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THE "LEGACY" of the "REMNANT": OLD ENGLISH *LAF* and the JUNIUS CYCLE

BY

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A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

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Department of English

University of Manitoba

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ABSTRACT

The "remnant" has been a signifier of survival in literature since its earliest record. It speaks to the fundamental issue of continuance in a world where existence is always threatened, and posterity always a concern. In scriptural narrative, the "remnant" recurs as a motif describing "what is left" after a judgment by God. Through a process of redaction, translation and exegesis, the idea acquires messianic and eschatological connotations; survival becomes Salvation. The study of the "remnant" has focused on Near Eastern epic and biblical literatures. Little attention has yet been given to epics of the western tradition. The present study seeks to add to the scholarship of the "remnant" by demonstrating a theological usage of the motif at the very beginning of English epic, in the poems collected in Oxford, Bodleian Junius 11. The four poems in this codex, *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Daniel* and *Christ and Satan*, together comprise an epic of salvation history which seems to reflect the "remnant" idea in its Christian revision, and also in its liturgical celebration in the Easter Vigil. This distinguishes it from its usage in *Beowulf*, where the "remnant" recurs as a topos of doom. To substantiate these claims for the codex, this study first traces the theological changes associated with the "remnant" motif in scripture and liturgy, asking ultimately: are we dealing with the same idea? It then attempts to establish a semantic norm for OE *laf* ("remnant", "legacy"), asking ultimately: are we dealing with the same word, or meaning of a word? The study attempts to show that the Anglo-Saxon version of salvation history is another vernacular translation of scripture deserving of attention. Like the Targums and the Septuagint, the Junius codex uses the "remnant" motif to transform Pentateuchal history into providential narrative. This narrative is similar to medieval mystery "cycles" and classical epic "cycles": each poem is a discrete work, but it has a larger significance as part of a larger story. The "remnant" is a unifying element in this story. The Junius codex is part of its theological legacy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate this dissertation to the memory of my father:

> He was the mildest of men and the gentlest,
> Kindest to his people, and most worthy of fame.

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INTRODUCTION

At line 1668 of *Beowulf*, the carved hilt of an *eald laf* ("old remnant") – itself a "remnant" of a "remnant" – tells the ancient apocryphal story of the descendants of Cain, a *fyrngewin* ("origin-conflict") in which a remnant of life survives the Great Flood to reappear in monstrous form. The inscription on the sword-hilt is an invitation to the reader to join Hrothgar in interpreting an obscure text. For this reader it has been an invitation to focus more specifically on the one word which denotes both the ground for the runic figures, and the tale they represent: the *laf* (glossed variously as "remnant", "what is left behind after a calamity", "survivor", "legacy", "heirloom", "sword") is an interesting and recurring motif in "what is left" extant of Old English epic, and one that is as yet incompletely documented.

As early as 1885, Albert Cook noted a Virgilian "poetical idiom" in the genitive usage of Old English *laf* in *Beowulf*, the *Phoenix*, and the poems of the Junius codex. Wilhelm Bode in 1886 and Hertha Marquardt half a century later each gave the expression the status of kenning. More recently, Robert Hanning has argued that as a "poetic emblem", the *laf* motif is an ambivalent testament to both the fragility and the perdurance of heroic civilization:

> The memories attached to the *laf* are rarely neutral. . . .By its very presence
> the *laf* . . . creates responses which may reaffirm the values embodied by
> the artifact, thereby validating its heirloom status in a vital and continuous
> civilization. But responses to the *laf*, or to the situation in which it exists
> and functions, may . . . give the *laf* its other meaning, making of it a
> survivor, a testimony to life's transitoriness . . . because of its now
> fragmentary state. (4-5)

Allen Frantzen observes a similar ambivalence in the *Beowulf*-poet's use of *laf*. He argues that by drawing attention to the sword first as a text of origins and later as a weapon of destruction, the poet succeeds in holding origins and ends in balance (184).

This unique metaphorical condensation of past and future resonance opens up a space in the narrative, a digressive pause which functions both to invoke history, and at the same time, to renew and redirect narrative drive. In *Beowulf*, the *laf*'s coupling of origins and ends serves to direct each retrospective or prospective "digression" to the same inescapable end: vengeance and extinction. In the Junius poems, on the other hand, the word consistently connotes "what is left behind *to regenerate*". The *laf* here suggests not the inevitability of destruction, but the promise of continuance.

Early in this century, Ladislaus Mittner argued that this new connotation for the *laf* is evidence of Christian influence upon Old English poetic diction. He described a shift in meaning from the "hostile function" of the weapon as treasure to the "ascetic function" of the weapon as survivor (79). It is not the diction *per se*, however, but the context of the *laf* which is responsible for any connotative differences. Indeed, the wide referential range of *laf* evidenced in the variety of meanings listed by glossaries can be as misleading as Mittner's conceptual leap, since the glossary entries imply that there is a figurative development in meaning. But aside from the use of *laf* as a simplex for "sword", where the assumed metaphor is assumed dead, the primary denotation "what is left, remnant" is in most instances still very much present and primary. The added connotative associations which find their way into glossaries and translations can be traced to a poet's choice of combinations and collocations, and ultimately to his thematic use of the word within the poem.

Carolyn Brady has demonstrated that the *laf* compounds, combinations, and circumlocutions in *Beowulf* require attention to context for full appreciation of their meaning. She argues that the poet sometimes wished to describe an object metaphorically rather than simply to denote it (82-84), and to describe it in terms of the background

knowledge he expected from his audience (109). Accordingly, it is only "analysis *in context*, the immediate context, and any additional context in which the word or a closely related appellation stands within the same poem (80)", which can determine the poet's intended meaning or effect.

Mittner's word-study has remained unchallenged and undeveloped. As he does not investigate the differing semantic contexts of the *laf* in Old English, he is unable to provide any meaningful arguments in support of a new connotation for the word. His perception of a "Christian coloring" in the case of the Junius poems is nevertheless sound, and merits the sort of detailed contextual investigation which Brady has given the heroic contexts of the *laf*-motif in Beowulf. The purpose of this present study is to perform such an analysis of the motif's theological contexts in the most explicitly Christian codex, Ms. Junius 11. The four poems in this codex, *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, and *Christ and Satan* together comprise a narration of salvation history in which the *laf* occurs in what appears to be a new context, that of the biblical "holy remnant".

The "holy remnant" is an Old Testament notion which appears frequently as a topos in scriptural narrative to describe the "what is left" (that is, the survivors) of a catastrophe, usually a military defeat or a judgment by God. The biblical idea is itself an eschatological re-interpretation of a more ancient topos of doom through which the prophets explain the perdurance of the "chosen people". In its Christian revision, the topos becomes typological, making symbolic connections between the chronologically disconnected past, present, and future chosen "remnants" saved by God throughout sacred history. During the course of this development, the idea of a "remnant" becomes a figure for election and salvation, and the idea of a "chosen people" narrows to include only those conforming to the teachings of *the* "Remnant", Christ.

The typology of the "remnant" is an essential element of sacramental theology. The yearly ritual task of the *electi* of the church is to commemorate and thereby participate in the salvation figured by each "remnant" in the great moments of sacred

history: Noah from the Flood, Isaac from the Sacrifice, the Israelites from the Red Sea, the Three Children from the Furnace, Christ from Hell, and "by conformation with Christ", the Christian from the waters of baptism (Danielou 1956 78). That the Junius codex reproduces such a sequence of celebrated figures and events is a feature of the codex that has been noted and/or discussed by many in recent considerations of the poems. This present study will build upon these observations and arguments, most notably upon the insight that the theological unity of the codex gives it the overall effect of an "epic" or a *Heilsgeschichte* (J. R. Hall 1976; Garde). The "remnant" motif is a small but essential element of both this theological and this narrative unity. Its recurrence in the codex serves to link the poems into a continuous, if episodic, narrative of sacred history. Because each segment of this history is a complete heroic epic in its own right, however, I propose here that the "epic cycle" is more apt and useful an analogy for the codex.

Through typological treatment of the "remnant" in this "cycle" of poems, the *laf* emerges as a "poetic emblem" for human faith rather than prowess, eternal life rather than strife, permanence and promise rather than transience and instability. In *Beowulf*, each *laf*, whether warrior or weapon, is a "remnant" of war which survives (like the kin of Cain) only to perpetuate further conflict. In the Junius poems, human and artifact are noticeably conflated: the human survivors *are* the treasure, and the legacy to the future. In this way, the "remnant" motif works in the Junius poems as it does in scripture, to "bridge the abyss between the eschatology of doom and the eschatology of salvation" (Hasel 1972 85), thereby resolving the essential *fyrngewinn* in the heroic ethos and re-configuring the shape of the sacred story. This new narrative linearity represents a change in philosophical perspective, and serves as an indication of cultural transvaluation. The *laf* is a small but important linguistic signifier of such a shift.

The demonstration of theological and narrative coherence in the Junius codex goes a long way towards establishing a context within which the modern reader may better situate and appreciate the individual poems. Comparison of a key element to this

context – the "remnant" – with the rest of the Old English corpus provides a literary and linguistic background to the same end. The present study of the Junius codex will in this way add to the recent (and only) book-length study of the poems by Paul Remley, by providing one response to Remley's challenge that "the Junius manuscript offers verse without context" (1996 1).

The following is a brief outline of this study:

Chapter I briefly traces the history of the idea of the "remnant" from its beginnings in Old Testament historical narrative, through its deployment as an admonitory, messianic and eschatological motif by the prophets, to its re-interpretation as an apocalyptic signifier of salvation by St. Paul and the church fathers, and finally to its place in the liturgy.

Chapter II examines the semantic range of *laf* in Old English by considering the word's usage, its etymological history, and its Indo-European analogues. The purpose of this exercise is to establish a range of both denotative and connotative associations for the word against which to determine the full range of its meanings in the Junius codex.

Chapter III examines the context of *laf* and its compounds in each of the Old Testament poems comprising *Liber* I of the Junius codex in order to suggest a typological connotative force for the word.

Chapter IV considers a biblical and a liturgical source for the didactic and parenetic character of the Junius poems, both singly and in combination with one another. Arguments for the unity of the codex are adduced in order to validate the conception of the collection of poems as a "cycle". Finally, the chapter considers *Christ and Satan* as a celebration of the "Remnant", and a fitting closure to the poems' rehearsal of salvation history.

Chapter V (Conclusion): The semantic gap between "what is left behind" and "legacy" is a matter of perspective. The semantic gap between "what is left" and "heirloom" is a matter of value. By analyzing the attributes and associations which a poet

adds to the characters and objects which he designates as *laf*'s, this study is able to conclude that the "remnant" in the Junius poems signifies something beyond what it signifies in secular heroic poetry, and that the recurring motif of the "remnant" in the Junius codex is instrumental in transforming a collection of discrete poems into an "epic cycle" of sacred history. Using the secular epic as a point of departure, the Conclusion will compare the retrospective doom of *Beowulf* to the teleological promise of the Junius cycle. In the former, it is the "legacy" of weapons or treasure which is highly valued; in the Christian poems, although the battle-dress is still present in the diction, the treasured "legacy" is human faith in God.

CHAPTER I

THE THEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE "REMNANT"

i. The "Remnant" in the Old Testament

Introduction

The idea of the "remnant" in the Hebrew scriptures is central and comprehensive enough to be considered a 'doctrine' by many biblical scholars. As a motif, its narrative force derives from an imperfect balance in the covenantal formula of obedience and faith. God's plan is perfect and his faith is constant, but mankind is repeatedly falling short of the ideal: Israel is unable to remain faithful to the covenants by which she is uniquely favored as the people of God. As a result of this radical imbalance in the relationship, the history of Israel becomes a dialectic progress of fall and recovery, exile and return, the positive and negative elements in this dynamic reflecting the notions of divine mercy and wrath which form the theological foundations of the story. Election is the cornerstone of the theology, and the metaphor used repeatedly to express it is, paradoxically, catastrophe. Israel is punished for its infidelity by an agent of destruction; God elects a "remnant" of the people to be spared and chastened, thereby ensuring the perpetuity of both his people and his plan. The "remnant" is thus a key signifier of election and promise. It gives connotations of divine presence and providence to a narrative that is otherwise mere chronicle.

Because of its ability to express both destruction and salvation, despair and hope, the "remnant" motif makes the events of this narrative susceptible to re-interpretation. In order to determine as closely as possible what perspective a later writer may attribute to both the motif and the events, it is necessary to separate the connotations of the "remnant" in the primary narrative from those of later biblical writings. Accordingly, the following historical survey of the "remnant" idea and its lexical background has a

somewhat different focus from other similar reviews of the motif. It attempts to document more precisely how the changing narrative context of the "remnant" reveals the different theological perspectives of the writers – ancient and modern – who adapt the motif to their own ends. The "remnant" is central to the constitutive and distinctive mix of historiography and eschatology through which writers as diverse as the Deuteronomists, the Septuagint translators, St. Paul, and Anglo-Saxon poets have shaped the series of events of the Pentateuch into a coherent narrative of election.

The "Remnant" Motif in Early Pentateuchal Narrative: "Only Noah was left"

"Remnant" is expressed in Hebrew by derivatives of six different roots meaning to "remain", "leave", "be left over"; "escape", "spare", "be saved",[1] each of which can be used either positively to connote a sense of survival and hope, or negatively to convey the opposite sense of destruction and doom. The two closely related ideas of "left over" and "saved" can be articulated in such a way as to emphasize either the large number lost, or the small number spared; attention can be directed either to the totality of the devastation and the insignificance of the residue, or to the potential nucleus of future life embodied in the very survival of a few. Thus the "remnant" can signify both "those who are 'left over' after some great catastrophe", and "those who have 'escaped' the disaster and are able to

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[1] These Hebrew roots, *ehar, y'ter, melet, pelet, sh'rid, sh'ar*, are commonly translated in the LXX through derivatives of the Greek roots *leipo* and *leimma*, and in the Vulgate through various forms of the Latin *remaneo, salvo, relinquo, reservo*. The translation does not always preserve the distinction between the different Hebrew roots; for example, in the passages which follow, the Latin *relinquo* translates three different Hebrew roots; the Hebrew *pelet* is translated by the Latin *reservo* and *relinquo*, and the Hebrew *melet* by the Latin *salvo* and *relinquo*. Reflexes of the Hebrew roots will appear throughout this study in bold type.

continue the community's life" (Porter 645). This binary quality has been noted often in the numerous rehearsals of the "remnant" idea in theological dictionaries and encyclopedias. It is generally agreed that while the presentation of the idea is often ambivalent in the prophetic writings, a positive focus eventually prevails, so that the "remnant" becomes a recurrent motif and emblem of "Israel's future hope" (Cate 753). Both the ambivalence and the positive focus are often mistakenly attributed to Pentateuchal narrative as well. Roland de Vaux's comments in his seminal article on the subject are typical: "The term itself carries both meanings [of threat and promise], but the stress falls mainly on the promise, for the concept of deliverance is always implied" (17). In early biblical narrative, however, it is always quite clear whether the immediate context of the "remnant" is judgment or salvation. Unlike the prophetic writings, Pentateuchal narrative is rarely ambivalent in context and orientation, and connotations of deliverance are largely absent from occurrences of the idea of the "remnant" there.

Thus Noah's survival of the flood, usually considered to be the earliest instance of the "remnant" idea, is unambiguous in its message: "Only Noah was left, and those with him in the ark" (Gen.7:23).[2] The narrative emphasis here is on the scale of the coming judgment, as it is in God's warning to Lot before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorra: "Flee for your lives!" (Gen.19:17). Similarly, it is the need for immediate escape and not the assurance of posterity that informs the passages dealing with the survival of Jacob: "if Esau attacks one group, the group that is left may escape" (Gen.32:8), and of Benjamin, "He is the only one left"(Gen.42:38). Elsewhere the "remnant" conveys the wholly negative sense of "not leaving a trace", as in the destruction of Pharaoh's army: "Not a hoof is to be left behind" (Exod.10:26; cf.10:19). Or it gives further ironic point to the devastation, as in the in the final crush of an already decimated "remnant" of Israel in

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[2] The translations from the Old Testament are those of the *NIV Interlinear Hebrew-English Old Testament*.

Leviticus (26:36, 39) and Deuteronomy (2:34, 4:27, 28:62). On the other hand, the "remnant" has a similarly clear but very positive connotation in Joseph's words to his brothers: "But God sent me ahead of you to preserve for you a **remnant** on earth and to save your lives by a great **deliverance**" (Gen.45:7), as it does in God's response to Elijah' lament, "I am the only one **left**": . . ."yet I **reserve** seven thousand in Israel, all those whose knees have not bowed down to Baal" (1Kings.19:10,14,18).

As the above representative examples clearly indicate, in a majority of instances it is the magnitude of the threat and not the consolation of posterity that is stressed by the "remnant", and in all instances there is no sense of a double focus. It is surprising therefore to find that in general discussions of the "remnant", positive valences of futurity are usually attributed to the "remnant" motif in all of these passages, even though they contain no reference to future life. Each passage is firmly grounded in the present: the focus is immediate rescue from present crisis, and the "remnant" is a sign of that crisis. Only in the instances of Noah and Joseph's brothers is the purpose of God's merciful action to preserve life for posterity, but this is a conclusion drawn from other parts of the narrative (the stocking of the ark, God's blessing and covenant; God's promise to Jacob) and not from the immediate context of the "remnant" in the cited passage.[3]

---

[3] It is imprecise and misleading, therefore, to describe Noah as the "remnant of the bearers of the promise" (Jenni 32), or as "the seeds of life for the future, an enormous potentiality for mankind's future existence (Hasel 1973 163)". Indeed, Cassuto's reading of this passage, which Hasel cites out of context, is one of despair: "Only a tiny point appears on the face of the terrible waters: the ark that preserves between its planks the seeds of life for the future. But it is a mere atom and is almost lost in the endless expanse of water that was spread over the face of the whole earth. A melancholy scene that is liable to fill the reader with despair" (Cassuto 97). Similarly, the immediate context of Gen.45:7 is present survival. The passage is problematic, as the word for "remnant" here

While there is a very strong connection established in these passages between the "remnant" and 'life', there is no explicit reference in any of these passages to *future* life, or to the future of *Israel*. The word "remnant" in these passages has not yet acquired the connotations of posterity given it in many commentaries, and certainly not "an intense future-directed aspect" (Hasel 1976 736). Indeed, it is likely the very absence of this aspect in the primary narrative which occasions the development of the motif's potential in the secondary writings. The reading of a coherent providence behind the preservation of Noah and of the clan of Jacob is likely based upon the now familiar notion of the election of Israel in continuous line from Noah through Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, a notion that does not begin to be associated with the idea of the "remnant" and with the conception of 'Israel' as a national and religious entity until Deuteronomy and the prophets. Read back into the primary narratives, such assumptions obscure the distinct theological changes which characterize the later writings. It is this shift in theological perspective which made Deuteronomy and the Prophets so crucial to the apocryphal, rabbinical, and then the Christian re-interpretations of the earlier books. The new,

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(*sh'erit*) does not appear elsewhere in the Pentateuch. Some translate it as "descendants" or "posterity", after 2Sam.14:7, but the translation there is also disputed (Schrenk 195, 197, 202). Others argue that the "remnant" in Gen.45:11 is positive, but that the passage is a late interpolation, likely informed by the positive associations that the motif acquired in the prophets (Noth 57, 208). The meaning of the word there (specifically, in Amos) is also disputed, however. Some argue for a positive "remnant" idea there on the basis of Gen.45:7. The sum of these contradictory and circular arguments suggests that Joseph's family may "be saved" or may have "descendants". Jerome leaned towards the first interpretation by focusing the passage even more pointedly upon nourishment, and translating only one of the two "remnant" roots used in the Hebrew (and in the LXX): *Praemisitque me Deus ut reservemini super terram et escas ad vivendum habere possitis.*

typological readings depend on the simple historicity of the primary narratives for their theological effect. To appreciate the role of the "remnant" motif in this effect, it is important to keep the sources themselves as clear as possible of modern theological attitudes.

The "Remnant" in Deuteronomy: "And you will be left few in number"

What *is* present and signified by the "remnant" in many of the Pentateuchal passages is evidence of a relationship existing between God's mercy and man's faith, a connection which takes a surprising turn in Deuteronomy. It is in Deuteronomy that Israel is first explicitly named the "chosen" people of God, and it is from this point in biblical narrative that the concept of divine election becomes central to both Jewish and Christian thought. By the time of the later testament, the notion of election has a concisely articulated history of theophany and covenant which has moved in continuous linear progression from Noah to Christ. At the time of the Flood, God manifests himself in his wrath and his grace, destroying all creation except for Noah, with whom he enters into a covenant of preservation and perpetuation in exchange for worship (Gen.9:8-11). God subsequently reveals himself to Abraham and then to Moses, guiding them through their respective exiles and trials towards partial fulfillment of his renewed promise to multiply the seed of Israel "as the stars of the heavens" and to guarantee her sovereignty in the promised land (Gen.22:17; 26:4; cf. Gen.27:14), in the city of David (Sam.7:8-12f), and ultimately, through the same unbroken line of descent, in Christ, in the church, and in the New Jerusalem.

The relation of the election of the church to the election of Israel acquires this degree of narrative coherence only through later social and theological developments that

are read back into the Pentateuchal and Deuteronomic writings.[4] The call of Abraham and the call of Moses, for example, are thought to be separate and distinct cultic traditions of election which were combined into a single biblical sequence only after the exodus (the election of Moses in fact being the older tradition), and the very notion of election is thought to originate not with Noah or Abraham, but with the deliverance from Egypt (Rowley 1950 19-25; Noth 50-55). According to the Deuteronomist, it is only with this formative event that the concept 'Israel' is constituted – uniquely – as a people "holy to God":

> For you are a people holy to the Lord your God. The lord your God has chosen you out of all the peoples on the face of the earth to be his people, his treasured possession. . . .it was because the Lord loved you and kept the oath he swore to the forefathers that he brought you out with a mighty hand and redeemed you from the land of slavery, from the power of Pharaoh the king of Egypt. (Gen.7:6-8; cf.4:37; Exod.19:4-6)

In contextualizing the exodus with the patriarchal covenants, the book of Deuteronomy transforms the Pentateuchal narrative into a kerygmatic whole. Its classic statement of election distinguishes Israel as a nation with a historical consciousness of salvation. The book is thought to be anachronistic and redactive, dating from after the

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[4] "Pentateuch" refers to the first five canonical books of the Bible conventionally attributed to Moses. "Deuteronomic books" refers not to the Book of Deuteronomy alone, but to the historical books of Judges through 2Kings (4Kings in the Vulgate) which are attributed to one or more author, and which cover the history of the people of Israel from the time of Moses to the Babylonian exile.

occupation of Palestine,[5] but fitted into its proper geographical and chronological place on the threshold of the promised land, and then given a history in the patriarchs. Unlike the books which precede it in the canon, the rhetoric of Deuteronomy works to memorialize a single and chronologically coherent picture of Israel's elect relationship with God. Election through Moses is not only antedated by the election in "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" (Deut.1:8; 6:10; 29:13; 34:4 *passim*), but taken back to the beginning of time:

> When the Most High gave
>
> the nations their inheritance,
>
> when he divided all mankind,
>
> he set up boundaries for the peoples,
>
> according to the number of the sons of Israel.
>
> for the Lord's portion is his people,

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[5] The most widely accepted date for Deuteronomy is the time of the Josianic Reforms which followed upon the discovery in the temple of the Lawbook (i.e. Deuteronomy) in 622 BCE (2Kings 22:8-20). Some propose an earlier provenance and date, in northern Israel shortly after the political collapse of Samaria (721). They argue that the book of Deuteronomy served as support for the religious reforms sought by Josiah at a time when Assyrian domination and internal apostasy threatened national unity and monotheistic worship and law (Rabin 177). Later strata are seen as attempts by the Deuteronomic editors to justify the exile as the retribution prophesied in the book for infidelity to the covenant. Noth argues that the "Deuteronomistic history" is an editorial enterprise of consolidation and redaction undertaken during the exile. The first layer of redaction (Deut.5-30) dates from the late 7 C, and the second from the fall of Jerusalem (587/586). According to Noth, this history begins with Deuteronomy and continues through 2Kings (122, 135-36).

Jacob his allotted inheritance. (Deut.32:8-10)

The Deuteronomist sees election as a genealogically linear pattern in a history encompassing more than one central figure. He also expressly denies all corollary sense of intrinsic worthiness or greatness to either Israel or her elect. The many formulaic recitals of the 'history' of Israel's election in Deuteronomy serve rather to exhort Israel to *become* worthy of her election. Indeed, Israel is seen as most *un*deserving of the blessing of Abraham. The election of Israel in the desert is thus something quite different theologically from the election of the patriarchs. Whereas Noah and Abraham are described as singularly "righteous", in the "right relationship"[6] of their worship, the heirs of their election are less distinguished, and the present people of God so unworthy "today" of the heritage conferred to their trust that as a result of their iniquities they will be "scattered among the nations" and reduced to a "**remnant** few in number":

> The Lord took you and brought you out of the iron-smelting furnace, out
> of Egypt, to be the people of his inheritance as on this day. . . .I call heaven
> and earth as a witness to you this day that you will quickly perish from the
> land that you are crossing the Jordan to possess. . . .The Lord will scatter
> you among the peoples, and only a few will **survive**". . . you who were as
> numerous as the stars in the sky will be **left** but few in number, because
> you did not obey the Lord your God. (Deut.4:20, 26-27; 28:62, repeated at
> 64)

Within its broad scope of the history of deliverance, promise and covenant, Deuteronomy emphasizes "today" as a crisis of decision and commitment, a condition most pointedly and repeatedly evoked in the book's "promulgation formula" (S. de Vries (99):

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[6] This is the literal meaning of the Hebrew *tsadik* 'righteousness'.

> Hear, O Israel: The Lord is our God , the lord is one. Love the Lord your
>
> God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your might.
>
> These commandments that I give you today are to be upon your hearts. . .
>
> .When the Lord your God brings you into the land he swore to your
>
> fathers, to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob . . . be careful that you do not forget
>
> the Lord, who brought you out of Egypt, out of the land of slavery.
>
> (Deut.6:4-6, 10, 12)

This repeated formula combines the fundamental events of sacred history into a concise catechism-like summary, a "short historical credo" (von Rad 1966 1) or primary confession which becomes (after the fact) the kernel of the whole subsequent Pentateuchal tradition (Noth 48). In its repeated recitation and yoking together of the ancestral covenant with the deliverance from Egypt, the "credo" transforms Israel's history into a narrative that is prophetic and teleological and, at the same time, firmly grounded in the liturgical present of the Law.

In this way, the book of Deuteronomy is able to derive inspiration "today" from the golden age of the patriarchs and the exodus by giving hope to a sinful present of a future return to obedience. The book's ultimate sense of hope is paradoxically a function of its repeated prophecy of apostasy and divine retribution. Although Israel will fail in her covenant obligations and be reduced to "a remnant few in number", *God* will not fail. The same passages which warn of the scattering of the "remnant" also contain the reminder of election and the promise of return:

> But if you will seek the Lord your God , you will find him if you look for
>
> him with all your heart and with all your soul . . . you will return to the
>
> Lord your God and obey him . . . because he loved your forefathers and
>
> chose their descendants after them, he brought you out of Egypt . . . to
>
> drive out before you all nations greater and stronger than you and to bring

you into their land to give it to you for you inheritance, as it is on this day. Acknowledge and take to heart this day . . . then the Lord your God will restore your fortunes and have compassion on you and gather you again from all the nations where he scattered you. . . .The Lord your God will circumcise your hearts and the hearts of your descendants, so that you may love him with all your heart and with all your soul, and live. (4:29-30, 37-39; 30:3, 6)

A new covenant is memorialized here, one of personal commitment, circumscribed on the "heart". This repeated motif, along with those of the "gathering of the dispersed" and of Israel's "return", are considered late additions to Deuteronomy (Widengren 227),[7] which along with several other passages interpolated into the book served to direct and consolidate its otherwise contradictory messages of blessing and curse. In its final form, Deuteronomy pieces together a cogent argument and parenesis in which the "remnant" of the original election (and the original layer of the book) is given a second chance to respond to Moses's urgent calls to repentance "on this day". Given the historical contexts of its redaction, the book's repeated appeals, rebukes and consolations will have been addressed to that very "remnant" of Jerusalem for whom the events described are in the distant past, and for whom the prophetic announcements of judgment are either imminent or accomplished. To such an audience the phrase "on this day" has a dual reference and a present relevance. From its vantage within the promised land or in exile from it, Israel is better able to perceive the evidence both of God's favor (to her ancestors and to herself) and of the present conditions requiring reform.

Compositional history aside, the final redaction of Deuteronomy resolves the book's inner dialectic between grace and condition, guidance and punishment, by

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[7] Noth considers Deut.30:1-4 a message of comfort motivated by the state of exile (33). Deut.4:29-40 are late as well (57).

pointing towards the future. In its combination of threat and promise, the context of the "remnant" in Deuteronomy signals a theological turning point in Old Testament narrative, after which election is conceived as the impetus towards rather than the reward for worthiness. The greatness and the "holiness" of Israel will be the fruit of her election, a response to rather than a cause for the grace of God. Election is thus a summons to service and covenant obligation; privilege is balanced with responsibility, and each generation must renew the covenant by freely accepting these terms for itself, or else forfeit its heritage. Paradoxically, the fact that Israel does not ever rise fully to the height of this ideal is what accounts in part for the perdurance of the ideal. That God's revelation is only partial (Deut.29:2-4, 29) is another factor contributing to the sense of continuity and quest which this evolving notion of election imparts to the narrative. It is this very limitation in Israel's understanding which serves to point – through long and troubled periods of her history when she is indeed reduced to "a remnant few in number" – to that day when God's purpose should become fully revealed and fulfilled through a nobler "remnant" of that election.

The shift in theological perspective from merit to grace reflects a desire on the part of the Deuteronomic historians and editors to portray sacred history in such a way as to give an etiology to existing institutions, to account for the conditions of the present, and at the same time to present a program for the future. Through their editorial activity, the election of Israel becomes a coherent narrative. It is founded upon the notions of righteousness and covenantal faith, disrupted by apostasy, and renewed continually through the notions of return, restoration, and reward. The "remnant" is at the center of this new teleology. It embodies the resolution, at any given point in the history, of the fixed stock of narrative themes which comprise the Deuteronomic "credo", and which are repeated in various combinations and with similar concise hymnic expression in subsequent books of the Bible. These themes are: the guidance out of Egypt, the guidance into the promised land, the promise to the patriarchs, and the revelation of the Law at

Sinai (Noth 46-62). In the prophets, as in Deuteronomy, the "remnant" is present in many of the formulaic confessions as an interpretive supplement to some or all of these basic themes. It is therefore able to provide a relatively accurate measurement of changing theological stance.

The "remnant" is in fact a significant factor in the synthesis of these once separate thematic strands.[8] Deuteronomy is the first place in scripture that the primary theme of the "guidance out of Egypt" acquires a positive goal in the "guidance into the promised land". The teleology is further reinforced by the historical priority given the "promise to the patriarchs". The narrative of election history could be ended at this point, were it not that the combination of "guidance out" and "guidance in" of the people serves as the basis for thematic repetition in the future-projected motif of the scattering and the re-gathering of the "remnant". The redactional history of the narrative is of incidental interest here. What is important to note is the central role of the "remnant" in the enlargement of an originally unidimensional theme of survival from the context of an immediate past or present crisis to a context which extends salvation history backwards into the distant past and forward to any point in the near or distant future. The semantic enlargement of the "remnant" which follows upon this sort of thematic development is by definition absent from the early narrative, as is the notion of "Israel's future hope".

It follows that the full teleological significance of the idea of election can only be appreciated when it is seen within the context of its intimate relationship with the idea of the "remnant", and that the idea of the "remnant" in turn must be seen within the larger

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[8] Noth demonstrates that while these themes derive from various separate strata in the formation of the narrative, the sequence of their combination can be reconstructed to demonstrate a theological development. The theme of the guidance into the promised land is added to the primary theme of the deliverance from Egypt; the theme of the promise to the patriarchs is accommodated next, then the revelation at Sinai (46-62).

and evolving context of its relationship to salvation history. By the end of the pentateuchal narrative, a pattern will have emerged consisting of an unrelated succession of events describing God's activity in the world. Deuteronomy's collocation of the "remnant" with these founding events gives the motif an important defining and interpretive function, making it responsible for signifying the providential and disciplinary purpose of God's past interventions in history in a manner that is continually relevant to succeeding generations. That it does so with ambivalence rather than uniformity in the prophets is due in part to the changing social and theological conditions out of which they preached, and also in part to their exploitation of the full semantic and thematic potential of the motif.

The "Remnant" in the Prophets: "A remnant will return"

Through her prophets, Israel is urged to read the successive calamities in her history as a chastisement for infidelity to the covenant, and as a renewed call to faith and service. The theology of the "remnant" which evolved in the prophets takes its direction from the turning point in Israel's religion which occurred with Deuteronomy: though the nation as a whole might invite chastisement by repudiating the will of God, there will always be a "remnant" of life reserved to convey the heritage of the election to its future heirs, who might then respond more fully and bring the divine purpose of the election to its ultimate realization. This is not to say, however, that a single or a coherent doctrinal position existed in the prophetic writings, or indeed in any one prophet, with respect to either the concept of Israel's election, or the definition of the "remnant" with which the election was identified. Indeed, a most problematic critical question attending the prophetic books is whether the saved "remnant" is to be defined as contemporary or future, damned or redeemed, sectarian or universal.

The early prophets appear to be reacting against a popular contemporary conception of the "remnant" as a guarantee of eschatological salvation.[9] Evidence of such a self-confident understanding of the "remnant" can be deduced from the bitterly contemptuous attack against it in the prophet Amos:

> The city which marches out a thousand strong for Israel will have only a
> hundred left. . . .Seek good, not evil, that you may live. Then the Lord God
> Almighty will be with you, just as you say he is. . . .hate evil, love good . .
> . perhaps the Lord God Almighty will have mercy on the **remnant** of
> Joseph. (5:3, 13-15)

Hope expressed here for the "remnant" is qualified by the "perhaps", and also by the elaboration which follows:

> As the shepherd saves from the lion's mouth only two leg bones or a piece
> of an ear, so will the Israelites be saved (3:12) . . . Woe to you who long
> for the Day of the Lord! It will be as though a man fled from a lion only to
> meet a bear. (5:18-19)[10]

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[9] Although the "remnant" idea is common in the Old Testament, it is never explained, even in Isaiah where it has its most central place. The frequent reference without expository treatment indicates that an author assumed familiarity with the concept in his audience (Herntrich 200). Shalom Paul states that the "remnant" became a popular catch-phrase, like "God-with-us", which betrayed false confidence that the "day of the Lord" (another catch-phrase) was to be a day of rejoicing (176-77).

[10] Herntrich notes that expectation of the deliverance of the "remnant" often occurs in verses in which the words for "remnant" are not found, but where the sense of "remaining" or of "being delivered" is clear. Most commentaries consider Amos 3:12 such a passage (also 6:9; 7:1-9; 8:1-3; 9:1-4).

Amos rehearses the key events in Israel's history (2:10; 3:1; 9:5-6) only to prophesy doom for a nation that relies on its patriarchal inheritance as the "remnant of Joseph". The framing of his "remnant" passages with such grisly pictures of survival does much to reduce all future hope for the "remnant" in Amos to mere possibility. The final oracle begins with a prophecy of utter extinction: "and those that are **left** I will kill with the sword. Not one will **get away**, none will **escape**" (9:1). Yet the book of Amos ends with the promise of restoration:

> In that day I will restore David's fallen tent . . . and build it as it used to be,
>
> so that they may possess the **remnant** of Edom and all the nations that
>
> bear my name. (9:11-12)

Such non-integrated messages of salvation punctuating those of doom are characteristic of the major prophets. Thus at times Ezekiel invokes the "**remnant** of Israel" only to underline the extent of its damnation: God will leave a "**remnant**" to wander dispersed, loathsome to themselves and a warning to the nations (6:8-10; 9:8; 11:13; 12:16; 14:22). Elsewhere God will gather the "**remnant** of the nations" (36:3,5,36) and give them new life (11:14-20; 37:11-14).[11] Similarly, Jeremiah sees Israel cleared to the very root as in a vineyard harvest (6:9), or discarded like rotten figs (24:8). But he also offers a contrasting picture of restoration "on that day" when God will gather the "**remnant** of his flock" and from it raise up the stock of David (23:3-5); when "those **left over** from the sword", the "**remnant** of Israel", will be gathered on Mount Zion under a "new covenant" to be written "in their hearts" (31:2, 7, 10-12, 31-33).

The ideas of destruction, salvation, and repentance appear thus in the major prophets without interrelation or synthesis, with the result that the "remnant" associated

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[11] The "remnant" of the exiles is implied in 11:14-20 and 37:11-14, although the term "remnant" does not recur.

with these ideas acquires the connotations of each. The motif becomes especially multivalent through the many perplexing juxtapositions of threat and promise in Isaiah,[12] where the "remnant" has the greatest prominence. The motif appears repeatedly in Isaiah 1-39 as a sign of devastation and of regeneration, but with no connection made between the two poles. This ambivalence is evident from the start in the verses describing the call of the prophet (6:1-13). It would seem that it is God's intention for his prophet to render an unregenerate people even more obdurate: "He said: Go and tell this people: Be ever hearing, but never understanding; be ever seeing, but never perceiving" (6:9). Yet the response given to Isaiah's despairing question "For how long, O Lord?" suggests that the end of this seemingly hopeless undertaking is the promise of new life:

> Until the cities lie ruined and without inhabitant, until the houses are **left** deserted and the fields ruined and ravaged, until the Lord has sent everyone far away and the land is utterly forsaken. And though a tenth **remains** in the land, it will again be laid waste. But as the terebinth and oak **leave** stumps when they are cut down, so the holy seed will be the stump in the land. (6:11-13)

The beginning of the verse dispels any illusion of "remnant" hope. Complete destruction of the "remnant" is conveyed in the dereliction of the land, and what remains will be destined only for further decimation; even the last remaining tenth will be destroyed. This picture of desolation is then "converted" so unexpectedly to one of spiritual regeneration that the passage has been emended in order to harmonize the entire message with the concluding promise of the holy seed. Or it has been rejected as spurious (Emerton 97).

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[12] The "Book" of Isaiah is considered generally to be a compilation of three separate periods and authors, Isaiah of Jerusalem (8-7 C), "Deutero-Isaiah" (6 C), and "Trito-Isaiah" (late 6 C).

Any smooth or logical connection between judgment and salvation requires a hermeneutic leap over what is left radically ambiguous in the text. Thus it is often concluded, here and throughout the book of Isaiah, that the purpose of the prophet's word of judgment is to purge the corrupt nation in order to produce a "righteous remnant" or "holy seed", and in this way a message that is thoroughly judgmental in intent is mitigated to one that is charged with overtones of redemption.[13]

It is much disputed whether the simile of the trees in Isaiah 6:9-13 is intended to support the passage's opening images of unrelieved destruction or its closing one of future life, that is, whether the trees signify spoliation or endurance. A similarly pivotal ambivalence is concentrated and echoed in the symbolic name given Isaiah's son in 7:3. God's first directive to the prophet is to take the boy named "Sh'ar Yashub", "A-Remnant-Will-Return" (Heb. *Iasub* 'return') to Ahaz, king of Judah, as one of three onomastic "signs" (8:18) of the outcome of the Syro-Ephraimite hostilities against Judah. The sign has a double ambiguity. It can suggest warning or hope and also either physical "return" (from exile, from battle) or spiritual "return" (to God). Like the trees in the preceding oracle, the name can be seen as a sign of the devastation to come: a *mere* remnant will return defeated; it will be stripped of all vestiges of life. Or it can signify promise: a remnant *will* survive; it will be the seeds of new growth. The emphatic position in the line of the word "remnant" suggests the former reading by indicating

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[13] Verse 6:13c is considered by many to be a scribal gloss. Emerton states that "the later writer saw that the mention of the stumps left open the possibility of survival and hope for the future" (115). Kaiser states "There is no reflection here on the possibility that God's rejection may conceal a hidden affirmative, and that his judgment is a purification" (4). The verse is omitted in some manuscripts of the LXX, likely as a result of scribal error. See Hasel 1972, 263-43 for a comprehensive summary of the conflicting arguments surrounding this passage.

"only" (Blank 1948 213). On the other hand, the entire expression can be taken as a reference to the enemy (Day 78), similar then to other instances where the "remnant" signifies destruction of a people (of the Philistines 14:30, of Moab 15:9; 16:14, of Syria 17:3, of Kedar 21:17). A similarly problematic use of the "remnant" attends the second "sign", the child-Messiah "Immanuel" ("God-Is-With-Us" 7:14). On the one hand, the child is a sign of the coming devastation and privation: he will have *only* curds and honey to eat (7:15-16). While the message is clearly messianic, the deliverance will be a disaster for the present population: "all who **remain** in the land will eat curds and honey" (7:22); "distressed and hungry, they will roam through the land; when they are famished, they will . . . look toward the earth and see only distress and darkness and fearful gloom, and they will be thrust into utter darkness" (8:21-22).[14] The next verse abruptly announces salvation: "there will be no more gloom for those who were in distress. . . .The people walking in darkness have seen a great light" (9:1-2).

This juxtaposition of doom and promise is repeated in the prophet's enigmatic oracle of the downfall of Assyria. All will be reduced to a wasteland; the "remnant" of the forest will be small enough to be counted by a child (10:19). The day of judgment is immediately followed with the day of "return":

> In that day, the **remnant** of Israel, the **survivors** of the house of Jacob . . . will truly rely on the Lord, the Holy One of Israel. A **remnant** will return, a **remnant** of Jacob will return to the Mighty God (10:20-21). Though your people, O Israel, be like the sand by the sea, only a **remnant** will return. Destruction has been decreed upon the whole land. (10:22-23)

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[14] The curds and honey are simple foods suggesting deprivation. Chapter 7 is considered a composite work; its messianic message is considered an interpolation. The transitional verse (9:1) is also obscure. (Blank 1958 16-30; Clements 1980b 426-28; H. G. M. Williamson 141-54).

It is difficult to determine whether what appears to be a *midrash* (Clements 1980a 114) on the symbolic name of Isaiah's son is to be taken as a threat or a promise, or indeed whether the "remnant" here is intended to be compared or contrasted with the reduced "remnant" of the forest in the preceding verse. The name "Sh'ar Yashub" seems to be expanded in two opposite directions which derive from the two components of the name. On the positive side, the name is prefaced by a vision of repentance or "return" (10:20), and the God to which the "remnant" returns is the same "Mighty God" (10:21) that is the symbolic name of the Messianic King in the previous chapter (9:6).[15] At the same time, the name is repeated twice with the same negative syntactic emphasis upon the "remnant" as at 7:3 (signifying *only* a "remnant"). The few remaining at verse 22 are clearly meant to be a near negation of the promise of posterity to Abraham, and at verse 23 God is evoked not in Messianic terms, but in terms of threat and fiat which recall the end predicted in 6:11. Then again, the positive elements of the symbolic name appear to be further expanded in the following oracle into a "sign" of the Messiah and of the in-gathering of the "remnant":

> A shoot will come up from the stump of Jesse; from his roots a Branch
> will bear fruit. . . .In that day the Lord will reach out his hand a second
> time to reclaim the **remnant** that is **left** of his people . . . and gather the
> exiles of Israel. . . .The Lord will dry up the gulf of the Egyptian sea with a
> scorching wind. . . .There will be a highway for the **remnant** of his people
> that is **left** from Assyria, as there was for Israel when they came up out of
> Egypt. (11:1, 11-16)

The Messianic rule depicted in this oracle (11:1-9) provides a vision that is the exact opposite to the conditions of obduracy and apostasy and retributive judgment which

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[15] These are the only two instances in the Bible of the epithet "Mighty God".

the prophet was called to address, and which are described in the opening oracles of doom (Isa.1-5). This opening group of oracles is as inconsistent in its depiction of doom and hope as is the group following from the call of the prophet (6-11). The opening oracle, for example, is as bleak as Amos: "The daughter of Zion is left like a shelter in a vineyard, like a hut in a field of melons, like a city under siege . . . you will be like an oak with fading leaves, like a garden without water" (1:8, 30). But it contains a small "remnant" of hope and a condition for its realization: "Unless the Lord Almighty had left us some **survivor**,[16] we would have become like Sodom, we would have been like Gomorra" (1:9).

A similarly unexpected note of grace interrupts the almost continuous diatribe of the opening chapters:

> In that day the Branch of the Lord will be beautiful and glorious, and the
> fruit of the land will be the pride and glory of the **survivors** in Israel.
> Those who are **left** in Zion, who **remain** in Jerusalem, will be called holy,
> all who are recorded among the living in Jerusalem. The Lord will wash
> away the filth of the women of Zion. He will cleanse the blood-stains from
> Jerusalem by a spirit of judgment and a spirit of fire. Then the Lord will
> create over all of Mount Zion and over those who assemble there a cloud
> of smoke by day and a glow of flaming fire by night; over all the glory
> there will be a canopy. It will be a shelter and a shade from the heat of the
> day, and a refuge and hiding place from the storm and rain. (4:2-5)

Here judgment is clearly a cleansing and a purification; the "day of the Lord" is eschatological; the grace extends to "all"; the "remnant" is "holy". The oracle shifts

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[16] The Hebrew word *sharid* here is singular. The Hebrew adverb "some" underlienes the smallness of a number (Hasel 1972 314).

abruptly from threat to promise, and from the delimited context of eighth century Judah to that of a universal Messianic future. The shift is similar to that which occurs at the introduction of the Messianic kingdom depicted in chapter 11, and is similarly described in terms of the deliverance from Egypt, and with images of regeneration and fructification (the "Branch" of the Lord is a signifier of the Messiah at 4:2 and 11:1; also Jer.23:5, 33:15).

The foregoing sampling of passages demonstrates that while the beginning of the book of Isaiah is programmatic of the prophet's themes of judgment, repentance and salvation, the logical connection between the three themes is by no means clear. In 10:20 the faith and repentance of the "remnant" can be interpreted either as the pre-condition for salvation or the condition resulting from it; similarly, in 4:2 it is unclear whether the holiness of the "remnant" is the basis for its deliverance or the result of its purification (Herntrich 207). In 1:19-20 it is difficult to say whether the alternatives outlined for the surviving "remnant" are threatening or reassuring (Clements 1980a 34). As in chapters 6, 7 and 11, it is clearly God's mercy and grace alone that are responsible for the survival of any "remnant" at 1:9. By its repeated collocation with the themes of judgment, salvation and repentance, the "remnant" becomes a signifier of each, and with the same degree of ambiguity. As a result, the temporal, demographic and theological contexts of the "remnant" (and indeed of judgment, salvation and repentance) are extremely difficult to pin down. A complex of vegetative images begins to accrue to the "remnant", connecting it to each of these disparate rather than mutually defining contexts. In the process, the specific historical situation becomes projected against the background of a Messianic future, and historical salvation becomes a *pre*condition for eschatological gathering, return, glorification, purification or regeneration. Thus "on that day" the "glory" of the "remnant" (17:3) will be left like the few pitiful fruits on a plucked olive branch (17:6), or like the gleanings of olive grove and vineyard (24:6,12-13). "That day" is likened to a second flood ("the flood-gates of the heavens are opened" 24:18; "like a flooding

downpour" 28:2) after which the Lord will be "a crown of glory and a beautiful wreath for the remnant of his people" (28:5); the "remnant" will be like a solitary beacon on a hilltop, "waiting" in hope of salvation for a God who is "waiting" to give it (30:17).

Isaiah 1-39 concludes with a prayer for "the **remnant** that still **survives**" (37:4) and a prophecy: "Once more a **remnant** of the house of Judah will take root below and bear fruit above. For out of Jerusalem will come a **remnant**, and out of Mount Zion a band of **survivors**" (37:31-32). This and each of the regenerative depictions of the "remnant" cited above intrudes as a sharply juxtaposed, unexplained contrast to the surrounding depiction of devastation and woe. Thus the "remnant" serves in each case to re-focus the threatening material into a wider perspective of eventual consolation, while leaving exact causal connection between judgment and salvation provisional and implicit. The potential for a return to God suggested in the imagery becomes increasingly focused into an explicit theological mission in the later sections of Isaiah. In Deutero-Isaiah (40-55) both the "remnant" (45:20; 46:3) and the Messiah (52:13-53:12) are identified with the "servant". This composite figure is "chosen" (41:8-9; 43:10; 44:1-2; 48:10) by God to bring the light of the Law to the Gentiles, both on return from exile and at the end of time (45:4,20; 49:3-9;25), in fulfillment of the covenantal promise to the "house of Jacob" (46:3), to Noah (54:9), and to David (55:3). "Redemption", from Egypt (43:2) and from the Flood (54:5-9), is a metaphor for past and future salvation. As in Deuteronomy, the efficacy of God's word is fully revealed as one chain of effects manifested in one flow of events in history and channeled finally through one empowered "Servant"/ Messiah/ "Remnant" to all nations as the final "heritage" of the elect:

> This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord. . . .See, I have made him a
>
> witness to the peoples, a leader and commander of the peoples. Surely you
>
> will summon nations you know not, and nations that do not know you will
>
> hasten to you. . . .As the rain and the snow come down from heaven and

do not return to it without watering the earth and making it flourish, so that

it yields seed for the sower and bread for the eater, so is my word that goes

forth from my mouth: It will not return to me empty, but will accomplish

what I desire and achieve the purpose for which I sent it. (54:17; 55:4-5,

10-11; cf. Deut.32:2)

In the apocalyptic visions which dominate these chapters, the idea of the "remnant" is

thus simultaneously narrowed and enlarged. The humble and meek "servant" who has

borne the sins of many is representative of the entire people of God, and by extension, of

all nations which will respond to its teaching ministry (Herntrich 206, 209).

In Trito-Isaiah, the images of regeneration are fully integrated into a message of

universal redemption. The afflicted "remnant" (14:32) is gathered into a "marriage" bond

of perfect reciprocal fidelity (49:18; 54: 5-6; 61:10; 62:4-5).[17] The role of the "Redeemer"

in salvation history is summarized in his guidance of Abraham in the desert and Moses at

the Red Sea (63:10-16), and directly related to his establishment of the "remnant" at the

eschaton. The **remnant** of the house of Israel" (46:4) is clearly a signifier of salvation

and of dissemination in these later chapters. True salvation is explicitly limited to the

righteous or conditioned by repentance (65:8-15; Rofe 249-50). The new righteous

"remnant" will be the "sign" of a new exodus of all nations to "the holy mountain in

Jerusalem", the site of "a new heaven and a new earth" where the "seed" of the elect will

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[17] Isa.14:32 is considered a late addition made by Trito-Isaiah. Many of these later

passages are identified with the "remnant" theme. Although the word "remnant" is absent

from the passages, the imagery suggests the idea. (Fekkes 235). Henton Davies writes:

"The idea of the remnant is more widely employed in the OT than the terminology would

suggest" (189). So, for example, C. Stahlmueller considers verses 65:1-25 under the

heading "the salvation of the remnant" in his commentary (385).

endure (66:19-20). It is thus very much an emblem of the vision of universal harmony for which the prophet is acclaimed:

> In the last days the mountain of the Lord's temple will be established as chief among the mountains; it will be raised above the hills, and all the nations will stream to it. Many peoples will come and say, 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob. He will teach us his ways so that we may walk in his paths'. The Law will go out from Zion, the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. . . .They will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not take up sword against nation, nor will they train for war any more. (2:2-4)

Parallels of this idealized state can be found throughout the later chapters of Isaiah (40-55; 56:6-8; 60; 65; 66:18-21), with and without the presence of the "remnant". Many of these oracles have been read by scholars as evidence of the apostolic mission of the "remnant", and of a general conflation of the notions of "remnant", Messiah, "savior", and "servant",[18] along with attendant images (seed, branch, root, fruit, glory, light, gathering, flowing, returning) and attributions (restoration, fructification, purification, election, salvation, redemption, humility, strength, righteousness, faith, holiness). The cumulative effect of such a metaphorical network is that the "remnant" theme is often suggested by association with the "seed", the "root", the "elect", and the "servants" of God, even when the word itself is not present. That such messianic interpretations *in absentia* are justified finds support in the fact that this same oracle is found *verbatim* in

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[18] For discussions of this conflated identification of the "servant", see Bouyer (180-90); Rowley (1956 118-120); J. C. Campbell (82); Willaert (270-72).

the contemporary prophet Micah (Mic.4:1-4),[19] where its Messianic ideal is *explicitly* linked with the gathering of the "remnant" in the subsequent verses:

> I will gather the lame; I will assemble the exiles and those I have brought to grief. I will make the lame a **remnant**, those driven away a strong nation. The Lord will rule over them in Zion from that day and forever. (4:6-7)

This "remnant" is like the dew and the rain:

> The **remnant** of Jacob will be in the midst of many peoples like dew from the Lord, like showers on the grass . . . the **remnant** of Jacob will be among the nations, in the midst of many peoples, like a lion among flocks of sheep. (5:7-8; cf. Deut.32:2; Isa.55:10)

Similarly affirmative statements of the "remnant" motif are found in the later prophets (Ezr.9:8,15; Neh.1:2-3; Ob.17; Hag.1:12-14; 2:2), with similar associations of ruling power for the meek and lowly and just (Zeph.3:12; Ezek.34:11-26; 11:17; Soph. 2:3; 3:12), and with apocalyptic and universalist overtones similar to those of Isa.40-66 (Zech. 9:7; Hos.2:23f; Zeph.8:12; 13:8; 14:1-2,16; Ezek.36:26; Jl.2:32). The idea of a ruling "remnant" is thought to derive from the Book of Daniel. Many scholars interpret the prophecy "But at that time your people, everyone whose name is found written in the book, will be **delivered**" (12:1; cf. Isa.4:3) as a reference to the true "remnant" that gains possession of the everlasting kingdom (Dan.7:18,27; 12:1-3, 10) through its faith in the "Son of Man" (7:14).

The Book of Daniel has been called "a complete *midrash* on Isaiah" (Lacoque xviii), and the "Son of Man" equated by many with the "servant", the Messiah, and the

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[19] This "floating oracle" is thought to be derived from an earlier liturgical oracle (Vawter 155; Rowley 1950 64). Its interpolation is considered exilic or post-exilic (Heaton 33-34).

"remnant" (Lacoque 243-46; E. Johnson 34; Heubsch 157-64), although the word "remnant" itself does not occur in support of this interpretation. Daniel opens with the fall of Jerusalem and ends with apocalyptic visions of restoration and victory for the suffering-righteous-faithful "remnant" of Israel. That such a context for the "remnant" can be assumed by association is good indication of its acceptance as a clearly defined theological idea and as a signifier of eschatological hope, especially in times of religious and political distress. It is interesting to note in this light that scholars date all of the positive "remnant" passages cited above to the post-exilic period[20] (Heaton 33-34, H. G. M. Williamson, *passim*). Without exception, each of the abruptly and incongruously affirmative "remnant" passages cited from Amos, Jeremiah, and Isaiah 1-39, is considered by scholars to be an interpolation, written in the exilic or post-exilic periods as part of a concerted effort by scholars and/or disciples of the prophets to provide both an explanation for the fall of Jerusalem, and a hope for its restoration, at a time when the prophets' warnings would have become a reality.[21]

It is evident in these later writings that the "remnant" as a theological notion, as an image and as a motif, has acquired a much wider connotational range than it had in pentateuchal narrative or early prophecy. What began as a facile popular "remnant" hope (Israel's salvation is guaranteed by virtue of her ancestral heritage) is rejected by Amos

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[20] The "exilic" period dates from the fall of Jerusalem in 586/7BCE, when the city was sacked by Nebuchadnezzar and the Davidic line deported to Babylon, to the gradual return of the exiles and the rebuilding of the temple begun with the fall of Babylon to Persian control in 538.

[21] The passages are: Amos 9:11-15; Jer.23:3; 31:31-34; Isa.1:9; 4:2-6; 6:13; 7:22; 8:23-9:7; 10:20-21; 11:11-16; 24:14-16; 28:5; 30:17; 37:31-32; Mic.2:12; 4:1-7; 5:7-8; 7:18. For discussion of the dating of the individual passages, see Blank (1948), Emerton, H. G. M. Williamson, Clements (1980a & b); von Rad 1965 (165); Heaton (39).

and by Isaiah of Jerusalem, but later becomes the focus of the eschatological visions of Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah and Micah, as the "remnant" is increasingly given theological and imagistic expansion. As in the Deuteronomic redaction and revision, the "remnant" – as representative of the historical status of the audience over a very long period – is instrumental in rendering the message of the prophets continually relevant. Indeed, since no one historical moment need be (or in fact could be) attached to much of the material contained in the prophetic writings as they were later received, they lent themselves particularly well to reapplication and re-interpretation. The "remnant" which is featured so prominently in these writings is a key element in the generally observed process by which, following the historical vindication of their prophecies, the prophets of judgment came to be re-interpreted as messengers of hope.

ii. The "Remnant" in the Inter-Testamental Period

The existence of a community at Qumran which formed itself around the idea of the "remnant" is eloquent testimony to the emblematic intensity that the motif acquired in the period following the prophetic writings.[22] In the apocryphal literature and in the translations and commentaries of the inter-testamental period, the "remnant" is again often the site of apocalyptic treatment and interpretive revision. By the time it reappears in the canonical scriptures, it has become a figure for the eschatological identity of the "true" Israel. The question is no longer whether there will be a "remnant", but who will

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[22] It is generally accepted that the Qumran covenanters believed that they were the "remnant" of the true Israel, although the exact nature of their self-understanding is much debated (Sanders 425; Watts 111-13). The Qumran writings are not examined here, as this material would of course not have been available as a source for patristic writings or for Anglo-Saxon poets. The Pharisees and the guild of the scribes are other extreme sectarian groups.

constitute it; not whether a "remnant" will be "left", but how one may belong to the community of the "saved".

The Septuagint: "A remnant will be saved"

The "remnant" of the prophets appears explicitly in the New Testament only in the Epistle to the Romans, where its original context in Isaiah is significantly changed. As Paul's citation of Isaiah may derive from the Septuagint, it will be instructive to look first at a selection of "remnant" centered text-alterations in the Septuagint, many of which are considered signs of rabbinical bias. At Isa.24:14 and 28:6, for example, the Septuagint gives the survivors an explicit "remnant" identity which the original passages only implied. At other points, forms of the verb *sozein* ("save") are substituted for the more common Greek terms for "remnant" (*leipo* and *leimma*): at 37:32, 45:20, and 66:10 the "survivors" become the "saved", and at 10:22 the enigmatic re-interpretation of the name of Isaiah's son is made clearly redemptive; "a remnant will *return*" becomes "a remnant will be *saved*" (Seeligmann 115-16).[23] More striking yet is the way in which the "remnant" becomes more closely linked with the image of the "seed". The Septuagint substitutes *sperma* for other vegetative images in parallel construction with "remnant" (14:29-30, 17:5; 37:31), and occasionally for "remnant" itself, again with no justification from the Hebrew. Thus the context of affliction in Isa.15:9, "and I will put a lion upon the **fugitives** of Moab", is transformed into one of restoration: "and I will raise up the **seed** of Moab". Similarly, the ambivalent prophecy of decimation in 1:9, "If the Lord of hosts had

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[23] The fact that the same Hebrew root (*pelet*) is translated with the usual *leimma* and *leipo* elsewhere (4:2; 37:31) indicates that the translation of the passages in question does not result from any obscurity in the Hebrew. A similar effect results from the alteration of "salvation" to "Savior" (12:3; 45:8; 62:11).

not **left** us some **survivor**", becomes a singularly affirmative expression of hope: "If the Lord of hosts had not **left us a small seed**".[24]

Through such interpretive rabbinical activity,[25] the "remnant" in the Septuagint becomes virtually synonymous with "salvation", and salvation with "regeneration". And the first oracle of Isaiah, which through the process of redaction caused the "Book" of Isaiah to begin with a message of imminent judgment, is transformed, as is the overall message of the prophet, into a guarantee of eventual salvation.

The Targum of Isaiah: "A holy seed is their plant"

The Targum of Isaiah, an Aramaic translation-*cum*-exegesis transcribed over a very long period,[26] gives further evidence that the "remnant" had become well established

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[24] Of Isa.1:9, Quell writes: "the wresting is so obvious that it can be explained only on dogmatic grounds, or more modestly, in terms of a stage in Bible interpretation in which the ideology of the people of God and its future began to be oriented to the impressive slogan *zera hakodesh* [the holy seed] (Ezr.9:2; Isa.6:13c). . . .[manuscript] 'A, which correctly has *leimma* ("remnant") rather than the obscure *sperma*, either did not know or did not accept these tendencies" (540).

[25] While many scholars (like Seeligmann and Quell) consider the Septuagint an end-product of transmission, modern scholarship suggests that it, and not the Massoretic text (which dates from 8-9 C. E.), may in fact be the most primary witness to the original Hebrew. The MT would in this case perhaps be evidence of the conservative practices operative in the period of stabilization in the first to fifth centuries C. E., and the Septuagint texts perhaps the earliest witnesses of the interpretive tradition of Trito-Isaiah.

[26] The need for the Targums arose with the decline of Hebrew as a spoken language during the exile. A *meturgeman*, or interpreter, translated the lections from the prophets into Aramaic, at the same time redirected the primary text to accord with current

in learned circles as an emblem of righteousness and of messianic hope. The Messiah is explicitly named in the Targum alongside the "remnant" (4:2, 10:27; 11:1; 14:27; 28:5), and the "remnant" is described explicitly as "righteous" in its every appearance. In places the Targum even adds the "remnant" motif to a passage, almost as a gloss. At 8:23-2-9:1, for example, a passage which turns abruptly and problematically from threat to promise ("there will be no more gloom for those who were in distress"), the Targum clarifies the obscure reference and the unspecified historical context of the darkness and oppression:

> *and their **remnant** shall a mighty king carry into exile, because they remembered not the mighty act which was done at the sea, the miracles of Jordan, the war of the cities of the peoples . . . .the people even the house of Israel that walked in Egypt* saw a great light. [27]

The added verses specify that the oppression is to be borne by the "remnant", who are exiled because they have failed to rightly commemorate the "mighty acts" of deliverance performed by God throughout Israel's history. It is this "remnant", further identified with this history in the added reference to the Egyptian captivity, that will be the ones chosen to "see a great light" (9:1).

Similarly, the Targum adds the "remnant" for clarification of 53:10, a passage which describes the self-sacrifice of the "servant". In place of "he will see his offspring

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authoritative rabbinical scholarship. The Targum underwent continual development, and did not acquire a fixed form until some time during the period extending from the return from exile and the first century AD, although the official written fixed form cannot be dated earlier than the fifth century AD. Extensive interpretive additions and alterations were made to the text. (Stenning vii-xi).

[27] All citations from the Targum are from Stenning. The Targum's additions to Isaiah are italicized.

and prolong his days, and the will of the Lord will prosper in his hand", the Targum elaborates considerably:

> *And it was the Lord's good pleasure to refine and to purify the **remnant** of his people, in order to cleanse their soul from sin: they shall look upon the kingdom of their Messiah, they shall multiply sons and daughters,* they shall prolong days, *and they that perform the law of the Lord* shall prosper *in his good pleasure.*

These two representative passages indicate that the Targum scholars identified the exiles from Jerusalem as the "remnant" (cf. 42:7; 46:11; 51:11; 54:7; 66:9), and the "remnant" as the "servant". Two distinct trends can be discerned in the Targum's alterations, one which places the "remnant" in the context of God's saving/judging acts in Israel's history (cf. the many references to the deliverance from Egypt, the righteousness of Noah and of Abraham, and the giving of the law, at 27:1; 29:22; 37:26; 41:2f; 43:2,8,12; 46:11; 48:8; 63:16; 65:8), and another which emphasizes the need for purification and strict ritual observance of the law (4:3; 7:3, 10:21-22; 17:6; 24:5, 12-15; 30:17; 37:31-2; 53:10). Both trends stand behind the third and most noticeable tendency, namely, to justify and then mitigate the strong negative element perceived in the prophet's message. The Targum changes Isaiah's opening diatribe to an unambiguous promise of election: at 1:4, "a sinful nation, offspring of evildoers" becomes "a beloved seed"; "Cherished sons". At 1:24 a threat, "I will avenge myself on my enemies", becomes a consolation: "as for the city Jerusalem, I am about to comfort her". The final message of this ambiguous oracle becomes a clear statement of deliverance. In place of "unless the Lord Almighty had left us some **survivor**", the Targum reads "except the exceeding goodness of the Lord of hosts had left us a **remnant** *in his mercy*".

As in the Septuagint, the "seed" image appears to be the sign of affirmative re-interpretations of the "remnant". At 6:13 the Targum looks beyond the devastation

depicted in the preceding verses to the future "gathering" and "return" of the "remnant", which again it identifies specifically as the exiles:

> And a tenth shall be left in it . . . like a terebinth and an oak *which appear*
> *to be dried up when their leaves fall, though they still retain their moisture*
> *to preserve a seed from them; so the exiles of Israel shall be gathered*
> *together and shall return to their land*; for a holy seed is their plant.

The original image of the stump left standing desolate is replaced by an image of merely dormant trees. The image of moisture anticipates the final image of the "holy seed" and so resolves the contradiction in the passage.

The changes which the Targum makes to the book of Isaiah identify the "remnant" with the political entity "Israel" of the present, with the "suffering servant" and the Messiah of the future, and with the patriarchs of the past. For Isaiah, the exodus is the one crucial event in Israel's past which serves as a paradigm for both the exile and the restoration of Israel. Accordingly, reference to the deliverance from Egypt is frequent in Isaiah (it occurs specifically in conjunction with the "remnant" at 10:24 & 26, at 4:2, and at 11:11-16, and with the "servant" at 43:2 and 63:10-16). The Targum alludes more frequently to the pivotal figures and events in Israel's history. Like the Deuteronomic writings, the Targum attempts to contextualize contemporary events not only in terms of prophecy, but also in terms of the sacred past. A similar tendency can be observed in the apocryphal writings of the period, many of which are construed as an apocalyptic vision of a hero from early salvation history. The message of the "remnant" from the pen of such an "authority" is perhaps responsible in part for keeping the motif in the foreground of the theology of the period.

The Book of Enoch: "And all the righteous shall be left as a remnant"

One of the earliest of these writings is the "Noah Apocalypse", preserved only as fragments incorporated into the Book of Enoch (I Enoch). This book is of singular importance as it is one of few attestations of the theological developments in late Judaism out of which Christianity emerged, and its influence upon both scripture and early scriptural commentary is extensive. Noah is the central figure for the "remnant" in I Enoch, and the Flood is a figure for the Last Judgment. Because the fragments of the "Noah Apocalypse" are distributed through four of the five books of I Enoch, Noah and Enoch become somewhat conflated as prophetic figures, and the "remnant" takes on the mystic aura of Enoch's apocalyptic vision.

In the first prophecy of the Flood, the "remnant" is configured as the "seed" of the state of righteousness that will characterize the end-time. Enoch is told:

> Go to Noah and . . . instruct him that he may **escape** and his seed may be preserved for the whole earth (10:3). [Variant readings: "for all the generations of the world", "forever", "from him will be planted a plant and it will be established throughout all the generations of the world", "for all generations forever" (Charles 22)]. . . .Let the plant of righteousness and truth appear. And now all the righteous shall **be humble.** [Variant: "will **be left as a remnant**" (Milik 189)]. . . . and all the sons of men shall be righteous, and all the nations shall serve and bless me. (10:16-22)[28]

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[28] The Hebrew root here, translated variously as "be humble", "escape" and "be left as a remnant", is *pelet* (cf. Isa. 4:2, 10:20, 37:31, 32 etc.). The expression "plant of righteousness" is the same used by Isaiah to describe the post-exilic "remnant" of Israel (Black 133). Translations from I Enoch are those of R. H. Charles.

The universality and eternality of the return to righteousness is repeated at each re-telling of the Flood:

> From your seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous and holy without number forever (65:12). . . .I will place my hand on [the ark] and preserve it, and there shall come forth from it the seed of life, and a transformation shall take place (67:2-3). . . .Rise and make supplication – for you are the faithful – that **a remnant may be left** on the earth (83:5-6,8). . . .I entreat and ask that you fulfill my prayer to **leave me a posterity** on earth. . . .Wipe out from the earth the flesh which has provoked you to anger, but the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as a plant of the eternal seed. (84:5-6)

Elsewhere in I Enoch the progress of this "eternal seed" is traced through sacred history, first in the form of a beast fable, where the patriarchs appear as various manifestations of a singular figure of righteousness. Noah (89:1), Adam (85:3), Abraham and Isaac (89:10,11), and finally the Messiah (90:37) are each represented as a white bull (Charles 191; Black 266). The tribes of Israel are represented as sheep that are delivered from wolves (Egypt), but then forsaken and dispersed until only a faithful "remnant" of them is left (90:3-5). These are gathered eventually into a "New House" established on the site of the old, where the Messiah transforms all creatures to accord with his own state of righteousness and faith:

> and I saw all the sheep that were **left**, and all the animals on the earth... falling down and worshipping those sheep. . . .And the eyes of them were opened . . . and I saw how a white bull was born . . . and all the wild animals were afraid of it . . . and I looked until all their species were transformed and they all became white bulls, and the first one among them was a "wild ox"[variant: "Word"]. (90:29-39)

A similar compression of patriarchal history occurs in the "Apocalypse of Weeks", a poem interpolated into the fifth section of I Enoch. Recounting the stages (in "weeks of years") of sacred history, Enoch names first Noah, then Abraham, then Isaac ("his **posterity**") as the "plant of righteous judgment" chosen by God (93:4-5). In the Fourth Week, the Law is revealed; in the Fifth, the temple is built; in the Sixth and Seventh, the chosen people become apostate and are dispersed (93:6-9). In the final week, the Elect are chosen "from the eternal plant of righteousness" (93:10), and "the earth will be at rest from oppression" (93:17). Scholars read "the Elect" as a variation on the notion of the "servant" and the "remnant" (Black 291), and the notion of "rest" as an etymologically-based figure (the Hebrew roots "rest" and "comfort" are related) for the eternal reward promised to those who follow their righteous example.

The final vision of the miraculous birth of Noah includes a similar word-play on "remnant", with variant readings punning upon "rest" and "comfort":

> He shall be **left** on the earth, and his three children shall be saved. Therefore he shall be named Noah, for he shall be a **remnant** for you, and he and his sons shall be saved from the destruction (106:16-18). [Variants: "and the earth shall **rest**" (Milik 213); "for he shall be your **remnant**, forasmuch as he and his son shall have **rest** and **escape** from the corruption of the earth" (Black 101); "whereby you will have **rest**"; "for he will **comfort** the earth after all the destruction" (Lewis 27); *ipsi vocabitur Noe qui interpretatur requies quia requiem prestabit in archam* (Charles 268)].[29]

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[29] Only section 106:1-18 survives in a Latin translation. Charles notes that the Latin fragment does not appear to have been an excerpt, and that it likely points to the existence of a more complete Latin translation (xix-xx). All three etymologies evident in the

Both miraculous births (of the Messiah and of Noah) in I Enoch bring about an apocalyptic and eternal conversion of the entire world to a state of "rest". It is a small step from this vision to the notion of Noah as a type for Christ, and of the Flood as a type for baptism. Indeed, the theological understanding of the "remnant" in I Enoch is central to the Christian conception of salvation history, and thus to the way in which the New Testament came to employ and interpret the Old.

iii. The "Remnant" in Christian Typology

Introduction

I Enoch's anachronistic projection of the "remnant" into the formative events of early pentateuchal narrative (Danielou 1960 75) gives the ancient covenants with the patriarchs a new sense of theological unity and eschatological direction. With more revision and directing, the sacred story of God's elect people comes to have an end which harmonizes with its beginning, and a middle which allows for the introduction of a new covenant and new characters. I Enoch's "New House" (the church) becomes the present repository of the original "remnant", like the ark in which only a "few were preserved" (*in qua pauci . . . salvae factae sunt*, 1 Pet.3:18-21; cf. 2 Pet.2:5-9; 3:3-9; Mt.24:36-41),[30] and the "remnant" of the Old Testament becomes related to that of the New both historically and typologically, in a continuous line of election from Noah through the "seed" of Abraham, Isaac, and David to Christ (Acts 3:25; 7:5,6; 13:23, 33; Lk.1:55; Jn.8:33,37; 7:42).

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various attempts to explain this cryptic text derive from the similarity in the Hebrew of the three roots *y'nuach* "to be left", *nuah* "to rest", and *nahum* "to comfort". Only the third is used in the scriptural etymology at Gen.5:29 (Lewis 3, 21, 35; Danielou 1960 75).

[30] All Latin citations are from the Vulgate.

The cardinal position of Noah in this continuum is likely derived in part from his importance as *the* "remnant" figure in I Enoch, and from the considerable influence which the book's eschatological treatment of the Flood story had upon the gospels and the Petrine epistles (Charles xcv-ciii).[31] In the gospels, the "few chosen" (*multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi*, Mt. 20:16; 22:14) are the "remnant" of a disaster that is both historical and eschatological. The second coming will be *sicut autem in diebus Noe. . . . Tunc duo erunt in agro; unus adsumetur et unus relinquetur* (Mt.24:37 & 40; cf. Lk.17:26-27, 30, 34-35; Mk.13:32) Although the noun "remnant" does not appear to be deployed as a theological term in any of the accounts of Christ's ministry, many scholars identify the one who is left (Mt. 24:40) with the "elect" (Mt.24:22, 24, 31; cf. Mk.13:20-22; Lk.18:7; Isa.65:8-9), with the disciples, with those gathered into the church, and with those saved at the final judgment (Meyer 127; Rowland 152; Dodd 1938 137, Johnson *passim*). The theological argument for such a definitive conception of the "remnant" is the express purpose of Paul's Letter to the Romans, the one place in the New Testament where the "remnant" and the "elect" are explicitly equated (Dodd 1949 74ff; Nygren 393ff), and the identity of the "remnant" is made clear.

Romans 9-11: In hoc tempore reliquiae secundum electionem gratiae salvae factae sunt

Many of the Septuagint readings of Isaiah are repeated and perhaps consciously exploited in Romans 9-11, where they remain available for further transmission through

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[31] Charles states that "the influence of I Enoch on the New Testament has been greater than that of all the other apocryphal and pseudigraphal books taken together" (xcv). He charts the extensive influence of I Enoch upon early patristic commentary as well (lxxxi-ciii).

patristic commentaries and translations.[32] Paul uses image patterns as well as quotation from Isaiah, perhaps to counter what had become a particularist restriction of the "remnant" idea, based upon strict and often fanatical adherence to ritual observance (T. L. Donaldson 38-45). In Paul's hands, the "remnant" is transformed from a badge of sectarian polemic to a sign of universal salvation. Again Isaiah's "(only) a remnant will *return*" is translated "(only) a remnant will be *saved*", and "some survivors" is again "seed" of hope.[33] Paul combines the contradictory messages of admonition and promise contained in these prophecies, and makes them relevant "at this present time" by relating them to the example of Elijah, who like the small number of Jewish Christians perceived himself to be alone amongst non-believers:

'Si fuerit numerus filiorum Israel tamquam harena maris, **reliquiae salvae fient'** [Isa.10:22-23]. . . .'Nisi Dominus sabaoth **reliquisset nobis semen,** sicut Sodoma facti sumus et sicut Gomorrha similes fuissemus' [Isa.1:9]. .

. .'**Reliqui** mihi septem milia virorum, qui non curvaverunt genua ante Baal'[1Kings19:18]. Sic ergo et in hoc tempore **reliquiae secundum electionem gratiae salvae factae sunt.** (Rom.9:27, 29; 11:4-5)

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[32] The LXX "seed" is preserved in the Vulgate Isa.1:9, as is "saved" at 45:20, 66:19; 37:32, and "exalted" at 4:2. Jerome uses the Hebrew "return" in Isa.10:21-22, but does not alter the Septuagint version of the same passage in Romans.

[33] While it is not possible to ascribe such interpretive replacements to Paul himself, nevertheless it is likely that his repetitions of the Septuagint version of these verses represent conscious choices, as elsewhere (including Romans) Paul demonstrates a close knowledge of the Hebrew text (Seeligmann 24, 115). If Paul is consciously tallying Isa.1:9 with Gen.21:12 (Dinter 49) according to midrashic tradition (Stegner 44, Ellis 141), then the choice of the LXX "seed" was likely made in order to emphasize the connection.

The place of the "remnant" in Paul's overall argument is crucial in that (like the Targum) it gives a positive historical identity to the "seed", the strategically repeated key-word and metaphor in his exegesis. In order to prove his thesis that "the word of God has not failed", he tallies the survival of a "tiny remnant" (Isa.1:9) with the "seed" promised to Abraham and fulfilled in Christ *ex semine David* (Rom.1.3), and so realigns the idea of the "remnant" according to new boundaries of covenant membership:

> Non autem quod exciderit verbum Dei. Non enim omnes qui ex Israel sunt, ii sunt Israelitae; neque qui semen sunt Abrahae omnes filii; sed 'in Isaac vocabitur tibi semen' [Gen.21:12]; id est non qui filii carnis hi filii Dei, sed qui filii sunt promissionis aestimantur in semine. (Rom.9:6-8)

As in the days of Elijah, so now there is a "remnant" of Israel elected by God to become the nucleus of the "true" Israel (Cranford 31-38; Aageson 56-61).

The newly constituted "remnant" vindicates God's word of promise. Its place in God's plan for Israel is configured in what appears to be a reworking of Isaiah's image of the tree *quod reliquum est radicem deorsum et faciet fructum sursum, quia de Ierusalem exiunt reliquiae et salvatio de monte Sion* (Isa.37:31; cf. Isa.6:13; 11:1). Paul refines, restricts, and at the same time expands the notion of "Israel" by "pruning" the olive to include only the faithful "remnant" and the patriarchs – the "holy root" – and by "grafting in" those of the Gentiles who like Elijah commit themselves to faith:

> si radix sancta, et rami . . . in te autem bonitatem Dei, si permanseris in bonitate . . . si non permanserit in incredulitate, inserentur. (Rom.11:16, 22-23)

This tree does not "grow" to fullness of its own righteous nature. For the "remnant" to become a whole requires divine intervention (the "pruning" and "grafting") and the fullness of time: *donec plenitudo gentium intraret, et sic omnis Israel salvus fieret* (Rom.11:25-26). Thus the argument concludes as it began: as in the age of the patriarchs

and Moses (Rom.9:6-18), God acts solely through grace in selecting those whom he foreknew to be faithful in their response to his call. "All Israel" is at once reduced and extended. All (and only) those who "belong to Christ" belong to the "remnant": *Si autem vos Christi, ergo semen Abrahae estis, secundum promissionem heredes* (Gal.3:29).

In this way, Paul's new conception of "Israel" transforms the "remnant" from a figure of divine retribution to one of election. A measure of misfortune is now a sign of grace, and a grace, moreover, that is no longer the obligation and privilege of a (self-) righteous elite, but is extended to all. The new identity of Israel in Romans 9-11 is in large part responsible for the conviction expressed throughout biblical scholarship that the first Christians saw the church and/or Christ as "the holy remnant, the true Israel, the spiritual fulfillment of those prophecies which promise the eschatological reestablishment of the twelve tribes" (Fekkes 173).[34] While it is still hotly debated whether Christ himself ever claimed this identity for himself and his disciples,[35] nevertheless the first interpreters

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[34] Many see the identities of the "servant", the Messiah, and the "Son of Man" in Isaiah and Daniel collapsed into that of Christ. Edgar A. Johnson argues that the ecclesiology of Matthew is informed by the idea of the "remnant" throughout. J .M. Ford argues for the centrality of the "remnant" to Revelation (120-24; 204-5; 246), as does Fekkes. For further discussion of these positions see Charity (106, 141); Manson (179ff; 199ff; 210, 230-36); A. T. R. Hanson (15-20); Cullman (154); J. C. Campbell (82-85); Solomon (411-14); Rowley (1950 147-48). One Gospel passage which appears to have escaped attention is Jn.16:32: *dispergamini unusquisque in propria et me solum reliquatis*, where Christ's words seem to echo Elijah's.

[35] James Watts has recently challenged the validity of a Christian "remnant" understanding, particularly in view of the absence of the word "remnant" in the gospels (121-128). Johnson accounts for this absence by suggesting that the term may be strategically absent because of its overloaded particularist affiliations in late Judaism

of the New Testament appeared to see them in this light. Through Paul, the church fathers read the Old Testament "remnant" as a typological proof-text of God's eschatological plan, and as confirmation that "even now at this present time" any who believe may be "grafted" into it.

Patristic Commentary: De israhelitico genere sumus et electae sunt de nobis reliquiae

Patristic commentary upon Isaiah (and upon Paul's quotation of Isaiah) reads the prophetic "remnant" back into pentateuchal narrative as a typological signifier of election and salvation, and also of dissemination. Ambrose relates Noah's "seed" to Paul's notion of the "remnant" in *Romans* 9-11:

> qui ad semen omnium **reservatus**, solus ex omnibus et praeteritae generationis **superstes** est factus et auctor futurae, mundo potius et universis magis quam sibi natus! . . . .quem Dominus Deus ad renovandum semen hominum **reservavit**, ut esset justitiae seminarium. . . .hoc in

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(14). Meyer argues that the difference between the self-understanding of John the Baptist and Christ is one of a "closed" versus an "open" "remnant"; that is, between aims that are particularist or "Pharisaic, in the proper sense of the word" (Heb. *parush* 'separated'), and aims that are universalist, or apostolic (123-125; 127-30). Hasel (1976) supports this view. Watts attacks the assumptions made here that the "remnant" theme was central to the theology of sectarian Judaism. His argument is largely dependent upon those of Heubsch and Sanders, which he misrepresents. Heubsch and Sanders argue that none of the sectarian groups considered themselves alone to be *the* eschatological "remnant", because they did not believe the eschaton to be imminent; also, they considered themselves to be the means (only) to an ideal state of universal conversion. Fitzmeyer argues that the idea of a "remnant" was *the* central conception of their identity and purpose. For further discussion, see Richardson (60 -65); Minear (81); J. Parkes (183).

figura; in veritate autem ait: 'reliquiae per dilectionem gratiae salvae factae sunt'. (*De Officiis* 25.121; PL 16.63; *De Noe* 1.1; 5.11; PL 14.382, 386-87)

The *seminarium* is at once a figure of selection and of universality, as those in the ark include only the few faithful, but through them, all mankind.[36] Elsewhere Ambrose identifies the "remnant/seed" as Christ himself:

Hoc dicit, quia Isaias clamat pro iis, qui credunt in Christum [Isa.10:22]. . . .Hoc semen [Isa.1:9], quod de omnibus solum **relictum** et **reservatum** est ad reformationem generis humani, Christus est, et doctrina eius. (*Commentarii in Epistulae ad Romanos* PL 17.146, 147)[37]

For Jerome the "remnant" is the apostolic community, the *semen sanctum* which preserves the gospel for the entire world and makes salvation continually available and relevant:

Isa.1:9: non ad Babylonicae captivitatis referanda tempus, sed ad ultimam Romanorum, quando in apostolis salvae factae sunt **reliquiae** populi Iudaeorum, et una die crediderunt tria milia et quinque milia, et in toto orbe Evangelium seminatum est.

Isa.4:2: Significat autem apostolos et eos qui per apostolos crediderunt.

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[36] Noah is thus both the type and progenitor of Christ: *Christus etiam figuratus est in Noe, et in illa arca, orbis terrarum. Quare enim in arca inclusa sunt omnia animalia, nisi ut significarentur omnes gentes?* (Augustine *In Joannis Evangelium* 11. PL 35.1464). For further commentary on the typology of Noah, see Danielou 1960, Chapters I & II, and Lewis 98-102.

[37] See also Pelagius *Expositiones XIII epistularum Pauli*: "Unless Christ, Abraham's offspring, had been sent to set the people free" (De Bruyer 120).

Isa.6:13: quando iuxta apostulum **reliquiae salvabuntur** [Rom.9:27; 11:5], hoc semen sanctum erit et de apostolorum germine cunctae ecclesiae pullulabunt.

Isa.10:20-22: Et quia dixerat **reliquias esses salvandas** [Rom.9:27-29], transit ad posteriora tempora et plenam salvationem futuram dicit esse sub Christo. Intellegimus vix paucos in apostolis et apostolicis viris ex Iudaeis esse salvatos. (*Commentaria in Isaiam* 1:1, 2:4, 3:6, 4:10; PL 24.32, 74, 103, 143)

Throughout his commentary, Jerome repeatedly relates each of the "remnant" prophecies of Isaiah to each other, and to Paul's use of them in Romans 9-11. The pitiful "remnants" of Isaiah 24:13 (*quomodo si paucae olivae, quae remanserunt, excutiantur ex olea*) are those "few chosen" for salvation in the gospel: *Relictis hominibus paucis . . . tanta erit sanctorum paucitas, de quibus dominus loquitur in evangelio* [Mt.20.16] '*multi vocati, et pauci electi*'. They also represent those in the past: *qui in dominum crediderint*; those now awaiting salvation in the church: *qui in ecclesia commorantur*; those saved at the eschaton; *cum intraverit plenitudo gentium, tunc omnis Israhel salvus fiat*: and at the baptism: *tunc salvabuntur* **reliquiae** *de Israhel, quando in baptismate salvatoris eis fuerint peccata dimissa* (*Commentaria. in Isaiam* 24:13, 28:5, 11:11, 4:4; PL 24.294, 327, 153, 74).

Through such combining and re-directing of Old and New Testament passages by Jerome, the "remnant" from the prophets and from Romans 9-11, like the "remnant" of the Flood, becomes emblematic of the regeneration associated with the coming of Christ. It heralds a state of blessedness "like the dew from heaven":

[Mic.5:7] tunc veniente christo, omnes **reliquiae** Iacob quae potuerint in gentibus superesse, erunt in benedictione, quasi ros a domino veniens, et

quai pluvia super herbam. (*Commentariorum in Michaeam Prophetam* 2.5. PL 25.1205)

It expresses the hope of election to eternal life for the newly constituted "Israel":

nos qui vivimus, qui **residui** sumus in adventu domini, et nos inmutabimur et non sumus ex his qui appelantur mortui, sed vivimus . . . quia de israhelitico genere sumus et electae sunt de nobis **reliquiae** de quibus olim dominus loquebatur: 'dereliqui mihi septem milia viros qui non curvaverunt genua bahal'. (*Epistolae*119; CSEL 44.462)

At the same time, it recalls the connection with the ancient "Israel" of the covenant, as prophesied by Moses in Deuteronomy.:

Isa.51:4: populus appellatur **reliquiae** ex Israel credentium; et tribus, sive gentes, hi qui crediderunt ex multitudine nationum, dicente nationibus Moyse in deuteronomii cantico [Deut.32]: laetamini gentes cum populo eius. (*Commentaria in Isaiam* 14.51; PL 24.501-02)

Thus the notion of a "remnant" is a dynamic one, identifying that group whom the divine compassion has selected at any given juncture in salvation history. The true Israel is the "remnant" of the historical Israel, the *apostoli et alii qui ante ascensionem Domini crediderunt ex Judeis* (Haymo *Commentarii in Isaiam* PL 116.759,776).

According to Augustine, the salvation of the "remnant" is the "cornerstone" of God's salvific plan which unites Jew with Gentile, and both with the "seed" of Abraham:

reliquiae salvae fient [Isa.1:9; Rom.9:27] ostendit quemadmodum sit dominus lapis angularis utrumque parietam in se coniungens . . . ut ipsae deputentur in semen Abrahae, quae crediderunt in Christum. Ita concordes ambos populos facit. (*Expositiones quarumdam propositionnum ex Epistula ad Romanos* 57; CSEL 84.40)

Augustine demonstrates the unity of salvation history by making connections between the trials suffered by the scattered and reduced "remnants" of the past and the salvation which their descendants will achieve through Christ:

> domine, a paucis, id est a **reliquiis**, quas ex illa gente salvas fecisti, de terra dispertire eos, ut terram intelligamus ecclesiam hereditatemque fidelium atque sanctorum, quae dicitur et terra viventium et quae illo etiam loco recte intellegi potest: beati mites, quoniam ipsi hereditate possidebunt terram. (*Epistulae* 149; CSEL 44.350)

The genealogical connection between the elect and Christ finds further support in Augustine's typological connection:

> ad hoc enim occissus est christus a iudaeis et traditus gentibus tamquam ioseph aegyptiis [Gen.45:7][38] a fratribus, ut et **reliquiae israhel salvae fierent.** . . .de quibus **reliquiis** tunc et apostoli salvi facti sunt, hoc significatur ea plenitudine liberationis israhel, qua per moysen ex aegypto liberati sunt. (*Quaestionum in heptateuchum libri septem* 1.104, 148; CSEL 28.57, 76)

It is through such patristic commentary that the calamitous events of the Old Testament come to be resolved positively in the New. Each instance of exile – Noah's journey over the flood, the Israelites' journey over the desert, Joseph's journey into Egypt – comes to have a salfivic purpose in the overall conception of sacred history; each points partially to that final liberation and fulfillment of the true "Israel". The "remnant" is in this way associated with the promises of the old covenants: the promise of progeny issuing from the stories of Noah and Abraham, and the promise of the Land issuing from

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[38] It is perhaps through such commentary that this passage in Genesis acquired its wider salvific significance.

the Deuteronomic Song of Moses. The eschatological fulfillment of these promises is described by Gregory as a "harvesting" of the "remnant". At the end of the world, the elect will be gathered into the bosom of the church, and Satan will be destroyed:

> sancta namque ecclesia in primitiis suis multitudine gentium fecundata, vix in mundi fine iudaeos quos invenerit, suscipit, et extrema colligens eos quasi **reliquias** frugum ponit . . .ad cognitionem fidei multi quoque ex infidelibus convertuntur, ita ut israeliticae gentis **reliquiae** quae repulsae prius funditus fuerant, ad sinum matris ecclesiae pia omnimodo devotione concurrant. . . .**reliquiae salvae fient,** satan a dextris suis dominus removet dicens: increpet dominus in te, satan. (*Moralia in Job, praef.,* 35.14, 20.22; PL 75.636, PL 76.769, 166)

Gregory's particular combination of ideas – the fruition, gathering, conversion, and salvation of the faithful "remnant", and the victory over Satan – is a convenient summary of the role of the "remnant" as it was generally conceived by the early church fathers, and as it continued to be interpreted in Christian exegesis and practice. In later commentary, the return of the "remnant" (Isa.10:20-22) is related to the *triduum,* after which Israel's resurrection is assured through Christ's. For Peter Abelard, the "remnant" is the prime example of salvation for those "taken up" by the church: *unde ipsi quasi reliquiae sunt assumpti* (*Exposito in Epist. Pauli ad Romanos* 4; PL 178.932).[39] Similarly, for Hildegard of Bingen, the "remnant" represents eternal life, and defense against the death brought about by the devil: *reliquiae quas laqueus mortis non*

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[39] Citing several of the fathers, Peter Abelard defines the "remnant" variously as the *semen, sicut apostolos et caeteros ecclesiae primitivae fideles,* and as Elijah and John the Baptist, *quasi alterum Eliam* (PL 178.921, 928).

comprehendit, ne se declinet post exemplum diaboli, illae salvae factae sunt (Scivias, Visio Secunda 10; PL 197.582).

Because of the association between the salvation of the "remnant" and the resurrection of Christ, the "remnant" becomes central to the celebration of Easter. Thus it is a sign of the cleansing brought about by the blood of Christ, and of the "grafting in" of the faithful through baptism:

> cum per sanguinem suum priorum temporum omnes electos emundaverit
> eiusdem gratiae **reliquias** futuris et per verbum apostolorum credituris
> gentibus sive iudaeis ponet in introitu sanctuarii veri ut per baptismum
> complantentur similitudini mortis eius quicumque volunt corpori eius uniri
> id est in ecclesiam eius ingredi et resurrectionis eius comparticipes fieri.
> (Rupertus Tuitiensis, *De sancta trinitate in Leviticum I*; CCCM 21.821)

Just as the cleansing of a "remnant" at the time of the Flood is assurance of continued life in the flesh, so in the spirit – in the "remnants of the thoughts" – eternal life is brought about through faith and ritual:

> saturati sunt filiis et dimiserunt **reliquias** suas parvulis suis . . . et
> carnaliter . . . et spiritualiter: quoniam 'cogitatio hominis, inquit psalmista
> [Psalm 75], confitebitur tibi et **reliquiae cogitationis** diem festum agent
> tibi'. (Rupertus Tuitiensis, *In Genesim VII*; CCCM 21.436, 459)

Elsewhere, the "remnants of the thought" are related specifically to the ritual observances of Easter: *sollempne domino pascha quilibet agit qui relinquens quod male cogitavet illud agere satagit quod dominus ipse precepit* (Ratherius Veronensis, *Sermones Sermo II de Pascha* PL 136.726).

This yoking together of the "remnants" of the thoughts, the "remnants" of the Flood, and the Easter ritual derives possibly from Augustine's discussion of Psalm 75 in his sermon for the Easter Vigil (*Sermo* 220), where he explains the importance of ritual.

Each Christian must recall the events of sacred history in the "remnants of the thoughts" in order to summon the past event of the Resurrection into his present life, and so partake of its sacred meaning:

> Sic intelligi arbitror quod in Psalmo scriptum est: 'Cogitatio hominis confitebitur tibi, et **reliquiae cogitationis** diem solemnem celebrabunt tibi' (Ps.75:11). Nisi enim quod de rebus temporaliter gestis dicitur cogitatio memoriae commendaret, nullas post tempus **reliquias** inveniret. Ideo cogitatio hominis intuens veritatem Domino confitetur: **reliquiae** vero cogitationis quae sunt in memoria, notis temporibus non cessant celebrare solemnia. . . .Ad hoc pertinet noctis huius tam praeclara solemnitas, ubi Vigilando tanquam resurrectionem Domini per cogitationis **reliquias** operemur, quam semel factam cogitando verius confitemur. . .
> .Haec evertit idola Paganorum. (*Sermo* 220; PL38.1089)

In both early and present forms of the Easter ritual, the great vigil on Holy Saturday presents a typologically related gathering of "remnants" from the Old Testament as a prelude to the baptism. The idea of the "remnant" is in this way kept continually in the foreground of Christian theology and practice as the Augustinian "cornerstone" linking the Old Testament with the New.

The Holy Saturday Liturgy

This "mother of all vigils" (Augustine, *Sermo* 219; PL 38.1088) was from earliest times considered to be a symbolic re-enactment of the Baptism, Passion and Resurrection of Christ, and also of his ultimate victory over the devil at the Harrowing of Hell. Early catechists drew the theology of the rite from the key events in sacred history, which are explained to the catechumen during his preparation period, and then rehearsed in the

Vigil after the lighting of the paschal candle.[40] These events are recounted as a continuous and interrelated narrative. Behind the selection of readings is an interpretive tradition which, following upon 1Pet.3:21, transforms the destructive waters of the deluge into the saving waters of baptism, and from there interprets successive miracles involving water in terms of judgment and deliverance, and finally of apocalyptic fire. Comparison is made between the world purified after the flood and the convert purified at the font. The "baptism of the world" becomes a figure for the election and the unity of the church; those not in the ark are equated with the devil and his legions, and with sin in general.[41]

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[40] The preparation for baptism included a series of instructions during Lent called "scrutinies", during which the candidates listened to expositions on scripture, and were then examined on their progress in order that they might be freed from diabolic influences (Vagaggini 403). See also *De catechezandis rudibus* 22-27 (PL 40 338-48), in which Augustine instructs the catechumen with key passages from Old and New Testaments, the events of Christ's life, death, and resurrection, the sanctity of the sacraments, the cardinal doctrines of the church, and the moral expectations demanded of its new members. Danielou 1960 (3-4, 25) notes that the early liturgy was given extensive explication and interpretation for the individual catechumen in the forty days preceding the baptism. Sermons for the Easter season such as Augustine's were composed to explain the significance of the baptismal ritual (another example is *Sermo*. 259.2 PL 38. 1195). Dorothy Bethurum notes that Wulfstan's sermons were similarly intended for such instruction (302). See Whitaker for documents of the earliest practices, and Duschesne, Tyrer, and Bertoniere for general description of the historical development of the rite.

[41] For interpretation of the Flood as a figure for baptism, and Noah as a type of Christ, see Tertullian, *De baptismo* 8 (CSEL 20.207-208). For the flood as a figure for final judgement, see Augustine *De catechezandis rudibus* 19.32 (PL 40.334). For further

The Vigil's lectionary presents a selection of highly abridged instances of deliverance from salvation history in combination with messianic prophecy. The series of readings, or "prophecies" falls into 3 groups: historical (Genesis & Exodus), prophetic (Isaiah, Baruch, Ezekiel, Isaiah), and historical-prophetic (Exodus, Jonah, Deuteronomy, Daniel).[42] Isaiah's prophecies of the "holy remnant" occupy a pivotal position in this series, and thus serve to link history to prophecy in an eschatological context. The prophets were considered to be the early voices of such continuity and futurity, and were for this reason made central to the Vigil (Vogel 303, 381). In the first of the prophetic readings (Isa.54:17-55:11),[43] the "heritage" of each "servant of the Lord" is the fructifying Word, which "rains" down from the mouth of God to gather and "return" to him all who thirst for it now, even as it did for the patriarchs. The last reading from Isaiah

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discussion and references, see E. Ferguson 296; Lewis 168-173; Danielou 1960 chapters 2-4; 1965 chapters 5-6.

[42] In his study of the early eastern rites, Bertoniere demonstrates that what appears to be a meaningless disregard for scriptural order is likely a conscious pattern of alternating readings from the historical and the prophetic books (130-31). These are:

> historical readings: Gen.1:1-2:2; Gen.5:31-8:21; Gen.22:1-19; Exod.14:24-15:18.
>
> prophetic readings: Isa.54:17-55:11; Bar.3:9-38; Ezek.37:1-14; Isa.4:1-5:7.
>
> historical/ prophetic readings: Exod.12:1-11; Jonah3:1-10; Deut.31:22-32:4;

Dan.3:1-24 & Canticle

[43] Haec est hereditas servorum Domini et iustitia eorum apud me, dicit dominus. Omnes sitientes, venite ad aquas, et qui non habetis argentum properate, emite et comedite . . . Et quomodo descendit imber et nix de caelo et illuc ultra non revertitur, sed inebriat terram et infundit eam et germinare eam facit et dat semen serenti et panem comedenti; sic erit verbum meum quod egredietur de ore meo: non revertetur ad me vacuum, sed faciet quaecumque volui et prosperabitur in his ad quae misi illud.

(Isa.4:1-5:7) defines this "servant" as the "remnant" of Israel, and clarifies both the promise and the demand attending the service: once cleansed, the "remnant", like the "branch of the Lord", will *in illo die* become beautiful and holy (4:2-4).[44] Because the Isaiah passages occupy such a prominent position in the cursus, the Vigil brings the idea of the heritage of the "holy remnant" to the fore *in hoc tempore*. Similarly, the final group of readings, the historical exempla of faith, apostasy and deliverance, will be heard in the eschatological context of Isaiah's "holy remnant". The scriptural scenes presented in the lections are in this context perceived not only as chronicles of past events, but as a continuing story in which the reviewed covenants made with each scriptural "remnant" are renewed in the present and consummated *in illo die*.

That this ritual sense of recovery and confirmation in sacred time is the purpose of the lections is evident from the responses to them.[45] The responses to the Genesis

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[44] In die illa erit germen Domini in magnificentia et gloria et fructus terrae sublimis, et exsultatio his qui salvati fuerint de Israel. Et erit, omnis qui relictus fuerit in Sion et residuus in Ierusalem sanctus vocabitur, omnis qui scriptis est in vita in Ierusalem. Si abluerit dominus sordes filiarum Sion et sanguinem Ierusalem laverit de medio eius in spiritu iudicii et spiritu ardoris.

[45] The following sampling of responses are cited from the *Leofric Missal* (Warren 97-98):

4.Deus, cuius antiqua miracula etiam nostris seculis coruscare sentimus, dum quod uni populo a persecutione aegyptia liberando dextere tue potentia contulisti, id in salutem gentium per aquam regenerationis operaris; praesta, ut et in abrahae filios, et in israeliticam dignitatem totius mundi transeat plenitudo.

5.Omnipotens sempiterne deus, multiplica in honorem nominis tui, quod patrum fidei spopondisti, et promissionis filios sacra adoptione dilata, ut quod priores sancti non dubitaverunt futurum, ecclesia tua magna iam ex parte cognoscat impletum.

readings, for example, make explicit connections between creation and redemption, the preservation of Noah and universal salvation, of Isaac and universal grace. The response to Lection 4 brings such future significances to bear upon the present by asking that the miracle of the *transitus*, visible "even in our time", may "cross over" (*transeat*) to the candidates. The same desire for fulfillment in the present is evident in the response to Lection 5, where Isaiah's notion of God's regenerating word is transferred with Pauline overtones (by "grafting"; cf. Rom.11:17-25) to the present "children of the promise" (cf. Rom.9:8; Gal.4:23, 28), according to the confident expectations of the forefathers (*non dubitaverunt futurum*). Indeed, the responses continue increasingly to express the hope that the ritual rehearsal in the present of each past event will bring the candidate the "inspiration" (response12) to follow the worthy example of the prophecies.

According to Eric Auerbach, it is this provisional, incomplete nature of the events which gives universality and momentum to the narrative of salvation history. Similarly, it is the partial and fluid nature of the "remnant" which adds particular point to the Vigil's version of the narrative, and which allows the individual participant his place in the ongoing story. Each of the central characters in this typology experiences only partial fulfillment in his lifetime; each is therefore left with a yearning for "the actual, real, and

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8.Deus, qui omnibus ecclesiae tue filiis sanctorum prophetarum voce manifestasti in omni loco dominationis tuae, satorem te bonorum seminum, et electorum palmitum esse cultorem; tribue, quesumus, populis tuis, qui et vinearum apud te nomine censentur, et segetum, ut spinarum et tribulorum squalore resecato, digni efficiantur fruge fecunda.

12.Omnipotens sempiterne deus, spes unica mundi, qui prophetarum tuorum preconio praesentium temporum declaristi mysteria; auge populi tui vota placatus; quia in nullo fidelium, nisi ex tua inspiratione, proveniunt quarumlibet incrementa virtutum.

definitive event" which will be realized only at the end of time (158). The benefit for the catechumen of this deferred ending, according to Augustine, is that through imitation of Abraham's faith, "all the faithful of all nations in time to come might be called his children" (*De Catechizandis Rudibus* 22.39; PL 40.338), and so participate in the final and "eternal inheritance" which Abraham and the other *sancti* await with such longing and conviction.

The crucial *mimesis* takes place at the font, where the candidate re-enacts *in hoc tempore* the struggle against temptation, and the victory over Satan. Just as Satan pursues the candidate even to the edge of the font, so he continues to test his baptism until the day of Judgment (Russell 154; Kelly 217). Baptism thus reflects what is considered to be the symbolic purpose of the biblical temptation narrative. According to New Testament scholars, the temptation takes place at the beginning of the Gospel accounts of Christ's ministry (after the baptism) as a symbolic overture to all his messianic works, rather than as a self-contained truly historical episode. Such a metahistorical narrative reappears throughout sacred history with the same configurations of place (a wilderness) and period (40 days/years), in combination with the notion of trial and commitment (Kelly 190-96). In each instance the promise of the faith of the "remnant" is concentrated upon a select group (the Qumran covenanters, the Israelites) or individual (Noah, Abraham, Moses) until it reaches perfection and consummation in "the 'true Israel' whose true "remnant" is now concentrated in Christ" (Charity 107, 141). The entire mission of *the* Remnant from this point is then seen to be a continuous struggle against temptation (on behalf of mankind) that ends only with the ultimate triumph over Satan at the end of time.

iv. Summary and Conclusions

The foregoing discussion of the "remnant" has briefly taken into account the historical contexts of composition and transmission, factors which would of course have been unavailable to any writer who came to inherit and contribute to the received tradition. What is important to observe is the different parenetic directions arising out of "prophecy" written before or after the fact, and the extraordinary facility of the "remnant" motif in representing, indeed indicating, either orientation.

To Isaiah of Jerusalem and to the Deuteronomist, a corrupt Israel is courting divine retribution. Isaiah's "oracles of doom" reflect the negative aspect of the "remnant": Jerusalem will be reduced to only 'some' **survivor** (Isa.1:9); "*only* a **remnant** will return" (Isa.10:21-22). Later, the idea of a "remnant" carries a promise: "in that day . . . the **remnant** of Jerusalem will be called holy" (Isa.4:3). Like the Deuteronomist, the later "Isaiah" finds the seeds of hope in acts of divine retribution, recognizing both the justice and the regenerative potential of discipline, and finding consolation rather than threat in the conviction that the word of God is always fulfilled (Isa.55:10-11; Deut.32:1-2). With the vernacular translations of Isaiah into Aramaic (the Targum) and then Greek (the Septuagint), this theological shift is read back into the earlier nationalist prophecy: the "tiny remnant" becomes a "*seed*"; "a **remnant** will be *saved*". In Romans 9-11 these ideas and images are synthesized into a universalist theology of election and grace, which through patristic commentary becomes the basis for the Christian conception of salvation history, as well as for its liturgical celebration. The church fathers present the "remnant" of Israel as the antitype of all the Old Testament figures who throughout sacred history have been elected by God to carry his various covenants forward to their ultimate fruition, and who at the final reckoning "will be saved in the ark of the church and so arrive on the banks of eternity" (Danielou 1960 84).

With great chronological gaps, then, the process of salvation history can be seen as a progressive divine reduction of the "remnant" which reaches its decisive mid-point in

Christ, from which point it turns towards multiplicity, universal salvation having been God's plan from the beginning (Cullman 101, 157). Salvation and judgment are reciprocal rather than opposite elements of this divine providence, and the conditional relationship between them a matter of making "creative leaps across unassimilated juxtapositions" (Motyer 80). As such leaps are the basis of Christian typology, it is not difficult to appreciate why the "remnant" became so useful an image for conveying the relationship between the Old and New Testaments. What later writers would have perceived in Old Testament scripture is a simple narration of clearly positive or negative turns in the fortunes of Israel (Genesis and Exodus), followed by a covenant of promise and obligation (Deuteronomy) that is in continual breach (the Prophets). The Christian re-reading depends for its appeal and effect upon the perceived incompleteness of the "remnant" idea in these original contexts. In its compressed representation of the Old Testament narrative, the Easter Vigil relives the history of the theological revision by taking the candidate back in time to the primary events, placing these side-by-side with prophecy, and then ritually enacting their typological fulfillment.

The Christian adaptation of the "remnant" motif does not end with Pauline and patristic exegesis, however. In the Junius codex – yet another vernacular "translation" of sorts – the words and events of the Old Testament are treated with varying degrees of doctrinal license, so that a proleptic "remnant" is made to appear anachronistically in pentateuchal narrative, and is supported there by a complex of attendant images more proper to Deuteronomy, the prophets, and the liturgy. These new connotations of hope and promise for the "remnant" are not unlike those acquired by the motif in the theological development and the liturgical representation outlined above. Like the liturgy for Holy Saturday, which has been cited frequently as a possible source for the Junius codex (see further below), the Junius poems present the early events of the Pentateuch in terms that are simple and heroic, yet at the same time informed by the more theologically complex ideas of the Deuteronomic covenant and the prophetic and Pauline "remnant".

These ideas do not efface the simpler drama of the earlier events, but appear alongside them in the form of allusive and symbolic imagery.

According to Paul Minear, the "remnant" is one of several key images which work to present the idea of a "people of God", and then to identify the Christian community both with the covenants of the patriarchs and with salvation through Christ.[46] Such a conception of a "people of God" appears to be behind the word *laf* and the images and attributions which accompany it in the Junius poems. It is in order to better determine the theological context of these poems that the various contexts and connotative associations of the "remnant" motif have been considered in the above outline. The following chapter will first establish a semantic norm against which to assess the effect of the motif in the Junius codex. As the analyses of the individual poems will demonstrate, the new context for *laf* in the codex does much to transport the people of God, both biblical and Anglo-Saxon, from the shores of the Red Sea to "the banks of eternity".

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[46] Minear's key images are: "Israel", "a holy nation", "the twelve tribes", "the circumcision", "the fathers and their descendants", "sons of Abraham", "the exodus pilgrims", "the house of David", "the elect", and "the "remnant" (82).

CHAPTER II
THE "REMNANT" IN OLD ENGLISH

i. Introduction: Old English *laf* and its Analogues

The foregoing historical survey shows that through the long process of its thematic deployment, the notion of a "remnant" maintained two areas of reference, destruction and salvation, which were often inter-dependent. These broadened from the notion of mere physical death and life to that of cataclysm and mystic transcendence, and developed shades of meaning within these two categories of reference. Cataclysm came to connote retribution, purification, and contrition; transcendence resonated with associations of escape, restoration, and reward. The wide semantic range was conveyed either through the use of several synonymous roots, or through several combinations with and forms of a single root. The six different Hebrew roots for "remnant" (*sh'ar, ehar, sh'der, pelet, melet, y'ter*) were translated in the Septuagint by various forms of the single root *leipo*, and in the Old Latin and Vulgate by forms of the cognate *relinquo*, and by forms of *resideo, resto, reservo, remaneo*, and *supersum*.

In Old English the idea of a "remnant" is expressed by the word *laf*, which is commonly glossed as "residue", "what is left", "what is left after a calamity", "survivors of a powerful force", "relict or widow", "what is left as an inheritance", "legacy", "heirloom", "armor", "sword". As is evident from the wide range of meanings, the word in Old English can denote both arms and the man; its connotations include associations of both loss and perpetuity. The generally accepted logic of the rather striking semantic shifts from "residue" to "survivor" to "inheritance" to "heirloom" is based upon the idea that any person or thing left over after a battle has survived it, and may then be passed into other hands either with lament or with rejoicing, according to Germanic custom.

While the referents "survivor" and "inheritance" are easily accounted for in this way, the specificity of "heirloom" to mean "armor" or "sword" requires a further logical

extension: arms and armor acquired as booty on the battlefield – the sword in particular – are highly prized in heroic culture as treasure and art, and also as trophies of military strength and of personal identity. Accordingly, they are often dispensed as treasure and/or bequeathed to kin.[1] Throughout the OE corpus, the referents "survivor" and "heirloom" appear side by side to convey the continuity and perdurance as well as the doom and destruction of both life and art. *Beowulf* scholarship in particular has devoted much space to the thematic importance of swords, treasure, and "last" survivors; the twenty-two occurrences there of *laf* contribute to the inter-relationship of the three thematic motifs.

It is by no means certain, however, that *laf* 'remainder or survivor' and *laf* 'sword or artifact' are related either etymologically or semantically. It is therefore not a simple matter to determine whether a poet might perceive the potential for *ambiguum* or for *paronomasia* (according to the distinction described by Roberta Frank, 208) in a homonym or in a word with different, but related meanings. The word is generally agreed to be derived from the IE root *leip (variants *lip, *loip) which can signify "to anoint", "to adhere", "to remain" stuck", "to continue", "to persist", "to stay", "to stay alive"; hence, "to live".[2] Cognates include Greek *aleiphein* 'anoint', *liparein* 'to be sticky'; *lipares* 'persevering'; Sanskrit *lepe* "to serve"; OE *laefan* 'to leave', 'to permit' or 'to cause to remain', 'to bequeath'; *belifan* 'remain'; *libban, lifian* 'live'; Gothic *laibjan* 'remain'; *bi-laibjan* 'leave behind'; *af-lifnan* 'be left'; *laiba* 'remainder'; *liban* 'live'; OHG *leiba* 'remnant'; *leiben* 'leave over'; *biliban* 'remain'; *liben* 'live'; MHG *liben, leiben* 'let remain', 'spare'; OFris. *liva, laevia, lava, leva* 'remain'; *libba* 'live'; ON *lifa,*

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[1] Grimm writes: *das Shwert ist des Mannes grosztes Kleinod, das nur auf seinen Nachsten mannlichen erben ubergeht*; "the sword is the greatest treasure which a man leaves to his heir' (12). For extensive discussion of this subject, see Davidson 151, 171-177, 213.

[2] See Walde and Pokorny (2.403, henceforth W-P); Buck (12.16, 17, 18).

lifna 'be left', 'remain', 'live'; *leifa* 'leave', 'leave as an inheritance', *leif* 'patrinomy', 'heritage', 'inheritance', 'effects'.

While there is evidence here for analogous semantic developments from "remnant" to "survivor" and to "inheritance", there is none for the further development to either "armor" or "sword". This is surprising, in view of the similarities between the Germanic languages and cultures (Davidson *passim*). Is the specialization peculiar to Old English then?

ii. Syntactic and Semantic Distribution

Organization of the Data

Part of the burden of this chapter will be to explore possible alternatives to the long-established but unquestioned semantic relationship between *laf*, the weapon or artifact, and *laf*, the remainder or survivor. The procedure is as follows:

All occurrences of *laf* on the Old English corpus are documented according to syntactic relationships (beyond mere morphology), with particular attention given to attributive relationships. The syntactic categories are sub-divided according to whether the referent is animate or inanimate, the latter including both concrete and abstract usages.

The six categories are as follows: (1) *laf* used in the phrase *to lafe*; (2) *laf* used as an unqualified substantive; (3) *laf* modified by an adjective; (4) *laf* modified by a partitive genitive; (5) *laf* modified by a possessive genitive; (6) *laf* modified by a genitive of agency. As the occurrences in the first two categories are numerous and similar, they are not cited in full. Compounds are listed first according to the usage of their first elements, and then recorded separately (category 7).

Latin glosses are noted in square brackets at the head of each list. The various versions of the Psalms and Chronicles are indicated in parentheses in the notes. The Latin and Old English versions of relevant passages from the psalms appear in the notes, along

with any variations. Versions of the gospels appear in parentheses in the text, and are recorded as separate entries when they vary.

The glosses and psalms are categorized here as prose, although this may not be an entirely accurate way of representing these occurrences, given that in some instances the Old English word may be glossing a Latin word that is "poetic" (Frank 1994 89, note 9).

Citations and abbreviations are from the *Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (Venezky and Healey). Each occurrence in the Concordance has been examined in its larger context to determine meaning, then listed under the appropriate category. A word which appears to be truly ambiguous is recorded twice; otherwise it is categorized according to its most obvious meaning. NB: Notes to the citations appear immediately following each category.

The referents and categories are tabulated in three charts:

Chart No.1 displays and totals the listed occurrences (location only) according to the seven syntactic categories outlined above, and according to the semantic distribution of seven referents: "widow", "survivor", "remainder" or "residue", "posterity" or "heir", "remains" or "relics", "legacy" or "treasure", and "sword". For the last two categories, the referent commonly glossed as "heirloom" has been subdivided according to whether the context indicates a heritage or legacy of treasure (comprised of jewelry, armor, weaponry, precious vessels) or whether it indicates "sword" specifically. Occurrences in verse are distinguished from those in prose by shading.

Chart No.2 records and totals the distribution frequency of *laf* and of *-laf* compounds determined from Chart No.1. The semantic categories are totaled on horizontal axis, the syntactic categories on the vertical.

Chart No.3 records the distribution frequency of *-laf* compounds only.

Chart No.4 records appositive variants for *laf* and of *-laf* compounds for the occurrences in verse. Occurrences of *laf* with no variant are recorded here as (-v), and totaled first for each syntactic category (*t*)and then for each semantic category (*T*).

The rationale for the organization of the data is as follows. First, it is assumed that the occurrence of a word in prose without qualification or explanation indicates that the writer considers it generally intelligible. Less perhaps can be assumed for verse, depending upon a poet's predilection for ambiguity and allusiveness. Nevertheless, given the appositive style of Old English verse, it can probably be assumed further that the absence in verse of a variant and/or descriptive details and/or qualification might be an indication that the meaning of the word was sufficiently clear without further elaboration.

Also, it is assumed that the use of *laf* in Latin interlinear glosses provides information about the word's meaning, and that it gives a fairly accurate measure of the word's familiarity and intelligibility: the use of *laf* to gloss a Latin word likely indicates the familiarity of the OE word, while the Latin glossing of the OE word likely indicates the opposite, as would any Old English glossing.

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SYNTACTIC DISTRIBUTION of *LAF*

Category 1: *laf* used in the phrase *to lafe*, e.g., *Ne wearþ ðaer forþon an bret to lafe* 'there was not even one Briton left' (Chron 491).

of persons:	of things:
[remanere] PsGLB105.11[49]	[residere] BenRGL18.7
[residere] PsCaF7.36[50]	[superesse] BenRGL55.9;18.17;PsGLA16.14;[56]
[restare] AeGr139.6;AeCHomI.1.12.5;24.344.15;	ProspGL7.62
40.610.11;II.12.1.113.96	[restare] BenRGL8.2;PsGLA72.20;[57]AeGr206.9;
AeLS133,440	LibSc32.86
And1083	AeCHomII.15.150.16;29.230.19
Ch218.1	AeHomM12.119,206
ChronA.491.1;[51]921.58;ChronD1066.1.29,34,57;	AeLet6.199
1067.1.64	AeLS260;362
Deut4.27;28.62[52]	AeTemp7.4
Ex405,509	Alc14.17.417
Pr.Exod8.31;14.28[53]	Bede1.16.66.9;3.17.232.6;4.12.290.6;5.1.386.1
GD9.67.15	BenR8.7;18.20,64;BenRAppl.131
GDPref15.206.9	Bo19.46.26
Pr.Gen42.38	ByrM(17x)
HomS21.238	CEdg10
HomU34.172;35.1.49;35.2.51;53.23	Ch1525.16;1538.29
Josh10.29,38[54]	ChrodR1.84.15
Lev26.36	Comp2.3;3.1.21,28,35
LS23.2.406,[55]648	PrEx10.5,12,19,26;12.10;16.23;29.34
Notes10.2.37,40	GD(9x)[58]
Or (18x)	GDPref(8x)
VSal1.67	HomM8.47
	HomU3.64
	Jn6.12,JnGL6.13[59]
	LchII.35.2.3;65.4.1
	Lk11.40
	LS1.1.33,39;1.2.39,46;13.25.10
	Lev2.3;4.18;7.17;8.14,24,32
	Mart5.54
	MkGL8.8
	Mt(MtGL)15.37
	PrudGL1.55
	Or1.1.20.26

[49] Latin: *et operavit aqua tribulantes eos unus ex eis non remansit.* OE: *to lafe ne wunode.*

[50] (PsCaG, PsCaJ) Latin: *et clausi quoque defecerunt residui que consumpti sunt.* OE: *to lafe sind/syndon.* PsCaI reads *þa lafa.*

[51] (ChronC, ChronE)

[52] In this category, the occurrences of *laf* in the Heptateuch correspond to the Vulgate *remanere*, *superesse*, *quod residuum fuerit*, *quod reliquum fuerit*.

[53] Here Aelfric has *ne wearð furðon an to lafe ðe lif gebyrede*, where the Vulgate reads more simply: *nec unus quidem superfuit ex eis*.

[54] Aelfric has *ne belaefde naht to lafe cucu, þe ne lage ofslagen; ne let þaer to lafe nan ðing libbende*, where the Vulgate reads *non dimisit in ea ullas reliquias*. Similarly, for Josh10.28 Aelfric has *nan lafe cuce*, where the Vulgate reads *saltem parvas reliquias*.

[55] The OE here reads *to laefe*.

[56] (PsGLB, PsGLC) Latin: *et reliquerunt quae superfuerunt parvulis suis*. OE: *to lafe waeron*.

[57] (PsGLB, PsGLC). Latin: *quid enim mihi restat in caelo*. OE: *to lafe stonded*. PsGLC and PsGLE are numbered 72.25. PsGLE reads *to lafe stondaet*.

[58] GD1(C)4.36.39, 9.57.4, 9.61.21, 12.88.21 are equivalent to 1(H)12.36.31, 22.57.4, 23.61.21, 34.88.21 respectively.

[59] In one version, JnGL(Li), the OE glosses: *þa þe gelaefdon vel/weron to lafe*.

Category 2: *laf* used as an unqualified substantive, e.g., *sio laf wið ðone here friþ nam* 'those who were left made peace with the [Danish] army' (Chron 867).

of persons:	of things:
[derelicta] AntGL6.98[60]	[reliquiae] PsGLB36.37;[69]PsGLF16.14;[70]OccGL
[reliquiae] DurRitGL1.65.3;PPs.75.7;PsGLA	45.1.2.191;Mt14.20;Lk24.43;AeCHom
20.13;[61] WCan1.2.99	I.1.12.182.20;1.12.190.3,5;1.15.220.20;
[residuum] PsCaA3.2[62]	II.15.159.298;29.230.15;234.121;37.278.194
[superstes] AeGr51.10[63]	AeHomM1.113,120,122[71]
[superstites, vivi] AldV13.1.3313[64]	Deut28.5,17[72]
[uxor] MkGL(Li)12.19;[65]DurRit5.39;Bede	GDPref43.331.4
1.10.48.3;12.54.1	HomU20.90
Ch1457.7,1458.17,1497	PPs75.7
ChronA867.10,894.89[66]	PrGen19.32[73]
Deut25.5,7;32.36[67]	PsGLE8.3[74]
Josh10.28	RegC1.91;1.96[75]
PrGen14.15[68]	
LawVIAtr12	
Nic(D)134	

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[60] The OE glosses: *laf, vel forlaeten wif.*

[61] Latin: *Quoniam pones eos dorsum in reliquiis tuis praeparabis vultum eorum.* OE: *in lafum.* PsGLB, PsGLC, PsGLD, PsGLE, PsGLH read *on lafum.* PsGLF reads *an lafum;* PsGLI reads *on hricge lafum.*

[62] (PsCaC, PsCaD, PsCaF, PsCaJ, PsCaI, all numbered 3.1) Latin: *Ego dixi in dimidio dierum meorum vadam ad portas inferi quaesivi residuum annorum meorum.* OE: *lafe geara minra.*

[63] The OE glosses: *laf odðe oferlybbende.*

[64] Aldhelm glosses: *lafa, belivendras.*

[65] The MS reads *þaet wif vel þaet hlaf & suno ne letes vel ne laefes onfoe broðor his hlaf,* indicating the confusion of *hlaf* 'loaf' and *laf* 'remnant' worked both ways.

[66] (ChronC 868.4, 894.74; ChronD 867.1.1, 894.1.85; ChronE867.7)

[67] In this category, the occurrences of *laf* in the Heptateuch correspond to the Vulgate *residuum* and *reliquiae.*

[68] There is no "remnant" in the Vulgate here. Aelfric's version of this verse is perhaps influenced by verse 10, *qui remanserant*, which he does not translate.

[69] (PsGLD, PsGLF, PsGLG, Ps.GLH, Ps.GLJ) Latin: *Custodi innocentiam et vide equitatem; quoniam sunt reliquiae homini pacifico.* OE: *lafa menn þam sibsuman.* PsGLK reads *lafa ealle sibsume.* PsGLI reads *lafa vel gemynd men gesibsumum.* PsGLA (numbered 36.36) and PsGLC read *lafe men.*

[70] (PsGLF, PsGLG, PsGLI, PsGLJ, PsGLK) Latin: *et dimiserunt reliquias suas parvuulis suis.* OE: *lafa heora lytlingum heora.* PsGLA, PsGLB and PsGLC read *to lafe waeron lytlingum.*

[71] The most likely reason for these occurrences of *laf* is that the *h* of *hlaf* 'loaf' has been dropped, as other versions of these passages do in fact read *hlaf.* So also [*cibarius*] AntGL4.849; [*manna*] PsGLE 77.24; [*panis vivus*] AeHomM1.116, 118; [*panem*] LkGL24.30; JnGL13.18; 26; 21.9, 13; Mk.GL 8.5; ProgGL1.204, 206; 7.10; also HomU1.63,64, and 71; Ch1440.10; Rec.5.4.4.

[72] The Vulgate reads *benedicta horrea tua et benedictae reliquiae tuae.* The LXX also reads "remnant" (*enkataleimma*). The Massoretic text, however, translates "Blessed be your basket and your kneading-trough", suggesting that there will be plenty, both to fill the "basket" for an offering of first-fruits, and for immediate personal consumption. The LXX and Vulgate alter the meaning slightly to indicate that the plenitude will extend to "surplus" as well ("what is left over"), the image of the "basket" becoming one of a "granary" or store-house. The same is true of Ex8.3. The difficulty in translation and transmission may be due to the fact that the Hebrew for "basket" is an Egyptian loan-word, and the Hebrew word for "kneading-trough" (*mis'eret*) is very similar to the feminine noun *sh'erit*, "remnant" and to the verb *nish'erit.*

[73] The OE has *laf* here where the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew read "seed" (*semen, sperma, z'ar*).

[74] Latin: *ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos ut destruas inimicum et ultorem.* OE: *fulfremodest laf.* All other OE versions of this psalm read *lof* 'praise' for the Latin *laudem.*

[75] The OE glosses: *laf/ þe þaer ofer is.*

Category 3: *laf* modified by an adjective (includes nouns used as attributives in compounds).

of persons:	of things:
[paupercula reliquia] earman lafe CollGL12.25 [postumus] un-laf[76]CLGL1.4904;3.1826 earmre lafe Dan80,152 ece lafe Ex370 ende-laf Beo2813	ealde lafe Phoen376;Ex408;Beo795,1488,1688 eormen-laf Beo2234 gomele lafe Beo2563 incge-laf Beo2577[77]

[76] *Un-laf* is literally "not-left". It refers to a pastimes child, one "not left" by the father, as a widow would be, because at the time of the father's death the child is yet unborn. The term thus denotes "orphan", an idea commonly associated semantically with the idea of being left (see further below).

[77] The obscure *incge* has been glossed as an adjective ("mighty"), but also as *Incges laf* "heirloom belonging to Ing" (in which case it would fall into category 5), or "left behind by Ing" (category 6). Klaeber suggests a connection with *aece* "one's own" (1950 174).

Category 4: *laf* modified by a partitive genitive, e.g., *lafa geþohtes daeg symbelne hy doþ þe, reliquiae cogitationis diem festum agent tibi* (Ps.75.11).

of persons:	of things:
[hereditas] yrfe-laf PPs77.70[78]	[reliquiae] sumes ðinges lafe AeGr84.16
[reliquiae populi] lafa ðaes folces MonCa3.20.13. 14;AeHomM4.88;AeCHomII.4.38.268	[reliquiae impiorum] lafa arleasra PsGLB 36.38[79]
fird-laf AeLS375;AeHom21.210	[reliquiae cogitationis] lafa geðohta PsGLB 75.11[80]
here-laf Brun47;AeLS592;AeHomMI 1.243;15.8. 378;ALet4.526,538,631;LS28.152;AeGenEp71; HomU46.113	[reliquias fragmentorum] lafe þara scradunga MkGL6.43
leoda lafe Dan452	[sanctorum reliquiae] halgena þare lafe BenRGL58.14;lic-lafa ArPrGL1.38.26
mann-laf Ch1497.53;Rec10.6.4.26.2	[stipulae] healmeslaf AntGL4.592
yrfe-laf Ex403	fixa lafe Mt6.43
	bana lafe Phoen575
	beod-laf HomU9.268;HomS14.276
	haligra manna lafe HomS39.34[81]
	husel-laf AeLet1.122
	mete-laf Ex8.2;HomS13.106;LawVIAs8.1; Mt (MtGL)14.20
	yrfe-laf Beo1053,1903

[78] All other versions of the Psalm read *yfreweardnisse*, not *yrfe-laf*.

[79] (PsGLD, PsGLE, PsGLF, PsGLG, PsGLH, PsGLI, PsGLJ, PsGLK) Latin: *reliquiae impiorum peribunt*. OE: *lafe arleasra*. PsGLA (numbered 36.37) and PsGLC read *lafe*.

[80] (PsGLD, PsGLF, Ps.GLH, PsGLI) Latin: *reliquie cogitationum diem festum agent tibi*. PsGLA (numbered 75.7), PsGLC and PsGLE read *lafe*. PPs75.7 reads *and þonne þa lafe lustem þence* (see category 2).

[81] The OE glosses: *Eac we sculon beran oðre halige reliquias, þaet syndon haligra manna lafe*.

Category 5: *laf* modified by a possessive genitive or adjective, e.g., *his maeges lafe* 'his kinsman's **remnant**' (Beo2628).

of persons:	of things:
[uxorem philippi] Mk(MkGL)6.17,18	Aelfheres laf Wald 2.18
Aþelwoldes laf Ch1503.17	Eanmundes laf Beo2611
Aeðelrades lafe Chron1052.2.1;1017.6	gomelra laf Beo2036
Aelfrices laf Ch1511.1	his lafe AeCHomIl5.220.20
Alexandres laf Or3.11.148.18,29	his maeges lafe Beo2628
anes martyres laf AeLS430	Hraedlan laf Beo454
Cassandres lafe Or3.11.150.32	Hreðles lafe Beo2191
Cnut cynges lafe Chron1037.1	lafe þara þe ic of lif het Rid91.10
cyninges broðor laf MtMarg14.6	
Eadrices laf Ch1458.21,24	
Eadwines laf LS31.11,Chron633.4	
Eðelmodes lafe Ch1200.1	
his laf Ch877;939.8;1447.29;1458.21;MkGL(Ru) 12.19;MtGL(Li)22.24[82]	
his broðor lafe Conf3.1.1.2.18	
his feder lafe Chron616.2;HomM1.18	
his maeges lafe LawICn7;HomU40.163;48.54	
Leofenaðes lafe Rec2.3.10.1	
Manases laf AeHomM15.194	
mine lafe Ch1501.16	
Siðferðes lafe Chron1015.4	
Sauugeles laf Rec10.6.4.29.1	
Urkes lafe Ch1064	
Wynemannes lafe ChPet 120	

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[82] The OE glosses *laf vel wif.*

<u>Category 6</u>: *laf* modified by a genitive of agency, e.g., *sio waepna laf* 'what is **left behind** by the weapons'￼ (Gen 2005).

of persons:	of things:
daraða laf Brun54	[tropheum, victoriam][85]herelaf AldV10.47
(ege-lafe Ex370)[83]	ades lafe Phoen272
gara laf Gen2019	bronda lafe Beo3160
lafe þaes hungres AeCHomI.28.404.10	fela laf Beo1032
lafe lagosiða Gen1343	fyres lafe Phoen276
sae-lafe Ex585[84]	here-laf AeAdmon1.9.18
sweorda laf Beo2936	homera lafe B2829;Brun6;Rid5.7
waepna laf Gen2005,Dan74	lafe . . . þara flana Rid56.10[86]
waetra lafe Gen1549	swoles laf Phoen269
wea-lafe Beo1084,1098;Met1.22;WHom19.67	wraðra lafe Rid71.3
wraðra lafe Gen1496	wyrmes laf HomU20.113
	yð-lafe Beo566;Ex586;And499

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[83] See discussion in Chapter III. iii for this reading of the line.

[84] *Sae-laf* may refer to the treasure or to the Israelites "left by the sea" (Chapter III. iii).

[85] The Latin *tropheum* meant: 1) literally, "a sign of victory"; originally a trunk of a tree on which were fixed the arms, shields, helmets, etc. taken from the enemy; 2) with a transferred sense, "a victory" (*Harper's Latin Dictionary*). The gloss (*herelaf*) is from Aldhelm's *de laudibus virginitatis*. In his note to 2.47, Napier describes the word is a scribal error for *herelof* (140), and does not include *herelaf* as a head-word. *Herelof* glosses *tropheum* in two other manuscripts, at 1.1761: *Tropeum, i. victoria*, and 1.1908: *Tropeum, i signum victoria* (Napier 51).

[86] In the passage *Ic lafe geseah/minum hlaforde, þaer haeleð druncon/þara flana on flet beran* (56.10-12), Krapp and Dobbie read *þara flana geweorc* for the MS *þara flan*, taking *geweorc* parallel to *lafe*. Grein and Wyatt read *þara flangeweorca*. Williamson (307) reads *þara flana*, a genitive governed by the *lafe* in line 10. Wyatt (107) and Williamson base their readings on the frequency of occurrence of *laf* with the genitive, as in Rid 71.3 and 5.7. The text and numbering of the Riddles here follows Krapp & Dobbie, *The Exeter Book*.

<u>Category 7</u>: *-laf* in compounds:

of persons:	of things:

ege-laf Ex370
ende-laf Beo2813
fird-laf AeLS375;AeHom21.210
here-laf Brun47;AeAdmon1.9.18;AeLS592;
    AeHomM11.243;15.8,378;ALet4.526,538,631;
    LS28.152;AeGenEp71
mann-laf Ch1497.53;Rec10.6.4. 26.2
sae-laf Ex585
un-laf CLGL1.4904,3.1826
wea-laf Beo1084,1098;Met1.22; WHom19.67
yrfe-laf Ex403;PPs77.70(71)
Proper names: An-,Ecg-,Gud-,Heado-,Hun-[87]
    Ord-,Os-,Un-,Wig-,Yrmen-
	beod-laf HomU9.268;HomS14.276
	eormenlaf B2234
	healmes-laf AntGL4.592
	husel-laf AeLet1.122
	incge-laf Beo2577
	lic-laf ArPrGL 1.38.26
	mete-laf PrEx8.2;HomS13.106;LawVIAs8.1
	yrfe-laf Beo1053,1903
	yð-laf Beo566;Ex586;And499

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[87] It is much disputed whether *Hunlafing* at Beo1143 is the name of a Danish warrior who places the sword on Hengest's lap, or whether it is the name of the sword itself (Klaeber 1950 175). At Ch693.17, *Hunlafing* is the name of a person.

CHART NO. 1 SEMANTIC DISTRIBUTION of *LAF*

	widow	survivor	remainder/residue	posterity/heir	remains/relics	legacy/treasure	sword
1		And1083; Ex509 AeCHomI.1.12.5:24.344.15;40.610.11;II.12.1.113. AeGr139.6;206.9 AeLS133,440 Ch218.1 Chr491;921;1066.29,34,57;1067. Dt4.27;28.62 PrEx8.31;14.27 GD9.67.15 GDPref15.206.9 PrGen42.38 HomS21.238 HomU34.172;35.1.49;35.2.51;53.23. Josh10.28,29,38 Lev26.36 LS23.2.406,648 Notes10.2.37,40 Or18x) PsCaF7.36 PsGLB105.11 VSal1.167	AeCHomII.15.150.16;29.230.19. AeGr206.9;139.6 AeHomM12.119,206. AeLet6.199 AeLS260,362 AeTemp7.4 Alc14.17.417 Bede1.16.66.9;3.17.232.6;4.12.290.6;5.1.386.1. BenR8.7;18.20,64. BenRApp1.131 BenRGL8.2;18.7.17;55.9. Bo19.46.26 ByrM(17x) CEdg10 Ch1525.16;1538.29. Comp2.3;3.1.21,28,35. ChrodR1.84.15 GD (9x) GDPref(8x) PrEx10.4,12,19,26;12.9;16.23;29.34. HomM8.47 HomU3.64;20.113. Jn6.12;JnGL6.13 LchII35.2.3;65.4 Lev2.3;4.18;7.17;8.14,24,32. LibSc32.86 Lk11.40 LS1.1.33,39;1.2.39,46;13.25.10. Mart5.54 Mt15.37 MkGL8.8 Or1.1.20.26 ProspGL7.62 PrudGL1.55 PsGLA16.14 PsGLA72.20	Ex405			
T	0	57	100	1	0	0	0

	widow	survivor	remainder/residue	posterity/heir	remains/relics	legacy/treasure	sword
2	AntGL6.98 Bede1.10.48.3 Ch1457.7;1458. 17;1501.16. Dt25.5,7 DurRitGL.5.39 LawVIAtr12 MkGL(Li)12.19	AeGr51.10 AldV13.1.3313 Bede12.54.1 Ch1497 Chr867.10;894. 89. Dt32.36 DurRitGL65.3 PrGen14.15 NicD134 PsCaA3.2 PsGLA20.13 WCan1.2.99	AeCHomI.1.12. 182.20;1.12.190. 3,5;I.15.220.20;II 15.159.298;29. 230.15;29.234. 121;37.278.194. AeHomMl.113, 120,122. Deut28.5,17 GdPref43.331.4 HomU20.90 Lk24.43 Mt14.20 Notes2.8.54 OccGL45.1.2.191 PPs75.... PsGLE8.3 PsGLF16.14 RegC1.91;1.96	PrGen19.32 PsGLB36.37			
T	10	13	23	2	0	0	0

	widow	survivor	remainder/residue	posterity/heir	remains/relics	legacy/treasure	sword
3	CLGL1.4904;3. 1826.	CollGL12.25 Dan 80,152 Ex370		Beo2813	Phoen376	Beo2234;1688	Beo795,1488, 2563.
T	2	4	0	1	1	2	5

	widow	survivor	remainder/residue	posterity/heir	remains/relics	legacy/treasure	sword
4		AeCHomII.4.38. 268. AeGenEp71 AeHom21.210 AeHomM4.88. 11.243;15.8,378. AeLS375,592 ALet4.526,538, 631. Brun47 Ch1497.53 Dan452... HomU46.113 LS28.152 MonCa3.20.13, 14. Rec10.6.4.26.2	AeGr84.16 AeLet1.122 AntGL4.592 Ch693.17 PrEx8.2 HomS13.106;14. 276. HomU9.268 LawVIAs8.1 Mk6.43 Mt14.20 PsGLB75.11	Ex403 PPs77.70 PsGLB36.38	ArPrGL1.38.26 BenRGL58.14 HomS39.34 Phoen575	B1053	B1903
T	0	20	11	3	4	1	1

	widow	survivor	remainder/ residue	posterity/ heir	remains/ relics	legacy/ treasure	sword
5	AeHomM15.194		AeCHomL1.15. 220.20.			B45... B1143;2036...	
	AeLS430					Rid... 2191;2611;2628...	
	Ch877;939.8; 1064; 1200.1; 1447.29;1458.21 24;1503.17;1501 16;1511.1.					Wald...	
	ChPet120						
	Chron616.2;633. 4;1017.6;1015.4; 1037.1;1052.2.1.						
	Conf3.1.1.2.18						
	HomU40.163;48. 54.						
	HomM1.18						
	LawICn7				—		
	LS31.11						
	Mk6.17,18						
	MkGL12.19						
	MtGL22.24						
	MtMarg14.6						
	Or3.11.148.18, 29; 3.11.150.32.						
	Rec10.6.4.29;2.3. 10.						
T	35	0	1	0	0	3	5

	widow	survivor	remainder/ residue	posterity/ heir	remains/ relics	legacy/ treasure	sword
6		AeCHomL28.404 .10.	Rid56;103...		Phoen269,272, 276...	AeAdmon1.9.18	Beo1032,2829
		B1084;1098,2936	Beo566...		B3160	AldV10.47	Brun6...
		Brun54...	Ex586...			Ex585	Rid5.7;71.3
		Dan74...	And499...				
		(Ex370);585...	HomU20.113				
		Gen1343;1496... 1549,2005,2019					
		Met1223...					
		WHom19.67					
T	0	14	5	0	4	3	5

	widow	survivor	remainder/ residue	posterity/ heir	remains/ relics	legacy/ treasure	sword
7	CLGL1.4904;3. 1826.	AeGenEp71	AeLet1.122	B2813...	ArPrGL1. 38.26	B1053,2234	B1903,2577
		AeHom21.210	An499	Ex403		Ex585	
		AeHomM11.243; 15.8,378.	AntGL4.592	PPs77.70(71)...		AeAdmon1.9.18	
		AeLet4.526,538, 631.	BS66...				
		AeLS375,592	Ex586...				
		B1084;1098...	PrEx8.2				
		Brun47...	HomS14.27;13. 106.				
		Ch1497.53.	HomU9.268				
		Ex(370);585...	LawVIAs8.1				
		LS28.152	Mt4.20				
		Met1223...					
		Rec10.6.4.26.2					
		WHom19.67					
T	2	19	11	3	1	4	2

CHART NO. 2   DISTRIBUTION FREQUENCY of *LAF*

	widow	survivor	remainder/ residue	posterity/ heir	remains/ relics	legacy/ treasure	sword	Totals
1	0	55	100	0	0	0	0	155
2	10	13	22	2	0	0	0	47
3	2		0	0	0	0	0	5
4	0	18	1	2	3	0	0	34
5	39	0		0	0	0	0	36
6	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	5
7	(2)	14	8	0	1	1	0	26 16
T	47	89	135	4	3	2	0 16	280 56

NOTE: category (7) is not included in the final totaling

CHART NO. 3   DISTRIBUTION FREQUENCY of -*LAF* COMPOUNDS

	widow		survivor		remainder/ residue		posterity/ heir		remains/ relics		legacy/ treasure		sword		Totals	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	3
4	0	0	13		8	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	23	4
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	1	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	8
7	2	0	14	5	8	3	0	3	1	0	1	3	0	2	26	16

CHART NO. 4 VARIANTS for *LAF*

	survivor	remainder/ residue	posterity/ heir	remains/ relics	legacy/ treasure	sword
1	And1083 folce 1077		Ex405 sunu 402			
	Ex509 maegen-ðreatas 513					
t	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Dan80 Israela 80		Beo2813 garwigan 281	Phoen376 (-v)	Beo2234 maðmas 2236	Beo795 (-v)
	Dan152 Daniel 150				Beo1688 hylt 1687, scennum1694	Beo1488 wraetlic waegsweord 1489
	Ex370 maðmhorda 368					Beo2563 sweord 2562
						Beo2577 ecg 2577
						Ex408 ecg 408
t	0	0	0	1	0	1
4	Brun47(-v)		Ex403 sunu 402	Phoen575 ascan, yslan 576	Beo1053maþðum 1052	Beo1903 swurd 1901,maðme 1902
	Dan452 þe ðaer ge-laedde waeron 452					
t	1	0	0	0	0	0
5					Beo454 hraegla 454	Beo1143 billa 1144
					Rid91.10 (-v)	Beo2036 gestreon, waepnum 2037-38, mece 2047,iren 2050,maððum 2055
					Wald2.18 byrnum 2.17	Beo2191sincmað-þum,sweordas 2193
						Beo2628 (-v)
						Beo2611 gomel swyrd 2610
t	0	0	0	0	1	1
6	Beo1084 (-v)	Rid56.10 (-v)		Phoen269 ban ge-brosnad 270	Ex585 madmas 586, gestreon 588, wuld-orgesteald 589	Beo1032 (-v)
	Beo1098 (-v)	Beo566 (-v)		Phoen272 ban ond yslan 271		Beo2829 irenna ecga 2828
	Beo2936 earmre teohhe 2938	Ex586 (-v)		Phoen276 (-v)		Brun6 (-v)
	Brun54Norðmen 53	And499 (-v)		Beo3160 (-v)		Rid5.7 (-v)
	Dan74 Israela bearn 73					Rid71.3 (-v)
	(Ex370 maðmhorda 368)					
	Ex585 (-v)					
	Gen1343 (-v)					
	Gen1496 (-v)					
	Gen1549 sunu Lamech 1543					
	Gen2005 (-v)					
	Gen2019 secg 2018					
	Metl.22 (-v)					
t	7	4	0	2	0	4
T	8	4	0	3	1	6

NOTE: T = total number of occurrences without variant (-v) in each semantic category.

t = total number of occurrences without variant (-v) in each syntactic category

CHART NO. 5 COMPARISON OF *BEOWULF* AND JUNIUS CODEX

JUNIUS CODEX:

	survivor	remainder/ residue	posterity/ heir	remains/ relics	legacy/ treasure	sword	total
1	Ex509		Ex405				2
2							0
3	Dan80, 152 Ex370					Ex 408	4
4	Dan452		Ex403				2
5							0
6	Dan74 Ex585 Gen1343,1496, 1549,2005,2019	Ex586			Ex585		8
T	12	1	2	0	1	1	17

BEOWULF:

	survivor	remainder/ residue	posterity/ heir	remains/ relics	legacy/ treasure	sword	total
1							0
2							0
3			2813		1688,2234	795,1488,2563, 2577	7
4					1053	1903	2
5					454	1143,2036,2191, 2611,2628	6
6	1084,1098,2396	566		3160	1032,2829		7
T	32	1	1	1	4	12	22

Observations

The following observations about the distribution of referents, of syntactic configurations, and of variants will assist in determining meaning and usage:

1. The distribution in categories 1 and 2 indicates that *laf* occurs frequently without qualification to refer to persons and to things, but *never* when the inanimate reference is to swords or armor. Conversely, categories 3, 5 and 6 – the only categories in which *laf* denotes armor or sword – indicate that it does so *only* when qualified, either by an adjective or by an attributive genitive.

2. Categories 1 and 2 demonstrate that *laf* occurs without qualification often in prose (203 times), but only four times in verse.

3. The referent "sword" occurs sixteen times, *in verse only*. In most instances it is accompanied by a variant (*bil, ecg, iren, mece, sweord, waepen, gestreon, maððum*) and/or by description containing attributes commonly pertaining to swords (decoration, brightness, hardness, sharpness, age). Of the six occurrences which lack a variant, one occurs in category 3, one in category 5, and four occur in category 6. Three of these (Beo.1032, Rid.5.7, 71.3) have enough pertinent detail in the surrounding passage to aid in establishing the meaning "sword". In three instances, however, Beo.795 (category 3), Beo.2628 (category 5), and Brun.6 (category 6), there is nothing in the adjacent verse to give clues to meaning (although the referent of Beo.2628 *his mages lafe* is obviously the same sword as that described with a variant seventeen lines earlier at 2611). Beo.2628 can be added category 6, since this *laf* can be read as the sword *left behind by* rather than *belonging to* the kinsman. Indeed, *all* five sword referents in category 5 can be read in this way, as all the kinsmen are dead. The distinct difference between the two categories is that in category 5 the sword is identified by its relation to a kinsman, whereas in category 6 it is identified by reference to the forging process. In category 3, the five occurrences where *laf* refers to a sword have no such history to help identify them. The "mighty" sword denoted at Beo.2577 has been read alternatively as "belonging to a

kinsman" (see note), in which case it would belong in category 5. Or, it could be considered "left behind by" Ing, and so be placed in category 6.

4. The referent "legacy"/ "treasure" occurs seven times in verse and twice in prose. In verse it is accompanied by a variant (*maððum, gestreon, wuldorgesteald*) and descriptive detail in six instances, and has no variant only in one instance, Rid.91.10 (category 5), where the reference is (appropriately) ambiguous. The "treasure" in Rid.91, like the two instances of *herelaf* in category 6, could also be construed as that *left behind by* rather than *belonging to* the defeated army, as can the "legacy"/ "treasure" designated in Wald.2.18 and Beo.454. In both of the latter, the "legacy"/ "treasure" is a corselet (the variants *byrnum* and *hraegla* make this meaning absolutely clear). These are the only two occasions in the corpus when *laf* refers specifically to a piece of armor. In the two prose occurrences, "treasure" is clear from the context.

5. The referent "remains"/ "relics" occurs in verse six times and in prose three times. In verse it has a variant in three instances (Phoen.269, 272, 575) and no variant in three (Phoen.276, 376; Beo.3160); of these, two fall into category 6 and one into category 3. The context is consistently that of the funeral pyre. In prose, the context is clearly that of the holy relics of a saint.

6. The referent "remainder"/ "residue" occurs in prose very often (135 times), most frequently with no qualification (122 times). In verse it occurs five times, four of these occurrences in category 6. In all instances there is no variant or descriptive detail. In three instances the attributive is the first element of a *-laf* compound.

7. The referent "survivor" occurs nineteen times in verse, eighty-nine times in prose. It has no variant or descriptive detail in eight instances, once in category 4, and seven times in category 6. The occurrences in category 4 of *herelaf* and *firdlaf* (13 in all) can be read alternatively as "those left remaining (alive) *by* an army" (that is, by the opposing army) rather than as those *of* a given army who are left remaining to that same army, in which case they belong in category 6.

8. The referent "widow" occurs only in prose (47 times), often without qualification (10 times), but more frequently modified by a noun or pronoun referring to the deceased husband (35 times). As the widow is always described with the genitive referring to the husband, and as the husband is always deceased, a widow can be considered "left behind by" (category 6) as well as "belonging to" (category 5) the husband.

9. *Laf* occurs more than five times more often in prose than in verse (280/56). The most frequent usages in the corpus are the referents "remainder" (139/336), "survivor" (108/336), and "widow" (47/336), and syntactic categories 1 (158/336) and 2 (48/336). *All* of the forty-four occurrences in category 5 can be seen alternatively as agential: as the possessor in every case is someone dead and/or departed, *laf* is in fact what/who is *left behind by* or who has "survived", as well as what *belonged to* the person designated by the genitive. If we add the above-mentioned 13 "survivors" from category 4 to the "widows", "legacy"/ "treasure", and "sword" from categories 5 and 3, category 6 is enlarged considerably (+ 58 occurrences; 47 in prose, 11 in verse).

10. The most frequent usages of *laf* in prose are the referents "remainder" (135/280), "survivor" (89/280), and "widow" (47/280). The most frequently used syntactic configurations in prose are category 1 (155/280); category 2 (48/280); category 4 (33/280); and category 5 (36/280). The most frequent usages in verse are the referents "survivor" (19/56) and "sword" (16/56). The two syntactic configurations used most frequently in verse are category 6 (26/56); and category 3 (12/56). With the above named additions, the most frequently occurring referents in verse, "survivors" and "swords", occur almost equally (19 times and 16 times), and most often in category 6 (with the additions, 13 times and 11 times respectively).

11. The 16 -*laf* compounds fall into three categories:

a) those in which the first elements are adjectives, or else nouns used in an adjectival sense to describe an attribute of the *laf* (category 3): *eormen-laf, ende-laf, incge-laf, un-laf.*

b) those in which the first element refers to the whole of which the remnant was once a part (category 4): *beod-laf, fird-laf, healmes-laf, here-laf, husel-laf, lic-laf, mann-laf, mete-laf, yrfe-laf.*

c) those in which the first element refers to the agent which caused (or allowed) the remnant to be left (category 6): *(ege-laf), here-laf, sae-laf, wea-laf, yð-laf.*

12. There are 26 occurrences of *-laf* compounds in prose; 16 in verse. There are no instances where *laf* is the first element in a compound. The most frequent usage of compounds in the corpus are the referents "survivor" (19/42) and "remainder" (11/42), and the syntactic category 4 (27/42). The most frequent usages in prose are the referents "survivor" (14/26) and "remainder" (8/26), and the syntactic category 4 (23/26).

The usage of compounds in verse is fairly evenly distributed between the referents "survivor" (5/16), "remainder" (3/16), "posterity" (3/16), "treasure" (3/16), and "sword" (2/16). The most frequently used syntactic configurations in verse are categories 6 (8/16), 4 (5/16), and 3 (3/16). In the latter two categories, one instance in each (*here-laf* Brun.47 and *incge-laf* Beo.2577) can be considered agential, as can the *herelaf* of category 5. Category 6 then accounts for 11/16, or close to 70% of the usage of compounds in verse.

13. The syntactic usage in *Beowulf* and the Junius poems is more or less similar. In each, the most frequently used syntactic configurations are category 3 and 6, about 32% (7/22) and 25% (4/16) respectively in category 3, and about 59% (13/22) and 50% (8/16) respectively in category 6 (the six occurrences in *Beowulf* in category 5 can be considered agential). The semantic usage in the two works is quite different. The predominating semantic usage of *laf* in *Beowulf* is "sword" (12/22 occurrences, or 55%), and the predominating semantic usage in the Junius poems is "survivor" (12/16 occurrences, or 75%). "Treasure" refers to war equipment in three of its four occurrences

in *Beowulf* (454, 1053, 1688), whereas in the Junius poems "treasure" refers to the survivors themselves (Ex.585), and the compound *yrfelaf* which refers to treasure in general and the sword in particular in *Beowulf* (1903, 1053) refers to "posterity" in the Junius poems (Ex.403).

Summary: Distribution of Laf

Laf occurs 335 times in the Old English corpus, 280 times in prose (about 83%), and 56 times in verse (about 17%). It occurs as a simplex 294 times in the corpus, 40 times in verse (13.5%). It forms 16 compounds. These occur 42 times in the corpus (12.5%), 26 times in prose (about 61%), and 16 times in verse (about 39%). *Laf* is always the second element of the compound. According to the definition established by C. T. Carr, this makes it the "determiner" of meaning (xxviii).

While these compounds represent only 12.5% of the occurrences of *laf*, the syntactic distribution indicates that a "limiter" (Carr xxviii) accompanies the simplex in all but 48 instances (that is, all but category 2). These take the form either of the preposition *to*, or of an adjective, or of a genitive attributive. The latter are either partitive, possessive, or agential. They are formulaic, recurring in all but 4 instances in the form: pre-positive genitive + *laf*. The fact that the *laf* simplex rarely alliterates (5 times only) allows the formula to be heard as a compound, the "limiter" serving as the first element which would normally take the alliterative stress. Because the "limiter" of "what is left" is very often a dead individual or group, many of the genitive attributives have an agential sense. This makes category 6 the largest in the syntactic distribution of *laf* in verse (37/56, or about 66%), and the second largest in prose (52/280, or about 18%).

One can conclude, then, that the agential genitive is the most common usage of the word *laf*, that the usage is formulaic, that it approaches the form and sense of a compound, and that the word is the determining element of the compound. For *laf* to function as a "determiner", it has to have been familiar.

Laf is used most often in prose to mean "remainder"(about 48%), then "survivor" (about 32%), then "widow" (a specific class of survivor, about 17%)). It is used most often in verse to mean "survivor" (about 34%), then "sword" (about 29%). It thus appears to have been equally familiar as a human remnant and as an inanimate object.

iii. Semantic Fields and Semantic Range

Discussion of the Distribution Data

The syntactic distribution of *laf* provides information about the conditions under which attributives appear necessary or desirable for determining meaning, and for differentiating between four referents in two basic semantic fields: survivor/ remainder, and weapon/ artifact. Each syntactic category thus aids in establishing the semantic range of the word.

Syntactic Category 1: *laf* used in the phrase *to lafe*

The expression *to lafe* appears to be "prosaic": it is frequent and formulaic in prose and relatively rare in verse (3 times). Given that most occurrences in verse seem to require the added information supplied by an attributive, the three occurrences of *to lafe* in verse likely attest to the familiarity of the expression. The many Latin glosses which use the expression are further evidence of its familiarity. These indicate that the expression has the verbal sense of a past participle. It most often denotes the idea "to be left", the Latin *remanere, superesse, residere,* and *restare* being represented and/or glossed in Old English with forms of *beon, wesan, weorðan, wunian, gesceotan,*[88] + *to lafe.* Latin *restare* is sometimes rendered by forms of *to lafe standan* 'to stand remaining'

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[88] This verb occurs only once (*to lafe gesceotte* Ch1525). In one instance, Notes10.2.40 (*ascyrede to lafe*), *to lafe* represents the indirect object rather than the sense of a past participle.

(Psalm 72.20; BenRGL 8.2; LibSc 32.86). In his glosses for *resto*, Aelfric uses both *beon* and *standan*. These glosses help to define and clarify the usage of *to lafe* for both animate and inanimate referents: *resto: ic beo to lafe oððe ic aetstande* (Gr.139.6); *restat to lafe is: and Ioseph cwaeð: adhuc restant anni quinque: gyt ðar synd fif gear to lafe* (Gr.206.9).[89]

While the expression *to lafe* itself appears most often to need no clarifying, it does receive further definition by Aelfric on two occasions. In his rendering of Josh.10.28, 29 and 38, Aelfric makes the animate-inanimate distinction clear by adding the idea of "those left alive": where the Vulgate has only *reliquias*, Aelfric has *belaefde . . . lafe cuce*; *to lafe cucu, ðe ne lage ofslagen*; *ne let ðaer to lafe nan ðing libbende*.[90] One must assume that Aelfric felt the clarification necessary, likely because of the difficulty in determining whether the subject was a living one or not. The verbal sense of the expression *to lafe* seems to have been very clear, however, as witnessed by its use to gloss the verb *gelaefan* in one version of JnGl6.13: *ða ðe gelaefdon vel/weron to lafe*.

The expression is used sometimes with or without an auxiliary verb and with more emphasis upon the subject than upon the verbal idea. In these cases, the preposition *to* + the dative renders the idea "as", and *to lafe* then denotes "as a remnant" rather than "to be left" (compare *to sigetibre* Ex.402; *to tibre* Gen.2853; *to segne* Ex.319). The usage compares with the many instances in the Latin of *residuum* and *relinquum* + *esse*, which use the noun and not the past participle.

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[89] These glosses indicate that the Latin *resto* had the meaning "to remain, stay, stand behind". There does not appear to be any indication of a noun derived from *resto* with any meaning other than "repose" (as in "the rest").

[90] Here the Old English *let* and *belaefde* appear to translate *dimitto*, rendering to be "left to remain" or "let to remain".

Syntactic Category 2: *laf* used as an unqualified substantive

All other instances of *laf* in the corpus are substantive. The very high frequency of occurrence in Category 2 indicates that in most instances there does not appear to be any need to qualify this *laf* in order to distinguish animate from inanimate. The context of war and death seems to be sufficient to clearly denote "survivor" or "widow", or "residue"/ "remainder"; for a human referent in such a context, "remaining behind" would imply "remaining alive". Again, the citings in the Latin glosses indicate familiarity. *Laf* is used with no elaboration to render *uxor* and *superstes, vivi* as well as *reliquiae*, and the *reliquiae* can refer to persons, to things, and to the abstract idea of posterity. In one instance *laf* is used to clarify *wif* (MkGL12.19), indicating that *laf* when referring to a woman was commonly understood to mean "widow". On the other hand, several internal Old English glosses function to quite the opposite effect, to define what was at least in some instances considered ambiguous or unclear. The gloss on Mt.22.24, for example, reads *laf vel wif*. Some glosses for the Latin *superstes* and *derelicta* hedge by glossing the gloss: *laf odðe oferlybbende* (AeGr. 51.10); *laf, vel forlaeten wif* (AntGL6.98). Similar clarification occurs for *laf* as "remainder": *laflðe ðaer ofer is* (RegC1.96).

From the distributions in categories 1 and 2 we can assume that *laf* as "widow", "survivor", and "remainder" invite clarification and differentiation, but are familiar enough to be used often in prose without the assistance of information provided by attributives, whereas the referents "remains", "legacy"/ "treasure", and "sword" (which do not occur at all in these two non-attributive categories) do require further clarification. In verse, *laf* as a substantive nearly always appears to require some sort of qualification. The attributives in syntactic categories 3-6 appear to have two primary functions: first, to distinguish between animate and inanimate "remnants", and second, to identify and define these "remnants" further with information from a variety of semantic fields.

Syntactic Category 3: *laf* modified by an adjective

Adjectival modification appears to assist in differentiating "survivor" from "sword" or "armor", as the former is modified by adjectives relating to human concerns and conditions ("eternal", "wretched", "poor"), and the latter most frequently with the attribute "old", which while it is not necessarily confined to objects, is incongruous with the notion of "heir", but not with "heirloom". This incompatibility restricts meaning to the inanimate object. Moreover, *eald* (and variant *gomel*) is so consistent in its application to the referent "sword" that it might be considered a signal for it. This possibility seems to gain support from the fact that an *eald laf* (Beo.795) is one of the two instances in which the referent "sword" has no variant and also no descriptive detail. This absence is perhaps an indication that the poet assumed familiarity. As the same is true of Phoen.376, however, where the *eald laf* (also with no variant[91]) refers to the "ashes" or "remains" of the Phoenix, it is possible to conclude quite the opposite: that the referent is not specifically "sword" or "remains", but more generally "heirloom" in both cases. At the same time as it identifies the object as object, *eald* draws particular attention to the object's heirloom (that is, "old") status, and also, by extension, to its great value.[92] This is the central conundrum of the Phoenix: the bird is "heir" to its own "relics" (*yrfeweard ealde lafe* Phoen.376. It does not necessarily follow, however, that there is only one general referent for *laf*, "heirloom", rather than two distinct and specific ones, "sword" and "remains"/ "relics". In the absence of an attributive genitive, differentiation is dependent upon the very different contexts of battle, gift-giving, and funeral rites.

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[91] But as this is the fourth occurrence in *The Phoenix* of this referent in the space of 107 lines, the need for a variant may have been obviated by familiarity achieved within the poem itself.

[92] P. L. Henry notes that "old, ancient, or ancestral" are general epithets of the sword as a fighting weapon commonly applied to those which are outstanding (145).

The adjectives describing the human "remnant" function similarly to give a positive or negative valence to the survival (*ece* versus *earm*).

Syntactic Category 4: *laf* modified by a partitive genitive

The partitive genitive is able to make the animate-inanimate distinction clearer by referring to the political or social (that is, human) affiliations of the subject, and to indicate "survival" rather than merely "remaining" by virtue of the fact that the fatal demise of the larger group of which the *laf* was a part is already known. In many cases the *laf* forms a compound, the first element of which identifies either this human group (*here*, *fird*, *leod*, *mann*) or the inanimate object (*lic*, *healm*, *mete*, *beod*, *husel*) of which the *laf* is a part. The combination makes explicit the context and the meaning of the *laf*.

All the prose instances of *laf* as holy "relics" are defined in this manner as well, and appear to need no explanation other than their relation to the genitival subject "holy one". The gloss in HomS39.34 indicates that in this context this second meaning for *reliquiae* was well understood: *halige reliquias, ðaet syndon haligra manna lafe*.

Syntactic Category 5: *laf* modified by a possessive genitive

The possessive genitive performs a similar function by identifying the *laf* as an inanimate object by virtue of its being a possession. When the possessor is an illustrious warrior, the *laf* becomes further defined as an object of value, rather than a human derelict of war, in that such ownership reflects the social sense of achievement and artistic value traditionally conferred upon the ancestral sword. As the genitive always refers to an older or dead warrior, the object is further identified as an heirloom. The total semantic effect of the attribution contributes significantly to what many consider to be the thematic effect of sword imagery in verse: "putting people of one generation in touch with the achievements of their predecessors", and "serv[ing] as a midwife of wide-ranging heroic memory" (Hanning 5, 7). Elements from more than one category combine for

compounded effect; for example, *gomelra lafe* (Beo. 2036, category 5) combines the ideas of possession, ancestry, and "old"; *ðaet waes mid eldum Eanmundes laf* does the same (Beo.2611), as does the variant *gomel sweord* (2610).

Distinguishing "sword" and "treasure" from "widow" appears to be entirely dependent upon context, as the language is in some instances exactly the same. In the case of "widow", variants in the form of *wif* or *to wif* often prevent ambiguity (with respect to the status animate-inanimate, not the value). Similarly, "survivor" and "treasure" are often not clearly distinguishable. The "remnant of an army", for example, is sometimes the few survivors, and sometimes the booty conceded by them to the victor. Both occur without a variant and/or added detail. The former is more frequent, and the latter, though it occurs only once in prose, is familiar enough to provide a gloss: *tropheum, i.e. victoriam: herelaf* (but see further below).

Syntactic Category 6: *laf* modified by an agential genitive

This syntactic relationship brings a very different sort of information to bear upon the *laf*. Instead of providing an attribute of the *laf* itself, the agential use of the genitive directs attention to the powerful force which the *laf* has survived. This brings the opposition into the picture, and in a riddling manner, as the referents are denoted figuratively rather than literally. For the referent "survivor", the destructive agent (the fury, woe, spears, swords, etc.) serves through further troping as a metonymy or synecdoche for the "war" which decimated the group and from which the *laf* has been "left over". By the same metaphorical logic, the "remains" of the Phoenix are that which has "survived" the fire, the pyre, and the heat; the web of the loom is that which has "survived" the action of the "arrows"; and the "sword" is that which has "survived" the "hostile forces" of the hammers, files, and fire.

In spite of the periphrasis, though, a *laf* referred to in this manner seems to have been considered recognizable and perhaps familiar, as the frequent absence of variants

indicates: for "survivor", 6/7 occurrences (7, if Brun.47 is included from category 4); for "remainder", 4/4 occurrences; for "remains", 2/3 occurrences; for "treasure" 1/1 occurrence (if Rid.91.10 is included from category 5); for "sword", 4/6 occurrences (5, if Beo.2628 is included from category 5). The referents "survivor" and "sword" appear from these figures to be equally frequent, similarly deployed, and also equally familiar: each has a similar number of occurrences without a variant (7 times; 6 times respectively); each is used with similar frequency with a genitive denoting agency (13 times; 11 times).

It is interesting to note, however, that the referent "survivor" forms compounds, while the referent "sword" does not. This suggests perhaps that "survivor" is the more familiar and perhaps the primary meaning, as a compound to be intelligible requires that both of its elements be understood *a priori*, while the attributive genitive as a separate element (the only way that the referent "sword" occurs) exists to facilitate such understanding.

The Evidence of the Riddles

A similar premise obtains for a riddle as for a compound, in that the clues of a good riddle yoke together (at least) two very different semantic fields, both of which must be familiar for determining meaning, although in the case of the riddle the connection between the two fields must not be immediately apparent.

Laf appears to be central to the solution of each of the four riddles in which it occurs. The double and sometimes triple categorization of contrasting frames of reference in these riddles reveals much about the semantic fields brought into coexistence by the *laf*. Riddle 56 ("Loom"), like many others, plays upon the ambiguity achieved by constructing the subject as both inanimate and human. There are no clues in the riddle that this *laf* brought before the lord is the woven cloth "left by the arrows" (the shuttle-darts); instead the clues describe the battle-wounds (*bennegean, heapoglemma, deopra dolga* 56.2-4) characteristic of a *laf* that is a "survivor of weapons". In Riddle 5

("Shield") the inanimate subject is also described as a wounded warrior and a "survivor of weapons": he is "wounded with iron, with blades, with edges" (*iserne wund, bille gebennad, ecgum werig* 1-3), and beaten by the "remnants of the hammers" (*ac mec hnossiað homera lafe* 7). Here the *laf* participates in the general category "sword" as the last item in a host of antagonists which cause the hero injury (compare *ecga dolg* 13 and *deopra dolga* Rid.56.4). In Riddle 91 ("Keyhole") the *laf* is "treasure" as well as "survivor", the "remnant" of the defeated army which the victor keeps locked up, and which he wishes to "hold for his own desire" (*hyrde þaes hordes, þonne min hlaford wile/lafe þicgan, þara þe of life het/waelcraefte awrecan, willum sinum* 9-11). There are no clues until the very end of the riddle that the *laf* is the captured booty; instead the clues describe a captive woman.[93] In Riddle 71 ("Sword") the clues also describe a captive "survivor", also imprisoned ("firmly constrained" *faeste genearwod* 4) by a wealthy lord. Like the survivors of the flood in *Genesis* (1406), he is the "survivor of the hostile forces" (*wraðra laf* 3). Only when we are told the other destructive forces which the subject has survived, "the fire and the file" (*fyres ond feole* 4), are we able to recognize the same semantic field of the forge that informs the *homera lafe* of Riddle 5, and then incorporate the clue "clothed in red [red-gold?, garnets? blood?]" (*reade bewaefed* 1) to make the connection "decorated sword".

Marie Nelson has argued that the selection and arrangement of detail in the riddles is such that "their descriptions approached definitions", albeit "enigmatic definitions" (1974 424). Each of these riddles is playing upon the multiple semantic fields associated with the word *laf*. Riddle 56 plays upon the interaction of the semantic categories "remainder" and "survivor" and capitalizes upon what was obviously recognized as the

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[93] I make this gender identification based upon the very feminine nature of the sexual imagery, and subscribe to the solution "keyhole" suggested by Edith W. Williams (142-43) rather than the more commonly argued "key".

potential for confusion of inanimate/human "remnants". Riddle 5 does the same, and brings together "survivor" and "sword": each has "survived" the blows besieging it. Riddle 91 combines "survivor" (and likely "widow") with "treasure", and Riddle 71 combines all three categories "survivor", "sword", and "treasure". Taken together, these riddles can be seen to provide a "definition" for *laf* which encompasses four distinct semantic categories: "remainder", "survivor", "treasure" and "sword". Each riddle in effect is asking questions like "how is a shield like a sword?", the common element "survivor" serving to connect the different semantic fields and thus to solve Riddles 56, 5, and 71, and the common element "booty" or "treasure" doing the same for Riddle 91. Considering that the *common* common element for all of these riddles is "survivor", and given the rationale for the priority of this idea of surviving in the formation and the determination of compounds and kennings, it would seem likely that it is the human "remnant of hostile forces" which is the primary metaphorical survivor, and the analogously determined sword which is derivative.

Tautological Compounds: the Evidence of Synonyms

Like the glosses which provide Latin and Old English synonyms for *laf*, the tautological compound, or *dvandva*, is a source of information about the range of meaning of the word. In the compound *healmeslaf*, for example, the *-laf* element appears to be redundant. The compound occurs once only, in the Latin gloss *stipulae: healmeslaf*. The same Latin word, however, which means "haulm, blade, stem, stubble, straw", is rendered elsewhere by Old English *healm* alone (PsGLI, PsGLB82.14; PsCaI5.7; CLGL2.740). Moreover, *healm* as a simplex also glosses the Latin *culmus*, a synonym for *stipula* (AntGL4.590; DurGL138; HLGL2787). These latter glosses would seem to indicate that *healm* itself means "what is left of the grain"; the addition of the element *laf* simply gives the Latin idea twice. *Healmeslaf* thus likely signifies the "straw" itself and not "what is left of the straw" after it is gathered. It is likely a synonym for the

tautological compound *healmstreaw* (PsGLF82.14), another *hapax legomenon* which appears to be a variation on *healm* in the two other versions of the psalm. *Laf* in this agricultural context, then, likely indicates "stubble" rather than just "remainder".

Another compound used similarly in the psalms is *yrfelaf*. The metrical Paris Psalter is the only version of the psalms to use the compound *yrfelaf* to mean "heritage" or "posterity": in Psalm 77.70/71 it glosses the Latin *hereditas*. The compound should mean something like "remnant of the heritage", as *yrfe* means "inheritance" or "heritage". A few verses earlier, however, the poet uses *yrfe* by itself to translate *hereditas*.[94] As with *Healmeslaf*, the Latin idea may simply have been doubled in the compound. The doubling is a device used frequently by the poet of the Paris Psalter to fit the demands of alliteration and meter (Tinkler 13). If he chose *lafe* as metrical filler – and this seems likely, since *lafe* does not alliterate, and two syllables are required – then likely *yrfe* and *lafe* were synonymous to him, and his usage suggests that *laf* can mean "heritage". As the referent in each instance is human (*Israhela*), the compound would denote "posterity" or "heir" rather than "inheritance". The use of *yrfeweardnisse* for *hereditas* in other versions of this psalm suggests that to the poet of the Paris Psalter, *vrfelaf* was a synonym for *yrfeweardnisse*, and therefore that *laf* as a simplex could denote "posterity" (that is, "guardianship" of the heritage) in certain contexts. This evidence supports the usual translation of *yrfelaf* describing Isaac at Ex.403 as "heir".

Summary: Semantic Range

The semantic range of *laf* as it has been examined here appears to be very wide indeed. It includes the ideas expressed by the Latin *remanere, superesse, residere, restare, relinquo; residuum, superstes, vivi, reliquiae, stipulae, hereditas,* and *uxor,* and

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[94] Other versions of the psalm (Tiberius Psalter, Vitellius Psalter, Salisbury Psalter, Junius Psalter, Stowe Psalter) use *yrfeweardnesse* at both verses to translate *hereditas*.

also those ideas imparted to it metaphorically from Germanic notions of battle and booty. In spite of this metaphorical usage, however, *laf* is not a "poetic" word according to the definition established by the Toronto Dictionary of Old English project, which designates a word "mainly poetic" if more than 70% of its total occurrences (as a simplex) are in verse (Frank 1994). *Laf* occurs as a simplex only in about 13% of its total occurrences. The word is no more "poetic" as a compound, as only about 36% of its compounds occur in verse. If compounds are included in the distribution in verse, the frequency is the same as without them: about 13% (55/335).

As the referents "sword" and "armor" *never* occur in prose, it can perhaps be assumed that they would not be recognized except when a circumlocution was expected, that is, in verse, where the words are often selected for "their capacity to surprise, puzzle, and delight" (Frank 1994 72). As witnessed by the riddles, the referent "armor"/ "sword" requires a rather involved semantic logic for each of the possible contexts in which the referent "arms" might be required. A *laf* wielded or worn in battle, for example, may be identified through the possessive genitive (category 5) either as part of the personal effects of a departed kinsman that will be handed down as a legacy, or as part of the booty left to the victor by the vanquished. Or it may signify "armor"/ "sword" with only the qualifying adjective "old" serving similarly to associate it with ancestral glory (category 3). Finally, it may signify "sword" in the configuration "remnant of the hostile forces", hammer, fire, file (category 6), the sword in this case being identified synecdochally (as with the survivors of the weapons) by the history of its forging rather than of its lineage and age. Only one of these latter denotations (Beo.2829) is identified explicitly by a sword-variant, indicating perhaps that this trope was not considered difficult to decipher.

iv. Lexicography, Glossography, and Textual Criticism

Translations of 'Laf': Cruces and editorial notes

Most editors, translators, and lexicographers intuit the figurative senses of the *laf* from the context of a passage and in accordance with the semantic logic outlined above. Breaking down the categories of classification commonly used to record such deductions makes it possible to examine the transfer of meaning more closely. The first factor to observe from the data is that it is not the syntactic construction of *laf* itself, but rather that of its attributives which aids in determining meaning. In this respect, Grein's syntactic classifications are more useful than those of Bosworth and Toller, who classify according to meaning, and also than those of editorial glossaries, which commonly record the instances of *laf* according to inflexional forms.

Glossaries and dictionaries provide an explanatory gloss for the more figurative meanings of *laf* and/or specify a separate "poetic" meaning whenever the reference appears to be to weapons, and often when to survivors. Bosworth and Toller document four categories of meaning which can be summarized as: I. "remnant", II. "weapons forged", III. "weapons bequeathed", IV. "widow". The first category necessitates glosses to explain, for example, how "the weapons' leavings" are in fact the "survivors of a battle". Grein categorizes according to syntax as follows: 1. "without genitive", 2. "with partitive genitive", 3. "with genitive of the leaver" (that is, the agent), 4. "with genitive of which something was derived" (also the agent). He glosses (*gladius*) or (*lorica*) as required. Mary Keller has two separate categories, *reliquiae* and *gladius* (174-175). Klaeber has separate categories for armor and swords under the heading "inheritance, heirloom", and also supplies glosses in parentheses for "forged swords", "ashes", and "sand" (*ydlaf*). In his notes he explains *fela laf* (Beo.1032) as "that which is left after the files have done their work. A notable kenning for sword" (cf. Wyatt: "an unusual kenning for sword or armor", "a frequent mode of expressing the finished product"). Like Klaeber, Pope treats the *hamora lafum* ("what is left of the hammers" Brun. 6) as a kenning, as do

Bode (55) and Caie (1994 87). Pope compares this periphrasis to the expression *daroða laf* ("what was left by the spears" Brun. 54), although he does not designate the latter a "kenning".[95] "Here, although a sword is in fact left on the anvil after a smith's hammer has forged it, there is probably a latent comparison to a human warrior as the survivor of a battle" (58). George Jack glosses the forged swords fully: "that is, the blade of a sword, sharpened by the smith's file" (87), and "i.e. sword-blades, made from iron beaten by the smith's hammer" (*hamora laf* Beo.2829, 190). He gives a similar explanation for the *bronda lafe* (i.e. "ashes" Beo.3160, 210), and for the *sweorda lafe* (Beo.2936): "the phrase means literally "the remnant of swords", i.e. the survivors, those who had not succumbed to the sword" (196). From here it is a small step to the assumption that a human *laf* is a survivor of war, and an inanimate *laf* is a sword. Jack translates *ealde lafe* at Beo.795 "ancient ancestral swords" (74). Donaldson boldly adds the variant, "sword", to the "old heirlooms" (14), but neither "ancestral" nor "sword" are literally present in the verse. Similarly, Tolkien translates *ealde lafe* (Ex.408) as "ancient sword of his fathers" with no textual basis for "of his fathers" (28-29). These clarifications of the "old remnants" are in keeping with – indeed likely the sources of – the glosses "heirloom" and "sword" which commonly appear in dictionaries and in editor's glossaries.

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[95] Neither does Klaeber (1910), but Klaeber does note the similar constructions of *waepna lafe* (Gen.2005) and *sweorda lafe* (B.2936). Bode designated most instances of *laf* in *Beowulf* as kennings. (He omits the compounds *wealaf, eormenlaf, endelaf,* but includes *yrfelaf.* He also omits the *bronda lafe,* and the *laf*'s belonging to Hreðel and Eanmund). He singles out the *hamora laf* and the *fela laf* for further commentary, comparing the construction and the periphrasis to the *sweorda laf,* and noting vestiges of such artificial, traditional expressions in modern German, where the "hole" is a circumlocution for the "door" made by the hammer or the carpenter.

All major authorities thus appear to agree that the figurative meanings of *laf* are logical semantic progressions from the one basic meaning "remnant". What is not agreed, however, is whether one should treat the meaning "sword" as a metaphorical extension of the primary meaning, requiring only a "that is" or a parenthetical gloss, or whether to present it as a separate distinct meaning. The same is true of the referent "survivors" when these are designated by a genitive of agency. The referents which appear to require the greatest amount of glossing and explanation are those which fall into the two categories 3, the *laf* modified by the adjective "old" (the heirloom sword or breast-plate), and 6, the *laf* made a remnant by a powerful destructive or a creative agent (the survivors or the sword respectively). Recalling that the noun *laf* appears to require qualification in verse (or at least, never appears without it), and recalling also that qualifiers do not appear to be necessary in prose, it perhaps follows that one reason for the very striking type of qualification supplied by the agential genitive – and indeed perhaps for all qualification in verse – is that the meaning of *laf* in verse appears (from the amount of explanation attending it) to be *always* something beyond the literal meaning "remnant".

It is perhaps also for this reason that many of these periphrastic constructions present themselves as cruces to interpretation; conversely, the solutions proposed for the cruces serve as the bases for interpretations farther afield. Carlton Brown, for example, in responding to the confusion over the correct referent(s) for the repeated "striking phrase" *wealaf* (Beo.1084 & 1098), supplied what he perceived as a missing attributive "of the thanes" (a partitive genitive), translating *wea* as an adjective describing the remnant of the Danish forces: "the wretched remnant". R. A. Williams saw the referent as inanimate, translating "fatal heirloom" and "heirloom of destruction" (24ff.), and Kemp Malone, supporting Brown's reading of the referent as the captive Danes, translated "remnant (of the Danes)" and "(Danish) remnant", thus ignoring the first element of the compound altogether (115-116). Finally, Johannes Hoops (1932a 57, 98-99) compared *wealaf* and *sweorda laf*, translating the first element of *wealaf* as a genitive of agency by analogy:

"what the woes, the misfortune, has left remaining".[96] P. L. Henry uses a similar argument from analogy to solve another *Beowulf* crux. He contests the readings "mighty", "valuable", or "heavy" for the very obscure first element of *incge-lafe*, substituting *inga-laf*, "remnant of battle-straits". This reading is based upon the similarities between the *fela laf* and *homera laf* of *Beowulf*, and *wraðra laf* in Riddle 71.3, where he notes that the genitive denoting agency places a *laf* in the semantic field of "remnant of strife" (145-148).

The Agential Genitive as a Poetic Formula, "Idiom", or Kenning

The frequent notes and comments about the figurative aspects of the *laf* lend support to the notion voiced early on by Albert A. Cook that expressions constructed with *laf* are formulaic "poetical idioms". Cook classifies instances of *laf* + dependent genitive into two categories, "that which has escaped from" and "that which has been formed or fashioned by" (combined here in category 6). He finds the figure peculiar to Old English verse among the Germanic dialects, and traces the origin to Virgil and Cicero, whom he argues are themselves borrowing a Grecism from Aeschylus. Virgil's "remnants of the Greeks" (*reliquias Danaum*, *Aeneid* 1.30, 1.598, 3.87), Cicero's "remnants of the grandfather" (*avi reliquias*, *De Senectute* 6.19), and Aeschylus's "remnant of the spear" (*leleimmenon doros*, *Agammemnon* 517) each denote "what is left behind" *by* the Greeks, *by* the grandfather, and *by* the spear – that is: the Trojans, the city of Carthage, and the survivors of the army, and not a small portion *of* the Greeks, *of* the grandfather, or *of* the

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[96] "was das Weh, das Ungluck ubrig gelassen hat", das uberlebende Hauflein"; eine ahnliche Kenning wie *sweorda laf* 2926 "die Scwert zuruckgelassen hat, die vom Schwert verschont Gebliebeben". Hoops is arguing here against Grein, who takes the referent to be first the Frisians, then the Danes. Hoops also compares *yðlaf* and *saelaf* (B.566, Ex. 584) (1932a, 1932b 81, 129, 131, 136, 275, 326).

spear. Cook's argument is based upon the fact (though he does not state this) that neither Old English nor Latin normally use the genitive to express agency, as the instrumental and ablative cases respectively would be the form of choice (in Greek, where the ablative has collapsed into the genitive, the genitive regularly performs this function). By analogy with the example from Cicero, Cook might have included all the kinsmen's swords and armor from category 5.

While there has been essentially no response to and certainly no questioning of Cook's observations, still the feeling persists that the *laf* is a "poetic word" which appears repeatedly in periphrastic expressions to provide the verse with "what amounts to a narrative in miniature" (E. W. Williams 143), a narrative, moreover, which requires deciphering because of the ambiguities possible from the various metaphorical meanings ascribable to the *laf*. This is especially so with respect to Cook's two categories denoting "survivors" and "swords", but a certain amount of troping is also required (as noted above from the amount of glossing) in order to read the simple designation "old" as "heirloom sword". According to most scholars, it appears to be a peculiarly Old English irony which issues from the interplay of these enigmatic narratives: Wig-laf the *endelaf* raising *his maeges laf* which does not weaken *aet wige* (Beo.2628, 2813); Isaac the young "heir" spared from the "old heirloom" (*yrfelafe* . . . *ealde lafe* Ex.403-408); the shield surviving the beatings of the sword which has survived the beatings of the hammer (Rid. 5.7).

But is the poetic wordplay on *laf* entirely a matter of mixing metaphorical remnants? Cook's sense that the "poetic" use of *laf* is formulaic and therefore traditional and familiar is supported by the fact that the "idiom" which he describes occurs often without variation and without other contextual detail to help decipher the figure, indicating likely that the poet expected to be understood.[97] The elaborate contextual detail

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[97] The referent "ashes", for example, while accompanied by a variant in every occurrence but one, at *Phoenix* 276, appears alone at *Beowulf* 3160 (albeit explicitly in the context of

often provided for the referent "sword", though, implies perhaps that the poet anticipated some difficulty with a more tricky figure. Of those swords seemingly designated as heirlooms (categories 3 and 5), all but one (Beo.795) are described also according to their lavish decoration (Beo.454, 1488, 1685, 2036, 2191, 2577, 2611), their mythic forging (Beo.1688, 2611), in situations depicting lending, gift-giving and/or bequest (Beo.454, 1488, 2191) and of plundering (Beo.2611, 2628), or with battle-sharp edges and the like (Ex.408, Beo.2563). All are described with some connection to a famous warrior, often a kinsman, except for three instances in category 3: Beo.795 which designates the swords used by Beowulf's retainers, and Beo.2577 and 2563 which describe Beowulf's own sword Naegling. None of the forged swords (those considered "poetic" by Cook and making up all of the "sword" entries of category 6) are connected in any way with kinsmen's bequests, and only one has a variant, but all but one (Brun.6) are given sword characteristics in the surrounding text (Rid. 71.3, 5.7; Beo.1032, 2829).

It would seem, then, that more often than not there was considerable effort made to prevent ambiguity for the referent "sword" as it is designated in all three categories, and that there was similar effort to further identify the "sword" as an "heirloom" in categories 3 and 5, but not in category 6. Thus the former are "heirloom swords", the latter "forged swords", the difference allowing a poet a choice of emphasis.[98] The

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the funeral pyre). Similarly, the referent "legacy"/ "treasure" has no variant in Riddle 91, where the riddling word-play between human and artifact *depends* upon familiarity with the more obvious meaning "treasure". The ambiguity of "survivor"/ "treasure" is part of the closural force of *Exodus*: the "remnants of the sea" being both the Israelites and the Egyptian treasure which the sea allows to "survive".

[98] Davidson observes that in places the poet might choose the clash of hammers to emphasize the clamor of war, and the art and workmanship to accord with the harmony of celebration and gift-giving (150).

intelligibility of the denotation and of the distinction is supported by the existence of even one "old remnant" (Beo.795), one "kinsman's sword" (Beo.2628), and one "remnant of the hammers" (Brun.6) which lack both variants and description (and of course there may have been many more such occurrences). Like the various other inanimate and human "remnants" of various agents, these "remnants" are perhaps not expected to be beyond the imaginative experience of the poem's audience. But what if the "heirloom" idea – only a modern translation after all – is a red herring? While the "ancestor" (hence "heirloom") connection fits the idea of Germanic custom nicely and accounts for the "swords" in category 5, still the greater weight given the sword characteristics in category 3 really demands only the meaning "sword". And what of the three instances in this category which have no "ancestor" connection at all? Why are these too called *laf*s? Are we to assume that all "old remnants" could be considered "heirlooms" by analogy from the "poetic idiom": "what is left by the file/a remnant of the file" is analogous to "what is left by the ancestor/a remnant of the ancestor", and an "old" *laf* is then by further extrapolation a kind of short-hand for "an *old* remnant of the file", or "of the ancestor". In other words, perhaps the familiarity of the "poetic idiom" in category 5/6 aids in deciphering the problematic *ealde lafe* of category 3.[99] This appears to be the unstated logic behind the consistent glossing of *laf* to mean either "sword" or "heirloom", and more often both, and indeed for the inclusion of the idea of an "heirloom" in the semantic

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[99] Alternatively, it could be assumed that Abraham and Beowulf and all of his retainers brandish *only* heirloom swords. This does not fit well with the folklore of the hero's sword, however, which was often specially forged for him (Davidson 27, 160). Moreover, in the case of Naegling, the sword is characterized more by its literary ancestry than by any realistic sense of kinsman lineage: its name and its crucial failure to serve the hero are topoi with parallels in Norse (Saxo IV.115; *Volsunsaga* 15, 35) and MHG epics (Klaeber 1950 219, 438).

range of *laf* in editorial glossaries. But how reliable is the *laf*-kenning for determining the meaning of the *laf*? Indeed, how idiomatic, or even metaphorical, is the figure? Can its intelligibility and also its poetic appeal perhaps have another explanation?

The questions are posed as a result of a number of factors which cloud the assessment of the poetic idiom or kenning as it has been presented by Cook and others. To begin with, the so-called genitive of agency is really no more "poetic" in its metaphorical logic than the attributive "old", where the imaginative leap required to arrive at "sword" from "remnant" is even more demanding without the analogous sense and syntax of being left behind from or "surviving" a destroying/forging force. Secondly, the use of the genitive to describe agency may in fact be a vestige of an earlier regular use of the genitive,[100] and therefore may be strikingly metaphorical only to our unaccustomed ears. That is, while the two-term expression remains periphrastic in that it does not name the sword directly (substantiating the claim that it is a kenning), the second level of troping required to turn the unintelligible "what is left *of* the powerful force" (bits of weapons? of armies? of the sea?? of strife??) to "what is left *by* it" will be missing, as will the accompanying heightened sense of surprise, puzzlement and delight. Finally, there do not appear to be analogous instances where a kenning exists to clarify one of its elements. Quite the reverse is true. The purpose of a kenning is to confuse: like a riddle and unlike a compound, a kenning requires that the connection between its two elements be slightly obscure for best effect. But as in a compound, the elements themselves must be wholly intelligible. Finally, as the referents "remainder" (*wyrmes laf*), "survivor" (*wealaf, here-laf, lafe þaes hungres*) and "treasure" (*herelaf*) occur also in prose in the

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[100] William Schmalsteig writes: "a genitive of agent seems well attested in the Indo-European languages (163). George Shipley notes vestiges of ablative and instrumental notions expressed by the genitive in many instances in Old English poetry (87). I have found one instance: in Rid.91 *searopila wund*.

same "poetic" form,[101] and as the expression also occurs once in Norse to describe the bodies that the wolf left behind uneaten (*varga leifar Guþr*.II.11), the Old English "poetic idiom" is in fact not restricted either to poetry or to Old English, as Cook assumed.

Summary

We have seen that the usage of *laf* and its compounds is not truly "poetic" in the corpus as a whole. The supposedly "poetic" usage of the word (category 6) is no more "poetic" within the narrower parameters of the poetic corpus (29/56 or about 50%), nor is it more remarkable in its combination of elements than other kennings. It is likely significant that "sword", the only referent of *laf* not represented in Old English prose, is normally accompanied by appositive variants in categories 3 and 5, but not in category 6. A "remnant-of-the-forging-process", then, would likely have been a decipherable figure, a kenning in fact. All categories have enough textual clues other than variants to indicate the referent "sword". Is it possible that in these conventional descriptions, the *laf* is not the primary signifier, but merely another variant for "sword", not through the folk-logic of remaining-surviving-plundering-bequeathing (i.e. not as an "heirloom"), but as one more synecdoche for sword, like *bil, ecg, iren*? That is, did there exist a synonym for the sword-blade which is at the same time homonymous with the word for "remnant"?

v. Etymological Considerations: homonymy vs. polysemy

The question of homonymy is posed because of the anomalous nature of the *ealde lafe*. "Sword" is the only one of the seven determined meanings for *laf* in Old English which is never attested in prose. It never appears as a gloss for *gladius* (or *vice versa*),

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[101] To these can be added "widow", as the "survivor of so and so", and also "remains/relics" when the relics of the saint are items of clothing or jewelry, etc., left behind *by* him rather than body parts *of* him.

and it is also never attested as a meaning related to "remnant" in any other of the Germanic languages, in spite of the similar prominence given to the ancestral sword in those linguistic cultures. Yet the "old remnants" appear to be familiar enough for the *Beowulf*-poet to have used the expression with no variant or descriptive detail to identify it as a sword (Beo.795). I would like to consider the possibility that the poet may not have thought of his "old remnants" as "remnants" at all. Perhaps the *ealde lafe* were simply homonymous with rather than analogous to the *hamora lafe*.

Indo-European Analogues for Laf

Four semantic fields in Old English converge in the word *laf*. In category 6, these are represented in the (usually) pre-positive[102] agential attributive, this first-element of the *laf*-expression (whether compound or not) serving to maintain the field distinctions, some to a greater extent than others. These four semantic fields are comprised of:

1. "forging" words, which define the referent as "sword".

2. "pyre" words, which define the referent as "remains".

3. "battle/strife" words, which define the referent as human "survivors" or "treasure".

4. "ancestor" words, which define the referent as "widow" or "sword" or "armor"

All but one of the resulting connotations for *laf* show analogous and oft-times cognate semantic development in the Germanic and other IE families. Several different IE roots reflect the inter-related ideas of leaving/remaining/deserting/surviving/inheriting which combine in various ways in various languages to make up the semantic range of "remnant". The following are illustrative:

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[102] The genitive is post-positioned in two Psalms, 36.38 and 75.11; in two Riddles 91.10 and 56.10, once in *Genesis* (1343); and sometimes in Aelfric's homilies (glosses of *reliquiae populi*, and "remnant of the hunger").

*leip, *loip, *lip 'be sticky'. As summarized in the introduction to this chapter, this root, from which *lãf*[103] is derived, has reflexes ranging in meaning from the idea of "remaining" to "remaining alive" to "surviving" to "live"; also to "leave", "leave out", "be lacking", "be weak", "be a servant"; also to "bequeath", to "inherit"; "patrimony", "inheritance"; "effects" (W-P II.403-4).[104]

*leiku, leik^w, loik^w 'leave, run off, flow away'; 'be deficient, be missing, absent, deprived'. Skt. *recami* 'evacuate'; Gr. *leipein* 'leave', 'leave out', 'lack, be wanting'; *leipo* 'distant', 'apart', 'absent'; *leipsis* 'desertion';[105] *leimma* 'remnant', 'surplus', 'lack', 'survive', 'descendants'; Lat. *linquo, relinquo* 'leave' (nasalized zero grade form), 'to leave an estate as an inheritance'; *reliqui* 'survivors', 'successors', 'posterity'; *reliquiae*, *reliquum* 'survivors', 'remnants', 'remains', 'relics', 'that which is left to the future'; *reliquor* 'to be in arrears' PGmc *ain-lif, twa-lif one-left, two-left (beyond ten) from which are derived the numerals eleven and twelve; Lat. *lieks* 'superfluous'; OCS *lixu* 'surplus', *liso* 'deprive'; Ir. *leic* 'neglect', 'weakness'; PGmc *laihwniz < Gothic *leihvan*, OHG *lĩhan*; OE *lǣnan, on-lēon*; ON *lja* lend, grant as a gift (W-P II.396-8).

*lei, *led, *leid 'slacken, yield, leave behind. Goth. *letan* 'to allow', 'to leave an orphan', 'to leave money'; OE *laetan*; ON *lata* 'allow'; Gr. *leimi*, Lat. *lassus* 'weary'; *PGmc *laet* 'to let go' (W-P II.395).[106]

*orbho 'deprived, bereft'. Skt. *arbha* 'little, weak'; Gr. *orphanons* 'bereft, orphan'; Lat. *orbus* 'bereft', 'widow'; Go *arbi*, OE *ierfe*, ON *arfr* 'inheritance'; Goth. *arbja*, ON *arfi*, OHG *erbo* 'heir' (W-P I.183-4).

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[103] Vowel lengths are shown in this section only.

[104] The IE etymologies in this section are taken from Walde-Pokorny. The abbreviations follow Carl Buck, *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms*.

[105] J. T. Shipley derives this meaning from the IE root *leip. Onions, from *leik.

[106] Benveniste derives these words from *loiq.

*ghe, *ghei 'lack, give up, be empty'. Skt. *ha* 'leave', 'is left, deserted', 'lose'; Gr. *choros* 'be empty', 'bereft', 'deprived of a relative', 'widow'; Lat. *heres* heir, owner, *hereditas* inheritance (W-P I.542-4).

These roots all have a similarly wide spread of meanings which move out from the neutral idea of "leaving" to include opposite ends of the spectrum of volition and constraint, death and survival, wealth and deprivation, benefit and loss. Two of them (*led, *ghe) provide analogues for the association of the meaning "widow" with "leave" and "be left".[107] Two (*ghe, *orb) associate "heir", "inheritance", and "widow". Three (*led, *ghe, *orb) associate "relative" and "widow". One (*loiq) associates "leave" and "remains" or "relics" and also "left to/for the future", "posterity". All associate the ideas "leave", "be left" with the ideas of "inheritance" and "survivor". In each of these analogues, the positive idea of acquisition is derived from the negative idea of lack: an "inheritance" is originally property or goods left vacant or unused by reason of a death; a "loan" is what is given to one who is "deprived" (Benveniste 150-53).

Place-names and proper names provide further analogues for the association of "be left" and "inheritance", and "be left" and "survive". Those cognate with *laf* represent the property "left behind by" or "left vacant by" the departed person: Old Norse *lev* in such places as Danish "Bolderslev", "Fuglslev", "Hundelev", "Sigerslev"; Old English "Papelafe" (Hough); German "Hadersleven", "Eisleben" (Mittner 78). Modern English "Marlow" is thought to derive from "mere-laue" or "mere-lave": "what the mere left behind" as it drained (Stenton and Mawer 186-7; cf. *yð-laf*). This sole English place-name in *-laf* is analogous to many Old English and Old Norse proper names: Hunliefus, Oddleifus, Gunnleifus; Ecglaf, Guðlaf, Heaðolaf, Hunlaf, Ordlaf, Oslaf, Wiglaf. These

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[107] The Old English synonym *widuwe* originates from a sense of deprivation similar to that found in Old English *laf*, in this case from being "separated from" rather than "left by" (IE *weidh 'separate'; Skt. *vidhu* 'solitary' L. *viduus* 'bereft, divided').

denote not "what is left behind by a person", as in Norse and Germanic place-names, but "what is "left behind by a powerful force" (water, war, weapons, beasts, God[108]). These -*laf* names are analogous to the *lafes* in Old English described as "survivors of a destructive force" and are evidence enough for the familiarity and intelligibility of the expression in the corpus. The name "Anlaf" (also "Olaf", ON *Anleifr* PGmc. *Anu-laibaz*) may derive from OHG *ano* 'ancestor' (Hangen 165), so providing an analogue for a person, rather than a place, "left behind" by a departed kinsman (also OE "Frealaf";[109] ON "Friðleif", "Finnsleif", "Dainslief", "Ingilief", "Aslief"). Depending upon the socio-economic standing of the family, the original connotation of both categories of proper names in -*laf* may very well have been the ideas of weakness, destitution and servitude associated with the various IE roots for "remain".

Evidence exists, then, for semantic associations developing from the idea of "remnant" to the ideas of "widow", "remains", "survivor", and "inheritance", but not "sword".[110] In fact, none of the analogues contains a reflex which associates the idea of "inheritance" with a particular item of a legacy or bequest. Rather, words from this group

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[108] "Hunlaf" is thought to derive from *hun* 'bear', or perhaps "high"; "Oslaf", from Goth. *Ansis*, ON *ass* 'heathen god'.

[109] Paul Taylor suggests that *Frealaf* (a name listed in Asser's genealogy of Alfred and borrowed by the Norse compiler as *Frjalaf* for Harald's genealogy) reflects a sacrificial gift to Freya (192 &197). This is unlikely, given the analogues which mean either "survivor of" or "descendent of", and given the context of a genealogy.

[110] Besides being names of dwarves, Finnslief and Dainslief are also names given to a breast-plate and a sword respectively. The names do not refer generally to the substantives "breast-plate" or "sword", however, but function solely as proper nouns. The proper nouns are likely analogous to the combinations in category 5, eg. *Hreðles laf*, which similarly refers both to a breastplate (Beo.454) and to a sword (Beo.2191).

which denote inherited goods are collective and general.[111] This is consistent with the usage of *laf* in Old English to refer to "treasure". The *laf* can refer to the wealth of the group, in collective terms which carry the same associations of death/inheritance as the analogues: the *eormenlaf* is the "immense legacy" left by a noble race that has died out; the *herelaf* is that which is left behind by an overpowered army; the *yrefelaf* is what is left of the tribal inheritance amassed from its departed ancestors; it can refer to a variety of inherited items, as at Beo.1053 (a breastplate), or to a specific item, as at Beo.1903 (a sword).[112]

The combination of elements in *yrfelaf* makes it the closest analogue to modern English "heirloom", the word used consistently by editors and translators to translate *laf* when it refers to inanimate objects (swords, armor and treasure). Even with *yrfelaf*, however, the *laf*-element of the compound represents a general rather than a specific denotation of "inherited possessions"; hence its ability to refer to more than one specific type of inherited object as well as to treasure in general. It therefore does not follow that because a sword can be described periphrastically as a part of "what is left of an inheritance"(category 4), all *yrfelafe* are swords.[113] Nor does it follow that a sword is

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[111] Unlike words for "money", "wealth", and "possessions", which *are* associated with particular objects of commercial value , for example Old English *stealdan* 'possess', *gesteald* 'dwelling'; OSlav. *skotu* 'cattle'; OE *sceatt* 'property, treasure, money'; ON *baugr* 'ring, money'; L. *pecunia*.

[112] The *ealde laf* which refers to the decorated hilt of the mere-sword is likely not the sword itself, but literally only "what is left" of the sword.

[113] This is also the conclusion of Carolyn Brady. She notes: "*yrfelaf* carries with it no connotation of "sword", however, for it occurs earlier . . . in a context in which it could refer to any valuable object from ring to weapon. . . .Like *yrfelaf*, *Hreðles laf* carries within itself no connotation of "sword", for in 454b it refers to Beowulf's byrnie" (105).

always an "heirloom". It is no more natural to read every "old" *laf* as an "old remnant of the inheritance" than it is to see it as an "old remnant of the hammers": the "swan's-road" does not make every subsequent "road" a "sea". Perhaps then an alternative explanation for the sword is worth considering.

Analogues for "sword-blade"

A group of IE roots containing reflexes that mean "sword-blade" or "sword" can perhaps provide analogues for and possibly etymological connections with the Old English word *laf*:

*leu 'cut off, deprive, separate, break off'. Skt. *lava* 'knife-edge', *lavitra* 'sickle'; Gr. *laion* 'ploughshare'; *aloe* 'threshing-floor'; Russ. *lava* '*bench*'; Lett. *lava* 'wooden sword', 'bedstead'; ON *lyja* 'hammer, beat'; *lāfi*, *lōfi* (ablaut from Gmc **lēwan*) 'threshing-floor', 'bedstead', 'barn'; *le* 'sickle'; *logg* 'groove'; *lustr* 'cudgel'; Norw. *losta* 'peeled bark'; Ir. *loss* 'pointed, sharp'; W. *llost* 'spear' *Gmc *lauuo* 'incision' (W-P II.407-8).

*spe, *sphei *spa 'broad, spread out, cut out, long flat piece of wood'. Gr. *spatha* blade, paddle, 'rudder-blade', 'shoulder-blade', 'broadsword'; OE *spadu* OS *spado*; Icel. *spaδi*, Dan., Du. *spade* 'spade'; Sp. *espada* 'sword'; Lat. *spatha* 'broadsword'; *spatula* 'spatula'; modern Eng. (bot.) spathe 'large sheathing leaf'; OE *spōn*, OHG *spān* 'splinter', 'spoon'; ON *spānn*, *spōnn* 'spoon', 'roof-shingle', 'flat metal piece decorating a ship'; OFr. *span*, *spon* 'flat breast-plate of gold'; Lat. *spina* 'thorn'; *spica*, *spiculum* 'pointed, sharp', 'thorn'; Lett. *spikis* 'bayonet'; OE *spicing*, ON *spikr* 'nail', 'splinter of wood' (W-P II.652-4)

*lep, *lop 'flat, flat of the hand/foot, shoulder-blade, shovel, rudder-blade; peel, scale, plate, flat piece'. Skt. *lopar* 'shovel'; Gr. *lopos* 'peel, bark', *lōpas* 'platter', 'pan', *lōpos* 'garment', 'skin'; Alb. *lape* 'leaf'; Nor., *lav* 'lichen' Lith. *lopa*, Russ. *lapa* 'paw', *lopatka* 'shoulder-blade', *lopata* 'oar', 'shovel', *lopatina* 'rudder'; Lith. *lapas*, Lett. *lapa* 'leaf',

lopeta 'shovel'; Lett. *lapst* 'shovel', 'spade', 'shoulder-blade'; Goth. *lōfa*, ON *lōfi*, 'palm of the hand'; Du. *luff, loof* 'beat to windward'; OHG *laffa*, MHG *laffe*, OHG (dial) *laff* 'palm of the hand'; OHG *lappo* 'palm of the hand', 'rudderblade'; ME *lōf* 'windward side', 'rudder'; Dan. *lab* 'foot'; NHG *laff* 'dandelion'; OE *lōf* headband (?) (Pokorny 678); OE *laefer, leber* (ambiguous) 'rush, reed', 'thin plate of metal', a 'metal-worker'; *laefel* 'spoon'. (W-P 428-430)

*pleu 'flow'. Gr. *peleo* 'sail, float'; Lat. *palma* 'palm of the hand', 'palm leaf', 'blade of an oar'; OIr. *luae* 'rudder' (W-P II.95)

*bhel 'swelling, flowering'. Lat. *folium* 'leaf'; Ir. *billeoc*, Gael. *bile* 'blade' (of grass); OHG *blat* 'leaf'; ON *blað*, OE *blaed*, 'leaf' (but rare in this sense); NE 'blade'. (W-P 2.176)

*kel 'prick, stick'. Ir. *colg* 'type of sword'; W. *cola* 'beard (on grain)'; OE *holegn* '*holly*'; W. *palu* 'dig', Corn. *pal* 'spade' (W-P I.435).

Common among these roots are the related elements of flat shape and cutting action, or thin/pointed shape and cutting action. The reflexes represent things that cut (sharp metal implements) or are cut or peeled off (from trees and plants), things which are flat and/or cut (wooden planks, metal blades, paddles, rudders, shoulder-blades, leaves, metal leaf, swords), and things which are sharp/pointed and/or cut (grasses, blades, swords). Several of the roots combine the ideas of "leaf" and "thin metal plate", and/ or "leaf" and "blade"/ "rudder-blade"; others add the elements "sharp implement"/ "weapon"/ "sword". There are analogues and cognates in Old English with these meanings from the root *spe, but not from *leu (only the meanings "loosen, free" Goth. *lun*, OE *a-lynnan* derive from this root). The Old English derivatives of *lop, *laefer* and *lōf*, are very obscure and very controversial (Dickins 342-43; Magoun 411-12; Emerson 170-72). It will be noted, however, that there *is* a reflex of this root in Middle English in the semantic field of "blade" ME *lōf* 'rudder'. As Old English "ā" regularly changed to ME "ō", there might then have existed a word *laf* in Old English which, when combined

with its synonym *healm*, formed the compound *healmeslaf*, both elements of which afforded Aelfric a gloss for the Latin *stipula*, but both with the primary meaning of "blade". This *laf* could have acted as another substitution for "sword", like the many synonymous variants "edge", "iron", "point", "bill". An *eald laf* is then really only an "old blade".

The folkloric naming of swords after botanical analogues supports such a conclusion. The names of two swords in Norse heroic legend, *Lovi* (*Laufr*, "leaf") and *Laevatinn* ("wounding branch"), derive from elements pertaining to their patterned blades (Johansson 74, 470; Falk 54). Carolyn Brady suggests such an origin for the obscure *Hunlafing*: "*Hunlafing*, then could just as well be derived from characteristic of this sword – a good guess would be the blade . . . but I am not able to suggest an etymology" (99). A suggestion following from this present investigation is that a word *laf* may have existed in Old English which was cognate with the "blades" derived from the IE root *lop and homonymous with the word for "remnant". This unattested OE *laf*, "blade", because of its homonomy with *laf*, "remnant", was possibly confused, conflated and then lost from Old English. The confusion would account for, and is corroborated by, two instances at least of confusion in the Old English corpus where *laf* is confused with *lof*: in Psalm 8.3, *laf* appears erroneously as a gloss for *laudem* (all other versions read *lof* 'praise'), and in the gloss *tropheum*: *herelaf*, *herelaf* is noted by Napier as an error for *herelof* 'war-praise'(See notes 74 and 85).

vi. Summary and Conclusions

The syntactic and semantic distributions of Old English *laf* establish six related meanings for the word: "widow", "survivor", "remainder", "posterity", "remains", "treasure". Attributives assist in distinguishing meanings. The "old remnants" in the corpus which appear to have the specific meaning "sword" are perhaps themselves

remnants of a lost lexical item, *laf* 'blade', which served as a synechdoche and as a variant for a sword.

Except for the meaning "sword", the usage of *laf* in the Old English corpus indicates that its semantic range was similar in breadth to that of many of its cognates and IE analogues, and also to its Hebrew counterpart. The various reflexes of the word can suggest both destitution and prosperity as well as desolation, survival and succession. The wide range of application and meaning is likely attributable to the double focus which inheres in the notion of "remaining"; it is this almost universally relevant notion which allows the idea of a "remnant" to figure significantly as a motif in much of the world's epic literatures.

In the two Old English epics examined here, the motif of the "remnant" reveals telling differences. Whereas the formulaic syntactic usage (of the agential kenning) is more or less similar for *Beowulf* and the Junius poems (50% and 59% usage respectively of the agential kenning), the semantic usage in each work is quite different: the predominating semantic usage of *laf* in *Beowulf* is "sword"(55%), and the predominating semantic usage in the Junius poems is "survivor" (75%). Thus semantic difference seems to be an indicator of cultural difference when one looks from *Beowulf* to the Junius poems (or the reverse - precedence is not the issue here). In *Beowulf*, the remnant" points to the continuity of kinship, but also to its demise. In the Junius poems, on the other hand, the "remnant" points to salvation.

The possible existence of a homonym has interesting literary implications: perhaps we have not appreciated fully the degree of word-play available in Old English when *laf* is conceived as two distinct, rather than related semantic fields. In *Beowulf*, the final image of the hero is at once the "remnant left by the sword" and the "remnant left by the flame" (*bronda lafe*), a grimly fitting end to a "legacy" of sword-hate and treasure-lust, and one that could hardly be less suggestive of Christian salvation and eternal life: heaven swallows the smoke like another Beast of Battle (*heofon rece swealg* 3156), and

"what is left" of the last "survivor" of the poem is buried along with the hoard. It is perhaps a fine irony for the modern reader to sense in the *bronda lafe* a final ambivalent touch to the "remnant of the flames" in a poem which is itself a "remnant" of the flames of the Cotton library. Caution is necessary, however, in ascribing to every *laf* in *Beowulf* all the rich associations of treasure and survival accruing to the *laf* in its insistent recurrence through the poem, as has been the practice of generations of *Beowulf* criticism (Mittner 78-79, Hanning 10, Brady 105, Taylor 204, Frantzen 184-186). While the scope of this study does not allow for a thorough examination of *laf* as a thematic motif in *Beowulf*, the question which the study poses about the "heirloom" *laf* will have a bearing on the poem's oft-noted sword semiology. Whether or not the poet considered his four "old remnants" as signs of "survival" and of "treasure" and of "posterity" as well as signs of ancestral glory and swordsmanship would depend upon whether these referents were in his mind at all related semantically, and/ or to what degree he was inclined towards the use of the ironic word-play available in a homonymic pun. "Swords" may be the signifiers of doom in Beowulf, and "survivors" the signifiers of promise in the Junius codex, but the two may not be related in a third of the instances of the word (4/12).

A further caveat arises from this preliminary word-study with respect to the "Christian coloring" that has been claimed for the *laf* on at least two occasions. Early in this century Ladislaus Mittner went as far as to claim a Christian context for the ancestral sword, arguing a shift in meaning from the "hostile function" of the weapon as treasure to an "ascetic" one in the weapon as survivor: "[the file] leaves life for the weapon... the hostile force is only partially and only apparently hostile; in reality it is life-giving, life-forming. The new is formed from the old through the painful-salutary process of mortification"(79). Again, much depends upon the association of the "remnant of the file" (that is, the weapon as "survivor") with the "old remnant"/ "remnant of the ancestor" (that is, the weapon as "treasure").

As much depends upon the context of the *laf* within a work. Mittner's Christian reading of the sword theme in *Beowulf* is ingenious, but not very credible. But misreading can also result more specifically from the confusion presented by homonyms. One very striking example might serve to illustrate the sort of assumptions which need to be examined when considering the possibility of homonymy. In attempting to determine the semantic range of words associated with "treasure", Paul Taylor finds a new Christian coloring in Aelfric's usage of *laf* in his Christmas Homily:

> He is þe liflice **laf** of heofone astah, & nu todaeg waerð acenned of þam
>
> claene maedene; he is engla lif & ure þurg geleafe.
>
> [He is the living bread that came down from heaven and now today is born
>
> of that clean maiden; he is the life of the angels and of us through our
>
> belief (my translation)]

Taylor translates *laf* as "living heritage", and assumes that Aelfric is playing upon the etymologically related words *laf* ("heritage"), *lif* ("life"), and *geleaf* ("belief"). He comments:

> "Living heritage", "angel's life" and "belief" are bound together here in
>
> alliterative collocation to celebrate Christ. *Laf* does not mean either
>
> "heritage" or "remnant" in this phrase, but rather a new perpetual *life*
>
> (196).

The context of the passage, however, is the Gospel of John, and Aelfric's pun does not involve *laf*, but *(h)laf.* Here at least one could likely assume that the homonym was appreciated as such. In view of the likeliness of many such ambiguities, any word studies

arguing for word-play must be tempered with considerations of the vagaries of spelling and scribal error.[114]

Aelfric does in fact confer a Christian coloring upon word *laf*, however, and at the same time assists in establishing the idea of "posterity" within the semantic range of the word. In his version of Genesis 19:32, he uses the word *laf* to gloss the Latin *semen* (Crawford 134). This is the only instance of such a gloss. In the two other occasions in the corpus where *laf* glossed the idea of "posterity" conveyed in the Latin, Psalms 77:70(71) and 36:38, it does so as a translation of *reliquiae* and *hereditas*, both easily accommodated within the semantic field of *laf*. Aelfric's gloss, then, could be considered an interpretation, perhaps suggested to him by his use of *laf* in verse 31 to translate *remansit* (a MS variant *ne ne laf* for *belaf*), but perhaps also by the patristic tradition in which he was steeped and to which he contributed. There, as was outlined in Chapter I, the holy "remnant" was often associated with the image of the seed. Such a new context for *laf* appears to be behind the use of the motif in the poems of the Junius codex, where the *laf* does indeed appear to gather regenerative associations of "new perpetual life" which Taylor ascribed to the word. The remainder of this study will examine the *laf* as a motif in the Junius poems, where because of its new collocations, it becomes a signifier of a "living heritage" that is very different from that of *Beowulf*.

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[114] Indeed, in at least one passage the word *hlaf* is used twice for "widow" (See Microfiche Concordance 194 under the entry "*laefes*", MkGL (Li) 12.19). This suggests that there could be many more such instances of *hlaf* signifying "remnant".

CHAPTER III

THE "NIWE"OLD TESTAMENT "REMNANT":
MS JUNIUS 11

i. Introduction: "Heroic Typology"

The first three poems of the Junius codex demonstrate a shared and distinctive blend of Christian and Germanic elements. In *Genesis A* and *Exodus* the Old Covenant unfolds in the vigorous epic style typical of Germanic battle poetry, while the New Covenant is more subtly present in the typological allusions which decorate and elevate the events. In *Daniel*, the poet's presentation of biblical history is not military, but it is still historical and heroic. His method is to focus upon the historical rather than the apocalyptic chapters of the Book of Daniel, but yet to invest these with Germanic color and typological significance. All three poems, then, add heroic and Christian elements to the scriptural stories upon which they are based. In each case, the poets' recurring motif of the faithful "remnant" is representative of this double perspective. The fusion of the two traditions has been the subject of considerable contention in the critical history of the poems, especially of *Genesis A* and *Exodus*: is there anything more here than "biblical lore dressed in heroic rhetoric"? (Gatch 246). E. B Irving is typical of many[1] who appear

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[1] Woolf criticizes the typological approach for "sinking the drama beneath the weight of allegorical (typological) expositions" (74). Lucas, while he concedes that the poem requires "reference to an allegorical dimension", still cautions the reader against what he has perceived in the criticism to be an unwarranted "license to read into the poem any convenient ideas found in patristic commentary" (1977 67). Busse complains of "neo-exegetical" readings which "make every Anglo-Saxon from 700 to 1050 into a learned Bede" (49). Shippey argues that the poem is resistant to allegorical or figural reading, and that it reveals rather a "natural bent towards history" (135). Ames sees a "concern for

to find it necessary to decide between the heroic and patristic traditions as the correct terms of reference for the poems. His accommodating term "heroic typology" (1974 216) is a concept which in the end he rejects as oxymoronic, but which is in fact perfectly apt.

Irving's comments on *Exodus* are representative. He sees the "largely heroic terms" of the poem as "terms perhaps quite unfamiliar or uncongenial to Latin exegetes", and identifies the aesthetic effectiveness of the poetry almost exclusively in the literal, historical level (210, 220). But the military coloring which Irving identifies as solely "heroic" would have been most familiar and congenial to any cleric for whom the prime significance of the Old Testament heroes was their role as types in the heroic battle against Satan. As early as St. Paul, exegetes of the New Covenant use the metaphor of battle to convey the mix of strength and obedience required by Christian faith. Paul exhorts his catechumens to put on the armor of Christ in preparation for the final battle: *Abiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum et induamur arma lucis* (Rom.13:12). This final battle is prefigured in each of the events in sacred history where God acts for the salvation of the faithful and the destruction of the wicked. Both *Genesis A* and *Exodus* begin by establishing the battle-line. Each poem begins with praise for God and for his faithful servants, then immediately sets up a contrast between the "right reason" (*raed, Genesis A* 24, *Exodus* 6)[2] of the faithful, and the punishment (*wite Genesis A* 39, 45; *Exodus* 15, 33) of the faithless. The polarity thus established at the outset of each poem between the two opposing heroic *dryhts* is maintained throughout: each biblical story recounted is "dressed" for battle, so that through imagery more appropriate perhaps to the war in

human motivation on a realistic level" that is "more important to [the poet] than typology" (40).

[2] All translations of Old English are my own, in consultation with Kennedy and Tolkien and editors' notes. The citations in this chapter are from the editions of A. N. Doane; Peter Lucas, Robert Farrell, and Robert E. Finnegan.

heaven, each becomes in part a repetition of that original strife. It for this original and continual confrontation with Satan that the Christian "warrior" enlists. In this light, in portraying Noah, Abraham and Moses as leaders of the faithful "remnant" and as heroic warriors loyal to their lord/Lord, *Genesis A* and *Exodus* provide a suitable counterpart to the Christian quest which requires each of the faithful "to come to his baptism as a soldier to the colors" (Cross and Tucker 25).

In *Genesis A* and *Exodus* and in *Daniel* as well, the motif of treasure does double duty as a signifier of the Christian values behind this quest. The "treasure" plundered from both the literal and the metaphorical "battle" is the faithful human *laf* saved for the preservation and ultimate salvation of all humanity from the Flood, from the sacrificial altar, from the Red Sea, and from the Fiery Furnace. In *Daniel*, both the treasure and the "remnant" are corrupted and enslaved. The proud earthly king is pictured seated atop his earthly "wine-city" like a dragon upon his hoard, and the corrupting *goldhord* is a symbol of false allegiance and lapsed faith for which the "remnant" provides an exemplary alternative. As in *Genesis A* and *Exodus*, the imaginative center of *Daniel* is God's intervention in history on behalf of the faithful "remnant", and his utter destruction of those who follow the "devil's craft". Each poem in *Liber* I of the Junius codex thus offers an opportunity for the reader/listener to review and renew his own allegiance to the right *craeft* and the right *dryht*, and to remember the covenants with God made throughout sacred history by his faithful ancestors. These figures are repeatedly and consistently designated by the poets as "remnants".

ii. The "Remnant" in *Genesis A*

Paraphrase vs Artistry

The sacred history and legacy of these Old Testament covenants governs the narrative strategy of *Genesis A*; the additional presence of a *new* covenant is evident in the language used to describe the first covenant-makers. It is only in the last two decades,

however, that any deliberate strategy at all has been credited to *Genesis A*, much less any linguistic artistry. The earliest critics of the poem without exception took Junius's 1655 heading "Paraphrasis" literally and disparagingly to mean "mere biblical paraphrase" (Krapp 1931), and few have challenged Benjamin Thorpe, the poem's first editor after Junius, who saw "no need for literary analysis" in what he described as the "mangled remains" of our earliest poet's very pedestrian efforts (xiv).[3]

More recently there has been some interest in the poem's literary merits, especially in the critical aftermath of Bernard Huppé's controversial 1959 study, *Doctrine and Poetry*, which demonstrated structural unity and artistic coherence in the poet's recasting of the Genesis story according to the figural significance given it in patristic writings. While Huppé's doctrinal approach has at times been strenuously resisted, recent criticism reflects the observations of the poem's latest editor, A. N. Doane: "Since Huppé wrote, no critic of *Genesis A* has been able to ignore the influence of traditional exegesis. . . . anyone who now writes on the Old English scriptural poetry at once criticizes his method and pays homage to his idea" (42-23).

One problem with Huppé's method was his flat assumption of a single overriding idea constituting thematic unity for *Genesis A*. Approaches to the poem have since endeavored to focus less upon such large structural and thematic categories, and to demonstrate what Fred C. Robinson early recognized as the poet's often subtle and learned flair for "artful coordination of poetic and religious symbolism" (1968 31). In *The Guest-Hall of Eden*, Alvin Lee sought to narrow Huppé's broad conception of unity by looking instead at a consistent and coherent "environment of images" (51) deployed by the poet in his presentation of the Genesis story. As the title of his study suggests, Lee saw the poet working to shape the figural significances of the Christianized story to

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[3] Irving speaks of the poet's "lack of skill" and "ineptitude" (1959 2-3). For a summary of such commentary, see McKill (1978 1-2; 1987 121).

conform with native Germanic social values. John Gardner outlined a similar skillful balance in the poem's "rhythmic encoding" within the Germanic elements of "concepts and images which have traditional exegetical meaning" (30). Like Lee, Gardner sought not to minimize the poet's "Teutonicizing of the Old Testament story" (as did Huppé), but to demonstrate that the heroic diction assists in achieving "an allegorical reading of events in the poem . . . stylistically urged by thematic *repetitio*" (32). Two studies devoted entirely to such stylistics, one by Roberta Frank on word-play (1972), and one by Constance Hieatt on envelope patterns, give further evidence of a highly wrought rhetorical artistry.

"Heroic" vs "Literary" Style

There is considerable conviction in these basically exegetical approaches that there is more to *Genesis A* than "biblical lore dressed in heroic rhetoric". Indeed, those who subordinate the poem's Christian doctrine to its heroic expression tend to miss some of the most striking instances of the poet's rather sophisticated melding of the two elements. Nina Boyd's dismissive stance is a prime example. Building upon the argument of Bennet Brockman, that the poet appeals to "the social rather than the theological understanding of the audience" (116), she cites a passage from the Abraham episode as evidence of the poet's "purely secular" conception of Old Testament history, and concludes:

> The book of Genesis is a Judaic history: patristic exegesis imposes on it Christian meaning. *Genesis A*, however, . . . is a version of history on which the poet has superimposed a framework of moral values which is restricted to a purely secular concept of propriety and nobility. It is a moral poem, in which "good" deeds are rewarded, but the conception of virtue within the poem is not specifically a Christian one. (237)

In designating the virtue of Abraham as "not specifically Christian", Boyd must ignore the prominent and specifically Christian allusion to the descendants of Abraham as "children of baptism" (*fullwona bearn* 1951) with which her quoted passage, and indeed the section of the manuscript, closes.

One need not presume very sophisticated "patristic habits of mind" (Brockman 116) to perceive a conscious figural interpretation of the biblical text in the poet's non-biblical allusion to baptism. The formulaic expression *fullwona bearn* is one example of the poet's use of traditional formulaic diction (genitive plural + *bearn*) to link heroic and exegetical themes. This formula (Doane 256, 283, 294) recurs in difficult and allusive passages which often begin or conclude important sections of the narrative (and the manuscript) with a focus on the present relevance of God's ancient judgments. Thus at the end of section xvi, the poet directs the universal effects of the crime of Cain forward to all "children of God" even "yet" (*drihta bearnum gieta swa* 993). At the beginning of section xx, the "children of God" (*bearn godes* 1248), or "children of Seth" (*Sethes bearn* 1256), mate with the kin of Cain; the Flood destroys the sons of that "sin-strife" (*manfaehðu bearn* 1378), but preserves in Noah a new line in the "sons of men" (*monna bearnum* 1554) named at the end of section xxiii. These "children of earth/Adam" (*foldan bearn* 1664) are punished for their impious construction of the Tower of Babel in section xxv, which ends with the statement that all "children of God" are/will be judged by Abraham in both the literal Judaic past, and "now" in the mystical present (*nu/ duguð demað drihta bearnum* 1717-18; Doane 286). The section leading up to the "War of the Kings" episode is brought to a close with the "children of baptism" gaining favor before God "always henceforth" (*fullwona bearn . . . aefter a* 1951, 1956). The entire story of both old and new covenants is in effect sketched in brief in the progress of a single formula.

The formula reveals both a theological and a narrative consistency within a long and diffuse narrative, suggesting at least a unity of vision if not an organic coherence for

the poem. As Frank demonstrates, the *Genesis A*-poet "hint[s] at correspondences" in this manner "without ever leaving the literal level of the narrative" (1972 215). These hints are easily missed if one focuses solely on the cultural and historical aspects of the narrative. Thus many readers cite the presence of battle imagery in the "War of the Kings" and the "Flood" episodes of *Genesis A* as undifferentiated examples of the poet's tendency to heroicize scripture. But while the "War of the Kings" episode (lines 1960-2101) is an elaborated digression treated entirely in a secular spirit, with traditional poetic stock (Doane 295-297), the Flood episode (lines 1285-1554) is treated as a typological "Sea-Battle" not unlike the much-debated and much admired "Sea-Battle" in *Exodus* (see below, iii.). The *Genesis A*-poet's use of formulaic expression – specifically of *laf* with a defining genitive – works to different ends in his two very different "battles". Like the formula "children of baptism", the formula "remnant of the __" forms a motivic thread which works in the poem to distinguish the blessed from the damned.

Jeffrey Mazo finds that the "War of the Kings" episode stands alone in *Genesis A* in its use of traditional oral-formulaic diction. Like *Beowulf*, he argues, the passage has a high percentage of unique compounds, but also a correspondingly high percentage of common first-elements for those unique compounds; that is, it demonstrates a "low degree of originality" in its compositional elements. Other passages of *Genesis A* selected by Mazo for analysis, the hexameral *exordium* (1-111), the "Sethite Genealogy" (1104-1242), and the "Sacrifice of Isaac" (2646-2936), demonstrate the reverse. According to Mazo's analysis, these show a much lower degree of originality in the coinage of unique compounds (they have a low density of unique compounds), but a high degree of originality in the first-elements that make up those compounds (they have a low density of shared first-elements). Mazo concludes that in this respect, the passages are very similar in style to the more "literary" works, the *Phoenix*, and the Cynewulf poems, which he analyzes for comparison (88).

A closer examination of Mazo's data reveals that the *exordium* in fact demonstrates a unique combination of compounds and repeated first-elements, which would indicate a high degree of originality in *both* categories: a high density of unique compounds *and* a low density of repeated first-elements.[4] If these same criteria are applied to the Flood narrative, it appears that this passage is very similar in style to the "literary", non-heroic passages and works. Moreover, it contains almost exactly the same percentages of unique compounds and original first-elements as the *exordium*, and in the same unique combination: one unique compound every 8 lines, only 5 of these compounds sharing a first element with another compound in the passage (see chart below). Evidently the poet was as moved to exercise his facility and creativity in his Flood narrative as he was in the opening exposition of his great theme.

The following compounds are considered unique to *Genesis A*, according to Bosworth-Toller, Grein and Doane. Repeated first-elements appear in bold type.

waelstreamas 1301; **merehus** 1303, 1364; elngemet 1309; cwiclifigende 1311; **mereciest** 1317; geofonhus 1321; sundreced 1335; **waegbord** 1340; lagosið 1343, 1486; **waelregn** 1350; **waegðreat** 1352; willeburne 1373, staeðweall 1376; monfaehðu 1378; hygeteona 1380; egorhere 1402, 1537; rimgetael 1420; holmaern 1422; **streamstaeð** 1434; forðweard 1436; sidwater 1445 salwig-feðera 1448; rumgal 1466; salwed-bord 1481; willflod 1412; þellfaesten 1482; **waegðrea** 1490; **streamweall** 1494; beodgereorde 1518; anagetacen 1539; scurboga 1540.

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[4] Mazo's analysis is further clouded here by the fact that he considers 41% common first-elements 'low' with respect to Cynewulf, while the number of shared first elements for the "War of the Kings" episode – which he does not convert to a percentage and which he considers 'high' – is virtually the same (40%). Also, his record of the density of shared first-elements in the *Phoenix* is inconsistent (19% on page 84; 22% on page 85). Nevertheless, it is true that within the poem, the "War of the Kings" passage stands out, as *Beowulf* does in the corpus, by having more than triple the number of compounds with common first-elements when compared with the other 'literary' passages and works.

Compound Originality in *Genesis A*:

Passage/Work	% unique compounds	% shared first-elements	compound originality	first-element originality
War of the Kings	20%	40%	high	low
Beowulf	17%	74%	high	low
Sethite Genealogy	5%	0	low	high
Sacrifice of Isaac	5.5%	0	low	high
Phoenix	5%	19%	low	high
Cynewulf poems	5%	41%	low	high (?)
Exordium	12.5%	14%	high	high
Flood	12.5%	1.8%	high	high

Mazo concludes that the *Genesis A*-poet composed in two distinct styles, "literary" and "heroic", but he does not go beyond stylistics to consider any corresponding thematic significance for the distinction. Indeed, he sees the two compositional styles as evidence only of the poet's skill with both the literate and the oral-heroic traditions, stating flatly that the poet composed "in a direct fashion without conscious reinterpretation of the biblical text" (88). Doane, on the other hand, delineates two quite opposite tendencies, heroic and exegetical, in the poet's "free" and sometimes "spectacular" (69) elaborations. He finds the "War of the Kings" passage thoroughly heroic, responding "only to the demands of the poetic tradition, developing the theme of battle" (69 and 297). The *exordium* by contrast "not only accords with the exegetical tradition, but proves very neat narratively" (Doane 69 and 225). The Flood narrative is similarly exegetical and "neat" in its subtle transformations of biblical events. Like the

Cynewulf corpus, the *Phoenix*, and the non-heroic passages of *Genesis A* selected by Mazo (and unlike *Beowulf* and the "War of the Kings" passage), the Flood narrative – particularly the typological "Sea-Battle" within it – is dense with verbal associations that have a clearly *in*direct, interpretive intent. The distinction between the two episodes and the two traditions can be seen in the poet's use of the "remnant" motif.

The Flood Narrative: a Christian "Environment of Images"

Francis Lee Utley sees evidence in the Flood narrative of "a primitive and anthropomorphic . . . spirit power, much more fitting to Germanic antiquity" (213). Of the poet's "veritable North Sea Flood" he comments: "one wonders indeed, that more is not made of the raven; he is no doubt lonely without his Anglo-Saxon companion, the wolf" (213-14). Utley's reading is based upon his translation of the line: *segnade/ earce innan agenum spedum* (1365b-66) as "he blessed the Ark with his own Luck". In fact, *segnian* (which the poet repeats at 1390) is most often used to mean "make the sign of the cross", and *sped* more commonly denotes "strength", "innate power", "successful outcome". Embedded as it is in such an "environment of images" (to use Lee's term), the word *sped* is more likely to denote the "strength" and the "successful outcome" assured by Providence, not "luck". The repeated blessing itself being non-literal, the passage is thereby a "sign" for further interpretation, perhaps for the common patristic notion that the Ark – here, "locked in" (*beleac* 1363 and 1391) rhetorically and notionally with the sign of the cross – is a figure for the Church (Doane 264). The scriptural *et inclusit eum dominus deforis* is thus considerably elaborated by this slight rhetorical touch.

Larry McKill discusses another detail of this passage as evidence of the poet's tendency to heroicize his Latin source. Noting the parallel with the *recedes muð* of *Beowulf*, he considers the phrase *merehuses muð* a heroic circumlocution for the door of the Ark:

> The words describing the Ark reflect one of the most brilliant uses of
> heroic imagery in *Genesis A* . . . By employing imagery that invites us to
> view the Ark as a hall . . . the poet once more draws upon the positive
> values of heroic imagery to establish the heavenly Lord's protection of his
> *faithful remnant*. (1987 124-25, emphasis mine)

Paul Remley argues that *merehuses muð* is a literal translation of an Old Latin reading (attested in Origen and transmitted by Rufinus): *clausit dominus deus deforis ostium arcae* (1990 119-20). It is quite possible then that what sounds to the modern ear like a colorfully figurative use of "mouth" to mean "door" is no more live a metaphor than the Latin *ostium*. What is more important to note is that the diction here reveals a poet attuned to more than one Latin source, most likely patristic.[5]

Roberta Frank finds evidence throughout *Genesis A* of the kind of rhetorical artistry and patristic affiliation revealed in the above two examples, where the poet uses a method of "typological punctuation, quietly pinpointing the moments at which pre-Christian history was a shadow, a figure of events to come" (1972 213). Such typological resonances in *Genesis A* are not without documentation, but they have been confined almost exclusively to the Abraham and Isaac episode which concludes the poem. Analysis of the Flood episode, however, reveals that the poet is concerned as much with Christianizing as with heroicizing this part of the narrative, and that his efforts are directed as much to Noah as to Abraham. There are several typological "moments" in the Noah episode. One that has been given little notice is the poet's repeated collocation of Noah and the Ark with the idea of the "remnant". The word *laf* appears three times in relatively close proximity in the Noah episode, at the beginning and ending (manuscript divisions xxii and xxiii) of the Flood story. The formulaic recurrence here is on the

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[5] Aaron Mirsky (389) identifies Rabbinical ideas in this passage (with respect to the 'locking' of the Ark).

surface no different from the two closely repeated occurrences of the *laf* in the later "War of the Kings" episode, but the context creates quite different significances for the *laf* in each narrative. In the Flood narrative, the holy "remnant" joins forces with the surrounding typological allusions to mark the Ark as a sign of a new Christian covenant.

While McKill often refers (as above) to Noah as the "faithful remnant", it is not because he reads this idea *in* the poem, but rather because he himself brings the notion of God's faithful as "the remnant" *to* the poem, likely from his own familiarity with the "remnant" tradition. Surprisingly, in spite of his own repeated assumption of a "faithful remnant", McKill describes the poet's use of *laf* only as an example of heroic battle-diction: "Even the diction describing Noah and his family participates in the heroic imagery of battle, for the poet refers to them in three instances as *lafe*, "survivors" (128). Having noted the deliberate anachronism *nergend* as a device which reads Old Testament history in terms of the New, McKill concludes that

> the poet successfully employs traditional heroic rhetoric to . . . reinforce to
>
> his audience that . . . our Lord/Savior/Creator will continue to reward the
>
> *faithful remnant.* (1987 134, emphasis mine)

Similarly, Judith Garde repeatedly speaks of the theological notion of a "righteous remnant" without relating this idea to the poet's actual use of the word *laf* (34-36). Could not the poet – perhaps no less infused with the notion of the "remnant" than the modern critic – have been as deliberately anachronistic in his use of *laf* as he was with its anti-type, *Nergend*?

Of the sixteen occurrences of *nergend* in the poem,[6] more than half (9) occur in the Flood story: God's saving grace is at work most prominently in his act of destruction.

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[6] Alvin Lee comments upon the poet's repeated use of this epithet for God: "The frequent use throughout of *nergend* for God is simply the most obvious indication of the

In a similarly concentrated way, the poet's noticeable repetition of *laf* in the Flood episode is designed perhaps to draw attention to the Christian providence attending God's chosen "remnant". By participating in a decidedly New Testament "environment of images", the "remnant" assists in bringing the figure of Noah into the foreground, and in a new light. The poet's non-scriptural touches establish Noah as a "remnant" of the Old Covenant and a type of the New. In this new "environment", the *laf* preserved in the Ark – indeed the Ark itself – becomes a figure not only of the righteousness and firm faith which scripture attributes to Noah, but of the Savior's nurturing love, and his eternal salvific plan for all who follow Noah's example.

The "Remnant of the Water-Journey"

God's special relationship with Noah is evident in the poet's alliterative link: *Noe was god nergende leof* ("Noah was good, beloved to the Savior" 1285). Noah's faith and obedience to the "covenant-firm" God (*waerfaste metod* 1320) is rewarded by God's "covenant" (*waere* 1329, 1542, 1549). The repeated pairing of *waerfaste/ waere* in the Noah episode serves to contrast Noah's favor with the punishment visited upon the faithless (*waerlogan, waerleas* 36, 67, 1266, 2411, 2503, 2532) who are "unbeloved to God" (*gode unleofe* 1268). The "envelope" formed in the Flood narrative by the two unscriptural designations, *gode unleofe . . . nergende leof* (1268 and 1285), thus introduces the Flood story in a manner which more clearly defines the poem's established polarities: the wrath of God for the *unleof*, salvation for the *leof*.

This focus on and pairing of judgment and deliverance is a feature of many of the poet's non-scriptural moments in his Flood narrative. Thus Section xxi of the manuscript, the building of the Ark, begins with an "envelope" of the Savior's (*nergend* 1327 and

fundamental metaphor that gives shape to the poem. The power and love of the Christian God are revealed in each creative act and are the very substance of the poem" (41).

1356) instructions to his "most beloved of men" (*monna leofost* 1328), repeated as in the scriptural Genesis 7:1 and 7:5, but containing within this Savior-framed set piece a new focus upon those blessed and those destroyed by the Flood waters. The poet elaborates the scriptural command to Noah to bring food for the duration of the journey by promising a (non-scriptural) future sustenance to the "remnant":

> Swilce þu of eallum eorðan waestmum
>
> wiste under waegbord werodum gelaede
>
> þam þe mid sceolon mereflod nesan.
>
> fed freolice feora wocre
>
> oð ic ðaere **lafe lagosiða** eft
>
> reorde under roderum ryman wille.
>
> Gewit þu nu mid hiwum on ðaet hof gangan
>
> gasta werode. (1339-1346a)

[Likewise of all the fruits of the earth take food for the company under the wave-board, those who with you shall survive the Flood. Feed freely the progeny of the living until I shall make abundant sustenance under heaven for the **remnant of the water-journey**. Depart now with your household, going in to that building with your host of guests.]

The Ark is a *hof*, the passengers *gasta* - in heroic terms, a "building" for a "band of sojourners" (Doane 358); in Christian terms, a "temple" for a host of "spirits, souls" (*hof* and *gasta* have both meanings). These *gasta*, the "remnant" (*lafe*), are promised sustenance by God himself (*ic*), anew (*eft*), and under heaven (*under roderum*), whereas the scriptural passengers are merely to be sustained *during* the Flood, and by food provided for them by Noah: *tolles igitur tecum ex omnibus escis quae mandi possunt et comportabis apud te et erunt tam tibi quam illis in cibum* (Gen.6:21). Moreover, the poet's "remnant" is not described as the *progenitor* of future life on earth. The poet has

omitted the purpose given for God's scriptural command: *Ex omnibus animantibus mundis tolle septena et septena, masculinum et feminam . . . ut salvetur semen super faciem universae terrae* (Gen.7:2-4). In its place, he has described those to be saved, the *semen*, as the *progeny* or "living born" (*feora wocre* 1342), in other words, as if they had already borne the future "fruits" of God's promise. The *laf* is in this way sustained by heavenly as well as earthly sustenance (*waestmum* 1339), and thereby translated typologically to the future promised in God's covenant (*waere* 1329). The "remnant" and/or the Ark (both are "what is left over" from the sea-journey) are thus "lifted to heaven" figuratively well before the narrative account of the raising of the Ark (*et elevaverunt arcam* Gen.7:17; lines 1388-1405 of the poem).

Those destroyed are given a similarly pointed focus – and with similar non-scriptural emphasis upon the Ark – in the poet's rendering of *et delebo omnem substantium quam feci* (Gen.7:4). God's destructive forces are transformed in the poem from the general destruction of all creation to a personal "feud" or "strife" (*faehde* 1351) directed specifically and concretely against all men who remain "beyond the boards of the Ark":

> faehðe ic wille
>
> on weras staelan and mid waegþreate
>
> aehta and agend eall acwellan
>
> þa beutan beoð earce bordum. (1351b-1354)
>
> [I will avenge the feud on men, and with wave-punishment destroy all the wealth and possessions that are outside the boards of the Ark.]

The same waters which destroy the worldly *hof* (1380) lift to heaven the *hof seleste* (1393, cf. 1345):

> strang waes and reðe
>
> se ðe waetrum weold, wreah and þeahte

manfaeðu bearn, middangeardes

wonnan waege, wera eðelland

hof hergode.

        on sund ahof

earce from eorðan and þa aeðelo mid

þa segnade selfa dryhten

scyppend usser þa he þaet scip beleac.

siððan wide rad wolcnum under

ofer holmes hrincg hof seleste

for mid faerme. (1376b-1380a; 1390-1394a)

[Strong and wrathful was he who ruled the water. He covered and overwhelmed the sons of the sin-strife with dark waves, plundering the native land and world-structure of men. . . .[The Flood] lifted up the Ark from the earth onto the sea, and all within the Ark, whom God himself, our Creator, had blessed with the sign of the cross when he locked the door of the ship. Then far and wide the best of houses rode over the circle of the sea, carried the ship.]

The entire creation is in this way concentrated into a *hof*, conversely, the small "remnant", the *hof seleste*, contains the means to renew the entire creation. The earthly *hof* thus confines and contains the "children of the sin-strife" (*manfaehðu bearn*), the objects of God's *faehðe* who perish when the *hof* is "plundered" (*hergode*) by God. The *hof seleste* is confined in a different way, "locked in" (*beleac* 1363, 1391) for protection and preservation by God's sign of the cross.

This narrowing of focus has an almost iconographic effect. The Ark, blessed by the sign of God, bears the already secured benefit of such blessing over a great "circuit"

or "height" (*hrincg* Rosier 334-35) to even greater heights of time (*at niehstan*) and space (*on þa hean lyft*):

þaet is maero wyrd.

þam at niehstan waes nan to gedale

nymþe heo waes ahafen on þa hean lyft.

þa se egorhere eorðan tuddor

eall acwealde buton þaet earce bord

heold heofona frea þa hine halig god

ece upp forlet ed monne

streamum stigan stiðferhð cyning. (1399-1406)

['That was a well-known fate. For them [the sinners] there was finally nothing for their death [no means for their death] unless it [the Ark] was lifted into the high air' (Doane's translation 268). Then the water-force destroyed all creatures on earth except those which the boards of the Ark held, but holy God, the ruler of heaven, strong-hearted king, allowed it to rise up in streams, the eternal (or 'eternally as a') renewal of men.]

Through the repeated phrase *beutan . . . earce bord* the poet first literally (1354), and then perhaps figuratively (1403) underlines the notion that "outside the Ark, no flesh may be saved" (Huppé 173). Doane notes that these difficult lines "stand out independently": "the sentence is combining, rather unsuccessfully, two distinct ideas, the spiritual idea that the waters of baptism avail both for damnation and salvation, and the literal ideas of 7:17 *et elevaverunt arcam* and 7:23 *et delevit omnem*, compacted into a single statement" (268).

The poet is never really so explicit about baptismal significances. He is consistent, however, in the typological promise and prominence which he gives to the saving waters, to the Ark, and to Noah. The phrase *ed monne* which ends this passage has been variously translated as "happiness of men" (Doane), referring to the Flood-waters; "the safety of

men" (Bosworth-Toller), referring to the Ark; and "regeneration of men" (Thorpe), which could refer to either. In any case, the "remnant" of the water-journey (*laf lagosiða* 1343), given new and future promise at the beginning of the episode, is similarly comforted at the end of it with a *maero wyrd* that goes beyond literal and present survival: *ece* (1405), taken by most to refer to the *halig god* in the previous line, could in fact modify the completely obscure phrase *ed monne* with which it alliterates. In this way, the Ark/ "remnant" is raised eternally, or for eternal happiness, or safety, or regeneration, where the Vulgate reads only *remansit autem solus Noe et qui cum eo erant in arca* (Gen.7:23).

The "Remnant of the Hostile Forces"/ "of the Water"

The focus on Noah as the saved "remnant" is sharpened by the peculiar "substantive dominated verse-system" of Old English poetry which, according to Doane (77-79), results in a "distorting effect" for verbal expression. Emphasis falls upon the saved "remnant", for example, rather than on the action of "remaining" (compare the Latin *remansit, derelictus est*).[7] The formulaic genitive relationship further directs the reader to the agent of the action – the water-journey, the hostile forces, the water – rather than to the action itself. The focus comes to "rest", so to speak, upon the *laf*. The *laf lagosiða* of Section xxi is the *wraðra lafe* of Section xxiii, where it finds its final *lagosiða rest* (1486). The narration of the Resting of the Ark in Section xxii, which contains an insistent onomastic play upon the traditional etymology of Noah as *requies* (Doane 272; Robinson 1968 33), is thereby framed by two sections which appear to

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[7] Doane argues that the poet compensates for a semantic lack by prolonging the verbal idea with supplementary substantives. He notes for example that in the "War of the Kings" passage, this "semantic excess" (79) serves to place the emphasis upon the saved *laf*, rather than on the action of departing. This same shift in focus from verb to noun occurs in the poet's rendering in the Flood narrative of the actions of *ingredior/egredior*.

feature another Noah tradition (perhaps also onomastic, if the poet was familiar with the Book of Enoch), that of Noah as *reliquium*.

The *wraðra lafe* is set off by another "envelope" formed by *nergend* (1483, 1497, 1504), again containing references to a *hof* of safety for the *laf*:

þa to noe spraec nergend usser,

heofonrices weard halgan reorde:

'þe is eðelstol eft gerymed

lisse on lande lagosiða rest,

faeger on foldan. Gewit on freðo gangan

ut of earce and on eorðan bearm

of þam hean hofe hiwan laed þu

and ealle þa wocre þe ic waegþrea

on hliðe nerede þenden lago haefde

þrymme geþeahte þriddan eðel.'

                alaedde þa

of waegþele **wraðra lafe**

þa noe ongan nergende lac. (1483-92; 1495-97)

[Then spoke our Savior to Noah, guardian of the heavenly kingdom, with holy speech: 'For you a homeland is once again made ready, happiness in the land, rest from the sea-journey, fair on earth. Depart in peace out of the Ark, and from that high house lead your household upon the bosom of the earth, and all living things which I saved from the wave-punishment on the mountainside when the sea possessed the third home, mightily covered it.'

. . Then he led the **remnant of the hostilities** from the wave-plank. Then Noah began to offer a sacrifice to the Savior.]

The final "home" (*eðel* Doane 272) is "provided anew" (*eft gerymed*) by the Word of God (*halgan reorde*), as was the *reorde* promised the *laf lagosiða* at the beginning of the episode (*eft ryman* 1343-44). Like the play upon *word/weard* noted by Frank, the repeated pairing of *reord/ryman* (*reorde* meaning either "speech" or "sustenance") is further suggestion that God will provide for the salvation of his faithful. This salvation is repeatedly figured in Old Testament history, and in the poem, in the context of the surrounding devastation. Doane's translation of *wraþra lafe*, therefore, as the "remnant of the *wicked ones*" is less true to the prophetic notion of the "remnant", and also to the poet's usual formulaic expression of it. Doane explains his admittedly confusing translation by arguing that "Noe and his family are not themselves wicked, but are the surviving members of the race of men who were otherwise the race of *wraðra*" (274). While this definition of the *laf* makes perfect sense, it is more in keeping with the peculiar genitive dependence of this formula to define the "remnants" not in terms of those whom *they* have left behind and of whom they were once a part (that is, as a partitive genitive), but indeed in quite the opposite sense, as those whom the substantive genitive – in this case, the "hostilities" – has left behind; that is, spared.[8] In this way, the genitive construction defines the salvation in terms of the destruction. Both senses serve, then: Doane's "remnants of the wicked race" are at the same time the "remnants of God's hostile forces", and God's hostile forces, like the *lagosiða*, are thus seen to have a salvific purpose.

The Flood narrative ends as the scriptural Genesis does, with Noah and his family departing from the Ark to repopulate the earth with their descendants:

ða waes se snotra sunu lamehes

of fere acumen flode on laste

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[8] The expression *wraþra lafe* has this sense when it describes the hostile forces (of the forging process) which the sword has survived in Riddle 71.

mid his eaforum þrim yrfes hyrde

and heora feower wif [siððan faele gestod]

waerfaest metod **waetra lafe.**

from þam gumrincum

folc geludon and gefylled wearð

eall þes middangeard monna bearnum. (1543-49; 1552-54)

[Then the wise son of Lamech came from the ship after the Flood with his
three sons, the guardian of the heritage, together with their four wives
[after] the steadfast Lord [had remained faithful] to the **survivor of the
waters** . . . From that man sprang a people and all this middle-earth was
filled with the sons of men.]

In his discussion of the scribal corruption of lines 1546-49, Doane comments: "As it
stands, *waerfaest metod* cannot refer to Noe – either its case must be changed or a verb
supplied. How to construe *waetra lafe* in these versions is not transparent" (276). Krapp
emends to *metode* to translate "he [noe] faithful to the Lord, out of the remainder of the
water" (180). Doane retains the manuscript form and supplies a verb, changing the
meaning altogether so that the *laf* refers to Noah and his family (as translated above).
Since it is impossible to know whether it is God or Noah who is *waerfaest*, perhaps the
poet intended to represent a relationship of reciprocal promise and loyalty, that is, a
covenant (*waere* 1542). Noah, the "remnant", is faithful to the Lord; conversely, or
consequently, the Lord is faithful to the "remnant".

More recently, Alfred Bammesberger has read *waetra lafe* as parallel to *fere*,
"ship", and the "remnant of the waters", therefore, as a kenning for the Ark (26). As with
the *laf lagosiða*, both the Ark and its passengers are the surviving "remnant", and
therefore types for salvation, Noah as the example of steadfast faith, and the Ark as an
emblem of God's rewarding protection for such faith. In each *laf* passage, the simple act

of emergence from the water, from the hostilities, and from the water-journey, is narrated in terms which give this covenant a new sense of reciprocality and participation for the *monna bearnum* (1554).

Typological vs. Heroic "Fields" of Battle

How do the "children of men" become "children of baptism"? The same process avails in the poem as in Christian practice. Through immersion in the Flood, the reader/listener – one of the *monna bearnum* – may differentiate himself from the *manfaehðu bearn* and so become a typological part of the saved "remnant", and a partaker in the promised *reorde under roderum*. In heroic terms, what God has "plundered" from the earthly *hof* is in typological terms the "remnant" bearing the future *fullwona bearn*, the "treasure" (*horde* 1439) preserved in the *hof seleste*. In placing such emphasis and such value upon the "remnant", the *Genesis A*-poet brings his Flood narrative into line with traditional exegesis, and imparts to Noah a typological prominence equivalent to that of Abraham and Isaac. Noah's "treasure" is rescued from a "Sea-Battle" where, in spite of the predominating heroic context, three doves quietly replace the eagle, and the raven – a *feond* (1447, Doane 271) – is indeed lonely without his Anglo-Saxon companion, the wolf.

These beasts of battle *can* be found prominently and explicitly in the "War of the Kings" passage (1983-85; 2087-89; 2159-61), accompanied by the typical elements of battle-scenes: the din of shields and javelins (1982b; 2061-62), the captured women and treasure (2010-11; 2090; 2156-57), the fleeing "survivors of the hostilities" (2005; 2019). Unlike the "remnants" of the Flood narrative, these "remnants", the "remnant of the weapons" (*waepna laf* 2005) and the "remnant of the spears" (*gara laf* 2019), derive their connotative force from an "environment of images" which places the *laf* squarely in the tradition of Ravenswood. Significantly, in this environment the poet calls noticeable attention to himself as a traditional *scop* (2013-2017), rather than as a *bocere*. The

typicality in the "War of the Kings" episode serves to better underline the very different "learned" (Doane 239) connotative force of the *laf* in the Flood episode, where instead of contributing to a concrete picture of destruction in battle, the motif assists in achieving an opposite effect, of salvation and eternality.

The *scop* of the "War of the Kings" episode may indeed betray an imagination that is in the last analysis "limited and insular", unable to "shake itself free" entirely from the molding influence of its Germanic origins (Kennedy xvii). It is generally agreed, however, that the poet achieved a happy blend of heroic and typological influences at the conclusion of his poem, where the pagan funeral pyre prepared by Abraham is transformed into a site of great salvific significance. The foregoing analysis demonstrates that the poet has given similarly salvific resonances to Noah's story. Indeed, the image of the "height" of sea (*ofer holmes hrincg* 1393) invests the site of the Resting of the Ark with the Christological significances which are identified with the Sacrifice of Isaac (*hrincg þaes hean landes* 2855). At the same time it "raises" Noah in stature in the poem, and establishes typological connections between the two Patriarchs.

The *Exodus* poet is more insistent in his temporal and geographical connections and more elaborate in his deployment of such typological images. In *Exodus*, the covenant and those elected to the covenant are given structural as well as typological and geographical prominence through the poem's so-called "digressions". The repeated *laf* which assists in highlighting the Noachic covenant in *Genesis* becomes a veritable *leitmotif* in *Exodus*. Indeed, it is essential to that poem's more consistent and successful blend of "heroic typology". Beasts of battle, plunder, and sea-battles are enlisted alongside the Patriarchs to present an epic confrontation with the *feond*, where the path to salvation leads directly from the battle-field "to the roof of heaven" (*oð wolcna hrof* 298). The "remnant" is in the foreground of this confrontation.

ii. The "Remnant" in *Exodus*

Introduction

The literal course of this battle is anything but straightforward, however. Readers are both impressed and perplexed by this "most allusive (and elusive) of poets" (Hauer 339). Unlike *Genesis A*, where the poet's departures from the scriptural text(s) are often identifiable signals of interpretive intent, *Exodus* gives little evidence that the poet was following any written text or that he was committed to the events of the Exodus as they are detailed in scripture. Indeed, Peter Lucas, the poem's most recent editor, identifies "the Christian tradition" in the very broadest sense as the "source" for the poem, and attributes the poem's non-conventional organization, selection, and treatment of events to the unique imagination of an outstanding poet (43-44). The poet's striking and often teasingly obscure use of image and metaphor have prompted many to seek an exclusively figurative meaning for the poem. Malcolm Godden's comments are typical of this growing trend: "the literal aspect of the narrative is not the poet's central concern and his method is highly oblique and allusive, almost in the manner of a riddle" (217).

One of the poem's most problematic cruces continues to defy solution, in spite of the weight of explication brought to bear upon it. At line 362 of the poem, the stories of Noah and Abraham intrude upon the narrative of the Red Sea Crossing for 84 lines, after which an incongruously bloody "battle" waged within (or perhaps with) the sea is resumed. The passage was first thought to be an interpolation. Later, in the wave of Huppé's *Doctrine and Poetry*, organic unity was sought for this so-called "Patriarchal Digression" in the patristic tradition. Many have since argued that the patriarchal and Exodus stories are in fact well integrated imagistically and especially typologically.[9]

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[9] For extensive discussion of the imagery see Isaacs (158) and Hall (1975a). For typological readings see Hall (1975b, 1981, 1983), Farrell (1969 402-3), P. Fergusson, and Hauer.

Recently, Carol Pasternak goes as far as to assert that "the sense of the stories' interconnectedness overwhelms any sense of their disconnectedness" (185). In spite of the many studied efforts to save the "Patriarchal Digression", however, no argument exists to date which accounts for why a passage that is so fitting still does not seem to "fit". E. B. Irving "retraced" the exegetical approach only to confirm his earlier conviction that the digression is not to be explained away by attempting to discover more patristic sources (1953 15; 1972 217).[10] And after one of the most convincing of such attempts, James Earl concluded reluctantly that "no matter how elaborate the texture of meanings which relates the digression to the poem's narrative, it must finally be admitted that . . . no amount of interpretation will ever explain the suddenness and awkwardness of the transition . . . and the unusual placement of the passage within the action of the poem" (565). Earl's remarks are echoed two decades later in Paul Remley's most recent assessment: "it is impossible to avoid the impression that the passage on Noah and Abraham disrupts the dramatic climax of *Exodus*" (1996 170).

The "remnant" motif is central to this problematic passage; indeed the poet appears to disrupt his poem purposely in order to give special prominence to the motif at this crucial turning point in the narrative. Moreover, the poet further emphasizes the passage by embedding it within a complex "ring" structure. In fact, he has devoted considerable poetic energy and skill to making the passage as disjointed as it is

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[10] In a paper on "sources and sauces" delivered at the March 1997 meeting of *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, J. R. Hall provided what may be the definitive statement on source-hunting: "one is tempted to draw a sharp distinction between kinds of influence and to define more precisely what is meant by 'source' by acknowledging that while the critic yearns for the nourishment of the source, what he documents is more often than not merely a 'sauce', that is, a 'source' you can't prove, but which proves tantalizing nonetheless."

connected. The many arguments which justify the digression as a key piece in the poet's typological puzzle seem to assume that thematic and structural cohesion are of a piece, but this is hardly the case. The typology of the digression is indeed its predominating feature, but it is predominating precisely because it is prominent, that is, set apart structurally from the main narrative. From its foregrounded position, the digression and thus the "remnant" present the reader/listener with a first lesson in typology.

Typological vs Literal Reading

The poet himself invites us to make proper theological sense of the poem by looking beyond the literal narrative:

Gif onlucan wile lifes wealhstod,

beorht in breostum, banhuses weard,

ginfaesten god gaestes caegon,

run bið gerecnod raed forð gaeð (523-526).

[If the interpreter of life, bright in the heart, the guardian of the body, will unlock the lasting good with the keys of the spirit, the mystery will be made known, wise counsel will go forth.]

With typology as the "key", the poem translates into a simple and familiar story:

Pharaoh stood for the devil, the Hebrews represented the Christians leaving the world (Egypt) for the next life (the Promised Land) and passing by way of baptism (the Red Sea) from servitude to the devil to the service of God (Godden 217).

The contents of the "Patriarchal Digression" can in this same way be harmonized with the main narrative: Noah and Abraham are singular examples of the faith and obedience required for such a spiritual journey, the Flood and the Sacrifice a thematic doubling of the notions of Baptism and Salvation through the sacrifice of Christ.

It is important to note, however, that the typological "key" to this type of reading is provided very late in the narrative, and that without it, an unprepared reader is in danger of being as uncertain of salvation as the Israelites appear to be. If we proceed with a double-focused reading of the journey, we will see that at the beginning of the narrative, the poem actually works to *confound* understanding for the typologically innocent reader. The poet provides an ingenious indoctrination for such a reader only in his "Patriarchal Digression", through the motif of the "remnant". But until that point in the narrative, the events of the Exodus remain a "mystery" whose *raed* is yet to be "unlocked".

In the opening lines of the poem, for example, the poet is careful to separate Moses (*leof Gode*) from Pharaoh (*Godes andsacan*), balancing the *wraeclico wordriht* of one against *feonda folcriht* of the other:

Moyses domas

wraeclico wordriht wera cneorissum

in uprodor eadigra gehwam

aefter bealusið   bote lifes

lifigendra gehwam langsumne raed

haeleðum secgan. . . .

He was leof Gode leoda aldor

horsc ond hreðergleaw herges wisa

freom folctoga. Faraones cyn

Godes andsacan gyrdwite band. . . .

ofercom mid þy campe cneomaga fela

feonda folcriht. (1-7;12-15; 21-22)

[Moses declared to men his laws, wondrous word-right to the races of men: to all of the blessed, reward of life in heaven after the terrible

journey, to all the living enduring wise counsel. . . .He was beloved to God, prince of his people, a leader of the host, sage and wise of heart, valiant captain of his folk. The race of Pharaoh, God's adversary, he bound with rod-punishments. . . .In that warfare he overcame many kinsmen, the folk-right of the enemy/Fiend.]

To the informed reader, it will be clear how the "terrible journey" of the Exodus and the "rod-punishment" of "Pharaoh's race, God's adversary . . . the enemy" reach beyond literal survival of the desert ordeal to the "reward of life in heaven". But notions of the spiritual journey and the mystical power of Moses's rod might evade any reader/listener not steeped in the exegetical tradition or apprised of editors' notes, as might the similar clues (provided later at lines 281 and 312 respectively) that the rod is a *grene tacen*, a living "sign" or "symbol" of eschatological victory over Satan, both on the *grenne grund* of the Red Sea (through Moses) and at the end of time (through the cross).

Lucas maintains that the poet uses the typological "double reference" in such words as *bealusið*, *bote*, and *grene* as a stylistic device to elicit "the kind of response required for the understanding of the poem as a whole" (75), and indeed, many interpret the poem in this manner. The *grenne grund* of the sea is an allusion to paradise (Keenan 1979 and1973), and the *grene tacen* a 'living sign' of the cross (Sajavaara; Lucas 1977 118; Hermann; Luria 1980; T. N. Hall; T. D. Hill 1980). J. R. Hall argues that the "red" waves, raised into a protecting shield by the "green sign" (*reade streamas in randgebeorgh* 296), are a symbol of the faith carried in defense against the devil. He reads the "red streams" as Christ's blood which initiates one into the faith and conquers Satan, and the "wondrous sea-path" (*wraetlicu waegfaru oð wolcna hrof* 298) as indication that "the path leads, like baptism, to heaven itself" (1981 27; cf. Isaacs 157). The sea is thus the Israelites' protection from present danger and also their path to salvation. Without patristic de-coding, however, the text invites a more primary kind of

response. The sea is literally a host of "spear-men" (*garsecges* 281; cf. 490), and the Israelites' "path" through it is a "bloody" battle for which they perceive themselves to be outnumbered, hindered, and unaided. Indeed, the Israelites are overwhelmed with terror. The poet tells us that "their doomed spirit fled" (*fleah faege gast* 169); "the troop was war-pale" (*werud waes wigblac* 204). To the Israelites the sea is an "antagonist", not a protector, exactly equivalent in its menace to the Egyptian enemy.

> sið waes gedaeled . . .
>
> on healfa gehwam hettend seomedon
>
> maegen oððe merestream nahton maran hwyrft.
>
> waeron orwenan eðelrihtes
>
> saeton aefter beorgum in blacum reafum
>
> wean on wenum. (207; 209-13)
>
> [The advance was divided . . . On each side antagonists lay in wait, the army or the sea. Nor did they have more ways to turn; they were despairing of their rightful fatherland. They sat over the hills in dark raiment in expectation of woe.]

The Israelites' "black" mood of despair is reflected in their black garments (Lucas 1977 107). From this perspective, the "signs" of God's presence are a source of fear, not comfort. They are "read" by the Israelites solely in terms of heroic culture: the protective cloud-pillar is a ship, the fire-pillar a live creature of fire-terror, the dividing wind a burning plunderer:

> haefde witig God
>
> sunnan siðfaet segle ofertolden
>
> swa þa maegstrapas men ne cuðon
>
> ne ða seglrode geseon meahton
>
> eorðbuende ealle craefte

hu afaestnod waes feldhusa maest.

haefde foregengra fyrene loccas

blace beamas belegsan hweop.

saelde saegrundas Suðwind fornam

baeðwege blaest brim is areafod. (80-85; 120-21; 28 9-91)

[God in his wisdom had drawn a sail as a covering over the course of the
sun so that men could not make out the mast-ropes, nor might dwellers on
earth perceive the sail-yards, nor with all their skill could they know how
that great field-house was fastened . . . The fore-goer had fiery locks; its
bright beams threatened fire-terror . . . The southwind, blast of the bath-
way, has stripped the sealed sea-ground. The sea is plundered.]

Lucas explains that typologically, the Israelites are on board the Ship of the Church
upheld by the Mast of the Cross. The images of rigging and sail (or veil) which merge
into the image of a tent are allusions to the Tabernacle; "Ship" and "Tent" each represent
the Church. The "veil" signifies the *velum* for the Ark of the Covenant in the Tabernacle,
and the sail is the means by which, with the wind of the Holy Spirit, God propels the Ship
of the Church (47, 85, 89). At the literal level of the narrative, however, the Israelites are
out of their element as "seamen" in the desert. The "sail" controls the journey (*segl siðe
weold* 105), but the "seamen" do not know how to operate the sail against such a "blast".
Their heavenly guide is beyond their ken, a "cloud of unknowing" rather than of
confidence. On the eve of the miracle, this mysterious ship-tent-cloud-pillar merges with
the Angel of the Lord to separate the two armies: *sið waes gedaeled* (207). Typologically,
the division signifies moral distinction: "from now on the paths of the two peoples are
separate, ultimately taking the Israelites and Christians to heaven and the Egyptians and

evil-doers to hell" (Lucas 48). But the literal narrative merely reinforces the sense of paralyzing opposition: *maegen oððe merestream.*

One might wonder why the "chosen" Israelite "troops" (*cista* 229-30)[11] should appear to be halted by a force of a mere two thousand (*twa pusendo* 184), a number which is, according to scripture and to the poet, so much smaller than their own (Bright 1912b 16). One reason may be that the poem's habit of ambiguous reference works to this point in the narrative to construct an enemy that is larger than life. The doctrinally charged epithets *andsaca* and *feond* would suggest an association between Pharaoh and the Devil to even the most unsophisticated reader/listener. This doubled identity is reinforced by another which equates the Egyptians to the Beasts of Battle: the Egyptians are called "war-wolves" (*heorowulfas* 181); they "eat" the covenant (*waere fraeton* 147b). Typologically, there is no need to fear this compounded enemy. The poet's statement that "the Enemy/Fiend was bereft" (*feond* [MS *freond*] *waes bereafod* 46), can refer at once to the Egyptians' loss of literal treasure (as told in Exod.12:35) and of their first-born "treasure", and also to Satan's ultimate loss of *his* "treasure", humankind. Accordingly, "the host went forth"(*dugoð for gewat* 41; cf. 48) signifies the "going forth" of this composite enemy to death (Lucas 1977 80-81).

Many of the poem's ambiguous references can be similarly read through this patristic lens as signs of salvation: the "eating" of the covenant is a eucharistic reference to the Israelites, who consecrate rather than desecrate the covenant (Speirs 1992 52-53); the "two thousand" alludes to the exorcism of Satan at baptism; the "bath-way's blast" is similarly suggestive of baptism (Speirs 1992 70-72, 83, 182-86) and of the Holy Spirit (Luria 1981 603), as well as of a "plundering" of the sea for God (Kretzschmar 142).[12]

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[11] Speirs (1987) argues that the poet is playing upon both these meanings of *cist.*

[12] Speirs (1992) argues that the sea-bottom is the plundered "sacrificial object" (187). Kretzschmar sees the *Israelites* as the 'plunder'. He restores the manuscript *bring* (from

The *grenne grund* is "plundered" from the sea through the agency of a divine spirit as an offering to God, and so from yet another angle the *feond* is bereft. On the eve of the crossing as on the eve of the departure, the Israelites are saved/plundered for God both from the Egyptians and from the sea. In this light it is the Egyptian troop that is "war-*black*" (*blaec*) in spiritual *tenebrae*; the Israelite troop has cause only to be "war-*bright*" (*blāc*).[13]

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the emended *brim*), reads *bring* as a substantive form of *bringan* (recorded as a gloss on *holocausta*), and *sand* as the substantive of *sendan*, translating "that which is brought [the Israelite people] is taken away" (from Egypt), and "that which is sent [the Israelite people] (is taken away) from the agitated sea" (142).

[13] F. N. Robinson argues that *wigblac* reflects the patristic onomastic interpretation of Egyptians as *tenebrae* (1968 26-27); thus "the [Egyptian] troop was war-black" (*blaec, blac*), not "the [Israelite] troop was war-pale". Speirs argues against the common reading of this passage, which is seen by most to shift in focus from the Israelites, at lines 201b-203a, to the Egyptians, at lines 203b-20, and then to both, at lines 205-207. Speirs reads the entire passage with Egyptian focus only: it is the Egyptians who 'flee the terrible message' in demonic flight before Christ's adjuration; it is the Egyptians who are divided and unable to see. Accordingly, the resolute solidarity (*anmod*) of the Egyptian force is a delusion, for while it might appear "one" on the literal surface, when it is read in the light of Bede's exegesis of Mk.5:9, the Egyptian force 'whose name is legion' is in truth marked by divisiveness: *significat populum gentium non uni sed innumeris ac diversis idolatriae cultibus esse mancipatum*. Taking *waelnet* as a circumlocution for the cloud-pillar, and *forscufan* in the sense of "to drive apart", Speirs argues further (after Strabo) that *sið waes gedaeled* indicates a final division and dissolution *within* the Egyptian forces rather than a final dividing of the two armies by the Angel/cloud-pillar. Thus "the gathering of the hostile ones [i.e. the Egyptian forces] could not see one another" (1992

From one perspective, then, "the journey of the Egyptians to death is on a figural level the journey of the Israelites to life" (Vickrey 1973 45-46): as Pharaoh and Satan are to be deprived of their spoils, so the literal *wulfas* (164-167) and the *garsecg* will be similarly deprived. But typology aside, the many instances of conflated and inflated enemy identity can work to quite the opposite effect of suggesting the extinction rather than the distinction of Israelite identity. The unrealistic "two thousand" is thus amplified metaphorically as well as typologically, but without the countervailing assurances of exorcism and salvation available from exegesis. Moreover, as Stephen Kruger has recently pointed out, there are many parallel and ambiguous statements early in the narrative which work to obscure the typologically clear distinctions between victors and vanquished. Indeed, the illustrations of collapsed enemy identity cited above can be read as easily as reference to the Israelites (167). It is no wonder, then, that at the crucial moment of the "Sea-Battle", the Israelites sit in expectation that their literal identity is about to be overwhelmed either by the army or by the sea.[14] At this point in the narrative, the ultimate "reward" of the crossing is still "unknown":

wod on waegstream wigan on heape

ofer grenne grund Iudisc feða

75-77). According to Strabo, the Egyptians *in tenebris maneant, quia dilexerunt tenebras, non lucem.* Speirs reads the "black garments" (*blacum reafum* 212) as typologically more appropriate to the Egyptians who are *in tenebris*. She argues further that the black raiment signifies the letter of the Old Testament. Thus the poet's (typological) dual reference works here, as elsewhere, to point towards an antitype of salvation for the Israelites and eternal damnation for the Egyptians (141-143).

[14] Another possible dual reference in the statement *fleah faege gast* (169) adds further drama to their fear, as the line can also be read "the accursed one (Pharaoh) advanced rapidly" (Robinson 1962 365).

on onette uncuð gelad

for his maegwinum Swa him mihtig God

þaes daegweorces deop lean forgeald. (311-15)

[They strode into the wave-stream, ranks of warriors, over the green ground, the tribe of Judah at the head, they hastened over the unknown way before their kinsmen. So God did vouchsafe them high reward for the day's deeds.]

The *grenne grund* of the sea, signifying hope, is at the same time *uncuð gelad*, signifying uncertainty and hidden danger. This traditional heroic formula for the "journey into the unknown" describes the "narrow paths and unknown way" to Grendel's mere at *Beowulf* 1410, and the way through the desert at *Exodus* 58. It is considered a figure for the spiritual *ignota via* (Helder 16; Cronan 318). Trapped in this mysterious space, the Israelites expect only to become the "chosen" of the "chooser of the slain" (*waelceasega* 164) or the "plunder" of the "bath-way's blast". The ensuing "battle" within *and with* the sea (Hall 1983) is therefore a perfectly apt (if historically incongruous) representation of the need for self-defense perceived by the Israelites, as well as by any who may be unaware or unconvinced or forgetful of their own place in God's salvific plan. For such a reader/listener the poet is about to demonstrate that the "unknown way" is in fact "a path of helpers" (*helpendra pað* 488).

The "Patriarchal Digression"

The poet brings us to the desired state of theological awareness with a neat narrative turn. Reinforcements from the past are waiting in the vanguard as reminders – by their literal presence in the narrative (and thus in the Red Sea) – that the covenants made with Noah and Abraham are aid in the present crisis. Rather than continuing to compound the adversary and to confound Israelite identity, the poet begins to build a

correspondingly composite protagonist by presenting Moses and the Israelites side by side in the narrative with their literal and typological forebears. Paradoxically, the "Patriarchal Digression" is a *literalization* of typology which bridges theological gaps. In order to demonstrate both the symbolic significance of the Red Sea and the historical validity of its types, the poet does not continue to enhance the Exodus events only by pointing allusively to future salvation. Nor does he begin to refer in the same allusive manner to prior events in scriptural history. Instead, he abruptly materializes the very examples (or types) of salvation upon which the typology is built: Noah, Abraham, and Isaac appear as concrete characters in the narrative to re-enact before the audience their roles in these prefigurative events. Their story is in this way conflated with that of the Exodus in a dramatic, rather than in a symbolic way. Many of the poem's "runes" become "unlocked" here, as the typologically allusive and elusive images from the present narrative meet their proper referents, even as the Israelites meet their origins. The digression departs from the narrative present to define precisely the "treasure" lost by the Egyptians and by the Devil, to locate the literal "vehicle" of the sailing metaphor, and to re-enact the history of God's "legacy" of salvation. It accomplishes this literalization through its repeated focus upon the "remnant".

The punctuating effect of the poet's structures assists in making sure that the symbolic connections between the present literal event and those of the past are clearly visible, like the seam in the narrative. The digression thus functions much like the extended and often compounded simile in classical epic: by opening a space in the narrative present, it admits material from a different dimension which can then serve as important commentary on the main narrative, from an alternative perspective. Conversely, it signals the importance of the *main* narrative at this point, simply by reason of its structural placement there. Looking first at this point of departure, we can see that as the Israelites advance into "Sea-Battle", the poet rehearses their lineage "even as with skill men of old relate":

an wisode . . .

cynn aefter cynne cuðe aeghwilc

maegbura riht..swa him Moises bead

eorla aeðelo. Him waes an faeder . . .

Israela cyn onriht godes

swa þaet orþancum ealde reccað

þa þe maegburge maest gefrunon

frumcyn feora faederaeðelo gehwaes. (348b, 351-53, 358-61)

[One led them . . . kin after kin; each knew the rights of his lineage . . .One

forefather had they all . . . the people of Israel, rightful children of God,

even as with wisdom men of old relate who deepest studied the lineage of

the tribes and the generations of men, the ancestry of each.]

If we imagine "*sicut Noah* . . ." at the abrupt introduction of Noah in the next line, and

then read what follows as a kind of epic simile expounding upon the genealogy of the

Israelites just described, then it becomes apparent that Moses leads the Israelites into the

Red Sea "just as" Noah led the "eternal remnant" over "new Floods":

Niwe flodes Noe oferlað . . .

Haefde him on hreþre halige treowa

forþon he gelaedde ofer lagustreamas

maðmhorda maest, mine gefraege.

On feorhgebeorh foldan haefde

eallum eorðcynne **ece lafe**

frumcneow gehwaes faeder ond moder

tuddorteondra geteled rime,

missenlicra þonne men cunnon

snottor saeleoda Eac þon saeda gehwilc

on bearm scipes beornas feredon

þara þe under heofonum haeleð bryttigað

Swa þaet wise men wordum secgað

þaet from Noe nigoða waere

faeder Abrahames on folctale. (362, 366-79)

[Noah traversed new Floods . . . He kept in his heart a holy covenant; for
this he led over the sea-streams the greatest of treasure-hoards of which I
have heard tell. For the life-protection of earth the wise seafarer had
numbered out an **eternal remnant** for all earth-kind, the first-generation
of each, the father and mother of all that bring forth young, more diverse
than men may know. And men bore in the bosom of the ship each seed
which under heaven men enjoy. This do wise men relate, that from Noah
the father of Abraham was the ninth in the count of generations.]

As Moses and the Israelites turn from the metaphorical sea-journey over the desert
to enter the Sea/Flood, the audience hears the concrete details of what the wise men must
have recounted, beginning with the "ship" which carried the "eternal remnant" from
which they themselves have descended. Thus the point of departure from the main
narrative – the lineage of the Israelites – is given added emphasis in the digression's
elaboration of these ancestral tales. That the emphasis is to be "new" is suggested not
only by the perplexing term *niwe flodes* (Hall 1975b) which the poet has used
anachronistically for this "old" Flood (it is the Red Sea *flod* which should be the "new"
one according to historical chronology), but also by the abrupt transition in the poem
which signals that something "new" is happening narratively. An important element of
this new material is to be found in the emphasis which the poet places upon the "eternal
remnant". The *laf* has a theological connotation in the "Patriarchal Digression" that is
new to the traditional word-hoard.

The "Eternal Remnant"

The "eternal remnant" preserved from this "new" Flood is central to the typological vision of the poem. It is invested with positive and regenerative associations beyond the usual meaning "what is left after a calamity", and certainly beyond the simple statement in Genesis 7:23 that "only Noah was left". This "remnant" is highly valued: it is the "greatest of treasure-hoards" (368), the "seeds" of new life (374). Its significance extends to all the earth for all time: it is a "*first*-generation" and also "*eternal*"; "*of* earth", and "*for* all earth-kind":

> On feorhgebeorh foldan haefde
>
> eallum eorðcynne *ece lafe*
>
> frumcneow gehwaes (369-71)

Lucas (with no explanation) reads *eallum eorðcynne* as a genitive dependent upon *feorhgebeorh* (in spite of the fact that he records both words as dative his glossary). He translates: "in the saving of lives *of all the race of earth* the wise seafarer had counted in number the everlasting survivors" (123). Kennedy's translation is similar (110). In collapsing rather than repeating the poet's two variant references to new life for the world, these readings ignore the dative construction and so efface the relationship between the present "survivors" and the future generations. The poet's construction is clearly dative, however, and is so translated by Tolkien (28). The syntactic relationship which exists between *eallum eorðcynne* and *ece lafe* (and not between *eallum eorðcynne* and *feorhgebeorh* as Lucas proposes) is a variation of the line preceding: "as a life-preservation of (or for) the earth" (*foldan* can be construed as either genitive or dative). There is no reason to read either half-line out of the context suggested by the alliterative link in the line in which it appears. The "eternal remnant", like the "life-preservation" and the "first generation", is saved *on behalf of* mankind. It is a type.

Editors have had difficulty with the adjective *ece* even though the manuscript is clear at this point. Their suggested emendations conform to the common usage of *laf* + genitive, "that which is left behind by a destructive force", where the first element in the expression or compound most often represents the agent, as in *ýðlaf* ("remnant of the wave") and *saelaf* ("remnant of the sea"). Likely with the form of these paradigms in mind, Blackburn retained the MS reading "eternal", but construed *ece lafe* as one word. And in keeping with the frequent usage of the genitive for the sense of agency, Holthausen emended to *eagorlafe*, "remnant of the sea". Grein (and later Hunt) read *ege* as a form of *ǽg* 'water', 'brink', or as "sword-edge" (a metonymy for "battle"), and so emend to *egelafe*, "remnant of the water" or "of the sword-edge".[15]

Perhaps the poet intended all possibilities, as the visual and aural assonance of *ece* and *ege* provides a noticeable transition between the sea as a battlefield in the main narrative, and as a matrix for eternal salvation in the "Patriarchal Digression". The very presence of the "remnant" in the Genesis story alongside images of restoration suggests more than the mere survival indicated by the emendations. In replacing the adjective "eternal", editors appear to be seeking a conception of the "remnant" that is familiar to heroic verse; they therefore supply the required agent of destruction, and in so doing, they miss the new eschatological sense of salvation which the poet has given to a motif that is traditionally deployed in Old English verse to convey only the magnitude and means of near extinction. For the "remnant" to signify a "life-protection" that is both a "first-generation", as in Genesis, and "eternal", as in Christian re-interpretation of Genesis, a succession of saved remnants must appear periodically throughout the continuum of sacred history as types of the final and anti-typal "life-protection". In this light, it is perhaps possible to see the "seeds" in the "bosom of the ship" as yet another variation of the *ece lafe* on board. Tolkien notes that in Genesis 6:21, Noah was told to take food into

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[15] See Krapp (211) for a discussion of the various readings.

the Ark, not seed (65). In Genesis 7:3, however, (as noted above with respect to *Genesis A*), Noah is told that the purpose of his selection is *ut salvetur semen super faciem universae terrae*. As the preserving of grains is not found in the scriptural account, perhaps the *saeda* in *Exodus* does not refer to literal grains at all, but to the "eternal remnant" preserved to regenerate the world. This detail which ends the Noah portion of the "Patriarchal Digression" completes the picture of the Ark as the "eternal remnant", the bearer of the "life-preservation", the "treasure", the "first generation", and finally, the "seeds" of future generations.[16]

The "Remnant of the Heritage"

That the *laf* in the "Patriarchal Digression" is a sign of this progressive typological pattern is immediately and literally demonstrated by its recurrence to designate Isaac nine generations later, "as wise men relate" (377). Like Noah, Isaac is nowhere referred to as a "remnant" in scripture. Here he is *yrfelaf*, a "remnant of the heritage", who is "led" by Abraham just as the "eternal remnant", was "led" by Noah:

To þam meðelstede magan gelaedde

---

[16] Daniel Calder has argued that the "eternal remnant" can in fact be construed as a variant epithet for Noah himself. Citing Aelfric's commentary on the common patristic etymology of 'Noah', *requies*, Calder discusses Aelfric's supposed punning on "the 'rest' or "remnant", and "heavenly 'rest' or 'repose'" (88). There is no connection, however, between Old English *raest*, "rest, repose" and modern English "rest", "the rest" or "remainder", and certainly none between *requies* and *reliquium*. Unhappily, Calder's argument becomes the sole note to line 370 in Lucas's edition: "Calder sees here the identification of Noah as *ece lafe*, connecting this with the usual patristic name-etymology of Noah, *requies* "remnant"(123). Lucas's note is not only misleading, but it eclipses the more telling editorial history of the crux in favor of this erroneous detail.

Abraham Isaac adfyr onbran

(fyrst ferhõbana no þy faegra waes)

wolde þone lastweard lige gesyllan

in baelblyse beorna selost

his swaesne sunu to sigetibre

angan ofer eorðan **yrfelafe**

feores frofre, ða he swa forð gebad,

leodum to lafe langsumne hiht.

He þaet gecyðde, þa he þone cniht genam

faeste mid folmum, folccuð geteag

ealde lafe (ecg grymetode) . . . (397-408)

[To that appointed place he [Abraham] led his kinsman, Abraham Isaac, kindled the altar flame (the first soul-slayer was no more doomed). He would have sacrificed his heir to the flames, best of children in blazing fire, his dear son as a sacrifice, on earth the only **remnant of the heritage**, the comfort of life, whom he had so long awaited, the lasting hope, *a* **remnant unto the people**. That he made known when he seized the lad fast with his hands, the famous one seized the **old remnant** (the edge cried out . . .).

The epithet *yrfelaf* embodies the heritage of the "eternal remnant", as it is through Isaac that the eternal life of the "remnant" is assured. The compound occurs elsewhere in Old English only in the Paris Psalter's version of Psalm 77, where it refers to the tribe of Judah, *Israel hereditatem suam* (Ps.77:70(71)), and twice in *Beowulf* where it denotes treasure. It is glossed by all *Exodus* editors but Tolkien as "heir". Tolkien translates: "his only *treasure and possession* upon earth". Since the choice of *laf* is not dictated by

alliteration (the poet could have used *yrfeweard*, "guardian of the inheritance"), both here and at line 408 where the word denotes "sword", the poet may have wished to define Isaac as a "treasure" and a "remnant" as well as an "heir", or he may have wished to make connections between the "treasure" saved from the Flood and the "treasure" saved from the Sacrifice, or to make the *laf* noticeable by repetition and word-play – the young *laf* (*cniht* 406; *unweaxenne* 413) saved from the old *laf* (*ealde* 408), heir from heirloom – or all of the above. Isaac is a "remnant" of a "remnant", "remaining to/for the people" (*leodum to lafe*), or in Lucas's translation, "spared" that he may fulfill his role as a "bequest to the people" (Lucas 127).

The designation of Isaac as a "legacy" or a "bequest" *to* or *for* the people is the second occurrence in the "Patriarchal Digression" of a *laf* appearing in a dative rather than a genitive relationship. The dative here perhaps lends credibility to the reading above of *ece lafe* as an eternal remnant "*for* all the earth-race". In each case, the expression "remnant *to, for, on behalf of*," describes the "remnant" not by presenting it in relationship with either the entity to which it once belonged, or to the creative or destructive force which "left it remaining" (its history, in other words), but rather by describing it explicitly in terms of its salvific relationship to the future "*for* all the earth-race", and "*for* the people".

Tolkien (67) emends *lafe* (405) to *lare* ("instruction"), as did Blackburn (56), and then reads the "hope" and the "bequest" in the above passage as "joy" and "example", and the entire line as a reference to Abraham, rather than to Isaac: "therefore he [Abraham] lived after to know enduring joy, as an example unto men". The problem here arises from the temporal incongruity contained in the juxtaposition *forð gebad* ("henceforth"/ "awaited"). The emendation supposes contamination from the neighboring *yrfelafe* and *ealde lafe*. Again, it is as likely that the confusion may have arisen from the unfamiliarity of the dative construction, and that the repetition and also the word-play are intentional. If Isaac is seen as another "remnant", preserved for the future and eternal

salvation of all the earth-race, then like Noah and like Abraham, he is an "example" in that he is a "remnant". Isaac is a lasting hope and a joy, to Abraham and to the people, both long-awaited (*gebidan*) by Abraham, and henceforth experienced (also *gebidan*) by the people. The poet's epithet for Abraham's son is remarkably like the epithet given to Isaiah's son "Sh'ar Yashub", and is perhaps indication that the poet wished to present both Isaac and Noah as prototypes of the Pauline "remnant saved by grace".

The difficulties presented by each "example" of the "remnant" in the poem are perhaps indications that the poet is attempting something "new" in his "Patriarchal Digression". By placing the Flood and Sacrifice together in a noticeable departure from the main narrative, he links the two salvific events. He then emphasizes these structural connections concretely, rather than allegorically, by grounding the poem's diffuse network of allusive images of sail and fire, ship and tent, spoiling and going forth, in the exempla of the two Patriarchs who each went forth, one by ship, the other with his tents, leading their "treasure" through ordeals of water and fire for the sake of a "holy covenant" (*halige treowa* 366, *halige heatreowe* 388). In both these journeys, the "remnant" is the "protector of life" (*feorhgebeorh . . . ece lafe* 369-70), providing for the ultimate "comfort of life" (*feores frofre . . . leodum to lafe* 404-5). God chooses a small "remnant" (*laf*) to be saved from the larger "heritage" (*yrfe*), first from his entire creation, then from his people chosen from that creation. The narrowing focus underlines the idea of election, regeneration and faith, the understanding being that a new covenant is required for the "heritage" to continue.

Similarly, just as the repetition of "remnant" and "covenant" connects the Flood with the Sacrifice, so the one "place of meeting" (*medelstede* 397), which the poet gives to the Sacrificial altar and to the Temple, effects a collapse, both temporal and geographical, of *these* two events:

waere hie þaer fundon wuldor gesawon

halige heahtreowe swa haeleð gefrunon.

þaer eft se snottra sunu Davides . . .

getimbrede tempel Gode . . .

heahst ond haligost haeleðum gefraegost. (387-89, 391, 394)

[There they found a treaty, saw a wonder, a holy high-covenant as men have heard. There afterwards did the wise son of David . . . build a temple to God . . . highest and holiest, most famed among men]

The imagistic progression: "holy covenant" (363), "holy high-covenant" (388), "holiest and highest" temple (394) makes the future Davidic covenant the "high" point of the "Patriarchal Digression" and gives immediate and almost visible proof of the lasting "heritage" which the salvation of Isaac "left" to the people.

The "Old Remnant" and the Egyptian "Remnant"

The repetition of *laf* in the "Patriarchal Digression" serves, through further repetition in the main narrative, to underline the present distinction between those saved and those destroyed. Unlike the "eternal remnant", and unlike the "remnant of the heritage" whom God preserves from the "old sword" (*ealde lafe* 408), the Egyptian host is utterly destroyed in "battle" by God's metaphorical "ancient sword" (*alde mece* 495), the sea:

witrod gefeol

heah of heofonum handweorc Godes

famigbosma; Flodweard gesloh

unhleowan waeg alde mece

þaet ðy deaðdrepe drihte swaefon

synfullra sweot. Sawlum lunnon

faest befarene. (492-498)

[The war-road[17] fell, high from heaven, the hand-work of God, foamy-breasted; the Flood-Guardian struck the unprotective wave with his ancient sword so that with that death-blow the host slept, the band of the sinful. They lost their souls, inescapably bound.]

The "old remnant", the literal sword in the "Patriarchal Digression", may shed some light on this bold and perplexing figurative "sword" (Blackburn 60; Irving 206; Lucas 1977 139). In the biblical Genesis, Abraham is directed by the voice of an angel. In *Exodus*, God himself restrains Abraham *mid handa*, and the accompanying heavenly voice silences that of an animated sword (whose "edge cried out" at line 411). The striking immediacy of these countervailing voices commands attention; within the "Patriarchal Digression", one *laf* is thrown into sharp relief with another. Once the main action resumes, the distinction is repeated: God's "hand" restrains one sword on behalf of his faithful "remnant"; his "hand-work", like a destructive sword, is lifted against the sinful. Not a "remnant" will be left to tell the terrible tale:

þaes daegeweorces deop lean gesceod

forðam þaes heriges ham eft ne com

ealles ungrundes aenig **to lafe**

þaette sið heora secgan moste.

bodigean aefter burgum bealospella maest,

hordwearda hryre haeleða cwenum

ac þa maegenþreatas meredeað geswealh

---

[17] Lucas explains *witrod* as *wi(g)* 'war' + *trod* 'path' (1977 138). T. D Hill (1980) takes the *witrod* as a "rod of punishment", like Moses's *gyrdwite*. This reading accords well with the notion of the sea-wall as the "handiwork" of God, and also with the idea that the sea-wall/ rod of punishment is like a sword in God's hand.

[eac þon] spelbodan. Se þe sped ahte

ageat gylp wera. Hie wið God wunnon. (507-15a)

[For the day's work a heavy payment was decreed, for of that boundless army, home afterwards came **not one remaining** who might tell of that death-journey, to announce from town to town the greatest of terrible tidings unto the queens of men, the fall of the hoard-guards. But mere-death swallowed the mighty host, even the story-teller; he who had the power destroyed the boast of men. They had warred with God!]

This passage essentially repeats the poet's earlier statement, at the point where the main narrative resumed, that not one of the formerly innumerable Egyptian host was able to return home to make good his boast. The "mere-death" (513) dealt from "high heaven" (493) is a repeated response to the cries which sounded earlier "to high heaven":

gylp wearð gnorna him ongen genap

atol yða gewealc. ne ðaer aenig becwom

herges to hame ac behindan beleac

wyrd mid waeg . . .

Storm up gewat

heah to heofonum herewopa maest . . .

rodor swipode

meredeaða maest. Modige swulton

cyningas on corðe. Cyrm swið rode

waeges aet ende. (455-58a; 460b-61; 464b-67)

[Their boast was humbled. Against them grew dark the terrible surging of the waves. Nor did any of that army come home, but behind them fate locked them in with water . . . A tumult arose, high to heaven, the greatest

of war-cries . . . the heavens lashed out the greatest of mere-deaths. They

perished in their proud spirit, kings in ranks. The clamor subsided at the

water's end.]

The sense here of utter desolation and silence – not unlike that depicted on Keats's urn –

is figured forth in each instance in an image of a tale that has no teller or audience, a

boast with no closure, a home with no re-entry. The repetition of the "homely" image in

the above two passages has no useful narrative purpose; indeed, it has the undesirable

result of having the Egyptians die twice. Structurally, however, these images of extinction

form an "envelope" around the second half of the narrative of the "Sea-Battle", so serving

both to frame this narrative, and to mark its departure from the "Patriarchal Digression"

that preceded it. The "envelope" is represented in the diagrams below as E^1 and B^1.

DIAGRAM NO.1: RING COMPOSITION

Sea Crossing I	A Moses speaks (259-75)
	B Lineage of Abraham (261-75)
	C Opening of the Sea (278-308)
	D Beginning of Sea-Battle (309-48)
	E Lineage of Abraham (348-61)
Patriarchal Digression	a Posterity of Noah (362-77)
	b Sacrifice of Isaac (379-88)
	c Temple Digression (389-97)
	b^1 Sacrifice of Isaac (397-25)
	a^1 Posterity of Abraham (423-46)
Sea Crossing II	E^1 Extinction of Egyptians(454-57)
	D^1 Ending of Sea-Battle (460-79)
	C^1 Closing of the Sea (479-507)
	B^1 Extinction of Egyptians (508-15)
	A^1 Moses speaks (516-19)
Homiletic Digression	B^1 Extinction of Egyptians (508-15)
	A^1 Moses speaks (516-19)
	d Law-giving (519-22)
	e 'Keys' Digression (522-30)
	d^1 Judgment (530-48)
	A^2 Moses speaks (549-64)
Safe Shore	B^2 Extinction of the Egyptians (565-90)

DIAGRAM NO 2: RECURRING MOTIFS

Sea Crossing I   A *on beteran raed*
         B *daege daedlean, unrim*
           C *grene tacne*
             D *sweg swiðrode*
              E telling by wise ones

Patriarchal Digression   a too great to tally/tell, *halige treowa*
ece laf, yrfelaf,   b *halige heahtreowe*
leodum to lafe, ealde lafe   c *heahst ond haligost*
               b^1 *to þam meðelstede*
            a^1too great to tally/tell, *faest/maran treowe*

Sea Crossing II E^1 none to tell, *meredeað, ham, gylp*
ne..aenig to lafe D^1 *cyrm swiðrode*
       C^1 *alde mece*
    B^1 none to tell, *meredeað, ham, gylp*; *daegeweorc, deaplean, ungrunde*
  A^1 *ece raedas*

Homiletic Digression B^1 none to tell, *daegeweorc*
          A^1 *ece raedas*
            d *daegweorc*
               e *raed forð gaeð*
             d^1 *daeg daedum fah; on þam meðelstede*
           A^2 *raeda gemyndig*

Safe Shore B^2 *daegweorce*
saelafe, yðlafe

Ring Composition

The disjunction which the "envelope" marks is further emphasized by a similar symmetry in the ideas which enclose the "Patriarchal Digression". As the charts make clear, the "Patriarchal Digression" ends with allusions to the Abrahamic covenant (*faeste treowe, maran treowe* 423, 426), and to the scriptural promise made to Abraham at lines 423-46 that his kin will number as the sands of the seashore, too great to be counted, or to be *re*counted by any but the wisest of tellers (a^1). This balances the idea of Noah's covenant and of the "eternal remnant" which begin the "Patriarchal Digression" (a), also described in terms of innumerability and "telling" (372-84). The message of posterity in the "Patriarchal Digression" is made more emphatic by this repetition and enclosure, and also by the contrast which occurs at the resumption of the "Sea-Battle" regardless of how much of this we may have lost),[18] as this battle is a tale of extinction, opposite in its "remnant" emphasis, as we have seen. The extinction is similarly emphasized by the comparison, as well as by its aforementioned repetition, and it is further underlined by the opposed telling/not-telling of the outcomes for posterity at the beginning and end of the "Patriarchal Digression" (E and E^1). This idea is itself framed by another ironic contrast at D and D^1, where the cries of confusion cease for the Israelites (*sweg swiðrode ond sances bland* 309) as their spirit becomes one with Moses's call to arms (*anes modes* 305), and the war-cries (*herewopa* 461) cease for the Egyptians (*cyrm swiðrode* 466) as their spirit is crushed by death (*modige swulton* 465). Similarly, at C and C^1 the

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[18] Section 47 of the poem ends at line 446 and section 49 begins at line 447. The lacuna comprising section 48 must therefore have existed before the transcription into the present MS. It is thought that this likely contained a description of the "Sea-Battle" (Vickrey 1972 124-25), perhaps similar to the "War of the Kings" passage in *Genesis*. If this is so, then the confrontation between the two armies is a narrative elaboration of the opposition displayed in the structure.

metaphorical "sword" of death which closes the sea exactly balances the symbolic "green rod" of life which opened it, and at B and B^1 the former innumerability of the Egyptians (*unrim* 261/*ungrundes* 509) is contrasted with their predicted extinction. The dire reward for the deeds of the day is made more emphatic by the balanced placement of the repetition (*to daege þissum daedlean gyfan* 263/*þaes daegeweorces deop lean gesceod* 508)[19], and the *lar Godes* (268) set in greater relief against the boasts of men (*gylp wera* 515).

The symmetries which set apart the "Patriarchal Digression" and the resumed "Sea-Battle" thus serve to heighten the sense of the Egyptian demise. The first half of the narrative of the "Sea-Battle", on the other hand, is framed by the "telling" of kinship and lineage, first by Moses, who reminds the Israelites of the divine protection guaranteed their line by "the eternal God of Abraham" (273), and then by the ancients, through whose reckoning the lineage from Abraham is elaborated. The transition *to* the "Patriarchal Digression" is thus set off by another self-contained "envelope" (B and E), like that of the transition from it (B^1 and E^1), but in this case it is an "envelope" of eternal continuity of lineage rather than of obliteration. The intrusion of the "Patriarchal Digression" thus works through structural juxtaposition and verbal echo to draw a clear distinction between the Israelites' preservation and the Egyptians' demise. It provides a division in the outer structure equal to that made by the cloud and pillar within the narrative, but one which directs the reader to see the "great reward for the day's deeds" — a formula which frames the opening of the sea (it occurs at 315 as well as at 263 and 508) as well as the "Patriarchal Digression" — as clearly opposite outcomes.

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[19] The formulaic repetition of the "great reward for the day's deeds" at 315 contributes to the cohesiveness of the first section, and effectively tips the 'balance' in favor of the Israelites.

This distinction, unlike those suggested ambiguously and allusively in the first part of the main narrative, neither invites nor requires typological interpretation. Similar structural relationships within the "Patriarchal Digression" itself give the passage its pivotal didactic effect. The strategic placement of a Temple digression within the "Patriarchal Digression" causes an interruption in the narration of the Sacrifice not unlike that which the larger "Patriarchal Digression" as a whole causes in the description of the "Sea-Crossing". It gives added emphasis to the points of departure and resumption in the internal narrative – in this case the *halige heahtreowe* (388) and the *meðelstede* (397) at b and b[1]. This places the future Davidic covenant at the structural foreground of the Sacrifice (c), so that the earlier event, although described later, is read with its future culmination already in mind. The "Patriarchal Digression" thus projects both backward and forward in time from the narrative present. Through juxtaposition and conflation of the three covenants, it presents the reader with a concrete rather than allegorical lesson in the first-elements of typology: old covenants seen in relation to the new.

The internal cohesiveness achieved by these connections within the "Patriarchal Digression" helps to set it apart from the main narrative, that is, to underline its digressiveness. The poet's rhetorical structure works to the same purpose. To summarize schematically, then, the history of the "eternal remnant" is embedded within the narration of the "Sea-Battle", which it divides into symmetrical treatments of posterity and of extinction, respectively. The "Patriarchal Digression" is framed at E and E[1] by contrasting 'tales'/non-tales of lineage and non-lineage. This 'envelope' is enclosed within another 'envelope', the description of the advance into and retreat from "Sea-Battle" at D and D[1], which is enclosed by yet another 'envelope' made by the description of the opening and closing of the sea at C and C[1], and another which again contrasts the lineage of Abraham with the extinction of the Egyptians at B and B[1]. Finally, the entire rhetorical structure of the "Sea-Battle" is framed at A and A[1] by Moses's address to the Israelites on their immersion into and emergence from the sea.

The "Remnant of the Sea"

Viewed in this way, the "Patriarchal Digression" appears to be a central rather than a tangential part of the "Sea-Battle", projecting forward from it as the Temple projected from the Sacrifice. Given the juxtapositional logic of this ring-composition, is it not possible to see the patriarchal "remnants" as fellow "survivors" who emerge from the sea along with the "sea-remnant" (*saelafe* 585) even as the "Patriarchal Digression" itself emerges (structurally, that is) from the narrative of the "Sea-Crossing"?

I am led to this somewhat fanciful conclusion by the poet's striking literalizations of the biblical figure for the posterity of Abraham: at the end of the "Sea-Battle" and at the end of the poem, the Israelites are described like the sands of the sea. Just as the sands are waiting helpless in expectation of the salt waves, so the Israelite "seamen" are threatened with the "blood-terror" of the "sea-man's path":

Sand basnodon

witodre wyrde hwonne waðema stream

sincalsa sae sealtum yðum

aeflastum gewuna ece staðulas

nacud nydboda neosan come

fah feðegast se ðe feondum gehneop

Waes seo haewene lyft heolfre geblanden.

Brim berstende blodegesan hweop

saemanna sið. (471b-79)

[The sands had awaited the appointed fate, when the flowing stream, the perpetually-cold sea, accustomed to wandering, should with salt waves come back to see its eternal foundations, naked messenger of hardship, a hostile war-spirit, which crushed enemies. The blue air was mingled with gore. The bursting sea, the seamen's path, threatened with blood-terror.]

Citing Origen and Pseudo-Bede, J. R. Hall suggests that the incongruous battle is a psychomachia in which the 'seaman' struggles against the Red Sea (representing the sins of this world) at the same time as God's wrath slays the sins on his behalf (1983 32-35). The audience does not absolutely need the help of patristics, however, to turn the tide of the "Sea-Battle" to the Israelites' advantage. The exempla encountered in the "Patriarchal Digression" are prediction enough that God will rescue his 'seamen' (a bilingual play, perhaps upon *saed* and the Vulgate *semen*?) as he did Noah's *saeda/saemanna/semen* (cf. 105). Moreover, the bold personification of the "sands" and the "salt waves" should alert the reader/listener to an echo of the promise to Abraham (in the "Patriarchal Digression") that his descendants will number greater than the "the stones of the earth, the stars in the heavens, the sand of the sea-hills, the salt waves": *stanas on eorðan, steorran on heofonum/ saebeorga sand, sealte yða* (441-42).

Hall argues against reading *saebeorg* as "sea-protection"[20] and proposes "sea-hill, hill of sea", as a metaphor for "huge wave" (1989 127). The problem (as Hall himself admits) is that the sand must be conceived as being "within or under the hills instead of upon them" (132). Some support for this reading can be drawn from the relative fidelity with which the poet treats the biblical simile. The poet's "stars" and "sands" are consistent with Genesis 22:17 (God's promise to Abraham at the Sacrifice), and with Genesis15:5 (*suspice caelum et numera stellas si potes*) and 13:16 (*pulverem terrae*, "dust of the earth"). His "stones of the earth" could perhaps be considered a rendering of the Vulgate "dust of the earth" which meets the demands of alliteration. But there is no biblical source whatsoever for the poet's detail of "the salt waves". A reading of *saebeorg* as "waves" allows the "salt waves" to be construed as a variation on "sands of the sea-hills" rather than a detail added to scripture. Moreover, if one recalls the image of the sand "spewed up by the waves" at lines 289-91 (*sand saecir spaw*), and its interpretation

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[20] For this reading see Stanley (243).

by Kretchmar, "what is sent [the Israelites] is taken away from the agitated sea", one can see that the "sand" – a figure and analogy for the present Israelites as well as a simile for their descendants – can indeed be conversely construed in each instance as being, like the Israelite referent, within or under the 'hills' of water. Although Hall does not push his reading of *saebeorg* this far, he does admit to mixing literal sands with metaphorical hills (134). The poet invites such a stretching of the Biblical simile, as the sand serves in *Exodus* not only to convey the idea of innumerability, but also to picture the descendants of Abraham as saved "remnants", the 'sand' left behind by those metaphorical sea-hills. Unlike the sand whose *wyrd* (472) it is to be covered by the salt waves, the descendants of Abraham will be "spewed up" (291) by the waves at the end of the poem and 'deposited' on the far shores of the Red Sea:

bliðe waeron bote gesawon

heddon herereafes haeft waes onsaeled.

Ongunnan **saelafe** segnum daelan

on **yðlafe** ealde madmas.

Reaf ond randas; heo on riht sceodon

gold ond godweb Iosepes gestreon

wera wuldorgesteald. Werigend lagon

on deaðstede, drihtfolca maest. (583-90)

[They were joyful, they beheld their reward, took heed of the booty. Captivity was unsealed. The **remnant of the sea** [the Israelites] began to divide to the bannered tribes, on the **remnant of the wave** [the shore], ancient treasures. Raiment and shields they divided according to right, gold and woven cloth, the treasure of Joseph, wondrous possessions of men. The protectors lay on their death-place, greatest of nations.]

Recalled here through the similarly clustered play upon *laf*, the Patriarchs once again 'join' the Israelites in the Red Sea. Like the "eternal remnant", the epithet *saelafe* can be construed as accusative or nominative plural, and so be read alternatively in apposition to *maðmas* (586) as a variant for the "treasure" or "spoils of the sea" (Lucas 148; cf. *maðmhorda maest* 368). This reading is further supported if the "raiment and shields" is construed (as above) with the second idea of dividing, governed by *sceodon*, rather than with *daelan*. The "remnant of the waves" (*yðlafe* 586) is also a metaphor for both Israelites and treasure: "what the waves leave behind" is Joseph's Egyptian treasure, or the 'sand' (shore), or the Israelites. As in the "Patriarchal Digression", the word-play upon *laf* signals the poet's interest. The Israelites are a surviving "remnant" of, and also the "treasure" of the sea. The "remnant of the wave" is their safe shore as well as their deserved reward.

The "Homiletic Digression"

That this "reward" at the Red Sea is an eschatological one – the final "reward of life after the terrible journey" promised in the poem's beginning – is an exegetical commonplace, and the typical reading of the poem's ending.[21] Once again, however, a simpler "key" to this typological conflation of time and place is available within the poem, in a second "digression": Moses's final address to the Israelites. This passage has been another center of intense critical dispute.[22] The passage is not presented as a single

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[21] Tolkien, for example, translates *bote* here as "salvation" (32). Lucas comments: "the content of the speech is so inappropriate to the *narrative* context that Moses must be considered here as a type of Christ" (142).

[22] The debate over the passage has resulted in various proposed re-arrangements of the lines. Craigie and Tolkien maintained that 514-47 was an interpolation. Gollancz rearranged the entire section as follows: (1) 580-90 (2) 549-79 (3) 516-48. Irving (1953)

unified speech. It begins at line 516 to introduce Moses's "eternal wise counsels" (*ece raedas*), but is immediately interrupted by an exhortation from the poet to relate the "day's deeds" (*daegweorc* 519) to the truth of the Mosaic Law (*doma* 521):

> þanon Israhelum ece raedas
>
> on merehwearfe Moyses saegde
>
> heaþungen wer, halige spraece
>
> deop aerende.
>
> ...Daegeweorc ne mað
>
> swa gyt werðeode on gewritum findað
>
> doma gehwilcne þara ðe him Drihten bebead
>
> on þam sioðfate soðum wordum. (516-19a; 519b-22)
>
> [Then upon the shores Moses spoke eternal counsels to Israel. . . .The deeds of that day did not remain concealed. So now shall the people find in scriptures each law which God announced to him on that journey in words of truth.]

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modified this only slightly: (1) 549-90 (2) 516-48. The merits of the manuscript arrangement are discussed by Isaacs 155-6, Earl 555, and Lucas 33. Irving objected that the poet generalizes on the significance of the Exodus in 516-48, and only then goes on to finish his story (11). Isaacs argued that the manuscript order makes better sense, as the Red Sea Crossing is a type for the Judgment Day. Earl concurs, pointing out that the intervening passage established explicitly the relationship between the Exodus and the Judgment Day. By placing a largely Deuteronomic speech at the scene of the Red Sea, the poet implies that the crossing of the sea is identified with the eventual crossing of the Jordan.

There follows an exhortation (523-26) to use the "keys of the spirit" to "unlock" the "wise counsel" hidden in this relationship "now" in order to consider Final Judgment and "eternal life":

> He us ma onhlyð
>
> nu us boceras beteran secgað
>
> lengran lyftwynna.
>
> Eftwyrd cymeð
>
> maegen þrymma maest ofer middengeard
>
> daeg daedum fah. Dryhten sylfa
>
> On þam meðelstede manegum demeð
>
> þonne he soðfaestra sawla ladeð
>
> eadige gastas on uprodor
>
> þaer bið leoht ond lif eacþon lissa blaed.
>
> Dugoð on dreame Drihten herigað
>
> weroda Wuldorcyning to widan feore. (530b-32; 540b-48)
>
> [He (God) bestows upon us yet more, now that learned men tell us of a better and a more long-lasting heaven-joy . . . Afterwards shall come the greatest power over middle-earth, a day of wrath upon men's deeds. The Lord himself shall judge many in that place of meeting, when he shall lead the souls of the just, the blessed spirits, to the heavens, where there shall be light and life, and abundance of grace. The host in bliss shall praise the Lord, the wondrous king of hosts for eternal life.]

It then begins over again at 549 to present Moses, "mindful of wise counsels" (*raeda gemyndig*), about to address the Israelites. These "counsels" conflate the joyful promise, and the sober admonition, of the Songs of Moses from Exodus and Deuteronomy

respectively, with a reminder that the patriarchal covenants are about to be renewed "now" (*nu* 558).[23]

These temporal and geographical conflations bring the poem from the shores of the Red Sea at once to those of the Jordan and to the final shores of "eternal life". Before Moses resumes his speech (which he never began), his "wise counsels" – the *raed* repeated at the beginning, middle, and end of this disordered sequence – take on a much wider context of time and place. The *daegweorc* is no longer confined to the "day" of the

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[23] The references to the Law and to the "day's deeds" are similarly suggestive of Deuteronomy. Both the *domas* and the *daegeweorc* have been traced to early and late passages in Deuteronomy, that is, to the Decalogue and also (incongruously according to chronology) to Moses's monitory address to the Israelites at the threshold of the Promised Land (Moore, Irving 1972, 320-321, Lucas 142). The *gastes caegon* have always been considered by editors and critics as a reference to the Holy Spirit (Irving 321), or to the *clavis David*, a patristic figure for the interpretation of scripture through typology (Burlin 70-76). There is precedent in Deuteronomy, however, for the distinction between the letter and spirit of scriptural events. Deuteronomy was itself considered the 'book of the law', and it is possible therefore that it is in fact the source of the poet's reference to the "written law" (*on gewritum domas* 520-521). In Deut.29:2, Moses tells the Israelites that God has given them "signs" (*signa*) only, "but to this day the Lord has not given [them] a mind to understand" (*non dedit vobis Dominus cor intelligens et...usque praesentem diem*). In Deuteronomy the "things hidden" belong yet to God alone; "things revealed" (that is, the Law) belong to the Israelites and their descendants for all time (*Abscondita Domino Deo nostro, quae manifesta sunt nobis et filiis nostris usque in sempiternum* 29:29). As the poet draws repeatedly from Deuteronomy in this "Homiletic Digression", it is not unlikely that he might have had the *abscondita* and the *manifesta* of the Deuteronomic passage in mind for his idea of the *run* becoming *gerecenod*.

"Sea-Crossing" (263, 315, 508) but reaches backward in time to the *daegweorc* of the Law-Giving, and forward to the *daeg daedum* of Judgment. The *medelstede* of the Sacrifice and the Temple, conflated in the earlier digression, expands further here to include the *medelstede* (543) of the Last Judgment. While the former events are the key episodes in the story of the Old Covenant, the latter is the final and glorious ending of the story of the New, the reason that "*now* the learned ones tell of a better and more long-lasting heavenly joy" (530-32).

As the charts demonstrate, the second digression works like the first to accentuate the points of exit and re-entry into the main narrative. As the "Patriarchal Digression" was an elaboration on the lineage of the Israelites (the point of departure, E) and a contrast to the extinction of the Egyptians (the point of resumption, E^1), so – in reverse – the "Homiletic Digression" is a contrast to non-tale of the "day's deeds" of the Egyptians at B^1, and a preparation for "war-tale" (*hildespelle* 574) of the "day's deeds" (*daedweorce* 576)[24] of the Israelites, which follows at B^2. Here the poet gives one last ironic jab at the "greatest of nations", forever silenced (590). Just as the "place" of the future Davidic covenant (c) is in the center of the past patriarchal covenants (a and a^1), so the "day" of Law and Judgment (d and d^1) is made central to the similarly conflated Songs of Moses (A^1 and A^2), and the "keys of the spirit" (e) are made central to the Law-giving and Judging. *Raed* signals the introduction of Moses's words both times, and is the central idea (structurally and notionally) of the internal "digression" on the "keys of the spirit". "Wise counsels" and the "day's deeds" thus serve both to mark the departure of the "Homiletic Digression" from the main narrative, and at the same time to establish its internal cohesiveness, which in turn makes it self-contained, and therefore prominent, like the earlier digression made similarly so through the "remnant". At the same time, the

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[24] Tolkien (78) and Lucas (147) both consider the manuscript reading *daedweorc* a tautological error for *daegweorc*.

repetition of *raed* connects Moses's final address (A^2) to his first (A), and the repetition of *medelstede* connects the "Patriarchal Digression" to the "Homiletic Digression".

With the "keys" of interpretation thus projected into the foreground, the reader/listener is prepared to hear Moses's final speech – and also to recall the earlier one – but "mindful" now that there are meaningful connections between the events of sacred history. As a result, Moses's final exhortation to faith has far greater weight and immediacy for the audience than the first. The two digressive reminders of the Covenant sworn to the forefathers bring the future significances of these covenants closer and closer to the immediate present of the telling, the overall effect being to direct the audience to see the event at the Red Sea in a much larger theological context. After the "Patriarchal Digression", the reader/listener must see the Red Sea Crossing in terms of the Patriarchs, and the Patriarchs in terms of the "remnant". After the "Homiletic Digression", we arrive at the final *ydlaf* along with the *sealaf* ready to see these final "remnants" too in relationship to their spiritual ancestors, and to the past and future of sacred history. As the spiritual ancestors *of the audience* celebrate their faith and gather their reward, the "remnants" recalled at this point serve as a reminder that the "legacy" of Noah and Abraham - "what is left" to the audience - is the recognition of their own place in this ongoing story. The poet points the way for us by ending his poem with an image of liturgical celebration: two choirs, arranged as in the early church (*weras wuldres sang wif on odrum* 577), chant the Canticle of Moses (Robinson 1962 378, Earl 559) even as they might have done in Anglo-Saxon England during the Vigil of Easter after a similar rehearsal of the stories of God's "remnants".[25]

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[25] Both canticles of Moses are present in the readings of the Easter Vigil. The Deuteronomic canticle is the penultimate reading, and like the poem, is followed by the story of Daniel (See further below, Chapter IV).

It is through the rehearsal of Old Testament history that the reader/listener can be led through the basics of typology. The *Exodus*-poet's presentation of the "remnant" and the covenant in relation to Noah, Abraham, Isaac and David, serves to sketch in brief the essential historical basis of the typological vision. The "ship" is saved from the Flood so that its "treasure" can repopulate the earth with God's "heritage", the *yrfe* saved as a *laf* to ratify a newer covenant in the city of David. This reading of events requires familiarity only with the basic stories of the Bible, and with the Anglo-Saxon epic tradition. The same audience who would not fail to recognize the relationship that the *Beowulf*-poet suggests between the "remnant of the sword" at Ravenswood or the "remnant of woe" at Finnsburg, and the doomed Geats gathered at crucial points in the main narrative to hear these "digressive" tales, would surely make similar connections between the past trials and treasures of the Patriarchs, the future glorious reward of the Temple, and the present trial of Abraham's descendants into whose hands the treasure and the eschatological future of that Temple are conferred.

The poem has much instruction, then, to offer to the typologically naive. While learned readers, listeners and *boceras* will find typology confirmed at every point in *Exodus*, an unlearned audience will see only the events of scripture: Flood, Sacrifice, Red Sea Crossing, Law-Giving, City of David, and City of God. These are presented not in smooth chronological sequence, but with disjointed gaps and thematic expansions that require the audience to view one event elaborated in terms of another widely separated from it in time and space. That is, digressively and typologically.

iv. The "remnant" in *Daniel*

Introduction: God's "Treasure"

Graham Caie has remarked that the juxtaposition of *Exodus* and *Daniel* in the Junius codex creates the impression that the *hyan byrig* (38, 54) of Jerusalem was reached immediately upon crossing the Red Sea (1978 3). Carrying this idea a little further, it is

perhaps possible to view the treasure gathered on the shores of the Red Sea as the corrupting *goldhord* (2) of the opening of *Daniel*, and the prayer offered there by Moses as both a repetition of Abraham's prayer at the end of *Genesis A*, and a telling contrast to the Israelites' neglect of God in *Daniel*. Indeed, one can trace the "fortunes" of the Israelite people in each poem of the codex by examining the motif of treasure, and also the motif of the *laf*, which in each case acts as a special variant denoting God's "treasured" people. In each poem, the "remnant" participates in a narrative pattern which works to invest God's faithful with a sense of value, purpose, and perpetuity. The "remnant" of *Genesis A*, the "treasure" plundered from the Flood, is the "treasure" saved in *Exodus* to prosper and increase through the covenants made with Noah and Abraham and his "treasured" son. This force of twelve tribes (fifty thousand troops) is a large and unified body of the faithful, a "treasure" delivered up from the Red Sea and bound by a new and "better" covenant. This covenant promises victory "henceforth over every foe" (*feonda gehwone forð ofergangaþ* 562) in return for unwavering adherence to God's eternal "counsels" (*langsumne raed* 6; *ece raedas* 516). Thus the "remnant" is provided with the simple but strict means to survival and good fortune.

The "Fall" of the "Remnant"

Within the compass of the Junius codex, the good fortune seems short-lived. *Daniel* begins with the Israelite "remnant of the weapons" (*waepna lafe* 74) and the treasures (*aehtum* 67)[26] of the Jerusalem Temple in bondage to another *feond*:

> þa eac eðan gefraegn ealdfeonda cyn
>
> winburga wera. þa wigan ne gelyfdon,
>
> bereafodon þa receda wuldor readan golde,
>
> sinc and seolfre Salomones templ . . .

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[26] The word *aeht* commonly denotes "possessions", but also denotes treasure in *Beowulf*.

and þa mid þam aehtum eft siðedon,

and gelaeddon eac on langne sið

Israela cyn on eastwegas

to Babilonia, beorna unrim,

under hand haeleð haeðenum deman.

Nabochodnossor him on nyd dyde

Israela bearn ofer ealle lufen,

waepna lafe to weorcþeowum. (57-60; 67-74)

[Then I heard that these old enemies sacked their wine-city. The warriors were not believers, they plundered the wondrous building, Solomon's temple, took red gold, jewels and silver . . . And so they returned, with those possessions, over eastern roads, leading the tribe of Israel, a countless host, on a long journey into Babylon, into the power of heathen judges. And Nebuchadnezzar showed no pity to the Children of Israel, but made the **remnant of the weapons** subject to him as slaves.]

In the course of his narrative, the *Daniel*-poet repeatedly designates the captive Israelites as "remnants" (*laf* 74, 80, 152, 452). The "remnant of the weapons" is the only one of the four instances in the poem in which *laf* is deployed with the so-called "poetic"[27] use of the genitive of agency; the "remnant of the weapons" denotes those left behind (or spared) by the weapons. The expectation arising from the traditional usage of expression is that of salvation out of destruction – in the Junius poems in particular, from destruction brought about by God on behalf of those "treasured" by him. In *Daniel*, however, the Israelite "remnant of the weapons" is corrupted by its treasure and forsaken by God; it is for this reason "wretched" (*earme lafe* 80, *earmre lafe* 152).

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[27] Jost, like Cook, notes that the expression appears to be a "seemingly old English poetic phrase" (261).

The enslavement to heathen forces of both people and treasure is emphasized with each appearance of the "remnant" in the poem. The "remnant of the weapons" that is led into slavery at the beginning of the poem represents the entirety of the people of Israel who have survived the sack of Jerusalem. With each subsequent recurrence of *laf*, however, the poet creates a narrowing of focus, where only a chosen few of the Chosen People remain faithful to and therefore graced by God. The Three Children are chosen (*gecoren* 92) from the "wretched remnant of the Israelites" (*geond Israela/ earme lafe* 80); Daniel is the chosen (*gecoren* 150, 735) "leader of the wretched remnant" (*ordfruma/ earmre lafe* 152). By the final instance of the motif (*leoda lafe*, "remnant of the people" 452), the Israelite "people" has become the "possession, treasure" of the "old enemy" (*on aeht ealdfeondum* 453), while the "remnant" chosen from among them is – by contrast, as we shall see – the possession of God.

The "remnant of the weapons" is thought to be a reflection of the Old Latin rendering of 2 Chronicles 36:20, *si quis evaserat gladium ductus in Babylonem*, (Jost 261), or of the Vulgate version of the same verse, *quod superfuit gladio translatum est in Babilonia* (Remley 1996 265, 304). An alternative source, which has not been noted, is Isaiah 39:3-8. Robert Farrell, the poem's latest editor, cites this passage from Isaiah as the source for another detail, the poet's statement that *all* (*swilc eall* 62), not part, of the temple treasure was carried off by Nebuchadnezzar (1969b 86).[28] In this oracle, Isaiah prophesies that not only all Judah's treasure, but also all its people will be carried off to Babylon; not a remnant will be left: *non relinquetur quidquam, dicit Dominus* (Isa.39:6).

Both Isaiah and 2 Chronicles contain ample reference to the fall of Jerusalem as a retributive act of Judgment. God's anger towards his Chosen People is a recurrent theme here and elsewhere in the Old Testament (Jost 257-59). But it is not a consideration in the Book of Daniel, which describes the fall of Judah without assigning blame:

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[28] This statement contradicts the Vulgate which reads *partem vasorum domus Dei*

anno tertio regni Ioakim regis Iuda venit Nabuchodnosor rex Babylonis in

Ierusalem et obsedit eam, et tradidit dominus in manu eius Ioakim regem

Iuda et partem vasorum domus Dei, et asportavit ea in terram Seeaar in

domum dei sua et vasa intulit en domum thesauri dei sui (Dan.1:1-2).

It is therefore quite unexpected that the poetic *Daniel* should give such a decidedly negative cast to this opening information. In a most untraditional treatment of the scriptural source, the *Daniel*-poet uses the *exordium* to his version of the Daniel story to implicate the Israelites in the story's repeated pattern of prosperity, pride, and fall. This narrative strategy serves to equate the Israelites with their Babylonian captors by suggesting that the Captivity is a direct result of false pride and lapsed faith.

The original didactic purpose of the Book of Daniel was to encourage faith in the face of persecution and trial (Lacoque *passim*). Like the first half of the Book of Daniel, the poem *Daniel* serves as a negative exemplum of the idolatry, pride and corruption of Babylon. In both scripture and poem this is underlined by the desecration of the sacred treasures by Nebuchadnezzar and then Beltazzar, and contrasted with the steadfast purity of Daniel and the Three Children. The poet re-works the story, however, to include the Israelites in the negative part of the exemplum, so that the tale is changed entirely from a call for solidarity and fortitude in time of adversity to a warning against the dangers of pride in time of prosperity (Caie 1978 2). The poet's use of the "remnant" motif contributes to this entirely new focus. Here, the faith of God's chosen "remnant of the people" (Daniel and the Three Children) serves as an example for the Chosen People themselves (the "remnant of the weapons") as well as for their heathen captors.

The poet begins by depicting the swift reversals of fortune – both the Israelites' and the Babylonians' – occasioned by the waxing and waning of men's allegiance to God. The Chosen People are both prosperous and protected "so long as they kept the covenant of their fathers" (*þenden þaet folc mid him hiera faeder waere/ healdan woldon* 10-11a).

But in spite of the fact that God sends "eternal counsels"(*lare, eces raedes* 25, 30) through his "holy prophets" (*halige gastas* 25), the Israelites in their prosperity forget the source of their strength. Thoughts become "drunken" (*druncne gedohtas*), literally and figuratively, and turn from *aecraeftas* (19) to the *deofles craeft* (32), from the Law to the devil. As in *Exodus*, the *feond* in *Daniel* is the archetypal "fiend" as well as the historical "enemy". God sends a "race of old enemies" of "unbelievers" (*ealdfeonda cyn . . . ne gelyfdon* 57-58) to sack the city of the treasures (*aehte* 34, 43, 67) which he had entrusted to his formerly "dearest" (*dyrust* 36, 37) and "most beloved" (*leofost* 37) people.

"Drunken Thoughts" : A Compound Negative Exemplum

The contrast between the messages of belief and unbelief brought to Jerusalem, first by God's prophets and then by the Chaldean magicians (*witgan* 41) who "attack" the city (in heroic if incongruous style), implies that the city is "besieged" by false learning, just as the Israelites are "seized by false pride" (*hie wlenco anwod* 17). The spiritual capitulation of the Israelites is represented by their physical transfer from Jerusalem to Babylon. The poet proceeds then to shape the canonical story of Daniel into an exemplum in which the prosperity, pride, and fall *of the Israelites* repeats itself in Nebuchadnezzar and Beltazzar. The motif of drunken thoughts re-appears in Nebuchadnezzar's "wine-city" (*winburh* 58, 621) and then in his madness, and finally in Beltazzar's impious feasting, where the "devils" themselves "drink to the devil" (*deoflu drincan* 749).[29] "Devilish deeds" (*deofoldaedum* 18) thus develop from the breaking of the covenant to the idol-worship of the "devil-prophets" (*deofolwitgan* 128); attachment to worldly goods

[29] There is disagreement over whether this line should be read "in them [the sacred vessels] you have drunk to devils", or "in them you devils have drunk". The former is the position of Bjork (220) and Kennedy (145), and the latter of Fanger (135), Anderson (11) and Farrell (1968 559).

reappears in the fashioning of the golden statue and the desecration of the sacred vessels. The collective *wlenco* (17) of the Israelites is thus repeated and concentrated onto two prideful individuals, much as all worldly pride and corruption was traditionally represented in Babylon (Solo 357-63).

The pride of Nebuchadnezzar and Beltazzar is more than *wlenco* (677); it is *overhy(g)d* (107, 297, 489, 494, 614), literally "high-thought". The former, according to Caie, is "pride which results from the abuse of worldly gifts", while the latter is the far greater sin of "the vainglorious presumption such as Lucifer's of considering one's good fortune the result of one's own endeavors" (1978 1). Pride in *Daniel* is intellectual, a correlative of thoughts. Commemoration of God's covenant (*aecraftas* 19) ceases when the thoughts of the Israelites are impaired (*druncne geðohtas* 18). Similarly "wretched" (*earfoð* 622), Nebuchadnezzar does not *remember* (*gemunan* 85) to thank God, nor does he heed God's Law (*no he ae fremede* 106). He cannot *remember* (*gemunde* 119) the dream of his drunken sleep. He cannot *understand* his dream because of his sinful state (*he aer for fyrenum onfon ne meahte* 166). His conversion is therefore fittingly described as a most moving recovery of thought and memory (*gemunde, gewittes, hige, gemynd, onget* 624-630). Only when his mind is turned to thoughts of God is he able to change his folly (*unraed* 186) for wisdom (*raedfaest sefa* 651).

Through continuous contrast between impaired and properly directed (and inspired) thoughts, the poet establishes *sapientia* as the central virtue of his exemplum (Fanger 130), and the intellectual sin of presumption (*superbia*) as the central vice (Caie, Bjork). Nebuchadnezzar's experience exactly parallels that of the Israelites. Like the Israelites at the Red Sea, he is convinced of the truth of the one true God through his miraculous "signs" (*tacen* 446, 488, 514). Like them also, his spirit is distracted by worldly wealth. Beltazzar's recognition of God's signs (*tacen* 717), like his need for them, is beyond redemption. Against this compounding exemplum of *unriht* (Israelites 23, Nebuchadnezzar 183, 187, Beltazzar 684), Daniel and the Three Children stand as an

example on earth of God's *riht* (290). They are steadfast in truth (*sodfaeste*151, 194), in God's Law (*aefaeste* 89, 272), in his covenant (*waerfaeste* 194), and in "wise counsel" (*raedes rice* 456, *faestlicne raed* 585).

The conversion of Nebuchadnezzar from *unraed* and *unriht* to *raedfaest* serves to set the lapse of Israelite faith in greater relief. Because of the many verbal and thematic connections which have worked in the poem to this point to relate Nebuchadnezzar to the Israelites, the King's recollection of God's truth only underlines further the Israelites' forsaking of it. In this way, the poet provides a body (an audience?) of lapsed believers *within* the frame of the story, so that the effect of Nebuchadnezzar's example, and of Daniel and the Three Youths', is heightened by the contrast. Through this neat narrative twist, the central figure of Nebuchadnezzar becomes a dramatic embodiment of the choice between *raed* and *unraed*. After his conversion, the *raed* of the King connects him to the poem's "chosen" (92, 150, 736) heroes rather than to its fallen ones. These, too, have been consistently distinguished from the fallen Israelites by their devotion and their *raed*.

The "Wretched Remnant" vs the "Remnant of the People"

In the biblical Book of Daniel, the Three Children are chosen by Nebuchadnezzar; in *Daniel* they are chosen also by God (*metode gecoren* 92b). Moreover, in the poem the Children are not chosen for their physical beauty and for their capacity to learn Chaldean *scientia* (Dan.1:3-5); rather, they are chosen for their "wisdom in the books of the *Law*" that *they* might teach *the King*:

> Het þa secan sine gerefan
> geond Israela **earme lafe**
> hwilc þaere geogoðe gleawost waere
> boca bebodes, þe þaer brungen waes.

Wolde þaet þa cnihtas craeft leornedon,

þaet him snytro on sefan secgan mihte,

nales ðy þe he þaet moste oððe gemunan wolde

þaet he þara gifena gode þancode

þe him þaer to duguðe drihten scyrede. (79-87)

[He bade his chiefs seek among the **wretched remnant** of the Israelites which of the youths they had brought there were the wisest in the books of the law. He wished the youths to learn knowledge, that they might teach him wisdom in his mind, not at all because he could or would be mindful to thank God for those gifts which the Lord assigned him to his advantage.]

The Three Children are described variously – and non-canonically – by the poet in terms which set them apart from the "remnant of the weapons" and the "wretched remnant of the Israelites", and which underline God's choice: these "sons of Abraham" (*Abrahames bearn* 193) are "good in God's word", or perhaps "in his seed" (*gode in godsaede* 90, Cosijn 108). They are granted God's grace (*him gife sealde*199, 420); they are beloved of God (*leofum* 249), and favored by the Holy Spirit (*on gastes hyld* 439). Their example demonstrates that the strength or weakness of the captive Israelite "remnant" is entirely dependent upon its faith in the covenant (*ae* 219). Where in the Book of Daniel the Three Children state simply that they will not serve Nebuchadnezzar's gods or worship the golden image (Dan.3:18), the *Daniel*-poet elaborates in a manner which recalls (in pointed contrast) the "turning" (*hweorfan* 22) of the Israelites from the wisdom of God's Law (*aecraeftas* 19), and which anticipates Nebuchadnezzar's "conversion", also expressed as a "turning" (*ahwearf* 629):

hogedon georne

þaet ae godes ealle gelaeste

and ne awacodon wereda drihtne,

ne þan mae gehwurfe in haeðendom   (218b-21)

[They earnestly resolved to keep God's law and not forsake the Lord of

hosts, nor the more would they turn to heathendom.]

Like the Three Children, Daniel is "chosen by God" (*drihtne gecoren* 150, 735)

from the fallen "wretched remnant". He too is "wise in God's Law" (*aecraeftig* 550, 741;

cf. *aefaeste* 89, 273), and is given the "grace" (*him God saelde gife*) of God's word

through the Holy Spirit:

Se waes ordfruma **earme lafe**

þaere þe þam haeðenan hyran sceolde.

him God saelde gife of heofonum

þurh hleoðorcwyde haliges gastes (152-55)

[He was the leader of the **wretched remnant**, those who must serve the

heathens. To him God gave grace from heaven through the words of the

Holy Spirit.]

The humility and faith of Daniel and the Three Children stands in direct contrast to the

pride and false belief of both the Chaldeans *and* the Israelite "remnant". The verbal

connections help to define and to refine the poet's notion of God's "grace", from the

"gifts" of material wealth bestowed upon the Israelites (*gifan* 5, 13, 34), to the "grace" of

wisdom sent by the *halige gastas* which the Israelites have forgotten (26), and which the

King cannot and will not comprehend (*gifena* 86). It is not the "king", but a "counselor"

(*raeswa* 416 means both), who "understands carefully" that the central significance of the

miracle of the furnace is the "grace" given by God (*ongyt georne hwa þa gyfe sealde*

420).

J. Anne George has recently argued that the unnamed *raeswa* is Daniel himself. If

so, the identification between Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar achieved through this word-

play points less to the "closeness of the two figures", as George suggests (74) than to the discrepancy between them at this point in the king's spiritual development. When on the advice of the counselor Nebuchadnezzar frees the "remnant of the people" from his domination, his spiritual state is closer to that of the fallen Israelite "people" than to this "remnant" chosen from them:

> Ageaf him þa his **leoda lafe** þe þaer gelaedde waeron,
>
> on aehte ealdfeondum, þaet hie are haefdon. (452-53)
>
> [He [Nebuchadnezzar] gave back to him [God] **the remnant of his people**
>
> who had been led there in the possession of ancient foes, so that they had
>
> mercy.]

Although Nebuchadnezzar concedes here to a power greater than his own, and although he dimly senses that Daniel's "gift" of wisdom is somehow related to the "grace" given the Three Children in the furnace (the connection is made in the poem at lines 480-81, but not in scripture), he sees "mercy" (*are*) as his to bestow, and he does not yet see the significance of the example set by his own act: to give himself to God.

The effect of the figure of the counselor – a striking addition to the scriptural story – is to demonstrate that knowledge gained through the senses or through instruction is not equivalent to that gained through personal trial and revelation. At this point in the Book of Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar's instant acknowledgment of the Hebrew God (subsequently reversed) is the narrative counterpart to the miracle of the Fiery Furnace. As Gillian Overing notes, "in the biblical account Nebuchadnezzar's history is full of sudden and contradictory personality changes; it leaves the impression of a miracle, an instant metamorphosis" (14). In the poem, Nebuchadnezzar's arduous process of inner transformation follows an insistent non-canonical portrayal of the King as perversely resistant to the truth of God which his senses confirm, but which his inner thoughts deny. In spite of the teachings of the Three Children, "he could or would not be mindful to

thank God" (85-86); in spite of Daniel's dream interpretation, "he would not believe in the might of the Creator" (168-69 cf. Dan.2:47); in spite of perceiving "God's clear sign" in the furnace, "yet he wrought no wit the better" (487b-88 cf. Dan.3:95-100); in spite of Daniel's "true words" of warning, he "would not heed" (594-95).

The King is thus very much like the Israelites in his resistance to the message of God's *halige gastas*. His devotion to the true God is similarly distracted by his devotion to the world. Because of these parallels in the poem, Nebuchadnezzar's ultimate act of hubristic pride, his adoration of his city (made the more idolatrous in the poem through direct address), suggests by analogy how the Israelites might have become similarly distracted from the source of their bright city by the bright city itself. The poet's telling addition to the biblical version of this passage (lines 610b-11) states that the King, like the Israelites before him, directs all his will towards the earthly city. The King's confidence in the "rest" (610) afforded by his worldly city underlines his blindness to Daniel's warning that without repentance he will have "no appointed place of rest" (*no rest witod* 575a).

The Example of the "Remnant": the Prayer of Azarias

The example of the "remnant of the people" serves both Nebuchadnezzar and the Israelites as a model for redemption from this state of *superbia*. The much-debated songs sung by this "remnant" before their release offer the messages of repentance and praise necessary for Nebuchadnezzar's conversion, and the Israelites' reversion to God. They are framed within the poet's repeated mention of Nebuchadnezzar's short-lived belief. The Prayer of Azarias (279-332) and the Song of the Three Children (352-409) have been criticized (and vindicated) for their inclusion of unnecessary repetitions (Craigie, Bjork, Anderson, Farrell 1967). All of these "repetitions" could perhaps more profitably be viewed as rhetorical "envelopes" which help to set off and thus to emphasize the canticles as well as Nebuchadnezzar's spiritual blindness to their significance. At lines 268 and

415, the poet notes how Nebuchadnezzar trusts in his senses' perception of God's miracle: "he believed in his senses" (*ða he his sefan ontreowde* 268b); "I do not at all deceive myself/ my senses" (*nales me selfa leoge* 415). Ironically, the King does in fact "lie" to himself.[30] He is impressed by the miracle, but untouched by the Three Youth's response to it. He does not *truly* see until he is fully humbled into accord with the message of their songs.

Robert Farrell (1974, 117-21) has argued that the repetitions of certain details in the songs are duplications of the same repetitions in the Vulgate at Dan.3:19-24 and 3:57-51. Two details repeated by the poet only, the presence of an angel in the furnace (335b-39 and 351-54), and the simile of the dew-laden wind (273-78 and 345-51), can perhaps both be attributed to the poet's desire for stylistic parallel (Farrell accounts only for the simile in this manner). In adding both details to his version of the earlier scriptural passage, the poet "improves" upon his source by making the songs structurally central to Nebuchadnezzar's perception, if not to his understanding:

A Nebuchadnezzar's perception of the miracle (268)

B Angel and Dew-laden wind (273-78)

C Song of Azarias (279-332)

B[1] Angel and Dew-laden wind (345-51)

C[1] Song of Three Children (352-409)

A[2] Nebuchadnezzar's perception of the miracle (415)

While both songs are in this way given stylistic prominence, the symmetrical structuring of the figure of the angel and of the simile draws the reader/audience even

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[30] Krapp emends *selfa* to *sefa*. Wyatt translates *nales* as "nonetheless": "Nonetheless, my heart belies me", commenting: "The evidence of his own eyes fails to completely convince him" (262).

more to Azarias's prayer, and therefore to the poet's rather significant alterations of its message. The poet's version is a much-compressed rehearsal of the iniquities of Israel, which he summarizes with an added detail that is strikingly relevant to the particular sin and punishment of both Nebuchadnezzar and the Israelites. The biblical canticle states generally that the people have broken God's commandments. The poem states specifically that the Israelites (like Nebuchadnezzar, cf. *burhsittendum* 659) "in pride have broken the commandments *of city-dwellers*, and scorned a holy life" (*for oferhygdum/ braecon bebodo burhsittendum, had oferhogedon halgan lifes* 297b-99). Moreover, the Vulgate's appeal for deliverance (3:43) is replaced in the poem by thanks (*þanc* 307), and the general appeal for vengeance is changed to a specific appeal for the conversion of the Chaldeans (lines 327-30, Fanger 127). The poet makes the second canticle similarly applicable to Nebuchadnezzar and the Israelites. Where the (262) Three Children in the Vulgate canticle offer praise and thanks for their personal deliverance from the flames of the furnace, in the poem they praise God "who gives reward *to all* of the humble" (*lean sellende/ eallum [eadmodum]* 395b-396a, cf. Dan.3:86-88).

It is in finally conforming his spirit and his will to God's that Nebuchadnezzar acquires "humility in the inmost thought" (*maetra on modgeþanc* 634) and so becomes *raedfaest* like the "remnant of the people" whom he gives to God. Within the poem, then, the means to spiritual transformation is illustrated in the convergence of Nebuchadnezzar, the exemplum of pride and unbelief, with the "remnant of the people", the exemplum of humility and faith. The example which should serve for all "city-dwellers" (*burhsittendum* 723, 729) is forgotten in another generation, however. The poem ends with a reminder of the lapse of the Israelites, who were "seduced from the Law by pride and drunken thoughts" (*in ae . . . oðþaet hie gylp beswac/ windruncen gewit* 750b-52a). While the Book of Daniel moves towards apocalypse, the poem, with this non-scriptural detail, leaves the Israelite "city-dwellers" in the deplorable state described by the poet in

his *exordium* and by Azarias in his song, still "captive to the worst of earthly kings" (304-305).

Narrative Uncertainty: Restoration or Exhortation?

Robert Bjork has argued that the "narrative circularity" here in fact provides an affirmative closure to the poem: Azarias and the Three Children are "guiltless surrogates"; their torture is "symbolic of the general oppression suffered by their people" in the poem (224), which is now significantly reversed:

> Instead of God's chosen enemies facing a fall as they do in the poem's opening, God's enemies face destruction at its close. *A significant reversal has occurred, despite the narrative circularity*, and the explanation for this reversal issues from that portion of the poem containing the Song of Azarias (222) . . . *The covenant is renewed*, and the Old English poet establishes that fact through a significant addition to his Old Testament source: Nabochodnosor gives "him [God] þa his leoda lafe/ þe þaer gelaedde waeron/ on aeht ealdfeondum/ þaet hie are haefdon" . . . *The Hebrew nation is favored once more.* (226, emphasis mine)

The poem, in fact, gives no expression at all, outside the song of Azarias, to Israelite suffering; on the contrary, it concentrates repeatedly on their guilt. Rather than pointing to "reversal", as Bjork suggests, the poet's recollection of the opening lines serves as a final and timely reminder that the Israelites are still the "possession" of the "old enemy" (*on aeht ealdfeondum* 453).

Bjork's conclusion that there has been a significant reversal for the entire Hebrew nation is based upon a misreading of Nebuchadnezzar's response to the "remnant of the people". The passage in question, when read in full, appears to be a significant expansion

of the simple biblical statement in Dan.3:30 that after the miracle of the furnace "the King promoted Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the province of Babylon" (Vulgate 3:97):

> Agaef him þa his **leoda lafe** þe þaer gelaedde waeron
>
> on aeht ealdfeondum þaet hie are haefdon.
>
> Waes heora blaed in Babilone siððan hie þone bryne fandedon;
>
> dom wearð aefter duguðe gecyðed siððan hie drihtne gehyrdon.
>
> Waeron hyra raedas rice siððan hie rodera waldend,
>
> halig heofonrices weard, wið þone hearm gescylde. (452-57)
>
> [He gave to him **the remnant of his people** who were led there in the possession of the old foes, that they should have mercy/honor. There was for them prosperity in Babylon after they endured the fire; their judgment was afterward well-known after they obeyed God; they were rich in counsels after the ruler of Heaven, the holy guardian of the heavenly kingdom, shielded them from that harm.]

Paul Remley finds a source in Theodotion for the poet's detail that Nebuchadnezzar "restores to good standing the three refugees chosen among God's people who had been brought there into captivity" (1990 411). He raises the question of whether it is Daniel and the Three Children or the Israelites who enjoy prosperity in Babylon (412). The critical attitude towards this heretofore unasked "question" has been the unstated determinant of several readings such as Bjork's, and to a lesser extent Remley's, which assume that the entire Israelite nation is honored and favored by Nebuchadnezzar at the close of *Daniel*. Graham Caie, for example, makes no distinction between the "faithful few" and the *waepna laf* and *earme laf*, arguing that

> The Three Children who come to represent the faithful few of the Israelites... are called the *waepna laf* and the *earme laf*, phrases which remind one of the *waetra laf* (*Genesis A* 1549) of the Flood . . . The *earme*

laf have survived the test of faith, suffered on behalf of their people and purged the Israelites of the sin of pride. *Once more they enjoy prosperity as a nation.* (1978 5-6, emphasis mine)

There is an unlikely degree of departure from the main events of Israelite history attributed to the poet in these affirmative readings, as nowhere in the history of the Babylonian Captivity do any of the Israelites other than Daniel and the Three Children "enjoy prosperity". Moreover, it is stretching the poet's consistently literal text to read his explicit reference to the Youths' personal trial by fire, their fame, their wise counsels, and their protection by God (lines 454-57), repeated immediately with the same specificity from the perspective of Nebuchadnezzar (458-66), as a symbolic testing and purging of the entire captive people. There is no renewal of the covenant *for the Israelites* through Nebuchadnezzar's act of giving. Indeed, the poet's anaphoric elaboration of the passage is evidence rather that the covenantal relationship of faith and reward exists only between God and those tried in the fire: "after they endured . . . after they obeyed . . . after God shielded them from that harm" (454-57). It suggests further that Nebuchadnezzar's actions are more God's than his, and serves as yet another reminder that God alone is the agent of all human prosperity.

The "Remnant" of the "Remnant"

There is no support in the poem for the assumption that Nebuchadnezzar returns to God the same "remnant" which he led into captivity at the beginning of the poem. Indeed, the poet has been quite careful at each recurrence of the "remnant" to distinguish Daniel and the Three Children from the original "remnant of the weapons": the Children are chosen from "*among* the wretched remnant of the Israelites" (80); Daniel is chosen leader "*of* the wretched remnant" (152). In progressively narrowing his focus, the poet has refined the "remnant" from the past sense of "what the weapons left behind" of the

Israelite people at Jerusalem (74 and 80) to the more immediate sense of "what is left *of that people*" present in Babylon. The *waepna laf* and the *earme laf* are different from the *wraðra laf* and *waetra laf* who escape the Flood in *Genesis A*, and the *saelaf* who survive the Red Sea in *Exodus*, in that they are the *victims* of God's wrath. Their survival as a mere "remnant" points to the magnitude of the destruction and the wretchedness of their condition, not to any godly favor. In *Daniel* it is Daniel and the Three Children who are "graced" by God, and it is they, and not the entire Israelite people, who are then (fittingly) "given" back from the "possession of the old enemy" into the possession of God.

Robert Finnegan, like Caie and Bjork, reads Nebuchadnezzar's gesture as confirmation of the poem's spiritual optimism, concluding that "the poem only appears to end on a sombre note" (1984 210).[31] What is common to these affirmative readings is an appreciation of the reformative potential in the examples set by Azarias's supplication, and by Nebuchadnezzar's conversion. There is no support *within the poem*, however, either for a connection between these two events, or for the fulfillment of this potential. Finnegan has made the crucial observation that Nebuchadnezzar is "unconscious of the spiritual resonances of his actions" (201) toward the "remnant of the people". A responsive reader/listener will be alert to such resonances, however, and thereby warned against the circumstances which led to exile for both Nebuchadnezzar and the Israelites. For them as for the audience of the poem, the Three Children are "guiltless surrogates", Christ-like in seeking forgiveness for the sins of the "people". Their miraculous deliverance *by God* serves as an example of the prayer and faith required for ultimate salvation. Their deliverance *to God* by the earthly King does not accomplish this in itself, but it does suggest how the fallen "people" from which this "remnant" is distinguished –

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[31] Caie (1978) assumes regeneration for the Jews based upon their spiritual history. Farrell (1968 557) too assumes salvation for the Jews, but unlike Caie and Bjork, he does not go so far as to see this within the poem.

those in the audience included – might follow the poem's exemplary heroes in giving themselves to God.

CHAPTER IV

THE "REMNANT" AND THE JUNIUS "CYCLE"

i. The "Cyclical" Unity of the Junius Codex

The *Daniel*-poet succeeds in giving a sense of continuity and focus to a loosely connected series of biblical events by situating them in a balanced structure that is interconnected by imagery and centered around the example of repentance and thanks. The "remnant" in *Daniel* functions as a sign of this example. Nebuchadnezzar conforms to it; Beltazzar, like the Israelites before him, does not. The poem comes to a close with a brief and unscriptural forecast – but not the narration – of his consequent doom (*endedaeg* 678), and an ambiguous prophecy: "So shall it be with thee!" (*swa þe wurðan sceal* 752b).

In *Exodus*, the "remnant" is part of a very different poetic process. The poet selects one event only, the Red Sea Crossing, and conforms to it a "series" of historical events that are connected symbolically, but not chronologically (that is, typologically.) He unifies large and discrete sections of sacred history by structuring his one event around examples of deliverance from both the historical past and the eschatological future. As a result, the "remnant" in *Exodus* looks backward to the first "remnant" of Genesis, and forward to the outcome at the end of time of that final "journey" (*laf lagosiða*) and that final day of "wrath" (*wraðra laf*) suggested by the *Genesis A*-poet in his *laf*-epithets for Noah and the Ark.

Each poem in *Liber* I thus contains resonances of future Judgment in its closure, and each at the same time ends abruptly in the present. *Genesis A* breaks off with a

dramatic close-up of the first "son of Abraham", whose deliverance is celebrated amid resonances of Passion and Judgment, and perfect covenantal reciprocity:[32]

> saegde leana þanc
>
> and ealra þara þe him sið and aer,
>
> gifen, drighten forgifen haefde. (2934-36)
>
> [He gave thanks in return for all of those gifts which the Lord had given him, early and late.]

Exodus ends with warnings of future Judgment, and a multitude of "sons of Abraham" singing thanks to God for another deliverance. In *Daniel*, thanks are given by only a small representation of the "sons of Abraham", who alone are graced with deliverance and given into the possession of God. *Both* Israelites and Chaldeans remain "seduced from the Law by pride and drunken thoughts" (*in ae . . . oðþaet hie gylp beswac/ windruncen gewit* 750b-52a), equally deserving of the dire consequences prophesied by Daniel.

One effect of the references to the future in each of these closures is to make the past event of each poem relevant in the present (the fictive future) of its recitation. Thus Abraham's offering and its consequent grace is a model for all, "early and late" (*sið and aer Genesis* 2935b-36). Daniel's direct plural address to "ye devils" (*ge deoflu* 749) would likely have the startling opposite effect, in an oral delivery, of implicating all sinful members of the audience. His concluding warning, "so shall it be with thee", would exhort each reader/listener to consider his own future Judgment (*dom* 761). Indeed, as the seduction of Baltazzar has just been established at verse 752a, one wonders who *but* the audience could be the object of Daniel's address in the next half-line.

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[32] This happy state is underlined by the *figura etymologica* '*gifena/forgifen*' in the final line (Doane 324).

In considering the effect of direct address in *Exodus*, Brian Green concludes that "the rhetorical character of Moses helps the Anglo-Saxon audience to respond personally to the poet's voice" (1980 261). More recently, R. Huisman has noted the liturgical nature of such anachronistic representation in *Exodus*: "the speaker and the listener themselves become participants in the performance of the narration" (56). Huisman's remarks are directed towards the universality and immediacy which the conventional gesture "we have heard tell" (*gefrigen* 1) gives to the opening message of *Exodus*. His observations are as relevant to the device of direct address, in *Daniel* as well as *Exodus*. Through this rhetorical device, the fictive speaker merges at the end of the poem with the poet to instruct a similarly converged audience. Moses's concluding admonition, "if ye will uphold his holy teaching, ye shall in future overcome every enemy" (*gif ge gehealdað/ halige lare//þaet ge feonda gehwone forð ofergangaþ* 561), would, like Daniel's, reach beyond his own audience. The rhetoric of each prophet leaves implicit what will happen should either the Israelites or the Anglo-Saxons succumb to pride or fail to "uphold holy teaching".

The poems of *Liber* I become progressively hortatory through the use of direct address, and for good cause. The happy reciprocality of grace and thanks which attends Abraham's prayer at the end of *Genesis* is not perfectly assured for the "remnant" host of *Exodus*, and is forgotten by all but a small "remnant" in *Daniel*. In view of the increasing rhetorical appeal to the audience in each poem, it is tempting to consider that the *Daniel*-poet himself is responding to Moses's rhetoric, and that it is the Canticle of Moses – either from Deuteronomy and Exodus, or from the *Exodus*-poet's conflation of these two sources in Moses's address (Irving 1972, 321; Earl 549-557) – which inspired him to begin the story of Daniel with the departure from Egypt and the failure of the "wretched remnant" to keep the "holy teaching".

Besides providing a model for Moses's exhortation to uphold the teachings of the covenant, Deuteronomy is also one possible source (see above, Chapter I.i) for the

"covenant of the heart" which characterizes the unblemished state of righteousness of Abraham in *Genesis A*, and Noah in *Exodus*. It could also be a source for the narrowing of focus which attends the "fall" of the "remnant" in *Daniel*, and for the parenetic effect of the "remnant" motif in both *Exodus* and *Daniel*. The circumscribing of the "remnant" corresponds to the history of the Chosen People as it is rehearsed in the Canticle of Moses (Deut.32), and in the Prophets and Epistles. Each of these biblical sources treats the lapse of Israel, and in a manner more pointed and hortatory than the sources adduced by Jost (Kings and Chronicles) for the *Daniel*-poet's treatment of this subject in the opening lines of (and, as I have argued, throughout) that poem. While any of the apocryphal and exegetical literatures outlined in Chapter I might have served as sources for the idea of a "righteous remnant" in each of the poems in *Liber* I, the biblical sources are the more compelling, in that they are more consistent with the homiletic purpose of these poems.

Common to the biblical sources is the importance placed *throughout* sacred history on the rehearsal *of* salvation history, and the treatment of specific events as an earnest of deliverance, both in the historical future, and at the end of time. This sense of continuity and hope is conveyed in part in these writings through their thematic focus upon the "remnant" of Israel, which through faith and grace is elected by God to preserve and to perpetuate his covenant. The "remnant" thus serves as one indicator of the continuity, and therefore the unity, of the two Testaments to salvation history. A similar theological unity can be proposed for the Junius codex. As a collection, the poems represent the entirety of sacred history. In relationship to each other, the poems demonstrate a similar didactic purpose, carried out in part by a similar parenetic style of address, a similarly tentative closure, a similar use of biblical materials, and a similar thematic use of the "remnant" motif.

The "remnant" motif is a small but essential element of both this theological and this narrative unity. Its recurrence in the codex serves to link the poems into a continuous, if episodic, narrative of sacred history. This "narrative" has been described before as an

"epic" or *Heilsgeschichte* (Hall, Garde *passim*), but in fact it has more in common with the Greek "epic cycle" and with the medieval "mystery cycles". Because each segment of the Junius "narrative" is a complete work in its own right, the "cycle" is more apt and useful an analogy.

ii. Sources in Deuteronomy

Deuteronomy is particularly relevant to the conception of salvation history as it is outlined above, as it is the *locus classicus* for the idea of election (von Rad 178). Moreover, its distinctive blend of historiography and prophecy serves, like the Junius poems', to interpret salvation by viewing the putative historical present through the wider lens of sacred history, collocating God's saving/judging actions in history, and combining these with an urgent appeal in the present for definitive choice and covenant obligation (S. de Vries 99).

Deuteronomy and Genesis A

The Junius "cycle" begins as the scriptural narrative does, with straightforward, comparatively unelaborated narrative. A. N. Doane describes the spare paratactic style of *Genesis A* as a "sustained response" to the Latin text, and compares it (after Auerbach) to the biblical style of "unrelieved suspense . . . directed towards a single goal" (72-73). In spite of the constraints of his text, the *Genesis* poet manages to enhance the biblical events with learned and typological allusion, much of which has been well documented. Here I wish only to point to one image, the covenant "circumcised upon the heart", which the poet gives considerable prominence, and which he may have derived from Deuteronomy. The idea of the "covenant of the heart" is introduced in the Abraham episode, and assists in directing the poem's unexpected closure toward its single goal: a symbolically dense portrayal of the sacrifice of Isaac. This iconic ending combines

allusions to the passion and of the mass, "so that Christ's merciful grace fills the last lines of the poem" (Doane 322-24) along with the primary example of mutual faith and trust.

Abraham is an embodiment of the "right relationship" of mutual faith and love that is prescribed in the promulgation formulas of Deuteronomy, and which is re-iterated with similar typological overtones in Moses's final address to the Israelites in *Exodus*. Like Noah, Abraham is described by the poet as beloved of God: *him waes frea engla, word ondrysne/ and his waldende leof* ("To him the Lord of angels, the Word, was venerable and he was dear to his Lord" 2861-62). Abraham is favored, through Isaac, with a "covenant of the heart, a holy spiritual pact" (*modes waere . . . halige higetreawa* 2368-69). According to Doane, the unique compound *higetreawa* (cf. *halige treowa, halige heatreowe, faeste treowe, maran treowe* of *Exodus* 363, 388, 423, 426) "distinguishes Isaac as about to receive a new kind of covenant, one of the spirit, prophetical of the Christian promise and of Christ himself" (308). The image of the "covenant of the heart" is paired with that of the *friðotacen* (2371), "mark of peace", or "circumcision", an image that is repeated as a "sign" (*beacen* 2769) of "victory" (*sigores . . . tacen* 2322) and of God's reward for "true belief": *Ic eow treowige gif ge þaet tacen gegaþ/ soðgeleafan* ("I will be gracious to you if you will observe that sign with true belief" 2326-27). Doane suggests that the poet may have derived the idea of the "circumcision" as a sign of faith from Galatians or from Augustine (306-8), but he has no specific suggestion for the image of the "covenant of the heart". This image is repeated often in Deuteronomy's formulaic recitals of the covenant obligations, which are to be observed *toto corde, in corde tuo* (Deut.4:29, 39; 6:4,6; 30:2, etc.), and to be "circumscribed on the heart": *circumcidet Dominus Deus tuus cor tuum et cor seminis tui, ut diligas Dominum deum tuum in tot corde tuo et in tota anima tua, ut possis vivere* (30:6). The Deuteronomic passage is remarkably close to the poet's combination of images: *modes waere, halige higetreawa,* and *friðotacen.*

If the poet did have Deuteronomy in mind for the idea of the "circumcision of the heart", he perhaps wished to bring Deuteronomy's idea of election into his poem, and for this reason gave the two Patriarchs who are traditionally singled out as types of the elect a similar prominence in his narrative. Noah and Abraham are each raised to a great "height" in *Genesis A* (*ofer holmes hrincg, hrincg ðaes hean landes, hean landes* 1393, 2855, 2899). This image has been linked to the phrase *terram visionis* of Genesis 22:2, "the land of seeing, the high land from which the circle of land (horizon) can be seen" (Doane 322), and also to Old Latin versions of the Genesis verse, *terram altam* or *terram excelsam*, which place more emphasis upon the idea of height (Rosier 334-35; Doane 60, 322). Again, there is an alternative to consider in Deuteronomy, which accords well with the new symbolic "heights" which the poet seems to intend for both Noah and Abraham. The book of Deuteronomy ends on a height of land similar to the *hrincg* which brings the poem to a close. Moses is given a vision *in veritcem Phasga*, from which he could view the entire circle of land, *omnen terram . . . usque ad mare novissimum* (Deut.34:1).

Deuteronomy and Exodus

Abraham is exactly the model of faith and observance which to which Moses exhorts the Israelites in his final speech at the end of Deuteronomy, and at the end of *Exodus*. David Jost has drawn parallels between the exhortations of Deuteronomy[33] and the opening lines of *Daniel*, but these passages are much more in keeping with Moses's address in *Exodus*. The passage is one of several in Deuteronomy which assure God's

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[33] The passage which Jost singles out is Deut.11:22-23: *Si enim custodieritis mandata, quae ergo praecipio vobis, et feceritis ea . . . disperdet Dominus omnes gentes istas ante faciem vestram, et possidebitis eas quae maiores et fortiores vobis sunt.* The passage is closer to the sense of promise in Moses's address than it is to the *exordium* of *Daniel*, where the reverse sense of consequence predominates.

sworn protection of Israel in return for her adherence to the covenant. Re-iterations of the "swearing" motif at Deut.4:31 and 37-40, 6:17-19,[34] 29:13, 30:1-11 are particularly apposite to *Exodus*. Compare, for example, the common details of God's sworn oath and his promise to the forefathers in Deuteronomy 4 and *Exodus* 551-62:

> quia Deus misericors Dominus Deus tuus est; non dimittet te nec omnino
>
> delebit neque obliviscetur pacti in quo iuravit patribus tuis . . . quia dilexit
>
> patres tuos et elegit semen eorum post eos. Eduxitque te praecedens in
>
> virtute sua magna ex Aegypto, ut deleret nationes maximas et fortiores te
>
> in introitu tuo, et introduceret te daretque tibi terram earum in
>
> possesionem . . . Custodi praecepta eius atque mandata . . .ut bene sit tibi.
> (Deut.4:31 and 37-40)

> wile nu gelaestan þaet he lange gehet
>
> mid aðsware engla Drihten
>
> in fyrndagum faederyncynne
>
> gif ge gehealdað halige lare
>
> þaet ge feonda gehwone forð ofergangað. (*Exodus* 558-562)
>
> [Now he will carry out that which he long ago promised with sworn oath,
>
> in days of old unto our forefathers, if you will keep his holy instruction,
>
> that you will overcome each enemy.]

The focus in both the biblical and the Old English passages is on God's faithfulness to the covenant, and his corresponding expectations of Israel. If indeed the *Exodus*-poet had Deuteronomy in mind, then in using these passages he has chosen to ignore the many others which either warn of or prophesy the faithlessness of Israel. In so

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[34] James W. Earl has suggested these verses as a source for the *Exodus* passage (556). Earl cites these verses erroneously as chapter 4 rather than chapter 6.

choosing, the *Exodus*-poet gives the Israelite "remnant" a sense of innocence. They are at this stage the neophyte Chosen People of which Moses sings in Deut.32, God's own "heritage" or "portion" which he circumscribed and reserved for himself when he first divided the nations:

> Memento dierum aniquorum . . .
>
> Quando dividibat Altissimus gentes,
>
>> quando separabat filios Adam,
>
> constituit terminos populorum
>
>> iuxta numerum filiorum Israel
>
> pars autem Domini populus eius
>
>> Iacob funiculus hereditatis eius
>
> Invenit eum in terra deserta
>
>> in loco horroris et vasta solitudinis;
>
> circumduxit eum et docuit
>
>> et custodivit quasi pupillam oculi sui. (Deut.32:7, 8-10)

For an audience familiar with the Canticle of Moses, the "dividing" of treasure (*segnum daelan* 585b) at the end of *Exodus* might recall the original "dividing" to the nations of their inheritance in the Canticle of Moses, where, as in the poem, God's chosen "portion" is his treasured legacy.

At the same time, the solidarity of the *new* covenant of *Exodus* is troubled by this association with Deuteronomy, a book which repeatedly calls for renewal of a *broken* covenant. Lucas (145) identifies the opening lines of the Canticle of Moses, "let the earth hear the words of my mouth" (*audiat terra verba oris mei*) as the source for the image in *Exodus* of Moses's "noble mouth-omen/mouth-salvation" (*modiges muðhael* 553). The

introduction to the song[35] in Deuteronomy describes it as a "witness" to the covenant *after it has been forsaken*. The song was to be repeated by the Israelites from generation to generation, both as a warning against disobedience in the present and as a basis for hope in the future:

> et sit mihi carmen istud pro testimonio inter filios Israel. Introducam enim eum in terram, pro qua iuravi patribus eiius . . . avertentur ad deos alienos et servient eis detrahentque mihi et irritum facient pactum meum. Postquam invenerint eum mala multa et adflictiones, repondebit ei canticum istud pro testimonio, quod nulla delebit oblivio ex ore seminis sui. (31:19-21)

In the light of Deuteronomy, Moses's admonition in *Exodus* takes on wider significance. The Israelite "remnant" of *Exodus*, like that of Deuteronomy, is poised between election and fulfillment (von Rad 1965 223). Because of the allusions to Deuteronomy, the song at the end of *Exodus* might contain undertones of the *multa mala et adflictiones* to come in the interim.

Deuteronomy and Daniel

The song which thus "lives unforgotten" by the descendants of Israel is in many respects recalled by the *Daniel*-poet, and again by Azarias within that poem. The iniquities and reprisals rehearsed both in the *exordium* to *Daniel* and in the song of Azarias are precisely those foretold by God and sung by Moses in Deuteronomy. Compare Moses's words: "they have sinned in their corruption" (*peccaverunt* Deut.32:5); "they have forsaken God" (*dereliquit Deum* 32:15); "they have sacrificed to devils and

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[35] As in Deuteronomy, Moses's speech in *Exodus* is introduced proleptically: "so he spoke, mindful of counsel" (*swa reordode/raeda gemyndig* 549).

not to God" (*immolaverunt daemoniis et non Deo* 32:17); "they are a people without counsel" (*gens absque consilio est* 32:28), to the *Daniel*-poet's recitation of "devilish deeds" (*deofoldaedum* 18) at the beginning and end of the poem: "they turned to sin" (*gedwolan hweorfan* 22b); "they forsook the might of God" (*ane forleton/ metodes maegenscipe* 19b-20a); "they began to drink to devils" (*deoflu/ drincan ongunnon* 749); "they forgot . . . eternal counsels" (*eces raedes . . . forleton* 30b-31b). Similarly, the Deuteronomic motif of the "scattering" of the "remnant" is reflected in the Song of Azarias. Again, the Deuteronomic and Old English passages accord remarkably:

atque disperget in omnes gentes, et remanebitis pauci, in nationibus, ad quas eos ducturus est Dominus. Ibique servietis diis, qui hominum manu fabricati sunt, ligno et lapidi (Deut.4:27-28); et remanebitis pauci numero, qui prius eratis sicut astra caeli prae multitudine . . . Disperget te Dominus in omnes populos a summitate terrae usque ad terminos eius, et servies ibi diis alienis. (28: 62-64)

Siendon we towrecene geond widne grund

heapum tohworfen hyldelease

is user lif geond landa fela

fracoð and gefraege folca manegum.

        and we nu haeðenra

þeowned þoliað. þaes þe þanc sie,

wereda wuldorcyning þaet þu us þas wrace teodest.

Ne forlet þu usic ane ece drihten

for ðam miltsum ðe ðec men hligað

and for ðam treowum þe þu, tirum faest,

niða nergend genumen haefdest

to Abrahame and to Isaace

and to Iacobe, gasta scyppend.

þu him þaet gehete þurh hleoðorcwyde

þaet þu hyra frumcyn in fyrndagum

ican wolde . . .

swa heofonsteorran . . .

saefaroða sand . . .

Fyl nu frumspraece ðeah heora fea lifigen! (300-303; 306b-17a; 320b-322a; 325)
[We are exiled throughout the wide earth, a host scattered and without grace. Or life is infamous and vile, in many lands and under many peoples . . . and in heathen lands we suffer thralldom . . . Do not forsake us, eternal lord, deprived of those mercies which men attribute to you, and deprived of the covenant which you, fast in glory, savior of men, creator of spirits, gave to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. You commanded to them through prophecy in days of old that you would increase them . . . as the stars of heaven . . . and as the sands of the seashore . . . Fulfill thy ancient promise, though few of them are living].

Azarias's confession that the Chosen People are justly "scattered, contemptible . . over the wide earth, through many lands and many peoples . . . and suffer the oppression of heathens", and his prayer that God should fulfill his ancient promise, "though few of them are living" reflect God's words to Moses that, because of their corruption, Israel will be "left as a remnant few in number" and "scattered among the peoples", serving foreign gods.

The apocryphal[36] Song of Azarias itself contains echoes of Deuteronomy at Dan.3:37, the allusion to the Abrahamic covenant (Deut.1:10, 10:22, 28:62) and the related prophecy that Israel will be reduced to "a few" (Deut.4:27, 28:62), both of which are repeated in *Daniel*. The narrowing of the "remnant" in the poem from the entire Israelite people to a "remnant of the people", and in the Song of Azarias from the multitude of Abraham's seed to "a few", might then have derived either from Deuteronomy, or from the Latin canticle, or both. The concept of the "remnant" is less present in the Vulgate canticle's *imminuti sumus* (or the Old Latin *minorati sumus*), than in the Deuteronomic verb *remanebitis* (Hebrew, *n'sh'ar'tum*, "you will be left as a remnant", Widengren 228). Moreover, Azarias's appeal to the promise made by God to Abraham, Isaac and *Jacob* (309-14), a striking departure from the Latin canticle's appeal to Abraham, Isaac, and *Israel*, points again to Deuteronomy, where in the Canticle of Moses, "Israel" is configured metonymically as "Jacob" (*Iacob funiculus hereditatis eiuis* 32:9).

The common correspondences between the *exordium* and the Song of Azarias in Daniel and the passages in Deuteronomy serve in part to relate the two problematic sections of *Daniel* to each other (they have both been considered interpolations)[37], and so to argue for their integrity to the poem. The poet seems to have transferred the rehearsal of Israelite apostasy from the song to the *exordium*, and then turned the song to a different

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[36] The ancient Greek and Latin versions of the Book of Daniel contain a number of additions, composed likely in the second or first century B. C., not present in the original Hebrew and Aramaic text, nor in the Septuagint. The Songs of Azarias and the Three Children, now considered apocryphal, are added in the Vulgate (with an explanation by Jerome) between verses 3:23 and 3:24.

[37] Craigie (11-13); Gollancz (lxxxv-xcvii); Farrell (1967 117-21; 1974 22-26); Remley (1990 313).

purpose. While the Song of Azarias follows the available Latin sources for many of its details, one notable exception is that it omits all supplication for deliverance, and substitutes instead an expression of gratitude (*þe þanc sie* 307b) that God has remained with his people even when they are undeserving. Paul Remley finds no source for this shift in focus for the song, nor for the specific detail in it that Israel has "broken" the covenant, or that the people are "scattered" in exile (1990 317-18). Perhaps the poet, familiar with the connections between the apocryphal Song of Azarias and Deuteronomy, turned himself to this resource for the added details in his version of the song. The prediction in Deuteronomy that Israel will "break the covenant" (*irritum pactum meum* Deut.31:20) is a much closer analogue for Azarias's phrase *braecon beboda* (*Daniel* 298) than either the Old Latin or Vulgate sources adduced by Remley (respectively: *mandatis tuis non oboedimus; praecepta tua non audivimus*), as obeying or listening to mandates or precepts is not quite the same as rendering a pact void. Similarly, the "scattering" over the earth of the reduced "remnant" in Deuteronomy 28 is a close analogue both for the poet's description of the Israelites as a "wretched remnant", and for Azarias's depiction of their captivity as an "exile" and a "scattering"; the Latin canticle does not mention "scattering", "remnant", or "exile" at all.

Finally, to address Remley's first point, the redirecting of Azarias's prayer from supplication to thanks and praise can perhaps be traced to one further detail which the *Daniel*-poet did not likely derive solely from the Latin canticle. The covenantal language of both Deuteronomy and *Daniel* emphasizes that obedience leads to blessing, disobedience to disaster. That the "disaster" element is configured as exile in both is further indication of the affinity which the Old English poet might have perceived in Deuteronomy. Another affinity is the way in which the Deuteronomic writer(s) configures the "blessing" element of the covenant in images of moisture, particularly of rain:

Si autem audieris vocem Domini Dei tui ... apieret Dominus thesaurum suum optimum, caelum, ut tribuat pluviam terrae tuae in tempore suo; benedicetque cunctis operibus manuum tuarum. (Deut.28:1.12; cf. Deut.11:13-17)[38]

The "voice of the Lord" itself is transmitted through Moses's song at the end of Deuteronomy as rain, dew, and showers:

Audite caeli, quae loquor

> audiat terra verba oris mei.

Concrescat ut pluvia doctrina mea,

> fluat ut ros eloquium meum

quasi imber super herbam

> et quasi stillae super gramina. (Deut.32:1-2)

Moses's words bear striking resemblance to the Daniel-poet's much-discussed (because repeated) elaboration of the single Vulgate passage which states that the heat within the furnace becomes as pleasant "as a dew-laden whistling wind" (*et fecit medium fornacis quasi ventem roris flantem* Dan.3:50):

> gelicost

efne þonne on sumera sunne scineð

and deawdrias on daege weorðeð

winde geondsawen. (274b-77a)

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[38] Compare the reverse warning: *Si ergo oboedieritis . . . dabit pluviam terrae vestrae . . . Cavete ne forte decipiatur cor vestrum et recedatis a Domino serviatisque diis alienis et adoretis eos, iratusque Dominus claudat caelum et pluviae non descendat*. (Deut.11:13-17)

[most like when in summer the sun shines, and dewfall comes during the day, spread out by the wind]

While the image of the wind must derive from the Latin canticle, the image of "falling" conveyed in the second element of *deawdrias* is a detail absent there, but present in the *stillae* of the Deuteronomic canticle, even more so in the image *descendat* (compare *fecit*) in the Old Latin version of the canticle, *descendat sicut ros verba mea*. Moreover, the *stillae* and *imber* of Moses's song are details even more closely paralleled in the "drops" of "falling" rain and the "showers" (also absent in the Latin canticle) which the *Daniel*-poet adds in his second passage:

> wedere gelicost
>
> þonne hit on sumeres tid sended weorðeð
>
> dropena drearung on daeges hwile
>
> wearmlic wolcna scur. (346b-49a)
>
> [most like the weather in the summer season, when drops of rain are sent
>
> falling during the day, and warm showers from the clouds]

More convincing yet is the fact that like the Deuteronomist, the Old English poet repeats elements of the simile, so that the Canticle of Moses, like the Song of Azarias, is framed by images of dew and condensation:

> Habitat Israel confidenter et solus
>
>> Oculus Jacob in terra frumenti et vini
>
> caelique caligabunt rore. (Deut.33:28)

Moses's final blessing before his death thus contains the assurance of election and salvation.[39] As both the poem and the Canticle of Moses include doublet images of falling

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[39] The Old Latin version of this verse conveys a sense of election (rather than confidence) to the adjective *solus*, and of personal blessing, fructification and comfort: Israel and

drops of rain and of showers, as well as of dew and cloud, it seems likely that the poet was familiar with the Canticle of Moses, and that perhaps he used the song to invest his own version of the miracle of God's saving action with the sense of blessing that attends these images in Deuteronomy.

The prophetic assurance of Azarias which prompts him to give thanks rather than to seek deliverance perhaps derives, then, from Deuteronomy. Azarias's song is strengthened by the association with Deuteronomy. Confronted with the "witness" of the Canticle of Moses and the reality of its predicted apostasy, the scattered "remnant" of Israel (and her descendants in the audience) are enjoined to follow Azarias's example. The poem perhaps owes another of its singular additions to the story to the same source. The Deuteronomic passages which warn of the scattering of the "remnant" close with the promise of its "return". Again, it might have been Deuteronomy which suggested to the Daniel-poet that the "remnant of the people" be returned to God.

iii. Sources in the Easter Vigil

Liturgical Unity

Recurring motifs and images in Old Testament scripture, such as those described in Chapter I, are considered by scholars to be attributable less to the influence of one literary figure upon the other than to a common familiarity with a common source (Vawter 155). The "remnant" is a prime example. Indeed, the absence in Old Testament writings of any expository treatment of the "remnant" is indication of the general familiarity of this particular motif. A similar indication of familiarity obtains in later Christian writings with respect to the common practice of quotation from Old Testament

Israel alone, because of its faith (*fidens*), will be the recipient (*tibi*) of the dew: *inhabitabit Israel fidens solus super terram. Jacob in frumento et vino, et coelum tibi cum nebula roris erit.*

scripture (Oesterly 115). In both these quite disparate instances, the frequency and familiarity point to the pervasive influence of the liturgy as the source for the imagery, and as a compendium for "proofs" of doctrine. That is, the repeated motifs and quoted texts in both Old and New Testament writings derive as much from familiarity with them in the respective liturgies as from direct quotation from the biblical text.

The same might be said of prophetic/poetic writings. It has been noted that the "return" to God is a motif which links Deuteronomy to the prophets (Widengren 228, Anderson 133), and to Isaiah especially, in whose poetry the motif of the "return" is paired with that of the "remnant" to comprise a leitmotif of salvation. Another such motif is the image of the falling rain, which appears in Isaiah 55. The passage from Isaiah bears very close resemblance to the Deuteronomic Canticle of Moses and therefore to the passages in *Daniel* discussed above. Both are available in close proximity alongside the Daniel Canticle in the liturgy of the Easter Vigil. The Vigil might therefore be a source for the *Daniel*-poet's repeated descriptions of the dew and the rain, as these details could have derived not directly from the relevant biblical verses of Deuteronomy and/or the prophets, but from those same verses excerpted for liturgical use. Richard Marsden has argued that the phrase *swa ren* in the anonymous Old English translation of the Deuteronomic Canticle of Moses is a reflection of the Old Latin phrase *sicut pluvia* in the Vespasian psalter (ca. 8th century), as opposed to the Vulgate phrase *in pluvia* (1994, 262 note 161). It is equally possible that the psalter might have served the *Daniel*-poet. But it is also possible that it is the liturgy of the Vigil, and not the psalter, that served as the source for both the poet and the Heptateuch translator, and perhaps even for the psalter as well.

This most important liturgical event perhaps also provides the simplest solution to one of the cruces of *Genesis A*, the poem's abrupt closure with the sacrifice of Isaac (Genesis 22:13). Doane remarks that this closure might be considered "a natural stopping place", as there are analogues for ending the events of Genesis with the sacrifice of Isaac

in the Psalter illustrations, in the mystery plays, and in Aelfric's version of the Heptateuch (324-25).[40] Indeed, the Easter Vigil could have served as the inspiration for each of these analogues, as it concludes the Genesis portion of its readings at the sacrifice of Isaac (see below).

The hypothesis of the Easter Vigil as a source for *Genesis A* and *Daniel* builds upon many such connections made over the years between the Easter liturgy and the individual poems of the Junius codex. In 1912 James Bright argued that the Holy Saturday liturgy was a source for *Genesis A* and for many of the details in *Exodus*. His concluding observation that the ecclesiastical calendar was "the educational and emotional director of all classes" (1912a 103) is corroborated repeatedly in modern scholarship as critics continue to point to the liturgy as a model for artistic imitation for Old English poetry.[41] Reflexes of Old Latin sources discovered in Old English poetry are stronger evidence still, as the lections and canticles of the liturgy would have been the prime preserver of Old Latin biblical readings (Marsden 259).

Most recently, Paul Remley has demonstrated Old Latin influence upon each of the Old Testament poems of the Junius codex (1990, 1992, 1996), and has supported and amplified Bright's position by positing the Holy Saturday liturgy as the model for the

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[40] Doane notes that a more natural stopping place would have been God's blessing of Abraham at verse 17 (which Aelfric does include). But it is in keeping with the poet's style in *Genesis A* to avoid repetition. Doane notes, for example, that he conflates elements of the promise to Abraham in his rendering of the earlier blessing (Genesis 17:2 and 17:10), with the result that the promise of increase is subordinated to the idea of the circumcision, "and the allegorical interpretation of circumcision as Baptism is preemninent" (67-68).

[41] This is particularly true for the *Harrowing of Hell*, for *Guthlac B* and for *Andreas* (Conner, Lucas 1992, Hill 1983).

Flood narrative in *Genesis A*, and for the patriarchal narrative in *Exodus* (1996 136-43; 216-30). Remley's observation that the Junius codex resembles "a sort of poetic lectionary" (1990 140) is typical of the renewed interest in the relationship of the Junius poems *as a collection* to the various sequences of Old Testament readings prescribed during the Lenten season for the preparation of the catechumen. Many of the earlier arguments are summarized with judicious commentary by J. R. Hall in his discussion of the codex as a collective "epic of redemption" (1976). What is common (if not stated) to these and also to the more recent probing of the same resource by Barbara Raw (1991 231), Judith Garde (23, 33, 44) and Remley, is an appreciation of the importance which sacramental theology gives to repeated rehearsals of salvation history, and the recognition of such a *Heilsgeschichte* (Garde) effected by the series of poems in the Junius codex.

To suggest that the codex is a "lectionary" of sorts (or indeed an "epic" or a *Heilsgeschichte*) implies a unity of sorts, as the lections of the liturgy have coherence not only by virtue of their thematic relevance to the particular portion of the ecclesiastical calendar for which they are assembled, but also as an established sequence or cycle. Such a familiar and unified analogue goes far towards suggesting a unity for the entire codex. A similar editorial principle is perhaps behind the compilation of the Junius codex, in that the biblical passages variously proposed as sources for individual poems can also be adduced as analogues for the order and arrangement of the poems. The passages discussed here as sources are at the same time components of the various paschal lectionaries.

The series of readings for Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Holy Week, and Holy Saturday each in its own way provides an interpretive rehearsal of salvation history which is relevant for each and all of the poems of the codex, and each has been proposed as a source.[42] *All* of these liturgical readings for the Lenten season anticipate the final

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[42] These are thoroughly rehearsed by Remley (1996, chapter I).

ceremony on Holy Saturday, as the Vigil readings recapitulate the readings which extend over this preparatory period (Hardison 150). The Vigil service would be the *only* time, however, in which the teachings of the entire Lenten period would be concentrated into a unified presentation. This unique experience can be compared perhaps to that of the medieval Corpus Christi pageant through which an entire community could participate, during the space of a single day, in the enactment of the whole cycle of salvation history. As early as 1912, Hardin Craig perceived an analogy here to the Junius codex. Craig argued that the mystery cycles originated from the lections and responses of the period of Septuagesima and Lent. In his seminal article on the relation of the drama to the liturgy, he noted a tendency in the drama toward a "cyclical completeness long familiar in medieval literature and theology, as witnessed, for example in the Old English poem of *Genesis* together with the other poems of that manuscript" (473). The lectionary "cycle", like the poetic one, demonstrates the same typological agenda as the later drama: each recalls the deliverance of the elect from the past for the present edification of its audience.

The Vigil cursus of lections is also the most congenial to the codex, as it focuses upon the same selection of exemplary figures and events featured in the Junius poems. Moreover, as the episodes of *Genesis* and *Exodus* which Remley attributes to the influence of the Vigil lections are precisely those which treat the "remnant" as a typological signifier of salvation, it is possible that this liturgy is a source for the new regenerative context for the "remnant" in the Junius poems. The same can be said of Isaiah's prophecy of the "remnant", which figures largely in the verses that Bright considered as source for *Exodus* (Isa.4-5), and which is central to the overall liturgical effect of the Vigil, as we have seen. Indeed, as these and several other of the scriptural passages thought to be sources for the poems appear as readings in the Vigil, it follows that the poems both individually and collectively may be based upon this liturgical source rather than (or as well as) on the primary written texts, and that their assembly into a codex merely reflects a long-standing tradition of contiguity and association for the

poems' subjects, based perhaps upon a similarly long-standing tradition in the Vigil. At any rate, as the passages were available to the poets and also to the compiler in this already assembled format, the similarity of the codex to the Vigil lectionary is further indication that the poems, like the lections, were likely intended to be appreciated as an integrated collection.

Liber I and the Holy Saturday Vigil

The Vigil cursus of readings is also the only one which works towards a climax and culmination – as does the codex – in the archetypal struggle between Christ and Satan; that is, the baptism. Given the importance of the Vigil as the prime public observance in the liturgical calendar (Tyrer 147), the narration of these axial events in the Junius codex likely derives much of its didactic effect from the audience's familiarity with the perceived significance of the events as they are experienced and interpreted in the vigil. The essential dynamic of this experience is what R. Hanson has described as "impersonation" (104-05): a ritual mimesis of and participation in the life of Christ, achieved in the Easter Vigil through recollection into the present of doctrinally charged symbolic types from the biblical past. In this *schema*, the salvation of the elect and the victory over Satan are at once progressively prefigured and recapitulated in each of God's interventions in history: Noah, saved from the waters of the Flood, is an "impersonation" of Christ, the "true Noah" who emerges from the "Flood" of his own baptism, from the blood of his Passion, and then from the "Flood of fire" at Judgment to inaugurate another new beginning on earth, and then in heaven. Similarly, the immersions in the Red Sea and Fiery Furnace are "baptisms", of water and of fire, and Moses and the Three Children are further types of Christ. The saving waters in each instance separate the elect from the enemy, so that participation in this symbolic process allows each Christian his own "impersonation" of Christ and also his own personal victory over Satan.

The rehearsal of these events in the Junius codex offers an opportunity for "vigilance" similar in many respects to that experienced in the Vigil. As the accompanying chart demonstrates, the codex presents a complete rehearsal of salvation history that corresponds at several points with the Vigil cursus of lections. Both the poems and the lections assemble the exemplary figures of Noah, Abraham and Isaac, Moses and the Israelites, Daniel and the Three Children, and finally Christ into a unity: one manuscript, one Vigil. Each of the "remnants" in the Junius poems corresponds closely to those featured in the Vigil readings. The Genesis story as presented in Lections 1-3 gives marked emphasis to Noah (three chapters), and ends at the sacrifice of Isaac, as does the poem *Genesis A*. *Exodus* celebrates the deliverance of Moses and the Israelites (Lection 4) and reiterates the covenants made with Noah and Abraham (Lections 2 and 3). *Daniel* contrasts the Three Youths' example of faith and deliverance (Lection 12) with examples of apostasy and retribution (such exempla are the subjects of Lections 5-8, 10, 11). Finally, *Christ and Satan* celebrates the true anti-type of the "Remnant" and of deliverance (the meaning of the baptism itself).

THE HOLY SATURDAY LECTIONS

Chart No. 1: The Readings

LECTION	PASSAGE	Subject
historical:		
1	Gen.1:1-2:2	Creation
2	Gen.5:31-8:21	Flood
3	Gen.22:1-19	Sacrifice of Isaac
4	Exod.14:24-15:18	Red Sea Crossing
prophetic:		
5	Isa.54.17-55:11	"servant" of the Lord
6	Bar.3: 9-38	Israel reproached
7	Ezek.37: 1-14	Valley of the Dry Bones
8	Isa.4:1-5:7	holy "remnant"
historical/prophetic:		
9	Exod.12:1-11	The Passover
10	Jonah 3:1-10	Conversion of Nineveh
11	Deut.31:22-32:4	Canticle of Moses
12	Dan.3:1-24 + Canticle	Fiery Furnace

Chart No. 2: The Readings, the Poems and the "Remnants"

POEM	LECTION	SACRED EVENT	"REMNANT"
Genesis A 92-205 Genesis B 246-441	1	Creation	
Genesis A 1285-1554 Exodus 362-376	2	Flood	Noah
Genesis A 2835-2936 Exodus 380-446	3	Sacrifice of Isaac	Isaac
Exodus 1-362, 446-590 Exodus 515-549	4,8 11	Miracle of Red Sea	Moses & Israelites
Daniel 1-56	11	Babylonian Captivity	Israelites
Daniel	5,11,12	Miracle of Furnace	Three Children
Christ and Satan	The Baptism	Deliverance from Satan	Christ

The cursus of readings in the charts is taken from the tenth-century Leofric Missal, one of few surviving missals known to have been in use in Anglo-Saxon England, and similar in form to the influential Roman Gelasian sacramentary.[43] While it is not possible to determine exactly which group of readings would have been the experience of the individual poets,[44] neither is it absolutely necessary. Any version of the Vigil

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[43] The missal was considered by its editor F. E. Warren to be an early 10th Century French manuscript that was presented to Exeter Cathedral by Bishop Leofric in 1050. Its twelve readings and responses represent the full form of the Western rite that has endured throughout its extremely fluid history of reduction and amplification. C. H. Turner argues that the missal is of English provenance, but that it likely had a continental scribe (vi-vii).

[44] Assigning both date and provenance to a particular rite is most difficult owing to the insufficiency of the evidence. Few sacramentaries survived the ninth-century invasions. Complicating the issue is the generally hybrid and diverse nature allowed in liturgical practice, as evidenced in Gregory's correspondence with Augustine (601) in which Gregory responds to the prevailing conditions of "different customs in different churches" (*ecclesiarum diversae consuetudines*) with the directive to use whatever can be gathered from the several churches (*quae de multis ecclesiis colligere*) for the English church (Bede *Hist. Eccles* I, cap.xxvii). The *Regularis Concordia* is itself evidence of a

lectionary which combined excerpted scriptural passages from the stories of Creation, Flood, Sacrifice, Exodus, and Fiery Furnace with interpretation by the Prophets would have provided a similar model. Moreover, as the date of the Leofric Missal corresponds closely to that of the compilation of the Junius codex (and as a missal may in fact reflect a practice in use before the date of its transcription), it follows that the missal's twelve readings were likely available as a model for the selection of events to be included in the collection, if not also for their individual expression.

One frequently voiced objection to the notion of the Vigil as a source for the codex is that several of the twelve readings do not have readily discernible reflexes in the poems. The Vigil resembles the codex in a manner which goes beyond the simple linear correspondence of narrated events, however. It offers its audience an exposition of typology that is representational and imagistic rather than discursive, and might therefore have served as a guide to both poet and audience for a way of configuring and responding to sacred history. It is in this respect that the less obviously related readings (from the prophets in particular) can be seen to have influenced the poems. As in the poetry, the doctrine is present in the Vigil through the interaction of history and prophecy, and through the patterned combinations of images, metaphors, events, and characters. Indeed, the sequence of Vigil readings functions as a sustained oral presentation of sacred history, and as such, its effect is perhaps best understood by examining it as an oral narrative.

An interesting feature of the liturgical "narrative" is that it unfolds with the same kind of striking temporal disjunctions that have perplexed critics of the Junius "narrative". Neither sequence of episodes forms a history that is chronologically coherent.

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perceived need to bring 'concord' and 'rule' to what was likely a scenario of liturgical diversity. A practice of 12 readings similar to that of the Leofric Missal existed, however, over a time period before, during, and after the estimated dates for the poems and the codex, and therefore could have been the experience of the poets or compilers.

In *Exodus*, as we have seen, Noah, Abraham and Isaac, and David are "immersed" in the Red Sea along with Moses and the Israelites, with no apparent regard for chronology or for narrative continuity. The same compression and omission occur in the Vigil, where history skips from Creation, to the Flood, to the Sacrifice of Isaac, to the Red Sea, to the Jordan, to the Babylonian Captivity, while the intervening (and intruding) readings from the prophets fill the gaps with the same sort of interpretation-by-association as that which occurs in the poems. The Vigil's Exodus story (Lections 4 and 9) is significantly interrupted by this "digression" of prophetic readings (Lections 5-8), more strikingly because the *transitus* and the Passover are presented in reverse chronological order: safe passage (Lection 4) *precedes* the ritual preparation for it (Lection 9). As in the poetry, the main event is given greater emphasis by virtue of its disruption, and the points of departure are keys to interpretation.

Isaiah's prophecies of deliverance (Lections 5 and 8)[45] which begin and end this "digression" are related to each other in many respects. Accordingly, they act in each instance as a typological "hinge" (Danielou 1960 76), interrupting and at the same time connecting the two separated Exodus events, and so serving to invest each with prophetic resonances of deliverance. The placement of each reading from Isaiah is crucial to this effect. Isa.54:17-55:11 provides a summary comment upon the preceding histories of God's saving waters through its image of the restorative rain. The passage is commonly seen as the culmination of the prophecies of return (Charity 77); the Exodus imagery conveys the promise of deliverance and the assurance that "there is always a faithful remnant: God's word never returns void but accomplishes that which he pleases and prospers whereunto it is sent" (Rowley 1956 122). Isa.4:1-5:7 defines the faithful "remnant" as the messianic "branch of the Lord" (4:2-3), those who will *in illo die* benefit from God's protecting pillar and cloud (4:4-5).

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[45] These are quoted in Chapter I.iii.

The two readings form a structural "envelope" around the intervening portrayals of Israel fallen (Lection 6) and then risen (Lection 7). This "envelope" serves to highlight the two complementary beneficial effects of God's saving waters, regeneration (Isa.55) and purification (Isa.4), and the two opposite choices "contained" within the frame. The order of the Isaiah readings mirrors that of the outer "envelope" created by the Exodus readings in presenting first the fulfillment, and then the requirement. These parallel disruptions of chronology and logic have a combined effect. Lection 8 balances 5 by bringing the vegetative images to fruition, but leaves the participant on the threshold of the Passover (Lection 9) with the reminder of the messianic promise *in illo die* but also with the reproach that God's "planting" is in need of purification (Isa.5).

In this way, the prophecies for the "remnant" and the "servant" are effectively transposed from the historical situation in which the exiled Israelites are awaiting the Messiah, to the future event of the coming of Christ, to the present expectation of Christ's "sacramental coming" to the baptism (Vaggagini 473) *in hoc tempore*. Here, as we have seen, the ritual of recollection and commemoration is a formula for present and personal commitment in the "remnants of the thought" (Augustine, *Sermo* 220). The final rehearsal for this act of commitment adds the crucial element of anticipation. The strategic placement of the named "holy remnant" in Lection 8 allows the unnamed "remnants" of destruction in the previous readings (Noah and Isaac) to be gathered by association into the Isaianic eschatology. The echo in this reading of the pillar and cloud from Exodus (Isa.4:5) adds the Israelite "remnant" to the picture, and the common images of rain and dew in the first Isaiah reading (Lection 5), the Deuteronomic canticle (Lection 11), and in the Daniel canticle (Lection 12) extend such connections further to include the Three Children in the furnace. The interplay of these images thus serves to connect all of the corresponding figures of deliverance in the series of lections, so that through typological conflation and through proximity in the series they in effect – at least in the "remnants of

the thoughts" of the audience – cross the Red Sea together, partake of the Passover supper, and by extension, of the baptism of Christ in the rite immediately to follow.

This imagistic and typological effect is not unlike that which the *Exodus*-poet achieves in his "Patriarchal Digression", where the "remnants" Noah and Isaac similarly interrupt the Exodus story to add their force to the Israelite "remnant". Similarly, the ambivalence of promise and reproach achieved in the prophetic lections can be compared with that achieved in *Exodus*, where the reversed chronology of the allusions to the two Canticles of Moses reminds the audience on the threshold of the Red Sea of their assured (but conditional) passage to the promised land. Besides suggesting sources for motifs and images in the respective poems, then, the Vigil serves as a model for the problem of narrative sequence in *Exodus* (and to a certain extent for the oddities of sequence and closure in the final poem of the codex as well, as we shall see). The provisional promise which the "remnant" imparts to the lections looks toward fulfillment in the baptism. Likewise, the collective narrative of *Liber* I invites the resolution offered by *Christ and Satan*, *Liber* II. In each case, however, the sense of anticipation is in fact stronger than the sense of fulfillment. In the dynamic of the Old Testament readings, the alternating focus upon history and prophecy, sin and regeneration, faith and apostasy, gives a certain instability to the Vigil experience. There are as many instances of fall as of renewal, and because of the web of anticipation and recall between them, the final celebration of faith and deliverance (the Canticle of the Three Children) is heard to the accompaniment of the ever-present backslidings of Israel.[46] This ambivalence is most pronounced towards the closure of the cursus, where the Deuteronomic Canticle of Moses (Lection 11) recalls the restorative powers of the word of God from Lection 5 through the images of rain and

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[46] The analogy to the reading experience of *Daniel* suggests that here, too, the lections might have been a source for the poem.

dew, and at the same time expresses the well-founded fear that the Israelite faith will not hold.

After following the dizzying temporal and thematic reversals in the faith and fortunes of Israel, the perdurance of the Chosen People is no doubt well established, but personal triumph and reward in the here and now seems less of a sure thing. It is understandable in this light that the promise of the safe passage might precede rather than follow the preparations for it (Lections 4 and 8), as perhaps the intended liturgical effect is to present the audience with the absolute assurance of deliverance, while yet requiring each participant to experience a sense of anxious uncertainty with respect to his own present fitness for election. The Junius narrative is similarly two-handed in its promise of deliverance. The poems fall progressively short of configuring a continuous "epic of redemption" (J. R. Hall 1976). With respect to *Exodus*, Stephen Kruger remarks that the final words of the poem describing the Egyptians as "greatest of nations" (*drihtfolca maest*, an exact echo of an earlier description for the *Israelites*), bring the poem to an end by "calling to mind the Egyptian's human potential for good" (169). On the contrary, this final touch can as easily serve, like the *Daniel*-poet's closing warning, to point to the common human potential for worldly pride. Similarly, in prefacing his closure with allusions to the Deuteronomic Canticle of Moses, the *Exodus*-poet creates an ambivalence by, on the one hand, recalling Israel's apostasy associated with this "witness" and, on the other, repressing any explicit mention of it. In so doing, the poet imparts a sense of new beginning for the Israelite "remnant" on the shores of the Red Sea – a second chance, so to speak, in the fictive present to avoid the apostasy prophesied on the shores of the Jordan in Deuteronomy.

As in *Exodus*, the *Daniel*-poet closes his exemplum with both threat and promise. A God who wields power over *both* "sinless prosperity" and "hosts of devils" (*unscyne blaed . . . deoflum/ duguþum wealded* 761a-64) can be a threat to the sinful, but also a comfort to the faithful. In addition to giving admonition to those who might ascribe to the

pride of Beltazzar, the ending of *Daniel* offers the promise of protection to those preparing for a contest with the Devil. It is to this final episode of the "cycle" that we now turn.

Closure: Christ and Satan

The connections outlined above between the Junius poems and the Vigil lections are by no means exact. The histories of Nebuchadnezzar and Beltazzar, for example, are crucial to the didactic effect of *Daniel*, but are not represented in the Vigil. Conversely, the typologically crucial Passover meal (Lection 9) is not represented in *Exodus*. Thus while the poems themselves demonstrate reflexes of themes and images from the lections, any attempt to transfer to one poem the unifying principle of the entire Vigil, as Bright and Remley have done for *Exodus*, must inevitably leave much of the poetry as well as many of the lections out of the argument. The Junius codex as a whole can better support such a comparison, as its composite and selective rehearsal of salvation history reflects not only the themes, images, and order of the Vigil ritual in its entirety, but also an underlying dynamic for which its similarly unchronological narrative is appropriate rather than problematic.

Christ and Satan is in many respects a fitting closure for such a narrative, and its inclusion in the argument of the liturgical model for the codex is further support both for the model, and for the unity of the codex as a "cyclical" representation of salvation history. Like the poems of *Liber* I, *Christ and Satan* depends upon heroic imagery, direct address, and homiletic exhortation to shape its events into an exemplum of faith and deliverance. With the addition of *Christ and Satan*, the codex presents a continuous (if selective) portrayal of salvation history from fall to redemption, and a similarly complete history of election: the "remnant" is preserved and increased between the salvific events of the Flood and the Red Sea (*Genesis* and *Exodus*); it is further reduced to a few during the Captivity (*Daniel*); and to One at the Passion of Christ (Bouyer 1950 190), from

which point it becomes an increasing multitude at the Harrowing and at the end of time (*Christ and Satan*).

The concluding events of this narrative are arranged in a manner that is considered unsatisfying and inartistic, however (Finnegan 1977 9-11). *Christ and Satan* divides into three sections (traditionally labeled the "Lament of the Fallen Angels", the "Harrowing of Hell", and the "Temptation") that appear to have no connection, and no immediately apparent rationale for their unchronological ordering of the latter two events. As an analogue to the final outcome of the Easter Vigil, however, the poem embodies a particularly apposite recapitulation of the Vigil's agon of alternatives, and a reflection of the final struggle between them that occurs symbolically at the baptismal font. Indeed, one effect of the tri-partite structure of *Christ and Satan* is to underline such polarization. Each section of the poem works through imagery and rhetoric towards definitive separation of the heavenly and infernal Lords and their respective comitatus. The poem ends with Satan's utter abasement: the "Lord of Evil" is left groveling upon the floors of Hell, cursed with evil by his own *comitatus*: "*La, þus beo nu on yfele!*" (729).

Satisfying as such defeat must be to the audience, it is nevertheless most unexpected that the poem and the codex should end with the cursed "hand-work" of the Devil rather than with the gestures of reciprocal love between the Lord and his "handiwork" (*handgeweorc* 487) at the Harrowing of Hell. While there are convincing arguments for the dramatic power of the Temptation (Finnegan 11, 35), still one wonders why, in a work consisting of three loosely connected sections, the poet would have arranged these to conclude with climactic confrontation rather than with glorious resolution, or alternatively, why the compiler of the codex would not have re-arranged the sections to conform with the traditional version of "the whole of salvation history" (*orðanc clene* 18).

One reason that the closure of *Christ and Satan* seems so unsatisfying is that the familiar terminal elements typical of Old English verse are present in full force in the

preceding section. Part II contains many of the formulaic closural signals of resolution and future and universal application of themes outlined by J. J. Campbell in his study of the subject (6-8). In addition to homiletic prayer and references to heaven and to eternity, this middle of the poem contains what would traditionally be considered the perfect *end* to the Christian quest. Lines 609-42 depict the two opposing factions separated with finality in the eschatological future. The section ends with an icon of the harmony lost by Satan and promised to the faithful: a *dryht* united about its Lord, *þegnas ymb þeoden* (660). Within this central vision, the "hand" of God reaches out to receive the Son (564), typologically and imagistically he takes Mary's and Eve's hands as well, and gathers all her *maegþe*, from Hell and from the audience, at the Harrowing and at the Judgment, to sit with him *on þa swiðran hond* (610-14).

It is the same sense of plenitude and resolution which led editors to believe that Moses's portrayal of Judgment Day in *Exodus* (lines 516-548) was the more appropriate closure for that poem, and it is the opposite sense of residual expectation in the poem as it stands, and in *Genesis A*, and even more so in *Daniel* and *Christ and Satan*, which many consider to be serious flaws in their closures (Campbell 14, 32). The final poem in the codex ends in the narrative present as do the others, *after* (as in *Exodus*) an adumbration of the glorious resolution of the story. Moreover, it ends incongruously with the inaugural event of Christ's ministry: we "meet the Measurer" (*gemettes meotod* 696) at the scene of the Temptation in the desert, rather than at the gates of heaven. This significant detail, transferred along with the punishment of Satan from the Harrowing to the Temptation, can perhaps be considered part of a deliberate if unconventional closural plan.

To begin with, the "meet" punishment itself appears to have no source in biblical or exegetical traditions. In all biblical accounts Christ simply says "*Vada Satana*", and Satan departs (Hill 1981, 409). Nevertheless, the obvious word-play here on *metan* demonstrates that the poet wished to draw particular attention to the text at this point, and the marked digression from tradition which the word-play signals must therefore be

considered purposive. One effect of the elaborate punning upon various forms of "measure", "Measurer" and "meet" (*metan, meotod*, and *ametan*) in these final lines (695-722) is to bring the poem to a close with the ultimate assertion of the "measured power of Christ" (Hill 411-12, Harsh 251) and the futility of Satan's limited self-assertion against such power, ideas conventionally associated with the Harrowing. The word-play more pointedly highlights the poet's assertion that Christ reveals his godhead fully to Satan, an event even more central to the drama of the Harrowing. Indeed, traditional commentary on the Temptation places great emphasis on the fact that Satan did *not* know with whom he was dealing in order to make the important doctrinal distinction – which Satan cannot make – between the Temptation of the old Adam and that of his anti-type (Russell 154). It is as if "Christ's entire redemptive career is, as it were, compressed into the Temptation in the desert", with no apparent parallels to be found in medieval exegesis or homiletic literature for this unusual move (Hill 410).

There is a close parallel in the vernacular literature, however, as such "compression", accompanied by word-play, is a salient feature of *Exodus*. As in *Exodus*, the *Christ and Satan*-poet transposes events from their proper temporal and geographical contexts. Just as the Red Sea becomes a signifier of purification and regeneration and salvation as well as of deliverance by virtue of its conflation with the stories of Flood and Sacrifice, and then of Judgment, so here the Temptation acquires new apocalyptic and eschatological contexts from conflation with elements of the Harrowing. Through this telescoping of sacred events, a connection is established in the poem between the ultimate revelation of Christ and the ultimate doom of Satan on the one hand, and the archetypal act of renunciation with which Christ began his ministry on the other. Another such "compression" of ends and beginnings can be found in the liturgical analogue that we have been considering, as the entire ritual of the Easter Vigil leading up to and including the baptism was traditionally considered to be a representation of the great initial and decisive moments in the struggle against Satan (Vaggagini 397), and the drama at the font

a re-enactment of the Temptation of Christ as well as of his death and resurrection, and also of his descent into Hell at the Harrowing.

The ordering of the sacred events represented in the Vigil ritual bears a striking resemblance to that of *Christ and Satan*. The final exorcism of Satan occurs at the end of the Vigil ceremony. The celebration of the successful outcome of this confrontation, however, occurs out of sequence – at the beginning of the service. After the proleptic celebration of liberation, there is then an abrupt shift in mood from the joyful assurance of deliverance at the Harrowing, to an attitude of anxious Vigil. O. B. Hardison writes: "It does not seem fanciful to read into this sequence a contrast between eschatological and human history. In terms of the former, Christ has already achieved his victory over the adversary. The souls released from hell sing *Laudate Dominum*. In terms of earthly history, however, Christ is still dead" (142-43). For individual victory over Satan, and entrance into the *dryht* of Christ, it is necessary yet to be illuminated by the Israelites' pillar of fire, represented by the Paschal candle, and then by examples of the testing of their faith, represented by the "remnant" in the Vigil lections. The same reversal of chronology is reflected in both of these components of the ritual. In the lections, as we have seen, the victory of the safe passage through the Red Sea *precedes* the anxious preparations for it. In the larger scheme of the ceremony, the joy of the Harrowing also *precedes* the contest with Satan, as it does in the poem.[47] Thus both the Vigil and the codex recreate an attitude of tense expectancy. Both convey the ambivalence of hope and dread: will the candidate succeed in becoming like one of the select "few" saved in the time of Noah? (Mt.24:40; 1Pet.3:20-21).

It is the temporal reversals in both the codex and the lectionary which achieve that "imitation of faith" which Augustine required of the candidate. Since earliest times,

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[47] This is also to a certain extent the case in the Old English *Harrowing of Hell* in the Exeter Book, where the harrowing precedes the resurrection (Izydorczyk).

sacramental theology has held that ritual recollection serves to "graft the catechumens into the story of salvation" (Jackson 112). As in the Vigil, so in the codex, we are not permitted to accompany Christ and the blessed souls of the elect to heaven at the end of the cyclical rehearsal of the story. Instead, *Christ and Satan* leaves us forever *nu* (729) with Satan, poised between the "two times" (*twa . . . tida* 708) of Harrowing and Judgment. Thus the different sections of the poem and the different poems of the codex work to the same end as the Vigil ceremony: to present a selection of events from sacred history in symbolic relationship with one another, and in a way that is uniquely personal and immediate. Tension is not resolved at the end of either narrative. Both the literary and the ritual experience leave the audience poised on the eve of "battle", fully "armed" with recollections of sacred history, and ready only to begin a personal imitation of Christ's. In ending the story with the trial of the true "Remnant" rather than with the Judgment of his antagonist, *Christ and Satan* alters the apocalyptic finality traditionally given the Harrowing of Hell. As in the Vigil, the Harrowing loses its sense of imminence in this displacement, and conversely, the Temptation *acquires* a sense of imminence by virtue of its assimilation of eschatological motifs. Focus is shifted to the way in which the pattern of events bears upon the present. "Sin is everywhere" (*fah is aeghwaer* 478), the poet warns. Confined *þa gyt* (406) to *hoc tempore*, each of Eve's kindred may nevertheless celebrate and imitate the example of Christ. In "turning" from Satan to Christ with each reading (poetic or liturgical) of the Old Testament exempla, the individual Christian may ally himself in the liturgical present with the typological pageant of "holy remnants" returning through history to the "Mighty God". One is reminded of Milton's motif "but first ..." which sounds insistently through the final verses of his version of the story. The individual's part in the death and resurrection of Christ is assured in the *hodie* of Holy Saturday, but it will be a long day's dying.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION
THE "LEGACY" OF THE "REMNANT": TRANSVALUATION?

"There's always something that remains, and THAT is what I find so wonderful!"
Samuel Beckett

Buried to the neck in the muck of life and comforted only by the scattered remnants of her life, Beckett's Winnie utters a courageous assertion of hope. Beowulf derived similar consolation from contemplating the treasured remnants of his reign. What is common through the centuries is the sense of perpetuity and of heroic struggle which the "remnant" represents for the questing hero.

The "remnant" has been a signifier of survival in literature since its earliest record. It speaks to the basic psychic drives of human nature: the life-preserving residuum of the "death-drive" documented by Freud is reflected in the narrative drive which the "remnant" gives to our foundation myths. The Judaeo-Christian myth is one example, but the motif of the "remnant" figures as significantly in *Gilgamesh*, the *Aeneid*, and *Beowulf.*

In *Beowulf,* the "old remnant" retrieved from the Mere is the rune-carved hilt of a magic sword – all that is left of it, as the blade has melted. Hrothgar and his court gaze in amazement and perplexity at the obscure and obsolete text. It describes the Flood sent to destroy the kin of Cain, but from which the Grendels have nonetheless descended. The subtext of this digressive narrative-within-the-narrative suggests that there is always something left of human strife. The hilt is thus emblematic of the poem, as swords in *Beowulf* are signs of the promise of posterity, but at the same time, of the threat of obliteration. The poet draws attention to his emblem through word-play: the hilt is not merely a "remnant" of a "sword"; in Old rather than modern English, it is a *laf* of a *laf.* It is a treasure or trophy which *as an artifact* signifies the hero's defeat of the forces of darkness, but which *as a text* signifies the escape of these same forces and their vengeance upon the civilized world.

A similarly pointed irony works to opposite ends in *Exodus*, where the young Isaac is spared from the "old remnant" in a digression which features a clustering of the word *laf* to denote "posterity" and "heir", as well as "sword". An Anglo-Saxon poet would not likely have appreciated the etymological distinctions suggested in this study, and as it not possible even today to determine with certainty whether *laf* the artifact and *laf* the human remainder are related etymologically, or even semantically, it is impossible to tell whether thematic recurrence indicates a conscious play upon the homophony or the polysemy of the word. One *can* observe, however, that in both *Beowulf* and *Exodus*, a poet appears to have been alive to the potential for word-play available in a homonym or pun that is also an auto-antonym: the survivor as destroyer.

In *Beowulf*, the "remnant" points to the continuity of kinship, but also to its demise. In the Junius codex, both sword and survivor acquire referents which are holy as well as heroic, and the "remnant" points consistently to salvation. A problem arises, however, in taking secular usage as a heroic norm against which to measure the sacred vision. Because of the unsolved questions of the date, provenance, and distribution of these works, it is impossible to say whether one poet's deployment of the motif might reflect a conscious response to another's, or to a change in cultural attitudes and values. What *is* conclusive is the centrality of the notion of a "remnant" to both the heroic and the sacred conceptions of history, and the very different directions taken in each epic in deploying the "remnant" as a thematic motif.

Whether or not the Junius poems were composed for actual ecclesiastic use, as some have argued (Thornley 188-190; Remley 1990 5-6), and whether they were ever recited as a unity, are also questions not likely ever to be answered with certainty. Nevertheless, the continuous lineation of *Liber* I of the manuscript indicates that at the least the Old Testament works were intended to be presented as a single and complete work (Raw 1984 251-52), and what appears to be a liturgical principle of selection and abridgment – whether modeled consciously upon a source, or simply the result of an

attitude towards sacred history familiar from that source – argues strongly for the compiler's interest in a "cyclical completeness" parallel to that of the liturgy, and to the mystery cycles which derived from the liturgy.

To push this comparison a little further, it is evident that the poems, like the individual dramas, contain much that is extraneous to what is suggested here to be their originating and overarching model. It must be allowed, therefore, that the foregoing thematic study serves only to bring the typological motif of the "remnant" into the foreground of the "cycle" so that it may be given its due. The somewhat artificial prominence thus afforded this small element does not belie its importance to the larger scheme, however. Like the "remnants" it figures forth, the motif is a singular part which embodies the potential of the whole.

When experienced as a unified cycle-sequence, each of the events featured in the poems of the Junius codex becomes only one part in a continuous meta-narrative of salvation history. Unlike biblical history, this narrative is highly selective, abridged, and eclectic (Remley 1996). Its principle of selection works to harmonize the whole of sacred history to the unfolding of God's purpose in Christ. Such a treatment of history is fundamental to the liturgy, where events are separated from their original biblical contexts, so that history is in fact reconstructed to story. Michael Hunter has observed a tendency in Anglo-Saxon historians (the translator of Orosius's *History*; the compilers of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Bede) to perform a similar synthesis on secular history. Through a process of selection, omission, and rearrangement, history is reconstructed to reflect a framework for a universal past and a providential future: "The result was a polarization of history into the relevant and the irrelevant to this scheme of "apocalyptic history" (44). Thus secular history is given a sense of sacred time not unlike that represented in the Church's cycle of readings and the Junius cycle of poems.

A similar process, with very different results, can be observed in *Beowulf*. Through the inclusion of digressions which become increasingly historical in content, the

poet harmonizes all Geatish history to one event, the mythic struggle of the hero against the adversary. These comparisons in no way suggest that the Anglo-Saxon sense of history is liturgical; rather it draws attention to the communal purpose of each type of narrative, indeed, to the fact that each *is* a narrative. "History" in each is a narrative process of commemoration through which the individual, in absorbing the memory of the nation, can come to share its identity and destiny.

Geatish history has a very different outcome from "apocalyptic" history, however, as its representative hero loses the battle, and irrevocably. The teleology of each narrative can be succinctly delineated by observing the attributes and associations which the different poets give to the characters and objects which they designate as "remnants". In each "cycle" of history the two basic meanings of *laf* – "what is left behind", and "legacy"; "heirloom" – reveal a semantic gap that is an indicator both of historical perspective and of cultural values. The recurrence of *laf* in the Junius codex is instrumental in transforming a collection of discrete poems into a continuous cycle of salvation history. The sense of teleological promise which the motif imparts to this narrative is strikingly opposite to the sense of retrospective doom that it gives to *Beowulf*. In the latter, it is the "legacy" of weapons or treasure which is highly valued; in the former, although the battle-dress is still present in the diction, the treasured "legacy" is human faith in God.

Post-script

The golden sword-hilt of *Beowulf*, like the poem itself, is the ancient work of a literary giant who is still shrouded in mystery. The treasure leaves us with the message that all that survives of human endeavor is art: a story rightly marked, set down and told in a language of a distant past that requires decipherment in the present. Anglo-Saxon scholars are better equipped for this task than Hrothgar. It is hoped that the present study of one word in Old English will assist in our recovery of the language.

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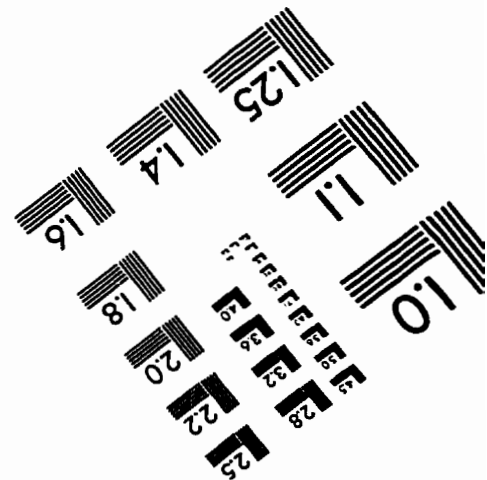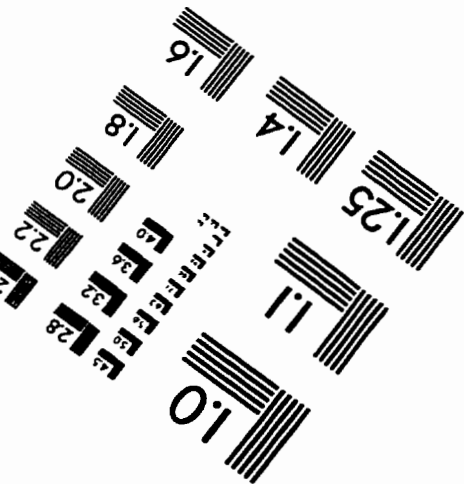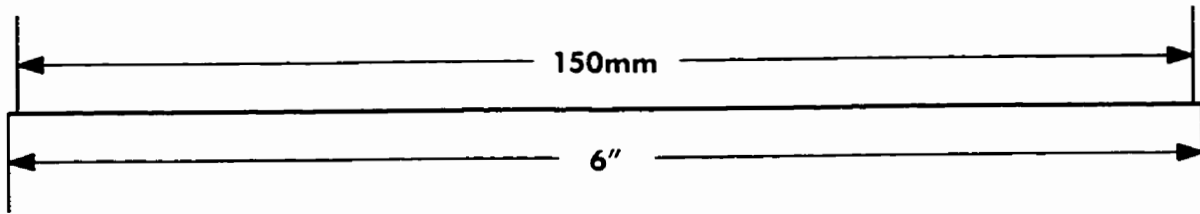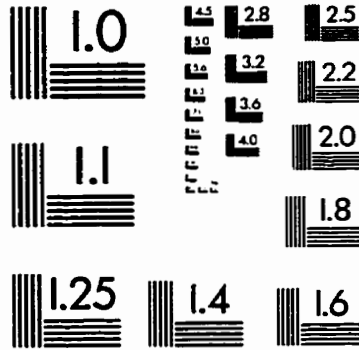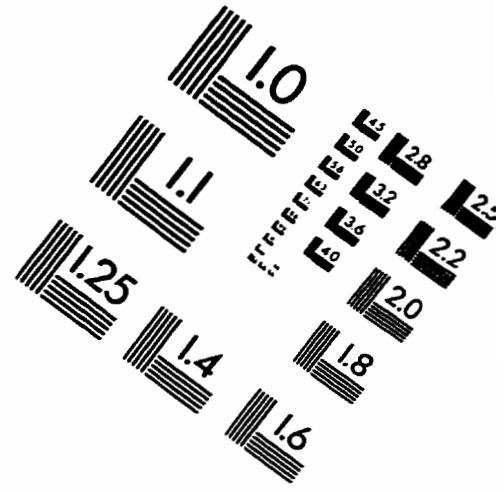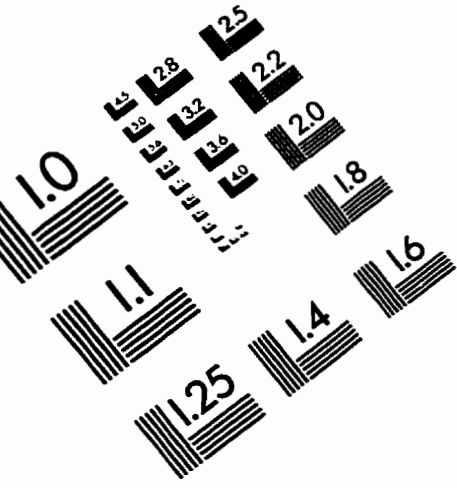Richardson, Peter. *Israel in the Apostolic Church*. Cambridge, 1969.

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IMAGE EVALUATION
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