

**A STUDY OF THE ANGLO-
SAXON POEM,
THE HARROWING OF
HELL; DISSERTATION**

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649312528

A Study of the Anglo-Saxon Poem, The Harrowing of Hell; Dissertation by James Hampton Kirkland

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JAMES HAMPTON KIRKLAND

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**A STUDY OF THE ANGLO-SAXON POEM,
THE HARROWING OF HELL.**

(GREIN'S HÖLLENFAHRT CHRISTI)

DISSERTATION

FOR

THE ACQUISITION OF THE DEGREE

OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

FROM THE

UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG

BY

JAMES HAMPTON KIRKLAND,

OF SPARTANBURG, S. C., U. S. A.

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H A L L E.

EHRHARDT KARRAS, PRINTER.

1885.

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry, no matter how small, should be recorded to ensure the integrity of the financial data. This includes not only sales and purchases but also expenses and income.

The second part of the document provides a detailed breakdown of the company's revenue. It lists the various products and services sold, along with the corresponding sales figures. This information is crucial for understanding the company's primary sources of income and for identifying areas of growth.

The third part of the document details the company's expenses. It categorizes these into fixed costs, such as rent and salaries, and variable costs, such as materials and utilities. This breakdown helps in analyzing the cost structure and in making informed decisions about cost management.

The fourth part of the document presents a summary of the company's overall financial performance. It includes key metrics such as net income, profit margins, and return on investment. These metrics provide a clear picture of the company's financial health and its ability to generate profit.

The fifth part of the document discusses the company's financial projections for the upcoming period. It outlines the expected revenue, expenses, and profit, based on current market conditions and internal forecasts. This section is essential for planning and for setting realistic goals for the future.

The sixth part of the document provides a detailed analysis of the company's cash flow. It tracks the inflows and outflows of cash, highlighting any potential liquidity issues and the need for working capital management. This analysis is critical for ensuring the company's financial stability and for making timely payments to suppliers and employees.

The seventh part of the document discusses the company's tax obligations. It outlines the various taxes that must be paid, such as income tax, sales tax, and property tax, and provides guidance on how to calculate and report these taxes. This information is vital for ensuring compliance with tax laws and for minimizing the company's tax liability.

The eighth part of the document provides a final summary and conclusions. It reiterates the key findings of the financial analysis and offers recommendations for improving the company's financial performance. This section serves as a valuable reference for management and for stakeholders.

Introduction.

The task attempted in the following paper is no easy one. The ground we tread is slippery, and the chances of erring are numerous. To settle questions of authorship from internal evidence demands a close examination of all facts, and allows no choice of argument or sifting of material. The art of picking isolated incidents and basing arguments upon them is one that has been only too well understood and too often practised by those who have entered into such discussions. And after all, there remains somewhat of uncertainty attached to all such investigations. An author's language cannot be bound with iron bands, nor can we prophecy with mathematical exactness the very point at which a given word, construction, or figure must reappear. Dissimilarities of diction, within liberal limits, are not conclusive proof of separate authorship, nor can the contrary always be established by slight similarities of language. In addition to these general difficulties there is added, in the especial case before us, the fact, that we have to do with a mere fragment. Could we have the whole poem as it came fresh from its author's hand, many of the obscurities that now puzzle us would doubtless be cleared up. As it is, the question is often one of probabilities and there is little room for dogmatic assertion. If, in the course of this examination, space has sometimes been given to apparent trifles, it has been done from a desire to omit nothing that could affect the argument or aid to a decision of the question proposed. The various helps that have been used are referred to as occasion requires. Grein's *Sprachschatz* is of course the source of most of the citations under § 5. In some rare cases I have been able to add to Grein's enumeration examples

culled from my own reading. It might have been possible, to a limited extent, to take into consideration the usage of prose writers, but as this could not be done with anything like consistency or completeness, it has been thought best to confine the examination to the usage of the poets. The papers on the Cynewulf question that have appeared within the past decade by Charitius, Fritzsche, Gaebler, and Lefèvre have all been of service as pointing out the best method of conducting an investigation of the present kind. The second part of Gu. has been reckoned among C.'s genuine works (CW.). This has been done after a careful consideration of all that has been written on the subject, and in consequence of private investigation. It will be noticed, though, that no argument is dependent for its main strength on any quotation from Gu.; take these all away and the position of the whole discussion remains unchanged.

§ 1. Summary of Opinion.

The poem called by Thorpe 'The Harrowing of Hell', but which is more generally known under the name given by Grein, 'Die Höllenfahrt Christi', is contained in the Exeter Book, one of the donations of Bishop Leofric to the library of his Cathedral at Exeter. No mention of this Ms. was made from the date of its delivery to the Cathedral till Wanley published in 1705 his Catalogue of A.-S. Manuscripts. Still more serviceable was the notice given by Conybeare, first in several communications read before the Society of Antiquaries¹⁾, and then in his great work 'Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry'. In the year 1842 the Ms. was published for the Society of Antiquaries of London under the title:

Codex Exoniensis. A Collection of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, from a Ms. in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, with an English Translation, by Benj. Thorpe. London, 1842.

Our poem stands in this edition p. 459—467; its position in the Ms. is 119^b—122^a. Thorpe made no attempt to supply the missing words of the text, which unfortunately are quite

¹⁾ Published in *Archæologia*, or *Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity*, vol. 17. London, 1814.

numerous on these pages, but printed the poem just as it stood in the Ms., and with tolerable faithfulness. These missing words were first supplied by Grein, who gave a readable text in the first volume of his *Bibliothek*.¹⁾ Other corrections and suggestions were given by Grein in his *Sprachschatz* and still further in an especial article, *Zur Textkritik der angelsächsischen Dichter*, *Germania* X, p. 416—429.

A collation of Thorpe's edition with the Ms. was made in 1870/71 by Schipper and the results published *Germania* XIX, p. 327—339. So much for the text.

As regards the authorship of H., Thorpe expressed no opinion²⁾, nor did he notice the connection in contents between this poem and the one printed by him p. 32 ff. The fact that the runes in Jul. and Cri., as well as those in EL, formed the name Cynewulf, he had learned from Kemble. Dietrich in a masterly article, *Haupt* IV, p. 193—214, proved that all the poems printed by Thorpe p. 1—103 form one connected whole, to which he gave the name of Crist. In this same article H. is noticed and with captivating boldness the writer says: 'Ich gehe noch weiter, Cynewulf, ich weiss es, dichtete auch das kleine herrliche Lied von der Ankunft des Himmelskönigs in der Unterwelt, worin ihn, den Erlöser auch der Frommen des alten Bundes, Johannes der Täufer als Herold begrüsst, der sich rühmt der Rüstung, die er von seinem lieben Herrn schon empfangen, und dass er zusammen mit ihm im Jordan habe baden dürfen, und zusammen mit ihm die Welt durch die Taufe selig erregt habe. Dieses Seitenstück zu dem frühern dreifachen Ankommen Christi mag allerdings später entstanden sein, da der gute Verband dieser drei Lieder zu einem Ganzen keine Stelle zeigt, wo es gleich anfangs hätte eingereiht sein können'.

The proofs of this statement, though halfway promised by D., were never brought forward. The Cynewulf question

¹⁾ *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie* von C. W. M. Grein. Erster Band. Text I. Göttingen, 1857.

²⁾ That is, in his edition of the *Cod. Ex.* Later he attributed the whole of the Exeter Hs. to Cynewulf; cf. *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*: By Benj. Thorpe. Vol. I. London, 1844. p. 622.

was examined by him in later years¹, but he does not touch our poem.

The connection of H. with the *Evangelium Nicodemi* was first shown by Wüleker in the work: *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in der abendländischen Literatur*. Paderborn, 1872. He says p. 13: 'Im letzten viertel des 8. Jahrhunderts entstand, vielleicht von Cynewulf verfasst, ein Gedicht, welches die Höllenfahrt Christi umfasste. Leider ist es nur bruchstückweise erhalten. Aus dem überlieferten lässt sich aber erkennen, dass das Gedicht auf unserm Evangelium beruhte, wenn auch die Ausführung im einzelnen sehr frei ist'. In his latest work on the subject Prof. Wüleker suggests it as possible that the author of H. knew the *Ev. Nic.* only at second hand.¹)

We come now to Grein's view as found in his *Collegienheft* of 1874, though not published till 1880. *Kurzgefasste angelsächsische Grammatik* von Prof. Dr. C. W. M. Grein, Kassel 1880.

After speaking of *Crist* he says, p. 12: 'Daran reiht sich noch in einem besonderen, freilich nur unvollständig überlieferten Lied von der Höllenfahrt Christi die im *Crist* nur vorübergehend angedeutete Ankunft des Himmelskönigs in der Unterwelt am Auferstehungsmorgen. Vielleicht bildete das Lied ursprünglich einen integrierenden Teil des *Crist* (vor v. 558)'.

We must tarry awhile by this expression of opinion, for there are many reasons that forbid our thinking that H. once formed an integral part of *Crist*. Grein does not specify exactly where he would insert our poem, but simply says before v. 558. We may presume that he means somewhere after v. 440, since here the second division of *Cri.*, which treats of the ascension, commences. Now we search in vain for any place between 440 and 557 where such a poem as H. can be inserted. The transition from the first to the second part is made naturally but suddenly. We are by one step transferred from Christ's birth to the day of his ascension. No description of the intervening events is given; the fact of his resurrection is only alluded to in one line (v. 467); his crucifixion is not hinted at; only the circumstances of the ascension are given

¹) *Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Literatur* von Rich. Wüleker. Erste Hälfte. Leipzig, 1885. s. 187.