# THE *FAMILIA* IN ANGLO-SAXON SOCIETY: 'HOUSEHOLD', RATHER THAN 'FAMILY, HOME LIFE' AS NOW UNDERSTOOD

*Abstract:* Words used for societal units do not always translate well from one language to another, and present difficulties within one language considered from age to age. The family unit is ideally so overlaid with love and sentiment, so fundamental to the sweet content of father, mother, children, and perhaps others closely tied or loosely connected by blood or affinity that it is hard for us to believe that there appears not to have been in Anglo-Saxon England a native word for 'the family' as an ideal grouping. The Anglo-Saxons had words for 'household', indeed with a *pater familias* very much at the head, and the unit including wife and children of course, but equally as a matter of course, servants and slaves in the house and in the fields, and cattle and sheep, often a very large unit. Many of the words used for such a unit are derivatives and compounds of *hiw*, and that is related to *hi(gi)d*, the word used for a unit of land, the 'hide'. That unit is, however, not of some standard land measure, but probably of a variable area one or more of which would be sufficient to sustain a household, large or small, including monastic households, some of them very large with lands of many hides. One might wish to understand their unit, the 'hide', as consisting of some definite number of acres. That does not apply. There are several other Old English words for some kind of family unit, *sibb*, a word for the 'extended family' and for 'peace', and *cynn*, a word for 'tribe, race', and contained in post-Anglo-Saxon *kith and kin*. These words are not treated in this paper, which has the complexities of *hiw* and derivatives and compounds at its centre.

## 1. 'KITH AND KIN' PERHAPS A COLD COMFORT AT ANY TIME IN THE ENGLISH MIDDLE AGES, AND CERTAINLY NOT GOING BACK LINGUISTICALLY TO ANGLO-SAXON

Mrs Thatcher is reported as having said, "there is no such thing as 'society'." What exactly she meant is not clear. Perhaps it was a political statement, that socialism has no basis in the realities of the nation. Perhaps it was more profound, that within the nation each one is alone, and that in a self-seeking world there is no cohesiveness between individuals other than of insubstantial sentiment. Our notion of the family is similarly of a grouping, each member of which is alone, and held together, if at all, by insubstantial sentiment. The Anglo-Saxons seem not to have had a word for that grouping. We speak alliteratively of *kith and kin*, a phrase that looks as if it might go back to the Anglo-Saxons; yet not all that alliterates is ancient, and the

collocation is recorded no earlier than *Ancrene Wisse* in the early thirteenth century:[1]

> Na swuch þing ne schule ȝe ȝeouen wiðuten schriftes leaue, na mare þen neomen þet ȝe ne seggen him fore, as of oðre þinges, kun oðer cuððe, hu ofte ȝe underuengen hu longe ȝe edheolden.

> No such thing (as articles of clothing) shall you give without the confessor's leave, no more than take what you have not told him of beforehand, nor of other things, from kin or kith, without (telling him) how often you have received things (or) how long you have retained them.

From this quotation it emerges that for a religious the ties of kin and kith are to be put aside as worldly vanities, like articles of clothing made in the solitariness of the anchor-hold to give to those outside, or things received from those near and dear, kinsfolk and acquaintance: no warm relationships in this world for anchoresses.

It might be objected that to generalize about Anglo-Saxon usage from the peculiar case of a coenobitical ideal designed for three young, well-born ladies, who have chosen to cut themselves off from kith and kin, is mistaken in respect of both date and non-secularity. The former is true, but not the latter: the extant literature (in the widest sense of the word) of the Anglo-Saxons was written largely by the religious for the religious, and transmitted by religious scribes in religious houses. Where worldliness is a sin, the comforting warmth of a generous kith and kin is a false comfort.

In the recent *Thesaurus of Old English* there is hardly a mention of 'family'.[2] In Modern English, when one thinks of 'family', one thinks of father, mother and children, and in an 'extended family' one thinks of grandparents, and others related by ties of blood or affinity. In twenty-first-century Britain the notion of 'the extended family' survives chiefly in immigrant families or those descended from immigrants.

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[1]  *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. Bella Millett, EETS o.s. 325 (Oxford, 2005) 160, lines 170–3. The quotations in this paper do not follow editorial details, including punctuation; all translations are mine, unless the translator's name is given. For 'kith and kin' cf. *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Hans Kurath *et al.* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1952–2001) s.v. *kitthe*, n. 3.

[2]  *A Thesaurus of Old English*, ed. Jane Roberts and Christian Kay with Lynne Grundy, 2 vols., King's College London Medieval Studies XII (London: King's College, 1995). Walter W. Skeat, *An English–Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1879) 16, gives: "*family*, mægð, cynn, híred | *family, member of a*, híwa".

## 2. WEDLOCK IN THE MIDDLE AGES, AND THE EXAMPLE OF THE SAINTLY ABBOT EUGENIA

It was different before the Great War of 1914–1918, when father went out to work and provided for his wife at home looking after the children, and making sure that grandparents and other dependants were warm and did not go hungry. The aristocracy, the squirarchy too, lived in a different world, a world which by a largely false sense of genealogical descent was affectionately traced back to earlier ages of knights in armour and perhaps even to the heroes of Anglo-Saxon England, in whom their romantic descendants believed. The feelings of kith and kin in Anglo-Saxon England were not a subject in Old English literature. The demands of the immediate family, of father, mother, and children, are not anywhere at the centre of Anglo-Saxon thought as far as we know it. That is perhaps a consequence of the monastic dominance in the transmitted literature of Anglo-Saxon England.

Unlike recent canonizations, the saints venerated in Anglo-Saxon England were not much engaged in social work. Contemporary with *Ancrene Wisse*, too late therefore even for the *Legenda Aurea*, St Elizabeth of Hungary is an almost unique medieval model of compassion with the poor. Other than for her royal rank, her family is of little consequence in her saintliness. Ælfric's homilies on the lives of saints might seem a good place to look for characterizations of saints. Of course in most of his writings he merely follows his source. In these homilies we are not likely to find many accounts of 'family life'. The good bishop Helenus speaks to St Eugenia's servants, her *familia* as that Latin word is to be understood, but there is no sense of that in Ælfric's account, and there is no mention of *familia* in the underlying words of the Gospel:[3]

> To hire twam cnihtum . he cwæð þæt hi heoldan
> æþelborennyss on mode . þeah þe hi mannum þeowdon.
> and cwæð þæt hi Crist gespræce  þysum godspellicum wordum:
> "Na hate ic eow na þeowan . ac ge synd mine freond."

He said to her two servants that they should preserve their innate nobility of mind though they served people; and he said that Christ spoke to them in these gospel-words: "I call you not servants, but you are my friends."

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[3]  *Aelfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, 2 vols., EETS o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (London, 1881–1900) I, 30, lines 84–7. The gospel-words are John 15:15, *Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, ed. John Wordsworth, Henry Julian White, *et al.*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889–1954), I, 612: "iam non dico uos seruos | quia seruus nescit quid facit dominus eius | uos autem dixi amicos", translated, *The New Testament of Iesus Christ, Translated Faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin* (Rhemes, 1582) 262: "Now I cal you not seruants: for the seruant knoweth not what his lord doeth. But you I haue called frendes."

A little later in the homily, Eugenia's compassion with the poor shows itself when she, dressed as a man and elected abbot, urges the rich widow Melantia to distribute treasure to the poor and to beggars, yet that is not seen in terms of kith and kin. As Melantia tries to seduce the handsome abbot Eugenia, she uses the word *gemæne* (line 157) in connection with her relationship to her deceased husband. Skeat, if I understand his translation correctly, interprets that as the 'communion' of wife and husband, a communion that might be regarded as that of an as yet childless family. There is no sign that Ælfric so regarded it; and this interpretation is, I think, mistaken.[4] The sense of the word is clear: if it is a noun, it means 'a sharing'; if it is an adjective, it means 'common'. The syntax of *unc næs gemæne . man on þyssum lyfe* is far from clear, less clear than Ælfric's syntax is usually. Dual *unc* is in form accusative or dative, dative here; pronominal *man* is always nominative, and the first half seems to mean 'was not held in common by the two of us', or 'was not common to (or shared by) the two of us'. In legal terminology Blackstone's *communion of goods* 'joint ownership' may be involved, and that may be meant by Skeat's translation, 'we two had no communion'. Skeat's words have been interpreted as if he had designed to make 'sexual intercourse' acceptable to a Victorian readership of the lives of saints, and Ælfric's words (perhaps as glossed by Skeat) are interpreted by Paul Szarmach as "evidently saying that she and her deceased husband have had no intercourse", where *evidently* means 'inferentially', not 'evidentially'.[5] The four words that follow are vague in sense, and in syntax loosely attached to what precedes: something like 'as people in this life'.[6]

Melantia's marital situation is described in the preceding lines. She had been left substantial possessions, *unlytle æhta*, by her husband. While he was alive she had no rights of possession, but was entirely under his authority: they had nothing in common, no communion of goods. About a hundred years after Ælfric composed the homily on Saint Eugenia, a hundred years of momentous change, the *Leges Henrici Primi* give us some idea what property rights a wife and their children had then, and may have had in Anglo-Saxon times (though of course they do not go back to the foreign world of the

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[4]  The distinction between noun and adjective does not hold in Old English when there is no distinction of form. Skeat interprets *gemæne* here as a noun rather than an adjective, and that is a possible interpretation, though Ælfric seems not to have used the word recognizably as a noun anywhere. His usual construction is *beon gemæne* 'to be common to, be held in common by'.

[5]  Paul E. Szarmach, "Ælfric's Women Saints: Eugenia", *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. Helen Damico & Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1990) 146–57, at 149.

[6]  Singular *man* is found with plural sense, allowing the rendering (impersonal) 'people' for 'one'. A personal pronoun, here *unc*, being taken up by impersonal *man* is difficult to parallel, and the connection of the two halves of line 157 is vague – I use 'as' without confidence.

Romans under the emperor Commodus, AD 180–192, under whom Eugenia and her father lived):[7]

> Likewise if a person entrusts anything to, or exchanges it with, or hands it over to, a married woman or infant boy or infant girl without the permission of their lord, it is not necessary for them or their lords, if they are resolved to deny responsibility, to make answer about these things while they are under authority.

It may be that Melantia, through her husband's death no longer *sub virga*, that is, no longer under his authority, was looking for a new man to wield the rod over her, to have authority over her, and Ælfric, far from commenting on her marital sex life, says only that she wished to bestow on the lovely abbot her worldly goods as well as her person. As a widow she enjoyed the rights of ownership, in wedlock she had had no such rights; as a widow she was free to give her person and her possessions in matrimony to whomsoever she chose. The handsome abbot, innocent of course, tempted her to do just that. She was in love with the abbot, and she may well have thought that the prospect of enjoying her person and her goods might persuade the abbot strongly. It did not. What may seem to a modern reader a tale suitable for farce or operetta defines, in a more pious reading, a coenobitic ideal unpossessed of worldly riches. I think that is how Ælfric words the account.

The wedded life and vidual lusts of Melantia, leading to her behaviour at St Eugenia's abbey, are far removed from 'family life' as that is now understood. One thinks of the matron's wholesome words as whispered to her neighbour and overheard in Queen Victoria's reign during a quiet moment in Act IV of a performance of Anthony and Cleopatra: "How different, how very different from the home life of our own dear Queen!"[8] Melantia's life in St Eugenia's *vita* depicts no home life: family harmony – or rancour – is not for homilies on the lives of women saints.

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[7] *Leges Henrici Primi*, ed. L.J. Downer (1972; Oxford: Sandpiper Book, 1996) 154–5, c. 45,3: *Item si quis sponse uel puero uel puelle sine permissu domini sui quamcumque commendationem uel aliquam commutationem uel traditionem fecerit, non opus est eos uel eorum dominos respondere super hiis si complaceat abnegare quamdiu sub uirga sunt.* I quote the editor's translation.

[8] For details of what appears to have been an excessive production, with Sarah Bernhardt as Cleopatra violent in Act IV, see *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, introd. Bernard Darwin, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Oxford UP, 1954) 7, quot. 2, which claims it is from Irvin S. Cobb, *A Laugh a Day*, but it is not in *A Laugh a Day Keeps the Doctor Away* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923), and later editions of the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* leave out the reference to Cobb.

### 3. The Anglo-Saxon Domestic Community; *hiw* and *hired*

How far is our idea of family relations to be understood as the Anglo-Saxons' idea of home life? Felix Liebermann's *Rechts- und Sachglossar* is a good place in which to search for Anglo-Saxon institutions, legal, political, ecclesiastical, or social; but under the headword *Familie* the *Glossar* is uncharacteristically evasive.[9] That headword is followed by a definition of what a family is: *häusliche Gemeinschaft*, 'domestic community'. That coincides with Dr Johnson's spare definition of his first sense of the word *family*: 'Those who live in the same house; household', and that accords with the central sense of Latin *familia*, which Lewis and Short express as, 'With the idea of h o u s e  predominating'.[10] Henry Bradley, editing this part of what is now *The Oxford English Dictionary*, begins his entry *Family* with obsolete meanings of the word, before he gets to the two senses which might be thought centrally relevant to 1894, when *F–Fang* was published:[11]

> **2.** The body of persons who live in one house or under one head, including parents, children, servants, etc. …

> **3.** The group of persons consisting of the parents and their children, whether actually living together or not; in wider sense, the unity formed by those who are nearly connected by blood or affinity.

By *affinity* Bradley meant a relationship by marriage, regardless of any concomitant liking or disliking of the family members for each other. Liebermann, after his two-word definition of *Familie*, bids the reader to look up the following entries in vol. II/1, *Wörterbuch* (1906): (1) *hiwan*, (2) *hiwen*, (3) *hiwisc*, (4) *hiered*, words the meanings of which are summed up in Clark Hall's dictionary as (1) 'members of a family, household or religious house', (2) 'household', (3) 'household', (4) s.v. *hired* 'household, family, retinue, brotherhood, company'.[12]

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[9]   *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Felix Liebermann, 3 vols. (1898–1916; Aalen: Scientia, 1960) II/2 Rechts- und Sachglossar, 397, col. 3.

[10]  *A Dictionary of the English Language*, ed. Samuel Johnson (London, 1755), s.v. *family*. *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short (Oxford: Clarendon, 1879) s.v. *familia*, II., A.

[11]  *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, ed. J.A.H. Murray, Henry Bradley, W.A. Craigie, & C.T. Onions, 10 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1884–1928), Bradley's *F–Fang* (1894) was also published as the first part, *F–Field*, of his vol. IV, *F* and *G* (1901). For some details of the complexities of publication see *Dispatches from the Front: The Prefaces to the Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. Darrell R. Raymond, (Waterloo, Ontario: U of Waterloo, 1987).

[12]  *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 4th ed., ed. J.R. Clark Hall, with a supplement by Herbert D. Meritt (1960; Toronto, etc.: U of Toronto P for the Medieval Academy of America, 1984).

A legal use of *inhiwan*, in the Laws of Ine 50, clearly refers to the servants, free and unfree, of a person of rank, and these are not seen as his family members as that term is now understood, not even necessarily members of the staff living in the same house as the head of the family:[13]

> Gif gesiðcund mon þingað wið cyning oððe wið kyninges ealdormonnan for his inhiwan oððe wið his hlaford for ðeowe oððe for frige, nah he þær nane wite-rædenne, se gesið, forðon he him nolde ær yfles gestieran æt ham.

> If a man of the rank of *gesith* intercedes with the king, or with the king's eal-dorman, or with his lord, on behalf of members of his household, slaves or free, he – the *gesith* – has no right to any fines, because he had not previously sought to restrain them from wrongdoing at home.

In the manuscript *innhiwum* is written in two words, as is its doublet *inn higum* in the will of Badanoth Beotting, two uses that show that such terms may refer to either those dwelling on a secular estate or members of a religious community:[14]

> & ðonne ofer hiora dei wifes & cilda, ic bebeode on Godes noman ðæt mon agefe ðæt lond innhigum to heora beode him to brucanne on ece ærfe swæ him liofast sie.

> And then after their day, of (my) wife and children, I enjoin in the name of God that that land be given to the members of the monastic house for them to enjoy (its yield) at their common table in perpetual possession as it may best please them.

The Anglo-Saxons' understanding of compounds and derivatives of *hiw* allowed them to use them without distinction of 'members of a house' sec-ular or religious, servants, slaves, or monastics. A sense of 'family' as that word is now understood was not part of their understanding. The etymology of *hiw* and related words is no help: the words are polysemous in Old English, and cognates in closely or distantly related Indo-European lan-guages point in too many divergent directions to be of use in determining any

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[13]  Liebermann 1898–1916, I, 110–13; III, 77 (annotations on Ine 50). The *Textus Roffensis* reading is *for his innhiwum* (dative plural), not (accusative plural) *for his inhiwan* (Corpus Christi College MS 173, which I quote). In my translation I have made use of Dorothy Whitelock's translation, *English Historical Docu-ments*, I, c. 500–1042, 2nd ed. (London: Eyre Methuen, 1979) 404.

[14]  *Textus Roffensis*, ed. Peter Sawyer, 2 vols., Early English Manuscripts in Fac-simile VII, XI (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1957, 1962) I, fol. 29ʳᵒ lines 17–18, in fact *inn hi* [new line] *wū* (with wynn, not <w>). The charter is edited and translated by Alistair Campbell, "An Anglo-Saxon Will", *Journal of En-glish and Germanic Philology* 37 (1938): 133–52, *inn higum* at 137, line 13 of the text, 'the monks' at 140, line 2. I prefer 'the members of the monastic house'.

underlying central meaning.[15] It may be a skewed procedure to search for
Old English meanings in the laws and legal documents of the Anglo-Saxons:
legal terminology may differ from non-legal usage. The writings of Wulf-
stan, however, manifest no such semantic distinctions; his legal style differs
little from his non-legal style. One might therefore begin with Wulfstan, but,
disappointingly, he does not make much use of these words. In *Institutes of
Polity* Wulfstan lays down that a bishop is to promote and supervise useful
manual work in his household (*hired*), so that no one remains idle; and
further, it is fitting for bishops to ensure, wherever they may be, that in their
households wise teaching prevails, for every folly is to be regarded as un-
worthy of bishops and their establishments.[16] A bishop's *hired* is not the kind
of family where father is the head, and wife, children, and servants are
directed by him to busy themselves usefully, and avoid idleness and silliness:
it is a great house over which presides a wise bishop, celibate by rule. The
only other occurrence in Wulfstan of any of the words to which Liebermann
directs his readers is a single use of *hired* in a homily, in which *Iacobes hired
& eal Israhela cyn* renders *domus Iacob et omnes cognationes domus Israhel*
of Jeremiah 2:4.[17] This biblical use, with 'the house of Jacob' in parallel with
'all the tribe of Israel', is again not of a family consisting of parents, their
children, and others closely connected by blood or affinity (and in former
times including the servants of the house). Wulfstan has no word for 'family'
in that sense; the concept is not in his language: his two renderings of *domus*,
both *hired* and *cyn,* well represent some of the semantic range of *domus*.

Ælfric provides a richer store of words that might be rendered 'family' in
Modern English, even when the underlying concept was not in Anglo-Saxon
England what *family* is today; that is, even if there were a word in Old

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[15]  Cf. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, ed. Julius Pokorny, 2 vols.
(Bern/München: Francke, 1947–1969) I, 539–40, s.v. k̂ei-, though it is ques-
tionable if every word listed is to be derived from this one single root. See
Andreas Fischer, *Engagement, Wedding and Marriage in Old English*, Anglis-
tische Forschungen 176 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986) 79–84.

[16]  *Die "Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical"*, ed. Karl Jost, Swiss Studies in
English 47 (Bern: Francke, 1959) 76 (II. Polity, 80), 213 (Bodleian MS Junius
121, fol. 16ʳᵒ, 7).

[17]  In searching for words in Old English writings I have of course made use of *A
Microfiche Concordance to Old English*, ed. Richard L. Venezky & Antonette
diPaolo Healey (Newark, Delaware: U of Delaware, 1980); in the *Concordance*
Old English spellings are not standardized, and I hope I have not overlooked any
relevant spellings. *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. Dorothy Bethurum (1957;
Oxford: Sandpiper Books, 1998) 219, lines 203–5; cf. *Biblia Sacra iuxta
Latinam Vulgatam Versionem*, 18 vols. (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis,
1926–1995) XIV, 54, Hieremias 2:4; translated literally *The Holy Bible
Faithfully Translated into English, out of the Authentical Latin*, 2 vols. (Doway,
1609, 1610) II, 549, Ieremie 2:4: "Heare ye the word of our Lord ô house of
Iacob, and al ye kinredes of the house of Israel."

English conveniently rendered by 'family' in Modern English it would not be equipollent with Modern English *family*. In Ælfric there are many occurrences of the words to which we are directed by Liebermann. I restrict my selection to contexts involving parents and children (and perhaps servants), or a house in which there are parents and children (and perhaps servants), not 'household', not 'court', not 'dynasty'. Family membership is outside the *hired* in the homily on St Apollinaris, lines 119–27:[18]

> Þa blissodon þa Cristenan on Cristes herunge .
> and þæt mæden wearð gefullod ond hire modor samod .
> and eall heora hired samod . sume þreo hund manna .
> and fela ðæra hæðenra fengon to geleafan .
> Se fæder swa ðeah Rufus . for þæs caseres reðnysse .
> ne dorste geopenian þæt he on Drihten gelyfde .
> ac he digellice lufode þone geleaffullan bisceop .
> and mid wistum him þenode . and his dohtor wearð gehadod
> to Godes ðeowdome . and þurhwunode mæden.

Then the Christians rejoiced in praising Christ, and the maiden was baptized, and her mother too, and all their household too, some three hundred people, and many of the pagans accepted the Faith. Her father Rufus, however, because of the emperor's severity, did not dare to disclose that he believed in the Lord, but in secret he loved the faithful bishop (Apollinaris), and served him with food, and his daughter was consecrated to the service of God, and remained a virgin.

### 4. The 'hide', a Variable Land Measure, Sufficient to Sustain a *hired*, a *familia*, of Variable Size.

In the minds of many of those who write about Anglo-Saxon land measures the notion of 'family' seems to me to be too close to their understanding of *hi(gi)d*, 'hide' (cf. the meaning of German *Hufe*). No doubt, they are influenced by Anglo-Latin usage, especially Bede's use of the word *familia*; two examples suffice (iv. 16):[19] *Est autem mensura eiusdem insulae iuxta*

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[18] Skeat 1881–1900, I, 478–80. The use of *hyred*, at line 59, is similar in that the word explicitly describes members of the household other than family (476, lines 58–9): the Ravenna nobleman is being baptized *mid his wife and cildum | and eall his hyred.*

[19] Bede uses the word in the genitive (governed by a number) no fewer than seventeen times in *Historia Ecclesiastica*; *A Concordance to the Historia Ecclesiastica of Bede*, ed. Putnam Fennell Jones, Medieval Academy of America Publication 2 (Cambridge, MA: The Concordance Society, 1929) 201. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave & R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1969) 382 (iv. 16), 406 (iv. 23); translated by Thomas Stapleton, *The History of the Church of Englande Compiled by Venerable Bede Englishman* (Antwerp: 1565), quoted from the edition (slightly

*aestimationem Anglorum mille ducentarum familiarum; unde data est episcopo possessio terrae trecentarum familiarum;* and (iv. 23) *accepit locum unius familiae ad septentrionalem plagam Uiuri fluminis, ubi aeque anno uno monachicam cum perpaucis sociis uitam agebat.* Stapleton attractively translates *familia* as 'tenementes' (i.e. 'holdings') in the plural, and as 'Lordeship' (iv. 16): "The sayd Iland conteyned, as the English doo rate it, m.cc. tenementes. Whereof was given to the byshop the possession of the land of ccc. tenementes"; and (iv. 23) "she had delivered her the landes of one Lordeship at the north coast of the river Were, in which she lived also the space of one yeare, and lead a monasticall lyfe with a fewe other of her companie." The Old English translation is fairly literal for these two uses (iv. 16): *Is þæt ilcan ealondes gemet æfter Ongolcynnes eahte twelf hund hida. & he þa þam biscope gesealde in æht þreo hund hida & þær eahta to;* and (iv. 23): *Þa onfeng heo anes heowscipes stowe to norðdæle Wiire þære ea, & þær efenlice an ger munuclif dyde mid feawum hire geferum* ('That same island measures twelve hundred hides according to the reckoning of the English people. And he gave into the bishop's possession three hundred hides and possessions in addition'; and 'then she received a location to the north of the river Wear for one household, and there she pursued in like manner monastic life for one year with a few of her companions').

What size is a household – a *hired*? In *Christ and Satan*, the fallen Lucifer and his crew think of establishing their court, *hired*, in heaven, yet God maintained his court in heaven by right:[20]

> Godes andsacan
> hweorfan geond helle,   hate onæled
> ufan and utan   him wæs æghwær wa.
> Witum werige,   wuldres bescyrede,
> dreamum bedælde   heofon deop gehygd,
> þa heo on heofonum   ham staðelodon,
> þæt hie woldon benæman   nergendne Crist
> roderes rices,   ah he on riht geheold
> hired heofona   and þæt halige seld.

God's adversaries wandered throughout hell, hotly scorched from above and below they experienced misery from all sides. Worn down by torments, deprived of glory, bereft of joys they wailed the grievous thought that, when they had their established home in heaven, they would take away from Christ the Saviour the

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modernized in spelling) for the Shakespeare Head P (Oxford: Blackwell, 1930) 297, 318; *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of The English People*, ed. Thomas Miller, 2 vols., EETS o.s. 95, 96 (London, 1890, 1891) II, 306 lines 28–30, 332 lines 20–2.

[20]  *The Junius Manuscript*, ed. George Philip Krapp, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records I (New York: Columbia UP, 1931) 146, lines 339b–47.

kingdom of heaven: but he maintained by right the court of heaven and that sacred palace.

### 5. The Holy Family; Royal Courts; Christ and the Apostles Seen as a Unit

For *hired* no grander context than *hired heofona and þæt halige seld* was imaginable in Anglo-Saxon England. In the visual arts, the Holy Family, *la Sacra Famiglia*, with St Anne and St John, does not appear much in the early Middle Ages, and in time the number of those participating in the scene grows into representations of Virgin and Child and all their kindred, with St Anne prominent – *die heilige Sippe*. All this is, however, long after the Anglo-Saxons, and this paper is not concerned with the Old English words *sibb* and *cynn*.

A royal prince's court was designated by the word *hired* in late Anglo-Saxon England; thus in the Chronicle annal for 1041:[21]

> & þæs geres sona com Eadward his broðor on medren fram begeondan sæ, Æþelrædes sunu cinges, ðe wæs ær for fela gearon of his earde adrifen, & ðeh wæs to cinge gesworen, & he wunode þa swa on his broðor hirede þa hwile ðe he leofode.

> And soon in that year Edward, his brother on the mother's side, came from beyond the sea, King Æthelred's son, who had been driven from his homeland many years previously, and nonetheless was sworn in as king, and in that way he dwelt at his brother's court as long as he lived.

A royal household with the king's retinue is a *hired*; thus in MS Corpus Christi College Cambridge 188 of the First Series of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies:[22] *Ne mæg nan eorðlic cyning cynelic lybban, buton he hæbbe ðegenas & swa gelogodne hired swa his cynescipe gerisan mæge* ('No earthly king can live (as) royal, unless he has retainers and a household so filled with occupants as may be fitting for his royal rank').

In the account of St Petronilla Ælfric refers to the holy company of the apostles as *Cristes hired* (line 203), and a few lines later as *his halgan hired*:[23]

> On anginne middaneardes . cwæð se ælmihtiga God .
> 'Beoð gemenigfylde . and gefyllað þas eorðan' .
> and Crist wolde on his tocyme clænnysse aræran .
> and his halgan hired . heold on clænnysse.

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[21] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, vol. 5, *MS. C* [Cotton Tiberius B. i], ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge: Brewer, 2001) 107.

[22] *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series*, ed. Peter Clemoes, EETS s.s. 17 (London, 1997) 533, addition to Homily VIII, after line 165.

[23] Skeat 1881–1900, I, 232, Homily X, lines 211–14.

In the beginning of the world Almighty God said, "Multiply, and fill this earth"; and Christ wished at his Advent chastity to be established, and his holy household kept itself in chastity.

The court as a royal institution is not designated a *hired* till after the Conquest, thus at the end of the annal for 1075 (*recte* 1074):[24] & *se kyngc Wyllelm mid micclan weorðscype þa hine underfencg, & he wæs þær þa on his hirede & toc swilce gerihta swa he him gelagade* ('and King William received him with great honour then, and he was there then at his court and took such dues as he established for him by law').

In the Old English writings that have come down to us, in the charters especially of the later Anglo-Saxon period (early charters, exemplified below, more often have dative plural *higum, hiwum, heowum*), *hired* very frequently refers to an ecclesiastical community, not to a secular household; thus a grant of land to Christ Church, Canterbury, in a charter attributed to 1036:[25] *Ic Þored geann þæt land æt Horslege þam hirede æt Cristes cyrcean for mine sawle swa full & swa forð swa ic sylf hit ahte* ('I, Thored, grant the estate at Horsley to the community at Christ Church for the sake of my soul as fully and completely as I owned it myself').

Though this ecclesiastical usage is very common, the Anglo-Saxons certainly used *hired* for secular households too. Job's household, in his prosperity, is described thus by Ælfric:[26] *Him wæron acennede seofon suna and ðreo dohtra. He hæfde seofon ðusend sceapa and ðreo ðusend olfenda, fif hund getymu oxena and fif hund assan and ormæte micelne hired* ('Seven sons and three daughters were born to him. He owned seven thousand sheep and three thousand camels, five hundred teams of oxen and five hundred donkeys and an immensely great household'). This is a literal translation of the Bible, and *ormæte micelne hired* renders *ac familia multa nimis*.[27] What is clear is that *familia* is Ælfric's *hired*, but not *family* in the restricted Modern English sense.[28] Ælfric's treatment of the Bible is less literal in the

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[24]   *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, vol. 6, *MS D* [Cotton Tiberius B. iv], ed. Geoffrey P. Cubbin, (Cambridge: Brewer, 1996) 86. The sentence shows Scandinavian linguistic influence, *toc* and *gelagade*.

[25]   *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. and transl. A.J. Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1939) 172, charter 88.

[26]   *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series*, ed. Malcolm Godden, EETS s.s. 5 (London, 1979) 260, Homiliy XXX, lines 9–12.

[27]   *Biblia Sacra*, IX (1951) 95, Liber Iob, 1:3.

[28]   The wording *and a familie exceding great* in the Doway version (*The Holie Bible*, I [1609], 1061) is unidiomatic, for that version tends to use, even if unidiomatic, English words closely related to the Latin of the Vulgate. The Authorized Version, based on the Hebrew text, has "and a very great household," and for *household* it has the marginal gloss, *Or, husbandrie*.

following sentence from his *Sermo Excerptus de Libro Rerum*, in which *hired* is used with a prophetic reference to the dynasty or progeny of the unrighteous king Ahab (nothing in the Vulgate corresponds to the first half of the following sentence):[29] *ic adilegie þinne hired and fordo þinne ofspring* ('I shall destroy thy progeny and extirpate thy ofspring').

The glossed biblical books of the Anglo-Saxons sometimes provide evidence not otherwise so clearly available, though that evidence may not reveal Old English idiom so much as an Anglo-Saxon's wish for literalness in giving an Old English equivalent of a Latin word. The Northumbrian Gospels several times use *hiorod* to gloss *familia* in *pater familias*; thus at Luke 13:25 it is glossed by Aldred in the Lindisfarne Gospels as *se faeder hiu"isc ł hiorodes fæder ł higna fæder*, and the Rushworth Gospels have *fæder hiorodes ł higna*, perhaps dependent on Aldred's triple gloss; the West Saxon Gospels (MS Corpus Christi College Cambridge 140) have *se hiredes ealdor* 'the lord of the household'.[30] Probably Aldred's *faeder hiu"isc* stands for *\*hiu"isc-faeder*, a compound, but the elements are in the order of the Latin as he glosses *pater familias* element by element. The triple gloss may be considered with Ælfric's glossary entry, *familia: hiwræden oððe hired*.[31] Aldred and Ælfric, trebly and doubly, show the modern reader how an Anglo-Saxon might have understood Latin *familia*, possibly revealing some insecurity, and at the same time guiding us, correctly on this occasion, into etymological relationships perhaps attended by subtle semantic distinctions which we no longer understand fully.[32] The idiom *pater familias* is differently rendered in the Old English Bede:[33] *Þa he ða cwom to þæm men þe he secan wolde þa gemette he þær fæmnan, wæs nift þæs higna aldres þe he*

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[29] Skeat 1881–1900, I, 396, Homily XVIII, line 211. Cf. *Biblia Sacra*, VI (1945) 199, Liber Malachim (III Regum 21:21), *et demetam posteriora tua*.

[30] *The Gospel according to Saint Luke*, ed. Walter W. Skeat (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1874) 142–3.

[31] *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. Julius Zupitza, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben, I (1880; 1966; 3rd ed. with a new introduction by H. Gneuss, Hildesheim: Weidmann, 2001) 300, line 3. The late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century glossary in MS Bodley 730, transcribed by Brian Merrilees and members of the staff of the *Dictionary of Old English*, and included in the *Microfiche Concordance*, has the entry (412): *familia* glossed *hywredden ł hirt*, and that is presumably the same entry. Cf. N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957) 379–80, no. 317.

[32] The <o> in the stem of *hiorod* is explained as a Northumbrian retention of final /u/ contracted with /ī/ to form <io>; in the second syllable /e/ < /æ/ < /ā/ is a different development of the suffix with /o/ < /ō/ < /ā/; see Alistair Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959, and corrected reprints) §§ 120.3.c, note 2, 372, 382.

[33] Miller 1890, 1891, I, 178–80; Colgrave & Mynors 1969, 242; Stapleton 1565, repr. 1930, 185.

*sohte, wæs mid longre aðle legeres swiðe gehefigad* ('When he came to the person whom he wished to visit he found there a (young) woman, the niece of the head of the members of the household whom he was visiting, who had been burdened grievously with a chronic paralytic disease'). The Old English renders Bede's Latin, *Quo dum adueniret, inuenit puellam ibi neptem patris familias longo paralysis morbo grauatam.* Stapleton translates that, "Here he found a damsell neece to the good man of the house of a long time deseased with a grevous palsey."

## 6. OE HIRED (< *HIWRÆD), HIWRÆD(D)EN

The Old English suffixes *-ræd* and *-ræden* form abstracts.[34] Again, whether there are shades of meaning is beyond our understanding. Both *hiw-ræd(d)en(ne)* and *hired* (< *hiwræd*) are not uncommon; at Luke 19:9 *hiwræddene* (in the dative) renders *domus* (*domui*) in the West Saxon Gospels in the sense of 'family, tribe', not 'house', i. e. the building (for which the Northumbrian Gospels have *huse*):[35] *Ða cwæð se Hælend to him todæg þisse hiwræddene ys hæl geworden forþam he wæs Habrahames bearn*; rendering the Vulgate, *ait Iesus ad eum | quia hodie salus domui huic facta est | eo quod et ipse filius sit Abrahae.* That 'house' means 'those who dwell in a house' may be clear, but, coming immediately after 'house' used in the sense of the building, the change from *hus* to *hiwræddene* in the West Saxon Gospels (Luke 10:5) is significant in Christ's sending forth his disciples into the world: *On swa hwylc hus swa ge ingað cweðaþ æryst, "Sib si þisse hiwræddenne!"* rendering the Vulgate, *In quamcumque domum intraueritis | primum dicite, "Pax huic domui".*[36] Biblical uses of house, as, for example, *in the house of Israel*, may suggest that the greeting, *Sib si þisse hiwrædd-denne!*, shall bless not only the present members of the household, it blesses generations yet to come, the tribe, the progeny. Glossary entries are often difficult to assess. Whether *familia* is really synonymous with *familiaritas* in

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[34]  Cf. Charles T. Carr, *Nominal Compounds in Germanic*, St Andrews University Publications 41 (London: Oxford UP, 1939) 106, no. 14; Friedrich Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildungslehre der altgermanischen Dialekte*, 3rd ed. revised by Ludwig Sütterlin & Ernst Ochs (Halle: Niemeyer, 1926) §§ 149b, 162. The form *ræd* is of course frequent as the second element of personal names, where it is presumably to be understood as the noun, not as a suffix.

[35]  Skeat 1874, 182–3, with several spelling variants. For the Vulgate cf. Words-worth & White. 1889–1954, I, 438. The Rhemes *New Testament*, 193, has "IESVS said to him, That this day saluation is made to this house: because that he also is the sonne of Abraham".

[36]  Skeat 1874, 106; Wordsworth & White 1889–1954, I, 376–7. The Rhemes *New Testament*, 166, "Into whatsoeuer house you enter, first say, Peace to this house".

Medieval Latin is unlikely, but *cneoris* 'generation, tribe, posterity' is close to some denotations or connotations of *hiwræden*: to that extent the entry in the Harley Glossary makes sense:[37] *Familia . hiwræden . ł familiaritas . cneoris.*

The word *hiwræden* occurs only once in Byrhtferth, translated 'household' by Crawford, 'family' by Baker and Lapidge, in a difficult context in which the word refers to the inhabitants of a house, a household in that sense, and a family only if that is understood to include all who are of the household including servants, not only father, mother, children, and other relations, that is, not 'family' as now usually understood:[38] *On þam teoðan dæge þissan monðes nime æghwylc hiwræden of ælcum huse an lamb, and gif þær beon læs manna þonne þæt lamb mæge fretan, þonne nyme he his neahgebur, þe him gehendost sy, þæt he mæge þæt lamb clænlice fretan* ('On the tenth day of this month let each one, the householder from each house, take a lamb, and if there are fewer people than can eat up the lamb, then let him take his neighbour, who is nearest to him, so that he can eat up the lamb entirely'). The word *hiwræden*, however, nowhere else in Old English means 'head of the household, householder'. The Commentary to the 1995 edition (315) compares Byrhtferth's wording with that of the Hexateuch Exodus 12:3–5 in connection with the authorship of anonymous parts of the Hexateuch.[39] The crucially different wording for establishing the meaning of *hiwræden* is in the Hexateuch, *nime ælc man an lamb to his hywrædene* 'let each one take a lamb to his household'. The use of the third person singular pronouns in Byrhtferth's wording, *he* 'the householder' and *his neahgebur* 'his neighbour' have no noun to which they refer back. My translation, 'each one, the householder', tries to make sense of the sentence; but the syntax is unlikely and *hiwræden* means 'household' (not 'householder', as in my translation). Byrhtferth, we are told (1995 edition, p. lxxviii), "here … shows no interference from Old Latin readings", but he used the Vulgate, which reads *vocavit autem Moses omnes seniores filiorum Israhel et dixit ad eos | ite tollentes animal per familias vestras immolate Phase*, unidiomatically translated in the Doway Version as "And Moyses called al the Ancients of the children of Is[r]ael, and said to them: Goe take a lambe by your families, and sacrifice the Phase."[40]

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[37] *The Harley Latin–Old English Glossary*, ed. Robert T. Oliphant (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1966) 177, gloss F 140.

[38] *Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. S.J. Crawford, EETS o.s. 177 (London, 1929) 134–5; *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. Peter S. Baker & Michael Lapidge, EETS s.s. 15 (Oxford, 1995) 122–3, lines 7–10 of the text. (Crawford reads *hys neahgebúr*.)

[39] *The Old English Version of The Heptateuch*, ed. S. J. Crawford, EETS o.s. 160 (London, 1922) 243.

[40] *Biblia Sacra*, II (1929), Libri Exodi et Levitici, 138, Exodus 12:21. *Holie Bible* (1609), 185–6; *Israel* misprinted *Isael*. As has been pointed out, and the 1995 Commentary makes clear, the underlying version of the *Heptateuch* is not the

## 7. OTHER OLD ENGLISH WORDS BASED ON THE ELEMENT *HIW-*, AND THE PHRASE ON *HIWE*.

Words derived from *hiw-* include words based on the notion of relationship, thus *hiwan* and *higan* (often in the dative plural), *hiwisc*, and *hiwscipe*, as well as *hiwung* when it relates to marriage. Examples of *hiwan* 'community' occur in the early charters, thus in two charters referring to the same community:[41] 1. *Ealhferð Bisceop & ða higan on Wintaceastre habbað gelæneð hiora leofan friond* VIII *hida landes on* EASTVNE *ðriora manna deg, ðet is* CUÐRED *dux &* Wulfriðe *his wife & anan man þerto suil him liofost sio him to hæbbenne & to brucenne* ('Bishop Ealhferth and the community at Winchester have leased eight hides of land at Easton to their beloved friend for the lifetime of three people, namely, to Earl Cuthred and to his wife Wulfthryth and in addition to one person such as is most agreeable to (Cuthred), (for them) to hold and enjoy'). 2. *Denewulf bisceop & þa hiwan in Wintanceastre leton to Bearnulfa hiora landes* XV *hida æt Eblesburnan wið þam gafole ðe he wið bisceop & wið hiwan ared* ('Bishop Denewulf and the community at Winchester leased to Beornulf fifteen hides of their land at Ebbesbourne at the rent which he agreed with the bishop and with the community'). There are a few verse occurrences, for example, in *Genesis A*:[42]

> Gewat him þa mid bride   broðor Arones
> under Abimelech   æhte lædan,
> mid his hiwum.

Then the brother of Haran (i.e., Abraham) went with his wife to bring under Abimelech's control his possessions, with members of his household.

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Vulgate but the Old Latin; see *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinæ Versiones Antiquæ, seu Vetus Italica*, ed. Pierre Sabatier, 3 vols. (Reims, 1743) I, 156, Exodus 12:3–4, *Loquere ad omnem synagogam filiorum Israël, dicens: Decimâ mensis hujus sumat unusquisque ovem per domos familiarum, ovem per singulas domos. Quòd si pauci erunt in domo, ita ut non sufficiant ad ovem, assumet secum vicinum proximum suum, secundùm numerum animarum, unusquisque, quod sufficiat sibi, computabit in agno.*

[41]  1. *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 26, beginning of Robertson's charter XIV. The transaction took place in AD 871 × 877, but the charter is preserved in the *Codex Wintoniensis* of the twelfth century. 2. *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. Florence E. Harmer (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1914) 29, beginning of her charter XVII. The transaction took place in 902, but the charter is also preserved in the *Codex Wintoniensis*.

[42]  *The Junius Manuscript*, 78, *Genesis* lines 2621–2623a. The edition by A.N. Doane, *Genesis A: A New Edition* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1978), has been consulted for the quotations from this poem.

Forms of the genitive plural occur with <g>, *higna*, and without <g>, *hina*, for example, in *Genesis A*, lines 2370–2377a:[43]

> Abraham fremede   swa him se Eca bebead,
> sette friðotacen   be Frean hæse
> on his selfes sunu,   heht þæt segn we[g]an
> heah gehwilcne   þe his hina wæs
> wæpnedcynnes,   wære gemyndig,
> gleaw on mode,   ða him God sealde
> soðe treowa,   and þa seolf onfeng
> torhtum tacne.

Abraham did as the Eternal One commanded him, set the covenanted symbol (i. e. circumcision) at the Lord's command on his own son, commanded each one to bear that high symbol, who of the members of his household was of the male sex, having the covenant in mind, wise in his thoughts, when God gave him true assurances, and when he himself received that illustrious symbol.

The West Germanic ending, in Old English *-isc*, forms abstracts designating, in Kluge's words, *eine menschliche Gesamtheit*, 'a human totality', in the case of *hiwisc* the human totality within a household.[44] How big a *hiwisc* was in early Anglo-Saxon times may be deducible from the Laws of Ine. It is defined as a hide of land by Liebermann, who suggests that in explanation of Ine 44.1: the rent payment of a mantle or blanket to the value of sixpence from the *hiwisc* cannot be rendered from the cottage of a labourer on the estate; it is to be rendered from the whole tenanted estate.[45] The Text of Ine 44.1 is: *Gafolhwitel sceal bion æt hiwisce VI pæninga weorð*; translated by Dorothy Whitelock, "The blanket paid as rent from each household shall be worth sixpence." That the word *hiwisc* equals 'hide' is thought to be most clearly in evidence in the Law of the North People, 7, probably of about 1020 × 1023, where the genitive phrase *hiwisc landes*, together with Ine 7.1, leads to that explanation.[46] These are difficult legal technicalities. They are complicated by the descriptive or defining use of the

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[43]  Both editions, *The Junius Manuscript*, 71, and *Genesis A: A New Edition*, 193, emend *wesan* to *wegan* at line 2372.

[44]  Kluge 1926, § 69.

[45]  For the text, see Liebermann 1898–1916, I, 108–9, Liebermann's translation explained III, 76; cf. II, 513, s.v. *Hufe*, 1 (a), where he adds a question mark to the equivalence at Ine 44.1 of *hiwisc* and 'hide'. D. Whitelock 1979, I, 404 expresses her doubts concerning the word *household* in the footnote to her translation of Ine 44.1: "Or perhaps *hiwisc* means here, as sometimes elsewhere, a hide of land. I am uncertain whether the meaning is that a 'blanket' was paid from each household with at least one hide of land, or else one had to be rendered for every hide."

[46]  Liebermann 1898–1916, I, 460–1, III, 261, *Norðleod* 7, notes 3 and 4; Whitelock 1979, I, 469.

Old English genitive, a relationship that has no exact parallel in Modern
English syntax, so that in translating such Old English genitive constructions
a more exact relationship of the two nouns is required in Modern English.[47]
'A household of land' makes little sense in Modern English, 'a hide of land' is
readily understood; but that does not mean, by some false syllogism, that a
household is a hide, even though *hiwisc landes* occurs in a context closely
related to the legal context of *hid landes*. The understanding of the idiom is
bedevilled by the not unlikely etymology and recorded use of *hi(gi)d* as an
area of land sufficient to feed one *familia*.[48] A use in the Old English Bede
illustrates both the Old English phrase and the underlying *terra familia-
rum*:[49]

> & forþon þe he hine Wilfrið rihtgefremedne & wisne onfunde & gemette geaf he
> him sona & sealde tyn hiwisca landes on þære stowe þe cweden is Stanford, &
> æfter medmiclum fæce sealde him mynster þritiges hiwisca on stowe seo is
> gecyged in-Hripum.

> And because he perceived and found Wilfrid to be sound and wise he gave and
> bestowed on him at once ten household-units of land in the place that is called
> Stamford, and after a not very long period he bestowed on him a monastery of
> thirty household-units in the place that is called Ripon.

Bede's Latin reads: *Vnde et illi, quia catholicum eum esse conperiit, mox
donauit terram x familiarum in loco qui dicitur Stanford, et non multo post
monasterium xxx familiarum in loco qui uocatur in-Hrypum.* Stapleton
translates that using *Catholique* in line with what appears to accord with his

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[47]  Cf. Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985)
      §§ 1288–95.
[48]  For an excellent account of the problems involved in attempting to establish
      measurements for a hide, as well as providing a sound etymology and mor-
      phology for the word, see Klaus Grinda, "Die Hide und verwandte Landmaße
      im Altenglischen", *Untersuchungen zur eisenzeitlichen und frühmittelalterli-
      chen Flur in Mitteleuropa und ihrer Nutzung*, ed. Heinrich Beck *et al.*, 2 vols.
      Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-
      Historische Klasse 3, 115, 116 (1979, 1980) I, 92–133. Grinda characterizes
      the compounds based on Germanic *hīw* as "Haushalt, Dienerschaft, Familie",
      but he does not say in what sense *Familie* is to be understood. For a summary of
      the scholarship and further literature, cf. D. Hägermann and U. Weidinger, in
      *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd ed. rev. and enlarged
      Heinrich Beck *et al.*, 35 vols. (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1968–2007) XV
      (2000), 186–92, s.v. *Hufe*.
[49]  Miller 1890–1891, I/2, 456; Colgrave & Mynors 1969, 520; Stapleton 1565,
      repr. 1930, 414. Bede's Stanford has not been identified with certainty: Stam-
      ford in Lincolnshire has been thought not unlikely; cf. *The Cambridge Dic-
      tionary of English Place-Names*, ed. Victor Watts (Cambridge: Cambridge UP,
      2004) 568.

recusancy, "And for that he perceaved this *Wilfride* to be Catholique, he gave him streytwayes a Lordshippe, of x. tenements in Stanford: & within a while after a monastery with xxx. tenements in Rhippon." It may well be thought that my translation 'household-unit' for *hiwisc* is clumsy, which 'hide' is certainly not; I have chosen that clumsy term because I believe it to render *familia* well, and to correspond to Stapleton's *tenement*, that is, 'holding'.

The derivative *hiwscipe* occurs less frequently than *hiwisc*. The ending -*scipe* forms abstracts, sometimes collectives, as -*ship* still does. It is likely that in Old English there was a difference in meaning between these two words; if so, it is irrecoverable. Perhaps the abstract *hiwisc* is more connected with having and holding an establishment where the family, servants, slaves, sheep, and cattle share life together, though togetherness implies no equality. Perhaps *hiwscipe* is even more abstract. One thinks of Modern English abstracts that might be possible translations; they all fail because overlaid or undermined by distractions based on life in England in the last two centuries. Thus *domesticity* is a well-regulated bourgeois residentiality, and the word *residentiality* seems not to exist in the English language. If it did, it might do when translating *hiwscipe* in some contexts for the secular *hiwscipe* of the Anglo-Saxons. Anglo-Saxon society, if that, *pace* Mrs Thatcher, is allowed to have had an existence, was an aristocracy and, less grandly noble, a squirarchy, both with landownership; the head of each household had authority, with his wife, children, other relations, servants, slaves, cattle, sheep, etc., coresident with him, but of no significance on the estate during the life of the head of the establishment. Then there were the monasteries and nunneries with their collective residential establishment, a head, abbot or abbess, and free and pious men, the monks, and women, the nuns, and a great number of servants, especially to work in the fields and to tend the animals: all these together form the coenobitic *hiwscipe*.

Like *hiwræden*, and unlike *hid* and *hiwisc*, *hiwscipe* never governs *landes*, though one occurrence appears to be, like *hid* and *hiwisc*, a land measure. A good example of *hiwscipe* used as a collective noun, 'a group of people', comes in an inedited Paschal homily in Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 162, which I quote from the Toronto *Microfiche Concordance*, s.v. *hiwscipum*: *Men ða leofestan! On þam dæge Drihten demð þrym hiwscipum, þæt is, heofonware and eorðware and helware* ('Most beloved! On that day the Lord will judge three groups, namely, those who dwell in heaven, and those who dwell on earth, and those who dwell in hell').

The Lambeth Psalter has *hiwscype ł husræden Israheles* glossing *domus Israel*.[50] The word as a measure of land occurs in the will (dated 1008 ×

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[50] *Der Lambeth-Psalter*, ed. Uno Lindelöf, 2 vols., Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ XXXV/1 and XLIII/3 (Helsinki, 1909, 1914) I, 185, Psalm 113 verse 9 [= 17].

1012) of Ælfwold, bishop of Crediton, where the editors translate it as 'hide', as does Dorothy Whitelock, whose translation I quote here:[51]

> Þis is Alfwoldes bisceopes cwyde, þæt is ðæt he geann þæs landes æt Sandforda in to þam mynstre in to Crydian Tune him to saulsceatte, mid mete & mid mannum swa hit stent butan witeþeowum mannum; & anes hiwscypes he geann Godrice þærof, & an sylhðe oxna.

In Whitelock's translation: "This is Bishop Ælfwold's will: that is that he grants the land at Sandford to the minster in Crediton as payment for his soul, with produce and men just as it stands except for the penally enslaved men; and he grants one hide of it to Godric, and a plough-team of oxen." The editors' note on *hiwscype* distinguishes the ordinary sense of the word from the sense here:

> **hiwscype**, 'hide of land.' Like *familia* in Medieval Latin, the OE. *hiwscipe*, which ordinarily meant 'family, household,' could be used to denote a measure of land, a hide. Cf. *OE. Beda*, ed. Miller, p. 332: *þa onfeng heo anes heowscipes* (v. l. *hiwscipes*) *stowe* = 'accepit locum unius familiae.' Cf. Also Schmid, p. 610, s.v. *hid*.[52] Similarly *hiwisc* could mean either 'family' or 'hide of land'.

And they give examples. No attempt is made, nor could it be substantiated, what exact measurement a *hid* represents. It has been suggested that the quality of the land might be involved; my belief is that what may be involved also is the importance, and therefore the size, of the *familia*, dependent on the importance of its head.

Some of the compounds with *hiw-* as first element show further that in Old English the membership of a household was more comprehensive than our sense of membership of a 'family'. The following compounds or deriv-

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[51]  *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents*, ed. A.S. Napier & W.H. Stevenson, Anecdota Oxoniensia series IV, part VII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1895) 23 (text), 127 (notes). Whitelock 1979, I, 581.

[52]  *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 2nd ed. Reinhold Schmid (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1858) 610–11, a long entry, of which, no doubt, Napier and Stevenson, have in mind the reference to the *Old English Bede* quoted by them, as well as the reference quoted above, p. 54, and note 49: "An einigen Stellen steht hîwisc oder hîwscip für hîd", 'in a few places *hiwisc* or *hiwscip* stands for *hid*'; and further, "Der Sinn des Wortes hîd oder hîwisc scheint demnach zu sein, daß damit ein Landcomplex bezeichnet werden soll, groß genug, eine Familie (hîw) zu ernähren", 'The meaning of the word *hid* or *hiwisc* appears therefore to be that it denotes an area of land large enough to feed one family (*hiw*)'. Liebermann 1898–1916, II/1, 114, defines *hid* as "*Hufe* (ein [durch Maass oder Ertrag oder Besitz durch Eine Familie bestimmtes] Quantum) *Landes*" ('hide (a quantity of land [determined by measure or yield or possession of one family]'). Liebermann (II/2, 513–15, near the beginning) has "Ursprünglich heisst das Wort [*higd*] 'Wohnland'", 'originally the word *higd* means 'inhabited land'. By *ursprünglich* he meant 'etymologically'; he did not mean 'in early Old English'.

atives are involved: *hiwcund*, *hiwcuþ*, and *hiwgedal*. Dative plural *hiw-cundum* is the only occurrence of the *nomen*, glossing *domesticis* in the Brussels Aldhelm, *De Laudibus Virginitatis*.[53] Aldhelm is always difficult, and the shade of meaning of *domesticis* glossed by *hiwcundum* requires some violence of explication; the translators, learned in Aldhelm's ways of thought and peculiarities of expression, have chosen 'domestic comforts', which has the advantage of presenting a plural as in the gloss and its lemma. The sentence comes in the passage figuring the parabolic monachism of the bee. A monk's 'domestic comforts' are spiritual, not bodily, and perhaps that is what the translation is meant to convey; but that is far from clear. A little earlier (fol. 3vo line 11) Aldhelm gives the details of a monk's *uoluntarie seruitutis* (genitive singular), glossed *sel(f)willes þeowdomes*, and I believe it is the spiritual strengthening, an earlier sense of *comfort*, that comes from this 'voluntary servitude' binding the monk to the harsh conventions of the house of God that is meant by these *domesticis*, these *hiwcundum*: they are not 'domestic comforts' – "home comforts" – in the current sense of these words.[54]

Old English *hiwcuþ*, *hiwcuþlic*, *hiwcuþlice*, *gehiwcuþlician*, *hiwcuþnes*, and *hiwcuþraednys*, several of them rare, appear all to enshrine senses of *domesticus* or *familiaris*, often in glosses. The only occurrence of *hiwcuð* in

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[53]  *The Old English Glosses of MS. Brussels, Royal Library, 1650, Aldhelm's* De Laudibus Virginitatis, ed. Louis Goossens, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren XXXVI, No. 74 (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1974) 172, gloss 384. The sentence in Aldhelm reads: *ita prorsus, ut multo libentius ob reuerentiam principis ad incolatum peregre proficiscantur quam domisticis adsuetæ deliciis et uernacula contente quiete in cellulis commorentur*, thus *Aldhelm's De Laudibus Virginitatis with … glosses Manuscript 1650 of the Royal Library in Brussels*, ed. George van Langenhove, Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uit-gegeven door de Faculteit van de Wijsbegeerte en Letteren, Extra Series: Fac-similes II (Bruges: Saint Catherine P, 1941) fols. 3[vo]–4[ro]. Cf. *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Rudolf Ehwald, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi XV (Berlin: Weidmann, 1919) 233, lines 18–20. *Aldhelm, The Prose Works*, translated by Michael Lapidge & Michael Herren (Ipswich/Cambridge: Brewer, 1979) 63: "so much is this the case, in fact, that out of reverence for their leader they set out for foreign parts (in search) of a residence more willingly than they would remain at home in their cells (where they are) used to domestic comforts and content with subservient tranquillity". On *hiwcund*, with -*cund* taken to be an adjectival suffix, cf. Walter Hofstetter, "The Old English Adjectival Suffix -*cund*", *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Korhammer *et al.* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992) 325–47, at 336, 338 and n. 60, 346 and n. 82.

[54]  Ehwald 1919, 233, line 8.

verse is in Alfred's *The Meters of Boethius* 10, 61 (there is no corresponding use in his prose rendering of this metre):[55]

> ac hit is wyrse nu
> þæt geond þas eorðan   æghwær sindon
> hiora gelican   hwon ymbspræce,
> sume openlice   ealle forgitene,
> þæt hi se hlisa   hiwcuðe ne mæg,
> foremære weras,   forð gebrengan.

but it is worse now that throughout this earth everywhere the like of them are little talked about, some clearly altogether forgotten, so that Fame cannot bring them forth, the familiar ones, men foremost in glory.

As if belonging to one's own household, as if oneself were at home in the knowledge of it, that is what *familiarity* means, and how its sense developed from *familia* in Classical Latin. Boethius, like the Old English rendering with well-known differences, had specified the household names, now forgotten, he says – but, in effect, truly memorable and remembered.[56] If there are subtle differences in meaning distinguishing *hiwcund* from *hiwcuþ* we cannot recover them. Outside glosses these words are rare. However, *hiwcuþ*, *hiwcuþlic(e*, *hiwcuþnes* occur relatively frequently in Wærferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, three times in the Life of Machutus, but in the voluminous works of Ælfric twice only, both occurrences in his homily on the Life of St Martin.[57] An occurrence in a leechdom is worth quoting, perhaps to show that 'familiarity' is perceived by an Anglo-Saxon author as an experience of doves, not of humankind; but an earlier explication may make better sense:[58] BERBENA: *Ðeos wyrt, þe man peristereon & oðrum*

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[55] The verse and prose are conveniently printed on the same page by Bill Griffiths in *Alfred's Metres of Boethius*, ed. Bill Griffiths (Pinner: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1991) 77, lines 57b–62. I do not follow this edition (and other editions) in italicizing (or indicating in other ways) where the damaged Cotton MS Otho A.vi has been supplemented by Bodleian Library MS Junius 12.

[56] Cf. *Boethius: De Consolatione Philosophiae, Opuscula Theologica*, ed. Claudio Moreschini, Bibliotheca Teubneriana (München/Leipzig: Saur, 2000) 53, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, II met. vii.

[57] *Bischof Wærferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. Hans Hecht, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa V (1900, 1907; repr., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965); *The Old English Life of Machutus*, ed. David Yerkes, Toronto Old English Series, 9 (Toronto, etc.: Toronto UP, 1984); Skeat 1881–1900, II, 218–313, homily XXXI.

[58] *The Old English Herbarium and Medicina de Quadrupedibus*, ed. Hubert Jan de Vriend, EETS o.s. 286 (London, 1984) 110, lines 5–7, *Herbarium* LXVII. The related Latin gives the name [?*herba*] *columbina* as from *columbinus*, 'dove-coloured'; thus MS Harley 6258B, dated authoritatively by Neil Ker,

*naman berbenam nemneð, heo ys culfron swiðe hiwcuð, þanun hy eac sum
þeodscipe columbinam hateð* ('VERVAIN: This plant, which is named peris-
tereon and by another name vervain, is very familiar to doves for which
reason some people call it also columbine').[59] The translation follows the
glossary entry, "*hiwcūþ … familiar*", in de Vriend's edition, and Bos-
worth–Toller supports such a reading, "doves are very fond of this plant."[60]
Perhaps those who know about birds in Old English texts will tell me that
pigeons habitually sit on vervain or other plants of the order Verbenaceae,
and, if so, I shall be content to believe that doves love such plants. The Latin
text underlying the standard interpretation is quoted by de Vriend (from
Montecassino MS V. 97?), *Haec herba admodum columbis est familiaris,
unde hoc nomen habet*, 'this plant is absolutely familiar to doves, whence it
has that name'.[61] But the late MS Harley 6258 B, quoted by de Vriend, has a
different Latin text, without *familiaris* (which seems to correspond to
*hiwcuð*):[62] *hoc est berbenan uel ueruenam, hanc quidam columbinam uo-
cant propter colorem columbinam*, which explains that the columbine is so
called because dove-coloured. The word *dægcuþ* comes to mind: "known
clearly as if by day, clear as day" are the renderings given in the Toronto
*Dictionary of Old English*, for the only occurrence of the compound,
namely, in *Judgement Day II*, line 40.[63] The earlier editor of the *Herbarium*,
no doubt guided by the knowledge that the plant is dove-coloured, translates

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*Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, xix, as "after 1200",
though de Vriend argues for an earlier date (xxx).

[59] De Vriend's translation follows *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the
Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth Supplement*, ed. T.
Northcote Toller (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908–1921) 728, s.v. **þeód-scipe** *a
people*; and cf. *OED*, s.v. *thede*. The editors of *Anglia*, to whom I am greatly
indebted for a considerable number of corrections and improvements, plausibly
suggest that *þeodscipe* here may be accusative and mean something like 'species'
and refer to the plant columbine.

[60] Toller 1908–1921, 546, s.v. *híw-cúþ* II.

[61] De Vriend 1984, 111. See *Corpus Medicorum Latinorum*, ed. Ernst Howald &
Heinrich E. Sigerist, IV Antonii Musae de herba vettonica liber, Pseudoapulei
herbarius, etc. (Leipzig/Berlin: Teubner, 1927) 123, LXVI Herba peristereon,
line 10: the text as given by de Vriend.

[62] De Vriend 1984, 111.

[63] *Dictionary of Old English*, ed. Angus Cameron *et al.* (Toronto: Pontifical In-
stitute of Mediaeval Studies, for the Dictionary of Old English Project, 1986–),
s.v.; *The Old English Poem* Judgment Day II, ed. Graham D. Caie (Cambridge:
Brewer, 2000) 86. The note (112) adds "literally, 'as well known as in daytime'.
This is another original compound and creates a contrast to *dihle*." The contrast
with *dihle* 'hidden, dark' is certain in this line, but the suggested, literal ren-
dering is too precise for an Old English compound: the first element of Old
English poetic compounds is suggestive and associative rather than precisely
literal.

*ys culfron swiðe hiwcuð* as "is very near akin in colour to culvers *or doves*."[64] The simplex *hiw* commonly means 'colour',[65] though this meaning is not considered by me in the present study, which is about senses connected with *familia* 'household'. Cockayne's translation is not to be as lightly dismissed as lexicographers and editors have done.

The past participle *gehiwcuðlucud* occurs, as A.S. Napier noted, in the Vercelli Book, the only occurrence of this weak verb of the second class.[66] One may wonder why *is gehiwcuðlicud* (+ dative) was thought preferable to *hiwcuþ(lic)*, and the editors give the variant (*ge-* erased) *hiwcuðlicost* from Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 162. The answer may lie (as Donald Scragg's glossary suggests) in a wish to render closely *familiare … est* (+ dative) of the source: *Broðor mine, forþan is eallum geleaffullum mannum to wacienne, forþam þe sio estfulnes þære wæccan is gehiwcuðlucud eallum halgum*, 'My brethren, for this reason it is (right) for all faithful people to be watchful, because the devotion of that vigil is made familiar to all saints'.

One compound remains to be considered: *hiwgedal*, which occurs in the glossaries, most fully explained in the Harley Glossary:[67] *Diuortium .i. discidium . diuisio coniugiorum . hiwgedal*, 'divorce, that is, separation, division of consorts: *hiwgedal*'. Other than as glosses, the compound occurs only in the phrase *hiwgedales boc* (rendering *libellus repudii*, 'document of repudiation'), twice in the West Saxon St Matthew, 5:31 and 19:7, and once in St Mark, 10:4. This compound is one of a group of words based on *hiw*, where the compounds appear to refer to 'marriage' (even though *hiw* alone

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[64] *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, ed. Oswald Cockayne, 3 vols., Rolls Series 35 (1864–1866) I, 171–2; Cockayne knew MS Harley 6258 B, with the Latin explanation of the plant name, but he did not collate the manuscript thoroughly (see lxxxiv–lxxxv).

[65] Angus F. Cameron, "The Old English Nouns of Colour: A Semantic Study" (unpublished B.Litt. Dissertation, U of Oxford, 1968), discusses *hiw* (and derivatives and compounds), systematically (see especially 146–50) when the sense is 'colour, form, shape, kind', but regards *hiwan* 'family' as belonging to a semantic field different from the colour words he is considering.

[66] Arthur S. Napier, "Contributions to Old English Lexicography", *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1906 (1906): 294 (= 30 of the separate), "**\*gehīw-cūþlician**, to make known or familiar to". *Die Vercelli-Homilien*, ed. Max Förster, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa XII (1932; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964) 62, homily III, lines 95–6; his apparatus gives the same past participle from the same text in Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 198; the editors give the variant *ihiwcyðlicod*, in *Twelfth-Century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343*, ed. A.O. Belfour, EETS, o.s. 137 (London, 1909) 44, line 25. Similarly, *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, ed. D.G. Scragg, EETS, o.s. 300 (London, 1992) 78, homily III, lines 84–6, with, in the apparatus, a more complicated record of the variant from MS Bodley 343 and from CCCC MS 198.

[67] Oliphant 1966, 142, D 737.

does not occur with that meaning), among them *(ge)hiwian*, *hiwung*, and *hiwlic*, glossing the variant *matrimonialis* (not *matronalis*), as correctly interpreted by H.D. Meritt.[68] The group is well discussed by Andreas Fischer, who shows that the semantic branches of *hiw* are (1) 'appearance, colour', (2) 'home, family' – where I prefer 'household' – and (3) 'marriage', at the centre of his discussion.[69] He connects groups 2 and 3. In discussing these words and their derivatives and compounds, he is perhaps too absolute when he keeps group (1) strictly apart from the rest (79): "It will be noted that although the stems are practically identical there is no homonymy whatsoever: simplex *hīw* only occurs with the meaning 'appearance, colour', and the respective derivatives and compounds do not overlap." I prefer the handling by Grein (of verse usage only):[70] "*μόρφωσις*, forma, species, Aussehen, was auch zum Teil in den Begriff der Farbe übergeht, zum Teil auch in den der Schönheit", 'form, shape, appearance; outward appearance, figure, colour, an appearance that to some extent passes into the concept of colour, to some extent into the concept of beauty'. Among his quotations is this from *The Phoenix*, lines 75b–81a:[71]

> ac þær wrætlice
> on þam treowum symle   telgan gehladene,
> ofett edniwe   in alle tid
> on þam græswonge   grene stondaþ,
> gehroden hyhtlice   Haliges meahtum,
> beorhtast bearwa:   no gebrocen weorþeð
> holt on hiwe.

But there wondrously displayed (fruit-)laden branches stand always green in those trees, fruit ever new eternally on that grassy plain, as the most glorious of

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[68] See Herbert D. Meritt, "Studies in Old English Vocabulary", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 46 (1947): 413–27, at 420, no. 33.

[69] Fischer 1986, 79–84.

[70] *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, 2 vols., Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie, III, IV, ed. C.W.M. Grein (Kassel/Göttingen: Wigand, 1861, 1864) II, 78, s.v. *hiv*; the edition revised by J.J. Köhler (Heidelberg: Winter, 1912–1914) has not changed the wording quoted.

[71] For the text cf. *The Phoenix*, ed. N.F. Blake (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1964) 47. His notes (68) have a reference to Else von Schaubert, "Zur Erklärung Schwierigkeiten bietender altenglischer Textstellen", *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies*, ed. Thomas A. Kirby & Henry Bosley Woolf (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins P, 1949) 31–42. At 31–3 she discussed *The Phoenix*, lines 71–80a; I have used her translation for lines 75b–80a: "sondern wundersamerweise prangen dort beständig, in alle Ewigkeit im Grün an den Bäumen auf der Grasflur (frucht-)beladene Zweige, neues Obst, da der schönste aller Haine durch des Heiligen Macht freudevoll geschmückt ist". Her translation is difficult because of the difficulty of the text, and I am not sure if it is convincing in every detail. My concern, however, is *on hiwe* (two half-lines after the passage she discusses), and its context.

groves is joyfully adorned by the Holy One's powers: never shall be destroyed the grove *on hiwe*.

The phrase *on hiwe* is variously translated; and the following are among significant examples of that variety:[72] "in aspect", Thorpe; "im Haine" ('in the grove'), Grein 1854; "in dem Haine", 1857; "an Schönheit (geschwächt)" ('weakened in beauty'), 1864; "die Erscheinung, Gestalt, Farbe, habitus" ('appearance, stature, colour; condition, character, disposition'), Leo; "in all its beauty", Gollancz; "in [seiner] Schönheit" ('in [its] beauty'), Schlotterose; "beauty", Cook (glossary); "beautiful appearance, beauty", Toller; "colour, appearance, beauty", Blake (glossary); "in appearance", Ashley Crandell Amos *et al*.

Scholarly opinion is overwhelmingly in favour of translating *on hiwe* as 'appearance, beauty' and the like, that is, placing this use in *The Phoenix* unequivocally within the orbit of those uses of *hiw* which I have disregarded in this study. The simplex never means 'household, home'. But then *(ge)hiwian*, *hiwung*, *hiwlic* only exceptionally refer to marriage, *hiwgedal* to 'divorce' in documents of repudiation. Grein's rendering, in the 1850s, of the phrase as 'in the grove' is not to be forgotten, though in the 1860s he gave up that rendering and fell into line with what was to become the only understanding. It may be argued that in his alliterative translations he was driven to using a German word beginning with <h>, *das Holz im Haine, wo der heilge Duft*, his 1854 translation of *holt on hiwe, þær se halga stenc*. In the *locus amoenus* depicted in this part of the poem the trees, delightful in their beauty, no doubt, have their place, their 'home', using that word metaphorically. That grove shall never be broken from its 'home', never suffer divorce – *hiwgedal*. The polysemous noun *hiw* means at one and the same time 'beauty of form and colour' and 'perfection of union, rightness of conformation', whether, as here, of the place where in that *locus amoenus* the trees grow inseparably with it for ever, or of husband and wife, where the man uses a *hiwgedales boc* to cast her off. In another way of looking at both

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[72] *Codex Exoniensis*, ed. and transl. Benjamin Thorpe (London, 1842) 203 line 8; *Der Vogel Phönix ein angelsächsisches Gedicht stabreimend übersetzt*, transl. C.W.M.Grein (Rinteln, 1854) 7; *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen stabreimend übersetzt*, transl. C.W.M. Grein, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1857, 1859) I, 201; *Sprachschatz*, II, 78, s.v. *hiv*, and so still in J.J. Köhler's revised edition (1912–1914) 340, s.v. *hīw*; *Angelsächsisches Glossar*, ed. Heinrich Leo, 2 parts (Halle, 1872, 1877) I, col. 288, s.v. *hîvan*; *The Exeter Book*, ed. and transl. Israel Gollancz, EETS o.s. 104 (London, 1895) 205; *Die altenglische Dichtung 'Phœnix'*, ed. and transl. Otto Schlotterose, Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik xxv (Bonn: Hanstein, 1908) 15; *The Old English Elene, Phœnix, and Physiologus*, ed. Albert Stanburrough Cook (New Haven: Yale UP, 1919), 193, s.v. *hīw*; Toller 1908–1921, 545, s.v. *hiw*, 2 a; *Phoenix*, ed. Blake, 110; *Dictionary of Old English*, ed. Ashley Crandell Amos *et al.*, B, s.v. *gebrocen*, 3.b., following Cameron's dissertation (Cameron 1968), 97.

the place where the grove has its home, and the household, the *familia*, uniting husband and wife (before he repudiates her), *hiw* is not to be strictly confined to a single semantic branch of the word.

## 8. The Anglo-Saxon Conception of 'family'

Perhaps the only safe conclusion to be drawn from my selective survey of so polysemous an element as *hiw*, its derivatives and compounds, is that these Old English words are for members of a household or residents on an estate: if secular, the servants and slaves rather than the head of the household and his immediate family; if religious, the community on its estates. Often such Old English words render Latin *familia*, the sense of which is not that of Modern English *family*. Shades of meaning in Old English are beyond our reach, and instead of asking ourselves, does it belong to this semantic branch or that, we should incline to consider if a particular use may not belong to more than one branch.

We may be sure that in some uses of *hi(gi)d* the sense 'a unit of land ownership' is uppermost, but the unit is too variable to be converted into so many acres or hectares. Though standardization of weights and measures came to the United Kingdom and the United States only in the nineteenth century, we now expect any unit of land to be expressed in standard land measures. Reasons for variability have been sought by some as depending on the quality of the land for arable use, rocks or loam, and therefore the size of the holding required to sustain a household, a smallholder, a cotter, sustained by a single unit, and a great estate, with its inhabitants of many buildings, needing much land for adequate sustenance. Similarly a monastic establishment of many monks or nuns and their servants in the monastery or convent and on the lands belonging to the establishment, bequeathed to them in pious hopes for eternal rewards.

The unit of land is variable. An estate, a household, a house, in Modern English as in Old English, differ in sense, but overlap often blurs meaning in usage; in usage demarcation does not always define meaning neatly. The same words were used by the Anglo-Saxons for such *realia* in both religious and secular contexts. What defines 'family' is definite only in not being anchored in the *paterfamilias* and those closely related to him by blood or affinity. The Anglo-Saxons seem not to have understood any of their words in terms of close relationship tied by blood or affinity, and seem not to have succumbed to the sentimental belief – contrary to evidence from Anglo-Saxon times to the present day – that this group of close relatives is always held together by love: blood is thicker than water. That some notion of unified form or shape, and of some such unit underlies *hiw* and its derivatives and compounds is shown by the use of some of these words for marriage and divorce. The Anglo-Saxons understood and expressed marriage and how to break it. Houses, households and the servants and slaves on the

estate formed a societal aspect the Anglo-Saxons understood. They had a sense of the size of land holdings and of what such lands might yield, and they considered and expressed their ideas about secular and monastic estates in identical terms. If we could interview a leading Anglo-Saxon, and tell him (*her* would not be appropriate for an Anglo-Saxon leader) about our family, I suspect that he might shrug his shoulders (if the Anglo-Saxons had that gesture), and say, there is no such thing as 'family'.

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