Time Words and Time Concepts in Anglo-Saxon Prose: The *Theodulfi Capitula*

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1. Introduction

Time is a complex and richly structured concept with overlapping possibilities of classification and subdivision, and the new millennium is an obvious opportunity to reflect on this\(^1\).

We have years, seasons, months, weeks, days, hours, etc. For Christians, the Sunday is of special importance within the week; within the year, there is the temporale with the three great festivals of Easter, Pentecost (Whitsun) and Christmas. Easter and Christmas have their surrounding cycles: Easter is preceded by Lent and Holy Week, Christmas is preceded by Advent and followed by Epiphany. Furthermore there is the sanctorale with the festivals of the saints, e.g. the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, etc. To complicate matters, there is the distinction between festivals with a fixed date, e.g. Christmas (25 December), and movable feasts, e.g. Easter and Pentecost, which creates a certain tension within the church year\(^2\).

There is also a linear and a cyclical aspect to time: years and days follow each other, but the seasons return each year, and the days of the week recur each week. Finally, some of the categories and divisions are based on natural phenomena, whereas others have been set up more or less arbitrarily; and there are mixtures, too. Among the categories dependent on natural phenomena are, for example, the year and the day (which
depend on the movement of the earth) - although when exactly the year begins, and when exactly the day begins, has been decided arbitrarily. Even today, the secular year and the ecclesiastical year begin at different dates (secular year: first January; ecclesiastical year: first Advent, i.e. ca. 27th November – 3rd December), the Roman-Catholic church and the Orthodox church have different dates for Easter, etc. The Christian structure of time is, of course, at least in principle, due to God's intervention in history.

2. The Theodulfi Capitula

In this paper, I shall try to illustrate some of the OE time concepts and time words from the Theodulfi Capitula, or Capitula of Theodulf. The Capitula are a religious text, a kind of handbook for parish priests. They were written in Latin around 800 A.D. by Theodulf, bishop of Orléans, in the context of the Carolingian reforms. They consist of 45 or 46 chapters, which fall roughly into two parts: the first (chs. 1 - 20) provides the priests with guidelines for their personal conduct and also regulates some of their official duties, e.g. how to celebrate the mass properly. The second part (chs. 21 - 45/46) tells the priests what to teach their parishioners, and thus by implication also contains admonitions to the laity.

As far as the church year is concerned, it is striking that eight out of the 45 (or 46) chapters, i.e. more than a sixth, are devoted to Lent and Easter (chs. 36-43). These occur near the end of the Capitula and thus form a kind of climax, whereas Advent, Christmas and Pentecost (Whitsun) are either not mentioned at all (i.e. Christmas and Advent) or just referred to in passing and indirectly (i.e. Whitsun, see ch. 24.4). Nor are any of the saints' festivals mentioned, not even those of the apostles or the martyrs. Thus there is quite a strong emphasis on one part of the church year, whereas the rest is practically ignored. Only the importance of Sunday is stressed, too (chs. 24 and 45/46). This may seem strange or imbalanced to us, but perhaps it reflects the fact that Easter as the feast of the resurrection of Christ and his salvation of mankind is the oldest and also the most central of the Christian festivals, theologically more important than Christmas and Pentecost; Sunday was regarded as a kind of weekly recurring Easter. Into the 21st chapter of his Capitula, Theodulf has incorporated the 4th chapter of the Rule of St Benedict.
Roughly two hundred years later, the *Capitula* were twice translated into Old English; apparently Theodulf’s advice and prescriptions were still regarded as useful information at that time for an English audience. I call the two versions A and B. Both contain the Latin original plus an OE translation.

The OE version A survives in MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, 179-271, written shortly after 1050 at Exeter in the characteristic style of bishop Leofric’s scriptorium. Whether the original translation was also made there is a question which is impossible to answer at the moment.

The OE version B is transmitted as a fragment (beginning with ch. 25) in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 865, fols. 97r-112v, written towards the end of the first half of the 11th century at an unknown English scriptorium, probably in Southern England. This manuscript was also at Exeter in the later Middle Ages. Whether it could have been written at Exeter before Leofric’s time is difficult to say - that the translator of the A-version apparently did not use the B-version would seem to argue against this possibility (see also the following remarks).6

Both MSS apparently do not contain the original versions, but are later copies (A was written by one scribe, whereas B was copied by four scribes (cf. Sauer, *Theodulfii Capitula* 32ff., 39f.). When and where the original OE translations were made, is difficult to tell; a rough estimate is the early 11th century for the B-version and the second half of the 10th century for the A-version. Linguistically, A is in West-Saxon, but with a significant Anglian admixture; B is in a relatively pure late West-Saxon. Neither A nor B shows any connection with the Winchester school and its vocabulary (Hofstetter 323f.). But all these observations do not help to date and localize the A and B versions with any precision.

B is a competent, but very literal translation, whereas A provides a freer rendering: sentences are often rephrased, sometimes there are explanatory additions and very occasionally also omissions.7

3. The word-field “time”

Linguistically, words for “time” form a word-field (semantic field, lexical field).8 As is the case with many word-fields, the field “time” is not easy to delimit: some terms are more central to it, while others are more marginal and overlap into other fields, so that whereas the core of the
word-field is fairly clear, it is more difficult to fix the margins and to draw the border-lines with other word-fields.

As far as time concepts are concerned, at least a threefold structure can be discerned. First, words such as “time, year, month, day” etc.: these could be called pure or prototypical time words. They are central to the field and they do not belong to any other field. Second, words for Christian festivals and feasts of saints such as “Easter, Christmas, Pentecost, Michaelmas” etc.: these are a little further from the centre and they also belong to the field of religion - but they were, and partly still are, used to reckon time, e.g. to date letters and documents. Third, names for meals such as “breakfast, lunch, cena Domini” (lit. ‘the Lord’s meal’ = Maundy Thursday): these are perhaps nearer to the margin; they also belong to the word-field of eating and drinking, but they structure time as well.

These three groups also appear in the *Thesaurus of Old English* (Roberts and Kay); the *Thesaurus*, however, lists them in quite different sections. Time-words in the stricter sense are given under group 5 “Existence”, subgroup 05.11 “A time, period of time”, whereas Christian festivals are given as subgroups of group 16 “Religion”, e.g. under 16. 02. 04. 04 “Liturgical year”, under 16. 02.04. 05 “Canonical hour, service”, etc.; meals are given under group 4, “Material Needs”, subgroup 04. 01 “Digestion”, subdivision 04. 01.02. 04. 01 “Meal”. Of course, this arrangement has its validity, too - but whereas the *Thesaurus* stresses the differences between the three groups (although it does provide cross-references), I wish to stress the fact that all three groups structure time and therefore can also be considered together.

That the concepts partly overlap can also be seen from the fact that occasionally a Latin word from one field is translated by an OE term from another field, e.g. *Quadragesima* ‘Lent’ by *lengtenfæsten*, lit. ‘lent-fasting’: while the Latin word expresses the period of time within the church-year, the OE translation stresses the main activity during this period. *Cibus* ‘food’ (38.3) is once translated by A as *metetid* ‘mealtime, time for a meal’ (A 38. 8 - B 38. 4 has the literal *metta* [gen.plur.]); *cena Domini* (41. 3; see above) is translated as *Dunresdæg ar Eastrum* (A&B) – here even in Latin, the name for a meal had become the name for a specific day by metonymic extension.

Another problem with the classification of semantic fields is that many words do not exclusively belong to one word-field; rather, they can
be assigned to several fields. This is also true of polysemous words; *saeculum*, for example, does not only mean ‘time, century’, but also ‘this present world and its ways (as opposed to a religious life)’ - see section 4 below.

For the purpose of a thesaurus, clear-cut distinctions and attributions are probably desirable, but for our purpose it is interesting to note that pure time words as well as words for Christian festivals and for the divine service, and also words for certain meals can indicate time.10

Both the Latin and the Old English terminology are partly fixed and partly vacillating or polysemous; for example, *dies iudicii* is normally translated as *domesdæg* (> doomsday), *annus* as *gear* (> year), whereas *dies* can be translated as *dæg* (> day) or as *tid*, and *tid* can also render *tempus, hora* etc.; see further sections 4 and 5 below. *Æfensang* in the OE A-version renders four Latin words or phrases, namely *uesper* (B: *æfen*), *uespertina hora* (B: *æfentyd*), *uespertinum officium* (B: *æfenbenung*, and also *æfensang*), and *uigiliae*.

4. Time and Eternity, or: Earth, Heaven and Hell

As I pointed out before, the time structure which is made explicit in the *Theodulfī Capitula* is biased: certain aspects of time are treated in some detail, whereas others are not mentioned at all. Of course this does not mean that Theodulf or his OE translators did not know them - they simply wanted to stress other aspects.

As a specifically Christian text, and like many other Christian texts, the *Capitula* have as their basic distinction the contrast between the present, transitory life, and the future, eternal life with God - the latter is, of course, much more desirable for the Christian, and he should strive to get there, because the present life is intrinsically inferior.11 *Saeculum* in 21.(20), *a saeculi actibus se facere alienum*, is translated by A as *ge wið woroldspræce ge wið worolddaeda warnige ond healde* ‘one should guard oneself against and refrain from worldly speech and from worldly deeds’, i.e. *saeculum* does not have its purely temporal sense ‘century’ here, but has the meaning ‘this world and its ways’. The implicit contrast is, of course, with a Christian, religious way of life, and also with the eternal life. This shows nicely how a word can shift its meaning from a pure time-word to a pejorative term, at least from the Christian point of view.
The heavenly kingdom is mentioned explicitly as the ultimate goal of the Christian in the preface (pref. 13) *ad regna celestia pergere*, translated by A, pref. 16, as *to þæm heofonlican rice higien* (cf. 1. 27). Here we have the opposite phenomenon, namely that the name of a place implicitly also refers to time, to the future, because the Christian must strive to get to the heavenly kingdom. Here, as in other cases, the translator of the OE A-version varies his terminology slightly: as a translation of *regna celestia* or *celestia regna* he once uses the somewhat more literal *heofonlican rice* (A Pref. 16) and once or twice the slightly freer *heofona rice* (A 1. 27; cf. *heofena rice*, A 2. 10, for *aeterna beatitudo*). The Christian’s reward is the eternal life in the heavenly kingdom: *premium aeternae uitaæ* 1. 5 - *med(e) eces lifes*, A 1. 7 (cf. also 21.[46], 32. 7f., 35. 2f.). The noun “eternity” is also used by Theodulf in the phrase *in perpetuas eternitates* (20.8), which is strictly speaking a tautology, because eternity is by definition perpetual, but Theodulf obviously added the adjective to emphasize the everlasting character of eternity. The OE translator of the A-version has omitted the adjective and simply speaks of *ecnyss* ‘eternity’ (A 20. 8). Strictly speaking time exists no more in eternity, but this need not concern us here, nor does Theodulf discuss it.

Unfortunately, according to Christian doctrine, not all make it to Heaven and are rewarded with the eternal life; thus in addition to the contrast between the present worldly life and the future eternal life in Heaven we also get the contrast between Heaven and Hell: *gehennam expauescere - uitam eternam desiderare* ‘to fear hell and to desire the eternal life’, 21.(45-46), from the Rule of St Benedict, translated by A as *ond ondræde him hellewite; ond mid ælcre gastlicre gewilhunge wilhige he þæs ecan lifes*.

The fates will be decided on Doomsday, which Christians dread; Doomsday is mentioned several times by Theodulf. Here the OE terminology was apparently fixed: *dies iudicii* is normally translated as *domesdæg* ‘doomsday’ by A, e.g. in 21.(44) (cf. 25. 10 ~ A 25. 7), and it is also introduced twice as a clarifying addition (A 1. 4f.; A 17. 6f.); only once does the A-translator render *dies iudicii* freely as *et ures lifes ende* (A 21.(76)) - perhaps he wanted to allude in this passage to the personal and individual judgement after each man’s (and woman’s) death. In accordance with orthodox theology, Theodulf does not say when Doomsday will be. *Endedæg* as the personal and individual day of death and *domes-
dae g as the general day of judgement are contrasted in a confessional prayer in MS London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. I., fols. 159v-161r. Whereas Theodulf talks about Heaven, Hell and Doomsday, no mention of Purgatory is to be found either in the Capitula or in the Old English translations.  

5. General words for “time”

A distinction can be made between general time words (e.g. tid) and specific time words (e.g. gear, wucu, daeg), cf. Grüner. The general Latin word for “time” is tempus, which accordingly occurs several times in the Capitula. The general OE word used both by the A and the B translators is tid. Tid can be used for “time in general”, e.g. on opre tid (A 37. 12; cf. A 37. 15), on oprum tidum (B 37. 7), both for alio tempore (37. 7; cf. B 29. 13; 44. 5, 12, 13), but also for specific times, especially for “hour”, e.g. ær þære teoden tide ‘before the tenth hour’ (A 37. 3f., as an addition), or on þære þryddan tide ‘at the third hour’ (B 45.3f.) for hora tertia (45. 3f. - A omits this time indication); cf. þæm tidum (A 44. 1 as an addition).

As these examples make clear, there is no one to one relation between Latin tempus and OE tid. Tempus can be translated by tid, cf. also Quadragesimae tempus, 36. 7 – þæ tæ tid þæs hælgo fæstenes, A 36. 16f.; on eadiges Lenctenes tide, B 36. 7 (cf. 44. 4), but also, e.g., by æmta ‘leisure, time for leisure’ (e.g. tempus, 29.7 – æmta, A 29. 10, B 29. 9, etc.). A furthermore has paraphrases such as swiðe langre ond strengre hreowsunge ‘with a long and severe penitence’ (A 16. 7) for longo tempore (14. 11 longo tempore is not translated by A), or to lange ‘too long’ (A 44. 13) for prolixo tempore (B 44. 12 as usual translates more literally: fram þæm langere tide).

On the other hand, tid renders not only tempus, but also hora (see above, and cf. omni hora, 21. [48] - ealle tyda, A 21. [48]), and, in the A-version, dies as well, e.g. in his diebus, 40. 1 - on þas tid, A 40. 1 (B translates literally, i.e. on þysum dagum); furthermore, tid in the A-version translates quando (3. 1, cf. 4. 1.: Þæm tidum), cum uero, 28. 14 (A 28. 19: þæm tidum - B has Donne we soflice).

There are several possibilities to express the concept of “always”, e.g. pene omni die (44.13), translated as daegwamlice by A (44. 18) and as forneah ælce daeg by B (44. 15) (cf. 30. 1); omni hora (translated as ealle tyda by A, see above), or cotidie ‘daily’, rendered as daegwamlice.
by A, e.g. 21. (63), cf. 21. (48); (57); furthermore, contrasting pairs such as die noctuque are used, see section 8.1 below.

6. The year and the church-year

Beneath the level of time in general, and of time as opposed to eternity, the next time unit mentioned in the Capitula of Theodulf is the year - millennia and centuries do not occur\textsuperscript{16}, nor are the six (or seven) ages of the world mentioned (Tristram). But Theodulf also refers to the year relatively rarely, e.g. in 37. 4 anni nostri - translated as ðæs geares in A 37. 7 and as ures geares in B 37. 4, and once in the phrase septem annis in arta aerumna sit ‘he should be seven years in utter misery’ (27. 14f.), translated as seofon gear on swiðe nearowe yrmðe by A, and similarly as seofen gear he sy on nearowe yrmðe by B. The seven years of severe hardship are prescribed as a punishment for false testimony, and thus the passage concerned looks like a stray excerpt from a penitential, because penitentials are texts which list sins and assign to each sin a certain period of time for repentance and as punishment\textsuperscript{17}. What exactly the utter misery consists of, however, not specified by Theodulf.

7. The week and the Sunday

Neither seasons nor months find any mention in Theodulf’s Capitula; the next time unit below the year which is specified is the week. It is also mentioned rarely, however; once in connection with the week preceding the beginning of Lent (Ebdomada prima ante initium Quadragesimae 36. 1 – On þære nyhstan wucan ær Halgan Nyht A 36. 1, On þære ærestan ucan ær Lenctenes anginne B 36. 1), and once in connection with the Easter week: ipsi dies Paschalis ebdomade (41. 6), translated as Eastorwican by A, and as ðære Easterlican ucan by B, i.e. wiculwucu was the regular OE word for ‘week’ and the regular equivalent of (h)ebdomada (from [h]ebdomas, [h]ebdomadis < G ἐβδομάς); the form ucu (attested as ucan) with loss of <w> (=/w/), used twice by the B-translator (or one of the scribes), is very rare, and points to Southern England (or the South Midlands?), cf. Sauer, Theodulfi Capitula 191f.

For the Christians, the most important among the seven days of the week is the Sunday, and two chapters (24; 45/46) are devoted to its proper celebration. The Latin dies dominica (dominicus) ‘the Lord’s day’ is always translated as Sunnandæg ‘Sunday’, e.g. A 24. 1, A & B 37. 2; 45.
lff. etc. At the beginning of ch. 24, Theodulf gives a Biblical explanation and justification of why Sunday is so important; in doing so, he connects the past, that is the entire course of Christian history from the creation to the sending of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost, with the present of each Sunday: according to Theodulf, it was on a Sunday that God created light, that he let manna rain in the desert, that Christ rose from the dead, and that he sent the Holy Spirit. All of these events are, of course, mentioned in the Bible, but possibly Theodulf was the first theologian who assembled them in this sequence in order to demonstrate the importance of the Sunday - at least I have not yet found an immediate source for Theodulf apart from the separate Biblical passages.

Since the celebration of the Sunday should begin on Saturday evening (24. 10), Saturday is also mentioned; Thursday and Friday are referred to in connection with Holy Week (see section 9 below).

For the days of the week, the OE terminology was fixed early and the English terminology has remained stable until today (cf. section 10 below). Dies dominica is rendered as Sønnandæg ‘Sunday’ (see above), sábbatum dies as Søternesdag ‘Saturday’ (A 24. 16); Dønresdag ær Eastrum ‘Thursday before Easter’ renders cena domini (see section 9 below).

There is, furthermore, the distinction between ecclesiastical feast-days and “normal” days: the former are called festivitas (in quibuslibet festuïtatibus 45. 6), translated as maessedæg (maessedagum) by A and as freolsdæg (on freolsdagum) by B (cf. Roberts and Kay I. 676 = § 16. 02. 04. 04. 02) - but no specific name is used for the normal weekdays in the Capitula; now they are called feriae. Maessedæg was actually polysemous: it could be used for normal Sundays as well as for special festival days.

8. The day and its subdivisions

For the subdivision of the day (OE dæg, e.g. A 24. 9 ff.), several competing classifications existed and still exist. The precision of our twenty-four hour day was not yet possible in the early Middle Ages. The hour is the smallest time unit mentioned - there were no minutes or seconds. There existed only sundials, and the hours varied according to season; the daytime hours were longer in the summer and shorter in the winter. They could be estimated only approximately; Theodulf once even writes (39. 9 f.) aëstimata uesperitina hora ‘after the evening hour has been estimated’, translated somewhat freely as þæt he wite þæt seo mæsse
ond se æfensang sy gesungen ‘so that he knows that the mass and the evening office have been sung, i.e. celebrated’ by A (39. 10f.), but quite literally as gewenedre æfentyde by B (39. 9).

8.1. One contrast expressed by Theodulf (which he has partly taken over from Benedict) is between day and night, another is between morning and evening (the combination of these antonyms, of course, also yields the sense ‘always’, see section 5 above): die noctuque (21. [76]) - A: dæges oðhe nyhtes; mane et uespere (23. 2 f.), or hora matutina uel uespertina (23. 14), both translated as on morgen ond on æfenne or ægðer ge on æfenne ge on morgenne by A (23. 3; 23. 15). Apart from morgen ‘morning’ (also A 24. 18), the early morning is specifically mentioned: a primo mane (45. 8), translated almost identically in the A and B versions as from (fram) ærnemerenge (cf. A 45. 8), and so is sunset: ante solis occasum (21. [73]) - ær sunnansetlgonge (A 21. [73]).

8.2. Besides the contrast of night and day and of morning and evening, Theodulf uses the reflexes of the Roman division of the day from sunrise to sunset into twelve hours. Since the day (i.e. daytime) is longer in the summer and shorter in the winter, the length of the hours also varied, and the correspondence between the Roman and Mediaeval hours and our hours can often be determined only approximately. Theodulf mentions the second hour, (ante) secunda(m) hora(m) (45/46. 15), which is translated literally as ær þære oðre tide in the OE B-version, but more freely as ær middemorgenne ‘before midmorning’ in the A-version (45/46. 18f.), i.e. it is converted back into the morning-evening dichotomy by the A-translator. The third hour (i.e. ca. 8.00 - 9.00) is mentioned as the canonical time for the celebration of the public Sunday mass by Theodulf (45. 3). The OE A-version omits this time reference (a little later in the same chapter, the A-translator refers to the mass on ærnemerengen, in the ‘early morning’, A 45. 7; cf. A 45. 8); the B translator once more has a literal version: on þære pryddan tide (B 45. 3f.).

Theodulf also mentions the sign which is given at the ninth hour (i.e. ca. 15.00 = 3 p.m.), signum ad horam nonam (39. 2); both OE translators take this as the bell rung at this time: nonbelle (A), nonhringc (B 39. 2., which actually doubles the time-indication: nonhringc ... to þære nigoðan tyde). Both nonbelle and nonhringc seem to be hapax legomena. Perhaps the translators had to experiment because bells were not used everywhere and thus there was no established terminology; cf. Hill (120f.), who also
says that in some monastic communities ‘a small cymbal or portable gong’ was used.

Theodulf himself occasionally mixes the systems: after speaking of the sign for the ninth hour, he continues by mentioning the evening office (uespertinum officium, 39.4). The OE A-version mentions the 10th and the 12th hour, i.e. the end of the day, in an addition to ch. 37 (A 37. 3: þæt ænig mon æniges metes bruce ær þære teoðan tide oðde þære twelfte).

8.3. The mentioning of the evening office actually introduces a third structure for the day, which was originally based on selected hours, namely the canonical hours (canonical office, cursus, horae), the hours devoted to prayer. These were (and are) particularly observed by the monastic communities, but not restricted to them; Theodulf obviously also expects the parish priests and the laity to observe them, at least to a certain extent.

The full system (which developed gradually) distinguishes eight canonical hours or offices, namely the seven day-time offices, i.e. laud, later called matins (laudes, matutinum; at dawn, ca. 3.30-6.00); prime (prima; at sunrise, ca. 6.00-6.45), tierce (tertia; ca. 8.00-9.00), sext (sexta; ca. 11.30-12.00), none (nona; ca. 13.30-15.00), vespers (vesperae; ca.15.00-16.00), compline (completorium; ca.18.00-20.00), and the night office, called matin (matutinum) or vigil or nocturn (nocturnae vigiliae; ca.2.00-3.00)21- especially for the night office and the first day office, terminology apparently varies.

As stated above, Theodulf mentions the uespertinum officium (39. 4; 6), translated once as æfenþenung ‘evening service’ by the B-translator and once as æfensang ‘evening song’; the A-translator once omits it, but several times translates it as æfensang, once for uespertinis officiiis (39. 6), and three times as an addition, see below22. A furthermore adds nonsang (A 39. 4), probably for the nones. Theodulf also refers to the vigils = (?) matutins, ad uigilias siue ad matutinae officium (24. 12). The A-translator renders uigilias also as æfensang ‘evensong’(A 24. 17), thus probably equating them with the vespers (or with compline), and matutinae officium as uhlsang ‘early-morning-song’(A 24.17), thus probably equating it with the lauds (or less likely, the prime) - i.e. what for Theodulf perhaps were still synonyms for the same office (vigils = matins, i.e. the night-time office), were two different offices for the A-translator, one in the evening and one in the morning, probably vespers and laud (or prime) - possibly there had been a shift in terminology and usage (see above), in order to
make the observation of the office a little easier for lay people, who could not really be expected to get up for prayer in the middle of the night.

In several passages, the OE A-translator specifies Theodulf’s “evening time” as the time of the evening office: uesperum (40. 6) - æfensang (A 40. 8 - B translates literally as æfen); uespertina hora (39. 9f.) - æfensang (A 39. 9-11 - B 39. 9 again translates literally as æfenytede). Thus the A-translator uses compounds with -sang relatively frequently and consistently (nonsang 1x – 39. 4; æfensang 6x – 24. 12; 39.5; 6; 9; 11; uhtsang 1x – 24. 17) whereas the B-translator uses a -sang compound just once (æfensang 1x – B 39. 6). Hill (120-2) notices a similar difference between a fragmentary translation of the Regularis concordia preserved in MS CCCC 201 (Z) and the interlinear gloss to the Regularis Concordia preserved in MS Cotton Tiberius A. III (K): the former (Zupitza) uses compounds in –sang relatively frequently (nonsang, æfensang, uhtsang etc.) the latter (Kornexl) never. The fragment (Z) uses the Winchester vocabulary (Hofstetter 89 ff. = nr.8), whereas the interlinear version does not (Hofstetter 438 f. = nr. 214). Æthelwold’s OE translation of the Rule of St. Benedict also uses (among other expressions) –sang compounds (e.g. æfensang – uesperum; nonsang – nona; uhtsang – vigiliae; dagredsang – matutini, laudes, etc. (d’Aronco 14-31). The frequent use of –sang compounds in the A-version of the Capitula of Theodulf is, however, not sufficient to establish a link with the Winchester group.

8.4. A fourth way of indicating the time of the day is to mention the meals eaten at a certain time: in Ch. 38. 3f., Theodulf mentions prandium (cibos prandii) and cenam, translated as undergeregord and æfengiffe (A 38. 7) in the A-version, i.e. roughly a late breakfast (undern ‘midmorn ing’), and dinner; B translates prandium as undermnete, but replaces the evening meal, cenam, by a pure time indication, namely æfen ‘evening’. This shows once more that time can be expressed by pure time words or by words for activities which take place at a certain time, and that these two modes of expression are sometimes interchangeable – cf. also Cena Domini, which literally refers to a meal, but it was lexicalized or idiomatized and refers to a specific day (“Maundy Thursday”).

9. Lent and Easter

Let us turn to the church year and its festivals. As mentioned above, Theodulf presents Lent and Easter as the most important ecclesiastical
seasons by far. Lent lasts forty days, which is expressed by the Latin term Quadragesima (e.g. 36. 1; 37. 1); the OE term is lengten, still preserved as ModE Lent. In OE, lengten was polysemous: it could refer to the first season of the year, now called Spring in ModE, or to Quadragesima, the forty days of fasting preceding Easter. In the OE translations of the Capitula of Theodulf, lengten apparently has the second meaning.

Fasting was the dominant aspect of Quadragesima, and this is sometimes expressed in the OE translations. At the beginning of ch. 37 (37. 1), both the A and B versions render Quadragesima as Dæt Lengtenfæsten; in other passages, B translates Quadragesimae tempus as Lencentyn (B 42. 5) or Lenctenes tid (B 36. 7), whereas A renders it as fæstendagas ‘fasting days’ (on fæstendagum, A 42. 4), or simply as fæsten ‘fast(ing)’ (‘on þa tid þæs halgan fæstenes,” A 36. 16f.); diebus uero ieiunii (38. 1) is rendered as fæstendagum by B, but quite freely as daeghwamlice by A; cf. 42.1, 6.

Theodulf calls Quadragesima, the days of Lent, “most holy days”, in his sacramissimis diebus (43. 1 - translated as on þas halgan tid by A and as on þysum haligostum dagum by B; cf. 43. 4); A also translates Quadragesima once as on þisse halgan tide (41. 1 - B has on Lencten). As he did with the Sunday, Theodulf also provides a Biblical explanation and justification of the forty-day fast and its importance; as models he mentions the fasting of Moses, Eliah and Christ himself (37. 14f.). The Biblical passages to which Theodulf refers here had already been collected by Gregory the Great in a homily (Hom. in Evang. I. 16. 5), so that Theodulf probably used Gregory as a source for this passage, especially since another striking image used by Theodulf earlier in ch. 37 occurs in the same homily by Gregory, namely that the Quadragesima days are the tithe days of the year (37. 4): “quia ipsi dies decimae sunt anni nostri,” which A translates as “Forþon þas dagas synt teoðungdagas þæs geares” (A 37. 7; this term is relatively rare in OE, but also used by Ælfric), whereas B simply has “ða dagas syndon teoðunga ures geares” (B 37. 4).

If we ask how forty days can be a tenth of the year, the answer lies with Gregory, who actually speaks of a fast of 36 days, which, of course, comes fairly close to being a tenth of the 365 days of the year. Nevertheless, matters become a little complicated here. The actual fasting period originally had 36 days, because Sundays were excluded from fasting; the latter fact is also mentioned by Theodulf (37. 2f.). The beginning
of Quadragesima was the sixth Sunday before Easter (Quadragesima Sunday, First Sunday in Lent, German: Sonntag Invocabit); it was called initium Quadrages(ismae (ebdomada prima ante initium Quadragesimae, 36. 1), which is translated literally as Lenctenes angin by B (B 36. 1), but as Halge Nyht (or Halga Nyht) by A (“on þære nyhstan wucan ær Halgan Nyht” A 36. 1). Halge Nyht seems to be a hapax legomenon, whereas Halga Dæg for the same day is well attested27 - possibly in Halge Nyht we have a trace of the otherwise well-attested ancient Germanic custom of measuring time not in days, but in nights. In order to achieve the forty-day fast derived from the Bible, the beginning of the fasting period was put forward to Ash Wednesday, which was then called caput ieiunii (or caput quadragesimae) - Quadragesima Sunday, however, remained initium quadragesimae28. Caput ieiunii or Ash Wednesday is not mentioned by Theodulf, but he clearly states (36. 1ff.) that the preparations for fasting begin in the week before initium Quadragesimae29.

The week before Easter, now called Holy Week (German: Karwoche), is particularly important, but there was no OE terminology yet corresponding to ModE “Ash Wednesday” and “Maundy Thursday” (cf. G. Aschermittwoch, Gründonnerstag, and furthermore Karsamstag). Theodulf mentions cena Domini (41. 3), translated as Dnresdæg ær Eastrum ‘Thursday before Easter’ by both A and B - there was no specific OE word for cena Domini30- and uigilia Paschae (41. 4), which is also translated identically by A and B, namely as Eastoræfen (Easteræfen), ‘Easter eve’ - æfen is here obviously used in its sense ‘evening preceding a certain day’ (ModE “eve”), thus Eastoræfen is not *‘Easter evening’, but ‘evening before Easter’. A in an addition also has Frigedæg (A 41. 3)31.

Finally there is the Easter day itself, called sanctus Pascha (36. 8) or dies sanctus Paschae (43. 4) or dies resurrectionis Domini (41. 4) by Theodulf. A and B translate this as wið þara halgena Eastrena (A 36. 18) or to haligre Eastran (B 36. 8), A also ... Eastordæg (A 41. 4) and as halig Easterdæg, i.e. to þam halgan Easterdæge (A 43. 5), B also as to þam haligan dæge Eastran (B 43. 5) or on þam dæge Drihtnes ærstes (B 41. 4). Easter (Sun)day is followed by the Easter week, ipsi dies Paschalis (h)ebdomadae (41. 6), translated as ealle þa dagas þære Eastorwiccan by A (41. 4f.) and similarly as þa dagas ðære Easterlican ucan by B (41. 6). Here ends the church year as far as it is represented in the Capitula of Theodulf:
10. Etymological notes on Easter, on the days of the week, and on *Halge Nyht*.

I would like to add three brief etymological notes.

10.1 As is well known, the names of the days of the week in the Germanic languages are loan-translations from the Latin days of the week, and these translations were made as early as the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. The Latin names (which in their turn had been translated from Greek) contained names of the planets, which mostly also represented Gods; these were largely replaced by their Germanic equivalents: *solis dies* was rendered as *sunnandæg* (ModE Sunday, German: Sonntag), *dies lunae* or *lunæ dies* (> F lundi, It lunedì) as *monandæg* (Monday, G Montag), *dies Martis* or *Martis dies* (> F mardi, It martedì) as *tiwæsdæg* (Tuesday, G Dienstag), *dies Mercurii* or *Mercurii dies* (> F mercredi, It mercoledì) as *wodnesdæg* (Wednesday, but G Mittwoch), *dies Jovis* or *Jovis dies* (> F jeudi, It giovedì) as *pünresdæg* (Thursday, G Donnerstag), *dies Veneris* or *Veneris dies* (> F vendredi, It venerdì) as *frigedæg* (Friday, G Freitag), *dies Saturni* or *saeternesdæg* (Saturday, but G Samstag, Sonnabend), thus these formations are loan-translations (which in OE represented the Latin genitive by an OE genitive). Apparently there was no Germanic equivalent for *Saturn* in *Saturni dies*, so his name was retained in OE *saeternesdæg* (ModE Saturday); *Saturday* thus is a hybrid loan-translation. That the names of pagan Gods were preserved in the days of the week did not really appeal to the Church, and sometimes attempts were made to replace them with more neutral terms. In Latin itself, *solis dies* was replaced by *dies dominica* ‘the lord’s day’, which lives on in the Romance languages, e.g. French *dimanche*, Italian *domenica*, and *Saturni dies* was also replaced (F *samedi*, It *sabato*). In German, *wodnesdæg* (ModE Wednesday) was replaced by *Mittwoch* (lit. ‘middle of the week’), and *Saturday* was replaced by *Samstag* or *Sonnabend*. English, however, has kept the pagan terminology intact without any exception.

10.2 The etymology of OE *eastron* (> ModE Easter, cf. G *Ostern*) has been discussed and disputed extensively. At least three explanations have been forwarded: (1) “Easter” is named after a Germanic spring goddess *Ôstara*; unfortunately, such a goddess is not independently attested. (2) “Easter” comes from “east” (G *Osten*), and “east” stands for the morning light, which arises in the east and marks the beginning of the day - apparently there was an Indo-European goddess of the morning light (G
Morgenröte); Christ arose from the dead at the beginning of the day, and the morning light symbolizes the victory of day over night, of good over evil. The problem here is that a considerable chain of semantic shifts or transfers has to be assumed. (3) The most recent explanation, forwarded e.g. by Udolph and supported by Bammeberger, argues that the basis is a Germanic *austran, which originally meant ‘to draw water’; this was applied to the act of baptism and then by metonymic extension to Easter as the day or time when people were baptized. With this explanation, the chain of semantic transfers seems shorter, but the change of word-class still has to be taken into account.

10.3. Halge Dæg (or Halga Dæg) is a lexicalized form: it does not refer to any holy day, but to one quite specific Sunday, namely Quadragesima Sunday, i.e. the first Sunday in Lent. Its origin is apparently unclear (see Lenker 229f.). Perhaps it can be regarded as an elliptical form of (se) ealda halga dæg, which is also attested, and which refers to the fact that lent (the fasting period) began originally with this Sunday, and not, as later, with Ash Wednesday (i.e. the Wednesday preceding it) – see above. The hapax legomenon halge nyht used by the A-translator (see above) could then be a substitution for halga dæg.

11. Conclusion

Even though Theodulf deals only with selected aspects of time and of the ecclesiastical year, he nevertheless offers a broad and interesting range of words for time, for church-festivals and for meals. The corresponding OE terminology was also quite extensive. Theodulf’s OE translators (A & B) partly correspond to common OE usage, e.g. in their use of gear (> year; AB), domesdæg (> doomsday; A), sunnandæg (> Sunday; AB) etc., but they also have some rare words (or even hapax legomena), e.g. halge nyht, lit. ‘holy night’, i.e. dominica prima in quadragesima (A), teoðungdagas, lit. ‘tith-days’ (A), nonbelle ‘noonbell’, i.e. ‘bell [rung at] the ninth hour’ (A) and nonhringc (B) ‘noonringing’, i.e. ‘ringing the bell(s) for the ninth hour’. In some cases both A and B have a less differentiated terminology than other OE texts, e.g. in the use of tid ‘time’ (to the exclusion of tima), in other cases, OE in general still lacked some terms which were introduced only later, e.g. words for “Ash Wednesday” and “Maundy Thursday”. Furthermore, there are a number of differences between A and B, e.g. messedæg (A) – freolsdæg (B) for festuitas; undergoreord (A) – undern-
mete (B) for prandium; halge nyht (A) – lenctenes angin (B) for initium quadragesimae, nonbelle (A) and nonhringc (B) for signum ad horam nonam, etc., which shows that usage was not fixed in all respects and that there was room for variation and experiment – how far these variations are chronologically or dialectally significant is difficult to tell\textsuperscript{35}.

12. List of time words and related words used in the Capitula of Theodulf and their OE translations (A and B) and discussed in the preceding chapters

Ch. 4

- saeculum 21. (20): ge woroldspræc ge worolddæd A 21. (20)
- regna caelestia Pref. 13; caelestia regna 1. 21: heofonlica rice A Pref.16; heofona rice A 1. 27
- aeterna uita 1. 5; cf. 21. (46); 32. 7: ece lif A 1. 7, 21.(46); 32. 11, B 32. 7f
- in perpetuas aeternitates 20. 8: ecnyss A 20. 8
- dies iudicii 21. (44); 21. (76); 25. 10: domesdaeg A 21. (44); ures lifes ende A 21. (76)

Ch. 5

- tempus 37. 7; 29. 7; 16. 5; 44. 4: tid A 37. 12; B 37.7; 44. 5; Quadragesimae tempus 36. 7: þa tid þæs halgan fæstenes A 36. 16f; on eadiges Lenctenes tide B 36. 7; æmta A 29.10; B 29.9; hreowsung A 16. 7 - prolixo tempore 44. 10: to lange A 44. 13; langere tide B 44.12, etc.;
- quando 3. 1: Þæm tidum þonne... A 3. 1, cf. 28. 19
- dies: dæg A 24. 9ff (4x, for L eo or as an addition); pene omni die 44. 13: dæghwamlice A 44. 18; forneah ælce dæge B 44. 15; in his diebus: on þas tid A 40. 1; on þysum dagum B 40. 1; cotidie 21. (63): dæghwamlice A 21. (63)

Ch. 6

- annus 37. 4; 27. 14f.: gear A 37. 7; 27. 15; B 37. 4; 27.14.

Ch. 7

- Ebdomada prima... 36. 1; On þære nyhstan wucan... A 36. 1; On þære ærestan ucan...B 36. 1.
- (Paschalis) ebdomada 41. 6: Eastorwicu (Eastorwican) A 41.5; Easterlica ucu (ucan) B 41. 6.
- dies dominica 24. 1; 37. 2f.; 45. 1ff.: sunnandæg A 24. 1; 37. 2; 45. 2ff.; B 37. 2; 45.1ff.
- sabbatum (dies) 24. 10: sæternesdæg A 24. 10; 24.16.
- cena domini 41. 3: ðunresdæg ær eastrum AB 41. 3.
- festiuitas 45. 6: ðæssedæg A 45. 6; freolsdæg B 45.6.

Ch. 8
(a)
- mane et uespere 23. 2f.; hora matutina uel uespertina 23. 14: on morgen ond on æfenne A 23.3; ægðer ge on æfenne ge on morgenne A 23. 15; on morgenne A 24. 18 (addition).
- a primo mane 45. 8: from (fram) æernemergenne AB 45. 8.
- uesperum 40. 6: æfensang A 40. 8; æfen B 40. 7.
(b) on hora, cf. also Ch. 5
-(ante) secunda(m) hora(m) 45/46. 15: ær middemorgenne A 45/46. 18f.; ær þære oðre tide B 45/46.15.
- hora tertia 45. 3f.: on ðære þryddan tide B 45. 3f. (omitted by A).
- signum ad horam nonam 39. 2: nonbelle A 39. 2; nonhringc... to þære nigoðan tyde B 39. 2.
- ær þære teoðan tide oðde þære twelfte A 37. 3 (addition in A).

(c)
- nonsang A 39. 4 (addition).
- ad uigilias siue ad matutinae officium 24. 12: æfensang...uhtsang A 24. 17.

(d)
- prandium (cibos prandii) 38. 3f.: underngereord A 38. 7; undernmete B 38. 5.
- cena 38. 3f.: æfengifl A 38. 7; æfen B 38. 5.
- cibus 38. 3: metetid A 38. 8; mete (metta) B 38. 4.
Ch. 9  
(a)  
- quadragesima 37. 1; 41. 1: lengtenfæsten AB 37. 1; on þisse halgan tide A 41. 1; on lenceten B 41. 1; (beatae) quadragesimae tempus 36. 7; cf. 42. 4: on þa tid þæs halgan fæstenes A 36. 16; lencetenes tid B 36. 7; on fæstendagum A 42. 4; lencentlyd B 42. 5.  
- diebus...ieiunii 38. 1; cf. 42. 1 & 6: dæghwamlice A 38. 1; fæstendagum B 38. 1 etc.; on...fæstendagum A 42.1 & 4; dæg eowres fæstenes B 42. 6.  
- in his sacratissimis diebus 43. 1: on þas halgan tid A 43. 2; on þysum haligostum dagum B 43. 1f.  
- ipsi dies decimae sunt anni nostri 37. 4: þas dagas synt teoðungdagas þæs geares A 37. 7; ða dagas syndon teoðunga ures geares B 37. 4.  
- initium quadragesimae 36. 1: halga nyht A 36. 1; lencetenes anginn B 36. 1.  

(b)  
- cena domini 41. 3: ðunresdæg aer eastrum AB 41. 3.  
- uigilia paschae 41. 4: eastoræfen, easteræfen AB 41. 4; frigedæg A 41. 3 (addition).  
- sanctus pascha 36. 8; dies sanctus paschae 43. 4; dies resurrectionis domini 41. 4: halig/halga easter A 36. 18; B 36.8; (halig) eastordæg A 41. 4; easterdæg A 43. 5; halig ðæg eastran B 43. 5; ðæg drihtnes ærystes B 41.4.  
- dies paschalis (h)ebdomadae 41. 6: þa dagas þære eastorwican A 41. 4f; þa dagas dære easterlican ucan B 41. 6.
For helpful comments, I thank Renate Bauer, Sabine Gieszinger, Zora Gnädig, Claudia Lechner, Ursula Lenker, Ulrike Manta, Angelika Schröcker. An earlier version of this paper was also printed in: A New Curriculum for English Studies, ed. Barbara Lewandowska Tomaszczyk & Irena Czwenar. Piotrków Trybunalski: Piotrków College Press, 2001. 251-274. I thank Claire Fennell for the permission to have it published there.

The ecclesiastical year developed slowly and gradually; for recent surveys of its history, see, e.g. Bieritz; Lenker 60ff.

On the Theodulfī Capitula and their OE versions, see Sauer; cf. Brommer.

In some manuscripts, the last chapter, ch. 45, has been divided into two chapters.

The feasts of the Virgin Mary developed only slowly, so it is perhaps not surprising that Theodulf does not mention Mary; see Clayton, esp. 25ff.

Conner lists both MSS, but does not say much about them.

I should perhaps point out that I produced an edition of the Theodulfī Capitula as my doctoral dissertation many years ago (Sauer, Theodulfī Capitula), but although I have given many papers since, I have never had an opportunity to give a paper specifically concerned with the Theodulfī Capitula. All quotations from the Theodulfī Capitula in this paper have been taken from Sauer.

See, e.g., Strite 149ff.; Roberts & Kay.

See, e.g., Leisi 106ff.

The most extensive study of OE time words is still Tupper, but, of course, there have been a number of more recent studies, some of which are listed in the bibliography at the end of this paper; see also Grüner 17-21; Strite 149ff.

For an Anglo-Saxonist, the OE elegies, and in particular the Wanderer and the Seafarer, come to mind as texts with a parallel time structure.

This phrase seems to have been common in ecclesiastical writings, and Theodulf apparently took it over from ecclesiastical tradition.

On Purgatory and related concepts and their treatment in Medieval English literature, see e.g. Matsuda; Kabir.

Neither of them uses tīma, the other common OE word for “time”, which eventually ousted tīd: tīma > ModE “time”; tīd > ModE “tide” with narrowing of meaning; cf. Sauer, Theodulfī Capitula 261-263. For an analysis of tīd, tīma and other OE words for ‘time’ see, e.g. Grüner; Bately; Roberts and Kay l. 298ff. (fæc, fær, first, hwīl, rūm, þræg etc.).

As mentioned above, *saeculum* has a different meaning in 21.(20).

On OE penitentials, see, e.g. Frantzen.

The Biblical passages on which this statement is based are: Gen. 1. 3-5; Exod. 16. 4; Matt. 28. 1-2 and Marc. 16. 1-2; Acts 2. 1-4.

See Käsmann 340 ff; d’Aronco 35 f. for Æthelwold’s use.

This became only possible with the invention of the mechanical clock in the 14th century; see, e.g., Dohrn-van Rossum; Crosby.

See, e.g., Young I. 44-75; Steidle, *Die Benedictusregel* 108 = ch. XVI; cf. ch. XVIII; Symons xxxi ff. & xliii f.; d’Aronco 14-31; LexMA s.v. “Stundenbuch”, “Stundengebet”, partly with varying terminology and with varying indications of times. As ModE “noon” ‘midday, 12.00’ < OE *non* < L *nona* [hora] shows, the hours also shifted in the course of time: originally *nona hora* was ca. 13.30 – 14.30 (or 15.00).

Considering the OE translation with *afen* ‘evening’, *vespertinum officium* probably corresponds to compline rather than to vespers.

Cf., e.g. Fischer, esp. 80.

Other important aspects were giving alms, going to mass and communion, abstaining from sexual intercourse, etc.

Cf. Käsmann 345-347.

Exod. 34. 28; 3 Reg. 19. 8; Matt. 4. 2.

Cf. Tupper 217; Sauer, *Theodulfi Capitula* 456f.; Roberts and Kay I. 677; the latter list (ealda) *halga dæg* for the First Sunday in Lent, but not *halge nyht*; see furthermore Lenker 225, 229f. In *ær Halgan Nyht*, the adjective is apparently inflected according to the weak adjectival declension, although it is not preceded by a definite article (demonstrative pronoun) (cf. Mitchell I. 56-58. §§114-158); the weak nom.sing. for the feminine would therefore have to be *Halge Nyht*.

See also Lenker 67f.; 225.

Apparently there was no OE word for “Ash Wednesday”, see Käsmann 347; *Ash Wednesday* first appears in Middle English.

Terms such as ME *shereduresdi* ‘Sheer Thursday’, ME *Holy Thursday*, ModE “Maundy Thursday” (cf. G *Gründonnerstag*) were apparently not yet available; cf. Käsmann 348; Sauer, *Nominalkomposita* 170; 327 and Roberts and Kay I. 677, who do not list a special OE term for “Maundy Thursday”; furthermore Lenker 230.

Terms such as OE *langa frigedæg* ‘long Friday’, ME & ModE “Good Friday” (cf. G *Karfreitag*) are not used by the A & B translators, however. *Langa frigedæg* is used, for example, in the fragmentary translation of the *Regularis Concordia* (Hill 124).
Cf., e.g., Bamnesberger 1-6 and the entries for the days of the week in the ODEE and in Kluge; furthermore Sauer, Nominalkomposita 356f.; d’Aronco 31-34.

Cf., e.g. the entries in Kluge, and in the ODEE.

Cf. Lenker 224-226.

Freolsdaeg may have been a Late West-Saxon word, see Sauer, Theodulfi Capitula 242.
Opere citate, Works Cited

Zitierte Literatur*

(1) Dictionaries, encyclopedias etc.


(2) Editions


* Given the wealth of literature on time words and time concepts, this bibliography must be very selective. I thank Andreas Fischer for bibliographical hints.
(3) Studies


