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OLD ENGLISH POETICAL MOTIVES

DERIVED FROM

THE DOCTRINE OF SIN

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A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA FOR  
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR  
OF PHILOSOPHY

1900



BY  
C. ABBETMEYER

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TO  
PROFESSOR THEODORE BUENGER  
Director of  
CONCORDIA COLLEGE  
SAINT PAUL, MINN.

## PREFATORY NOTE

I take pleasure in acknowledging my many obligations to Professor Frederick Klaeber. He has at all times shown the most kindly interest in the development of this dissertation. His suggestions and corrections have been invaluable. Besides placing at my disposal from his own library books otherwise inaccessible, he has also been instrumental in obtaining for me other library courtesies and given me his friendly assistance in seeing my booklet through the press.

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## INTRODUCTION.

The hoary enigma of evil, hovering over life like a mysterious shadow, is a theme of perennial interest. It is well-nigh impossible, however, to ascertain just how it impressed the Teutonic conquerors of England. The Norse mythology, with its Loki, its giants, its Baldr-myth, its sublime vision of Ragnarok, "when Woden shall meet the wolf", and its Nastrond punishments for perjurers, murderers, and adulterers, is, indeed, a magnificent confession of a deep-seated conviction of guilt; but, even if it were a record of heathen beliefs without a trace of Christian influence, it would still be too far removed, both as to time and place, from the Anglo-Saxons to be used save with the utmost caution in determining the views of the latter.<sup>1</sup> The remnants of the ancient creed imbedded in the language, the laws, the customs, the literature of the Anglo-Saxons, indicate a belief arrested in the early stages of development. The dualism of supernatural good and evil is distinctly marked. Thus to the Beowulf-folk the representatives of moral evil appear personified as workers of physical evil. Superstitious practices were employed to a late date to ward off baleful influences. Also the beginnings of ethical principles are observable. The utilitarianism of the heathen code appears in the sentiments of Coifi (Bede, *H. E.* II. 13). In *Widsið* the only blameworthy qualities spoken of are faithlessness, niggardliness, and sloth; haughtiness seems rather a virtue. The non-Christian ethical concepts of *Beo.* are simple and egoistic: Man must offer sacrifices to the gods to obtain their help, 175ff.; if a lord, he must not be niggardly or wrathful 1169f., 1709ff.; if a retainer, he must not be cowardly, 590ff., 2845ff.; he must not murder his kinsmen, his natural protectors, 107ff., 587ff., 2166ff., 2742; he should not be a swearer of false oaths, 2736ff., and a breaker of treaties, 1100, nor practice falsehood and treachery, 1018f. Breach of loyalty was, indeed, the unpardonable sin of the Teutonic ethics.<sup>2</sup> The Teutonic mind had, of course, no conception of innate moral weakness. King Eadwine was reluctant to bow to Christ, because, proud of his moral integrity, he felt no need of a Redeemer (Bede, *H. E.* II. 12). Here, then, we find a predisposition of the Anglo-Saxon mind to hold in later times to the tenet of free will in matters theological. The heathen bowed to sovereign Wyrð, but did

<sup>1</sup> S. Bugge, *Studien ueber die Entstehung der nordischen Goetter-u. Heldensagen*; K. Muellenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*.

<sup>2</sup> To understand the abhorrence with which this most infamous of villainies was regarded, see *Gnom. Exon.* 37, 162-4; *Beo.* 2884ff.; *Byrht.*; *An.* 405-414; *Aldhelm's Letter to Wilfred's Clergy*, H. & S. III. 255; *Earle, Land Charters*, e. g., p. 44: "Sit sub anathemate Iudae, proditoris domini nostri." A beautiful instance of loyalty is Eadwine's refusal to be the first to break the covenant when apprised of Redwald's defection, and the high-minded behavior of Redwald's queen in dissuading her husband from a dishonorable transaction, *Bede, H. E.* II:12. Cf. also the duty of redressing injuries by means of the blood-feud, e. g., *Beo.* 2020ff.

not regard it as eternal justice. Wyrd did not determine men to do right or to do wrong. *Sal.* 442ff. is clearly a Christian passage, in which Wyrd is discredited by being identified with Satan.

In reviewing the doctrine of sin as held on the continent prior to Augustine's mission to England, we must bear in mind that besides the simple narratives and statements of Scripture there also passed current many fanciful views derived from such apocalyptic, apocryphal writings as *The Book of Enoch*, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, *The Celestial Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysius. The majority of the Greek fathers had rather failed to grasp the deep significance of the doctrine. It remained for Augustine to "boldly sound the dark abyss of grace, predestination, free will, and original sin" (Gibbon). In opposition to Manichaeism (which made evil co-eternal with good and hence necessary and ineradicable) and in conflict with Pelagianism (the theory that the individual, unscathed by Adam's fall, possesses free choice and the capacity to do good or evil) he became the apostle of grace. While the Greek Church had represented a synergism of the human will and divine grace, and Pelagius had taught human monergism, Augustine was the pious exponent of divine monergism.<sup>3</sup>

The Synod at Carthage, A. D. 411, excommunicated Coelestius, the friend of Pelagius, and drew up eight or nine canons against Pelagianism (Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, II. 104ff.) The Church accepted the Carthage decision. While neither the Council of Nicaea, A. D. 325, nor that of Constantinople, A. D. 381, had established anything as to the doctrine of sin, that of Ephesus, A. D. 431, suspended and excommunicated from church fellowship the bishops that agreed with Coelestius (canons 1 and 4), and that of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, included these acts in its sanction of the canons of all previous councils (can. 1). Augustinianism became the adopted belief of the Church (Acts of the Councils of Orange and Valence, A. D. 529, in Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, II. 724-740). Soon, however, Pelagianism, rendered more acceptable in Semi-Pelagianism by the intermingling of its beliefs with Augustinian ideas, reasserted itself and quietly held sway throughout the Middle Ages. While the doctrine was thoroughly canvassed and determined in the controversies of the early fifth century, the fancy of poet and preacher and philosopher eagerly seized those of its features that most invited imaginative amplification. Both cleric and laymen brooded over the fall of the angels, the transgression of the first human pair, the capital vices, the influence of the devil, Satan's defeat by Christ and his fearful sufferings in the abyss, the image of Antichrist, and the like. Thus Prudentius composed a *Hamartigenia* and a *Psychomachia*; Avitus treated *De Initio Mundi*, *De Originali Peccato*, *De Sententia Dei*; etc., etc.<sup>4</sup> The various streams of thought met in Gregory the Great (A. D. 590-604), who, not a great original thinker himself, absorbed, without the least compunction, both the Scriptures and the Apocrypha, Pelagius together with Augustine. He was the father of the O. E. theology.<sup>5</sup>

Already the early Christians of Britain had taken a noticeable interest in the theological discussions of the continent and, upon the

<sup>3</sup> K. R. Hagenbach, *History of Doctrines*, I; W. Cunningham, *S. Austin and His Place in the History of Christian Thought*. Hulsean Lecture 1885; Phil. Schaff, "The Pelagian Controversy," *Bibliotheca Sacra* and *Theol. Review*, May, 1848; Bede, H. E. I. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Ebert, *Lit. des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, I.

<sup>5</sup> G. J. Th. Lau, *Gregor I. der Grosse nach seinem Leben und seiner Lehre*.

whole, were held to maintain the orthodoxy of the Western Church. Yet it was Britain that sent forth Pelagius (Bede, *H. E.* I. 10); Coelestius was an Irishman (Jerome, *Prolog. ad. L. 3 in Jerem.*). Whatever influences may have shaped the opinions of Pelagius, his tenets found willing acceptance among some of the wealthier British laymen, and it was only by the energetic intervention of the Gallican clergy that the heresy was finally stamped out (Bede, *H. E.* I. 17). While the Teutonic invaders established themselves in the island, the British Church shrank before their ruthless sword into the western portions of the island. At the same time Ireland also was becoming the Isle of Saints and planting missions in Scotland. In the conversion of the heathen Anglo-Saxons the Irish-Scottish Church took a prominent part, and its influence was felt until the day of the Whitby decision, A. D. 664. But we may safely assume that its hamartiology was above reproach, or Augustine of Canterbury would have charged the Welsh bishops with heresy, and Aidan would never have been accepted as a saint by Rome.

The Teuton, however, bowed his head not to these British saints, but to the sceptre of Rome. The work of the Italian missionaries consisted in establishing in the island a church subject to the Pope in matters of doctrine and polity. When Augustine first preached before Aethelbert, he presented to the heathen mind of the Kentish king the conception of "this guilty world" and its salvation (Aelfr. *Hom.* II. 128). The subject of men's sin and guilt would inevitably form one of the most frequent topics in every discourse to the people. But when the mission had become an established church and its bishops began to assemble in synods and councils, they were mainly concerned about its organization, administration, and expansion, and discussed questions more directly connected with church polity. Hence the island church has left no original, independent dogmatical definition of the doctrine of sin. Nor was this necessary, since the doctrine was settled. All that remained for the church of Old England to do was to declare itself part and parcel of 'the Catholic Church' by adopting its doctrinal norms. It is for asserting this identity that the Council at Hatfield, A. D. 680, is memorable. This council, led by Archbishop Theodore, accepted the decrees of five synods, viz., those of Nicaea, A. D. 325, Constantinople, A. D. 381, Ephesus, A. D. 431, Chalcedon, A. D. 451, Constantinople, A. D. 553, and those of the Council of Rome, A. D. 649 (Bede, *H. E.* IV. 17, 18; H & S. III. 141ff.; Bright, *E. E. Ch. H.* 316ff.). By adopting the canons of Ephesus and Chalcedon the English Church officially condemned Pelagianism and accepted Augustinianism.

The English Church, predisposed from heathen times to insist on individual freedom of choice, and falling heir to Gregory's curious blending of extremes, remained Semi-Pelagian to the end in spite of its official Augustinianism. The Venerable Bede, it is true, broke a lance for the latter view in the introduction to his commentary on the Song of Songs (Migne 91.1065-1077), where he controverts the opinions of Julian of Eclanum, who, having been a friend of Augustine, apostatised to Pelagius, and, being a skilful dialectician, first presented the Pelagian doctrine systematically and attacked Augustine. Here and often elsewhere Bede is a good Augustinian; still even he finds room in his system for the merit of works. "Sicut enim ille qui tentatus superat, praemia vitae meretur, ita nimirumque qui concupiscentiis suis illectus a tentatione superatur, merito ruinam mortis incurrit" (Bede, *Expos. sup. Ep. Cath. Ep. Jacobi*, Migne 93.15). Aldhelm's view is far more superficial than Bede's, since he regards sin chiefly as a wound, a blemish, an infirmity. The entire system of the 'Remedia Peccatorum' is, of course, more or less Pelagian. Aethelbald grants

a privilege to Mercian churches and monasteries "pro redemptione animae meae," "ut eam per bona opera liberam efficerem ab omni vinculo delictorum" (*H. & S.* III. 247; cf. Bede, *H. E.* III. 24, 29; IV. 22; etc.). Hammerich, *Aelteste Christliche Epik.*, p. 110, notices the undue emphasis laid by Cynewulf and in the *Phoenix* on works. Eduard Dietrich, "Abt Aelfrik. Zur Literatur-Geschichte der angelsächsischen Kirche," *Z. f. hist. Theol.* 4 Heft 1855, finds that Aelfric does not follow Augustine altogether (p. 559), e. g., in teaching creationism (p. 560); that moral evil according to Aelfric was not due so much to heredity as to man's own choice (p. 561); that Aelfric describes man's corruption and the moral capacities left him in rather Semi-Pelagian terms (p. 562); and that he is even less Augustinian in his soteriology (p. 564). If, therefore, Soames, *An Inquiry into the Doctrines of the A.-S. Church*, p. 84, says of the Anglo-Saxons: "They firmly maintained the corruption of the human nature," this statement is to be taken with a grain of salt.

Whether, however, the Anglo-Saxons were Augustinians or Pelagians, it is clear that the doctrine of sin made a profound impression on their minds. They not merely preached and legislated against it, but sang about it in their hymns and made it the subject of some of their most important poems. In the following chapters those Old English poems will be considered for which portions of the doctrine of sin have furnished the motives.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE FALL OF THE ANGELS.

#### A. A BRIEF OUTLINE OF POPE GREGORY'S DOCTRINE.

Gregory had taught that the devil, impatient of dependence on God, sinned through pride, and by his arts of persuasion had induced one-half of all the higher spirits to follow him (*Evang. II Hom.* 34). The apostate angels, deprived of their concreated goodness and blessedness and expelled from heaven and the presence of God, can never hope to obtain forgiveness, because as pure spirits they had not the weakness of the flesh and fell without being tempted (*Mor.* IV. c. 3; IX. c. 50). The void caused by the expulsion of the rebels is to be filled by an equal number of redeemed children of men (*Mor.* XXX. c. 49; *Evang. II Hom.* 34). It may be observed here that the contrast between "pure spirits" and "the weakness of the flesh" is a thought occurring also in *The Book of Enoch*, c. 15 and passim. The repeated mention in that book of the angels soiling themselves with "the daughters of men" indicates an ascetic note that despised the flesh as such. Cyprian, likewise, clearly after "Enoch," believed that the fallen angels, "ad terrena contagia devoluti," taught the arts of luxury (Migne 4.466).

#### B. TREATMENT OF THE MOTIVE BY THE ANGLO-SAXON POETS.

This thought-group was well rounded off when it was presented to the O. E. mind. According to the bent or purpose of the writer it was sometimes described with full and loving breadth of detail, sometimes concisely stated as a matter of doctrine, and again only alluded to; it was at all times the stock example to warn men against pride and its baleful consequences. A single reading of the poetry left by the Anglo-Saxons shows that the Fall of the Angels was one of their favorite themes. I give a preliminary list of the poems to be examined:

1. *Gen. A.* 12-77, 78-186.
2. *Gen. B.* 246-337, 338-353, 733-750.
3. Aldhelm, *De Lucifero*, ed. Giles, p. 248; *De Laudibus Virginum*, ib., p. 211.
4. *Crist and Satan (Sat.)*.
5. *Gudlac (Gu.)* 529-656.
6. *Bi Manna Mode (Mod.)* 57-67.
7. *Andreas (An.)* 1185-1194, 1376-1385.
8. Cynewulf: *El.* 759-771, 939-952; *Jul.* 418-429.
9. *Prayer IV.* 54-57.
10. *Sal. and Sat. (Sal.)* 442-474.

In the following sections I shall present:

- I. Critical notes on *Sat.*;
- II. A comparative study of the "Fall" poems as to contents;
- III. A classification of the same into groups.

### I. CRITICAL NOTES ON *SAT.*

Critics appear to agree in regarding the *Sat.* poems, in their present condition, as a compilation from previously existing material. *Sat.* 366-664 is an amplification of the second half of the second Article of the Creed. It was only natural to conjecture that this was perhaps a fragment of an exposition of the whole second Article. Hence Groschopp (*Anglia* 6.248) assumes an original "Heiland" or life of Christ, and would fain ascribe this to Caedmon. He bases his plea for the original unity of *Sat.* on the assumption of a clumsy restorer, and fortifies it by a rearrangement of the matter. But Gr.'s mode of procedure is too arbitrary, and most of his conclusions are untenable. Thus, e. g., by assigning lines 20-33 to his restorer, he ignores the fact, demonstrated below, that these very lines show numerous correspondences to other sections of *Sat.*, to *Gu.*, to *Jud.*, etc., and thus evidently belong to the oldest redactions of the poem. His rearrangement is no more felicitous than are his excisions. For the Lord's 'ante mortem' life Gr.'s theory rests on nothing save the story of the temptation (*Sat.* 665 ff.) and a few lines on Judas (*Sat.* 574-579), surely a frail enough support. That the story of Judas, however, is not a misplaced remnant of a biography of Christ, but always stood where it now stands, is almost certain from the fact that it was derived from *Acts* 1.16ff., where, as in the poem, it immediately follows the account of the Ascension. The fragmentary homily on the temptation, moreover, evidently was not placed in our manuscript because it treated of Christ, but because it described some of the sufferings of Satan; for these form the real subject of the *Sat.* poems. Gr. correctly assigns *Sat.* 1-365 to the Lord's "post mortem" life, and hence he would willy-nilly sandwich the speeches and exhortations found there between the various sections of *Sat.* 366-664. Now it will be observed that in *Sat.* 366-664 Christ's descent into hell (366-379-516) receives much broader treatment than the other items (i. e., the resurrection, ascension, sitting at the right hand of God, return to judge the quick and the dead); and that by bunching around it the bulk of *Sat.* 1-365 the already disproportionate preponderance of the descensus theme is only accentuated. Gr.'s "Heiland" would thus treat chiefly of the devil. It seems clear, then, that *Sat.* consists of a collection of poems describing mainly the sufferings of Satan after the descent of Christ.

Confining our attention, for the present, to *Sat.* 1-365, we observe that this part consists of three sections, ending respectively at lines 224, 315, 365, each with an exhortation. These sections seem to Brooke (*History of Early English Literature*, pp. 326 ff.) "like three lyrical poems sung at different times to the same theme, and placed in the manuscript one after the other."<sup>1</sup>

The claim of the first of these songs, viz., *Sat.* 1-224, to be considered a distinct poem, can be substantiated. A poem on the same

<sup>1</sup>It may be noted that Brooke speaks of "the first three parts of the first poem," whereas he counts only three parts in all; that he calls the exhortations at the end of these parts "hymns of praise"; and that he yields too much to Groschopp's theory of "a general paraphrase of the history of redemption."

subject is interwoven in the narrative of *Gu.*, which contains so many correspondences to *Sat.* 1-224 as to be, if not the same poem, at least a very similar variant.

<i>Gu.</i> 22, 246f., 578f., etc.: Creation..	<i>Sat.</i> 1-20: Creation.
" 534: þæt atule hus.....	" 26: þæt atole scref; cf. 73,129.
" 535: niþer under naessas neole grundas .....	" 31: nidaer under nessas in done neowlan grund. cf. 91, 135.
" 554-7: Nu þu in helle scealt deope gedufan, nales dryhtnes leoht habban in heofonum, heahgetimbru, sold on swegle.	" 28-30 rales swegles leoht habban in heofnum heahgetimbrad, ac gedufan sceoldun in done deopan waelm.
" 569f.: se eow gehynde and in haeft bidraf under nearone clom.	" 190-3, 201f.
" 630-634 .....	" 68-70.
" 635-9: Wendun ge and woldun wiperhygende, þæt ge scyppende sceodan gelice wesan in wuldre: eow þær wyrs gelomp, da eow se waldend wrade bisencte in þæt swearte susl, þær eow siddan waes etc.	" 22-7: duhte him on mode, þæt hit mihte swa, þæt hie weron seolfe swegles brytan, wuldres waldend. Him þæs wirs gelamp, da heo in helle ham stædeledon an aefter odrum, in þæt atole scref, þær heo brynewelme bidan sceolden.
" 644: brynewylm haebben.....	" 27: brynewelme bidan.
" 640: ad inaeled attrre geblynden	" 40: attrre onaeled.
" 641: dream afyrred.....	" 129: attrre geblynden.
" 753-790: The admonition.....	" 67-8: Crist heo afrde, dreamum bedelde.
	" 194-224: The admonition.

In connection with this section, Groschopp says, *Anglia* 6.252: "Die eigentliche verurteilung scheint nach der jetzigen fassung von Cr.-St. erst v. 190 stattgefunden zu haben. An gleicher stelle heisst es, dass der teufel mit seinen jünger (gingran!) in die hölle einzog; aus den versen 34, 102 u. a. aber wissen wir, dass sie längst dort weilten." But the whole matter is righted if we place lines 190-193 after line 33. The scribe had evidently overlooked them, and then inserted them later. In line 20, Gr. finds his restorer unwittingly guilty of false doctrine; but, as Prof. Bright has shown, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 18.129, *aerest* is there predicated of both men and angels. Lines 40-42 (*Nis nu ende feor*) Gr. transfers to the descensus section in *Sat.* 366-664, perhaps correctly. They might, however, also be a late addition alluding to the nearness of Judgment Day.

After we have thus disengaged lines 1-224 from *Sat.* 1-365, the general similarity of subject matter and treatment as well as the hortatory endings lead us to posit in the remaining lines two other similar poems, viz., lines 225-315, 316-365.

From *Sat.* 1-224 I also detach lines 75-189. This section consists of three monologues, a) 75-125, b) 126-159, c) 160-189. These are alike in being spoken by the same *fire-breathing* (*spearcade*, *Sat.* 78; 128; 162) demon; alike, of course, also as to contents, and very similar in phrase. They are variants of the same theme. Perhaps *Sat.* 75-125 was the first to be made after *Sat.* 1-74, 190-224; then it in turn produced *Sat.* 126-159 and *Sat.* 160-189. Verbal correspondences show the dependence of this set on *Sat.* 1-74, 190-224: cf. 22-24, 84-87, 173-5; —26, 125, 141, 175; —26, 129; —31, 91, 135; —28, 115ff., 138ff., 18ff.

The three monologues are also very closely related to one another: cf. 78, 128f., 162; —81.83, 151-156, 164-172; —84-7, 173-5, 187; —91, 135; —91, 180; —93-6, 166f.; —138-140, 169-171; —100-102, 136f. These three monologues must obviously be taken out of *Sat.* 1-224. When this is done, the latter poem shows only the ordinary amount of variation and agrees well with *Sat.* 225-315, *Sat.* 316-365, and *Gu.* 529-656.

The next question is, what are we to do with *Sat.* 366-664? Taken as a whole, it may be regarded as a parallel to the three longest poems of *Sat.* 1-365. Lines 444-456 seem to be a variant of the monologues contained in lines 75-189, as appears from the following correspondences:

444: wites clommas .....	103: wites clom.
454: wites clom .....	103: wites clom.
445: feondum odfaested .....	104: feste gebunden.
446: in þæt neowle genip.....	102: in dissum neowlan genipe.
448f.: earm aglaeca and þa atolan	161f.: atol aeglaeca ut of helle,
mid him, witum werige.	witum werig, cf. 51. 73.
449f.: nalles wuldres leoht	28ff.
habban moton, ah in helle	
grund.	
450f. ....	30, 48ff., 115ff., 137; <i>Gu.</i> 605-8.
455: dimne and deorcne.....	105: dimme and deorce.

The introductory to the description of Christ's descensus, lines 366-379, contains echoes of *Gen. A.*:

<i>Sat.</i> 369: wrohte .....	<i>Gen.</i> 83: wroht.
" 370: þæt he oferhyda agan	" 29: oferhygd.
wolde .....	" 34: agan wolde.
" 372: on heofonum hehseld...	" 33: heahsetl heofena rices.
" 373: ealdor heora .....	" 20: heora aldor.
" 374: yfeles ordfruma .....	" 13: heora ordfruman.
" 374: him þæt eft gehreaw...	" 29: Him þær sar gelamp.
	" 49: him þeo wen geleah.

It would seem that *Sat.* 366-664 did not originally belong to the same cycle as the other *Sat.* poems. It may have been a brief treatise on Christ's state of exaltation, or a fragment of an exposition of the second article, or even of the whole Creed. In this original draft the descensus section was presumably of the same length as the other parts. In the course of time this topic received numerous amplifications from various sources, among others, as has been shown, from *Gen. A.* and *Sat.* 1-365. When once this theme predominated, the remaining sections would be regarded as in a way, an exhortation, and thus the whole poem, *Sat.* 366-664, was embodied in our manuscript as a parallel or variant of *Sat.* 1-224, 225-315, 316-365.

*Sat.* 665-733, finally, is a homily on the temptation of Christ, emphasizing especially the sufferings of the devil; the closing lines seem to be the beginning of another plaint of the demons.

*Sat.* consists, then of the following poems: 1) ll. 1-33, 190-193, 34-74, 194-224; 2) ll. 225-315; 3) ll. 316-365; 4) ll. 75-125; 5) ll. 126-159; 6) ll. 160-189; 7) ll. 366-664; 8) ll. 665-733.

To conclude with Groschopp, *Anglia* 6.263: "Die dichtungsart war, nach den resten zu schliessen, die der hymne mit vorwiegend didaktischer tendenz. Die ermahnungen machen ganz den eindruck, als wenn sie vor einer menge vorgetragen worden wären."

## II. COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE CONTENTS.

### 1. Pristine Bliss in Heaven.

*Gen. A* begins with a hymn of praise to the Almighty, which is gradually keyed down to a description of the felicity of the angels, 1-12-21, and still further to that of their fall. *Sat.* 1-21 seems to be a variant of this. In other poems the description takes the form of reminiscences of heavenly glory by the fallen angel, e. g., *Sat.* 233-246; 328-330, 349-355; 81-83, 93-95, 107, 121-123, 138-143, 150-156; 164-172. In *Sat.* 245f., the devil describes men as being in heaven with him, whereas men were not created until after the fall of the angel; and were not permitted to reach heaven until after Christ's descensus. The matter is clear if we assume that it is the descensus devil who is speaking and embracing in one rueful look conditions past and present. To some extent these descriptions of heavenly glory, esp. *Gen. A* 1ff. may also rest on some Communion Preface, even as *Cri.* 385-415, *El.* 725-753, *An.* 863-891 seem to be based on such prefaces, in which the saints are pictured as being in heaven with the angels praising God.

### 2. The rebel leader and his following.

The ten orders of heavenly beings are found in *The Book of Enoch*, c. 6, 7, also in *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, c. 20-21. Gregory, commenting on *Luke* 15.8ff., enumerates nine angel choirs (*Lib. II. Hom. 34; Migne II. 1249*). Of the devil he says, *ib.*: "Ecce novem dixit [Ezechiel] nomina lapidum, quia profecto novem sunt ordines angelorum. Quibus nimirum ordinibus ille primus angelus ideo ornatus est et opertus exstitit, quia dum cunctis agminibus angelorum praelatus est, ex eorum comparatione clarior fuit." With this passage we may compare Aldhelm, *l. c.*, p. 211: "Jamque novem lapidum forma phaleratus amcena, contra Creatorem frustra turgescere coepit." This prince of angels, again, grew into the tenth choir when he had gathered about himself the host of his loyal adherents from the ranks of the other choirs. In *Sat.* 366, Lucifer alone is called *baet engelcyn*. While according to *Sal.* 454 the presumptuous angel rebelled with the tenth part, *Gen. B* 246-248 says that God created ten *engelcynna*.

Gregory had said that one-half of all the angels fell; Aldhelm, from *Rev.* 12.4 one-third; *Sal.* 454, only one-tenth. Throughout the poems the impression is that it was a vast multitude (cf. *Mark.* 5.9; *Luke* 8.30). Witness such expressions as *werod*, *Gen.* 67; *strange geneatas*, *Gen.* 284; *peos menego*, *Sat.* 262; *folca maest*, *Gen.* 747; *helwarena heap*, *Cri.* 731, etc.

It is of course only natural that in conformity with the Germanic conception the leader is the liege-lord and the other angels are his vassals.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. Pride is the chief incentive of Lucifer's rebellion.

Passages of Scripture furnished the idea, e. g. 1 *Tim.* 3.6; *Luke* 10.13; *Jude* 6; *Ecclus.* 10.14. This was the common teaching of the Fathers. Bede, e. g., speaks of the devil's pride, "qua se contra Deum erigit et esse vult similis Altissimo" (in *Marc.* XI, Migne 92.248).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ferrell, *Teutonic Antiquities in the Anglo-Saxon Genesis*, p. 17ff.; Price, *Teutonic Antiquities in the generally acknowledged Cynewulfian Poetry*, p. 26.

Envy is, indeed, mentioned as the motive together with pride, *aefst*, *Gen.* 29; *nip*, *Gen.* 32; also greed seems implied in *graedige and gifre*, *Sat.* 32, 192. But ordinarily it is *oferhygd*, *Gen.* 22, 29, 328; *Sat.* 50; *Gu.* 606; *Jul.* 424; *Mod.* 58; *gielp*, *Gen.* 25; *Gu.* 633f.; *anmedla*, *Sat.* 74; *mod*, *Gen.* 29, 53; *baelc*, *Gen.* 54; *galscipe*, *Gen.* 341; *ofermetto*, *Gen.* 332. Satan is *ofermod*, *Gen.* 262; *Sal.* 450; cf. *Gen.* 272; *oferhydig*, *Gen.* 66; *Pray.* IV.55; *se fraetga*, *Jul.* 284.

The primal beauty and power of the rebel leader are dwelt on not without psychological insight, inasmuch as from his glory and power was engendered pride, presumption, and scorn of service, *Sat.* 59, 251; *Gen.* 259-291. The moral change from humility to pride wrought a change in his intellectual condition; he fell into megalomania. Deceived by his glory, he imagines himself to be like God, *Gu.* 636; desiring to be like Him, he deems it possible to be God, *Sat.* 22f.; *Gen.* 283. The thought was no doubt derived from *Gen.* 3.5. He despises God's power, *Gen.* 25f.; *Gu.* 603; *Sat.* 252; *Pray.* IV.54f; *Mod.* 61; he regards the Lord's power as *idel gylp*, *Sat.* 254; hence his *gylpword*, *Gen.* 264, 278-291, 47f. He tells his followers that he is the creator himself, *Sat.* 55f.; 124; and that God is (merely) his son (or subject), *Sat.* 63f. But all this was error and folly, *Gen.* 23, 46-49; 295, 340; and hence the angels upbraid their leader with lying, *Sat.* 53f.

Ten Brink (*Gesch. d. Engl. Lit.* I, p. 103), and Groschopp (*Anglia* 6.252f.) and Brooke (*l. c.*, p. 328) after him, speak of the devil's son as a counterpart to Christ in being *meotod moncynnes*, *Sat.* 63f. I regard this interpretation as too fanciful. If the devil like God had only one son, this comparison would have point; but it is clear from *Jul.* 312, 325ff. (cf. *An.* 1328) that he has many sons. Were comparison with Christ intended, then in *l.63 din* very probably would receive the principal stress, which from the alliteration is impossible. According to this view the devil contradicts himself, for, *Sat.* 55ff., he has called himself God. Not a parallel passage has been adduced to illustrate the meaning here proposed. Everywhere else the devil is the *feond moncynnes*, while the *meotod moncynnes* is God. I construe the clause *paet—moncynnes*, *Sat.* 63f., as a simple inversion and interpret: *paet meotod moncynnes din sunu waere*. This removes the contradiction and explains the emphasis on *sunu*. We are permitted to take *sunu* here in the sense of "subject," *þegn*, since the devil's children or followers are otherwise called his *þegnas*, *An.* 43; *Sal.* 117; and the devil himself is called both their *faeder*, *Jul.* 321, 522, and their *frea*, *Jul.* 328. Here, then, the devil, instead of voicing so fantastic a notion, simply utters one of his *gielp* words and declares that the *meotod moncynnes* is his subject.

#### 4. The rebellion.

In some of the poems the rebellion is against God, e. g., *Gen. A*; *Gen. B*; *Sal.* 449ff.; *Mod.* 57ff. In those poems, on the contrary, in which the devil is represented as lamenting or as being upbraided with his sin, the rebellion is against Christ, the Son of God, *Sat.* 10, 67, 195, 217; 243, 289; 346; 86, 119; 143, 153; 173; *Pray.* IV.54f. *Gu.* 570 seems to have the same view, *Jul.* 420 certainly has. The reason obviously is that the situation thought of in these poems is that after the descensus. *An.* 1185ff.; 1376ff.; *El.* 759-771, 939-952 are doubtful.

The general aim of the conspiracy is the same in all the poems, viz., to dethrone and dispossess God and Christ, and to occupy the whole or a part of His kingdom: *Sat.* 23, 55, 56, 59, 60; 85-87, 124; 173f., 187; 257; 346f.; *Mod.* 62-65; *Gen. A* 25-28, 32-34, 47-48; *Gen. B* 272-276;

*Sal.* 452f. The rebel angels aim to raise up their own throne in the North, "ex Aquilone," Aldhelm, *l. c.*, 211; *on norddaele*, *Gen. A.* 32; *west and nord*, *Gen. B.* 275; cf. *Gen. B.* 667. This may be the blending of similar ecclesiastical and heathen conceptions. According to Grimm, Christians prayed looking to the East; the heathen facing the North (*D. M.* I.30; *R. A.* 808). It had been Gregory's belief (*Mor.* XVI. c. 24), drawn from *Isa.* 14.13, that the devil and his angels had inherited the North as their special quarter. Bouterwek (*Caedmon's des Angelsachsen biblische Dichtungen*, p. 291) points out "dass auch in den Propheten des alten Bundes 'Land des Nordens' allgemeiner Name für alle diejenigen ist, welche Israel in der Fremde Unglück brachten, *S. Sacharja* 2.6; *Hes.* 1.4." The North is the abode of the wicked also in *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, c. 10, the "Enoch" literature being the great reservoir of apocryphal notions. The thought of the "North" has lived through the Miracle Play, and even Shakespeare, *1 Henry VI.* 5.iii, calls the devil "the lordly monarch of the north."

The rebellion in heaven is regarded as disloyalty, the breaking of the fealty relation, *Gen.* 246ff.; etc.; *El.* 766f.: *He þinum widsoc aldordome.*<sup>2</sup>

#### 5. The encounter.

In *Sat.* 67,195ff.; *Gu.* 570; *Jul.* 421 Christ expels the apostate host, in the other poems God does. Terms of war cluster around the expulsion: *Gen.* 45-6, 49-64, 77, 85; 303, 312, 323, etc.; *Sat.* 232, 261, 282, 323, 347; *Gu.* 569; 623; *Mod.* 59; 65f.; *An.* 1386; *Sal.* 452. A *tacen* and the curse are mentioned *Sat.* 89. The only passages that approach a somewhat vivid description of a battle are *Mod.* 57-66 and *Gen. A.* 34, 45-72. In the latter we see God in His wrath lifting up His hand against the grim host, shearing them of power and hurling them into the pit.—Michael, accordingly, is not as yet at the head of the angels to battle with the dragon (*Rev.* 12.7ff; cf. *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 469ff.)

#### 6. The punishment.

The rebel angel and his host are condemned. This is brought out in epithets like *awierged*, *An.* 1299; *Cri.* 158; *Gu.* 226, 883; *Jul.* 617; *se awyrgda*, *Whale* 67; *Sat.* 316, 416, 676, 691, 699; *se awyrgda wulf*, *Cri.* 256; *se awyrgda gaest*, *Cri.* 1690; *faege gaestas*, *Cri.* 1534; *fah*, *An.* 1705; *El.* 768, 924.

Lucifer is since called Satan: *Gen.* 345; *Sat.* 371; *An.* 1193; all are changed into devils, *Gen.* 305, 309. "Factus est diabolus," says Bede (*John* 8, Migne 92.752), "de archangelo in diabolus est versus" (*1 John* 3, Migne 92.101), "in abyssi profunda sunt rapti" (*2 Pet.* 2, Migne 93.75). The fallen angels are now exiles: *wraecca*, *Jul.* 351; *Gen.* 39; *wraecmaecg*, *Gu.* 100, 202, 234, 530; *Jul.* 260; *Cri.* 363. This touch may be derived from *Gen.* 4.11, where Cain is made "a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth." Cf. *Sat.* 112f.; 120f., 188, 262-272; *Gu.* 176-196.

God had also created hell and filled it with punishments, *Gen.* 34-45, 318; *Jul.* 422; *Gu.* 649f.; *Sal.* 466. The moribund theory that the Anglo-Saxon hell is strongly "redolent of heathenism," since it contains both fire and extreme cold, serpents, etc., is still repeated by Brincker (*Germanische Allertümer in dem ags. Gedichte "Judith."* p. 11f.). The Enochic literature, however, is evidence that the hell

<sup>2</sup> See Ferrell, *l. c.*, pp. 16ff.

of the Anglo-Saxons is redolent rather of Oriental influences.<sup>4</sup> This is also the view of Becker's suggestive study (*The Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, pp. 11, 159). But when Becker (*l. c.*, p. 60) discovered, in the collocation of heat and cold in *Gen. B* 313ff., another (quite superfluous) proof of Sievers's "interpolation" theory and the later date of *Gen. B*, he overlooked *Gen. A*, 43, where also both heat and cold are mentioned. It appears, too, that Becker did not become aware of a difference between *Gen. A*, on the one hand, and the *Sat.* poems, Cynewulf, and *Gen. B*, on the other, a difference that Ferrell (*l. c.* 21-25) and Price (*l. c.* 29-32) likewise failed to observe, that, namely, in *Gen. A* the devil is not bound, while in the other poems he is. The fetters in the latter poems, which, with the exception of *Gen. B*, together with their derivatives emphasize the sufferings of the devil, are explained by the belief that Christ bound Satan in His descensus (cf. *Jude* 6; *2 Pet.* 2.4; *Rev.* 20.1ff.).

#### 7. Man in the place of the fallen angels.

Then was peace in heaven *Gen.* 78-83; but the heavenly seats were vacant, 89, to be filled with a better people, 92-96; so God created the earth and man, 103-168-186. In *Sat.* the devil laments the fact that men now occupy the place of angels near the Son of God, 143-5, and men are urged to seek heaven.

### III. CLASSIFICATION INTO GROUPS.

Both as to contents and form our poems fall into two chief groups, the epical and the semi-dramatic.

#### 1. Epical Group:

The oldest of these is probably *Gen. A* by reason of its simplicity. There is a rebel leader, but he is little individualized, and almost lost in the multitude. The encounter is portrayed most vividly in this poem. The rebellion is not against Christ but against God. Hell is dark, cold, and hot, but has neither fetters nor serpents. It thus clearly differentiates itself from the descensus poems. Lines 366-379 of *Sat.*, however, are based on *Gen. A*.

*Mod.* 57-67 is short, epical, individual. Though treating the same subject as *Gen. A*, it has no real verbal correspondences. It mentions no rebel leader, no hell.

*Gen. B* is, of course, the most highly developed of this group. The devil has borrowed only his fetters from the descensus literature; for the rest he is a strong, majestic, idealized being.

#### 2. Semi-dramatic Group, or Complaints of Lucifer.

It is characteristic of this group that the glory, pride, rebellion, and expulsion of the apostate angels are touched but lightly, while the torments and the utter hopelessness of hell form the constant theme. The enormity of Lucifer's crime could be adequately punished only in an eternity of woe. He can not repent or be forgiven. Man's sin is curable, Satan's is not; because Satan originated sin, and man was deceived (*Interr. Sigew.* 60.31f.).

It is peculiar to these poems that they do not describe the condition of the angels immediately after their fall, but that after Christ's descent into hell. Not only is the devil represented as bound (*Sat.* 49; 324; 103; 157f.; 444; *Gu.* 570; *An.* 1192; 1378; *El.* 770-1; *Cri.* 562,

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sandras, *De Carminibus Anglo-Saxonicis Caedmoni Adjudicatis Disquisitio*, p. 51.

1539) and his followers as having permission to rove about (*Sat.* 262-272; *Gu.* 176-196; cf. *Jul.* 325ff.; *El.* 899; *An.* 1168); but the devil deploras the fact that men are now in heaven (*Sat.* 46ff.; 143ff.). In this cycle, too, the rebellion is quite uniformly conceived as being directed chiefly against the *Son of God*.

The story is mostly told in dialogue or monologue, and the didactic purpose, while not wanting in the other group (*Gen. B* 297-299; *Mod.*), is yet far more pronounced here.

These poems form a special department in Old English literature, and I call them the *Plaints of Lucifer*.

The following poems belong to this group:

1. *Plaints*:

1. Aldhelm's *De Lucifero* and *De Laudibus Virginum*.
2. *Sat.* 1-33, 190-193, 34-74, 194-224;
3. " 225-315;
4. " 316-365;
5. " 366-664;
6. " 665-733;
7. " 75-125;
8. " 126-159;
9. " 160-189;
10. *Gu.* 529-656.

2. *Incidental allusions to the Fall in the manner of the Plaints*:

1. *An.* 1185-1194, 1376-1385;
2. *El.* 759-771, 939-952;
3. *Cri.* 558ff.; cf. 1520ff.;
4. *Jul.* 418-424;
5. *Prayer* IV.54-57.

The earliest poems in the vein of the *Plaints* seem to be those of Aldhelm. He has a riddle *De Lucifero*, l. c., p. 267, in which Lucifer says:

"O felix olim servata lege Tonantis!  
Heu post hoc cecidi proterva mente superbus,  
Ultio quapropter funestum percussit hostem."

His description of the Fall of the Angels (*De Laudibus Virginum*, *ib.*, p. 211) is also informed with the "plaint" spirit. The highest angel had been the prince of the angels, Lucifer, the day-star of heaven. He was adorned with the delightful beauty of nine precious stones, i. e. the angel hosts. (The stones were also sometimes fancied to be set in the crown of Lucifer.<sup>5</sup>) But in his black heart he revolved a terrible crime, since he began to be puffed up against his Creator and in his audacity desired to raise up his own tribunal in the North ("ex Aquilone"), deceiving himself into the belief that he was like God and could equal Him with his own powers. With his venom he corrupted the battalions of heaven. The rebellion of Lucifer and the other proud heaven-dwellers is unsuccessful, and they now, having fallen headlong, fill black hell (*ib.*, p. 211). Together with his sodality of parasites and apostate satellites he is deprived of happy heavenly companionships and contemplation of God and hurled into the abyss (*De Laude Virginitatis*, *ib.*, p. 10f.). A third portion of the stars has deserted the clime of heaven, only two hosts of bright con-

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Max Dreyer, *Der Teufel in der deutschen Dichtung des Mittelalters*, p. 7.

stellations remain above (*De Laudibus Virginum, ib.*, p. 211; the early chapters of *The Book of Enoch* [ed. Lods, and Charles] repeatedly speak of the fallen stars).

Next comes the poem of which the *Gu. A* insertion and the first *Sat.* poem (*Sat.* 1-33, 190-193, 34-74, 194-224) are redactions. The correspondences are from compact sections in the latter poem, while in *Gu. A* they are scattered over many lines; hence the first *Sat.* poem should be the older text. It was no doubt often recited and probably much varied, still the correspondences show that it retained some of its oldest features, esp. ll.20-33. *Gu. A* dates itself approximately; in ll.724ff. the poet says:

Hwaet! we þissa wundra gewitan sindon:  
eall þas geodon in ussера  
tida timan; forþen þaes tweogan ne þearf  
aenig.

If, then, *Gu. A* was written shortly after the death of the saint, which took place A. D. 714, the first *Sat.* poem must be earlier. It contains quite a number of correspondences to the "Fall" section in *Gen. A*.

<i>Sat.</i> 21: engla ordfruma .....	<i>Gen.</i> 13: heora ordfruman.
" 22-24: ðuhte him on mode, þaet hit mihte swa, þaet hie weron seolfe swegles bry- tan, wuldres waldend. Him þaes wirs gelamp.	" 48: swa eade meahton. " 49: waldend. " 25f.: Hæfdon gielp micel, þaet hie wid drihtne daelan meahton wuldorfaestan wic werodes brymme, sid and sweglotrht. Him þær sar gelamp.
" 25: atole scref .....	" wraecliecn ham. " 39: witehus. " 44: raedlease hof. " 91: hearmlocan. " 75: sar and sorge.
" 28: saran sorge .....	" 90f.: siddan wraecstowe wer- ige gastas under hearmlo- can heane geforan.
" 30f.: ac gedufan sceoldan in done deopan waelm, nidaer undaer nessas in done neowlan grund.	" 76: bystrum beþeahte þearl aefterlean.
" 37: þis is deostrae ham dearle gebunden.	" 75: susl þrowedon.
" 41: susel þrowian .....	" 74: werige wunodon and wean cudon.
" 42: wean and wergung (Gr.)	

Some of the correspondences are striking and can hardly have been fortuitous. I assume, therefore, that the *Gen. A* hymn was very generally known and recited when the first *Sat.* poem was composed, the latter, as it were, growing out of the former. The date of the first *Plaint* may thus be about A. D. 700. I am inclined to ascribe it to Aldhelm, who handled the "Fall" theme in Latin hexameters, wrote a Latin *Plaint* of Lucifer, and was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the national poetry.

The sorrows of Satan were manifestly a useful subject for monk and priest and missionary, while they were not uninviting to the mere entertainer. The original *Plaint* would be repeatedly rehearsed, varied, expanded, abbreviated; as occasion demanded, it would be recited by itself (*Sat.* 75-125, 126-159, 160-189), made the basis of pious exhorta-

tion (*Sat.* 1-224, 225-315, 316-365), used to set off the descensus story (*Sat.* 444-456), or woven into other poems (*Gu.*, *An.*, *El.*, *Cri.*, *Jul.*, *Jud.*). As a result, numerous variants of the old *Plaint* arose. On this supposition we can explain the *Sat.* poems as applying the principle of variation on a grand scale (cf. ten Brink, *l. c.*, 1.102). If ten Brink (*ib.* 103) thinks that an early age could not have spoken as do these poems, it suffices to refer to so early a *Plaint* as Aldhelm's *De Lucifero*, and to ask how the late age that produced *Gen. B* could speak as do these poems. Moreover, while Cynewulf gives the Fall of the Angels only a passing notice, he is deeply impressed with the stock ideas of the *Plaints*. His devil is that of the *Plaints*, and so is his hell. It will suffice to compare *El.* 759-771 with *Gu. A* 603-608, 638-652 and the *Plaints*. Cynewulf's *sio werge sceolu*, *El.* 762 is the *scyldigra scolu*, *Gu.* 175, the *earn sceada in fyrlocan feste gebunden*, *Sat.* 571, the *gnornende cynn*, *Sat.* 134. *Fah.* *El.* 763 reminds of *Sat.* 97; *heolstorhofu*, *El.* 763 of *Sat.* 101; in *dracan faetme*, *El.* 765 of *aet helle duru dracan eardigað*, *Sat.* 98. Cf. *El.* 942 with *Sat.* 91; *El.* 946-7 with *Sat.* 68f.; *wergdu*, *El.* 951 with *Sat.* 89; *widerhygende*, *El.* 951 with *Gu.* 635; *bescufed*, *El.* 942 with *Gu.* 605, 647; *Sat.* 445; in *þam þystram ham*, *Jul.* 683 with *þis is deostræ ham*, *Sat.* 38; to *dissum ðimman ham*, *Sat.* 111; *þam neolan scraefe*, *Jul.* 684 with *þæt atole scraef*, *Sat.* 26, 73, 129; in *þis neowle genip*, *Sat.* 180, cf. 446, 102.—*An.* 1185-1194 shows correspondences to the descensus *Plaints*, especially to *Sat.* 75-124. *Eart ðu fag wið god*, *An.* 1188; *ic eom fah wið god*, *Sat.* 97;—*heolstor*, *An.* 1191; *ðæs heolstres*, *Sat.* 101.—*clamme*, *An.* 1192; *wites clom*, *Sat.* 103;—*Satan*, *An.* 1193; *Satanus*, *Sat.* 371, etc.—*Jud.* 112-121 is also manifestly built up out of the *Plaints*.

The great number of *Plaints* preserved in *Sat.* attests the favor in which they continued to be held. The idea of the fettered devil in *Gen. B* probably arose independently of the *Plaints*; but the short narrative of the fall of the angels, *Gen.* 736-750, seems to show their influence: cf. *in heofonrice heahgetimbro*, *Gen.* 739; *in heofonum heahgetimbrad*, *Sat.* 29; *hnigan mid heafdum halgum drihtne*, *Gen.* 237, 742; to *þæm æpelan hnigan him sanctas*, *Sat.* 240. *Sal.* 449-474 describes hell in the manner of the *Plaints* and would seem to be based on these and on *Gen. B*.

In conclusion, I venture the suggestion that in *Sat.* 1-365 we may have a collection and arrangement of *Plaints* made for the purpose of dramatic recitation. A priest probably recited the introduction and exhortations, some other ecclesiastic or some layman might take the role of Satan, and a choir the parts of Satan's followers. Practically the same material later makes up some of the *Miracle Plays*.

### C. PERSISTENCE OF THE MOTIVE.

The theme of the Fall of the Angels can be traced to the very dawn of the Elizabethan age. The two currents we have observed, viz., the epical narratives and the *plaints* of woebegone Lucifer, in the course of time form one stream, which is not very materially modified by later affluents. Aelfric, indeed, in his treatment of the subject<sup>6</sup> seems to follow the *Gen.* poems;<sup>7</sup> yet when speaking of the devil, he also makes abundant use of the language of the *Plaints*. The *Wulfstan* homilies combine the epical type and the *plaint* type of the "Fall"

<sup>6</sup> De Vet. Test., ed. Grell. p. 2; Hexaemeron, ed. Norman, §§ 4, 10, 11; Hom. I:10f., 31, 172, 342f., 540.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hammerich, *l. c.*, 43 note.

story, pp. 8, 145. The *Cursor Mundi*<sup>8</sup> has a very circumstantial account of the Fall of Lucifer and his fellows. It seems almost certain that the author knew *Gen. B*; but he also speaks of the fallen angels as being condemned to dwell, some in earth, some in air, bearing great torment, 491ff., and introduces the new feature that it is Michael who rises to fight against the rebel and casts him out, 469ff. According to the *Cursor*, the distance Satan fell is, as "bede sais," 7700 years at 40 miles a day, 507ff. Turning to the religious drama, we find in the *York Mystery Plays*, edited by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, the Barkers' Play of "The Creation; and the Fall of Lucifer." In the first scene, Lucifer, being very glorious, grows proud, and immediately sinks into the abyss; the second scene presents the devil's "plaints" in hell; and in the third scene, God creates man to take the place left vacant by the apostate angels. To mention only one more instance, we find Sir David Lindsay handling our motive in lines 865ff. of "The Monarchie;" Lucifer, growing proud of his glory, would set his seat into the North and incurs God's ire. Many fall with him, of whom some are in hell, some in the sea, some in the earth, some in the air.

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<sup>8</sup>14.c., ed. Morris, ll. 411-510.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE FALL OF MAN.

#### A. A BRIEF OUTLINE OF POPE GREGORY'S DOCTRINE.

Gregory adopted the literal interpretation of the *Genesis* account (*Mor.* XXXI). Moved by envy (*Mor.* XXX. c. 1), the devil, by the lying tongue of the serpent, sought to deprive man of his immortality (*Mor.* IV. c. 9). He tempted our first parents to "gula," "vana gloria," "avaritia" (*Evang.* I. *Hom.* 16). In the act of sinning Gregory distinguished "suggestio," "delectatio," "consensus," "defensionis audacia" (*Mor.* IV. c. 27). Thus sin arose from Satan's deception (*Mor.* XXXIII. c. 25). Yet Adam's sin was voluntary, for he possessed the "liberum arbitrium" (*Mor.* III. c. 14; XVII. c. 30), and yet consented to pride (*Mor.* XIX. c. 1, 8; XXIX. c. 8; VIII. c. 32). Still man's fall was not so grievous as that of the angels, inasmuch as he was tempted.

Bede also has very much to say concerning the fall of man. Man's body was created out of the dust of the ground, but his soul "de nihilo," both on the sixth day of the world (*De Rerum Natura*, c. 2), "decima Kalendarum Aprilium die" (*De Temp. Rat.*, c. 66), March 23. As quite generally in Latin calendars,<sup>1</sup> Bede makes the 18th day of March the "dies primus saeculi," on the supposition that the world was created in spring, and that the vernal equinox, March 21, fell not on the first day of the world, but on the fourth, "quo luminaria sunt facta" (*De Temp. Rat.*, c. 6; *De Divisionibus Temp.*, c. 9). The parallel between Adam's fall and Christ's work of redemption serves to mark the chronology of Adam's stay in Paradise. Adam fell on the day of his creation in the sixth hour, the hour in which Christ and the penitent malefactor entered Paradise (Piper, *l. c.*, p. 9; Bede, *Hexameron*, I. ad Gen. 3).—In answer to the question why God permitted man to be tempted, whom he knew ready to yield to temptation, Bede, quoting Augustine, says that it would have been but little laudable had man remained good without being tempted; before he submitted to the tempter, a certain "elatio comprimenda" had preceded in Adam's mind; the devil came through the serpent, because he could come in no other guise than was permitted him (*Hexaem.* Lib. I, Migne 91.53). Adam was both mortal and immortal: mortal by nature; immortal by the grace of God, had he not sinned, but obeyed the commandment of God (*De Sex Dierum Creatione Liber*, Migne 93.217). Man is mortal, because God withdraws from him (*Hexaem.* I. Migne 91.48). It was not the case that there was any evil inherent in the forbidden tree; the evil consisted in man's despising the divine precept; thus man learnt the good of obedience, and the evil of disobedience, of pride.

<sup>1</sup> Piper, *Kalendarien*, p. 4.

contumacy, and perverse imitation of God (*Hexaem.* I, Migne 91.47). Satan, filled with envy (*I John* 3, Migne 93.102), used the serpent as his instrument, filling it as the vates of old was filled by a demon (*Gen.* 3, Migne 91.211). He approached man with three temptations, to "gula," "vana gloria," "avaritia" (*Matth.* 4, Migne 92.20). Guilt is laid on the man, because he sinned wittingly, preferring to offend with his wife to persevering in the obedience of God (*Aliquot Quaestionum Liber*, Migne 93.479). As a punishment of the sin of the protoplasts, their eyes were opened, i. e., the sensual nature awoke, hence they sought to cover their nakedness with fig leaves.<sup>2</sup> In the *Ascetica Dubia* (Migne 94.547) Adam is said to have lived in Paradise fifteen years, Eve fourteen. A quaint analysis of Adam's transgression is given, *ib.*, 556: "Haec sunt peccata Adae, quae et originalia sunt. Primum peccatum fuit superbia, quia dilexit eam in sua potestate plus quam Dei; secundum, sacrilegium, quia Deo non credidit; tertium, homicidium, quia semetipsum peccando occidit; quartum, fornicationem spiritualiter habuit, quia integritatem mentis corrupit; quintum, furtum, quia cibum prohibitum attigit; sextum, avaritia, quia plus quam debuit appetivit; septimum, gula, quia vetitum fructum comedit."

Numerous Scripture passages could be drawn on for this subject: *Gen.* 2; 3; *Wisd.* 10.1; *2 Cor.* 11.3; *Rev.* 12.9; 20.2; *Col.* 2.15; *Ro.* 16.20; *1 John* 3.8; *John* 8.44; *1 Tim.* 2.14; *Ecclus.* 10.13; etc.

Latin models, treating the Fall of Man, also were numerous. Ambrose treats of the Fall of Man in *De Paradiso Liber Unus* (Migne 14.275ff.) and has a homily *De primo Adam et secundo* (Migne 17.691), in which the two trees are contrasted,—a favorite subject. In the *Instructiones* of Commodian (Migne 5.227) we find a composition *De ligno vitae et mortis*, a verse to each letter of the alphabet, contrasting Adam and his tree with Christ and the tree of the Cross. Cf. Aldhelm's *De Malo Arbore. A Metrum in Genesis*, ascribed by some to Hilarius of Arles, treats of creation, paradise, the fall, its consequences, e. g., hail, tempests, wars, etc. (Migne 50.1287-1292). The *Commentariorum in Genesis Libri Tres* of Cl. M. Victor (Migne 61.937ff.) a poem describing paradise, the fall, etc., belongs here. Avitus is perhaps best known for his *De Initio Mundi, De Originali Peccato, De Sententia Dei* (Migne 59). Prudentius, *Hamartigenia* (Migne 59), and Juvencus, *Liber in Genesis*, c. 1-3 (Migne 19.345f.), also deserve mention.

## B. TREATMENT OF THE MOTIVE IN THE POETRY.

### I. THE LATIN POEMS OF ALDHELM AND ALCUIN.

Aldhelm and, later, Alcuin wrote a few verses on the fall of man. Gregory had found that Satan tempted Adam and Eve to "gula," "vana gloria," "avaritia." Aldhelm's conception is similar. He says the protoplast fell into the whirlpool of gluttony ("gastrimargia," *De Laudibus Virginitatis*, l. c., p. 11); again the pestiferous dragon gluttony, here perhaps identified with Satan, brings the first earth-dwellers to their fall (*ib.*, p. 12). As to covetousness, Aldhelm quotes St. Paul that it is the root of all evil (*De Octo Princ. Vitt.*, *ib.*, p. 207.7). Of vain glory he says: "Haec protoplastum pellexit fraude colonum" (*ib.*, p. 209.30). There is a marked poetic touch in the riddle in which he describes the leading facts of the "prisca ruina," viz., the first parents succumbing to

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Werner, *Beda der Ehrwuerdige*, p. 156.

the arts of the wicked one and accepting from the forbidden tree its "dulcia mala," as well as the return of blessedness by the expiatory death of the Lord of the world on the tree; it is a dream of the Holy Rood in embryo (*De Malo Arbore*, l. c., p. 260). For the idea A. was probably indebted to Ambrose or Commodian (see above). I append the poem from Giles:

Fausta fui primo mundi nascentis origo  
 Donec prostratus succumberet arte maligni:  
 Ex me tunc priscae processit causa ruinae,  
 Dulcia quae rudibus tradebam mala colonis.  
 En iterum mundo testor remeasse salutem,  
 Stipite de patulo dum penderet arbiter orbis,  
 Et poenas lueret soboles veneranda Tonantis.

The following verses are found among Alcuin's *Carmina* (Migne 101,737):

DE PECCATO EVAE.

Evam viperea vetitum decerpere pomum  
 Invidit arte parat, tentataque nescia fraudis,  
 Credidit infelix sacro [or socio?] peritura marito.

DE POENA PRIMORUM PARENTUM.

Pellibus accinctis peccati signa ferentes,  
 Poenarum famuli, linqunt felicia regna:  
 Semper amica plis, peccantes respuit, aula.

II. THE OLD ENGLISH POETRY.

The Old English poems on the Fall of Man fall into two groups:

1. THE EPICAL GROUP.

- i. *Gen. A* 169-234, 852-964;
- ii. *Gen. B* 338-851.

2. THE HOMILETICAL GROUP.

- i. *Gu. B* 791-850, 947f., 953-969;
- ii. *Phoen.* 393-423;
- iii. *Cri.* 1380-1419;
- iv. *Sat.* 410-421, 478-488;
- v. *Jul.* 494-505.

1. THE EPICAL GROUP.

*Gen. A.* 169-234 describes the creation of Eve, and Paradise. Except in the recital of the perfections of the first parents, 187-191, and their blissful abode, 206-215, the poet narrowly paraphrases the Bible. The story of the temptation and fall is missing. In ll.852-964, the consequences of the fall are portrayed in close connection with *Gen.* 3.8-24. Were the section that treated of the fall of man still extant, it would probably be found (to judge from what remains of the poem) to have been less a metrical homily of the type represented by *Gu.*, *Phoen.*, and *Cri.* than a poetical paraphrase similar to *Gen. B* and earlier Latin metrical stories of the fall of man, e. g., Juvenius, *Liber in Genesisim*, c.1-3.

In *Gen. B* 338-851, the story of the fall is told with epic breadth and dramatic force. The source, though much looked for, has not

been found. Sievers (*Der Heliand u. d. ags. Genesis*, p. 18-21) notes parallel touches in Avitus, *De Origine Mundi*, but (p. 22) concedes himself nonplussed for an exact Latin source. Hönncher, too, (*Anglia* 8.41-84) and Jovy (*Bonner Beitr. zur Anglistik*, Heft V) offer the Vulgate and nothing more. Hence the author of *Gen. B.*, though of course conversant with the traditional views on the great transgression, evidently produced his work, not as a direct translator or paraphrast, but as a poet. While the contents of the fragment are too familiar to be given again without apology, a few details claim our notice. Thus not Satan, but his emissary tempts the inhabitants of paradise, a device which already Sandras (*l. c.*, p. 67) traced to Gregory and Rabbinic lore. Ferrell (*l. c.*, p. 20) observes that the devil's minion equips himself like an A.-S. warrior. There is, of course, no ground for suspecting heathenism (as Ferrell does, *l. c.*, p. 20) in the manifestly Biblical touch of the fiend's twining himself around the tree of death in the guise of a serpent. It should be noted also that Adam does not surrender at last to Eve, as Merlin to Vivien, "half from love and half from weariness," as Brooke would have it (*l. c.*, p. 311), nor was it desire that caused Eve to stumble, but both erred in an apparent conflict of duties. The devil's messenger representing himself as God's envoy and corroborating his claim, as it seemed, by endowing Eve with superior power to hear and see, the woman first and at last her spouse were convinced that the fiend spoke the truth and, for fear of being disloyal to God, became so. The poet, it thus appears, selected the Teutonic conception of loyalty to account for the disloyalty of the first parents. Ferrell (*l. c.*, p. 39) speaks of this motive as one "to which Sievers (*l. c.*, p. 22) was the first to call attention." But already Sandras had done this (*l. c.*, p. 74).

## 2. THE HOMILETICAL GROUP.

The author of *Gu. B.* taking up a suggestion in his Latin source (Felix, *Vita sancti Guthlaci*, c. 5), introduces into his work a recital of the creation and fall of man, 791-850. Wanley (*Catal.* p. 281) mentions this section separately from *Gu.* proper and says it treats "de creatione hominis et lapsu ejus." Lefèvre (*Anglia* 6.228) mentions this section under "Erweiterungen der quelle gegenüber".

In *Phoen.* 393-423, the narrative of the Fall is found as an introduction to the allegorical improvement of the Phoenix story, and is no more closely related to the main story than in *Gu.*

In *Cri.* 1380-1419, Christ at the Judgment confronts the unjust with the story of their sin including the Fall.

In *Sat.* 410-421, 478-488, Eve and Christ refer to the Fall, after the latter has appeared in hell to deliver the saints.

In *Jul.* 494-505, the devil at the heroine's bidding narrates his wicked doings on earth and among other things confesses that he deceived Adam and Eve.

### a. Thought Analysis.

#### i. Comparison of *Cri.*, *Gu.*, *Phoen.*

The sequence of thoughts is the same in these poems.

1. Praise of the perfections of man and his surroundings in the unfallen state.

*Cri.* 1380-1392: God made man with his hands of clay, gave him a living soul and endowed him with intellect, honoring him above all other creatures. In appearance man was the image of God, who gave

him an abundance of good things and dominion over all nature. Dark woe was unknown, man was placed in the fair earth to enjoy the rich luxuriance of *neorxnawong*.

*Gu.* 791-813: It is well known that God, the almighty King, formed first man of the purest earth. That was the beginning of human kind, a beautiful creation, fair and pleasant. Adam our father was first made, by the grace of God, in *neorxnawong*. There was no want, no loss of life or joy or plenty, no death; but there man might live without any fault, and long enjoy the new delights. There in that radiant home he need never expect life and felicity to end; but after a time both body and soul were to enter the fairer bliss of heaven, and there dwell without death in the presence of God in pleasures forevermore.

*Phoen.* 393-398: We have heard that the Almighty made man and woman and placed them in the fairest region on earth, called by the children of men *neorxnawong*, where there was no lack of anything that promoted happiness. (The entire first part of the poem, esp. ll.1-84, contains a picture of the land of innocence, the sunny landscape first clouded by man's transgression.)

2. The condition of the continuance of this blissful state.

*Cri.* 1393-6 implies that the Creator had given a commandment, to keep which meant life.

*Gu.* 814-816 gives the condition, "if they would keep the Holy One's word and commandment".

*Phoen.* 398-400: So long as they kept the word of the Eternal and Holy One. That the commandment was to refrain from eating a certain fruit only comes out later in *Gu.* and *Phoen.*

3. The temptation by the devil.

*Cri.* 1394-1396, 1405; *Gu.* 818, 822; *Phoen.* 400-2, 413-5.

4. Man's disobedience and fall.

*Cri.* 1393-1405: Man would not do God's bidding, but broke His commandment, listening to his enemy rather than to his Creator; though he had received good things in abundance, he yet through pride was not content therewith, but yearned to possess power equal to that of God.

*Gu.* and *Phoen.* merely mention the disobedience and the outward act, looking more to the consequences.

*Gu.* 816-822: They wearied too soon of doing the Ruler's will. The man's wife took the forbidden fruit, plucking it from the tree contrary to the word of the King of glory, and gave her husband the death-bearing fruit.

*Phoen.* 402-404: They both unwisely against the grace of God took the forbidden apple.

5. The punishment.

*Cri.* 1404-1414: Then man was far removed from that joy. Mournful in mind, he needs must give up the beauty of *neorxnawong*, both bad and sad be shorn of all excellence and joy, and then driven into the dark world, where he since endured many hardships, pain and sore distress, black death; and after his departure must fall headlong to hell. There was none to succor.

*Gu.* 822-850: With the first sin death entered the world, Paradise was lost to Adam and Eve and all their offspring, and the devil reigned throughout the earth. That was a bitter drink that Eve, young bride, presented to Adam.

*Phoen.* 404-420: Then came misery to them after that sorry feast, and to their descendants likewise, their sons and daughters, God's anger was upon them, dire sorrow. Their children since pay the penalty, because they took the food contrary to God's word. Hence through the serpent's envy they must give up the joy of their home,

and sojourn in this valley of death in sadder abode. The better life was concealed, and the holy plain was for many years fast enclosed.

6. Hope.

*Cri.* 1415ff.: It grieved Christ that his handiwork should remain in the power of the fiends. He became man, etc.

*Gu.* 850ff.: Guthlac and others nevertheless lived as saints though subject to death.

*Phoen.* 420-423: The King of glory, by His coming to meet the saints, again revealed the joy of men; He is the comforter of the sorrowful, their only hope.

ii. *Sat.* 410-421, 478-488.

With these three poems should be compared *Sat.* 410-421, 478-488, which will be found to differ only in slight details and the sequence of ideas. Christ by his power first created Adam and his noble spouse. He set in *neorxnawong* a tree whose branches bore apples. The first parents ate the bright fruit, as the wicked one, the attendant of hell, bade them. The terrible one gave them both wicked thoughts. They disregarded the Savior's word, eating the terrible thing. For this cause they received the burning pit, 478-488. Eve's description of the fall is virtually the same. She says that she one time offended the eternal Lord, when she and Adam took the apples through the serpent's envy, as they should never have done. The terrible one taught them that they would own glory, a holy home, heaven. They believed the words of the accursed one, and with their hands took of the holy tree the bright fruit. They were bitterly requited when they were compelled to suffer in that hot den many thousand years, 410-421. Eve beseeches the Lord to lead her and her kindred up out of that place, 422-425, and Christ declares that it grieved him to see His handiwork suffering prison fetters. Neither man nor angel was able to succor, hence He became man, etc., 489ff.

iii. Summary.

These four versions obviously represent a type of the "Fall" story distinct from that of *Gen. B.* They are neither far removed from, nor paraphrases of, the Scripture narrative. In all, the delights of *neorxnawong* are detailed with evident relish. In all, the disobedient heart, led by the tempter's guile, is briefly but emphatically sketched, while the convenient story of the two trees and the serpent's interview with the woman are barely alluded to. In all, God's visit to the garden, the hiding of Adam and Eve through fear, the curses, are wanting, while the loss of Eden and the reign of death and the devil are described at large. In all, finally, the hope is held out of salvation through Christ. Certain differences of course, there are. Thus, *Cri.* 1380ff., the description of Paradise is nearer to the Bible than in the other cases. *Gu.* 794f., man is formed out of the purest earth. *Sat.* 481ff., the story of the tree is most plainly told. *Phoen.* 400, 401, 413 bring out distinctly the idea of the serpent's envy, mentioned also *Sat.* 457. *Cri.* 1400ff. man's desire for godlikeness is described. *Gu.* 840ff., Eve presents to Adam a bitter drink. Still these are minor differences, and I repeat that in all the versions the same ideas occur in much the same order and rounded off in the same way. The treatment is lyric and didactic. Clearly the purpose is not a picturesque portrayal of the Fall such as that of *Gen. B.*

## b. Verbal Correspondences.

A more detailed comparison of these sections reveals very close verbal correspondences, surprisingly close between *Gu. B.* and *Phoen.* In these the poet in each case refers to common report, and in the narrative the thoughts are the same, their sequence is the same, often the words are the same.

<i>Gu.</i> 791f.: daet is wide cud wera cneorissum, folcum ge- fraege.	<i>Phoen.</i> 393: Habbap we geascad.
" 792-5: baette frymþa god þone aerestan aelda cynnes of þaere claenestan, cyning aelmihtig, fol- dan geworhte.	" 393-7: þaet se aelmihtiga worhte wer and wif þurh his wundra sped and hi þa gesette on þone selestan foldan sceata, þone fira bearn nemnad neorxna wong.
" 799: on neorxnawong .....	" 397f.: þaer him naenges waes eades onsyn.
" 799f.: þaer him naenges waes willan onsyn.	

*Phoen.* then says no more of the plenty and bliss of Paradise, but *Gu.* continues to 1.813, enlarging on its pleasures, the absence of death, the *leohtan ham*, where man might live until body and soul together should go to heaven to be ever in the Lord's presence.

The two come together again when speaking of the condition under which this blissful state was to be continued.

<i>Gu.</i> 814-6: gif hy halges word healdan woldun beorht in breostum and his bebodu laestan aefnan on edle. Hy to aer aþreat, þaet hy waldendes willan laesten.	<i>Phoen.</i> 398-400: þenden eces word, halges hleoporwilde heal- dan woldan on þam niwan gefean.
" 805: niwra gefeana .....	" 400: niwan gefean.
" 818-822: .....	" 400-404.
" 822-850: .....	" 404-420.
" 820: ofer word godes.....	" 403: ofer est godes.
" 798: þurh est godes .....	" " " " "
" 819: blede forbodene and of beame ahneop .....	" 402: beames blede.
" 826: hyra bearnum swa, eaf- erum aefter .....	" 404: byrgdon forbodene.
" 833f.: ongyldan godscylgde gyrn.	" 405f.: hyra eaferum swa sarlic symbel, sunum and dohtrum.
" 822: gyfl .....	" 410: gyrne onguldon.
	" 410: gyfl.

With *Gu. B.* and *Phoen.* I next compare *Cri.*:

<i>Cri.</i> 1390: " da ic þe on þa faegran foldan gesette .....	<i>Phoen.</i> 395: and hi þa gesette on þone selestan foldan sceata.
" 1391: to neotenne neorxna- wonges .....	<i>Gu.</i> 804f.: longe, neotan niwra gefeana.

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| " 1393f.: da du lifes word laestan noldes ac min bibod braece. | " 814ff.<br><i>Phoen.</i> 398f.:                          |
| " 1407: agiefan geomormod . . . .                              | " 412: geomormode ofgiefan.                               |
| " 1409f.: bidrifen wurde on þas þeostran worulde . . . . .     | <i>Gu.</i> 828f.: scofene wurdon on gewinworuld.          |
| " 1415: da mec ongon hreowan, þaet min hondgeweorc, etc.       | <i>Sat.</i> 489: þa me gereaw, þaet min handgeweorc, etc. |

Even the *Jul.* passage, though short, shows connection:

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|--|---|
| <i>Cri.</i> 1392: beorhtne blaedwelan..  | <i>Jul.</i> 503: beorhtne boldwelan.                                  |
| <i>Phoen.</i> 404f.: þaer him bitter weard yrmþu aefter aete and hyra eaferum swa. | " 503f.: þaet him baem geweward yrmþu to ealdre and hyra eaferum swa. |

### c. Results.

The correspondences between these poems both in thought and phrase compel the conclusion that they are related. They do not seem to be mutually dependent, but to rest on the same source, namely some very familiar story of the Fall. This probably was not the Scripture narrative alone, although that was well known. Lectons from *Genesis*, including the story of the Fall, were appointed for January already in the *Comes* of Jerome (Migne 30.490). The source, in all probability, was a well-known vernacular homily on the Fall, or Bible story with comment, that was taught to the catechumens, recited before the congregation, and otherwise told. At all events a poem on the subject must have existed before either *Gu. B.* or the *Phoen.* was written. The author of *Phoen.* quoted from this poem ll.393-423 to prepare for the allegory. *Gu.* 791-850 is so loosely connected with the main story, that already Wanley (see above) treated it as a separate poem. There was a hint in the Latin *Vita*, c. 5, for the poet to elaborate. But that hint was amply improved, *Gu.* 953-969. If indeed ll.791-850 are the work of the author of *Gu. B.* I can account for them only in this way: The author had read the *Vita*, c. 5, and composed among other things ll.953-969, and while his mind was still dwelling on the thought of man's inevitable death, the wages of his sin, he expanded this thought into ll.791-850, using once more the figure of the cup Eve gave to Adam. But it is far more likely that he bethought himself of an old homily or hymn, and, when he began to write down his musings, commenced with that, put into it at ll.837-844, a touch of his own from 953ff., and shaped the close so as to lead over to the *Gu.* theme.

### C. PERSISTENCE OF THE MOTIVE.

The motive of the Fall of Man is, of course, kept alive in the O. E. homilists (Cf. Aelfric, *De Vet. Test.*, p. 3; *Hexaem.* § 17; *Hom.* I, 16, 18, 176;—*Bl. Hom.*, p. 23;—Wulfstan, p. 9, 69). *The Cursor Mundi* describes Satan's scheme to ruin man. The devil is envious, because Adam is to occupy the vacant place in heaven, and sends a messenger, who chooses the adder to assail Eve and through her Adam, ll. 711-754. When Adam had left Eve alone a little while, the tempter approached her; she yields, Adam likewise, and the fiend rejoices, ll. 755-822. In the *Towneley Play* on "The Creation" Lucifer, after the creation of Adam and Eve, speaks of the tenth order that fell from heaven through pride, whose place man is to take, etc. The play on "The Fall of Man" is lost. Sir David Lindsay, too, *l. c.*, ll. 857-1186 speaks "of the miserabyll transgressioun of Adam."

## CHAPTER III.

### SATAN, THE FALLEN ARCHANGEL.

#### A. A BRIEF OUTLINE OF GREGORY'S DOCTRINE.

The Satan dogma was practically fixed in the writings of Pope Gregory. He calls the evil one Behemoth, Leviathan, devil, Satan, the old enemy, the malign spirit, the apostate angel, a stupid animal, the wicked dragon, a swift bird. The devil was the first created, most eminent of angels (*Evang. II. Hom. 34; Mor. XXXII. c. 23*). Through pride he loses reverent fear, aims at independence and dominion for himself, and thus loses all his former dignity (*Mor. XXI. c. 2; XXXIV. c. 21*). He can not rise from his darkness to the light of repentance, and can not hope to be forgiven (*Mor. IV. c. 4; XXXII. c. 23*). Yet his angelic nature towers above that of men (*Mor. XXXV. c. 20*), he has lost the blessedness, but not the greatness of his nature (*Mor. XXIV. c. 20; XXXII. c. 12, 15*). He is the originator of all wickedness among angels and men (*Evang. II. Hom. 16*). He takes pleasure in tempting men by lying promises (*Mor. IV. c. 9*). He is the murderer from the beginning (*Evang. II. Hom. 25*). Only the elect, since the death of Christ, can resist him by humility, patience, and penitence (*Mor. IV. c. 5*). He exercises his power under God's permission only (*Mor. XXXII. c. 24; XIV. c. 38*).

Gregory distinguishes three periods of Satan's dominion. Before Christ he had a rightful claim upon all men, they all followed him freely, being bound in sin and guilt (*Mor. II. c. 22*). God from just cause gave this dominion to the wicked one (*Mor. II. c. 10*).

The second period begins with Christ. Through Him the devil loses his right in man and his power over him (*Mor. I. c. 24, 26; III. c. 15, 16*). God curbs his power (*Mor. XXXII. c. 15*). He can no longer rule over saints as his possession, but can only persecute them outwardly (*Mor. XVII. c. 32*). But he still holds the hearts of unbelievers. To this extent he is bound.

In the third period, at the end of the world, he will be loosed again and return as Antichrist to attack men with all his fury (*Mor. IV. c. 9*). Antichrist is a man of the tribe of Dan (*Mor. XXXI. c. 24*), in whom the devil fully dwells. He is thus the counterpart of the incarnate Logos. He is therefore "reprobis, perditus, damnatus homo, quem in fine mundi apostata angelus assumet" (*Mor. XIII. c. 10*). He is the greatest of sinners, the personification of sin, the vessel of perdition (*Mor. XIV. c. 21*). He will appear in pride and power and perform many miracles; but men will not be able to refute him, because he will come in the guise of holiness (*Mor. XV. c. 38; XXXII. c. 15*). Wicked men he will set to rule over the world, especially over all those who are of a carnal mind (*Mor. XV. c. 61*). Taking possession of the souls of the reprobate, he will rage with exquisite cruelty against the

bodies of the saints (*Mor.* XXXII. c. 15), and even Enoch and Elias, returning in their mortal bodies, will now meet death (*Mor.* XIV. c. 23). The reprobate will be led to believe that they are serving God (*Mor.* XXXIV. c. 2). Antichrist receives this great power on account of men's sins, whereby they serve him (*Mor.* XXV. c. 16). The Church at that time will seem to be almost dead; yet this exaltation of the devil is only for a season (*Mor.* XII. c. 43; XXXII. c. 15). At the advent of the Judge he will fall (*Mor.* XXX. c. 3). The Lord will slay him by the breath of his mouth with the eternal death, and darkness will be his habitation forever (*Mor.* XIV. c. 23; XXXII. c. 15). Satan's first punishment was the darkness of error, the last the darkness and torment of hell (*Mor.* IV. c. 5). His punishment increases as his wickedness has increased (*Mor.* XXIX. c. 8). He will be committed to eternal oblivion and torment (*Mor.* IV. c. 4, 5). Together with only his angels and reprobate men he goes down, his power is completely broken (*Mor.* IV. c. 8, 9). Then will he and all men recognize the superiority of God (*Mor.* XXXIII. c. 20).

Aldhelm (*l. c.*, pp. 144, 210) and Bede (*Luke* 14, Migne 92.511) agree with Gregory in asserting that during the first period of his history the devil was the ruler of the earth. But Christ destroyed his kingdom and power (Aldh., *l. c.*, p. 144). By the death of Christ Satan forfeited his claim on man (Pope Boniface in Bede, *H. E.* II. 11). In His descensus Christ liberated the saints, bound Satan, and curtailed his influence. The devil now has less power over Christians. Through confession in Baptism little children are delivered from the devil (Bede, *Matth.* 15, Migne 92.76), who desires to fell all, but can only tempt and persecute outwardly (Bede, *Matth.* 3, Migne 92.19). Like an atrocious wolf he rages against the fold of Christ (Aldh., *l. c.*, pp. 135, 149, 181). God suffers Christians to be tempted that they may be strengthened through trials (Bede, *Matth.* 27, Migne 92.122). But the hearts of unbelievers still belong to Satan. The heathen idolaters of England were in the power of Satan (Bede, *H. E.* II. 1, 10, 20). His demons, being half material, attack men, or, working through the forces of nature, raise storms, etc. (Bede, *H. E.* I. 17, 19). They fight with the good angels about human souls (*ib.*, V. 13).

#### B. THE SATAN OF THE OLD ENGLISH POETRY.

The contributions of Grimm (*D. M. c.* "Teufel"), Bode (*Keningar*), Sandras (*Caedmon*), Bouterwek (*Caedmon*), and of the Vilmar school, Kent (*Andreas and Elene*), Rau (*Exodus*), Ferrell (*Genesis*), and Price (*Cynewulf*), present a fairly definite general outline of the A.-S. Satan. It is found, however, that there is a strongly marked difference between the so-called Caedmonian devil and that of Cynewulf and the Plaints. The former is every way a lordly figure, the author of the wars in heaven, the originator of evil, the successful tempter of man, Lucifer (though not so styled in either *Gen. A or B*), beautiful, majestic, defiant. The latter is Satan, a hideous, hateful, pitiable wretch, who, being bound by Christ, with his *gnornende cynn* bewails his lot or, under divine permission, tempts men. It seems clear that the O. E. poets were familiar with Gregory's three periods in Satan's history. *Gen. A* and *B* show the devil at the very beginning of his mundane existence, when the lines of primeval glory are but just fading from his countenance, a highly idealised being; while the fiend of Cynewulf and the Plaints is the devil in his second (Gregorian) period, the devil of popular fancy.

## I. THE REBEL ANGEL.

In *Gen. A* and *B* the celestial eminence of the highest angel is depicted, inasmuch as it became the means of his fall. He is the peerless archangel, who in strength of intellect and transcendent beauty eclipses all the heavenly host. In his pride and presumption (*Gen. 66*, 263, 272, 338), boasting of his own strength (265ff.) and that of his adherents (284-6), he becomes a rebel (36, 52, 67, 64, 320, 442, 57, 306, 314, etc.), whereupon God humbles him (305, 309, 345, 609, 647). Yet he retains much power in hell. In *Gen. A* he is not even bound. He is defeated, but with spirit undaunted he returns to the attack. If he can but thwart God's purpose with man, he will be contented (363ff., 750ff.). He thus becomes the enemy of God and man (489, 496, 592, 601, 711, 68, 488, 101, 631, 686, 547, 725, 763, 606, 694, 688). His method is deceit (496, 588, 601, 630, 647, 699, 632, 443). It is true the punishment of the devil is described in both *Gen. A* and *B* (39, 51, 69, 74, 90, 312, 76); but many of the most characteristic epithets of the other poems are missing here. At all events the emphasis lies on Satan's strength rather than on his suffering. His messenger *hæfde hyge strangne*, 447, and, having betrayed man, goes on his way rejoicing, 726ff.

## II. THE DEVIL IN BONDS.

In the *Plaints* and by *Cynewulf* the punishment of the angels is described, their fall is only alluded to in a few random epithets (*An. 1294*; *Gu. 1044*; *Pride: Jul. 284*; *Sal. 450*; *Prayer IV. 55*; the *Rebellion: Jul. 269*; *Gu. 265*; *Cri. 564*; *An. 1195*;—*An. 1172*; *El. 951*; *Gu. 635*;—*Gu. 181, 204*; *Sat. 191, 269, 280, 340, 719*;—*An. 613, 1297*; *Whale 37*; *Jul. 455*; *Gu. 269, 595, 883*;—*Jul. 351*;—*Sat. 97*; *An. 1188*; *Beo. 811*; *Phoen. 595*; *An. 1346*). In his first period, "feond rixade geond mid-dangearð", *Gu. 836f.*; but after the harrowing of hell by Christ (cf. *Panth. 58-61*) he is the dethroned monarch, deprived of power, *El. 295-7*, and of every right, *El. 909*, and shut up in hell, *El. 920*, while his companions are a *gnornende cynn*, *Sat. 134*. The devil and his band are together in torments, in hell, in darkness (*El. 956, 900*; *An. 1298*; *Jul. 629*;—*An. 1171*;—*An. 1342*; *Sal. 126*; *Jul. 246*;—*Jul. 322, 437, 544*; *Cri. 731*;—*Jul. 457, 615*;—*Sat. 631*;—*Cri. 364*; *Jul. 157*; *Byrht. 180*;—*Sat. 133*;—*Gu. 1042*;—*Sat. 485*;—*Jul. 558*; *Gu. 697*;—*Jul. 419*;—*Gu. 668*). They are the poor vanquished ones, hopeless, joyless, mournful, care-worn, sick and weary (*Gu. 623, 878*; *Sat. 159*;—*Gu. 364, 549*; *Jul. 529, 536*; *Sat. 189*;—*Sat. 394*;—*Jul. 457, 615*; *Sat. 120*;—*Jul. 616, 633*; *Sat. 87, 120*; *Gu. 884*;—*Gu. 181*; *Sat. 57*; *Sat. 73, 448, 579, 713*; *Phoen. 442*; *Gu. 547*; *Jul. 430*;—*Gu. 268, 310, 376, 408, 490, 658, 876*;—*Jul. 418*;—*Gu. 226*; *Prayer IV. 57*; *Sat. 126, 630, 731*; *Gu. 422*; *Cri. 363*; *Sat. 162, 343, 449*; *Sat. 669, 711*; *Jul. 429*; *An. 615, 1169*; *Gu. 183*;—*El. 762*;—*Sat. 275*;—*Gu. 203, 651*; *Sat. 134*).

As to his character, Satan is above all and absolutely the sinful one (*El. 955*; 943; 939; 957; 954;—*Sal. 128*; *Sat. 33*; *Gu. 175*;—*Sal. 148*;—*Whale 72*; 39; *Phoen. 595*;—*Cri. 259*; *Sat. 484*; 682; 721;—*Gu. 522*; *Sat. 160*;—*Gu. 646*; *Sat. 52*; *Cri. 1533*; *Sal. 171*;—*Sat. 65*;—*Gu. 881*;—*Jul. 244*; 445;—*Sat. 110, 128, 156, 180, 186*; *Cri. 1535*; *Jul. 211*); the wrathful and malicious one (*Cri. 16, 185, 595, 1535*; *Sal. 112*; *Gu. 530*; *An. 613, 1297*;—*Gu. 529*;—621; 176; 377;—*Cri. 762*;—*Jul. 628*; *Cri. 781, 734*; *Gu. 346, 541*; *Gu. 519*); the greedy one (*Sal. 145*; *Sat. 32, 192*). For this reason he is regarded as the enemy of mankind (*El. 207*; *Panth. 58*; *An. 20, 49, etc.*; 1341; *Phoen. 441*; *Sal. 172*;—*Cri. 567*; *Gu. 112, 174, 189, 336, 361, 446*; *Phoen. 401, 449*;—*Jul. 317,*

523, 630;—*Sal.* 87;—*Jul.* 151, 245;—243, 345; 555; 348); the originator of evil for mankind (*El.* 771; *Jul.* 362, 347; *El.* 838; *Sat.* 374; *Panth.* 58; *El.* 957; *An.* 1170; *Jul.* 346; *El.* 941; *An.* 1313; *Jul.* 546). Hence he becomes the thief and the murderer of the human race (*Aldh.* 135.20; 181.22; 210.30; 65.37;—*Prayer* IV. 14;—*Sat.* 57, 72, 633; *Sal.* 116, 128; *Cri.* 775, 1396; *An.* 1291; *El.* 761; *Gu.* 98;—*Panth.* 33;—*An.* 1346;—*El.* 956;—*Cri.* 364; *Jul.* 157; *Byrht.* 180; *Cri.* 273;—*Gu.* 622, 881;—*Jul.* 211;—*Cri.* 761, 1396; *Gu.* 375;—*Harrow.* 88, 97; *Beo.* 1743; *Gu.* 58, 400; *Cri.* 264, 1394; *Sat.* 468; *Sal.* 131; *An.* 616, 1702; 1293;—*Cri.* 264;—*Whale* 41;—*Sat.* 640;—*Beo.* 177 (cf. *Matth.* 10.28; *Hebr.* 2.14);—*Gu.* 622; *An.* 1170; *El.* 941; *An.* 1313; *Jul.* 546;—*Phoen.* 441; *Gu.* 496; 505; *An.* 1314; *Gu.* 867; *Cri.* 257). As regards his work, Satan is the tempter (*Jul.* 557; *Cri.* 763; *Gu.* 877, 176). His method is to deceive by lying (*Sat.* 727; *El.* 898; *Whale* 71; *Cri.* 1395; *Whale* 24; *An.* 1294; *Gu.* 1044; 58; *Jul.* 421, 351; *Whale* 37; *Jul.* 455; *Gu.* 269, 595, 883; *An.* 613, 1297).

It is chiefly through the demons that the devil works. He sends them out to do mischief on earth and meets them with hot displeasure, if they return unsuccessful (*Jul.* 321ff.). They are mainly instrumental in turning men from God to idolatry, and hence "*omnes dii gentium daemonia*", "sindon ealle haedenu godu hildedeoful", *Ps.* 95.5.

Strobl, *Z. f. d. A.* 31.59, seems to have found the solution of *Gnom. Eron.* 133: "Woden worhte weos, wuldor alwalda rume roderas", in a mistranslation of *Ps.* 95.5: "*Omnes dii gentium daemonia, dominus autem coelos fecit*". Thus Woden (*Gnom. Eron.* 133) and Wyrd (*Sal.* 442-6) become devil's kin. Devils appear in *An.* and *Jul.* to save the devil worship; cf. *Beo.* 175ff.

The demons are regarded either as fallen angels or as the wicked brood sprung from the intercourse of angels with "the daughters of men" *Gen.* 6.1-4. The daughters of men, traditionally of Cain's kin, bore fearful giants. The notion is derived from the *Book of Enoch*, c. 6ff. cf. Bouterwek, (*l. c.*, p. CXII); Hönncher (*Anglia* 8.60ff.). The demons that appear to Andrew, to Juliana, to Cyriacus in *El.*, are fallen angels. In the *Vita*, Guthlac calls the demons "semen Cain," c. 2. Grendel is of Cain's race, *Beo.* 107, 1262ff. Bouterwek says the *Beo.* poet wanted to represent Grendel and his mother as "teufliche Wesen" (*ib.*, CX). These demons are represented as Satan's sons or as his subjects. The devil in *Jul.* calls the devil his father, 321, 522, and speaks of his brothers, 312; the devil is also his *frea*, 328; *ealdor*, 329, who sends his sons or subjects out to do evil. He is *deofa cempa*, *Cri.* 563; *feonda forespreca*, *Cri.* 733; *Gu.* 236; *feonda aldor*, *Sat.* 76, 323, 373. They are his *folgad*, *El.* 903; his *pegnas*, e. g., *Sal.* 117; *gesidas*, *Cri.* 1522; *gingran*, *Sat.* 191; *hired*, *Sat.* 376. The devil's messenger is *deofes strael*, *An.* 1189 (cf. *Z. f. d. A.* 30.185). As these demons are like Satan in nature and identified with him in his wicked work, so are they also described in the same terms (Bouterwek, *l. c.*, CX).<sup>1</sup> And since evil men were regarded as devil's thanes, *An.* 43, devil's children, *An.* 1328, devil's limbs (*Bede, Luke* 4, *Migne* 92.368), it was only natural that leading features of the master should be transferred also to human miscreants, as Foster, in his study of *Judith*, p. 86, has pointed out for Helisaeus (*Jul.*) and Holofernes (*Jud.*). Gregory had also taught that the evil, unclean spirits were to roam between heaven and earth (*Mor.* II, c. 47). This vagabond life receives expression *Sat.* 112; 262ff.; and particularly *Gu.* 176-196. The

<sup>1</sup> See on Grendel and his mother, Karl Schemann, *Die Synonyma im Beowulfsliede*, pp. 7-12, 44-58.

wretched spirits have their miserable abode in the mountain and moor, and long for an end of their existence.

The outward appearance of Satan and his demons harmonizes well with their unhappy lot. They are no longer the shimmering ranks of heaven, but black, uncanny, ugly things. Satan is often called a *gast*, a spirit, but he has nevertheless a material body. Early belief had endowed the angels with a refined ethereal body. That of the *Jul. Satan* is so tangible that Juliana is able to clutch him, *Jul.* 284ff. Whatever his form, however, it is brutish and monstrous. He is called "*se aglaeca*," *Whale* 52; *Jul.* 268; 319; *earm aglaeca*, *Phoen.* 442; *Gu.* 547; *Jul.* 430; *Sat.* 73, 448, 579, 713; *atol aglaeca*, *An.* 1312; *Sat.* 161; *El.* 901. The term *aglaeca* was also applied to Grendel, e. g., *Beo.* 159, 592; and the dragon, *Beo.* 2534, 2905, neither of whom is a spirit purely. Satan, then, is a monster, or rather a monstrosity, whose body is not confined within rigid outline, but able to melt into various fantastic shapes.<sup>2</sup> He is therefore called a phantom, *scin*, *Sat.* 72; *Sal.* 101; *Whale* 31; *dyrne gast*, *Beo.* 1357; *dyrne deofles boda*, *Gen.* 490.<sup>3</sup> The same aerial nature is characterized by the epithets *lacende feond*, *El.* 899; and *lyftlacende*, *Jul.* 281; *Gu.* 117; *flygereow*, *Gu.* 320. He is able to rise and hover in air. This peculiarity is ascribed to his possessing the *federhoma* of angels, *Gen.* 417, 670; *Sal.* 151. *Gu.* 877-884, there is a noisy host of demons, who appear as men, or as serpents spewing venom, declaring they will destroy the hermit's dwelling with their feet, *Gu.* 256. Felix, the author of the prose *Vita*, speaks of their vast heads with lean faces, horse teeth, big lips, shaggy ears, dirty beards, sour and truculent looks, stinking mouths, and raucous voices, of their narrow chests, rough thighs, etc. (*Vita*, c. 2). His "guttare flammivome" reminds one of *Sat.* 78, 128, 162, where, also, the devil is a fire-breathing demon.—The demons that pester Guthlac are *hwes dinotene*, *Gu.* 872, of beauty bereft, cf. *wann and witeleas*, *An.* 1169. Their appearance was horrid and loathsome, inspiring both terror and disgust. This loathsomeness of form is designated by the epithet *atol* as applied to Satan. "*Atol is þin onseon*," his angels say to him, *Sat.* 61, cf. 681, 728; He is *se atola*, *Sat.* 383, 413, 448, 487, 718; *atol deofol*, *Cri.* 1279; *atol aglaeca*, *Sat.* 161; *An.* 1312; *El.* 901; *se atola gast*, *An.* 1296; *Gu.* 87; *Sat.* 51.—Like Hephaestus and perhaps Loki (Grimm, *D. M.* I.299) the devil and his angels are lame (*An.* 1171; *Gu.* 884). He is tired (*An.* 1169; *Sat.* 35f.). Like the giants (Grimm, *D. M.* II.941, 956) he is old (*Sat.* 34; *Panth.* 58; *El.* 207; *Phoen.* 401, 449; *Gu.* 112, 174, 189, 336, 361, 446; *Harrow.* 89; *Cri.* 567). He is swarthy-skinned (*Sat.* 105; *Sat.* 52; *Gu.* 597, 623; *Cri.* 269, 898; *Sal.* 149, 486; *Sat.* 71, 721; 196; *Cri.* 897).—Enough has been said to show the corporeity of Satan, monstrous, mutable, loathsome. His appearance in the illustrations of the Caedmon MS. is only a modification of the human form. The wings connect him with the angels, the tail degrades him to the brutes.<sup>4</sup>

### III. SATAN AS ANTICHRIST.

The third and last period of Satan's history is reached when he returns as Antichrist; but aside from a few incidental remarks of Aldhelm (e. g., *l. c.*, p. 143.34), A.-S. poetry had not as yet taken

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Prose *Sal.* and *Saturn*, ed. Kemble, pp. 144-148.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vilmar, *Deutsche Altertuemer im Heland*, pp. 8ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Henry Ellis, *Account of Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Scripture History*, an illuminated MS. of the Xth century, etc. London, 1833.

up this subject. The homilies, however, esp. the Wulfstan group, amply illustrate the growth of this theme.

#### C. PERSISTENCE OF THE CONCEPTION.

The Satan of Gregory reappears in Aelfric's devil, who snapped at the bait of Christ's humanity and bit into the hook of His divinity, being bound at Christ's descent and deprived of all that believe in God, *Hom.* I. 216. He appears, e. g., as an immense Ethiop, with sharp visage and ample beard. His locks hang to his ankles, his eyes scatter fiery sparks, sulphureous flame stands in his mouth, he is frightfully feather-clad, and his hands are bound to his back. St. Bartholomew bids this evil spirit go to the waste, where no bird flies, no husbandman ploughs, nor voice of man sounds, *Hom.* I. 464-6. The *Blickling* and the *Wulfstan* groups of homilies voice the same views. In the former, *Hom.* 7, there is a *gnornung* of the evil spirits in hell after the descent of Christ, *Bl. H.*, pp. 85-7. The story of Antichrist, well-known to Aelfric and *Bl. H.*, is most fully told in the Wulfstan homilies. *Adrian and Ritheus* (ed. Kemble, p. 200) says that Enoch and Elias are sad and weep in paradise, because they must return to earth and suffer death against Antichrist. The *Cursor Mundi* treats of Antichrist's coming in the seventh age of the world, pp. 1258ff.

## CHAPTER IV.

### FALLEN MAN.

#### A. A BRIEF OUTLINE OF GREGORY'S DOCTRINE.

Through man's disobedience the devil acquired a right over him (*Mor.* II. c. 22). Since man once yielded to Satan, the latter now draws man with him even though he resist; he now almost kills by violence whom once he overcame by lust (*Mor.* XV. c. 15). Man is now in subjection to the body, whose peace and immortality was lost (*Mor.* IX. c. 5). Out of the fleshy lusts sins proceed (*Mor.* XXVIII. c. 19; *Evang.* I. *Hom.* 2; *Ezech.* I. *Hom.* 4.) Man's free will inclines to sin on account of "luxuria" and "superbia" (*Mor.* XXVI. c. 17), or "superbia" and "gloria inanis" (*Mor.* XIV. c. 53). From pride, however, the chief root of evil, spring the seven deadly sins, "inanis gloria," "invidia," "ira," "tristitia," "avaritia," "ventris ingluviæ," "luxuria," each with a brood of similar sins, and all easily growing out of each other (*Mor.* XXXI. c. 45).

Gregory locates sin both in the soul and in the body; in the soul, since Adam died as to the soul and we through him (*Lab.* VI. *Epist.* 14; VII. *Epist.* 34); in the body, for the flesh (either the bodily nature of man or the fleshy desires) resists the spirit; man experiences in himself "carnis contumeliam" (*Mor.* XVIII. c. 44). This explains the statement of Gregory that four things work together to bring about sin, viz., the devil, the flesh, the spirit, and pride (*Mor.* IV. c. 27). Sin is committed in the heart in a fourfold manner: from the devil comes the "suggestio," from the flesh the "delectatio," from the spirit the "consensus," and from pride the "defensionis audacia"; for it is the common sin of mankind to sin secretly, to deny the offence, and to increase it by defending it (*Ezech.* II. *Hom.* 9). In Gregory's answers to the questions of Augustine (*Bede, H. E.* I. 27.9), also in *Cura Past.*, ed Westhoff, c. 29, only "suggestio," "delectatio," and "consensus" are mentioned, the first through the devil, the second through the flesh, the third through the spirit. Where only "suggestio" is, there is not yet sin; but in it already lies the "semen peccati," in the "delectatio" the "nutrimentum," in the "consensus" the "perfectio."

As to the heredity of man's moral corruption Gregory thought that man could transmit only such qualities as he himself possessed. Through pride man lost the image of God, therefore that which is begotten can only be impure (*Mor.* XI. c. 52; XXXII. c. 14). In his present corrupt flesh, therefore, man has temptation in himself derived from his origin. For this reason only Christ could be free from original sin, since he was conceived without carnal lust and not born of unclean seed (*Mor.* XVIII. c. 52; *Ezech.* II. *Hom.* 4). Hence the

holiness of the celibate life. Although matrimony in itself is not sinful, yet there is no conjugal embrace without guilt (*Lib. XI. Ep. 64*).

Original sin Gregory regards as loss of freedom, i. e., of that condition wherein man was free from sin (*Mor. XV. c. 15*). Free will, however, the faculty to will the good or the evil, is not altogether destroyed, it is only weakened (*Mor. XXI. c. 7*). Gregory calls man only "aegrotus," he ever speaks of an "infirmitas" merely of the human nature through the fall (*Mor. XVIII. c. 45*).

#### B. MOTIVES DERIVED FROM THIS DOCTRINE.

Already the very large percentage of O. E. words denoting sin or sinful states or acts presuppose a deep sense of man's moral perversity, which may also be inferred from a goodly number of figurative expressions relating to things evil. In accordance with *John 8.44* sinners are termed the devil's children (*Mod. 47*; cf. *An. 1328*; *Cri. 1566*; *Jud. 61*). Evil men are the devil's thanes (*An. 43*). Over against "the members of Christ" (*1 Cor. 6.15*) they are the devil's limbs (Cf. M. Förster, *Herrig's Archiv. 91.180*). Life being regarded as a sea voyage, sin is likened to the perils besetting such a voyage (*Cri. 851-867*; cf. Cook's ed., p. 167). The sinful conditions under which men live on earth are a prison or bondage (*Cri. 25ff. 68, 117*; *El. 1243*). Fallen mankind is a house lying waste beneath the roof (*Cri. 13f.*). The security of sinners is depicted *Cri. 871-875*, where Cook refers to *1 Thess. 5.2*; *2 Pet. 3.10*. Sin is sown and grows (*An. 767f.*; cf. the parable of the tares, *Matth. 13.24ff.*). The sinful heart is a hard heart (*Cri. 641, 1506*; *Jul. 315*), blind, enveloped with a mist of error, steeped in ignorance and folly (*An. 814*; *Cri. 1127, 1188*;—*Metr. XXII.33*; *XXIII.5*; *Cri. 29, 344, 640*; *El. 310f.*; *Whale 70*; *Dan. 22*; *Gen. 30, 700, 982, 1682, 1937*); it is sick (*Jul. 65*; cf. *Cri. 1330*). Darkness as a synonym of sin is familiar from Scripture (e. g., *Matth. 6.23*; *Luke 11.34*; *1.79*; *Col. 1.13*; *Acts 26.18*; *1 John 2.9*) and frequent in the O. E. poetry (*Gen. 685*; *Cri. 116-118*; *Sat. 371*; *Jul. 313*; *467f.*; *505*; *460*). On the terms for light and darkness and the development of their meanings see Gummere, *A.-S. Metaphor. pp. 54-62*. Again, sin is viewed as rust (*Cri. 1321*), as a burden (*Cri. 1300*; *Gen. 1293*; *Whale 74*; cf. *Matth. 11.28*), as enmity, a feud, against God (*Cri. 368f.*; *1527*), as a drink followed by death (*Gu. 840-842*; *953-966*). The figure most frequently used and perhaps hardly felt as such is that of a spot or blemish (*Sat. 609*; *Cri. 1017, 1310, 1316*; *333*; *1007, 1093, 1098, etc.*; *Gen. 723*; *1294*; *2681*; cf. *Jud. 59*; *Cri. 1232, 1484*; *Jud. 76*; *Cri. 1231*; *1483*; *El. 768*; *Leas. 16*; *Jul. 571*; *Rood 13*; *Sat. 156*; *180*; *186*; *Cri. 1001, 1633*; *Beo. 1001*; *Jul. 59*; *Whale 66*; *Cri. 830, 1539*; *Beo. 978*; *An. 1599*; *El. 1242*; *Sat. 128*; *Cri. 1083*).—For the devil's assaults there are numerous figures, the most beautiful being perhaps that found *Jul. 393-409*, where the soul is conceived as a fortress. We know "the fiery darts of the wicked" from *Eph. 6.16*. These arrowshafts whirl through many an O. E. poem (*Beo. 1745*; *Cri. 761-765*; *779-781*; *Mod. 27ff.*; *Jul. 384*; *An. 1189*). The devil is the poisonous reptile (*Panth. 58*). Besides darts and poison, the net of temptation is mentioned (*An. 943*); Boniface asks the English clergy to pray for his mission, that he may be freed "a laqueo venantis Satanae," (*H. & S. III.313*). Familiar terms for the devil and his assistants are the compounds of "smith" (*An. 917*; *1220*; *Gu. 176*; *877*). Even as Christ is the Good Shepherd, so Satan is shepherd of sin (*Beo. 750*); but he is also the wolf making inroads into the flock (*Cri. 256*; cf. *Wulfstan 191.6-17*).

## I. MOTIVES DRAWN FROM THE INFLUENCE OF THE DEVIL.

Without rising quite to the dignity of a theme, unregenerate mankind's subjection to the devil, *feondum þeowian*, *Gen.* 488, yet serves as a background to set off in bright relief the saintly glory of Judith, Elene, Juliana, Andreas. Holofernes is *se deofulcunda*, *Jud.* 61 and *se haedena hund*, *Jud.* 110. It was the old enemy that led the Jews to crucify the Lord, *El.* 207ff., and kept them in unbelief, *El.* 1118. Idolatry in *Jul.* is *deofolgielð*, 52, 150; the devil himself appears, to goad on the persecutors, 619ff. The Mermedonians as a people, sorcerers and cannibals, are the devil's thanes and children, in *An.*

The poem on the *Whale* is an allegorical representation of Satan's artful allurements. Seafaring men come upon the fierce and dangerous swimmer, his body is like a rough stone. Taking it for an island, the sailors land on it. Then the weary seamen encamp without suspecting danger; desirous of rest they build a fire. Then he dives down, drawing both ship and shipmen after him. Thus the devil deceives men through secret craft, enticing them to wickedness, so that they seek help from the fiends and finally live in security with the faithless one. When he knows them fast bound in his chain, he becomes the murderer, *feorgbona*, 41, of all that do his bidding. Suddenly, *heolophelme beþeah*, he sinks with them to the misty gloom of the bottomless pit.—Or, again, when he is hungry, he opens his mouth, and out of it a sweet fragrance proceeds. Enticed by it, other fish swim into his mouth, and when that is filled, he snaps his jaws together. Thus the devil beguiles men with carnal pleasures, until he has closed hell-doors behind them, and they have never a hope to return thence. Therefore let us resist the devil and seek the Lord in time, that we may live in glory with Him world without end.

If with Ebert (*Anglia* 6.246) we regard the bird following the *Whale* in the O. E. Physiologus as the *Partridge*, we have in it another type of the devil in his role of thief of souls, whom, however, he ultimately loses, in this case, through Christ's mercy.

*Gu. A* and *B*, celebrating the trials and triumphs of the fen-country hermit, describe with vivid realism, only less volubly minute than the Latin *Vita*, the appearance as well as the shifts and maneuvers of the goblins that seek to accomplish the downfall of the saint. Guthlac has resolved to forsake the world, "the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life," 135ff. (1 *John* 2.16). It is the purpose of the fiends to induce him to return to all these, hence they ply his soul with many temptations, 160. They threaten his life, 161ff.; they promise him their favor, 251ff. They lift him in air and show him the pleasures indulged in by men, 383ff. They carry him to the door of hell and threaten him with its punishments, 529ff. All to no purpose.

In *Jul.* occurs the allegory of man-soul besieged, like a fortress, by the evil spirit. The son of the devil that visits Juliana in her prison cell, urging her to offer sacrifices to the heathen gods, has the appearance of an angel of light, *Jul.* 244, and represents himself as God's messenger, 261ff. Receiving counsel from above, the virgin seizes him, and he now appears as an infernal imp and confesses his many misdemeanors, 281ff. He has instigated the soldier to open Christ's side, Herod to behead John, Simon to oppose the apostles, Nero to kill Peter and Paul, Pilate to crucify Christ, Egias to slay Andrew, 289-315. By way of apology, he adds that his father, the king of the hell-folk, being bent on mischief even more than himself, sends his children out to pervert men's minds, and if they fail in causing any of the faithful to stumble, he is exceedingly wroth and has them

bound and soundly cudgelled, 321ff. He admits that he had come to turn Juliana from salvation, 352f. Wherever he finds the mind steadfast, he arouses wanton pride by inspiring fallacious, delusive thoughts ("suggestio"); he makes sinful lusts appear attractive, until the mind obeys his teaching ("delectatio"); he sets it so on fire with sins that, all ablaze, it will no longer tarry in the house of prayer for love of vice, but do the devil's will ("consensus"), 362ff. If he finds any well equipped with the spiritual armor (*Eph.* 6.11ff.), he is compelled to withdraw, and receives his punishment, 382ff. Then he selects a less courageous soldier whom to hinder in his warfare (*2 Tim.* 2.4) and to arouse with his leaven. Although the man sets out to do good, the devil carefully scrutinizes all his victim's thoughts, how the mind is fortified within, how its defences are erected. He opens the rampart-gate by a bold assault *purh teonan*, 402. When a breach is made in the tower, an entrance gained, he first with a flight of arrows sends into the heart bitter thoughts by way of the various desires of the mind ("suggestio"), so that it seems best to the man himself to commit transgressions and carnal lusts contrary to the love of God ("delectatio"). The devil being his willing teacher, man turns from Christ's law ("consensus"), his mind flounders into the slough of sin under the devil's power, who is more concerned about the destruction of the soul than of the body, 393ff. After this (Gregorian) description of his infernal strategy, so singularly ineffectual in his present predicament, the imp bewails his ill-fortune, but is compelled by Juliana to continue the tale of his trespasses. He caused the death of many in divers ways, 468ff., wheresoever he found unwary ones not protected by the sign of the cross, 491. He deceived Adam and Eve, 500; kindled strife on earth, 507; and did so much mischief that he could not relate it all, though he sat a summer-long day, 495. At last the virgin releases him, and he departs, 553ff.

Last not least, the theme of a good and evil angel struggling for possession of the human soul, a belief common to Jew and Moslem, Greek and Roman, found expression also in the O. E. poetry. The belief in the guardian angel rests chiefly on such passages as *Ps.* 34.7; 90.11; *Matth.* 18.10; *Hebr.* 1.14. The earliest occurrence of the theme in the Church seems to be in the *Shepherd* of Hermas, 6 Mandate, 2 (J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, p. 428). This theme is slightly touched by Bede (*H. E. V.* 13), but there good and evil spirits contend rather for the soul that is about to die than for the man still active. The motive, however, runs all through *Gu. A.* being especially pronounced *Gu.* 85-111. Two watchers guard Guthlac and struggle with each other, the Lord's angel and the loathsome spirit. The one shows him the vanity of earthly things and praises the everlasting possession, with the souls of saints, of glory and pleasures in heaven. The other instigates him to seek by night the company of evil-doers, and audaciously to strive for the world, as those wretches do who regard not man's life to obtain the spoil. Thus they exhort him from both sides, until the Lord makes an end of the conflict in favor of the good angel. The fiend is put to flight. Since then the spirit of comfort lived in Guthlac. It is in this manner that the poet accounts for Guthlac's reckless early life, 79ff.

The same theme appears *Sal.* 485ff. Two angels accompany man, one brighter than gold, the other blacker than hell, whence he comes. The one teaches him to love God's mercy and the counsel of God's children; the other incites him to wickedness, showing him the evil record of wretched men, thereby whetting his mind, leading and alluring him throughout the land ("suggestio"). Thus the fiend attacks on *fewer gecynd*, 497, until the man turns to the worse and does the

will of him who tempts him to do wrong. Then the good angel departs weeping and says: "I could not force from his heart the stone of steel."

## II. MOTIVES DRAWN FROM THE WEAKNESS OF THE FLESH.

The belief that the soul is governed by the body, the angel as it were riding on the beast, is everywhere apparent. Thus *Ps.* 50 (Cott.) 14: we read: "*paette godferhte gyllt gefraemman þurh lichaman lene gedohtas.*" Most striking expression this motive finds in *The Address of the Lost Soul to the Body*: The body was born through the flesh and sin, 44f. It is the *cordfact*, 8, that sins. The soul is sent from God to steady the body, 45f. Sin is therefore inevitable. "As the shield to the warrior, the spear to the robber, the bracelet to the bride, the book to the student, the house! to the saint, so is sin to the heathen," *Gnom. Exon.* 132. Under these circumstances it remains for the Christian to watch and pray and fight. Therefore *Bi Manna Mode* warns against pride and drunkenness, by calling attention to the dire results of pride and the happy reward of the opposite temper. *Faeder Larcwidas* warns especially against *wambe fylle*, from which proceed all manner of vices, such as drunkenness, fornication, gluttony, sloth. These are expelled by fasting and temperance, etc. I would call attention to a pretty little composition in the *Instructiones* of Commodian (Migne 5.249), entitled *Bellum Cottidianum*, as the presumptive source of *Mod.* and *Larcwidas*:

Belligerare quaeris, stulte, quasi bella quiescant.  
 Ex protoplasto die pugnatur in fine vobis.  
 Libido praecipitat, bellum est, pugna cum illo.  
 Luxuria suadet, abutere, bellum vicisti.  
 Vino copioso parce, ne per illum [illud?] aberres.  
 Maledicti retine linguam, unde Dominum adoras.  
 Compescere furorem: pacificum redde te cunctis.  
 Oppressos miseris deprimere cave minores.  
 Tutorem accomoda tantum, et noli nocere.  
 Tramite vos recto ducite sincero prae zelo.  
 In tuis divitiis comen te redde pusillis.  
 De labore tuo dona, nudum vesti: sic vinces.  
 Insidias nulli facias, qui Deo deservis.  
 Aspice principium, unde perit invidus hostis.  
 Non sum ego doctor, sed lex docet ipsa clamando.  
 Verba geris tanta vane, qui sub uno momento  
 Martyrium quaeris otiosus tollere Christo.

Here, however, we are approaching the domain of the capital sins, or the principal vices, which are usually ranged in lists of eight in O. E. These lists, it should be observed, were useful from at least two different points of view. As denominations of the grosser forms of vice, they were properly the subject of ecclesiastical discipline and accordingly the fountain head of a vast Penitential Literature.<sup>1</sup> But these sins came also to be looked upon as elemental dispositions of the heart, as the roots of other sins, and thus really grew to be psychological types.<sup>2</sup> It was this latter view which, inviting allegorical im-

<sup>1</sup> See H. & S. III; H. C. Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 vols. Phila. Lea Bros. & Co. 1896.

<sup>2</sup> See Thomas B. Strong, *Christian Ethics*. Bampton Lectures, 1895; note to Lecture V.

provement, received poetical treatment. No less a man than Aldhelm was kindled by this theme, even as it had kindled Cassian (*Collationes patrum*) and Gregory (*Moralia*) and Prudentius (*Hamar-tigenia* and *Psychomachia*) before. In Aldhelm's picture the Vices attack, and the Virtues defend the soul. Both are, of course, traits or qualities of the heart, pride alone reminding one of the devil. Aldhelm fairly exhausts his opulent vocabulary in describing, from sovereign to sutler, the barbarous legions of sin, who incessantly attack the virgin cohorts with showers of darts. The latter don the spiritual armor and bear the ensign of the cross against the hostile ranks. There is charge and counter-charge, attack and retreat. Above the fray there tower the importunate dragon of gluttony, who must be destroyed by abstinence and frugality, and the truculent serpent pride, who is cast out by godly fear. The eager host of Pharaoh, destroyed in the Red Sea, symbolized gluttony. The seven nations of Canaan were types of the other seven vices. This is Aldhelm's treatment of the theme in his prose work, *De Laudibus Virginitatis*, l. c., pp. 1ff. The entire work, it may be observed, grows out of a corollary to the doctrine of original sin, viz., insistence on celibacy, since human beings cannot cohabit without sin.—The metrical treatise *De Octo Principalibus Vitiis*, (l. c. pp. 203ff.) really belongs to the longer work,<sup>3</sup> *De Laudibus Virginum* (l. c., pp. 135ff.). The poetical handling of the theme is far more systematic and elaborate, but also less poetical than the prose. In the hexameters the portrayal of the conflict lacks vividness, there is little for the eye of fancy. At the head of the virtues stands "Justitia." Then the vices are considered in due order. Each is pictured as the parent of a numerous progeny of misdemeanors more or less heinous. Lastly the virgins are advised how, by employing the proper means, each vice may in turn be remedied and overcome. It is all as clear as a crystal, but shows only occasional flashes of poetical fire.

#### C. PERSISTENCE OF THE MOTIVES.

Good and evil angels of men are mentioned by Aelfric, *Hom.* I.66f. 170; cf. *Bl. H.*, p. 209. Angels are sad when the devil is victorious. *Hali Meidenhad*, E. E. T. S. 18.17; cf. the "aungel freende" and the "aungil foo," *Mirror of the Periods of Man's Life*, E. E. T. S. 24.58ff.—Virginity dwells in a high tower, and Satan attacks it. *Hali Meidenhad*, l. c., 18.5, 15. The devil ever seeks to take the virgin's "castel." *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, E. E. T. S. 23.227. In *The Castell of Perseverance*, "humanum genus" is assailed by "malus angelus" and defended by "bonus angelus" (Pollard, *English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes*, pp. 64ff.).—The principal vices continue to be regarded as roots of sin and to be treated with the appropriate remedies. For a list of the works on these vices see Skeat's *Notes to Piers the Plowman*, E. E. T. S. 67.102.

<sup>3</sup> See Boenhoff, Aldhelm von Malmesbury, p. 112.

## GENERAL SUMMARY.

Although the O. E. Church adopted Augustinianism at the Council of Hatfield, A. D. 680, Semi-Pelagianism nevertheless continued to be the doctrine of its theologians. The doctrine of sin, modified by numerous conceptions derived, chiefly through Gregory the Great, from apocalyptic and apocryphal sources, was very prolific of poetical motives.

In the treatment of the FALL OF THE ANGELS two groups of poems are to be distinguished:

1. The epical group, including *Gen. A, Mod.*, *Gen. B*, lays stress on the pride and rebellion of Lucifer. The scene is heaven.
2. The semi-dramatic group, including Aldhelm's *De Lucifero*, the *Sat.* poems, *Gu.* 529-656, and incidental allusions to the Fall in *An., El., Cri., Jul., Prayer IV*, lays stress on the punishment of Satan, for his rebellion, after the *descensus of Christ*. The scene is hell.

The original "Plaint of Lucifer" was probably written by Aldhelm on the basis of *Gen. A* 1ff.

The oldest redaction of this poem extant is probably *Sat.* 1-224; next to it comes *Gu.* 529-656. The correspondences between these two sections and the exhortation closing *Sat.* 224 show that *Sat.* 1-224 is a separate poem.

*Sat.* does not consist of odds and ends left of an original "Heiland," as Groschopp claims, but is a fairly orderly collection of "Plaints of Lucifer." *Sat.* 1-365 consists of six Plaints, viz., 1) 1-33, 190-193, 34-74, 194-224; 2) 225-315; 3) 315-365; 4) 75-125; 5) 126-159; 6) 160-189; which received their present order in the manuscript probably for the purpose of dramatic recitation.

*Sat.* 366-664 did not originally belong to the cycle of "Plaints," being a treatise on the second half of the second Article of the Creed; but after numerous additions to the *decensus* topic had made that section by far the longest and most important one, the remaining sections were regarded as an exhortation, and thus the whole poem, or fragment of a poem, found its way into the manuscript as a parallel to the three longest poems in *Sat.* 1-365.

*Sat.* 665-733 is a fragment describing the dolours of Satan and breaking off in what seems the beginning of another Plaint of the demons.

Thus *Sat.* consists of eight "Plaints of Lucifer."

The vogue of the "Plaints" may be estimated, in part, from their influence on the poetry of Cynewulf and his school, as seen in *An., El., Cri., Jul.*; on *Prayer IV*; on *Jud.* 112-121; and perhaps on *Gen. B* 736-750.

THE FALL OF MAN was a topic familiar from the works of Gregory, Bede, Avitus, and other theological writers.

Aside from *Gen. A*, which was probably of the same type as *Gen. B* (and that was a foreign product), the O. E. poetry on the Fall of Man

is didactic and homiletic rather than descriptive, in *Gu.*, *Phoen.*, *Cri.*, *Sat.*

These four "Fall" sections are very loosely connected with the poems in which they are found, especially *Gu.* and *Phoen.* The sequence of thoughts is practically the same in all, and verbal correspondences abound. Between *Gu.* and *Phoen.* the correspondences in thought and phrase are so overwhelmingly strong as to make them appear as almost the same poem. The inference is that underlying these sections there was a very familiar metrical homily on the Fall of Man.

In the life of SATAN, the O. E. theologians and poets, as Gregory had done, distinguished three periods: 1) before Christ; 2) after Christ's descent into hell; 3) the Antichrist period. *Gen. A* and *Gen. B* show the devil at the very beginning of his mundane existence, though fallen, still majestic. Cynewulf and the "Plaints" portray the devil in bonds, in his second period, emphasizing especially his malignity, his hideousness, his sufferings. Satan's third period is not treated in the poetry, but later described in the homilies, etc., on Antichrist.

The views obtaining as to the spiritual condition of FALLEN MAN have not only left their impress on the O. E. vocabulary, but have also furnished a number of extremely beautiful motives.

The first group consists of those drawn from the influence and power of the devil. The poem on the *Whale* is an allegorical representation of Satan's artful allurements. That on the *Partridge* seems to be of a similar type. In *Gu. A* and *Gu. B* goblins seek to tempt a saint to return to a life of worldliness. In *Jul.*, occurs the allegory of man-soul besieged, like a fortress, by the evil spirit. The theme of a good and an evil angel contending for a human soul finds expression in *Gu.* 85-111 and *Sat.* 485ff.

The second group consists of the motives drawn from the weakness of the flesh. Here belong *The Address of a Lost Soul to Its Body*, *Mod.*, and *Larcwidas*, the two latter resting probably on Commodian's *Bellum Cotidianum*. The most noteworthy examples of this motive, however, are Aldhelm's pictures of the conflict of the Virtues and Vices.

In conclusion, I believe that the majority of these motives existed in the form of short stories or homilies, which became a popular possession and received metrical treatment. Repeated from generation to generation, they were altered and expanded in their transmission, sometimes embodied wholly or in part in larger compositions, yet always remaining the property of the people and surviving in the Miracle Play and Morality, until they were superseded by new themes in the dawn of the Renaissance and the Reformation.