An Analysis of 'Nature' in *Beowulf* :
from the perspective of its relation to man [1]

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Abstract

The natural world in *Beowulf* is clearly presented as man's enemy, showing antagonistic hostility to man. 'Nature' is absent from the poem as a signifier of nature, and in its stead the word 'god' is used as in '*mihtig* god' (l.1725, Mitchell, 1998). It has been pointed out that the monster Grendel and his mother, who menace the Danish community, are a part of nature. The descriptions of the malevolent force of nature such as 'a *wynleas wudu*' (l.1416) and '*wulfhleoþu*' (l.1358) suggest a realm of ghosts and monsters. In this paper, we consider the influences of St. Augustine and Venerable Bede on the author of *Beowulf* and analyze the negative representation of the natural world, focusing on the word *gecynd* which is often used as an equivalent to the Latin *natura*, and try to clarify what the *Beowulf* poet intends the descriptions of nature to symbolize.

Introduction

  oþ þæt hē fǣringa fyrgenbēamas
  ofer hārne stān hleonian funde
  wynlēasne wudu; wæter under stōd
  drēorig ond gedrēfed. (*Beowulf*, 1414–17) [2]

…until suddenly he encountered some mountain trees, a wood devoid of any pleasant aspect, overhanging a grey rock; there was water standing below it, bloody and disturbed.

In *Beowulf*, the oldest known epic narrative composed in Old English and of unknown

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authorship, nature is as hostile to man as to the extent of showing demonic antagonism. Menacing and terrifying descriptions of nature are given, centering particularly on the dwellings of Grendel and his mother. The description of nature becomes more terrible as *Beowulf*, who sets out in search of Grendel's mother, approaches closer to her abode. What does the poet intend such a description of nature to symbolize? As has already been pointed out, 'artifice'—the works of men's hands—is afforded high value in the poem; indeed, all artifacts, including armor, adornments and the great hall, are highly valued. Such craftwork helps man to exert control over the chaotic natural world and give him a sense of reassurance, as F. C. Robinson persuasively argues. [3] Beowulf's fight with monsters Grendel and the dragon shows people's desire for man's victory over uncontrollable and malevolent natural forces. This aspect of nature is all the more underscored in the poem through the way in which Hrōðgār and his men react to Grendel's continuous attacks: they appear to be weak and helpless. Whereas the thought of fighting against other kingdoms does not really scare them, but rather inflames their warlike nature, the monstrous enemy that comes from the swamps leaves them helpless, he dazzles and confuses them, in fact paralyzes their actions, as they seem incapable of opposing any valuable resistance or reaction. Instead they send for help, and they call for a man well-known for his strength, power and skill in combat. He is a great warrior, but still a man, like them, not a supernatural being. Yet his real force is inscribed in his name. He is the hero of the poem and carries a name that signifies animals. Whatever etymological interpretation of the name Bēowulf given by scholars we might choose to follow,[4] the reference to the root for 'wolf' remains a constant. Bēowulf thus carries in himself the strength and spirit of an animal, possibly of the wolf, a wild beat traditionally viewed as hostile to man. In some way, while on the one side man imposes himself over nature through his artifacts, on the other he also declares his impotence against the powerful forces of nature, as he tries to oppose it with a warrior that uses man-made weapons but who is also infused with an almost non-human but wild strength. It would thus appear that the Danes entrusted the task of opposing and defeating Grendel to a person who derives his strength from his own name. The belief in the magical power of words and names is firmly rooted in the Germanic tradition, like in most archaic cultures. The importance of Bēowulf's name and of its role in the narrative is reinforced by the scholarly effort put in finding its etymological root and meaning. Beowulf's fight with monsters Grendel and the dragon shows people's desire for man's victory over the various uncontrollable and malevolent natural forces. In *Beowulf*, the force of nature is an enemy of man and antagonizes him.

Here, reviewing studies on the landscapes of Anglo-Saxon England and the poetic use of such landscapes, I will explore how the *Beowulf* poet describes nature as a means of reflecting the mentality of the people of that age.[5] The 'innate nature' of humanity

is represented by the Old English word *gecynd*, which is often used as an equivalent to the Latin *natura* denoting 'essence', and *gecynd*, thus, can be considered as holding a clue to understanding the concept of nature as described in *Beowulf*. Under the assumption that the poem was composed around the beginning of the eighth century in a Northumbrian royal house,[6] this short essay delves into four possible interpretations of the description of nature in *Beowulf*.

Ⅰ. Use of the Anglo-Saxon Landscape As a Literary Means

The recent opinions of certain scholars on the portrayal of nature in *Beowulf* are summarized here. Descriptions of the natural world during the Old English period can be understood as a kind of literary art, and ones which may not have borne any actual resemblance to its physical reality. Indeed, the descriptions of nature should be read as a literary device used to define the following: 1) Anglo-Saxon views on the precariousness of the human state in the cosmos. Man's feeling of helplessness in front of the power of nature, which is also view as negative in this poem; 2) the Anglo-Saxons' awareness of themselves as exiles, where the creation and maintenance of human society is considered as a stronghold to protect people from natural forces; 3) the power of individuals, depicted by the mighty hero Beowulf's triumph over the power of the natural world in his fierce fight with monsters where he shows his desire to control the natural world; and 4) God's power over earth-dwellers, where the natural world is portrayed as a semi-autonomous sphere, both as an entity independent and separate from God and as an entity linked to God's will.[7] Alongside the use of 'inherited' and 'invented' landscapes, J. Howe states that the poet made literary use of 'imagined' landscapes as a means to represent the workings of the hero's mind, especially when he was faced with a sense of crisis which threatened his identity as a hero.[8] More recently, Fabienne L. Michelet has argued that the Anglo-Saxons' surrounding physical world, when perceived geographically as 'space', was formed by their culture, and it influenced them mentally and provided them with their ethnic or tribal identity.[9] Finally, the archaeologist Martin Carver, using the phrase 'vocabulary of landscape', analyzed landscape as a kind of 'conglomerate' of various elements from different periods piled up simultaneously.[10] Exterior landscapes which can be considered as a 'mentally structured space', thus, become a clue to understanding the workings of the characters as derived from their 'innate' nature.

Ⅱ. Germanic *Gecynd*

The 'innate nature' of humanity is represented by the Old English word *gecynd*, which is often used as an equivalent to the Latin *natura* denoting 'essence'. *Gecynd*, therefore, can be considered as holding a clue to understanding the portrayal of

'nature' in *Beowulf*. According to the *Dictionary of Old English*, *gecynd* has the following meanings[11]: nature, native constitution; innate disposition; the nature of God; the established order of things; natural condition; natural property; sex; genitals; way, manner, fashion; menstruation; species; race; offspring; family; generation; people; natural right; and birthday. Old English *cynd* has the meanings of: native constitution; the nature of God; natural qualities; species; race; social class; and child.[12] In *Beowulf*, *gecynde* appears as an adjective several times, and it is used in the sense of 'inherited' and 'inborn', for example, to express the 'inborn character' of Wiglaf, a young warrior and kinsman helping Beowulf (*Beowulf*, l.2696). In the dragon's attack on the Geatish stronghold, Wiglaf's loyalty to his king, Beowulf, wins him a victory over the dragon:

> Đā ic æt þearfe gefrægn þēodgyninges
> Andlongne eorl Ellen cyðan
> Cræft ond cēnðu swā him *gecynde* wæs. (emphasis added, *Beowulf*, ll. 2694-96)

I have heard that then, in the people's king's time of need, the earl at his side displayed courage, skill and daring, as was *instinctive* in him.[13]

Inborn (=*gecynde*) human 'nature' among Hroðgar's people in Heorot, King Hroðgar's hall, is well represented by their noisy merrymaking, fornication and pagan rituals. The people are loud and excited, drinking mead while being entertained by minstrels' singing and their lord's treasure-giving until midnight. Among Heorot's people is Unferð, who is a reminder of Cain in the Bible. Unferð, jealous of Beowulf's renowned bravery, insults him, and is then accused by Beowulf of having murdered his own kith and kin (ll.586-89). In the story are found a lot of feuds among the people and tribes, and the dark interior of human beings, such as enmity, hostility, jealousy or bitterness are described. This darkness seems to have a correspondence in the description of the location of Grendel's abode. These gloomy surroundings, being the home place of the people's enemies are as hostile to men as the monsters themselves. But since this landscape also corresponds in its gloominess to people's inner darkness, it is their own feelings and emotions that the Danes are at fight with; dark feelings of fear, brutal instincts, violence, greed. The natural world is thus an instrument to depict man's inner world. In Heorot, the Danes' custom of offering a sacrifice to idols at pagan shrines is also described (ll.175-79). It is quite possible that the *Beowulf* poet intends the hostile description of nature to symbolize the diabolic element inherent in human 'nature', either inside or outside Heorot.[14] The description of the dwellings of Grendel and his mother are as appalling as those of the ghoul and fiends in 'wynleas wudu' [a dismal wood](l.1416) and on 'wulfhleoþu' [wolf-slopes] (l.1358), indeed a likely place for fiends

and ghouls to live. Nature is as hostile to man as to the extent of showing demonic antagonism. Grendel, his mother and the dragon, threatening Dane society from outside, are all symbols of the monstrosity of nature, which is emphasized through the descriptions of powerful natural forces.

Another important meaning of *gecynd* is 'groups linked by blood', specifically 'species', 'genus', 'race', 'offspring', 'family' and 'children'. Although there is no instance of *gecynd* denoting this meaning in *Beowulf*, the word *cynn* appears which is cognate with *gecynd* and means: 'race; referring to a family line; kind, species; gender'.[15] Both *gecynd*, *cynd* and *cynn* can be traced back to the Indo-European *genə*- signifying 'to give birth, beget', appear to signify 'a kind of social circle closely tied by a blood relationship'. Thus, the meaning is 'a group of human beings or any creatures, that propagate by themselves through their natural urge, evolving into a community of blood kins'. The *Beowulf* poet describes Heorot, King Hroðgar's hall, as 'the center of feasting, treasure-giving, story-telling and song', and this gathering of people is a patriarchal community, a kind of social circle tied by blood relationships, as in Beowulf's last words to Wiglaf: 'Þūeart endel āf ūsses *cynnes* / Wǣgmundinga;' ['You are the last survivor *of our line*, the Wǣgmundings;] (*Beowulf*, ll. 2813-14).

It is understood that Anglo-Saxon writers were highly influenced by St. Augustine's doctrine and the *Beowulf* poet was no exception. He must have been aware of Augustine's doctrine from the writings of Venerable Bede (673-735) of Northumbria. In St. Augustine's doctrine of creation, *natura* (=essence) cannot be detached from the physical reality of the created world. 'Every essence is from God, who is Himself the supreme essence.'[16] The material world only exists through the perception of human beings. Every aspect of the material creation arises in the human mind, with its image being formed there. The physical world is a kind of projection of what is created in the human mind. According to etymological dictionaries, *gecynd* and cognate with *cynd* has the root *kun*, which can be traced back to the Indo-European *genə*- signifying 'to give birth, beget', and thus has relevance to St. Augustine's idea of 'essence' as the source of innate characteristics. The other important meaning of *gecynd* is 'groups linked by blood', specifically 'species', 'genus', 'race', 'offspring', 'family' and 'children'. Just as *Genesis* emphasizes 'species' and 'kind' after which God created the world, so *gecynd*, in this sense, has relevance to Creation.

Ⅲ. A Reflection of Fallen Humanity

There is a view that the Anglo-Saxon poets used descriptions of the natural world as a means of representing humanity in the cosmos.[17] If so, how they grasped the 'inborn nature' of human beings is very important in identifying whether there is any relevance between the descriptions and the meaning of the texts. The place and the

state of human 'kind' becomes significant for clarifying the relationship between man and the rest of the creation ― the animals, vegetation and inanimate beings.

The 'innate nature' of human beings could have meant to the *Beowulf* poet the post-lapsarian 'fallen state of human nature' or 'monstrous humanity'.[18] St. Augustine emphasizes the essential goodness of all creation: 'There is no such entity in nature as 'evil'' (*cum ominino natura nulla sit malum*).[19] In other words, *pulchroque ordine disponantur*, where he reiterates that 'human nature' became corrupt after the Fall. In the beginning, Augustine says, God created human beings in His image, and distinguished them from other creatures by endowing them with reason and intelligence, giving them a superior position to other creatures ('*qui* [=Deus] *rerum omnium copiam salutisque praestiterat*', *De civitate Dei*, Lib. XIV.Cap. XV) that are all created for their use. However, the transformation of 'human nature' caused by the Original Sin, which the first two humans committed, pitted humans against God's other Creation that remained good.[20]

> *illa [=qualitas peccatis a primis hominibus admissi] duorum primorum hominum praeuaricarione mutata est, ut tantae corruptioni*

> The nature of the Original Sin has changed the first two human beings, through their collusion, into a so-called corrupt state [21]

Man is 'fallen', through the Fall, from his God-given natural self into original sin. The fallen 'nature' creates in man an internal conflict, making him at war with 'nature', the Latin *natura*. The monsters Grendel, his mother and the dragon appear to be symbolizing the corrupt force of man's 'nature'. The following description of Grendel's dwelling, menacing and horrible, appears to symbolize such human 'nature'.

> Hīe dȳgel lond
> Warigeað wulfhleoþu windige næssas
> Frēcne fengelād   ðær fyrgenstrēam
> Under næssa genipu niþer gewīteð
> flōd under foldan. Nis þæt feor heonon
> mīlgemearces þæt se mere standeð;
> ofer þǣm hongiað hrinde bearwas,
> wudu wyrtum fæst wæter oferhelmað. (*Beowulf*, ll. 1357-1364)

They haunt uncharted territory ― wolf-infested hillsides, windy crags and the perilous waterways of a sump, where a mountain stream, a torrent, goes down

beneath the gloom of the crags, underground. It is not many miles distant from here that the tarn is to be found. Above it hang rime-encrusted thickets; the firmly rooted trees overshadow the water.

The description of 'hostile nature', however, can also be utilized to show the mentality of man, who is alienated from the human circle he belongs to, trying unsuccessfully to return to its members.

Ⅳ. A Reflection of the Mentality of Exiles

The Anglo-Saxons, P. H. Blair says, were doomed to the fate of 'exile', that is, they were not only lost in an untamed natural world, but were also inhabitants outside of human society. The Anglo-Saxon tribes were originally migrants from the Continent, and their migration gave them a constant feeling of rootless wanderers. Their society was that of a patriarchal community, closely tied by blood relationships, distinguishing the people living within from those without. In these societies of early settlers in Northumberland, huge halls functioned as centers of social bonding in the community, giving them a feeling of security.[22] As mentioned above, Heorot, King Hroðgar's hall, is described as 'the center of feasting, treasure-giving, story-telling and song'. The members in the hall, comprised of the king, his thegns, warriors and other retainers, are supposedly more or less blood-related kin, and this human circle functions as a kind of boundary, protecting the inhabitants and warding off unpleasant elements outside. The passage below describes the friendly atmosphere of the community:

>   fægere geþægon
> medoful manig   māgas þāra
> swīðhicgende   on sele þām hēan
> Hrōðgār ond Hrōþulf. Heorot innan wæs
> frēondum   āfylled; (*Beowulf*, ll. 1014-18)

Many a mead-cup their kinsmen, Hrothgar and Hrothulf, confident of mood, gracefully accepted in the lofty hall. Within, Heorot was filled with friends.

Cohesiveness is especially necessary in order for the inhabitants in the hall to fortify themselves against dangerous threats emanating from outside and well as from destructive forces within. Their society excludes such elements as do not comply with their social codes, excluding them from their human circle for spoiling its harmony. They are the excommunicated 'exiles' doomed to experience the harshness of isolation, from both their blood kin and their past, and are doomed to have no future prospect of

coming back to the warmth of blood kin. P. H. Blair says,

> No fate was so harsh as that of the exile, the homeless wanderer, who faced the
> hardships of winter deprived of the *love of his kinsmen* and the cheerful warmth
> of home and hearth. And no exile, says the poet, is as hard to bear as that of
> the wondering cloud, having neither the memory of a home in the past, nor the
> prospect of a home to come.[23] (emphasis added)

A sense of 'exile' resulting from the precarious state of 'man's present life on earth'
is implied in the poem, by the use of the word *middangeard* (l.75, 504, 751, 1771), which
means the 'sphere existing between heaven and hell'. Bede uses this precarious
state of humans as a means of telling a story of converting King Edwin's retainers to
Christianity. He explains to them 'the present life on earth' ('*uita hominum praesens in
terries*') by using a simile of a sparrow flying into a hall where 'the fire is burning in?
the hearth' and then quickly flying out through the other door into the outside where
'the wintry storms of rain and snow are raging'.[24]

> Þyslic me is gesewen, þu cyning, þis andwearde *lif manna on eorðan* to wiðmetenesse
> þære tide, þe us uncuð is, swylc swa þu æt swæsendum sitte mid þinum
> ealdormannum þegnum on wintertide, sie fȳr onælæd þin heall gewyrmed, hit rine
> and sniwe and styrme ute; cume an spearwa hrædlice Þæt hus Þurhfleo,[25]

Venerable Bede, St. Paul's Church at Jarrow, Northumbria
(Picture taken by the author)
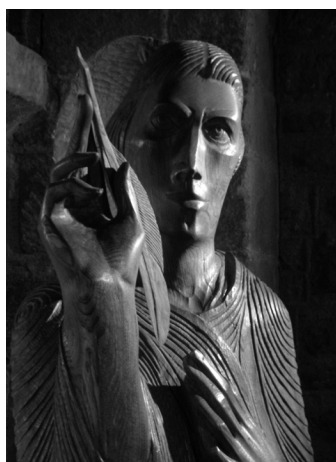
Venerable Bede
(Picture taken by the author)

Bede says in the passage that the people of Northumbria could not survive severe weather conditions without the warmth of their blood kin, and he uses the description of nature as a means to describe the insecure state of humanity. The *Beowulf* poet also appears to use the same description to represent the Anglo-Saxons' general feeling of 'exile'.

Ⅴ. A Reflection of the Poet's Mentality Depressed by Surrounding Nature

The Anglo-Saxons are said to have been conscious of the fragility and helplessness of human existence in the face of nature's power. The actual living conditions of the early settlers in Northumbria must be taken into consideration since natural conditions can have immense influence on the mentality of human beings. Although the early Anglo-Saxons' interaction with surrounding nature might never be completely understood, their living conditions have been reconstructed through archaeological evidence. Some understanding of King Hroðgar's hall can be gleaned from reconstructions of Anglo-Saxon royal palaces.[26] In Bede's World at Jarrow, there is a miniature model of the royal villa at Yeavering, the site where the missionary bishop Paulinus is said to have converted the followers of Edwin, King of the Northumbrians, to Christianity in 627. The model shows the second stage of the development of Yeavering, built during King Edwin's reign (616-33). It includes a great hall together with a group of smaller halls, a wooden enclosure that was supposedly used as a cattle corral, a pagan temple that was probably consecrated for Christian use, and a grandstand that was possibly used to preach to the local pagan population.

The interaction of the primitive Anglo-Saxons with surrounding nature during daily life must have been far removed from the later ideal view of nature that Chaucer and Langland described in the fourteenth century. Unmastered and intractable, 'nature' for the *Beowulf* poet is as threatening as a terrifying assailant, just like the monster Grendel and his mother in the poem. It has been confirmed by archaeologists that a large rectangular building at Yeavering was a timber hall with a thatched roof. It is a massive rectangular ground-sill construction, built on a raised wooden platform made of planks, which 'would have carried the feasting tables at which heroic poems would be recited to the accompaniment of much eating and drinking'.[27] The great hall of Heorot is considered to have some similarity to the massive timber hall presumed to have stood at Yeavering. It can be seen that even such a massive building, built for kings and noblemen, would have been vulnerable to the catastrophe of fire or other intractable forces of nature such as rain, hail or storms.

The construction of the buildings was still basic, and they did not appear to provide the inhabitants with security sufficient for them to feel that they were protected and completely safe. Archaeological evidence has shown that more than half the Anglo-

Saxons died by the age of twenty-five, often through disease. Thus, they were still 'exiles' depressed by both life-threatening destructive forces and the damp and gloomy days of northern Europe.

Presumed site of the Royal Palace at Yeavering, Northumbria

A thatched roofed Anglo-Saxon house
(Picture taken by the author)

The inside of the house
(Picture taken by the author)

Conclusion

The *Beowulf* poet intends the descriptions of nature to symbolize four different human conditions: 1) fallen humanity, 2) the mentality of the exile who is alienated from human society, 3) the unstable status of a human being in the present life, and 4) depression caused by natural threats. The poet uses Grendel and his mother to symbolize all four conditions. The Germanic word *gecynd* as appears in the work suggests all four of these conditions: 1) the 'inborn or essential character' of fallen humanity, 2) the separation of human kind into 'groups linked by blood', 3) the 'essential

character of humanity placed in this world', and 4) the entire Created world, with all of its unknown potential and danger.

Endnotes

1 This manuscript is based upon an oral presentation given in July 2008 at the International Medieval Congress held at University of Leeds has been expanded and rewritten in collaboration with Simona Alias, a doctoral student at the University of Trento in Italy, for the *Journal of Osaka International University*. The preliminary paper: Yoshiko Asaka, 'Nature in *Beowulf*: In its Relation to Man,' *Bulletin of the Japanese Association for Studies in the History of the English Language* (e-published, 2008), 1-10.

2 The quotation is from B. Mitchell and F. C. Robinson ed., *Beowulf* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1998). All the quotations from *Beowulf* are from this edition. The modern English translation of *Beowulf* is from S. A. J. Bradley, trans. and ed., *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (J. M. Dent, 1995).

3 Fred C. Robinson, *Beowulf and the Appositive Style* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1985), pp. 71-74.

4 Sweet (1884) suggests a splitting of the word into bee and wolf, being a kenning for bear; Orchard (2005) confronts Beowulf with a Norse person name (Thorolfr), and associates beow- to the pagan Germanic/Anglo-Saxon god, Beow.

5 For example, Nicholas Howe, 'Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England: Inherited, Invented, Imagined', in J. Howe and M. Wolfe ed., *Inventing Medieval Landscapes* (University Press of Florida, 2002), pp. 91-112.

6 Concerning the date of composition of *Beowulf*, B. Mitchell and F. C. Robinson estimated that it was composed *c*.680-800. B. Mitchell and F. C. Robinson ed., *Beowulf* (Oxford: Blackwell publishing, 1998). All the quotations from *Beowulf* are from this edition.

7 The quotation is from J. Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 206.

8 'Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England: Inherited, Invented, Imagined', in J. Howe and M. Wolfe ed., *Inventing Medieval Landscapes* (University Press of Florida, 2002), pp. 91-112.

9 Fabienne L. Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest: Imaginary Geography and Sense of Space in Old English Literature* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2006), chap.3.

10 Martin Carver, *Sutton Hoo: Burial Ground of Kings?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 100.

11 *Dictionary of Old English A-G* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 2008).

12 The definitions of the word *gecynd* are found in dictionaries of Germanic language groups. The following dictionaries were consulted: Joseph Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1898) ; T. N.Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Supplement* (1921); Geir T. Zoëga, *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic* (1926); F. Holthausen, *Altengliches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1963); Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 4th edn(1960); Georg Benecke, *Mittelhochdeutches Wörterbuch* (1963); C. W. M. Grein, *Sprachschatz der Angelsächsischen Dichter*, rev. by F. Holthausen and J.J.Köhler (1974); *A Thesaurus of Old English* Vol.I, Vol.II, (King's College, London, 1995).

13 This is *gecynde* used to mean 'belonging or pertaining to one by birth or inheritance; lawful, rightful' (2197).

14 The view is put forward by Jennifer Neville, chaps 2-3.

15 *Dictionary of Old English A-G* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 2008).

16 For St. Augustine's philosophy of creation, I'm indebted to H. Pinard, "Creation", in A. Vacant et al., eds., *Dictionnaire de théologie Catholique* (1923-72), 3: 2034-37.

[17] The view is put forward by Jennifer Neville, chaps 2-3.

[18] This view is the same as the exegetical interpretation of humanity, pointed out by D.W. Robertson and B.F. Huppé.

[19] *De civitate Dei,* Lib. XI. Caput XXII. The modern English translation is from H. Betterson, (trans.), *Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans* (Penguin, 1972). See also the Latin original text *De Civitate Dei* Lib. XIV, Caput 12 (Turnout: Brespols, 2003) in which St. Augustine writes about the beauty of the creation, where no nature is entirely evil.

[20] For example, see Bernard F. Huppé, 'Nature in *Beowulf* and Roland', in *Approaches to Nature in the Middle Ages* (New York: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York, 1982), pp.4-46. As to the domination of Augustinian ideology on Old English poetry, see B. F. Huppé, *Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry* (Albany, NY, 1959).

[21] *De civitate Dei*, Lib. XIV. Caput XII.

[22] For the function of the hall, see for example, Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson, ed. *Beowulf*, pp. 186-87; Fabienne L. Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest: Imaginary Geography and Sense of Space in Old English Literature* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2006), chap.3.

[23] Peter Hunter Blair, *Northumbria: in the Days of Bede* (1976; Facsimile reprint Llanerch Publishers, 1996), p.15.

[24] Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford University Press, 1999), Bk II, chap.13.

[25] *Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, II, 13. Miller, Thomas, ed. *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Part I. 1890-98, (EETS rpt. 1959, 1963).

[26] For example, miniature models of reconstructions at the museums in Jarrow and Lindisfarne.

[27] P. V. Addyman. 'The Anglo-Saxon house: a new review' *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972), pp. 273-308. The quotation is from Martin Welch, *Anglo-Saxon England* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1992), p.53.