

Semasiological Development of the OE *hagosteald* (2)

Kenichi Tamoto

Introduction

The present discussion continues from those developed in the previous articles written by the present writer.¹ Tamoto (2000)₂ deals with the OE *hagosteald* and its compounds (*hehstaldhad* and *hehstaltnis*) employed as the terms glossing the Latin *virgo* and *virginitas* in the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Rushworth Gospels. The stem forms of the word and its compounds in those Gospels are *hehstald(-)*, occurring 15 times in the Lindisfarne Gospels and twice in the Rushworth Gospels, and *heghstald*, occurring once in the Lindisfarne Gospels. The other 10 variant stem forms of the word and its compounds occur in the texts dealt with in Tamoto (2000)₃, which discusses the senses “(young) warrior”, “unmarried man” and “youth” of the word *hagosteald*, and the instances of the word occurring as the first element of the place-names *Hagustaldes ea* (or *-ham*) “Hexham” and *Hegstealdcumb* “Hestercombe”.² The present article concludes a series of the semasiological research of the word *hagosteald* and its compounds and derivative. The materials treated are the interlinear glosses in the so-called *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis* (*DurRitGl*) and those in the so-called *Judicia Dei IV* and *V* (*LawludDei IV* and *LawludDei V*).³ The final conclusive remarks on the

¹ Tamoto (2000)₂, ‘The OE Glosses for *virgo* and *virginitas* in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels’, *Language and Culture, Bulletin of Institute for Language Education* No. 3 (Nagoya: Institute for Language Education, Aichi University, 2000); Tamoto (2000)₃, ‘Semasiological Development of the OE *hagosteald* (1)’, *Civilization 21*, No. 5 (Toyohashi: Association for International Communication, Aichi University, 2000).

² The ten variant stem forms are *hagestald*, *hagesteald*, *hagosteald*, *hagstd*, *hagustald*, *hagustd*, *hagusteald*, *hægesteald*, *hægsteald*, and *hegsteald*.

³ The illustrations are quoted from A. Hamilton Thompson and Uno Lindelöf, *Rituale*

series of the research as a whole will also be made at the end.

4. *hagosteald*, etc in the *Durham Ritual*

The manuscript of the *Durham Ritual* is Durham, Cathedral Library, A.IV.19 (Ker No. 106). The Latin text was written in early tenth century, and the OE gloss was added c. 970 by Aldred the glossator.⁴

The word *hagosteald* and its derivative and compounds are found 26 times employed as the glossing terms for the Latin *virgo*, *virginalis* and *virginitas* in *DurRitGl*. The form of the first element of this word is *heh-* in all the instances except the one at 126.3 (*DurRitGl* 2(*Thomp-Lind*) 2.1),⁵ which has *hegh-*. The form of the latter element is *-stald* with one exception at 66.2 (*DurRitGl* 1(*Thomp-Lind*) 81.1), *-stal*, which is followed by the adjectival suffix *-lic*. The meaning is “virgin” (“virginal” or “virginity”) in all the instances. The signification “virgin” may be divided into the following subclasses; “the Virgin Mary”, “Unmarried or chaste maiden or woman distinguished for piety or steadfastness in religion” and “man remaining in a state of chastity”.⁶

4.1. the Virgin Mary

There are 17 examples referring to the Virgin Mary. The form *hegh-*, which occurs only once in the whole *DurRitGl*, is observed in the instance of this word in the following passage:

god godes svnv se ðe ecelice dæg of heghstalde gicenned
Deus dei filius qui hodierna die de uirgine nasci
gimeodvmad is gimilsa vsra
dignatus est miseriatnr nostri. amen:

[May God, the Son of God, who today deigned to be born of a Virgin, take pity upon us.
Amen.]

(126.3; *DurRitGl* 2 (*Thomp-Lind*) 2.1)⁷

Ecclesiae Dunelmensis: The Durham Collectar (Durham 1927) and Felix Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle a. S. 1898-1916).

⁴ T. J. Brown, *The Durham Ritual*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 16 (Copenhagen 1969), p. 11.

⁵ The instances are cited by the page and the line numbers in the edition by Thompson and Lindelöf (1927) with the lineation of the *MCOE* in the parentheses.

⁶ Bäck (1934, pp. 172-74) adds two more subclasses, “young woman of an age and character affording presumption of chastity” and “girl, maiden”, which may be unnecessary.

⁷ Underlines and translation are by the present writer.

The *heghstalde*, sing. dat., is employed to render the *uirgine*, the sing. abl. of *virgo*, which refers to the Virgin Mary.

Some instances have the forms with the case endings abbreviated. The instance in the following passage ends with an apostrophe, which shows that a case ending is abbreviated:

gearvig ve bid' alm' god þte eadges mari' symle
 Presta quesumus omnipotens deus. ut beate mariae semper
 hehstald' gilomlica symbeltido 7 ondveard' lifes vs
 uirginis frequentata sollemnitas et presentis uitae nobis
 gibrenga lecedomas 7 meardo f'gefe eco
 conferat remedia et premia concedat aeterna. per
 [Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that the repeated festival of blessed Mary, ever a
 virgin, may bring us remedies for this present life, and may gain us eternal rewards,
 through...]

(67.3; *DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 81.7)

The above passage occurs on folio 32r of the MS; an abbreviation mark (˘) is written in the MS above the letter *a*, not above the letter *d*,⁸ but it signifies that a case ending is abbreviated. The word is used to gloss the *uirginis*, sing. gen.; therefore, the full form of the word with the case ending should be *hehstaldes*. The form *hehstld'* with the case ending *-es* (sing. gen.) abbreviated, occurs also at 69.9 (*DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 91.1) [folio 33r], 70.5 (*DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 91.6) [folio 33v], 70.17 (*DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 91.8) [33v], 74.29 (*DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 101.1) [35v], and 74.39 (*DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 101.2) [36r].

The full form with the *-es*, the singular genitive case ending, also occurs:

gilef vsig ðegnas ðino ve bid' driht' god eco
 Concede nos famulos tuos quesumus domine deus perpetua
 ðohtes 7 lichomes hælo gifeagia 7 wldrig eadges mar'
 mentis et corporis sanitate gaudere. et gloriosa beate mariae
 symle hehstaldes ðingvn frō ondveardū ve se alesad
 semper uirginis intercessione a presenti liberari
 rotnise 7 tovea ðerhbrvca glædnise
 tristitia. et futura perfrii laetitia. per dominum.
 [Permit us, thy servants, we beseech, Lord, God, to enjoy perpetual health of mind and

⁸ The abbreviation mark is written likewise above the *a* of the instances at 69.9 (*DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 91.1) [folio 33r], and 74.39 (*DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 101.2) [36r]; it, however, is written above the *d* at 70.5 (*DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 91.6) [33v], 70.17 (*DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 91.8) [33v], and 74.29 (*DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 101.1) [35v].

body, and by the glorious intercession of blessed Mary, eternal Virgin, to be relieved from present anguish and to enjoy future gladness.]

(69, 32; *DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind)* 91.4)

The instances at 51.28 (*DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind)* 41.1) and 69.17 (*DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind)* 91.2) occur with the singular genitive case ending *-es*, and gloss the Latin *uirginis*, which refers to the Virgin Mary.

The form of the instance at 70.1 is *hehstalde*, which is in the singular dative:

allm'	ece	god	ðegnas	ðino	sviðra	ðines	mæhtes
Omnipotens	sempiterno	deus	famulos	tuos	dextera	tuę	potentię
frō	allū	giscild	froecelnissū	7	eadga	maria	symle
a	cunctis	protege.	periculis.	et	beata	maria	semper
<u>hehstalde</u>	giðingende	do	hia	ondveardlic'	gifeaiga		
<u>uirgine</u>	intercedente	fac	eos	presenti	gaudere		
vale	ī	7	toveardo				
prosperitate	et	futura.	per	dominum.			

[Almighty and eternal God, protect thy servants with the right hand of thy power from all perils, and with blessed Mary, the eternal Virgin, interceding, make them enjoy present and future prosperity.]

(70, 1; *DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind)* 91.5)

The word *hehstalde* glosses the Latin *uirgine*, which is in the singular ablative case. The form of the instance at 126, 7 (*DurRitGl 2 (Thomp-Lind)* 2.2) and 126.18 (*DurRitGl 2 (Thomp-Lind)* 2.5) is also *hehstalde*, and it likewise glosses the Latin *uirgine*, sing. abl. The word at 101.15 (*DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind)* 139.1) and 126.25 (*DurRitGl 2 (Thomp-Lind)* 2.7) is employed also to gloss the Latin *uirgine*, sing. abl., but the form of the instances is *hehstald* and *hehstald'*, with the case ending *-e* abbreviated. The form *hehstald* occurs at 101.15 (*DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind)* 139.1); it seems that the editor did not put an apostrophe after the *d* because the reading in the MS [folio 48r] is not clear enough to discern the abbreviation mark. The apostrophe is put after the *d* at 126.25 (*DurRitGl 2 (Thomp-Lind)* 2.7); an abbreviation mark is discernible above the *d* in the MS [folio 61v].

At page 104, line 27, *hehstaldes* in the singular genitive case renders the Latin *uirginitatis*.

eft	besih	driht'	mildelice	of'	ðas	ðioen	ðin
Respice	domine	propitius	super	hanc	famulam	tuam.	illam
þte	halges	<u>hehstaldes</u>	gisetnise	þ	ðec	onblavende	
ut	sanctę	uirginitatis	propositum	quod	te	inspirante	

onfeng ðec gistiorende ð gihalde
 suscepit te gubernante custodiat. per

[Look kindly, Lord, upon this servant of thine, so that the proposition of the holy virginity, which she accepted under thy inspiration, may protect her under thy governance.]

(104, 27; *DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 142.1)

The reading in the MS [folio 50r] is exactly the same as in the edition, and no trace of the abbreviation mark is discernible. The word *hehstald* here probably can be regarded as an abstract noun rendering the Latin *virginitas*. Another instance of this word used as an abstract with the full ending, *hagostealde*, was discussed in Tamoto (2000)³; it is found in *Riddle* 20, line 31. Bäck (1934, p. 175), however, states that “the example from Durh Rit is doubtful, the glossator perhaps intending *hagusteald* ‘virgin’ ”.⁹ Concerning this use of the word, Bäck also suggests that the abbreviated form *hehstald*’ for *hehstaldhad* should be taken into consideration; as will be illustrated later, its two instances are found (105.26 and 105.37).

An OE adjective *hehstallie*, a derivative of the word *hehstald*, occurs in the following passage to render the Latin adjective *uirginalis*:

god ðv ðe hehstallie’ hall eadges marię in ðon
 Deus qui virginalem aulam beatę marię in qua
 ðv giwvnedest gicease gimeodvmað arð
 habitares eligere dignatus es.

[God, who deigned to choose the virginal palace of the blessed Mary in which to live.]

(66, 2; *DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 81.1)

The passage occurs in folio 31v of the MS, and an abbreviation mark is written above the *c* of the OE *hehstallie*’. It is the abbreviated form of *hehstallie*, feminine singular accusative, strong declension.

4.2. Unmarried or chaste maiden or woman distinguished for piety or steadfastness in religion

Seven instances are found in this sense; all the instances have *heh-* as the form of the first element of this word. The simplex occurs 3 times, glossing the Latin *virgo*; the compounds *hehstaldhad*, *hehstaldnis* and *hehstald*’ (an abbreviated form of a compound) occur 4 times, rendering the Latin *virginitas*.

One of the instances of the simplex occurs in the following passage:

⁹ Wenisch (p. 169) lists this instance under *hagosteald*; the lineation of this instance in Wenisch is 104,13.

do vsig driht god hael' mari' symle hehstald' fvl'tūmū
 Fac nos domine deus sancte mariæ semper uirginis subsidiis
 þte ve sie nvmeno 7 wvldrig eadigra ap'la ðrov'
 attolli et gloriosa beatorum apostolorum martyrum
 ondet' 7 æc hehstalda alle æc gilic halga va'
 confessorum atque uirginum omniumque simul sanctorum
 scildnis' þte ve sie scildad
 protectione defendi.

[Lord, God, make us to be raised by the assistance of holy Mary, the eternal Virgin, and defended by the glorious protection of the blessed Apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins, and likewise of all the saints.]

(75, 3; *DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind)* 101.2)

The Latin sentence contains two *virgo*'s, the former, in the form *uirginis*, refers to the Virgin Mary, as illustrated above, and the latter, *uirginum*, refers to the holy virgins in general. The OE word glossing the Latin *uirginum*, in the plural genitive case, is *hehstalda*, the *-a* of which is a usual case ending for the plural genitive case of the strong declension. The other two instances of the simplex occur also as glosses for the *uirginum* in the plural genitive, but they have the adjectival genitive plural ending *-ra*, as illustrated below:

7 ðerh alle ðvsenda haligra ðro.a ðinra hehstaldra 7
 et per omnia milia sanctorum martyrum tuorum uirginum et
 ond' ic gihalsigo ðec ðerh blod driht' vs'
 confessorum adiuro te per sanguinem domini nostri
 hæl' crist'
 iesu christi.

[and through all the thousands of thy holy martyrs, virgins and confessors, I pledge to thee, through the blood of our Lord, Jesus Christ.]

(113, 16; *DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind)* 159.1)

The other instance, in the form *hehstaldra*, occurs at 105.21 (*DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind)* 143.1) as a gloss for the *uirginum* in the phrase *electarum tuarum uirginum consortium* “the company of thy (= God’s) elected virgins”. They are two of the three instances of the form *hehstaldra* recorded in the *MCOE*. However, the *MCOE* cites the third one from *LawIudDei V 2*, and, as will be discussed later, it is merely a duplicate registration of the instance at 113.16 (*DurRitGl 1 (Thomp-Lind)* 159.1). The form *hehstaldra*, therefore, occurs twice only, and its instances are those shown above. As mentioned in Tamoto (2000)³, there are two more instances of the word *hagosteald* occurring with the ending *-ra*, in the form *hægstealdra*, one occurring at *GenAB* 1862 and the other at *Beo* 1889, but it is

employed as an adjective in both cases. It follows therefore that the above-mentioned two instances of the form *hehstaldra* are the only instances of the word used as a noun in the plural genitive case with the ending *-ra*.

The Latin abstract noun *virginitas* is rendered by the OE *hehstaldnis* in the following passage:

se ðe ondredes god gidoe godo 7 se ðe gihaldendgiorn is
 Qvi timet deum faciet bona. et qui continens est
 soðfæst' gigrippe hia ð 7 gigeznað him svoelce moder
 iustitiæ adprehendet illam. et obuiauit illi quasi mater
 arwyrðo 7 svoelce wif frô hehstaldnise vnderfoeð
 honorificata et quasi mulier a uirginitate suscipiet
 hine
 illum.

[One who fears God does good things, and one who is continent apprehends justice and has met her as an honoured mother, and she, like a woman in her virginity, will receive him.]

(45, 25; *DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 25.1)

The Latin *uirginitate* is in the singular ablative case, and the OE *hehstaldnise* is in the singular dative case. This is one of the two instances of the compound *hehstaldnis* in the whole OE literature; the other instance occurs, as illustrated in Tamoto (2000)₂, at JI 1.3 in the Lindisfarne Gospels.

The Latin abstract noun *virginitas* is rendered by another OE compound, *hehstaldhad*, in the following passage:

þte 7 fiond se halda of'cyme 7 scylda' fulnisso
 ut et ostem anticum deuincat et uitiorum squalores
 giclænsiga oð þ hvnteahtiges wæstmes' gefe hehstaldhad'
 expurget quatenus centesimi fructus dono uirginitas
 þte giwiltgega ðec mægna æc ðæccillvm þte ðv sie gihrinad
 decorari uirtutumque lampadibus exornari
 7 gicorenra ðinra hehstaldra gihlytto ðec gefende
 et electarum tuarum uirginum consortium te donante
 giearniga þte gimoete
 mereatur uniri. per

[so that she (= thy maid) may conquer the old enemy and expurgate the filth of vices, since virginity deserves, if thou wilt grant it, to be decorated with the gift of a hundred-fold fruit and to be adorned with the lights of virtues, and to be joined to the company of thy elected virgins.]

(105, 19; *DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 143.1)

There are cases in which an abbreviated *hehstald'*, neither *hehstaldhad* nor

hehstaldnis, is used to gloss the Latin abstract noun *uirginitas*. The abbreviated form occurs twice:

sel ve bid' driht' ðiven' ðin' þ hehstald'
 Da quesumus domine famulæ tue. illi. quam uirginitatis
 worðvnce gimeodv' arð giwlitga
 honore dignatus es decorare

[Lord, we beseech thee, grant to thy servant/handmaid, whom thou wished to decorate with honour of virginity,...]

(105.26; *DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 144.1)

gibrohtū geafū driht' ve bid' ondveard' ðioen' ðinræ
 Oblatis hostis domine quesumus presentis famulæ tūæ.
 wvvnvise eces hehstald' gifæstna ȝ

illius. perseuerantiam perpetuæ uirginitatis accomoda

[Now that the sacrifices of your servant—here present—have been offered, grant the perseverance of perpetual virginity...]

(105.37; *DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 145.1)

The above two instances occur as the gloss for the Latin *uirginitatis*, in the singular genitive case; they have an abbreviation mark above the *d* in the MS.

4.3. Man remaining in a state of chastity

Two instances fall under this subclass. They occur in the following passages:

ðas aron ða ðe mið vifvm ne sindon gividlado
 Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati
 hehstaldo f'ðon sindon
 uirgines enim sunt

[These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.]

(47.36; *DurRitGl 1* (Thomp-Lind) 27.4)

ðec ve onceigas driht' halga fæder allm' ece god
 Te inuocamus domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus.
 of' ðas ðioen' ðin' ðio ðe vil gihera clænū
 super hanc famulam tuam. illam. que tibi uult seruire pura
 ðohte clænvm æc hearte þte hia gifoega ðv gmeodvmla bitvih
 mente mundoque corde ut eam sociare digneris. inter
 ðæm feoero 7 feortigū 7 hvnd' ðvsenda cildena ða ðe
 illa CXLIII. milia infantum qui
 hehstaldo ðerhwvnedon 7 hia mið vifvm ne
 uirgines permanserunt. et se cum mulieribus non
 giwidladon
 inquinaerunt

[We call to thee, Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and eternal God, to grant onto this servant

of thine, who wishes to serve thee with pure mind and clean heart, to be joined to those 144 thousand sons who remained virgins, and who did not contaminate themselves with women, on whose mouth no deceit was found, and therefore make this servant of thine remain immaculate until the end, by our immaculate Lord, Jesus Christ.]

(104.14; MCOE, *DurRitGl* 1(Thomp-Lind) 141.2)

The first passage is a citation from the Revelation 14, 4; the Latin *uirgines* is referred to later as *hi* (*hii* in the Vulgate), the masculine plural nominative form of *hīc*. The instance, therefore, is classified as signifying male virgins. In the second passage also, which is relevant to the Revelation 14, 1-5, *uirgines* refers to the 144,000.¹⁰

To sum up, in *Dur Rit Gl*, the word *hehstald* and its derivatives and compounds are employed as glosses referring to “the Virgin Mary” 17 times, “unmarried or chaste maiden” 7 times, and “male virgin” twice. All the instances occur in the sense “virgin”; no other sense is found. This is the tendency observed also in the glosses of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

The stem form of this word and its derivatives is *hehstald* in almost all instances. The forms *heghstald*, with the *g* between the *e* and the *h*, and *hehstallie*, with the *d* omitted before the adjectival suffix *-lic*, occur, but only once each. The unusual occurrence of the form *heghstald* is also the very same tendency found in the Lindisfarne glosses. The adjective *hehstallie* is a hapax legomenon.

Concerning the date and the scribe of the *Dur Rit Gloss*, Ross, Stanley and Brown conclude that “Aldred, who, as a priest, glossed the whole of the Lindisfarne Gospels, also wrote, as provost, the following parts of the Ritual: — the Gloss to MS. pp. 1-105, 108-22, 139-42, 153-66, 169-76”, that is to say, the whole of the gloss, and that “comparison between the writing of the Lindisfarne Gloss and that of the Ritual Gloss suggests that the latter is the later of the two”.¹¹

5. *hagosteald*, etc in *Iudicia Dei, Rituale IV & V*

As the earliest instances of the subclassified senses “the Virgin Mary” and “unmarried or chaste maiden or woman distinguished for piety or steadfastness

¹⁰ Concerning 104.14, the MS reads *milia infantum*, which is amended to *infantium* by Corrêa (1992, p. 219). The Vulgate (Rev.14.1-5) renders *ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες* “144 thousand (people)” by “centum quadraginta quattuor milia”; the word *infans* is not used.

¹¹ Kendrick, Brown, Bruce-Mitford, Roosen-Runge, Ross, Stanley and Werner (1956-60), Book II, pp. 31-32.

in religion”, Bäck (p. 173) quotes from the following passages:¹²

drihten ricsnadra, se ðe fore vsig menn 7
Dominus dominantium, [3,1] qui propter nos homines et
fore usra hælo of bearme Fadores of ðvne stige 7
propter nostram salutem de sinu Patris descendisti et
of Mar' hehstald flæsc onfoa gimeodvmad arð...
ex Maria uirgine carnem assumere dignatus es ...
(*Iudicium Dei, Rituale IV 3,1*)

ðerh alle ðvsenda haligra ðrovara ðinra, hehstaldra 7
per omnia milia sanctorum martyrum tuorum, uirginum et
ondetra;...
confessorum; ...
(*Iudicium Dei, Rituale V 2*)

Bäck regards the above as the ninth-century Northumbrian text. Evidently, as Bäck classifies, *hehstald* in the former passage is used to gloss the *uirgine* referring to the Virgin Mary, and *hehstaldra* in the latter passage denotes unmarried maidens or women who are pious and steadfast in religion. With regard to the date and authority of the above text, however, it seems that Bäck failed to regard the Northumbrian gloss of *Iudicia Dei, Rituale IV* and *V* as dating around 970 (the 9th century might be the date for the Latin text), and to regard the text as edited from Durham Cathedral A iv 19, the very same MS that had been edited for the Surtees Society in 1840 by Stevenson under the title *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis* (later by Lindelöf in 1927; commonly known as the Durham Ritual), which Liebermann states in his edition.¹³ The passages cited above are the same as those in *Dur Rit Gl* (101, 10-15; 113, 16-19).

Therefore it follows that the instances of the word *hehstald* used in the sense “virgin” are found only in *Li, Ru2*, and *Dur Rit Gl*, the Northumbrian interlinear glosses, dating back to 950-975.

¹² Cited from Liebermann (1898-1916), erster Band, pp. 409 and 411.

¹³ Liebermann I, pp. xxiii-xxiv; III, pp. 238-39. He remarks: “Die Interlinearglosse ist Nordhumbrisch vom Ende 10. Jhs”, I, p. 409 footnote; “Die drei Theile sind um 975 Northumbrisch glossirt, ...” and “Auf f. 48 b steht **Iud Dei IV**, u. S. 409; f. 54 **Iud Dei V**, u. S. 411”, I, p. xxiv. Concerning the instance at *Iud Dei IV 3, 1* (therefore in *Dur Rit Gl 101.15*), Wenisch (1979, p. 169, footnote) also points out that Hildegard Rauh, in *Der Wortschatz der altenglischen Uebersetzungen des Matthaeus-Evangeliums ...* (Diss., Berlin, 1936), at page 13, makes duplicate entry. The *MCOE* makes duplicate entry for both instances.

6. Conclusions

6.1. The stem form *hehstald* (or *heghstald*) is peculiar to the Northumbrian interlinear glosses, *Li*, *Ru2*, and *Dur Rit Gl*.

6.2. The employment of the word *hehstald* for the sense "virgin" is observed exclusively in *Li*, *Ru2*, and *Dur Rit Gl*, the Northumbrian interlinear glosses.

6.3. The word *hagusteald* developed the sense "virgin" from its reference to a male person. As mentioned previously, Bäck (p. 173) seems to have been mistaken about the authority and the date of the Northumbrian gloss of *Iudicium Dei*, *Rituale* IV and V, from which he illustrates the sense "virgin" and conjectures the earlier existence of the sense "bachelor" as a stage prior to the sense "virgin", concluding that in the sense "virgin" the word *hehstald* was "first applied to women and then figuratively to male persons". Now that Bäck's conjecture is proved unlikely, an important key to the apparently peculiar rendering seems to be the use of the word *virgo* for a youth or a man remaining in a state of chastity, especially for St John, in the introductory passage in St John's Gospel, "Argumentum Secundum Iohannem", which is preserved in the Lindisfarne Gospels only, not in the other glossed Gospels or translation of the Gospels.

A phrase in the opening sentences of "Argumentum Secundum Iohannem" seems to be particularly important from the semasiological viewpoint: "ut **uirginem uirgo** seruaret". Here *hehstald* is used to render *virgo*, in the context that the Lord on the cross committed his mother to St John so that the "(male) virgin" (= St John) might protect the "(female) virgin" (= the Virgin Mary). The use of the Latin *virgo* for the concept of "a male virgin" in those passages must have exerted a considerable influence on the choice of the glossing word for *virgo*. In that sense the word occurs 4 times, i.e. about one third of the whole of the examples in the Lindisfarne glosses; the other instances refer to the Virgin Mary (5 times) and to the (ten wise and foolish) maidens or virgins (4 times). Furthermore, it should be added that while *hehstaldhad*, one of the two compounds found in the Lindisfarne gloss, is used to render *virginitas* merely in the sense of "unmarried state of a young marriageable women", the other compound *hehstaltnisse* is employed, in the introductory passage, to gloss on the same Latin word used with more religious connotation with reference to St John (cf. an example about the Virgin Mary in *Dur Rit Gl*).

The following passages quoted from Aldhelm and Bede contain an idea

similar to that expressed in the above-mentioned phrase:

Aldhelm's *De Virginitate*:

ut non inconveniēter carmine rithmico dici queat
Christus passus patibula
Atque leti latibula
Virginem virgo virgini
Commendabat tutamini.

[as can be not inappropriately expressed in a rhythmical poem,
Christ, having suffered the cross
and the hiding-places of death,
himself a virgin commended a virgin [=Mary]
to a virgin [=John] for safe-keeping.]

(Ehwald (1919), p. 235; trans. Lapidge)

Bede's *Retractio in Actus Apostolorum*:

Absit autem ut credamus beatum Iohannem apostolum, cui dominus in cruce matrem suam virginem virgini commendavit, post unum annum recessisse et eam reliquisse solam ac tanto tempore deiectam, ut etiam corpus suum defunctae timeret ab hostibus esse comburendum eumque, postquam raptus in nubibus ad se redisset, velut oblitum sive incuriosum sui sollicita precaretur, dicens: '*rogo te, fili Iohannes, ut memor sis verbi magistri tui, domini mei, Jesu Christi, qui me commendavit tibi.*

[Far be it from us, however, to believe that *the blessed apostle John, to whom, being a virgin, the Lord on the cross commended his virgin mother*, departed after one year and left her alone and so dispirited by the passage of time that she feared that her body, when she was dead, was to be burned by her enemies and, after he had returned to her, having been caught up by clouds, she begged him anxiously, as if he were forgetful or unconcerned about her, saying: "*I beseech you, my son John, to remember the word of your master, my lord Jesus Christ, who commended me to you.*"]¹⁴

With such an idea already prevailing, the glossator of the Lindisfarne Gospels seems to have chosen the word *hagosteald*, because it had already expressed the idea of someone who serves his lord and therefore who is loyal to the lord, which idea underlies the concept of "warriors" or "retainers" expressed by the word.¹⁵ The Virgin Mary calls herself "ancilla Domini (=the handmaid of our Lord)" (Lk 1, 38), and St John is referred to as God's servant in the first verse of the

¹⁴ Laistner 1939, rept. Turnhout 1983, pp. 120-21; trans. Clayton, p. 18; italics mine.

¹⁵ Guthlac, a soldier of a king, for example, was converted into a soldier of Christ; in the poems *Guthlac I* and *II* he is referred to as *Cristes cempa* 'the soldier of Christ' (l. 153a), *godes cempa* 'the soldier of God' (l. 889a), and *Dryhtnes cempa* 'the Lord's soldier' (l. 901b). He is referred to also as *se halga þeow* 'this saintly servant' (l. 896b).

Apocalypse.¹⁶

Apocalypsis Iesu Christi, quam dedit illi Deus palam facere servis suis, quae oportet fieri cito: et significavit, mittens per Angelum suum servo suo Iohanni

[The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ which God gave him, to make manifest to his servants the things which must be done quickly: and signified, sending by his Angel to his servant John.]

(Apc 1, 1)

With those ideas in the background, it is probable that the word *hagosteald* was regarded as the suitable word for chastity and virginity of St John and the Virgin Mary, as mentioned in the introductory passage of St John's Gospel. Hence the word was also applied to the "female virgins" in general; the concept was also expressed by the Latin word *virgo*.

6.4. The form *hehstald* (-) is common to almost all the examples found in *Li*, *Ru2* and *Dur Rit Gl.*, the Northumbrian glosses, which appears to point to the proposals that *Li* and *Dur Rit Gl* were written by one glossator, Aldred, and the latter was the later of the two (Ross & Stanley, Book II, p. 32), and that Owun, the glossator of *Ru2*, took the Lindisfarne gloss as his guide and followed it rather closely (in spite of his deviation from the Lindisfarne gloss which was pointed out in Summary of Tamto (2000)₂).¹⁷ Therefore, as far as judgement is brought from the extant texts, the use of the word *hehstald*, together with the compounds *hehstaldhad* and *hehstaldnis* and the derivative *hehstallie* (a hapax legomenon), in more religious sense may be ascribed to a glossator called Aldred, who adopted the simplex *hehstald* and its compounds and derivative as appropriate terms to express the concepts of "virgin" and "virginity".

¹⁶ The Argumentum Secundum Johanem in the Lindisfarne Gospels says that the Apocalypse was written by St John, the author of the Gospel according to John: "Hoc autem euangelium scripsit in Asia, posteaquam in Pathmos insula apocalypsin scripserat" (Chapman 1908, p. 219).

¹⁷ Skeat (1871-87), St John, p. xii.

