchange rather than unilateral service: "me þær dryhtnes þegnas, / freondas gefrunon, / ond gyredon me golde ond seolfre" ["the Lord's retainers, his friends, found me there, and decorated me with gold and silver"] (75-7). As analogues for the Rood's retainership with Christ, the apostles fulfill their lord's obligation of material exchange by offering the cross treasure. On the other hand, Christ's spiritual agreement, to trade redemption for loyalty, remains his own. As explored in Chapter 3, the representation of Christ's apostles as "friends" and "retainers" agrees with the semantic development of Old English *þegn*, which retained its reciprocal connotations throughout the early period. Éamonn Ó Carragáin argues that the Dreamer serves as an aspirational "model" for the "personal relationship" between God and the faithful (327). Despite his literal distance from the heroic actions of Christ or the Rood, Ó Carragáin notes, "the dreamer gains heroism by becoming part of an heroic tradition" (327-8).

M. L. del Mastro, "*The Dream of the Rood* and the *Militia Christi*: Perspective in Paradox."

291 Gift-giving is a common topic in Anglo-Saxon studies. For example, see John M. Hill, "*Beowulf* and the Danish Succession: Gift Giving as an Occasion for Complex Gesture," Geoffrey R. Russom, "A Germanic Concept of Nobility in *The Gifts of Men* and *Beowulf*," and Adelheid L. J. Thieme, "The Gift in *Beowulf*: Forging the Continuity of Past and Present."

Like the cross's metamorphosis into an object of material and spiritual value, the Dreamer is exalted by

participating in the Rood's vision and offers the same heroic transformation to the audience.

After establishing the Lord's role as gift-giver, and his followers as friends, Christ's death is

bemoaned by the onlookers who "ongunnon him þa sorhleoð galan /... syððan stefn up gewat /

hilderinca" ["then began to sing a sorrow-song for him, ...after the voice departed from the warriors"]

(67-72). The melancholy of the crucifixion belongs not only to the Warrior-Apostles and the Rood, but

to every creature: "Weop eal gesceaft, / cwiððon cyninges fyll" ["All creation wept; they lamented the

passing of the king"] (55-6). This *gesceaft* is first introduced at line 12 as "eall þeos mære gesceaft"

["all this well-known creation"].[292] The universality of this lament raises the stakes of Christ's sacrifice

by broadening its reach; all creation can now become Christ's retainer. *Dream of the Rood*, then, offers

a more inclusive ethos than *Heliand*: with a reciprocal oath, every person can share kinship with

Christ.[293] As Ó Carragáin elaborates, "the poem tells of a gift-giving of which the Cross is the

instrument," while Christ is both a subject who "gives himself up to the startled Cross" and an "object,

which the Cross presents to Christ's followers" (61). By participating in Christ's gift-giving, the

audience, too, becomes both subject and object: listeners or readers who engage with the text, and

bodies acted upon by the Covenant.

The Dreamer laments his lord's *egeslic* (horrible) death but also recognizes Christ's sacrifice as

wyrd (fate) rather than circumstance (74). Through this *wyrd* the Rood becomes a "wuldres beam"

["tree of glory"] rather than an instrument of suffering because Christ's death fulfills the Lord's

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292 The parallels between Christ's death and the depiction of Baldr's sacrifice in Norse mythology are a commonplace,
especially the weeping of creation and the arrows in the cross. The stories of Baldur, however, postdate the introduction
of Christianity by many centuries, and cannot be read as accurate account of pre-Christian belief.

293 This innovation is unsurprising, as *Dream of the Rood* was produced later than *Heliand*, relative to their respective
culture's moments of conversion. For a recent study on the origin of *Dream of the Rood*, see Jane Roberts, "Some
Relationships between *The Dream of the Rood* and the Cross at Ruthwell."

soteriological obligations (97-100).[294] Christ sacrifices himself to save the loyal, because his sacrifice is a necessary element of redemption, and he has promised redemption in exchange for loyalty; as gift-giver under these terms, Christ *must* die. Marilyn Dunn argues that the "balance between heroic and Christian values" was often tenuous (136); in the early stages of conversion, sociopolitical syncretism took precedence over theological nuance. As Dunn notes, the earliest attestation of the *Dream of the Rood*, the Ruthwell Cross, "opens with a phrase suggesting the equality of Christ with his father"—a possible heresy but also a clear emphasis of Christ's power (145). Like the depiction of the Saviour in *Heliand*, the *Dream of the Rood*'s Christ is not a gentle messiah, but a hero whose sacrifice fulfills a reciprocal agreement of exchange with the Rood, the Dreamer, and the audience. Together, these three symbols participate in a narrative polysemy, where multiple coded words articulate one social-semantic meaning: retainership.

iii. *Genesis B* (235-851)

Genesis B recognizes reciprocal exchange as the dominant social order while problematizing its stability. Like the later *Christ and Satan*, *Genesis B* offers a grotesque facsimile of comitatus between Satan and his followers; *Genesis B* supports reciprocal exchange by criticizing the devils' failure to correctly participate in that system. Like Christ's representations in *Dream of the Rood* and *Heliand*, *Genesis B* introduces Satan as a gift-giver, who exchanges treasure for loyalty:

> Gif ic ænegum þægne þeodenmadmas
>
> geara forgeafe, þenden we on þan godan rice
>
> gesælige sæton and hæfdon ure setla geweald,
>
> þonne he me na on leofran tid leanum ne meahte
>
> mine gife gyldan
>
> [If I ever before gave any retainer

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294 That is, Christ's reciprocal obligation to offer redemption in exchange for service.

princely treasures when we blessedly sat

in that good kingdom and had control over our court,

then he might never at a better time

reciprocate my gifts]. (409-13)

Satan reiterates his mandate of reciprocal exchange through *þeodenmadmas* given to his followers, and establishes Hell as the ultimate test of their loyalty. By emphasizing the comfort of Heaven, however, Satan highlights two problems with his comitatus: 1.) Satan implies that the treasures of Heaven were his to give, and 2.) Satan confuses the relationship between himself and God for the relationship between himself and his rebellious retinue. Doane notes that "in Carolingian thought, gifts automatically establish obligations and distinguish levels in a hierarchy" (*Saxon Genesis* 118). *Genesis B* reinforces the importance of proper gift-giving while offering unilateral hierarchy—unequal exchange—as a resolution. Suggesting further problems with Satan's sociopolitical order, the poem reverses the "ring-giver" paradigm: "[Satan] is on þære sweartan helle / hæft mid hringa gesponne" ["Satan is in the darkness of Hell, imprisoned by the joining of rings"] (762-3). Since Lucifer's new role as chieftain over the devils requires that he betray God's social order, Satan becomes *imprisoned* by rings, rather than *comforted* by them. As John Vickrey suggests, by re-contextualizing the concept of rings and gift-giving in this fundamentally Christian environment, the "Germanic relationship" of reciprocal exchange becomes a Christian one (61).

The broken agreement between Satan and God, then, illustrates both the consequences of disrupting the dominant social order and a criticism of that order. Satan himself seems unable to recognize the limits of his comitatus: "[Satan] cwæð þæt his lic wære leoht and scene, / hwit and hiowbeorht" ["Satan said that his body was light and shining, glittering and bright of colour"] (255-6). Lucifer mistakes his reciprocal *mede* (reward)—his beauty and luminescence—as a personal accomplishment, rather than a gift from God. For his treason, Satan rests "sigelease on þa sweartan

helle" ["without victory, in the darkness of Hell"], where he suffers both physical and spiritual reprimand (312).[295] Satan elaborates his experience: "Is þæs ænga styde ungelic swiðe / þam oðrum ham þe we ær cuðon, / hean on heofonrice" ["This narrow place is very unlike the other home we knew before, high in the Kingdom of Heaven"] (356-8). The full monologue, detailing the torments of Hell, spans lines 356-441; Satan's speech also outlines his regrets, his hatred of man, and his justifications for betraying God. Vickrey describes Satan's monologue as an example of dramatic irony "through which the Devil ...could be allowed to display his ignorance" (112). Here, the extension of "reciprocal exchange" as a social category into both "positive" and "negative" dimensions visualizes the sociopolitical consequences of Traugott and Dasher's "invited inferencing" model—introduced in Chapter 1 and 5—which predicts the linguistic movement from singular meanings to new polysemous categories (49-50).[296]

Satan's failed comitatus contrasts Adam and Eve's complex relationship with God. Early in the poem, Adam precisely outlines his *mede* and expected service as a retainer:

[God] me her stondan het,

his bebodu healdan, and me þas bryd forgeaf,

wlitesciene wif, and me warnian het

þæt ic on þone deaðes beam bedroren ne wurde

[God called me to stand here,

to follow his decrees, and he gave me this bride,

this beautiful wife, and warned me

not to become deceived by the tree of death]. (525-8)

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295 For more on the fall, see Daniel Anlezark, "The Fall of the Angels in Solomon and Saturn II." See also Brian Murdoch, *The Recapitulated Fall: A Comparative Study in Mediaeval Literature*.

296 For more on this model of contingent polysemy in a different context, see Andrea Tyler and Vyvyan Evans, "Reconsidering Preopositional Polysemy Networks: the Case of *over*" in *Polysemy: Flexible Patterns of Meaning in Mind and Language* (95-160).

As Vickrey notes, however, "Eve too is subject by God's direct command to martial discipline" (123). Instead of brightness, Eve receives earthly paradise for her loyalty, as both she and Adam "wæron leof gode / ðenden heo his halige word healdan woldon" ["were beloved to God as long as they desired to keep his holy word"] (244-51). Eve's failure is not a lack of "moral strength" but a breach of the same reciprocal oath shared by Adam. This awareness and acceptance of comitatus distinguishes Adam and Eve's fall from Satan's. Vickrey argues that Adam and Eve's "martiality" prefigures the soteriological comedy of *Genesis B*,[297] as even after losing Paradise, Adam "is resolute to persevere in faith and loyalty," leading to the eventual salvation of mankind (61-2). In earnest, Adam and Eve ask God "hu hie on þam leohte forð libban sceolden" ["how they might again live in that light"] after breaking their agreement, whereas Satan and his retinue note how "sceolde [heom] Adame yfele gewurðan" ["bad things must happen between them and Adam"] (851, 387). Satan, then, persists in his betrayal while Adam and Eve pursue atonement. Like Judas's betrayal in *Heliand*, Satan's ongoing disobedience contravenes his previous oath; in a political system predicated on this "bond of kinship" a retainer cannot "herron uuehlson" ["change lords"] without losing social stability (Russell 121).

II. Late

i. *Christ II* (440-886)

Christ II expands on the ascension from Mark 16:14-20.[298] As an early text of the late period, *Christ II* retains much of the heroic vocabulary shared by texts of the early period, and includes elements of gift-giving and exchange. Here, however, these Germanic elements are narratological, and affect an aesthetic, rather than practical, effect. As Colin Chase shows, the moral-psychological and sociopolitical themes of *Christ II* lie not in Germanic reciprocity but in the unilateral transfer of grace, which tropologically associates material generosity with spiritual redemption (89-93).[299]

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297 I.e., "comedic" in the Aristotelian sense: an upward turn in the narrative action after a period of conflict.

298 For an analysis of the ascension motif, see James W. Marchand "The Leaps of Christ and *The Dream of the Rood*."

299 As Chase notes, Cynewulf's structural and thematic reliance on Gregory the Great's "Ascension Day Homily" has been

Early in *Christ II*, the narrator describes Christ's followers as a *þegna gedryht* (troop of retainers). However, their Lord is no longer just an *æþeling* (warrior), but the "ealles waldend, / cyning on ceastre" ["ruler of all, the king in the city"] (448, 457, 577-8). As Judith Garde argues, Christ's unambiguous "triumph over the Devil" emphasizes God's authority as "victor" (133). *Christ II*, then, retains Christ's martiality, but frames it as a relationship of hierarchy rather than mutual exchange. This relationship is highlighted at lines 790-4, where loyalty becomes obligation:

> And eac ondræde dom ðy reþran,
>
> ðonne eft cymeð engla þeoden,
>
> þe ic ne heold teala þæt me hælend min
>
> on bocum bibead. Ic þæs brogan sceal
>
> geseon synwræce
>
> [And I also fear more powerfully the judgement,
>
> when the prince of angels comes again,
>
> that I did not obey well, that which my Lord,
>
> in the books commanded. For this, I must look into the terror
>
> of the torment of sin].

The speaker's fear emerges not from betraying comitatus, but from punishment through disobedience. Here, *Christ II* foregrounds "sin" and "compliance" over exchange. As Shannon Godlove suggests, Cynewulf's "grim meditations motivate action, rather than despair" (527). Obedience anticipates grace, and is, therefore, part of the heavenly "gifts" that define social order between God and his followers.[300]

Unlike the reciprocal *sinc* in *Heliand,* the jewels in *Dream of the Rood*, and the *gife* in *Genesis*

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known since 1853 (87). For more on the organization and theme of *Christ II* see Jean Milhaupt, "The Structure of Cynewulf's *Christ II*."

300 For more on sacrifice and hierarchy in *Christ II* see Alfred Bammesberger, "A Reference to Martyrdom in Cynewulf's Ascension Poem."

B, God's "gifts of grace" in *Christ II* reflect unilateral dominance. Chase observes that the "pattern of battle, peace and gift-giving" in *Christ II*'s ascension narrative recalls the structure of other Germanic poetry like the *Fight at Finnsburh* and *Beowulf* (88-9). Here, however, the gift of salvation emerges not from a Lord/retainer relationship or the exchange of material treasure, but from what Chase refers to as a "semi-sacramental expression of the life of grace": ongoing redemption through unilateral obedience (94-7). Christ remains a *sincgiefan* (treasure-giver) (460) and a *folca feorhgiefan* (giver of life to the people) (556), but is also the sole "frætwum ealles waldend / middangeardes ond mægenþrymmes" ["wielder of all adornment, of the Earth and of the majestic power"], who dictates not only the terms, but the structure of obedience (556-7).

From lines 659-91 the narrator lists ten *giefe* (gifts) that emphasize God's power over humanity; five of these are intellectual gifts, such as "modes snyttru" ["intelligence of the mind"] and the ability to "wordcwide writan" ["write statements in words"], while the other five describe physical abilities like the strength to "heanne beam / stælgne gestigan" ["climb a high and steep tree"] and the skill to "wæpen gewyrcan" ["create a weapon"] (Chase 92; 662, 672-3, 678-9, 680). As Godlove notes, the "diversity of graces" bestowed by Christ in Cynewulf's poem recalls both the Germanic "gifts of men" motif and Paul's "list of gifts" in 1 Corinthians 12:4-11; Cynewulf's focus on the "diversity of humankind's abilities" demonstrates the generosity and reach of God's power by emphasizing God's agency over both spiritual and material domains (521-3). Hierarchy, then, epitomizes the relationship between the Lord and his followers. Unlike the *wyrd* of Christ's crucifixion in *Dream of the Rood*, "grace" relies on generosity rather than obligation; grace is *valued* because it is not *required*. God remains giver of life, while material gift-giving—retained only as a soteriological metaphor— subordinates itself to a spiritual hierarchy.

Christ II, then, envisages a middle ground between Germanic comitatus and Christianized

unilateralism. The most archaic feature in *Christ II* remains Cynewulf's runic signature.[301] Barbara Raw suggests that Cynewulf signed his poems not only to declare authorship but as a bid for his soul (7).[302] Cynewulf's runes are doubly inscribed as both a material preservation of pre-Christian society,[303] and a denial of that order by invoking post-conversion soteriology. In this way, *Christ II* participates in a narratological polysemy through its characters, language, and politics: Christ is a Germanic hero, visualized through both Germanic and Latin writing systems, whose dominant social order relies on Christian hierarchy, articulated through a surface-level aesthetic of reciprocal gift-giving.

ii. *Christ and Satan*

Among texts of the sample group, *Christ and Satan* offers the most innovative worldview, with hierarchy and unilateral kingship firmly established as the dominant social order and Germanic reciprocity disappearing even as metaphor. Rather than illustrating God's agency through tropological gift-giving, *Christ and Satan* focuses on spiritual punishment and redemption. As R.E. Finnegan suggests, Christ—despite never appearing in person—is "defined almost exclusively in terms of power... demonstrated in the immediate and absolute defeat of the devils" (30). Charles Robert Sleeth describes the God of *Christ and Satan* as a "supreme being that is unalterably above" all others (21). Satan's recognition of hierarchy transforms him into a substantially different character than the Satan of earlier literature.

Early in the poem the audience hears Satan "wric[an] wordcwedas weregan reorde, / eisegan stefne" ["strain out words with a weary and terrified voice"] (35-6). This is no longer the defiant Lucifer of *Genesis B*, but a fearful wretch who views his punishment as a hierarchical imperative:

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301 As mentioned previously, runes had become outmoded by the ninth century. See R. I. Page *An Introduction to English Runes* (19-30) for the distribution of English runes during the early Middle Ages.

302 For a thorough study of Cynewulf's runes, see Dolores Warwick Frese, "The Art of Cynewulf's Runic Signatures." See also Roger Lass, "Cyn(e)wulf Revisited: the Problem of the Runic Signatures."

303 As noted earlier "double inscription" is a key element of hybridity. See Bhabha (39, 138, 154, 191) and Jacques-Alain Miller (28).

> Hwæt, we for dryhtene iu dreamas hefdon,
>
> song on swegle selrum tidum,
>
> þær nu ymb ðone æcan æðele stondað,
>
> heleð ymb hehseld, herigað drihten
>
> wordum and wercum, and ic in wite sceal
>
> bidan in bendum, and me bættran ham
>
> for oferhygdum æfre ne wene
>
> [Lo, we earlier had joys before the Lord,
>
> the singing in the skies during better times,
>
> where now the noble ones stand around the Eternal,
>
> warriors around his high throne; they praise the Lord
>
> in words and deeds, and I must, in torment,
>
> remain in fetters, and never hope
>
> for a better dwelling, because of my excessive pride]. (44-50)

Satan structures his lament in three parts: 1.) first, Satan recalls the pleasures he experienced in Heaven to emphasize the horror of his predicament; 2.) next, he outlines the transgressions that led him to this place; 3.) third, he describes Hell itself as the inevitable conclusion of his uprising. By using *sceal* (must) to emphasize the "fairness" and inevitability of his punishment, Satan becomes less obstinate than his character in *Genesis B* or *Heliand*.[304] The narrator simplifies the devils' predicament as a loss of happiness: "Crist heo afirde, / dreamum bedelde" ["Christ cast them out, separated from joys"] (67-8).[305] Sleeth argues that Satan's "un-Germanic" wretchedness defies earlier depictions of the fall and

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304 See also the continued speech from lines 117-21, where Satan focuses solely on his punishment and God's agency.

305 The Devils' loss of *dreamas* recalls Grendel, who is "dreamum bedæled" ["separated from joys"] in *Beowulf* (721). As a spawn of Cain, Grendel, and his grief in exile, contextually relates to the experience of Hell and shows the chronological and narratological flexibility of this poetic formula.

resists epic convention (48). Thematically, Satan's fragility emphasizes the Lord's competence. Despite what Finnegan calls "un-chronological movement" between narrative sections (12), *Christ and Satan* remains unified in its repetition of God's agency, while the reduplication of "submissive" semantic units highlights dominance and obedience through referential emphasis. Of 729 lines, 538 illustrate God's power or punishments for disobedience. For Satan and his followers, God is simply "ana cyning, þe [heom] eorre gewearð" ["the sole king, who has become angry towards them"] (259-60); Satan's punishment is necessarily "just" because God alone determines justice.

Finnegan observes that the poem's fractured narrative assumes a didactic mode by "direct[ing] it[self] to the condition of man" and "drawing out the implications of such power for the moral life of the reader or audience" (28). The narrator reminds us that, like Satan, every "hæþenre *sceale* / ... licgan on leahtrum" ["heathen *must* lie in chains"] (262-7; emphasis mine). By universalizing the intensifier *sceale*, *Christ and Satan* gestures outside its narrative and becomes homiletic; not just *this* heathen, but *any* heathen must "licgan on leahtrum." Satan, a castigated subordinate, teaches the audience a moral lesson: if we break hierarchy we too must suffer Hell. This preference for hierarchy in *Christ and Satan* corroborates with the latest semantic developments of the sample group and illustrates the transition of Christianization from sociopolitical integration towards moral colonization.

6.2.2 Pejoration of Germanic Morality (Chapter 4 and 5)

I. Early

i. *Heliand* (4525-5998)

While *Heliand* retains pre-Christian articulations of pride and loyalty using terms that would later become universally negative, the poem's evangelical framework yields a variety of early innovations. In agreement with the sample data, *Heliand* consistently uses *wlank* (proud) to express positive values, though often in negative contexts. The Jewish citizens surrounding Herod are described

as "wlanke wigandos" ["proud troops"] who "thar selbon Crist gisehan mostin" ["want to see Christ for themselves"] (5271-2). The moral imperative of loyalty corresponds to a positive sense of pride in one's kin group—in this case, a curiosity toward Christ and what his arrival means for the Jewish people. The later "uulanke man" ["proud men"] who arrest Christ are also described as "grimmon Iudeon" ["serious Jews"] (4939, 4942). The Jewish soldiers likewise remain resolute in their loyalty: they are merely "proud" and "serious," not evil. This sentiment is corroborated by earlier occurrences, such as the loyal messenger who is "wlankan undar [themu] werode" ["proud amongst his tribe"] and the *wlanka* men who seek to preserve their identity with *gelmod* (intensely minded)[306] resistance (3185, 3927).[307] Pride retains positive connotations despite negative circumstances. George Clark observes that "the *Heliand* and Old Saxon *Genesis* may not have agreed on the correct noun for pride" (177). Indeed, the *Heliand* poet seems unsure how to navigate "pride" itself. Despite remaining an integral component of the poem's environs, "pride" is bifurcated between the moral foundation of its Germanic audience and the moral expectations of the Christian source material.

Accordingly, *wlank* also appears alongside negative terms. The word's most pejorative occurrence narrates Pilate's meeting with Christ: "Tho sprak eft the kesures bodo / wlank endi wreðmod, thar he wið waldand Krist / reðiode an them rakude" ["then Caesar's envoy spoke again, proud and angry of mind, as he debated in the Hall with Christ the wielder"] (5209-11). *Wlank* corresponds to "anger" alongside *wreðmod* in the same half-line, and articulates "pride" of a different quality: Pilate is "stubborn" and "firm" because of his steadfast allegiance to Roman law. As with other

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306 *Gelmod*, which also appears as a proper name, was a positive adjective in early Saxon society. For more on *gelmod* see William George Searle (255).

307 For a less sympathetic view of the Jewish antagonists in *Heliand* see Murphy, *Saxon Gospel* (189-90). Murphy's view, however, relies on assumptions about the pejorative connotations of "pride" and "resolve," which do not agree with the less negative semantic range of applicable morality lexemes in the earliest generation following conversion. While their contexts are often negative, "pride" and "resolve" themselves remain positive qualities; *Heliand* merely problematizes their direction (ie, Christ is more worthy of *wlank* loyalty than Herod).

early PQ terms, the initial pejoration of *wlank* does not rely on a denotational change, but a shift of evaluative connotation in its variational space. Christian innovations are unsurprising given the evangelical purpose of the *Heliand* outlined in its Latin *praefatio*:[308]

> Praecepit [Ludouuicus] ...cuidam viro de gente Saxonum, qui apud suos non ignobilis vates habebatur, ut vetus ac novum Testamentum in Germanicum linguam poetice transferre studeret, quatenus non solum literatis, verum etiam illiteratis sacra divinorum praeceptorum lectio panderetur
>
> [Lewis ordered a certain man of the Saxon peoples, who had among themselves poets of no small worth, that he work to poetically translate the Old and New Testaments into the German language, such that the sacred reading of the divine precepts might be open to not only the literate but also the illiterate]. (Behaghel 1)

The *Praefatio* suggests that writers were already struggling with questions of syncretism and transformation in the earliest generation after conversion. Bhabha argues that this type of contradictory "splitting" introduces a "strategic space of enunciation" where, through contextual motivation, a colonizing force can assert itself by contrasting its presence with its lack; in this space, "language itself becomes doubly inscribed" (191). The polysemy of *wlank* negotiates a complex tension between traditional Germanic loyalty and sacral piety: the former, a way to speak to and influence the newly-converted Saxons, and the latter, instruction on epistemological expectations within the new faith.[309]

ii. *Dream of the Rood*

The *Dream of the Rood* associates the traditional Germanic qualities of physical strength and resolve to more innovative Christian values like spiritual fortitude and patience. During the crucifixion,

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308 Mierke demonstrates that the Latin *praefatio* must be either contemporary or near-contemporary with the poem (52-5).

309 In a similar way, *skuldig* consistently means "liable" rather than "sinful" throughout the latter half of the *Heliand.* For specific examples see lines 4592, 5181, 5231-2, 5244, 5317-9, 5331, and 5647. Also see Russell (209-14) for more on legal integration as a sociopolitical preface to moral colonization.

the Rood itself casts Christ as a mighty hero: "strang ond stiðmod. Gestah [Crist] on gealgan heanne, / modig on manigra gesyhðe, þa he wolde mancyn lysan" ["strong and resolute of mind, Christ ascended on the high gallows, spirited in the sights of many, when he desired to free humanity"] (40-1).[310] Accordingly, reflexes of *mod* that develop pejorative referents, such as *modig*, retain their positive denotations; *modig* itself means "spirited."[311] Christina M. Heckman argues that the *Dream of the Rood*, in developing an ethic of strength and spirit, moves the Dreamer "away from thoughts of revenge to a longing for his own salvation" (141-2). By making salvation both attractive and understandable to a newly converted people, the poem is able to shift its morality away from Germanic vengeance while retaining structural elements that recall pre-Christian thought. Just as the audience—clergy and laity—can experience both wonder and horror at Christ's execution, Ó Carragáin argues, so too does the Rood "present itself as an arboreal 'everyman': a guiltless 'ordinary' follower" who is both disturbed and exalted through his instrumentality in Christ's death (2-3).

This Christ, however, is not only *strong* but *patient*; he suffers resolutely and without complaint. Ó Carragáin describes this patience as "kenotic" heroism: "the Dream proposes a subversive ideal of heroism, founded ...on the kenotic humility and self-giving embodied in Christ's life from incarnation to death; a bravery imitated by the Cross ...and, by the Dreamer" (319). Near the close of the poem Christ again performs with both strength and generosity: "eft dryhten aras / mid his miclan mihte mannum to helpe" ["the lord again arose with his great strength to help humanity"] (101-2). Russell suggests that early missionaries "sought to redefine the Germanic virtues of strength [and] courage" by reading physical experience as a metaphor for spiritual strength (121). In this model, "spirit" correlates

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310 For more on the "heroic Christ" motif in *Dream of the Rood* see Michael D. Cherniss, "The Cross as Christ's Weapon: The Influence of Heroic Literary Tradition on The Dream of the Rood" and Ian J. Kirby, "The Dream of the Rood: a Dilemma of Supra-Heroic Dimensions."

311 For the interpretations of *mod* and its lexical-semantic reflexes see Leslie Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions.* See also Thomas W. Stewart Jr., "The Mind and Spirit of Old English *mod* and *fer(h)ð.*"

to corporeal vigor: *mod* itself is strongest when the seat of *mod*, the body, is strong. Christ's strength, however, differs from the Germanic ethic of personal glory: the crucifixion does not reflect an insular victory but a victory for all *mancyn* because Christ's *lof* is universalized. The crucifixion itself, on the other hand, becomes an epic journey that Christ alone can undertake: "Se sunu wæs sigorfæst on þam siðfate, / mihtig ond spedig" ["the Son was victoriously resolute, mighty and successful, in that adventure[312]"] (150-1). Patrick McBrine observes a "journey motif" in not only *Dream of the Rood*, but throughout the *Vercelli Book.* As McBrine suggests, this motif represents a "test" of physical, psychical, and/or spiritual resolve (298). K.E. Dubs further observes that the Rood also refers to the Dreamer as *hæleð* (hero), a word otherwise reserved for Christ (614-5).[313] By participating in the vision, both the Dreamer and audience are given the opportunity to participate in Christ's sacrificial heroism. Christ's individual *siðfate*, then, defines a more universal magico-religious experience: to be like Christ—strong (both spiritually and physically), patient, and resolute—in the human journey of faith.

The Rood itself is "kind," or "gentle," rather than "strong": "hnag ic hwæðre þam secgum to handa / *eaðmod* elne mycle" ["nevertheless, I bowed down to the hands of men, *humble*, with great nobility"] (59-60; emphasis mine). Nicole Guenther Discenza discusses how the ethic of humility developed in *Dream of the Rood* grew in importance and complexity throughout the ninth and tenth centuries (44-5).[314] Although the Rood lacks Christ's physical prowess, its *eaðmod* temperament highlights Christian modesty and reflects the Lord's patience in *Heliand*. Discenza points out the paradox of the Cross's relationship to Christ: the Rood is powerfully loyal to its Lord, yet it must allow him to die at the hands of his enemies (44). The ethic of a "good death" in combat—here for the glory

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312 The literal reading is "journey journey." I have translated *siðfate* as "adventure" as both *sið-* and *-fate* refer to journey, and together represent an example of a redundant co-compound whose reduplication yields a stronger evaluative connotation than each individual stem.

313 See also Clair W. McPherson, "Spiritual Combat: the *Dream of the Rood*."

314 For the materiality of humility in later Christian Anglo-Saxon England, see also D. M. Hadley, "Equality, Humility and Non-Materialism? Christianity and Anglo-Saxon Burial Practices" (149-78).

of universal redemption rather than personal renown—would have resonated with the heroic morality

of seventh and early eighth-century England.[315] Tropologically, then, the Cross and Christ's other

retainers navigate morality both as it was in the now, and as it ought to be in the Christian yet-to-come.

Christ remains a paragon of Germanic firmness, while his retainers—literal and tropological—embody

a more innovative, albeit subtle, shift towards Christian diffidence. Through this heroic pastiche,

Christianity subtly establishes a new moral-psychological paradigm by retaining Germanic pride and

strength in novel contexts.

During his discussion of evangelical pedagogy, Bhabha argues that the "contradictory and

independent textualities" of Christianity and pre-Christian polytheism correspond to a paradoxical

"splitting of colonial discourse" where the new faith asserts less of itself through pre-Christian ideology

to establish narrative dominance (190). As Morrison notes, early Germanic Christians had to navigate

the "consciously fictive character" of conversion, problematized by "pagan survivals" and—at first—

ritual parity between pre-Christian and post-Christian belief (44). This ideological gestalt, despite

underlying conflict, facilitated conversion by re-purposing extant sociocultural machinery. The

polysemous expressions of "strength" and "humility" in *Dream of the Rood* corroborate earlier

observations about the nature of semantic change under Germanic Christianity, where "Personal

Qualities" acquired new, incompatible meanings during the earliest stages of conversion.

iii. *Genesis B* (235-851)

Genesis B pejorizes Germanic strength, resolve, and pride through Satan and his failed

comitatus, which Doane ascribes to the devils' refusal of God's *mundeburdum* (*Saxon Genesis* 118).

Early in the poem the narrator recounts how Satan deceives Adam "þurh feondes cræft" ["through the

enemy's craft"] (553). Satan's cleverness does not convey intellectual strength, but overweening pride

—an attempt to supersede God's plan, and a refusal to accept a relationship of vassalage. Likewise, the

315 For more on the joining of Christian redemption with Anglo-Saxon heroism, see Scott Gwara, *Heroic Identity in the World of 'Beowulf'*, and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "The Hero in Christian Reception."

tree of knowledge becomes a "deaðes beam" ["tree of death"] that Satan uses "þurh deofles cræft" to facilitate humanity's fall (492). Helen Foxhall Forbes notes that human judgements in Anglo-Saxon theology "are beset with problems stemming from human nature: ... those who judge or make laws are not always good" (130). *Genesis B* highlights the hubris of human *cræft* when Satan assumes the role of God's emissary to deceive Adam and Eve: "[God] het þæt þu þisses ofætes æte, cwæð þæt þin *abal* and *cræft* / and þin modsefa mara wurde, / and þin lichoma leohtra micle" ["God commanded that you eat this fruit, he said that your *ability* and *skill*, and your mind will become greater, and your body much lighter"] (500-2; emphasis mine). The promise of self-improvement and autonomy damages human integrity. Doane proposes two primary themes for *Genesis B*: 1.) the inability to "do anything without God," and 2.) the "self-delusion of mistaking any power one has as one's own" (*Saxon Genesis* 120). *Cræft*, then, is tempered, and limited, through God's will. Because *cræft* is God's alone to confer, the pursuit of personal *cræft*—represented by Satan's bid for power and humanity's lust for the forbidden fruit—signals hubris.

Despite the devils' evil, the narrator casts Satan as a warrior of "hyge strangne" ["strong mind"] while Satan describes his followers as "strange geneatas" ["strong retainers"] (447, 284).[316] Satan's association with epic tropes, however, recalls pre-Christian morality only by stripping those words and phrases of their tropological complexity. As Doane argues, these concepts are "elevated and enriched" by association with spiritual relationships when referring to God, but become "complexly diminished" when referring to Satan; this terminology does not regain "its old 'heroic' valence," but "loses its polysemous quality" while implicating a "fall from more complex meaning" (*Satan Genesis* 124).[317] Satan's pre-Christian morality reinforces the danger of hubris by illustrating its damaging effects on the language used to inscribe it—a literal visualization of Bhabha's "double inscription," where the colonial text occupies a contradictory space of stability and instability, conservatism and innovation; in

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316 See Thomas D. Hill, "Satan's Injured Innocence in *Genesis B*" for more on the "sympathetic" character of Satan.

317 For a full list of tropological character relationships in *Genesis B* see Doane, *Saxon Genesis* (111-2).

a metaphorical and literal sense, this writing "both marks and goes back over its mark with an undecidable stroke" (154).[318] By applying heroic language to both God and Satan, *Genesis B* facilitates semantic hybridity in one domain—the spiritual and psychological—by protesting hybridity in another —the material and heroic. Vickrey argues that Satan's strength as an "independent warlord" with "his own comitatus" does not redeem Satan, but contrasts Adam's own failings as a vassal (60): both characters disobey God, but Adam's repentance is morally preferable to Satan's "heroic" obstinacy. Satan's epic characterization accomplishes two things: 1.) it ensures the persistence of pre-Christian morality to explicate the text to those ambivalent or hostile to the new faith; and 2.) it places those pre-Christian values in a negative context, problematizing the older model. As Morrison argues, syncretism was "a deliberate tactic of reducing empathy to form" (43). Instead of destroying pre-Christian institutions—both physical and metaphorical—new sociopolitical, moral, and artistic models could incorporate them, and where necessary, deprecate them. The middle-stage of Christianization, then, functioned most effectively by illustrating the moral failings of antecedent traditions, rather than removing them altogether.

II. Late

i. *Christ II* (440-886)

Christ II privileges spiritual strength over physical strength by developing the mind as a locus of redemption. First, the poem consistently privileges the intellectual *mod*, not as a quality of pride (cf. *ofermod*),[319] but as a *locus* of worship. Not counting words for "spirit" and "soul," the "mind"— signified by both *sefa* and *mod*—appears in thirteen words and phrases throughout the poem: *modcræfte* (skill of the mind) (441), "sefan snyttro" ["intelligent heart"] (442), "sefan manna" ["heart

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318 For more on the transformation of selfhood through double-inscription, see Philip Leonard, *Nationality Between Poststructuralism and Postcolonial Theory* (129-32).

319 See, for example, Helmut Gneuss's "'The Battle of Maldon' 89: Byrhtnoð's 'Ofermod' Once Again" on the pejoration of *ofermod* (pride) in *Battle of Maldon*.

of man"] (487), "geomor sefa" ["sad heart"] (499), *geomormode* (sad of spirit) (535), *breostsefa* (heart of the chest) (540), *glædmode* (happy of spirit) (576), "modig meahtum strang" ["spirited with strong might"] (647), "modes snyttru" ["intelligent of mind"] (662), "sefan monna" ["heart of man"] (663), "modes gemynd" ["thought of the mind"] (665), "modig æfter muntum" ["spirited over the mountain"] (746), *eadmod* (blessed of mind) (786). These *mod* compounds correspond to Haselow's derivational relation theory, which was used in Chapter 5 to explain the pejoration of *scyld-*. As Haselow observes, innovative sememes commonly emerge from compounds while forms of the root lexeme remain conservative (Haselow 151-2). The narrator begins the poem with an exhortation to seek *gæstgerynum* (spiritual mysteries) through both "sefan snyttro" ["wisdom of the heart"] and *modcræfte* ["skill of the mind"] (440-2). As Leslie Lockett demonstrates in her seminal study, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular*, the "mind" was imagined by the Anglo-Saxons as a physical space located in the chest cavity, which was also occupied by the "heart" and the "spirit" (54-110).[320] To the Early Medieval English imagination, the expansion, contraction, and temperature (e.g., "boiling with rage") of emotion described a material experience, which became metaphorical only in the eleventh century (15). For the author of *Christ II*, the cardiocentric terms *sefan*, *mod*, and *gæst* occupied the same semantic denotation with distinct connotations.

Soon-Ai Low shows that *mod* derives from PIE **me-*, **mo-* (cf. Latin *mos*: "habit," "self will") and originally referred to "anger," "courage," and "pride," while later meanings focus on the positive experience of "mind" or pejorative expressions of "pride" (80-3). The strength of *mod*, then, emerges from individual experience, either through divine influence on the inner world or personal involvement in the outer world. The moral-psychological relationship between "mind" and "spirit" in *Christ II* is exemplified by the cardiocentric machinery of thought and salvation. For example, the aforementioned *modcræfte* at line 441 is processed through the "sefan snyttro" at line 442, despite remaining

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320 For the history of the cardiocentric mind see Stanley Finger, "Minds Behind the Brain" (36-7).

physiologically "stationary." Later in the poem, intelligence is processed through the "modes snyttru" and then again through the *sefan*, and finally through the "modes gemynd" (662-663, 665). The interchangeability of these concepts demonstrates how the intellectual heart and the intellectual mind could signify the same referents, as per Lockett's model (33). Accordingly, *modig* in *Christ II* does not refer to "vain" or "prideful" but "spirited" with the connotation of "strong":

> ofer heahhleoþu hlypum stylde,
>
> modig æfter muntum. Swa we men sculon
>
> heortan gehygdum hlypum styllan
>
> of mægne in mægen mærþum tilgan
>
> [he ascended with leaps across the high cliffs,
>
> spirited over the mountains. So we humans should
>
> ascend our hearts with leaping thoughts
>
> from strength to strength, cultivating glories]. (744-8)

As with the Holy Spirit's *modig* (spirited) ascension "meahtum strang" ["with strong might"] at line 647, Christ's ascension establishes the moral imperative of properly cultivating one's thoughts. Correct use of the mind develops the correct use of spirit, through which the thinker fosters strength. Physical strength is subordinate to intelligence, because through intelligence the thinker reconciles God's authority. Since the *mod* is also "the spirit," privileging intellectual strength means privileging spiritual strength or skill. In this way, the unity of mind and body in *Christ II* allows the narrator to retain physical strength in a spiritual space.

As Oliver J. H. Grosz points out, both Gregory the Great's homily on the Ascension and the same material in *Christ II* illustrate how "humanitas exaltata" ["humanity was exalted"] through the Lord's ascent (95-6). This "exaltation" emerges through "skill." Unlike the negative representation of *cræft* in *Genesis B*, human *cræft* in *Christ II* represents divinely appointed knowledge and ability

because Christ is the "sawla nergend / gæsta giefstol" ["redeemer of the soul, the spiritual throne of gifts"] (571-2). These "gifts" also include the "white garments of the angels," who anticipate the "divine gift of the Spirit following Christ's departure" (Garde 134). Even material *cræftas*, like the tree-climbing and weapon-smithing in God's list of gifts from 659 to 691 represent a component of *mod*, since abilities are granted by God, and God's *giefe* are transmitted through spirit. The connection between *spirit* and *mod* in *Christ II* universalizes strength of the mind, ensuring that morality is not restricted to intellectuals. Bhabha proposes that the "worlding," of colonial literature lies in its "psychic uncertainty ...or the obscure signs of the spirit-world, the sublime and subliminal" (17). The polysemic collation of mind and body in *Christ II* grounds itself in the process of semantic hybridization; its narrative stability, both as a tool of conversion and work of literature, relies on semantic uncertainty.

ii. *Christ and Satan*

Unlike *Christ II*, which reconciles Germanic strength with Christian spirituality, *Christ and Satan* focuses on the emotive pejoration of "pride" as a psychical expression of self-importance. As Finnegan notes, *Christ and Satan* centers on "'moral' applications of thematic material related to the narrative dramatic lines" (16). This didactic sense appears both in the narrative itself and in the vocabulary used to express that narrative.

Despite Christ and Satan's preference for the *ofer-* word-family instead of *modig*, the referent "pride" clearly expresses *superbia* in agreement with tenth-century Winchester usage (Gretsch, "Aelfric" 123-4).[321] As Gretsch notes, this semantic shift ensured that "pride" itself would occupy a space of "sinful pride" rather than "heroic pride" ("Aelfric" 124). Accordingly, terms of *superbia* appear throughout the poem. Pejorative reflexes featuring *ofer-* occur most often, with nine examples of three compounds: *oferhygd* (50, 69, 113, 196, 226, 250, 369), *oferhycgan* (304), *ofergyman* (484). While *oferhygd* refers to pride itself, *oferhycgan* and *ofergyman* describe interpersonal presumption, or

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321 For more on the lexical-semantic standardization of "pride" in the tenth and eleventh centuries see Walter Hofstetter, "Winchester and the Standardization of Old English Vocabulary" (139-61).

"arrogance." As with other examples, reduplication emphasizes the semantic "weight" of negative

pride. The concept of *oferhygd* contextualizes the repercussions of Satan's disobedience:

> Hæfdan dryhtnes liht
>
> for *oferhygdum* ufan forleton,
>
> hæfdon hym to hyhte helle floras,
>
> beornende bealo
>
> [For *hubris* they had lost
>
> the Lord's light from above
>
> they had for their hope the floors of Hell
>
> burning fire]. (68-71; emphasis mine)

The poem ironically describes Hell itself as the devils' only *hyht*, emphasizing the correspondence

between God's grace and happiness. The narrator foregrounds arrogance to highlight the consequences

of divine rebellion: spiritual, emotional, and material pain. As with previous examples, the homiletic

framework transforms the poem from straightforward narrative to moral instruction. This sentiment is

repeated at line 196, where the audience learns that the devils "for oferhygdum ealle forwurdon"

["were entirely conquered because of hubris"], and once again at 226, where the fallen angels "for

oferhigdum anforlæten" ["were abandoned because of hubris"] (226).[322]

Satan's hubris articulates not only the results but the causes of his predicament: "Uta oferhycgan

helm þone micclan, / weroda waldend, agan us þis wuldres leoht, / eall to æhte" ["Let us despise the

mighty leader, the wielder of troops; we ought to take this glorious light entirely as our possession"]

(250-2). As a phonetic and lexical parallel to the more common noun *oferhygd* (pride), the verb

oferhycgan (to despise) develops new connotations for "pride": arrogant, resentful, and impious. In a

later homiletic passage we learn that Satan, for his *oferhyda*, "agan wolde" ["wanted to possess"] God's

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322 For an expansive discussion of Satan, his hubris, and his comitatus in Hell see Sleeth (87-9).

kingdom (369). Here, pride is no longer heroic but profane.[323] In accordance with Haselow's derivational relation theory, the compounding of *ofer* with *hygd*, *hycgan*, and *gyman* generates more innovative and concrete referents: *oferhygd*, for example, is not merely "thought" or "pride" but *superbia*: the *sin* of pride. Sleeth observes that Satan's "lust for power and greed for universal possessions" are specifically sins of *superbia* (16). In contrast with the transactional nature of gift-giving in *Heliand* and *Dream of the Rood*, here the desire for ownership becomes immoral rather than compulsory as sacral piety demands obedience in lieu of exchange. Satan's arrogant *æht* participates not only in the sociopolitical shift towards unilateral hierarchy observed in section one but also a deeper moral transformation, where the expectation of property for loyalty associates "pride" with "arrogance."

Early in his speech on the fall Satan mourns Hell's lack of "wloncra winsele" ["wine-halls of the proud"]; this lament exhibits the pejoration of *wlanc* and its referents, since only Satan—wretched and punished for his disobedience—privileges psychical pride (93).[324] The *winsele* symbolizes material, rather than spiritual, joy: the proud, like Satan, prioritize temporary earthly delights over eternal salvation. Here, *wlanc* retains the denotative meaning "pride" while occupying a pejorative connotation in its variational space. The audience also learns to distrust Satan's followers in an early homiletic passage where the devils speak to their leader with "facnum wordum" ["deceitful words"] (65). Sleeth observes that the unity of *Christ and Satan* emerges through Satan's dysfunctional "relation to his followers"; despite Satan's evil, "the poet leaves little room for doubt that Satan's followers are even more despicable than he" (6, 22). The double-inscription of Satan and his minions—who both reflect

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323 By "profane" I follow the definition offered by Sarah Beckwith: an experiential insult to sacral piety that parallels "the historic relationship between state and citizen" (71-2).

324 For a recent study on the connection between the evolution of the Anglo-Saxon great-hall and moral identity see Alban Gautier's 2007 paper, "Avant le hall anglo-saxon: Modèles insulaires et évolution des valeurs" ["In front of the Anglo-Saxon hall: Insular models and the evolution of values"]. See also Kathryn Hume, "The Concept of the Hall in Old English Poetry," and Alexander Bruce, "An Education in the Mead-Hall: Beowulf's Lessons for Young Warriors."

and criticize contemporary social mores—navigates the complex relationship between text and audience by offering a choice between the new and the old while emphasizing the most preferable options: unilateralism over comitatus and piety over pride.

6.2.3 Material to Spiritual Soteriology

I. Early

i. *Heliand* (4525-5998)

Heliand's representations of redemption and damnation are delivered through physical senses—ways to "feel" salvation through material experience. The most transparent example of this technique appears in the "heroic" depictions of Christ. In the last 1473 lines of the poem, the narrator describes the quality of "might" thirty-two times using a variety of terms: *alomahtig* (1 instance), *alowaldon* (1 instance), *kraftag* (3 instances), *mahtig* (20 instances), *megin-* (2 instances), *mikila* (1 instance), and *rik-* (4 instances).[325] All but four occurrences appear in positive religious contexts, and all negative examples describe the secular world; *megin-* is only pejorative, while *mikila* is ambivalent. *Mahtig* remains the most common, with twenty occurrences mostly clustered around the crucifixion. During the Last Supper Christ describes piety as a *mahtig* quality: "thit is *mahtig* thing, / mid thius skulun gi iuuomu drohtine diuriða frummien" ["that is a *mighty* thing, / with it you shall do honour for your Lord"] (4645-6; emphasis mine). The correlation between physical strength and religious piety allows the poet to visualize spiritual devotion in a tangible space. The use of *drohtine* for "God" gives the line a polysemous quality: tropologically, *drohtine* is both a secular lord and a religious Lord; literally, he can only be God.

To highlight the physical effects of crucifixion on Christ's body the narrator later recounts how "blod ran an erða" ["blood ran upon the earth"] during the execution (5538). The modification of

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325 The full line breakdown is as follows: *alomahtig* 4893; *alowaldon* 5797; *kraftag* 4831, 5011, 5963; *mahtig* 4528, 4645, 4758, 4766, 4780, 4802, 4886, 5064, 5274, 5380, 5491, 5505, 5541, 5610, 5614, 5621, 5635, 5651, 5674, 5919; *megin-* 4535, 5400; *mikila* 5482; *rik-* 4714, 5253, 5759, 5905.

Christ's body on the cross is so *mahtig* that it transforms the outside world: "Thuo uuarð thar an middian dag mahtig tekan, /... thuo man thena godes suno an thena galgon huof, /... huuo thiu sunna warð gisuuorkan" ["then in the middle of the day there was a mighty sign, ...when men lifted God's son onto the gallows, ...how the sun became dark"] (5621-5). This *tekan* harmonizes the material and the spiritual worlds by articulating the power of the unseen through a physical avatar. At his moment of death, Christ is not a sufferer but "allaro kuningo kraftigost" ["the mightiest of all kings"]; he does not passively rest on the rood, but actively "an themo krucie stuod" ["stands upon the cross"] (5634). By standing on the cross, Christ defies the expected direction of agency: he effects the crucifixion just as the crucifixion affects him.

After the last supper, however, Christ dichotomizes the desires of his body and the desires of his mind. The narrator describes this struggle as a great battle: "Uuas an geuuinne tho an themu godes barne / the gest endi the lîkhamo" ["There was then a battle within the son of God, between the spirit and the body"] (4752-3). While praying in Gethsemane, Christ laments that his "gest is garu an godes uuillean, / fus te faranne: [his] flesk is an sorgun" ["spirit is ready to do God's will, eager to travel onward: his flesh is sorrowful"] (4781-2). By invoking the non-corporeal agency of his spirit, Christ heroically accepts his corporeal struggle. While *gest* represents the underlying power behind Christ's resolve, his "body" provides the mediating force which facilitates redemption by giving life to spirit.[326] Christ's ascension is similarly described in corporeal terms: "halag aðom [uuarð kuman] undar thena hardon sten / an thena likhamon. Lioht uuas thuo giopanod / firiho barnon te frumu" ["holy breath returned to Christ's body under the hard stone. Light was then was revealed for the salvation of humanity"]. As with the crucifixion, humanity's redemption is inscribed in the modification of Christ's

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326 The conflict between soul and body is a medieval commonplace. See Douglas Moffat, *The Soul's Address to the Body: the Worcester Fragments*. See also P. R. Orton, "The OE 'Soul and Body': a Further Examination," Allen J. Frantzen, "The Body in *Soul and Body I*," and Claudia Di Sciacca, "The *Ubi Sunt* Motif and the Soul-and-Body Legend in Old English Homilies."

body. As Murphy suggests, the handling of Christ's body in *Heliand* assumes a heroic mode as part of its "deep sense of proper balance" between old and new soteriological expectations; by "counseling closer identification" with the experiences of Christ and his men, the *Heliand* enables the Saxons "to eventually adopt not just Christianity but to make Christianity their own" (*Saxon Savior* 112, 120).

During the crucifixion itself, the poem foregrounds the physical properties of the cross. The nails, for instance, acquire a variety of new characteristics. They are simultaneously "kald isarn" ["cold iron"] (5535), "niwa naglos" ["new nails"] (5536), and *skarpa* (sharp) (5536). The material property of "newness" is also applied to the cross itself, which is described as "niwon galgon" ["new gallows"] (5553). While the *Heliand*'s rood is not personified, these additional characteristics help convey greater soteriological influence: the cross is not just a place, but an agent of redemption. The process of crucifixion, moreover, is depicted as both a "nailing" and a "hanging." During Christ's trial, the Jews demand that they "helaga barn hangon gisawin / quelan an krucie" ["might see the holy child hang, die on the cross"], and more simply to "hahan that helaga barn" ["hang that holy child"] (5373-4). After sentencing, the narrator tells us that Christ will redeem humanity "mid is henginnia" ["with his hanging"] (5433). The crucified criminals also die "an... henginna" ["by... hanging"] while Christ's body was *hangondi* upon the cross (5589, 5731). Altogether, crucifixion is described as "hanging" seven times (5167, 5373, 5420, 5434, 5589, 5690, 5731), and "nailing" only six times (5536, 5552, 5693, 5704, 5732, 5820). Accordingly, the *krucie* (cross) is called *galgon* (gallows) eight times (5532, 5553, 5572, 5591, 5623, 5685, 5726, 5730). By sharing both "crucifixion" and "hanging," Christ's polysemic death becomes tropological: it simultaneously conveys Roman legal practice and contemporary Germanic punishment to provide moral instruction and develop a tangible representation of intangible salvation.[327] This double-inscription, a nominally equal share of both literal and

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327 Crucifixion would have been relatively unknown to the Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxons. Hanging, on the other hand, was
    a commonplace. For more on the sacrificial and penal role of hanging in early Germanic society, see Andrew Reynolds,
    "The Emergence of Anglo-Saxon Judicial Practice: The Message of the Gallows," and Aleks Pluskowski, "The Sacred

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metaphorical delegations of biblical material, agrees with Murphy's idea of Germano-Christian syncretism: "balance" accomplished through integration and coexistence, rather than colonial disruption. As Morrison points out, the dominant paradigm of early Germanic conversion was not innovation but a "return to origins" that was only later "purified" of its materiality (16).

ii. *Dream of the Rood*

Unlike *Heliand*, the *Dream of the Rood* personifies the cross itself as a material agent of redemption. As Garde puts it, "Readers who fail to recognize the traditional redemptive status of the Victory-tree in the opening lines are in danger of misrepresenting the Rood's various roles and functions in the poem" (91). Carol Jean Wolf observes that the *Dream of the Rood* adopts epic vocabulary such as *hæleð* (hero), *beorn* (warrior), and *ricne cyning* (mighty king) "to depict Christ as a hero valiantly engaging in conflict" (Wolf 203; *Rood* 39, 42, 44). The *gewinne* (battle) of the crucifixion re-imagines what Leslie Stratyner refers to as the "'Battle with the Monster' sequence" in Old English literature (*Rood* 65; Stratyner 309-10). This model foregrounds Christ's body, which suffers conflict "miclan mihte mannum to helpe" ["with great strength to help humanity"] (101-2). Christ first faces his struggle "strang ond stiðmod" ["strong and resolute of mind"] (40). After Christ withstands the soldier's spear, the Rood describes itself as "mid blode bestemed, / begoten of þæs guman sidan" ["covered with blood that poured out from the man's side"] (48-9), and "steame bedrifenne" ["drenched with blood"] after Christ faces a barrage of arrows (62). Focusing on the triumph of his Lord's death, the Rood proclaims Christ "sigora wealdend" ["wielder of victories"] (67). Ó Carragáin notes that "the followers of Christ contemplate [Christ's] dead body" after the crucifixion to achieve soteriological "completion and resolution" of Christ's sacrifice (208-9). The *Rood* Poet's heroic re-imagining of the crucifixion alters the passion's narrative and theological impact. As Thieme exaplains, Christ "appears not as a victim who endures the agonies of death, but as a powerful lord who

Gallows: Sacrificial Hanging to Oþinn."

exhibits the traditional heroic qualities of strength, resolution, and boldness" (112). In the Bible, Christ is passively executed; in *Dream of the Rood*, Christ is an active combatant whose resolve ensures the salvation of humanity.

The *Rood* Poet also transforms the "body" into a soteriological metaphor. Early in the poem, sin possesses a vital immediacy, which literally "wounds" and "paints" the body of the Dreamer: "Syllic wæs se sigebeam, ond ic synnum fah, / forwunded mid wommum" ["the victory-tree was wondrous, and I was decorated by sins, wounded all over with misdeeds"] (13-14). Ó Carragáin suggests that the adjective *fah* has a "visual as well as a moral connotation" (328). By "painting" the body, "sin" inscribes itself as a physical sign to be read by others while the Dreamer experiences his *synnum* as injuries. Lisi Oliver and Maria Mahoney note that "injury and disease" in the early medieval imagination "are metaphors not for the sin of the afflicted person but rather the sins of others" (25).[328] The *forwunded* Dreamer extends the onus of salvation to all people, who are judged according to what they "on þyssum lænum life geearnaþ" ["earn in this transitory life"] (109). Following the imagined comitatus between Christ and humanity, redemption becomes a material transaction[329] while the physical space of that transaction, Earth, is literally *lænum* or "lent."

Like *Heliand*, the *Dream of the Rood* is preoccupied with the physical process of Christ's execution. The Rood itself is consistently described as "gallows": *gealga* (10), *gealgan* (40), and *gealgtreowe* (146). The only characteristics consistent with a Roman crucifix are the "deorcan næglum" (dark nails), which recall the "new nails" in *Heliand*, and the *eaxlegespanne* (shoulder-span) of the cross (9). Altogether, *Dream of the Rood* yields a polysemic transformation of Christ's execution, which

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328 The motif of "sin-injury" reappears during the later Middle Ages, albeit without interest in the heroic capacity of the body, as in *Dream of the Rood*. Sin-injury is frequently discussed in disability studies. See, for example, Irina Metzler, *A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages* (148, 167, 193).

329 For discussions on the medieval understanding of redemption as transaction see J. Patout Burns, "The Concept of Satisfaction in Medieval Redemption Theory" and Brian Murdoch, *Adam's Grace: Fall and Redemption in Medieval Literature* (esp. 6, 96-100).

signifies both Germanic hanging and Christian crucifixion. As Stratyner puts it, the audience's paradoxical experience of the Rood is Christian reverence "rooted in traditional referentiality" (319). As in *Heliand*, the suggestion of "hanging" retains the theological integrity of the crucifixion while recasting the execution process as something more recognizable to the target audience.

The *Rood* Poet further visualizes salvation by re-imagining familiar experiences. The Dreamer, for example, describes Heaven as a great feast:

> þær is dryhtnes folc
>
> geseted to symle, þær is singal blis,
>
> ond me þonne asette þær ic syþþan mot
>
> wunian on wuldre, well mid þam halgum
>
> [there, the people of the Lord
>
> are seated at the feast, where there is eternal happiness,
>
> and then set me where I might afterwards
>
> dwell in glory, well among the saints]. (140-3)

The representation of Heaven as a *gebeorscipe* transfers redemption from a spiritual to material space to facilitate the new faith.[330] The process of Christianization further colonized social gatherings by re-casting specific Germanic feast days as Christian days of worship (Russell 190-1).[331] These celebrations allowed salvation to become an active component of worldly experience. Because Germanic polytheism focused on the visible rather than "unseen" world (Russell 43; Morrison xiv), the ongoing presence of Christianity in familiar, observable contexts would have given the populace a more tangible theology to explore.

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330 For more on the image of feasting in Dream of the Rood see Barbara Raw, "'The Dream of the Rood' and its Connections with Early Christian Art" (239-56). Similar language frames the feasts in *Beowulf* (esp. 89-98).

331 The phenomena of feasting and conversion have been thoroughly discussed by a number of scholars. See, for example, Russell (176) and Hugh Magennis, "The Treatment of Feasting in the *Heliand*."

iii. *Genesis B* (235-851)

Genesis B focuses on the tangible elements of both damnation and redemption, while transitioning towards a more abstract soteriology. These elements frame the actions of all main actors in the narrative: Adam, Eve, and Satan.

While Hell is defined by its physical characteristics throughout the Anglo-Saxon period,[332] *Genesis B* features not only a preoccupation with tangible representations of Hell, but neglects damnation as a spiritual effect. We learn, for example, that each of the treasonous devils receives "sum heard geswinc... / ...to wite" ["some difficult toil ...as pain"] in Hell (316-8). Shortly after, the narrator describes how "Lagon þa oðre fynd on þam fyre, þe ær swa feala hæfdon / gewinnes wið heora waldend. Wite þoliað, / hatne heaðowelm helle tomiddes" ["the other demons, who earlier had so much conflict with their Lord, lay then on the fire. They suffer pain, hot war-surges in the midst of Hell"] (322-4). During his oratory, Satan himself succinctly defines Hell: "ðoliaþ we nu þrea on helle, (þæt syndon þystro and hæto)" ["we now suffer affliction in Hell, (that is darkness and heat)"] (389). Throughout *Genesis B* the focus consistently remains on damnation as "place."[333] The devils' experience also provides gnomic instruction: "Swa deð monna gehwilc / þe wið his waldend winnan ongynneð / mid mane wið þone mæran drihten" ["Each person who starts a fight with malice against his Lord, against the great Lord, will do such a thing"] (297-9). The poem here situates itself in the Sixth-Age and correlates Satan's betrayal to human experience, both secular (against any lord) and religious (against God). The punishment of Satan becomes an immediate and tangible symbol for the realities of everyday society.

For Adam and Eve, the concept of "damnation" becomes a physical environment shaped by the same language as Satan's Hell. Adam briefly discusses Hell itself when speaking to Eve, describing it

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332 See Tom Shippey, "Hell, Heaven, and the Failures of *Genesis B*," and Peter Dendle, *Satan Unbound: The Devil in Old English Narrative Literature*.

333 Doane, for example, notes that the punishments of Hell in *Genesis B* are "external and summary" (*Saxon Genesis* 130).

as a ravenous beast ready to devour the disloyal: "Gesyhst þu nu þa sweartan helle / grædige and gifre" ["Now you can see the dark Hell, greedy and yawning"] (792-4). However, the loss of paradise occupies a larger narrative space:

.... Gesweorc up færeð,

cymeð hægles scur hefone getenge,

færeð forst on gemang, se byð fyrnum ceald.

Hwilum of heofnum hate scineð,

blicð þeos beorhte sunne, and wit her baru standað,

[.................... Mist ascends,

a shower of hail comes, covering the sky

frost arrives in the mixture—it is terribly cold.

Once the sun brightly shone,

blazing in the sky, and we two stand here naked]. (807-11)

Like earlier depictions of Hell, the Fall of Man is visualized as a *place* rather than a *concept*. The loss of the once "beorhte sunne" recalls Satan's "sweartan helle" ["dark Hell"] at lines 312, 345, 761, and 792, while the depiction of post-lapsarian Earth as "fyrenum ceald" parallels the frigidness of Hell: "þonne cymð on uhtan easterne wind, / forst fyrnum cald" ["then in the dawn the eastern wind will come with extremely cold frost"] (316-6). Vickrey suggests that *Genesis B* uses these lexical and semantic parallels to narrate the evolution of God's comitatus: first, a Lord/Thane relationship between God and Satan, and next, between God and Adam (169-171). Tropologically, then, the Fall signifies both the biblical loss of paradise and the secular loss of a lord. This metaphorical hybridity captures what Derek Baker refers to as "the shadow of the Christian symbol": Christian identity subdued and inflected by pre-Christian cultural referents (28).

Rather than permanently lose *hyldo* (loyalty), however, Adam pursues atonement. Adam's final

words navigate salvation through material action, and anticipate what Vickrey calls a "comedic"

conclusion to the narrative. Where the biblical Genesis shows no desire on the part of Adam to save

himself, *Genesis B* has Adam accept penance for breaking comitatus: "Gif ic waldendes willan cuðe, /

hwæt ic his to hearmsceare habban sceolde / …gif ic godes meahte willan gewyrcean" ["If I knew the

will of the Lord, what I should receive from him as a portion of suffering, ...if I might accomplish the

will of God"] (828-9, 834-5). Allen J. Frantzen notes that penance was deeply important to Anglo-

Saxon and Old Saxon society as a preferable alternative to the Hell—both metaphorical and literal—of

betraying one's lord (*Literature of Penance* 183).[334] Accordingly, Adam's description of hell-pain (792-

4) is briefer than his sadness at breaking his oath (828-37).[335] The dialogue focuses not on Adam's

departure or fear of suffering, but on his desire to regain *hyldo* by seeking penance:

> .... [Gif] me on sæ wadan
>
> hete heofones god heonone nu þa,
>
> on flod faran, nære he firnum þæs deop,
>
> merestream þæs micel, þæt his o min mod getweode,
>
> ac ic to þam grunde genge
>
> [......... If the God of Heaven were now
>
> to command me to wade into the sea,
>
> to travel into the flood, were it never so deep,
>
> the sea-stream so great, my mind would never doubt it,
>
> instead I would go to the bottom]. (830-34)

Here, Adam describes ascetic immersion, or what Vickrey terms "sea-penance" (240): a way to

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334 For more on the role of penance in early Germanic society see Allen J. Frantzen, *Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England*. See also Michael S. Driscoll, "Penance in Transition: Popular Piety and Practice."

335 For more on Adam's relationship to God see Larry N. McKill, "Patterns of the Fall," and Colin Ireland, "Penance and Prayer in Water: an Irish Practice in Northumbrian Hagiography."

facilitate redemption through material action, where sin transforms into a watery body to be overcome and salvation operates by navigating the depths of the sea. Adam's oratory on ascetic immersion highlights progressively more severe "depths" of penance: 1.) the surface of water, 2.) the depths of water, 3.) the *grund* (bottom) of the water. By referring to *grund*, which can also mean "Hell,"[336] the descriptive language commonly associated with damnation is co-opted by penance and re-assigned to a positive area in its variational space. The use of *grund* agrees with the narrator's depiction of Satan's fall earlier in the poem: "Forþon he sceolde *grund* gesecean / heardes hellewites" ["Thus he must go to the *bottom*, the harsh pains of hell"] (302-3). Satan, however, *sceolde* (must) accept his punishment; he doesn't *choose* or *desire* his exile. As Vickrey argues, "remorse over the loss of Eden becomes a willingness to undergo exile" and a desire for the suffering needed to restore comitatus (236-7).[337] Adam is willing—not required—to traverse Hell to restore his relationship with God. Oren Falk observes the same variation between *sæ*, *mere*, and *grund* in *Beowulf* (1-21). This motif belongs to a larger Germanic tradition of "heroic immersion," where bodies of water offer a place of conflict and resolution.[338] Like Christ in *Dream of the Rood*, Adam offers to undertake a heroic act of self-sacrifice —here, an epic journey through the watery depths of his own sin, rather than a great battle on the cross. By connecting the Christian ethic of ascetic immersion to the Germanic motif of the amphibious hero, *Genesis B* foregrounds the concept of redemption through material experience.

II. Late

i. *Christ II* (440-886)

    Christ II emphasizes emotional and "unseen" elements while maintaining an interest in tangible

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336 See the entries for *grund* in the *DOE* and Bosworth-Toller (491).

337 For a recent study on the general motif of Old English exile, see Erick Kelemen, "*Clyppan* and *cyssan*: The Formulaic Expression of Return from Exile in Old English Literature." While Kelemen does not examine this poem, his model applies to Adam and Eve's comedic narrative in *Genesis B*. For an intersectional study of the same, see Stacy S. Klein, "Gender and the Nature of Exile in Old English Elegies."

338 For biblical and literary examples of this motif see Vickrey (240).

"place." Christ's leaps, for example, are described in purely physical terms:

> Meotud meahtum swið, munt gestylleð,
>
> gehleapeð hea dune, hyllas ond cnollas
>
> bewrið mid his wuldre, woruld alyseð,
>
> ealle eorðbuend, þurh þone æþelan styll
>
> [The measurer of great powers, will jump the mountains,
>
> leap the high dales, the hills and knolls,
>
> bind around them with his glory, redeem the world,
>
> all earth-dwellers, through that noble springing]. (716-9)

The motif of "leaping" grounds the abstract proposition of spiritual salvation in tangible terms by metaphorically associating Christ's ascension with the physical process of jumping, where the action's mechanical height and release of kinetic energy correlate, respectively, to the upwards trajectory of saved souls and the redemption, or "release," from sin. The account of the Apocalypse near the end of the poem also focuses on the material world: "Wongas hreosað, / burgstede berstað. Brond bið on tyhte, / æleð ealdgestreon unmurnlice" ["the plains will crumble, / the city-steads will explode. The torches will be on the march, / kindling the ancient heirlooms without remorse"]. Here, the material world itself becomes a metaphor for spiritual destruction. In earlier texts, both "damnation" and "salvation" are inscribed as physical "places" to recall the epistemological and ontological expectations of the newly-converted Germanic populace; in *Christ II* the visualization of damnation agrees instead with the poem's theological propositions: 1.) Earth and the "seen" world signify material desire; 2.) material desire is "empty" and should be eschewed in favour of unseen spiritual desires. Accordingly, at the End of Days, the Earth itself is extirpated. Despite its outward focus on material place, *Christ II* remains innovative in its inward preference for unseen signs and condemnation of earthly desires.

Cynewulf's Christ is no longer the great warrior of *Heliand* and *Dream of the Rood.* Instead, he

is a "frofre gæst" ["spirit of redemption"] (728). The relationship between body and spirit, however, remains complex. The narrator tells us, for example, that both "flæsc ond gæst / wuniað in worulde" ["both flesh and spirit dwell in the world"], acknowledging the power of spirit, but locating it within a visible avatar (597-8). The quality of "strength" also navigates between "seen" and "unseen" spaces: "Habbað we us to frofre fæder on roderum / *ælmeahtigne*" ["We have the father of Heaven, the *almighty*, as a saviour"] (758-60). By *Christ II*, the concept of "might" has developed a more nuanced set of connotations. In early texts it gives Christ's power a physical, heroic force; here *ælmeahtig* conveys a more far-reaching, abstract agency—not just strength over the seen, but universal dominion over the unseen. Chase observes that the thematic unity of *Christ II* makes the poem "reliant on ideas outside itself, for Christ's coming in grace implies that he has come in the flesh and that he will come again to judge" (100). The poem's homiletic strength, then, lies in the power of spirit over body. As Godlove argues, *Christ II*'s overarching message explores how Christians "may overcome their human weaknesses and so 'ascend with Christ'" (519).[339]

Cynewulf concludes this message by condemning the material world as lacking substance: "Forþon we a sculon idle lustas, synwunde forseon, ond þæs sellran gefeon" ["Thus we must always shun empty desires, and enjoy greater things"] (756-7). As Grosz demonstrates, the phrase "idle lustas" closely translates Gregory the Great's "desideria terrena" ["earthly desires"]; the ultimate theme of *Christ II*, then, is that one ought to "raise the mind from earthly concerns to spiritual matters" by reading material signs as "idle" signifiers of spiritual signs (99). Godlove maintains that the apostles "become singularly imitable models" of redemption through "their willingness to accept and use the gifts of the Holy Spirit" to transcend their physical limitations (519). These signs nominate "spirit" as the most effective agent of salvation, as the unseen divine remains unimpaired by the physical limitations of the material world—a world that Garde describes as a "lodging-house in misery" (48).

339 For more on the ascension in Old English literature see D. R. Letson, "The Homiletic Nature of Cynewulf's *Ascension* Poem," and Jerome Oetgen, "Common Motifs in the Old English Ascension Homilies."

ii. *Christ and Satan*

In *Christ and Satan*, punishment is both abstract and tangible, while redemption focuses on spiritual and experiential elements. Heaven, for example, is never a physical place, aside from the "beman stefne" ["voice of trumpets"] and an abstract "wuldres leoht" ["light of glory"], which together interpret the unseen divine for a human audience (171, 236, 130, 251, 447, 555, 616, 648).[340]

In *Christ and Satan*, the Lord is "strong" but no longer "heroic," since he is eternally the "ana cyning" ["only king"] and "ealra gesceafta / ...waldend" ["wielder of all creation"] (259, 583-4). Finnegan notes that the avatar who "descends upon the apostles is not a separate person of the trinity, but the spirit of Christ" (32). Sleeth observes that Christ's power lies not in material agency, but in "charity" and "hope" (15-18). Christ's agency, then, lies in his ability to transcend the material world, rather than his prowess within it, while "might" conveys spiritual agency that supersedes physical strength. The comitatus of earlier texts becomes redundant; here, Christ is a unilateral locus of spiritual authority: powerful and firm, but without need for physical presence. *Christ and Satan* marginalizes the tangible world because God's soteriological power lies in the abstract and unseen. The narrator recounts how Christ "on beame astah and his blod ageat, / god on galgan, þurh his *gastes mægen*" ["ascended onto the cross and poured out his blood, the good one upon the gallows, through his *spirit's might*"] (547-8; emphasis mine). While *Christ and Satan* retains the transformation of the cross into *galgan* (gallows) found in *Heliand* and *Dream of the Rood*, here Christ suffers the crucifixion with "gastes mægen" ["strength of spirit"], rather than physical strength. This "gastes mægen" recalls the appearance of Christ as a "frofre gæst" in *Christ II.* As a human, Christ is material; as an agent of redemption, Christ is *gæst*. The literary transformation from "man" to "spirit" agrees with Morrison's proposition that the later stages of "spiritual conversion" were "epitomized in the imitation of Christ"

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340 Sleeth, for example, suggests that this substantivization of spiritual concerns seeks to retain the sociopolitical unit of the *dryht* (companion-group) (79). This designation, however, seems merely lexical, as it no longer carries the same reciprocal connotations found in earlier texts.

and "hermeneutic paradigms" of moral-psychological transformation (181). *Christ and Satan* exhorts its audience to "ongeotan gastlice" ["understand spiritually"] if they "in heofenes leoht / ...wunian moton / awa to aldre" ["desire to live in Heaven's light, always and forever"] (300, 310-2). As Finnegan suggests, the poem's message is clear: while on earth, "the Christian ...must understand with the spirit" (24). To be redeemed, material desires must be eschewed and spiritual values embraced.

Finnegan notes that Hell is grounded in "highly detailed visual and auditory images" and more abstract "psychological sufferings" (30, 44). The poem consistently describes these experiential elements in material terms: "þis is ðeostræ ham, ðearle gebunden / fæstum fyrclommum; flor is on welme / attre onæled" ["this is a dark home, painfully enclosed with tight fiery fetters; the floor is boiling, ignited with poison"] (38-40). Sleeth observes that Satan re-imagines Heaven as a "tangible object of possession" by defining it in material terms like *æht* (possession) and *hehseld* (high-hall) (Sleeth 17; *Christ and Satan* 47, 87). The righteous—a group to which Satan does not belong— recognize the incorrectness of this assessment; Heaven belongs to the unseen world of spirit, as redemption is the "gastes bled" ["the fruit of the spirit"] (525). *Christ and Satan*, then, applies the same transactional impetus that defines positive representations of comitatus in *Heliand* and *Dream of the Rood* to explain the undesirable machinations of Satan. The depiction of Hell as a material "place," on the other hand, agrees with the condemnation of "idle lustas" in *Christ II*, and the dwindling moral-psychological capital of worldly experience.[341]

6.3   Conclusions

The sociopolitical, moral, and soteriological trends in the five sample texts corroborate previous chapters. In agreement with Chapter 2 and 3, the early texts, *Heliand*, *Dream of the Rood*, and *Genesis B*, prefer a sociopolitical model of reciprocal exchange, while the later texts, *Christ II*, and *Christ and Satan*, normalize a more unilateral model. As observed in Chapter 4 and 5, early poems preserve

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341 For more on Old English renown see Dennis Cronan, "*Lofgeorn*: Generosity and Praise."

elements of pre-Christian Germanic morality that later texts avoid. Both these categories agree with the development of soteriology, which early texts express through heroic, material language and later texts express with more abstract, spiritual signs. As in earlier observations, compounds and repetition emphasize and innovate by strengthening the denotations, connotations, or literary frequency, of lexical-semantic stems in their variational space. This phenomenon is especially evident in the *Heliand*, which uses the repetition of *kunni* to emphasize kinship ties, and in *Christ and Satan*, which uses an abundance of submissive language to emphasize Satan's "wretchedness" and God's unilateral authority. The "double inscription" of Satan in *Genesis B* and *Christ II*, moreover, helps visualize the invited inferencing theory and hybridization models explored in previous chapters, while the semantic and narrative instability of social identity in all five poems reflects the transitional uncertainty of semantic hybridity.

 Heliand, however, offers a variety of unexpected innovations. Germanic pride appears in a surprising number of pejorative contexts associated with the *judeon* (Jewish people), despite expressing positive referents in isolation. These peculiarities are easily explained by the text's geographic and literary contexts: 1.) As a people forced into conversion, the Saxons remained in close proximity to the Franks, who had been Christian for centuries and facilitated the production of the *Heliand*; 2.) As a poem, the *Heliand*'s express goal is evangelical: to normalize the new faith among the recently converted Saxon populace. As Dennis Howard Green observes, the *Heliand* functioned not as a "Germanization of Christianity," but rather as a "Christianisierung des Germanentums" ["Christianizing of Germanicism"], where syncretism established native Germanic epistemologies and ontologies as the foundational mechanisms and Christianity as a secondary apparatus. The *Heliand*'s innovative moral-psychological features are unsurprising, then, as Christianity provides the poem's most visible, surface-level elements, despite a more conservative interior.

 The analysis suggests that as Christianity transformed the sociopolitical and moral-

psychological makeup of the Anglo-Saxons and Old Saxons, pride gave way to piety, and the unseen became preferable to the seen. The present chapter, however, examines only a limited cross-section of literature; further studies are needed to reconcile discrepancies, such as the appearance of pejorative referents generations before they become commonplace.

Chapter 7. Final Conclusions

7.1 Summary of Observations

The semantic patterns observed in the last five chapters are summarized below. While the Social Role (SR) and Personal Quality (PQ) categories offer their own innovations, both categories share similar development that correlate to predictable timelines of semantic shift.

7.1.1 Social Roles

I. Chapter 2

i. Old English *ambiht*

OE *ambiht* transitions from secular, cooperative senses, such as *collatio* (questioning) and *rationatio* (cooperation) (*EE* 187, 866; *Cp* 502, 1706), to unilateral, Christian referents, such as *discipuli* (disciples) and *officina* (spiritual office), which develop naturally from the secular senses of "service" and "messenger" (*Lind*, John 20.25; Ælfric, *Consuetudine* 1087)*.* The amelioration and specialization of *ambiht* grows out of the socio-religious naturalization of Christian obedience and derogation of reciprocal exchange. In earlier periods, *ambiht* compounds generate innovative meanings, which are only later expressed by the root lexeme. This process agrees with Wälchli's model of compound innovation. For example, *onbehtum* in the ninth-century *Christ I* means "servants" (370), which approximates the meaning expressed by earlier compounds, such as *ambihtscealcum* in *Genesis A* (1870), and *ombihtþegne* in *Beowulf* (673). Secular and religious meanings coexist throughout the corpus, though non-hierarchical senses disappear entirely after the eighth century.

ii. Old Saxon *ambaht*

After the ninth century, agentive meanings disappear in favor of passive forms for both roots and compounds. Similar to OE *ambiht*, OS *ambahtas* in *Beichtspiegel* shows the phenomenon of contingent polysemy from the tenth century onwards. Like OE *ambiht*, the Old Saxon term transitions

from active, reciprocal, and ambivalent senses to passive, unilateral, and positive ones. Unlike its OE cognate, *ambaht* never acquires stable Christian features, instead developing a variety of specialized political referents. In agreement with Hrabanus, the transition from "agentive" to "abstract" illustrates Christianization on a structural level through the naturalization of hierarchical "service."

iii. Old English *gædeling*

Gædeling is a very rare lexeme, which appears only in *EE*, *Beowulf*, and *Daniel*. Unlike *ambiht*, *gædeling* trends toward ambivalent widening, rather than amelioration, with polysemy between "extended relative" and "kinsman" observable only in *Beowulf*. *Gædeling* first describes a blood relation, then a kinsman, then a general companion. This development corroborates the socioreligious transition from collective security to individual salvation during the eighth century, and agrees with Bede's assimilation of Augustine's "divine authority," which uses unilateral autocracy over reciprocal exchange as its governing principal. *Gædeling* only acquires negative senses like "scoundrel" in the Middle English period, despite Neidorf's recent assertion of an eighth-century date of pejoration. No compounds are extant, so the role of compound innovation cannot be evaluated.

iv. Old Saxon *gaduling*

OS *Gaduling* occurs only in *Heliand*, where the polysemes "blood relative" and "kinsman" agree with the earliest senses for OE *gædeling*. The pleonastic compound *gadulingmagun* (lit. kinsman-kinsman) (*Heliand* 838) increases the depth of its stems to mean "blood relative," whereas the root lexeme generally expresses the newer sense of "kinsman." The role of Christianity in the OS lexeme's development remains obscured by the paucity of evidence. However, Hrabanus' support of a Christian *gentes* defined by elective faith rather than tribal affiliation[342] agrees with the preference for the social sense of "kinsman" over "blood relative" in *Heliand*, and corroborates the semantic timeline of OE *gædeling*.

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342 See Hrabanus, *Epistolae Ep.*18.

II. Chapter 3

i. Old English *geneat*

During the eighth century, *geneat* first interprets dependent lemmata like *inquilinus* and *parasitis* (tenant, lodger) (*Cp* 245; *Cleopatra I* 4735); these senses coexist in polysemy with "retainer." In the late eighth and early ninth centuries, "lodger" specializes to "villein," whereas "retainer" generalizes to "companion." The development of secular "companion" extends from the Christian value of "spiritual unity," while the development of "villein" extends from the Christian importance of hierarchy and labour, both extolled by Bede (*Historia ecclesiastica* IV.iv).[343] *Geneat*, then, develops along two distinct semantic pathways: "legal" and "social"; both involve progressively greater levels of "responsibility" for the *geneat*. Both "retainer" and "companion" remain polysemous throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. *Geneat*, then, ameliorates from an "ambivalent" to "positive" dimension. As with the terms in Chapter 2, compounds can express innovative sememes otherwise confined to later periods. The compounds *heorðgeneatas* and *beodgeneatas* in *Beowulf*, for example, denote "companion"—a meaning that was otherwise unproductive during the early period (1713, 3179).

ii. Old Saxon *ginot*

The earliest occurrence of *ginotas* in the *Baptismal Vow* already means "companions," which remains polysemous with "retainer" throughout the Old Saxon period. However, as the *Vow* is a product of Frankish Christianization, this innovation likely represents the semantic makeup of Frankish, rather than Old Saxon. The compound *husgenot* in *GlTr* corroborates the earliest sense of the Old English lexeme, and suggests an unattested meaning "tenant" in the eighth and ninth centuries; by the tenth and eleventh centuries the sense of "tenant" required a compound as the root lexeme alone meant "companion" or "retainer." Here, compounding preserves unproductive referents. Like OE *geneat*, OS *ginot* ameliorates from "ambivalent" to "positive." The presence of *ginotas* in the early *Vow*

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343 For more on the importance of divine labour in Christian conversion, see also Russell (210) and Morrison (133-6).

explains the lexeme's rarity in later texts: because the word rapidly acquired the sense of "companion" from its Frankish antecedent, and because other words without association with the devil could accomplish the same semantic work, *ginot* itself became redundant and undesirable.

ii. Old English *þegn*

In its earliest occurrences, *þegn* refers to "servant" or "dependent," while abstract substantives mean "service." In the eighth century, agentive *þegn* develops into "retainer" from its connotation of dependency, which—like *geneat*—specializes into the specific sociopolitical station of "thane" by the late tenth century. Likewise, the religious elements of "service" specialize into a number of Christian senses, such as "disciple," from the ninth century onward. Sememes like "disciplehood" and "sacrifice" extend from the growing importance of piety in relation to "service" or *þenung*, and the role of obedience in Christian orthodoxy. In accordance with Ken-ichi Seto's theory of semantic specialization (205-208), all senses become polysemic by the eleventh century. However, early referents like "servant" and "service" appear only rarely after the ninth century, and "thane" is only developed in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Similar to *geneat*, *þegn* ameliorates from "ambivalent" to "positive," but never expresses a truly negative sense.

iv. Old Saxon *thegan*

In the ninth-century *Heliand*, only compounds express the military denotation of "soldier," while the root noun most commonly refers to "retainer," "man," and the earlier sense, "dependent." In later occurrences, the root refers to soldiers while terms like "dependent" and "servant" vanish from the corpus. Like Old English *þegn*, Old Saxon *thegan* ameliorates from "ambivalent" to "positive." However, while *thegan* acquires the Christian sense of "disciple" as early as *Heliand* (3994), the word never develops the precise legal sense of "thane" that dominates the tenth and eleventh century occurrences of the Old English cognate. As noted in Chapter 3, *thegan's* prominent polysemes and divergences from its Old English cognate likely result from the more rapid Old Saxon conversion.

v. Social Roles Conclusions

The four "Social Roles" lexeme pairs corroborate Traugott and Dasher's "Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change": all lexemes trend toward polysemous meanings in response to new social pressures, in this case the sociopolitical changes introduced during the process of Christianization. Likewise, all four terms illustrate the importance of compounds in semantic shift: compounds, especially pleonastic or tautological compounds, develop new or fortified sememes by increasing the semantic "depth" of their stems or combining two unlike stems to generate innovative senses. The amelioration and widening observed in this category suggest a few broad conclusions: 1.) During the eighth and ninth centuries the importance of blood relations and tribal kinship gave way to elective faith, while unilateral autocracy and sacral kingship gradually superseded reciprocal exchange as the preferred modes of social organization; 2.) Where passive and agentive forms coexist, passive senses tend to develop explicitly Christian features, whereas agentive forms develop social or legal denotations with implicit Christian features or Christian antecedents; 3.) Where applicable, legal specializations like those observed in *geneat* and *þegn* correlate to the naturalization of a top-down nobility; 4.) Because conclusions 1, 2, and 3 suggest the naturalization of Christian thought in England by ca. 800 CE and in Saxony by ca. 900 CE, and because this time-frame agrees with the semantic timelines established in Chapter 2 and 3, Christianity may be tentatively recognized as an external factor in the semantic shift of social markers during the early years of the new faith.

7.1.2 Personal Qualities

I. Chapter 4

i. Old English *facen*

OE *facen* means "secrecy," "cunning," and "inferior" in its earliest extant occurrences. These sememes appear in increasingly pejorative contexts and denote "deceit" by the ninth century. During

this period the social senses of "wicked" and "crime" are polysemous with "deceit"; by the tenth century at the latest, these sememes develop into "guilt" and "sin," which correspond to the moral naturalization of religious disobedience. The pejoration of *facen* illustrates semantic hybridity between Germanic-Christian moral boundaries, where contingent polysemy among pre-Conversion (positive, secular) and post-Conversion (negative, Christian) referents trends towards a more homogeneous, pejorative group of meanings.

ii. Old Saxon *fekan*

In *Heliand*, the earlier positive referent, "cunning," is doubly inscribed alongside newer ambivalent and negative senses, such as "inferior," "fickle," and "deceit." In later texts, *fekan* and its reflexes refer only to pejorative sememes in the semantic field of "fraud"; these sememes acquire Christian features by the end of the ninth century, transforming "guilt" into "sin" in agreement with Hrabanus's moral-spiritual condemnation of "cunning" in *Tractatus de Anima* (10, 1118B). Pejorative polysemes appear more rapidly for OS *fekan* than OE *facen*; however, *fekan* loses the ability to express positive senses during the same relative period as its Old English cognate. By the end of the period, only negative senses remain.

iii. Old English *husc—hosp*

Both *hosp* and *husc* refer to "irony," with an ambivalent connotation of "trickery" in the earliest glosses of the eighth century. The pejoration of *ironia* (irony) agrees with Bede's condemnation of the practice as artificial and deceptive in *De Schematis Et Tropis Sacrae Scripturae* (162). From the connotation of "trickery," ninth and tenth century occurrences develop a variety of negative polysemes in the semantic field of "mockery," from which the latest occurrences develop the Christian denotation, "blasphemy." By the eleventh century, all senses available to *hosp* and *husc* are stable and pejorative.

iv. Old Saxon *hosk*

Although Old Saxon *hosp* offers no evidence of semantic Christianization, the similarity of the

lexeme's contexts and meanings points to similar influences. In the *Heliand hosk* already expresses both positive and negative referents. Following the template suggested by the Old English cognate, the earliest of the recorded sememes refers to "word-play" and "irony," while pejorative sememes like "mockery" and "boast" develop from the dissimulative connotations of the earlier senses. The absence of very late evidence complicates diachronic analysis; in the latest extant occurrences found in *GlPw* (tenth century), *hosk* retains polysemy between ambivalent and negative referents.

II. Chapter 5

i. Old English *scyldig*

Scyld and its reflexes first refer to "liability," but rapidly develop more deeply pejorative polysemes, such as "guilt" and "crime" during the ninth century. The final sense to develop is "sin," which extends from the secular denotation of "guilt" through the addition of Christian connotations. By the end of the period, both secular and religious referents coexist. Similar to previous lexemes, compounds with unlike stems featuring *scyld-* produce innovative senses while tautological compounds strengthen the "depth" of preexisting referents. According to Andrew Haselow's derivational relation theory, *scyld-* prefers more concrete and specialized sememes as the period progresses; this specialization culminates in the precise Christian denotations of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The above process can be systematized as "liable" > "guilt" > "sin."

In agreement with Bede's separation between earthly and sacred law,[344] *scyld-*'s semantic history features both a legal stream and a moral stream: the legal stream develops, and retains, various concepts of "crime," while the moral stream develops the sense of "guilt" in both religious and secular contexts. *Scyld-*'s semantic timeline shows that semantic hybridity can be non-linear, as the final sense to remain in the Middle English period—"crime"—develops from earlier legal denotations of Stage II, not the later moral denotation of "guilt" and "sin" in Stage III.

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344 See "Dialogue between Gregory and Augustine" (I.xxvii).

ii. Old Saxon *skuldig*

Like OE *scyld-*, the earliest occurrences of OS *skuld-* denote "liability" and "guilt," without any explicit Christian features. The sense of Christian "sin" is first articulated by the pleonastic compound *mensculdio* in *Heliand*, which otherwise uses *sundia* for "sin" (1609, 1620). By the tenth century, *skuld-* expresses a variety of legal sememes, but does not further develop the Christian meanings anticipated by *mensculdio* and *GlEe. Skuld-*'s later preference for concrete and specialized referents, such as "tax" and "sin," further corroborates Haselow and Wälchli's models. OS *skuld-* splits into legal and moral streams; the legal stream specializes earlier ambivalent denotations while the moral stream develops more deeply pejorative sememes. The bifurcated development of *skuld-* agrees with Bhabha's theory of legal hybridization. While "legal" and "Christian" morality represent distinct lexical categories, they occupy the same semantic field. As per Russell's model, the post-conversion divide between "religious" and "political" leadership—both originally held by the Germanic chieftain— divided secular and religious morality, a separation that appears in the semantic history of *scyld-* and *skuld-*.

iii. Old English *wlanc*

In the earliest examples, OE *wlanc-* relates to positive and ambivalent sememes, such as "resolute" and "pride." By the tenth century, "pride" had relocated to a pejorative area in its variational space through contextual motivation necessitated by the Christian condemnation of worldly pride and renown. *Wlanc* retains positive connotations during this period, but any positive senses can no longer refer to "pride." By the eleventh century, pejorative "pride," and *wlanc* itself, refer explicitly to the sin of *superbia*, and, like other lexemes of the sample group, compounds commonly preserve the most innovative meanings. To summarize, *wlanc-* develops through three stages: 1.) "proud," "resolute" (positive) > 2.) "proud," "arrogant" (negative) > 3.) "proud," "rich," "vain" (negative, Christian). While the lexeme's connotations remain relatively stable, the quality of "pride" itself undergoes a radical

transformation. These observations show how a moral qualifier like *wlanc* could experience pejoration beyond the level of lexical signification.

iv. Old Saxon *wlank*

In *Heliand*, *wlank* consistently refers to "resolve" and "firmness," alongside the less common sense, "arrogant." No extant compounds feature *wlank*, but the root lexeme's semantic range in *Heliand* suggests a similar, albeit truncated, semantic history to its Old English cognate: 1.) "proud," "resolute" (positive) > "proud," "arrogant" (negative). Like OE *wlanc*, OS *wlank* refers to both positive and negative pride. However, the absence of later evidence makes the word's ultimate semantic trajectory impossible to determine accurately. *Wlank* also yields deeply pejorative referents a generation earlier than its Old English cognate. This accelerated pejoration was likely influenced by the Carolingians, who replaced *wlanc* in *Erfurt* with the unambiguously negative *gelplih*, thereby re-enforcing a negative reading of worldly pride.

v. Personal Qualities Conclusions

These lexemes generally agree with the proposed model of semantic hybridization: polysemous denotations consolidate and specialize over time while connotations become pejorative and monosemous. Unlike "Social Roles," this sample group offers a more transparent example of Christianization. The observed processes of consolidation and pejoration correspond to the following phenomena: 1.) The introduction of various Christian sins as discrete sememes encouraged the specialization and pejoration of lexemes relating to Germanic qualities if they conflicted with the moral paradigms of the new faith; 2.) the development of more specialized and concrete sememes gave the newly converted populace a more tangible moral "enemy" to combat; 3.) given enough time, these processes ensured that undesirable qualities could uniformly acquire negative connotations. The explicit role of Christianity in the semantic development of morality is expected, as Christianity operates under the purview of moral instruction.

7.1.3 Chapter 6 and Summary of Findings

Although Chapter Six introduces no new semantic developments, its thematic conclusions corroborate previous linguistic and theoretical observations, such as variational space, semantic hybridity, and double inscription; Chapter 6 also illustrates the rhetorical importance of repetition and compounding as a way to derive innovative denotations and connotations from earlier sememes.

As both groups of sample data show, these changes can be reliably described as a semantic pull-chain: Christianity introduced new semantic gaps that were filled by pre-Christian lexemes. In many cases these gaps represent minor changes that have only an implicit—though still measurable—connection to Christianity, such as *gædeling*'s generalization from "blood relative" to "kinsman." In other cases, these gaps introduce substantive Christian concepts, such as *superbia*, which result in the pejoration of Germanic qualities and the introduction of new denotations. While this study models the development of Germanic-Christian identity through patterns of semantic shift, much work remains to be done. The following sections offer possible avenues for future research.

7.2   Consequences on Dating

This study's semantic and sociohistorical patterns have the potential to impact the dating of texts not included in the sample group. Historically, the relative chronology of Old English and Old Saxon has relied on dialectical and metrical evidence.[345] However, anthropological and semantic evidence has also been used to corroborate the antiquity of Old English texts. For example, Rafael J. Pascual's "Material Monsters and Semantic Shifts" charts the development from material to spiritual antagonists in Old English literature, which in turn corresponds to the transition from material/agentive nouns toward more spiritual/abstract senses.[346] By connecting the naturalization of Christianity to the

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345 For example, see Seiichi Suzuku, *The Metre of Old Saxon Poetry* (esp. 1-23) and Geoffrey Russom, *Beowulf and Old Germanic Metre* (esp. 136-170).

346 For more on the development of Old English monsters, and their relationship to Christian spirituality, see Adam Jonathan Mearns, "The Lexical Representation of Monsters and Devils in Old English Literature," Ward Parks, "Prey

abasement of heroic materiality, Pascual's study substantiates the metrical attribution of *Beowulf* to ca. 700-750 CE.[347] Pascual posits that the corporeality of the *scucca* and *þyrs* in *Beowulf* is a sign of antiquity because late-stage Christianity would have demanded the transformation of observable, material monsters into insubstantial, spiritual devils (202, 218). Pascual thereby establishes a framework for the semantic tendency to transition from "measurable" to "abstract" referents in certain post-conversion environments; this trend agrees with the evolution of *ambaht*'s preference for abstract over agentive forms between the early and very late periods, such as *ambahteo* for "retainer" in *Heliand* beside *ammahte* as "office" or "service" in the *Freckenhorst Heberegister* (*Heliand* 1193; *Freckenhorst* 40.29).

Similar to Pascual, this study's semantic framework can help corroborate or refute previous Old English chronologies. The Old English *Phoenix*, for example, features four of the eight sample lexemes, which can test the date of the poem itself: *þegn* (2 occ.), *facen* (2 occ.), *scyld* (1 occ.), and *wlanc* (1 occ.). The first example of *þegn* appears during the description of a bird's end-of-life migration: "æghwylc [fugel] wille / wesan *þegn* ond þeow þeodne mærum, / oþþæt hy gesecað Syrwara lond" ["Each bird wants to be the *retainer* and servant of his famous lord until they visit the Syrian land"] (164-7; emphasis mine). Here, *þegn* denotes the sociopolitical Stage II sense of "retainer," rather than Stage I "servant," which is instead expressed by *þeow*. The parallel with "servant" connotes a relationship of hierarchy, but does not offer evidence for the more specialized legal class of *thane*. The second occurrence compares the prophetic nature of the phoenix to "Cristes þegnum" (388). Because of

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Tell: How Heroes Perceive Monsters in Beowulf," and Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the 'Beowulf' Manuscript*.. For general monster studies see Jeffrey J. Cohen, "The Use of Monsters and the Middle Ages" and *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages*, and K. E. Olsen and L. A. J. R. Houwen (eds.), *Monsters and the Monstrous in Medieval Northwest Europe*.

347 Although Pascual's argument focuses on Old English, his model can also apply to Old Saxon, since both languages share an antecedent literary tradition and apply similar semantic machinery in response to similar changes in their sociopolitical climates.

its context, *þegnum* here means "disciples," a Stage III religious sense. The first example of *facne* describes the "facnes tacne" ["token of evil"] that the phoenix avoids in its high tree, an allegory for Heaven (450). The second occurrence continues the allegory with *facen* denoting the evil actions of the "fiend": "Þær him yfle ne mæg / fah feond gemah *facne* sceþþan" ["There the evil, the fiend stained with wickedness, cannot do harm with malicious intent"] (594-5). In both cases, *facen* better agrees with the Stage III social senses of "evil" and "wicked" than the Stage IV meaning, "sinful." Similarly, "*scyldum* sceððan" ["harm *with evils*"] articulates the Stage III denotation of "wickedness," rather than the more novel religious sense, "sin" (180). The description of the phoenix as a "fugel feþrum *wlonc*" ["a bird *proud* with its feathers"] expresses a positive Stage I sense of *wlanc*, since "pride" here is a desirable trait (100). Based on this study's semantic timelines, the polysemy of Stage II and Stage III sememes alongside a single Stage I referent correspond to a date of composition in the late eighth or early ninth century. This date-range corroborates Albert S. Cook and D. R. Letson's stylistic attribution of the poem to Cynewulf, but challenges N.F. Blake's contention that *The Phoenix* was written "in the later part" of the ninth century, or perhaps as late as ca. 900 CE (Letson, "Old English *Physiologus*" 17, 34; Blake 24).[348]

The Old English verse *Azarias*, found only in the *Exeter Book*, does not contribute to the sample data for this dissertation, but corroborates the dates established by the similar poem, *Daniel*, which *Azarias* overlaps from lines 1-71. As Fulk demonstrates, *Daniel* likely dates to the eighth or ninth century (Fulk, *Old English Meter* 65-6). Although the *Exeter Book* itself provides a *terminus ad quem* ca. 1000 CE, *Azarias* defies precise dating. *Azarias*' hypermetrical half-lines suggest a later date than *Daniel*'s, but *Daniel*'s own meter is, according to Fulk, "looser than in *Azarias*, containing more unstressed words" (*Old English Meter* 65-6). This phenomenon possibly means that the *Daniel* poet

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348 Blake contends that "a closer dating than [the late ninth century] is impossible" due to the paucity of external evidence (24). However, as this study shows, a more precise timeline can be derived by comparing the internal evidence of chronologically problematic texts against the internal evidence of texts with more certain timelines.

instead worked from *Azarias.* The semantic range of *gædeling*, explored in Chapter 2, also supports a ninth-century date for *Daniel*, and suggests that either: a.) *Azarias* was derived from *Daniel* at a later date than supported by internal evidence, or b.) *Azarias* is earlier than commonly suspected and *Daniel* is a later composition. Fulk ultimately concludes that "this matter requires more careful study before any firm conclusions can be reached" (*Old English Meter* 65).

Two recent sources of evidence independently establish a more precise range of dates for *Azarias*: 1.) the lexical-semantic trends of this study, and 2.) a runic inscription featuring a passage from *Azarias*. In 2012, a base-silver object with a runic inscription was discovered in Lincolnshire. In 2015, John Hines published the first comprehensive study of the inscription, "The Benedicite Canticle in Old English Verse: An Early Runic Witness from Southern Lincolnshire." Accounting for word separations, the Lincolnshire inscription reads: "þec blœtsigu bilwit fæddæ[r] / ond wercca gehwelc / hefæn ond e[n]cla," which corresponds to *Azarias* lines 73-75: "Bletsige þec, bilwit fæder, / ... and weorca gehwylc, / heofonas and englas" ["May it bless you, gentle father, and all works, the heavens and the angels"]. Linguistically, the inscription dates to ca. 725-825 CE, though Hines notes that the clasp was found near a layer precisely dated to ca. 675-730 CE (262).[349]

The present study points to an early date for *Azarias* and, therefore, an eighth-century date for the Lincolnshire inscription.[350] As per the model of Germanic morality and "mind" explored in Chapter 6, Azarias describes the quality of *mod* six times: *modsefan* (lit. mind-heart; 50), *modum horsce* (valiant of mind; 72), *eaðmodheorte* (gentle-hearted; 152), *acolmod* (fearful of mind, scared; 167), *hwætmode* (resolute of mind; 184), and *modum gleawe* (intelligent of mind; 190). In agreement with Wälchli, compound innovation generally correlates to semantic innovation, with the three-component compound

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349 In his article, "Anglo-Saxon Literary Adaptations of the Book of Daniel," Daniel Anlezark also supports an early date for the inscription (261).

350 The publication of the runic *Azarias* fragment post-dates the relevant sections in this dissertation and offers independent, rather than cooperative, confirmation of *Azarias*' early date.

eaðmodheorte (lit. gentle-mind-heart) denoting the new Christian value of meekness, and the two-component compounds *hwætmode* expressing the old heroic value of strength and *acolmod* expressing the ambivalent value of fear. Like *Genesis B*, *Azarias* describes God's *cræft* (power) in material, rather than spiritual, terms: "Gecyð cræft ond meaht, nu þec Caldeas / ond eac fela folca gefregen habban / þæt þu ana eart ece dryhten" ["Reveal your power and might, now, to the Chaldeans, and also to the many other people who have asked whether you alone are the Eternal Lord"] (44-6). Other than his *ece* omnipresence, God's agency is proven by its manifestation in the material world—what *folca* "see" and "report." This evidence-based soteriology defines God's strength through *meaht*: God maintains *cræft* based on what he *affects*, rather than who he *is*. *Azarias* also focuses on the material elements of Heaven, such as its "light" (e.g., *heofonbeorht*: heaven-bright), and the physical tortures of Hell, such as its "hatan fyres" ["hot fire"] and "bittra bryne" ["harsh burning"] (56-7). Like the "ana cyning" in *Christ and Satan* (259), the presentation of God as the "ana dryhten" in *Azarias* establishes the poem's unilateral polis. To summarize, *Azarias* 1.) prefers unilateral autocracy to reciprocal exchange, 2.) preserves heroic Germanic morality while developing Christian meekness, and 3.) remains grounded in material soteriology. Together these features point to an archetype in the later eighth century (near the close of this study's "early" period) and agree with the Chapter 5 timeline of *wlanc* (proud, firm), which belongs to the same semantic field as *modig*. While both terms consistently refer to "strength" and "resolve" during the seventh and eighth centuries, shifts in their denotative and connotative meanings during the ninth and tenth centuries eventually produce the pejorative sense of "haughty," which connotes "hubris" and correlates to the pejoration of "pride."

These semantic conclusions generally agree with earlier chronologies built on internal philological evidence, but contradict less certain chronologies founded on sociohistorical, psychological, or other external evidence. As reflexes of "self," identity lexemes and their constituent sememes offer valuable insight into Anglo-Saxon and Continental Germanic cultural development. A

complete study of semantic dating rests outside the scope of the present study but demands future consideration. Unlike meter, semantic evidence can be equally applied to both prose and verse, since semantics are determined primarily by lexical content.[351]

7.3 Looking to the Future

7.3.1 Available Tools

The data-mining portion of this dissertation has been negatively impacted by the available tools. While the official *DOEC* search engine offers a convenient portal to the Anglo-Saxon corpus, the platform is too limited to handle complex queries. Tabulating occurrences of common lexemes, for example, poses a challenge because of the many spellings and inflections unaccounted for in the *DOE*'s search options. For example, Old English *þegn* appears in a wide variety of forms and contexts. Because the lexeme features such diverse spelling variants as *ðegn*, *ðein*, *ðen*, *þegn*, *þein*, and *þen*, the most productive way to search for every occurrence was to account automatically for all possible variants. This process began with *Perl*,[352] but perfecting a script to query the online SGML database proved too complex and time-intensive for the present study. Ultimately, I used a simple script in *Microsoft PowerShell*[353] with <Get-ChildItem $Path -Filter "*.htm"> to query the html files in the *DOEC*'s directory as plain-text. This script output a list of all .htm files containing the requested lexemes and features, but was only marginally more successful than the *DOEC*'s own platform. The script could not account for unknown variants, nor could it account for homographs: words spelled the same, but with distinct semantic histories. Homographs and other unexpected elements like terminal

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351 For more on the importance of semantics in establishing relative chronology, see Alfred Wollmann, "Early Latin Loan-Words in Old English" (1-26). Although Wollmann's study focuses on Anglo-Latin idiom, his abstract findings also apply to vernacular contexts.

352 For more on the scripting language *Perl*, see *Programming Perl* (4th ed.), written by Tom Christiansen, Jon Orwant, et al.

353 *Powershell* is a powerful, multipurpose scripting tool packaged and integrated with Windows 10. See Douglas Finke, *Windows Powershell for Developers*.

-ðen from *syððen* were manually extirpated from the sample data. Though not ideal, this method offered results with the most efficient time/accuracy ratio.

One of the *DOE*'s limitations is the corpus's markup. Since each *DOEC* text is manually tagged in SGML, only direct queries are productive; this limitation cannot be overcome without a foundational overhaul of the *DOEC*'s framework. However, limitations of the platform itself could be overcome by introducing a more complex set of search operators, like those implemented by *Google* (Hardwick).[354] Switches like "/rt" for "root lexeme," "/m /d /p" for "masculine dative plural" or "/nor" for "Northumbrian" could limit a request to only the desired morphological or dialectical occurrences of a word, and could work with the *DOEC*'s current framework if un-tagged features, like inflectional morphology, were to be schematized in the new platform's query options. If the software knows that a masculine dative plural commonly ends in "-um," appears in certain environments, and must agree with other masculine dative plurals, then the search results could theoretically yield only masculine dative plural forms of the chosen word, depending on the precision of the search request and the breadth of the platform's pre-written rule-sets. Likewise, a negative operator like "-m" could limit a requests to nouns that are *not* masculine.

Stephen Harris, a leading researcher in the field of digital Anglo-Saxon studies, has developed a variety of linguistic tools for parsing lexical-semantic data. Harris's work includes Old English search engines, parsers, and word-frequency lists, as well as publications on cryptography and hacking.[355] Harris is currently developing a natural language parser that will predict rules of phonological change across early Germanic languages, eventually building a solid foundation for other sub-fields of philology like semantics and morphology.[356]

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354 For a full list of Google search operators, see Joshua Hardwick, "Google Search Operators: The Complete List (42 Advanced Operators)" at https://ahrefs.com/blog/google-advanced-search-operators/.

355 See, for example, Harris' 2012 article, "Old-School Password Security." Harris' digital tools can be found on his institutional website: https://people.umass.edu/~bede/

356 Harris has uploaded a prototype of this natural language parser that only works with closed class words in *Beowulf*:

Digital platforms like the *Natural Language Toolkit* (*NLTK*)[357] present an opportunity to build quantitatively and qualitatively upon this study's findings—parsing, for example, an adjective like *modig* to determine synchronically what other environments the lexeme appears in,[358] and diachronically comparing what adjectives appear in similar environments in different texts from different authors. The variation in synonyms can reveal important semantic elements: 1.) what different authors had in mind when using the same lexeme, and 2.) how that lexeme's denotations and connotations developed over time. The *NLTK* framework currently works with modern literature whose corpora have been marked-up by hand; at present, the platform has access to 106 such corpora and lexical resources. The *Alpino Treebank*, for example, contains over 150,000 words in annotated Dutch sentences that can be queried by *NLTK* to visualize lexical-semantic shift on a micro-scale (*Alpino*).[359] Annotation, however, is a time consuming process. At a 2018 lecture on digital linguistics, "Computing Literature," Harris suggested a more organic approach: to derive lexical-semantic rules by feeding an algorithm examples of a language alongside general linguistic paradigms, and allowing the algorithm's knowledge of linguistic possibilities to predict the target language's rule-sets.[360] This predictive "big data" approach has proven successful for online language tools like *Google Translate*[361] and offers a more holistic and less time intensive solution to the problem of semantic analysis.

By deriving rules as they occur, rather than encoding massive amounts of markup to proscribe rules, this software would theoretically require a smaller sample size to yield correct results. This

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https://people.umass.edu/~bede/parse.html

357 *NLTK*, currently on version 3.3, allows users to write Python scripts to easily query linguistic-literary corpora. See https://www.nltk.org/.

358 For example, what nouns it modifies, its location in a clause relative to other parts of speech, etc.

359 The resources of *Alpino Treebank* are annotated in XML. See http://www.let.rug.nl/~vannoord/trees/

360 Harris' lecture was given at the University of Western Ontario, Tuesday, October 2, 2018.

361 Google Translate uses a predictive method called "Statistical Machine Translation" (SMT) powered by the ever-evolving Google Neural Machine Translation system (GNMT). For more on SMT and GNMT, see Thierry Poibeau, *Machine Translation* (227-29, 273-4).

smaller sample size would benefit the diminutive Old English and Old Saxon corpora. Using the natural language philosophy, *NTLK* could supplement the present study with more comprehensive data. This platform could also facilitate semantic comparison between genres—not just how words changed over time, but how they changed between kinds of texts. *NLTK*, then, could be used to confirm or refute studies accomplished using more traditional scholarly methods. The value of *NLTK* and other digital tools as the be-all-end-all of linguistic analysis must, however, be taken with a grain of salt. As a series of programmed instructions, software—no matter how intelligent—can only accomplish what it is told to accomplish. The literary-linguistic output of *NLTK* must still be interpreted by a human trained in literary-linguistic analysis; AI *supplements*, but does not *replace*, the human element in philology.

Old Saxon tools are more scarce and problematic. As noted in the methodology, Old Saxon analyses rely mostly on print dictionaries. The only substantive digital resource is *TITUS*, which offers partial corpora and relies on limited hyper-linked markup to search for word-occurrences. At present no easily accessible, comprehensive bibliography of continental Germanic literature exists, either in print or online. While Tiefenbach's dictionary and *TITUS* provide substantial lists of primary and secondary publications, their selections remain incomplete. A continental Germanic resource similar to the *Old English Newsletter* (*OEN*) Bibliography would be invaluable to Old Saxon and Old High Germanic scholarship, especially among English speaking academics and/or academics whose scholarship focuses on the English language. A platform like *OEN* with a bilingual English/German framework like *TITUS* and access to a parser like *NLTK* would be ideal; this platform would provide more robust access to continental Germanic lexical-semantic data, which remains largely bound to print materials.

7.3.2 Final Thoughts

Connecting spiritual sin and abstract Christian hierarchy to observable social and political consequences allowed Christianity to increase its visibility and appeal to the material soteriology of its

Germanic host cultures. Despite a few complications, the lexemes of the SR and PQ sample groups reliably schematize the semantic shift of identity terms as a pull-chain: Christianity first integrated itself into the social consciousness, thereby introducing gaps that would be filled—through the path of least resistance—with native Germanic lexemes: semantic shadows of the pre-Christian world.

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