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Allusive name forms in Cynewulf's poems

1. *Cynewulf and his works*

Cynewulf is still a mysterious poet. The dating of his works is particularly difficult, with opinions ranging from the 8th century to the time of their transcription in the late 10th century. Cynewulf's production is discussed by Gradon (1966: 13-14), Fulk (2001: 18), Conner (2001: 47) and Orchard (2003: 294-297), with different conclusions. The dating of Cynewulf's production is mentioned again as an unsolved puzzle in Bjork (2013: x).

Cynewulf's name is only known from acrostics in four poems that are therefore undoubtedly attributed to him. Two of them are preserved in the Vercelli Book (*Elene, Fates of Apostles*), two in another famous manuscript, the Exeter Book (*Christ II, Juliana*). This detail cannot be easily dismissed, as the written runes might have been lost in an aural transmission, without actually reading the text. This was an argument used by Conner (2001: 23).

Cynewulf's name and all other information we possess concerning the author must be inferred from the poems, as the likelihood that he may be identified with one of the Anglo-Saxon figures we know from tradition[1] appears to be rather slim; regrettably, the short passages in which he speaks directly to the audience are not particularly informative.

The uncertainty leaves open the possibility that more poems may be attributed to him, as discussed by Bjork (2013: xi), who fully approves the attribution to Cynewulf of the Old English poem *Guthlac B*. For all we know, Cynewulf may even have been a fictional character and have never existed.

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[1] The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England yields 12 results for Cynewulf, from the early 7th to the late 10th century (see <https://pase.ac.uk/>, last access 01/13/2024).

2. *What is in a Name?*

Cynewulf's poetry features a distinct interest in playing with language, which has been recognized by Frank (1972) and later examined by Zacher (2002).

Cynewulf's choice of hagiographic themes puts him in contact with a number of foreign names, and these names in Old English literature sometimes evolve in unpredictable ways.

Already one century ago, Sarrazin (1907: 164) observed the curious forms of some names in Cynewulf's works and formulated an unpopular hypothesis, that Cynewulf could hardly have been proficient in Latin. This assumption was disputed by Brown (1909) with a detailed study which took into consideration the Irish-Latin learning so crucial to the development of Old English culture. In fact, Cynewulf seems to take pride in plays on names, following his peculiar taste for paronomasia and the careful use of collocations to convey powerful images and suggest imaginative allusions.

Brown showed that name forms in Cynewulf's poems were by no means due to a faulty knowledge of the originals, but part of an established learned tradition in the British Isles. Besides, we may also add that Cynewulf's erudite play with runes proves that he was competent in writing and aware of the uncertainty of Old English orthography, even changing the form of his name, which is spelled *Cynwulf* in *Christ II* and *Fates of the Apostles*, while the form *Cynewulf* is to be found in *Juliana* and *Elene*.

The study of the name tradition in Old Germanic languages is a complex matter: the text of the Bible underwent continuous scrutiny to prevent mistakes in copying and reading the sacred text, as well as an extensive exegetical endeavour. An exam of the glossographic tradition yields amazing results on the awareness on personal names and place names. The meaning of the names from the Bible as well as from hagiography are examined here, as they are to be found in Cynewulf's works.

As Robinson (1968a: 14) says: «It should be remembered that Anglo-Saxon writers rarely had control over the *selection* of names for their literary characters, for the names were usually received, along with the story, from tradition. The only way they could make use of name-meanings would be to tease from the dictated names some latent etymological senses which could be shown to be appropriate to the characters who bear them». Robinson (1968b: 163) also underlines «the Anglo-Saxons' general interest in onomastic lore».

These names were known through a long tradition which featured

Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* as well as many other sources, where the etymology was often provided, more or less accurately. Isidore's methods appear to have been particularly influential on the early medieval culture of the British Isles (Barney *et al.*, 2006: 24-25).

3. *The names in* Christ II

In *Christ II* there are relatively few names. Among adaptations to Old English phonetics in *Christ II*, the most conspicuous may be the form *Hierusalem* (l. 533: *Gewitan him þa gongan to Hierusalem*), used in the manuscript for the older (and more faithful to the original Hebrew name) *Ierusalem*, while the Latin forms *Hierusalem* or *Hierosolyma* are derived from the Greek 'Ιερουσαλήμ (Krašovec, 2010: 113), whose aspiration (marked by the sign for 'hard breathing') is possibly due to interference with the Greek word ἱερός (transliterated as *hierós*) 'sacred'. In l. 533 *Hierusalem* alliterates with *gongan*, proving that the name *Hierusalem* was pronounced with a silent <h>. This feature, named psilosis, is found also in *Fates of the Apostles*, where the name *Herod* alliterates with *ealdre* (l. 36: *fore Herode* // *ealdre gedælan*) and even more so in *Elene*, where the name of the protagonist has lost its initial h from Greek and invariably alliterates with vowels.

The name *Hierusalem* behaves like names beginning with the consonant /j/, such as *Iudeas* (Lat. *Iudæi*), which have this sound correctly alliterating with an etymological <g> (l. 637: *þone Iudeas* // *ongietan ne meahtan*) rather than with a vowel, which was not to be expected anyway.

A play on words by Cynewulf is to be found for the Virgin Mary, as Cynewulf defines her not only *mægða weolman* 'best of maidens' (featuring the peculiar form *weolman*, which seems to be a *hapax legomenon* related to the verb *willan*, as the 'most desirable thing', although the word *wylm* 'well, spring, source', known in the compound *æwylm*/*æwylma*, could also be considered, cf. *DOE*, s.v. *æ-wylm*, *æ-wylma*) but also *mærre meowlan* 'the famous virgin'. It is difficult not to see how the adjective *mærre* (the form of Old English *mære* in the genitive singular feminine of the strong declension) recalls the very name of Mary and might even be regarded as a case of paronomasia: *siþþan he Marian, mægða weolman,* / *mærre meowlan, mundheals geceas* (ll. 445-446; Bjork, 2013: 2) 'when he chose protection within Mary, / the selected maiden, the famous virgin' (Bjork, 2013: 3). The word *weolman* in its

manuscript spelling is an anagram of the following *meowlan*; we cannot be sure whether this was Cynewulf's intention, though, as it is uncertain what the spelling of Cynewulf's original would have looked like.

The same contexts also provide a somewhat enigmatic *hapax legomenon* in Old English literature, the compound *mundheals*. Bjork translates as 'protection', a useful simplification of a term which requires some interpretation: as legal protection, *mund* was usually not a prerogative of women, who were themselves subject to it. The second element *heals* in this spelling could refer to two different words: *heals* as 'neck', which also denotes affection in other *hapax legomena*, such as *healsmægeð* 'beloved maidens' in *Genesis A*, l. 2156) and *healsgebedda* 'beloved bedfellow' (*Beowulf*, l. 63), but also *hēals* 'salvation, health' (from the same root as the noun *Hǣlend* 'Savior' hence 'Jesus'): we may compare it with the verb *halsian*/*healsian* 'to greet' but also 'to adjure, exorcise, practise divination', where again the two words seem to be conflated, hence the root vowel may be long or short (cf. *DOE*, s.v. *halsian*). Our Lord chose Mary as 'salvation of protection': this may be a beautiful, imaginative reference to the soteriological role of the Virgin as most gracious advocate of mankind.

This is the only passage in all of Cynewulf's poems in which the word *mund* does not directly refer to God. The poet uses the compounds *mundbora* 'protector' (*Juliana*, ll. 156a and 213a) and *mundbyrd* 'protection' (*Juliana*, l. 170b as well as *Guthlac B*, l. 881a) and once *mund* in the plural, concerning God's hands which He had used to measure 'all the orb and firmament' (*Elene*, ll. 729-730).

4. *The names in the* Fates of the Apostles

This short poem conveys many names: most of them are quite accurate, but we may detect some interest in paronomasia through collocations, as in the case brilliantly shown by Szőke (2014, 65-66) in the example of the name *Neron* and the word root *nearu* 'oppression' (ll. 12-14a), which is also evoked in *Juliana* ll. 302-304a.

Some of the quoted names, such as Andreas and Bartholomew, had etymologies which a learned prelate could not ignore, as discussed by Robinson (1968b). And yet, precisely the example of Andreas may be used, in that the Greek name 'Ανδρέας is a cognate to ἀνδρεῖος 'strong, courageous'; in the poem, however, the courage shown by Andreas is not

explicitly mentioned, but rather subtly alluded to. This should in my opinion be interpreted as a sign of Cynewulf's disdain for obvious etymologies.

These names are often interpreted as compounds in prosody, as they occupy both stressed positions in a half-line. This cannot be disputed for l. 44b, which reads *Bartholameus*, or for several lines with a preposition followed by a name: *in Achagia* (l. 16b), *for Egias* (l, 17a), *be Iohanne* (l, 23b), *mid Iudeum* (l. 35a), *fore Herode* (l. 36a), *mid Asseum* (l. 38a), *in Albano* (l. 45b), *þurh Matheus* (l. 67a). It is also quite safe to assume that in a half-verse such as *Philipus wæs* (l. 37b) the name should carry both metrical accents.

Alliteration gives clues to the pronunciation of Latin names: *Philipus* surely alliterates in /f/ (l. 37: *feorh wið flæsce*. // *Philipus wæs*) and Thomas in /þ/ (l. 50: *Swylce Thomas eac* // *þriste geneðde*), this second one denoting a peculiar English pronunciation, written <th> (from Latin *Thomas*, ultimately from the Greek form Θωμάς), which elsewhere was by now presumably pronounced as a simple stop /t/. This Old English pronunciation was later superseded because of European influence, but a trace thereof is preserved in the usual Modern English spelling *Thomas*.

For the name *Jacob* (James), Cynewulf has chosen alliterations with other foreign names: *Iudeas* 'Jews' (l. 35: *mid Iudeum* // *Iacob sceolde*, on James the Great) and *Ierusalem* 'Jerusalem' (l. 70*: Hyrde we þæt Iacob* // *in Ierusalem*, on James the Less). Here the <i> of *Iacob*, *Iudeum* and *Ierusalem* clearly represents a palatal approximant [j], just as <g> in e.g. *geard*; there are several instances of the ethnonym *Iudeas* used in *Elene* in alliteration both with etymological palatized g (e.g. in l. 268: *georn on mode* // *þæt hio Iudeas*) and with etymological non-palatized g (e.g. in l. 278: *geond Iudeas*, // *gumena gehwylcum*).

From l. 70 we may infer that Cynewulf considered the more correct form *Ierusalem* of the name (closer to the Hebrew original), not the more recent Latin forms *Hierusalem*/*Hierosolyma*. Psilosis is also present in the name of Herod, which also alliterates with a vowel (l. 36: *fore Herode* // *ealdre gedælan*). As said before, the form *Hierusalem* occurs in *Christ II* (l. 533b), where the word alliterates with *gongan* just as if it were written *Ierusalem*. The insertion of <h> in the former text is probably due to a mere scribal choice, as the *Fates of the Apostle* is preserved in a different manuscript from *Christ II*.

The <h> is also lost in the Greek name *Hierapolis*: Cynewulf's form *Gearapolim* (l. 40b) is not only an adaptation but may contain a reference to the prefix *gear-* 'of yore', which may have led the Anglo-Saxon public to interpret the name *Hierapolis* as 'the ancient city' rather than 'the sacred

city'; the meaning made no sense from a Christian point of view anyway, as the city was hardly 'holy' when the inhabitants persecuted Christians.

The names of Astyages and Albanopolis in the account of Bartholomew's martyrdom appear respectively as *Astrias* (l. 45a) and *Albano* (l. 45b), forms that Cynewulf may have found in his sources (Cross, 1979: 171). One might tentatively speculate whether there could have been a connection between the name *Astrias* and Old English *easterne* 'eastern', thus connecting the name of the oriental king with the exotic, dangerous land of India, while another curiosity concerns the name of the Ethiopians, replaced with the autochthonous Old English *sigelwaras* 'men [burnt by the heat] of the sun', even though the original name may have been *sigelearpas*, 'sun-darkened', as suggested by Tinkler (1971: 30).

5. *The names in* Elene

In Cynewulf's *Elene*, the name of Constantine's mother is always spelled *Elene*, without <h>, (the same spelling to be found in the *Menologium*, l. 165). The first syllable of the name displays a consistent pattern of alliteration with vowels.

Such instances as line 1002 (*æðelinges word. // Heht he Elenan hæl*) prove beyond doubt that the name invariably alliterates in a vowel.

Line	220	Æðelcyninges // Elene
	266	Eaðhreðige // Elene
	332	Elene // eorlum
	404	Elene // eorlum
	573	Elene // yrre
	604	Elene // ánhagan
	620	Elene // underarnunga
	642	Elene // on ondsware
	685	Elene // eorne
	847	eorlas anhydige // Elene
	952	ymrðu ende // Elene
	1002	Æðelinges // Elenan
	1050	Elene // Eusebium
	1062	æ // Elenan
	1197	Elene eorlum // æðelinges
	1217	ece aldre // Elene

Table 1: Alliterating pairs involving the name Elene in Cynewulf's *Elene*.

The name *Helen* originally comes from the Greek ‘Ελένη, whose origin is disputed (probably related to the same root as σελήνη ‘moon’). Elene is described by Cynewulf as warlike, with such attributes as ‘bold in thought’ (l. 267a, *þriste on geþance*) and ‘war-’ or ‘battle-queen’ (l. 254a, l. 331a *guð-cwen*). To an English-speaking audience of the early Middle Ages, the name *Elene* might have looked similar to the Old English *ellen* ‘courage’, found twice in *Elene*, both times in the same phrase *elnes oncyðig* ‘conscious of courage’ (ll. 724, 828), where in the genitive form *elnes* one <l> had been lost in front of a consonant. Both instances are referred to the same person, Judas, the Jew who has been tortured at Helen's command for him to reveal the place where the cross has been hidden, and the phrase is used to describe his eagerness after he has decided to cooperate and to embrace the Christian truth. The affinity between *Elene* and *ellen*/*elnes*, though of course without any etymological foundation, may nonetheless have had an impact on the audience, emphasizing the extraordinary strength of this female character.

The name is extremely important for this figure: his name had been previously Judas – hardly an endearing name for a Christian medieval audience – while in baptism he receives the name *Cyriacus*, from the Greek Κυριακός (Bjork, 2013: 255-256) from Κυρίος ‘Lord’: the name has a Latin equivalent, *Dominicus*, from Latin *Dominus*.

It is worthwhile to read the whole passage of Judas' christening (*Elene*, ll. 1050b-1063a):

> þæt gecyðed wearð,
> siððan Elene heht Eusebium
> on ræd-geþeaht, Rome bisceop,
> gefetian on fultum, forð-snoterne,
> hæleða gerædum to þære halgan byrig,
> þæt he gesette on sacerdhad
> in Ierusalem Iudas þam folce
> to bisceope burgum on innan,
> þurh gastes gife to Godes temple
> cræftum gecorene, ond hine Cyriacus
> þurh snyttro geþeaht syððan nemde
> niwan stefne. Nama wæs gecyrred
> beornes in burgum on þæt betere forð,
> *æ hælendes*[2].

[2] That was made clear, / when Elene commanded Eusebius / in counsel, the bishop of Rome, / the very wise man, to be fetched for help, / with a retinue of men to the holy city, / so that he appointed Judas to the priesthood / in Jerusalem as bishop for the people / within the city, / through the gift of the spirit chosen for his skills / to the temple of God, and afterward / through wise thought named

Here Cynewulf offers a translation of the Greek name, which is noticeably incorrect – and yet not so far away from the original meaning, as we may take *Hælend* as a quasi-synonym of *Dryhten* 'Lord', stressing the equivalence between Father and Son in the Holy Trinity, but there is no equivalent to the name *æ* 'law': an interpretation of the name as κυριακός νόμος might have been attempted, but I have not been able to find any trace of it so far. The phrase *Dryhtnes æ* already appears elsewhere in the poem (*Elene*, ll. 198a, 970a) as well as in *Juliana* (l. 13b) and *Fates of the Apostles* (l. 10a), while *æ Hælendes* only appears here. *Elene* is also unique among Cynewulf's poems in featuring *Dryhten Hælend* as a phrase, in a crucial passage (l. 725a) where the converted Judas invokes Our Lord Jesus in his own language.

In the closest analogue to the Old English text, the *Inventio sanctae Crucis*, it is flatly stated that he changed his name: *Mutauit autem nomen eius et uocatus est* / *Cyriacus* […] (ll. 317-318, Holder, 1889: 11), and the meaning of Judas's Christian name is not included. Cynewulf might have derived it from a gloss, which later made its way into the text, as suggested by Krapp (1932: 147). Whatley (1975) on the contrary convincingly argues that the interpretation must go back to Cynewulf, and that he devised it to emphasize the new bishop's soteriological role.

Judas takes up a Christian name after being baptized by the bishop of Rome Eusebius, naming himself *Cyriacus*, which occurs four times and in all instances invariably alliterates with a velar [k], although this is hardly meaningful, since the velar [k] and the palatalised affricate [ʧ] alliterate elsewhere in the poem. A pronunciation with palatalised [ʧ] would have made it possible for Anglo-Saxons to connect this name with its English cognate *cyrice* 'church' (cf. *DOE*, s.v. *cyrice*), but it appears to be almost impossible to demonstrate this, and Cynewulf's invented etymology actually leads to the opposite conclusion, that the connection between *cyrice* and *Cyriacus* was not made. It is still noteworthy that the name did not pass through romance tradition, otherwise the initial <c> should have acquired a different pronunciation [s], like in the cognate modern English name *Cyril*, which has entered the language through French at a later date, as clearly shown by its pronunciation.

The name of the pope is also very well chosen. The only pontiff by this name reigned for a few months in 309 and fell victim to Maxentius's persecution, right before Constantine's Edict of Milan. It

him afresh, / Cyriacus. The man's name was changed / for the better in the cities from then on to / *the law of the savior*. (Bjork 2013, 214-217)

has long been held that there is here confusion with Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, who baptized Constantine (Krapp, 1932: 147), even though Pope Eusebius certainly knew Helen before his short-lived pontificate.

A name such as Eusebius would have been fitting. The Greek name Εὐσέβιος, from the adjective εὐσεβής 'pious', has an approximate correspondence with the Latin *pius* (name of an antique pope, St Pius I, ninth successor of St Peter) and it is possible that the origin of the name was known by some medieval erudites: a cultivated man such as Theodore of Canterbury could undoubtedly have interpreted it correctly, as the adjective εὐσεβής and its cognates occur frequently in early Christian literature.

6. *The names in* Juliana

Cynewulf appears to have made a very peculiar use of names. Of all of Cynewulf's poems, *Juliana* seems to have the most peculiar approach to names.

Just like other names in the poem, such as *Heliseus* and *Affricanus*, also *Iuliana* takes a whole short verse, with both staves.

It may be noticed that *Iuliana* is consistently alliterating in <g>, be it palatized or not:

Line	96	*Iul*iana. // þu on *geaþ*e hafast,
	106	*Iul*iana, // hio to *god*e hæfde
	131	*gleaw* ond *god*e leof, // *Iul*iana…
	148	þurh *gæst*gehygd, // *Iul*iana…
	167	*Iul*iana. // Hwæt, þu *glæm* hafast
	316	þurh *gæst*es *gief*e, // *Iul*iana…
	531	*gealg*mod *gum*a, // *Iul*iana…
	540	*Iul*iana, // fore *god*es sibbum
	628	ongean *gram*um, // *Iul*iana…

Table 2: Alliterating pairs involving the name Iuliana in Cynewulf's *Juliana*.

Several alliterating couplets display alliteration between primary [j], secondary [j] (from palatalization) and [g]. Just to mention a few examples, we may mention *geardagum* // *georne* (*Christ II*, l. 821), *agangen* // *geara* (*Elene*, l. 1), *godes* // *geardagum* (Elene, l. 290),

giddes // *geomrum* (*Fates of the Apostles*, l. 89), *guðe* // *geomor* (*Juliana*, l. 393) etc.

Hence, an Anglo-Saxon public would be justified in interpreting the name Juliana as *iul-iana*, with *iul* strikingly similar to the heathen name *Yule* (Old English *geōl*/*giūl*), which had become Christmas after the conversion (still preserved in Middle English *Yuletide*). Even though the name does not exactly translate into a regular Old English compound, tentatively, an Anglo-Saxon speaker might have linked the rest of the word to the adverb/adjective *geagn*/*gegn*, but this is even more questionable.

The Anglo-Saxon audience already knew a saint with a Latin name derived from the winter festival, *dies natalis* (hence Italian *natale* etc.) and therefore called *Natalia.* St Natalia is featured in the Old English Martyrology (4th March) together with her husband Adrian: Natalia's husband is martyrized first, and she is forced into a new marriage with an evil pagan. In order to avoid this marriage, Natalia escapes by sea. The devil attempts to block her but fails. Adrian appears after death and the evil creature is defeated, Natalia dies safely and is met in Heaven by her devoted husband (Rauer, 2013: 60).

It is highly unlikely Juliana and Natalia may have ever been confused, especially since the latter, as we just saw, was honoured together with her husband Adrian in the Old English Martyrology. And yet, there were some important similarities: Natalia lived in the same city as Juliana, Nicomedia, and at the same time; she wanted to escape a forced marriage with a heathen; lastly, she defeated the devil through divine intervention.

Another name of a prominent character in Cynewulf's *Juliana* is also significantly different from that which appears in the Latin source: we know that Juliana's antagonist, her wooer turned persecutor, was called *Eleusius* in the Latin model (Woolf, 1993: 13; Muir, 1994: 473). Cynewulf calls him *Heliseus*, which is in fact the current Latin form of the name of the Prophet from Samaria in the Bible (II Kings), and therefore ill-suited for a cruel heathen and persecutor of Christians; in his translation, Bjork (2013) has consistently restored the form *Eleusius*, connecting this figure to the pagan mysteries in Eleusis.

The <H> in *Heliseus* may be a scribal addition, as the name seems to alliterate with words beginning with vowels, not with <h>: this is fairly sure in lines 25 (*Heliseus, hæfde ealdordom*, Bjork, 2013: 78) and 673 (*Heliseus, eh-stream sohte*, Bjork, 2013: 122), less so for line 160 (*Heliseo. He in æringe*, Bjork, 2013: 88). And yet, it is important

to bear in mind that Cynewulf's poems appear to have been written for individual reading rather than performance; the consistent use of a silent <h> in writing therefore may tentatively be interpreted as an attempt to connect the character's name to a first element *hel*(*l*). In *Juliana* the word *hell* occurs more than in other poems by the author.

Moreover, the name *Heliseus* is treated as a compound and appears in the first half-line (where it takes up both stresses, like other multisyllabic names from classical and Christian lore). The first element *hel(is)*- must alliterate, not the second one, whatever that might sound like for readers. The psilosis is sustainable in analogy with the aforementioned form *Hierusalem*, which bears the head-stave in *Christ II*, thus clearly showing that the initial <h> in its spelling must have been mute.

7. *Conclusions: a (far fetched) hypothesis*

The interpretations suggested for these names may well be regarded as idle speculations in the absence of further evidence. And yet, in my opinion they cannot be entirely dismissed, since Cynewulf's interest in language is well documented.

The influence of Isidore's *Etymologies* on the earlier stages of Christian culture in the British Isles may be regarded as an argument in support of a peculiar interest in names and their etymology – be it more or less accurate, as not all etymologies mentioned by Isidore are actually correct. Most Anglo-Saxon readers would have had issues with even the simplest Latin etymologies, but they could accept invented folk etymologies as a starting point for personal meditation.

Even Cynewulf's very name – as a *nom de plume* – might have been used to this purpose. It is well-known that the name could be literally translated as 'wolf of the kin' and should probably be interpreted as extolling the man's courage, alluding to the wolf as a bold, ferocious creature, hence a source of pride for the clan. In his literary *persona*, though, the name might also be interpreted differently, in my opinion, as the 'exile of the kin': the wolf is described as an outcast in a famous passage in *Maxims II* and is in fact a *topos* in the Germanic tradition (Pàroli, 1976).

This would fit well with the sad tone of his runic signatures, where fear for his personal judgement is expressed with a peculiar pathos

(especially for English tastes), such as in *Christ II* (ll. 797-804a, Bjork, 2013: 26), in *Elene* (ll. 1236-1286a, Bjork, 2013: 228-232) or in *Juliana*, where Cynewulf says that *Geomor hweorfeð C, Y ond N* ('Mournful, C, Y and N will depart', transl. Bjork, 2013: 124-125). Here Warwick Frese (2001: 326) interprets 'sad shall I go', referring the runes CYN to Cynewulf, as if it were a shortened version of the poet's name; this interpretation is perfectly legitimate, but by reading *cyn* as the Old English word 'kin, clan, family', this line could express a very fitting sentiment, that the clan is a part of that secular world which shall forgo and ultimately play no role in personal salvation. The sinner's solitude before the tremendous judgement is particularly emphasized in the melancholy lines of the *Fates of the Apostles* (ll. 109b-110, Bjork, 2013: 136) describing the soul's wandering in the afterlife, which will be used to close this short study: *Ic sceall feor heonan, / an elles forð, eardes neosan* 'I must go far from here, / alone on the way forth, seek a dwelling'.

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