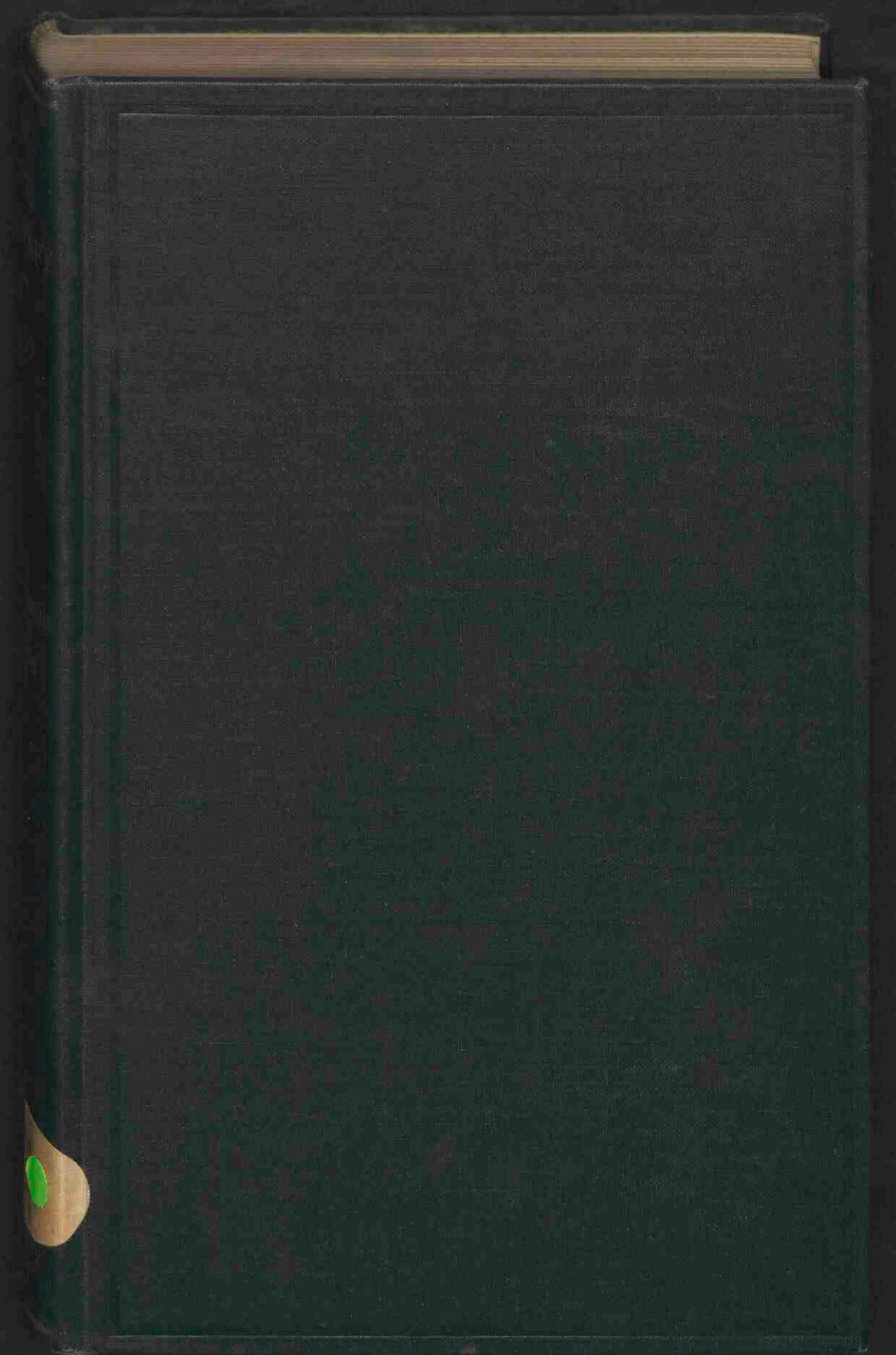


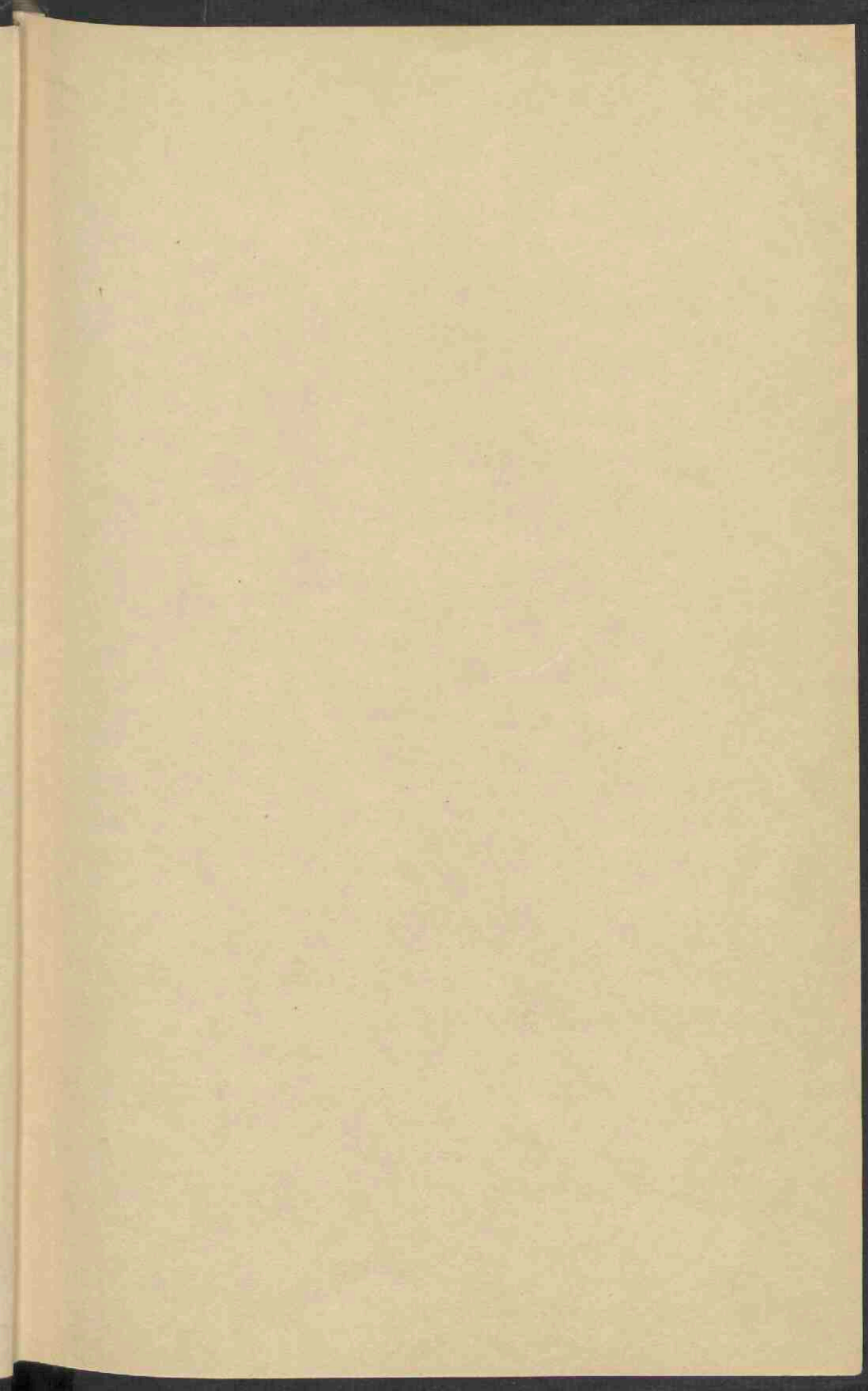


# The Junius manuscript

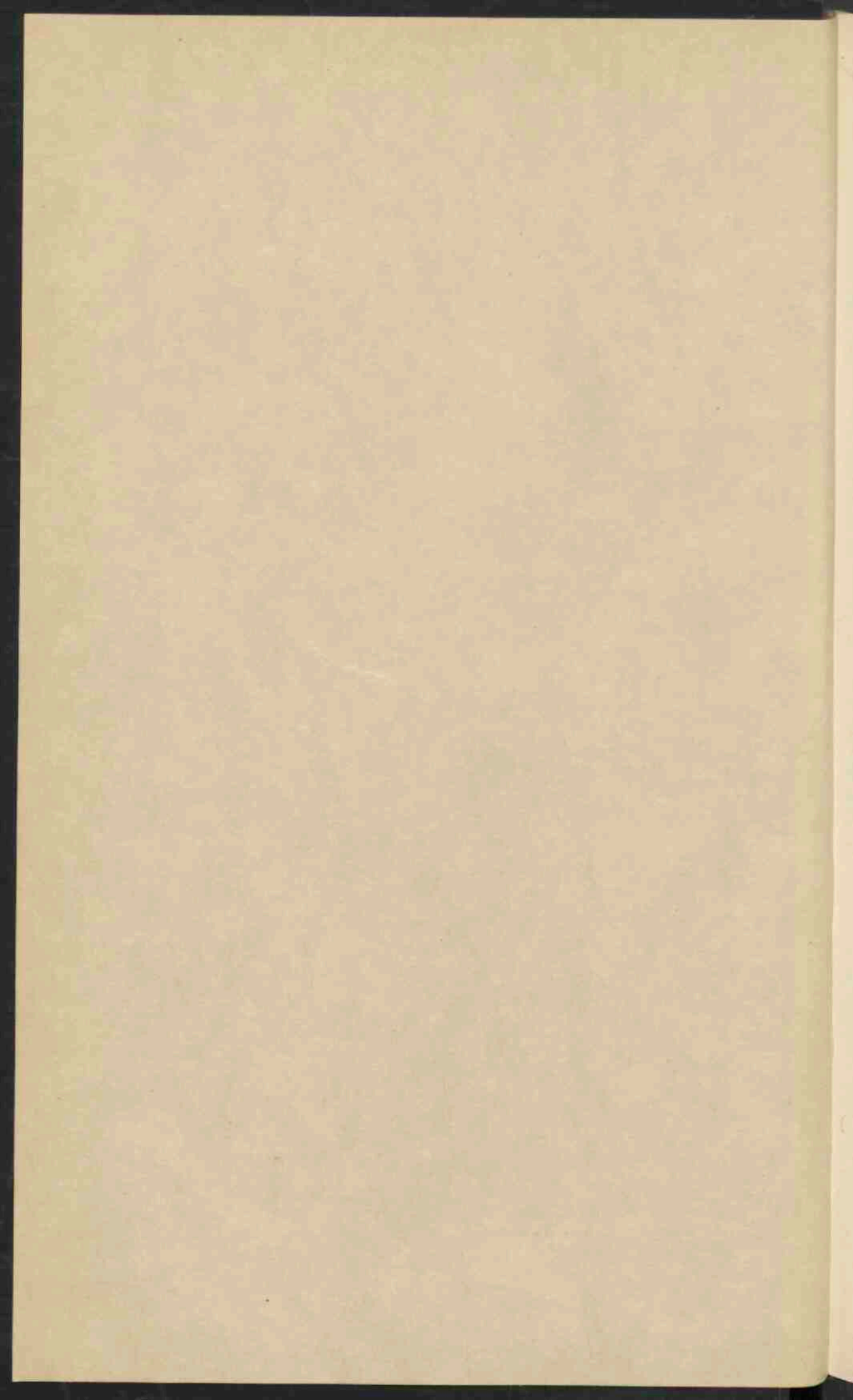
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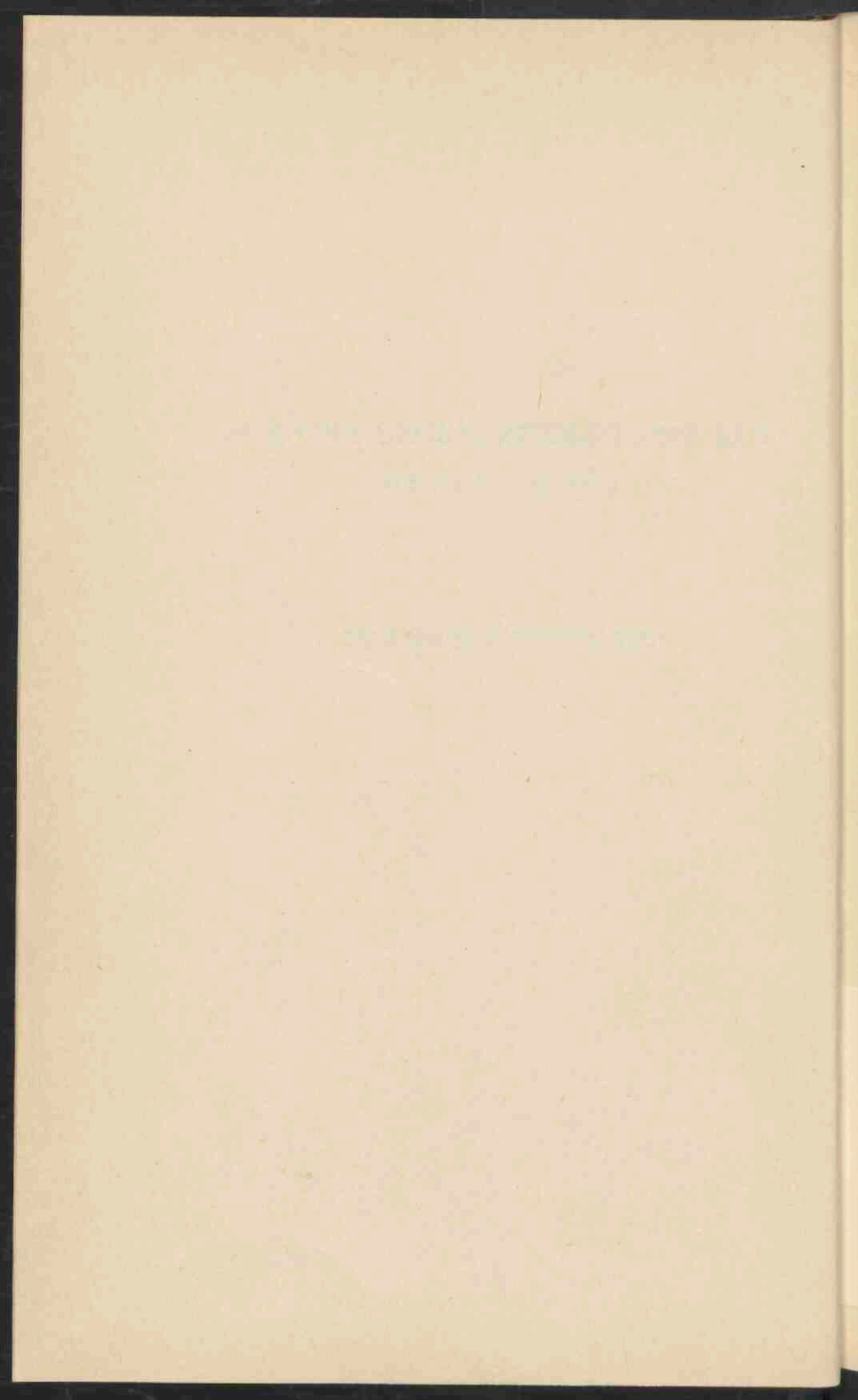
THE ANGLO-SAXON POETIC RECORDS

A COLLECTIVE EDITION

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I

THE JUNIUS MANUSCRIPT



*Van Hamel 1124*

# THE JUNIUS MANUSCRIPT

EDITED BY

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## PREFACE

This book is the first volume in a collective edition, the plan of which includes all the surviving records of Anglo-Saxon poetry. The main body of Anglo-Saxon poetry as it has come down to us is contained in four important miscellany manuscripts, the Junius Manuscript, the Vercelli Book, the Exeter Book, and the Beowulf Manuscript, each of which will constitute a separate volume in this edition. The remaining minor and more or less scattered examples of Anglo-Saxon poetry will be grouped together, in a volume or volumes of their own.

In the matter of variant readings, the task of an editor of Anglo-Saxon poetic texts is somewhat simplified by the fact that practically all Anglo-Saxon poetry is preserved in single copies. Such variant readings as an editor may attach to his text must therefore be derived from the great mass of comment which has gradually accumulated in the course of Anglo-Saxon studies. This comment is obviously of very uneven value, and to burden a modern edition with all the extant guesses at reading of the text would be a great waste of both space and effort. It becomes necessary therefore to select, and the critical judgment of the editor must be exercised to keep alive these records as illustrious examples of poetic endeavor, not as occasions for stirring the dry bones of antiquated Anglo-Saxon scholarship. With these considerations in mind, the texts of the poems in this edition are kept as free as possible of scholarly intrusions, paleographical, typographical, grammatical, or otherwise illustrative and editorial, and the necessary machinery of exposition and interpretation is placed in the introduction and in the notes, where it seems more properly to belong. The two main duties of an editor, that of preserving a faithful record of the manuscript and that of taking account of all significant contributions to the understanding of the manuscript, it is hoped will be satisfactorily met in this way. At the foot of each page of text, such departures from the manuscript as have appeared on the

page are recorded, whence anyone interested may readily turn to the introduction or to the notes for the further relevant details. In order to keep the volumes within the limits of reasonable size, comment in the introduction and notes has been somewhat rigorously limited to matters pertaining to the establishment of the texts.

The text of the poems contained in this volume has been made from the collotype reproductions of the Junius Manuscript in Gollancz's *The Cædmon Manuscript* (Oxford University Press, 1927). In the very few instances in which the collotypes are not clear, readings have been recorded on the authority of Holthausen, Clubb, and Gollancz, but only when it is so stated. Modern capitalization and punctuation and, except for the use of  $\delta$  and  $\beta$ ,  $\text{Ð}$  and  $\text{Þ}$ , modern typography have been introduced into the text, and the sectional divisions of the manuscript have been supplemented by further paragraphing for ease in reading. The abbreviations of the manuscript, all very simple, have been resolved without comment, and losses have been indicated by asterisks. Otherwise the text faithfully follows the manuscript, or if it does not, departures from the manuscript readings are always so noted.

The editor takes pleasure in acknowledging the support of the Council for Research in the Humanities of Columbia University in the preparation and publication of this work.



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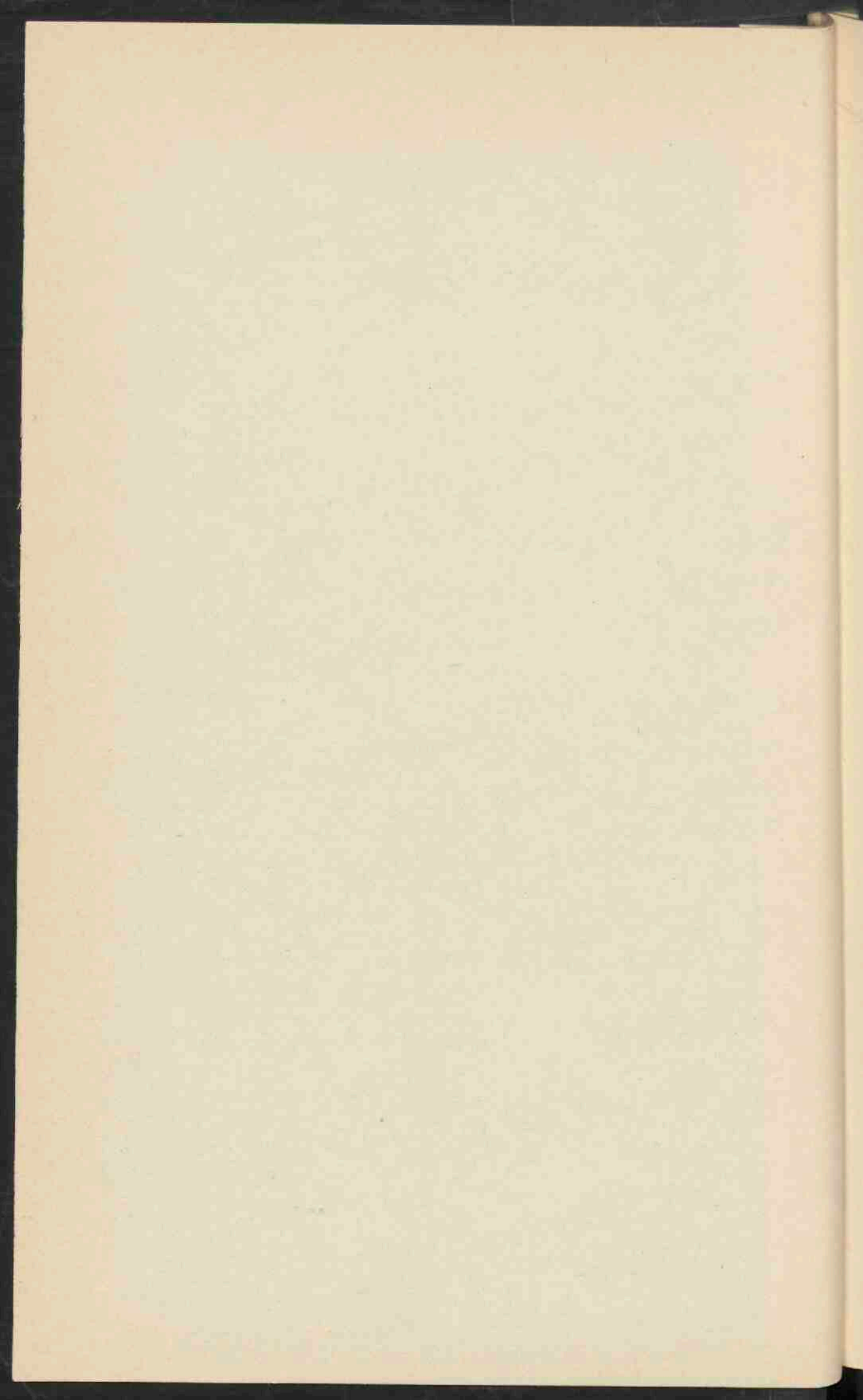
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## INTRODUCTION

### I

#### THE MANUSCRIPT

Two names must always be associated with the venerable manuscript, the contents of which are printed in this book, the name of Cædmon as possible author and the name of Franciscus Junius, the earliest of modern scholars to enter on the task of restoring to the world the knowledge of the poetry of the Anglo-Saxons. The manuscript came into the possession of Junius, a Dutch scholar long resident in England, through Archbishop Ussher, and when in 1654 Junius published at Amsterdam the poems contained in it, he described them as a poetic paraphrase of Genesis and other parts of the Scriptures by the monk Cædmon.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript now rests in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, where it is numbered Junius XI in token of its origin.

The connection of Cædmon with the manuscript is less direct than Junius supposed it to be, though certainly less accidental than was that of Junius. No word in the manuscript attributes any part of it to Cædmon, or, for that matter, to any other poet. The opinions of scholars differ as to the date of composition and as to the authorship of the several poems in the manuscript, and these must still be regarded as unsettled questions, but no scholar today believes that the poems were all written by Cædmon or that any part of the manuscript contains the very forms of the words which Cædmon dictated. Yet the content of the manuscript accords so closely with the description of Cædmon as poet given by Bede, especially the first poem in the manuscript, that it requires no stretching of probability to assume that the example and incentive of Cædmon's own verse accounts in large measure for the existence of these poems, and in consequence, of this manuscript.

The manuscript consists of 116 parchment folios, 12 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches

<sup>1</sup> For the full title of this book, see Bibliography, p. xlv.

high and varying from 7 to  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches in width. The pages have been numbered by a modern hand from 1 to 229, the first folio, which carries a full page illustration as frontispiece, not being counted in the numbering. The contents of the several pages in terms of the lines of this edition are given in Table I on p. xxxvi, at the end of this Introduction.

Four different hands are readily observable in the handwriting of the manuscript, the first from p. 1 to p. 212, the second from p. 213 to p. 215, the third from p. 216 to p. 228, and the fourth only on p. 229. Besides these scribes, account must be taken also of other hands which appear in many corrections, additions, and alterations in the manuscript, in the drawing of ornamental capitals, in the drawing of numerous illustrations accompanying the text, and in comments on these, and in a few marginal notations of a casual nature. These several groups of minor additions to the manuscript will be considered separately hereafter.

The date of the writing of the first hand in the manuscript has been fixed at about the year 1000.<sup>1</sup> The three other hands belong chronologically to one period, and between these three and the first there was probably a difference of "less than a generation."<sup>2</sup> The manuscript as a whole may be dated therefore at about the year 1000. The first scribe wrote the whole of the first three poems in the manuscript, GENESIS, EXODUS, and DANIEL, and the three other scribes wrote CHRIST AND SATAN, the concluding poem of the manuscript. The first of the three scribes responsible for CHRIST AND SATAN wrote pp. 213-215 of the manuscript (ll. 1-124), the second wrote pp. 216-228 (ll. 125-709), and the third only the last page, p. 229 (ll. 710-729).

At the bottom of the illustration on p. 2 of the manuscript appears a small medallion portrait inscribed *ælfwine*, and according to Gollancz, it seems "difficult to ignore the strong probability that the *Ælfwine* of our artist is to be identified with the famous *Ælfwine* who became abbot of Newminster in 1035."<sup>3</sup> The abbot *Ælfwine* appears to have been a man of varied

<sup>1</sup> See Gollancz, *The Cædmon Manuscript*, p. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Clubb, *Christ and Satan*, p. xii.

<sup>3</sup> *The Cædmon Manuscript*, p. xxxv.



intellectual interests, though not much is known about him, and to call him famous perhaps exaggerates his reputation. The bond connecting the Ælfwine of the medallion as the possible patron of this volume with Ælfwine of Newminster at Winchester is therefore frail, yet the association of the names is suggestive and plausible.

## II

## UNITY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Nothing is known of the reasons for the writing of the manuscript, but it is obvious that the occasion was considered to be of some importance, and that elaborate preparations were made for the compiling of a large book of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Uniform sheets of parchment were prepared, extensive illustrations were arranged for, and a not unskillful scribe was set to work copying the poems. So far indeed as GENESIS, EXODUS, and DANIEL are concerned, there can be no doubt that these are parts of a veritable eleventh century book. Whether these poems were assembled at that time for copying or whether they had already been assembled before they were copied, there seems to be no way of determining. With respect to CHRIST AND SATAN, however, there may be some question whether this poem was included in the original design of the compilation. For one thing, it is less harmonious in subject with the other three poems than they are with each other. The change of scribes and general treatment may also be significant, CHRIST AND SATAN being much less carefully written and ornamented than the other three poems. There are no illustrations and no blank spaces left for illustrations in the part of the manuscript containing CHRIST AND SATAN, except the irrelevant design on p. 225 (see below, p. xvi). It looks as though interest in the manuscript as a piece of fine book-making had fallen off after the completion of DANIEL. On the other hand, perhaps a fully thought out plan was never formed for the whole manuscript. It may have been intended to grow by accretion. Certainly even the plan as first made was not carried out with rigorous oversight, since after p. 96 there are many blank spaces left for

illustrations, and some for capitals that were never inserted. The addition of CHRIST AND SATAN may have been an afterthought, perhaps even of the patron who commissioned the writing of the first three poems, and the folios on which it is written may have been added to the main body of the book after that had been completed. Yet the folios of CHRIST AND SATAN are uniform with those of the rest of the volume, except for the slight difference that they were ruled for and written with 27 lines on a page, and the first 212 pages were ruled for and written with 26 lines on a page, and the manner in which they are combined with the rest of the volume shows that if CHRIST AND SATAN was added later, "the intention, at the time of writing, was to make it an integral portion of the manuscript."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it would be literally truer to modify this statement slightly and to say that if the folios on which CHRIST AND SATAN was written were added later, the intention at the time of adding them was to make them an integral part of the manuscript. But of course the folios might have been prepared before the matter to be written on them was selected. It cannot be supposed, therefore, that the folios containing CHRIST AND SATAN were once a separate manuscript which happened to be on hand and which was fortuitously attached, perhaps at a much later date, to the three preceding poems of the Junius Manuscript as we now have it. One may lament the literary judgment of the person who added CHRIST AND SATAN to GENESIS, EXODUS, and DANIEL, but there can be little doubt that in doing so, he had the manuscript as a whole before him.

It should be noted that CHRIST AND SATAN ends on p. 229 of the Junius Manuscript with the statement *Finit Liber II. Amen.* No complementing Liber I is indicated in any preceding part of the manuscript, but the probabilities are that Liber II comprised only CHRIST AND SATAN, and that the conclusion of DANIEL, now missing in the manuscript, ended with *Finit* or some other indication that the original design or instructions of the copyist had been carried out. GENESIS, EXODUS, and DANIEL would thus have constituted Liber I in the eyes of the person who added CHRIST AND SATAN, and who called his addition Liber II.

<sup>1</sup> Gollancz, *The Cædmon Manuscript*, p. xcix.



## III

## CORRECTIONS IN THE MANUSCRIPT

One other possible bond of connection between Liber II, containing CHRIST AND SATAN, and the three other poems of the manuscript, which for convenience we may call Liber I, may be found in the many corrections in the manuscript, perhaps by different hands, but all closely contemporary with the manuscript. These corrections are most numerous in Liber II, and in Liber II they are much more frequent in the work of the first scribe than in that of the other two. In percentages, the proportion of corrections to the number of lines is 83+ in the work of the first scribe, 19+ in the work of the second scribe, and 52+ in the few final lines written by the third scribe. In Liber I the corrections in GENESIS are of most significance, since the number of corrections in EXODUS and DANIEL is very small, and practically all of them were made by the scribe of Liber I in correction of obvious errors as he wrote. The zeal of the more general corrector, or correctors, apparently exhausted itself on CHRIST AND SATAN and GENESIS. But the number of corrections in GENESIS, including even those made by the scribe himself, is only 4+ per cent of the number of lines, and the early lines of GENESIS are much more freely corrected than the remaining much longer portion of the poem. Now if any considerable number of the corrections in GENESIS and in Liber II were made by the same person, it is highly improbable that he began with GENESIS, gradually stopped correcting until he ceased through EXODUS and DANIEL, then resumed with very much increased enthusiasm at the beginning of Liber II. It would be much more plausible to suppose that what seemed to him the untidiness of the work of the first scribe in Liber II led some reader of the manuscript to make corrections in this part, that having once begun he continued, though less extensively, through the work of the second and third scribes in Liber II, and even went back to the beginning of the whole manuscript to make a few corrections in the work of the scribe of Liber I.

Plausible though this theory may be, its credibility must rest upon positive evidence that the corrector of Liber II actually

made some of the corrections of Liber I. Clubb thinks that he did, and he declares that whatever may have been the manner in which Liber II first came to be attached to Liber I, "it is clear . . . that at some later time [i.e., later than the writing of Liber I] in the eleventh century the two sections were treated as one book, because there are traces in the GENESIS of the hand of the Late West Saxon Corrector who was so active in CHRIST AND SATAN."<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, Gollancz is of the opinion that "there is not evidence sufficiently strong to come to any conclusion on this similarity of penmanship" between the corrections of Liber II and those of Liber I, and he declares himself unable to endorse the statement that there are traces in GENESIS of the hand that made the corrections in CHRIST AND SATAN.<sup>2</sup>

It is true that the evidence from handwriting is slight and inconclusive, that it neither proves nor disproves the assumption that the hand of the corrector of Liber II also appears in Liber I. The evidence of handwriting, however, permits such an assumption, and there are other things to support it. If one cannot be quite certain that the hand of the corrector of Liber II appears in Liber I, one can be more assured that his mind appears there. As has already been pointed out, the corrections in the manuscript are of different kinds. There are, first, corrections of the casual mishaps in writing which befall any scribe, as, for example, *beorte* corrected to *beorkte*, GEN. 14, *gehlilcum* corrected to *gehwilcum*, DAN. 643, *sceoden*, CHRIST AND SATAN 27, provided with an *l*; second are verbal changes and additions, as when *hebban* is corrected to *ahebban*, GEN. 259, *hof* corrected to *ahof*, EX. 253, *we* added after *nu*, DAN. 293, and *he* changed to *hig*, CHRIST AND SATAN 191; third are those corrections which may best be designated orthographic, with or without phonetic implications involved, as when *saula* is altered to *saulæ*, GEN. 185, *alda* to *ealda*, CHRIST AND SATAN 34, *æcan* to *ecan*, *id.* 46, *heleð* to *hæleð*, *id.* 47. Corrections of the first two kinds appear in about equal proportions throughout the whole manuscript, but corrections of the third kind are much more numerous in CHRIST AND SATAN than elsewhere,

<sup>1</sup> *Christ and Satan*, p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> *The Cædmon Manuscript*, p. xxix.



and in fact appear elsewhere only in the early part of GENESIS. They are fairly frequent up to l. 546 of GENESIS, but after that they appear practically not at all. But the important point is that the corrections of this third kind, which must owe their presence to the zeal of a linguistic reformer, and not merely to the logical demands of the text, are remarkably similar in character in CHRIST AND SATAN and in the first five hundred lines of GENESIS. They are concerned very largely with the spelling of words containing diphthongs, as in *liodgeard*, corrected to *leodgeard*, GEN. 229, *him* altered to *heom*, GEN. 401, *weorðan* altered to *wyrðan*, GEN. 261, *hweorfan* altered to *hwyrfan*, CHRIST AND SATAN 119, *waldend* altered to *wealdend*, GEN. 260, *forwarð* altered to *forwearð*, CHRIST AND SATAN 21; and a great many with the spelling of words in which the corrector exhibits anxiety over the proper use of *e* and *æ*, as in *tene* altered to *tyne*, GEN. 248, *alefan* altered to *alyfan*, CHRIST AND SATAN 115; *þægne* altered to *þegne*, GEN. 409, and the reverse, as in CHRIST AND SATAN 47, *heleð* corrected to *hæleð*. But striking as these agreements are, the most significant single instance of similarity between the corrections of Liber II and Liber I is to be found in the change of *heofne*, GEN. 339 and GEN. 350, by altering final *e* to *o* and adding *n* above the line, giving *heofnon*, as in CHRIST AND SATAN 10, where original *heofene* is altered to *heofenon* by altering final *e* to *o* in the same way and adding *n* above the line. It would be very remarkable if such an exceptional correction should occur independently to two different correctors. It is of course possible, but highly improbable, that a corrector in GENESIS merely followed the model of an earlier corrector in CHRIST AND SATAN, though if this was so, he must have had a combined Liber I and Liber II to work with. It by no means follows that all of the corrections in Liber I not made by the scribe were made by the corrector of Liber II, but there seems to be very good reason for supposing that some of them were, and that therefore the book as a whole, both Liber I and Liber II, lay before that first annotator of the text, whoever he was, who occupied himself with it in the eleventh century.

The value of the corrections and additions in the manuscript is greater from the orthographic and linguistic point of view



than it is from that of one interested in establishing the meaning of the text of the poems. There is no indication that the eleventh century reviser or revisers had before them other copies of the texts from which they made their revisions, or that they were led to make their corrections through any desire to restore the readings of the manuscript to what they conceived to be their original forms. In the preparation of this text, the first readings of the scribes have generally been preferred to those of the correctors, but the corrections will repay study and they have all been indicated at their appropriate places at the foot of the page.

## IV

## ANGLO-SAXON IN THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Some of the numerous illustrations in the manuscript contain lettering in Anglo-Saxon, but only one phrase, that on p. 56, is quoted from the text which the illustrations accompany. As no illustrations are present in the manuscript after p. 96, except an unfinished design on p. 225 which has no relation to the text and is apparently there by accident, it follows that all of the illustrations relate to GENESIS. A great many blank spaces were left in Liber I of the manuscript for illustrations which were never filled in, but none in Liber II, which has neither illustrations nor spaces for them. Most of the illustrations in the manuscript are without lettering, though the intention probably was to provide inscriptions for all of them. The Anglo-Saxon and other phrases in the illustrations are as follows:

Frontispiece. A full page illustration, with the Latin phrase in a later hand *Genesis in anglico* at the top.

Page 2. God enthroned, with the marginal inscription *hælendes hehseld*. Below the illustration is the medallion portrait, with *ælfwine* inscribed on it, which has already been mentioned.

Page 3. *Hu se engyl<sup>1</sup> ongon ofermod wesan.*

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has *sengyl*. This descriptive sentence has been partly cut off by the binder of the manuscript (see Gollancz, *The Cædmon Manuscript*, p. xxxix).

Her se hælend gesceop<sup>1</sup> helle heom to wite.

Her se<sup>2</sup>

Page 6. Her he<sup>3</sup> gesyndrode wæter and eorðan.

Page 7. Her he todælde dæg wið nihte. The word *Salvator*, in a late hand, appears in a picture of the Deity.

Page 9. Her godes englas astigan into paradisum.

Her drihten gescop adames wif euam.

Her drihten gewearp sclep on adam and genam him an rib of þa sidan and gescop his wif of þam ribbe. The name *Eva* is written above the picture of Eve, and *michael* above a picture of Michael.

Page 13. The words *quoddā mare*, i.e., *quoddam mare*, "a certain water," are inscribed on a picture of water with fishes in it.

Page 56. Seth wæs sæli. The picture containing these words, which are in a different hand from that in the other inscriptions, is on the same page as GEN. 1138, Seth wæs gesælig.

## V

## MINOR ADDITIONS

Besides the corrections and additions in the manuscript already mentioned, a few minor details are to be noted: (a) At the top of p. 1, above the opening lines of GENESIS, a late medieval hand has written *Genesis in lingua Saxania*. (b) Occasionally the letters *x b* appear in the margin of the manuscript, as on pp. 1, 2, etc., and less frequently merely *x*, as on pp. 11, etc. The letters stand for an abbreviated prayer, *x* for *Christus*, or some form of this word, and *b* for some form of *benedicere*. At the foot of p. 22 the letters *x m* (misread by various editors as *xiii*) stand in the margin, the *m* here probably representing some form of the verb *misereri*. These prayers appear only in Liber I of the manuscript. They may have been written by the scribe or the illustrator at the beginning of the day's work, but if so, the custom was not carried through sys-

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has *gesce*, the rest of *gesceop* being cut off.

<sup>2</sup> This is an unfinished inscription above a picture of hell. Within the picture stands the word *inferni*.

<sup>3</sup> *her h* has been cut off by the binder of the manuscript.

tematically even in Liber I. (c) On p. 98 at the lower left margin appear the words *healf trymt*, with a mark probably of abbreviation above *m*, and on p. 100, *healf tmt*, with the mark above the *t*. The abbreviated word stands for *tramet*, "page," and the phrase is a direction that the next half page is to be left vacant for the illustrator, as it is in both instances in the manuscript. (d) At the top of p. 164 occurs the phrase *tribus annis transactis*, the rest of the page being vacant. (e) Page 211 is also blank, except that at the bottom appears the word *innan*. This may refer to the words *innan healle*, DAN. 718, which are on p. 210 of the manuscript, facing this blank page. The word may have been an indication to the illustrator that the passage containing it should be the subject of a full page illustration, i.e., the handwriting on the wall. (f) On the margin of p. 212, opposite ll. 739-740 of DANIEL, stands the phrase *en rex uenit mansuetus tibi sion filia*.<sup>1</sup> (g) At the top of p. 219 stands: *omnis homo primum bonum*.

## VI

## SECTIONAL DIVISIONS IN THE MANUSCRIPT

The general division of the manuscript into Liber I and Liber II has already been described. Each of the four poems of the manuscript begins at the top of a page, but none has a title supplied by the scribe. A late hand has written above the opening of GENESIS the words *Genesis in lingua Saxania*, and a different hand has inserted the words *Genesis in Anglico* at the top of the full page illustration which serves as frontispiece. But the scribe himself has indicated the opening of GENESIS only by capitalizing all of the words in the first line of his text, that is, the first five words of the poem. The first word, VS, has a large, ornamental capital. The beginning of EXODUS is indicated in the same way, but the beginning of DANIEL has only the first letter of the first word capitalized, and this capital is a very plain *G*, probably made by the scribe himself, whereas the ornamental capitals at the beginning of GENESIS and EXODUS were made by a professional hand. The beginning of

<sup>1</sup> The roman letters indicate resolved abbreviations.



CHRIST AND SATAN is similar to the beginning of DANIEL. GENESIS ends on p. 142 with nothing to indicate the ending; EXODUS breaks off on p. 171, obviously incomplete, with nothing again to mark the ending. Only about one-third of p. 142 and of p. 171 was used, the rest of the pages remaining blank. DANIEL extends to the foot of p. 212, and is also incomplete, though more of the poem, including the ending, may have been contained on a folio lost between p. 212 and p. 213. CHRIST AND SATAN ends on p. 229 with *Finit Liber II. Amen.* But this poem, in spite of the ending, is also incomplete, though not because anything has been lost, since the writing on this last page occupies only about one-half of the page.

Liber I is divided into sections, in all fifty-five, which run continuously through the book. Many of these sections are numbered, and the sectional division is regularly indicated by spacing and capitalization. In general these sectional divisions correspond to natural breakings in the thought, and "it would seem that the sectional divisions, not always correctly indicated by scribes, were originally structural divisions due to the poet, influenced by general considerations as to the approximate length of a reading, say anything from about 50 to 100 lines."<sup>1</sup> Liber II is also divided into sections, with numberings of their own. In all there are twelve sections in Liber II; two, three, five, and six are provided with numbers, and all of them with indication of sectional division by spacing and capitalization. The sectional divisions in the manuscript are not always happily made, but this may be partly due to the accidents of transmission, though it must be acknowledged also that structure in its larger aspects was never a strong point with Anglo-Saxon poets. The origin and purpose of these structural divisions in Anglo-Saxon poetic manuscripts remains, however, more or less an open question. The Sections of the manuscript are listed in Table II, pp. xxxix-xl.

## VII

## CAPITALIZATION IN THE MANUSCRIPT

As in the other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, the capitals in the Junius Manuscript are relatively infrequent and they are to a

<sup>1</sup> Gollancz, *The Cædmon Manuscript*, p. xxxii.

large extent sporadic. They are of two kinds, large capitals and small capitals. The large capitals are used at the beginnings of poems or sections in poems, and nowhere else in the manuscript. They usually run through a whole word, sometimes through several words. The first five words of GENESIS are all written with large capitals. Many of these large initial capitals in the manuscript are elaborately ornamental and were probably done by the same person who drew most of the illustrations and who presumably had general charge of the decoration of the book. The last of these elaborate ornamental capitals appears on p. 143, at the opening of EXODUS. After that, spaces for large capitals are vacant or the capitals were supplied in plainer style, probably by the scribe. Nothing further need be said about these large capitals at the beginnings of poems and sections in poems. The practice of the manuscript in this respect is regular and obvious. But the small capitals, though less conventionally used, are more significant. They are not the work of the professional illustrator of the manuscript, but of the scribes themselves as they wrote. They are not systematically used, but when they appear it is almost always possible to see a definite purpose in their use. Proper names are sometimes but not systematically capitalized. Most frequently the small capitals are logical and mark the beginning of a minor division in the narrative, that is, of a paragraph. But in GEN. 198-205 the word *inc* is capitalized three times, apparently for emphasis. In GEN. 279-288 the pronoun *ic* is capitalized four times, evidently to emphasize the parallelism of phrase in this passage. In GEN. 2617-2619 the word *oðre* is capitalized twice to enforce the antithesis. In GEN. 715 and 2750 the connective *oðþæt* is capitalized, and in l. 1248 a section begins with this word, ornamented with a large capital. Here again the capital seems to mark a rhetorically emphatic word.<sup>1</sup>

In the first three poems of the manuscript, the use and the relative frequency of small capitals are about the same, though in DANIEL the scribe seems to have been more systematic than in the other two poems. In almost every instance in which the

<sup>1</sup> Gollancz, *The Cædmon Manuscript*, p. xxx, notes that two sections in the manuscript of BEOWULF start with this same word.



scribe has used a small capital, modern custom would agree, except perhaps in the case of *Nalles*, DAN. 529, and *Wearð*, DAN. 604, and even in these two words the capitals may very well suit the taste of many modern readers. In CHRIST AND SATAN the first scribe uses small capitals freely, but the second scribe very sparingly. The few lines written by the third scribe indicate that he would have used small capitals abundantly if he had written more. These small capitals throughout the manuscript will repay study, and a full list of them will be found in Table III at the end of this Introduction.

## VIII

## ABBREVIATIONS IN THE MANUSCRIPT

The abbreviations in the manuscript are relatively few in number and are for the most part of familiar types. The common way of indicating abbreviations is by a stroke above the letter before the omitted latter, as in GEN. 185, *englū ḡlice*, for *englum gelice*. But abbreviations in datives like *englum*, though not uncommon in the manuscript, are by no means the regular practice, and the abbreviated form *ḡlice* is very unusual. Apparently the scribe abbreviated here in order not to start a new line, which would have run into an illustration. We may infer from this that the illustration on this page (p. 9) was drawn before the scribe wrote his text. At various other places we can see the scribe resorting to abbreviation under the momentary pressure of the necessity of gaining space. But this is not in general characteristic of the scribal habit in the manuscript. The only two words that are consistently abbreviated in the manuscript are *and* and *þæt*. The abbreviation for *and* is regularly 7. Only once or twice is this word written out as a conjunction, as *ond*, GEN. 1195, and in GEN. 1335. In this second passage it is probable that the scribe first wrote 7nd, by mistake, and then corrected his error by changing 7 into o as the easiest way of disguising the miswritten symbol. This abbreviation is also frequently used in forms of *andswaru*, *andswarian*, but only three times in other *and*-compounds: in *andgiettacen*, GEN. 1539; *andsaca*, EX. 503; and *andleofan*,

CHRIST AND SATAN 520. Whether the abbreviation should be resolved as *and* or *ond* is perhaps a matter of indifference, and the practice of the manuscript in the writing of *a* or *o* before *nd* in other words is certainly far from consistent. If the conjunction had been always, or frequently, written out, no doubt the same inconsistency would have appeared in its spelling. The regular abbreviation for *þæt* is *þ*, and this abbreviation stands only for *þæt* in the manuscript. There are a few occurrences of the abbreviation in passages in which it might stand for something else, for example DAN. 189, *þ hie*, which is a little more readily explicable as *þe hie*, "who," than as *þæt hie*, or DAN. 717, where *þa* would seem a little more appropriate than *þæt*. But when one recalls the almost unlimited opportunities the scribe had for writing the abbreviation for *þa*, *þe*, or other forms besides *þæt*, and did not do so, it is unreasonable to interpret the abbreviation in these few doubtful cases as meaning anything other than *þæt*. If *þæt* for the abbreviation seems at any time an inappropriate form, the difficulty must be surmounted by emendation, not by a special interpretation of the abbreviation.

## IX

## PUNCTUATION IN THE MANUSCRIPT

There is a good deal of punctuation of one kind and another in the manuscript. A dot under a letter is frequently used to indicate that the letter thus marked is to be deleted. Ends of sections in the manuscript sometimes have a distinctive mark, though not always, and there are a few other occurrences of sporadic punctuation in the manuscript. Attention has already been called to the use of small capitals at the beginnings of paragraphs, and this also may be considered a kind of punctuation. But the two most abundantly used marks of punctuation are accents over words, and dots marking the hemistich divisions of the lines of verse. This latter is obviously a metrical punctuation, and it is used with remarkable regularity and correctness throughout the whole manuscript. Ordinarily it consists merely of a dot between one hemistich and the following hemistich, but sometimes there is a dot and also a



check-like mark above the dot, or occasionally beneath the dot. A few lines from p. 18 (GEN. 345 ff.) will best illustrate these uses:

· sátan siððan ✓ hét hine þære swéartan helle ✓ grúndes gyman ·  
 nalles wið god winnan ⁊ Sátán máðelode · sorgiende spræc · se  
 ðe helle forð · healdan sceolde · giðman þæs grundes · wæs  
 ær godes engel · hwit on heofne<sup>1</sup> · oð hine his hyge forspéon ·  
 ⁊ his ofer méttu · éalra swiðost · þ he ne wolde ✓ wereda  
 drihtnes · word wurðian ·

The impression of a slightly unsystematic but on the whole quite definite metrical punctuation which one derives from these lines is confirmed by further examination of the manuscript. Only rarely is the manuscript punctuation an unsafe guide to the metrical reading, as on p. 39 (GEN. 839) where the manuscript reads

· uton gan on þysne weald · innan · on þisses holttes hleo ·  
 with *innan* set off by itself probably because the word was emphatic or because the scribe was disturbed by the unusually long half-line in which the word occurs. Again on p. 123 (GEN. 2600) the scribe was misled apparently by the slightly unusual word order of the passage, thus writing

Hie dydon swa druncnum · eode seo yldre to ·

instead of

Hie dydon swa · druncnum eode · seo yldre to ·

This metrical punctuation must obviously have been of the very greatest assistance to anyone who undertook to read the poems of the manuscript aloud, and it is still helpful.

The accent marks of the manuscript are not so systematically employed as the metrical marks, and indeed the purpose of them is often far from clear. They are not used consistently to mark long vowels, for short vowels frequently have accent marks, nor to mark the alliterating or metrically stressed syllables of the lines, nor to make emphatic logically or rhetorically important words in a passage. Apparently they were used for any of these purposes, when it struck the fancy of the scribe so to use them. But whatever may have been the purpose of

<sup>1</sup> Altered to *heofnen*.



accent marks in other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, in the Junius Manuscript at least, the accent marks seem to be used more frequently for rhetorical emphasis than for any other purpose. A complete record of these very numerous accent marks cannot be attempted here, but for illustration all the accents on a single page (p. 14 of the manuscript, GEN. ll. 246-270) are given: téne (l. 247), hís (l. 250), gewít (l. 250), gesétt (l. 252), híc (l. 252), gesáliglice (l. 252), swá (l. 253*a*), hís (l. 253), lét (l. 253), hím (l. 254), f̅ (l. 255), lóf (l. 256), dýran (l. 257), hís (l. 257*b*), læte (l. 258), ác (l. 259), awénde (l. 259), hít (l. 259), hím (l. 259), óngán (l. 259), hím (l. 259), úp (l. 259), síteð (l. 260), ón (l. 260), hé (l. 261), né (l. 261), hís (l. 262), ófermod (l. 262), áhóf (l. 263), hís (l. 263), héte (l. 263), ongéan (l. 264), hís (l. 265), líc (l. 265), né (l. 266), hé (l. 266), hís (l. 266), géongordome (l. 267), þúhte (l. 268), máran (l. 269), sé (l. 270), gód (l. 270).

Occasionally a double accent is found, as in *mēn* (GEN. 451), *beāmas* (GEN. 460), but these are rare, whereas the single accents are extraordinarily numerous and extraordinarily varied in their application.

Although the accents occur throughout the whole manuscript, in both Liber I and Liber II, they are very unevenly distributed. Sometimes there will be no accents throughout an extensive passage, and when the accents do occur they often come together in groups. It is quite possible that some of the accents were put in by other hands than those of the scribes, perhaps by various readers as interpretations of their reading of the manuscript.

## X

## UNITY OF THE POEMS IN THE MANUSCRIPT

## 1. GENESIS

By common consent, GENESIS has always been accepted as an appropriate title for this poem. It is, in effect, a versification of the first book of the Old Testament, though it carries the story only from the Creation to the sacrifice of Isaac, that is, through the 13th verse of the 22d chapter. But there is no telling how much more may have been contained in the poem as

originally written, and how much may possibly have been lost. The sequence of events follows the Old Testament narrative without deliberate reorganization or reconstruction of the material, and the plan of the poem permitted therefore the versification of the whole of Genesis without violation of any artistic unity.

The text of the poem as it is preserved in the Junius Manuscript is a composite of the work of at least two different poets. The main body of the text, extending from l. 1 to l. 234 and from l. 852 to the end is commonly known as Genesis A, or the Older Genesis. The passage from l. 235 to l. 851 is known as Genesis B, or the Later Genesis.<sup>1</sup> Genesis B may certainly be regarded as an interpolation in Genesis A. The evidence that it is an interpolation was cogently presented by Sievers in *Der Heliand und die angelsächsische Genesis* (1875). Sievers pointed out the great difference in tone and in detail between Genesis A and Genesis B, and he came to the conclusion that Genesis B was not the original work of an Anglo-Saxon poet, but a translation into Anglo-Saxon from an Old Saxon poem, no longer extant, written by the author of the Old Saxon HELIAND in the early part of the ninth century. By a happy accident of discovery, this theory was placed beyond question when a fragment of the Old Saxon poem of which the Anglo-Saxon is a translation was found in 1894 in the Vatican Library.<sup>2</sup> The Old Saxon fragment contains twenty-five lines and one word of the twenty-sixth, corresponding to GEN. 791-817. The Anglo-Saxon translation follows the Old Saxon so closely that all thought of accidental

<sup>1</sup> Sievers, *Beiträge* L, 426, would make a threefold division of the text: ll. 1-234, Genesis A, in which he finds some slight but genuine survivals of Cædmon's work as revised by a later Genesis poet; ll. 235-851, Genesis B; and ll. 852 to the end, Genesis C, which he thinks has not the slightest connection with Cædmon. These views were more fully elaborated by Sievers in "Cædmon und Genesis," *Britannica* (Förster Festschrift), 1929, pp. 57-84. See also Klaeber, *Anglia* LIII, 225-234.

<sup>2</sup> See Zangemeister und Braune, *Bruchstücke der altsächsischen Bibeldichtung*, Heidelberg, 1894. In a review of this book, *ZfdPh.* XXVII (1895), 534-538, Sievers modified his earlier opinion as to the authorship of the OS. fragment and was inclined to regard it as the work of a pupil and imitator of the Heliand poet.



similarity or mere imitation is excluded. It may be taken as established, therefore, that Genesis B could not have been written before the early ninth century. Intercourse between the Saxons of the Continent and the Anglo-Saxons was not uncommon at this time, and no special knowledge of Old Saxon would be needed to enable an Anglo-Saxon to translate from that language into his own. It is quite possible, indeed, that the translation was one of the many effects of the cosmopolitan activity at Alfred's court in the second half of the ninth century.

No direct evidence is available for dating Genesis A, the Older Genesis, although the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century is generally accepted as a probable time for the original composition of the poem. Sarrazin has endeavored, on the evidence of meter, to show that Genesis A is older than *BEOWULF* and, in fact, the oldest English literary monument.<sup>1</sup> Klaeber, on the evidence of apparent borrowings, also decided that Genesis A was older than *BEOWULF*.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Jovy was disposed to consider *BEOWULF* the older of the two poems,<sup>3</sup> while Blackburn thought Genesis A younger than *BEOWULF*, *EXODUS*, and *DANIEL*.<sup>4</sup> The same uncertainty rules concerning the other poems of the manuscript. Although Blackburn gave *EXODUS* as later than *BEOWULF*, Klaeber, working from parallel passages, considered *EXODUS* the older poem of the two.<sup>5</sup> *DANIEL*, except for the interpolated Prayer and Song, is, according to Thomas, older than *BEOWULF*,<sup>6</sup> and, according to Hofer, younger than Genesis A.<sup>7</sup> But all the arguments for relative chronology remain indecisive, through the conflicting results to be obtained by the application of different criteria. The language of Genesis A as it is preserved is, in general, West Saxon of a later period than 700, but there occur in the recorded text of the poem a number of forms which are

<sup>1</sup> *Englische Studien* XXXVIII, 170-195.

<sup>2</sup> *Englische Studien* XLII, 321-338.

<sup>3</sup> *Bonner Beiträge* V, 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Exodus and Daniel*, p. xxiii.

<sup>5</sup> *Modern Language Notes* XXXIII, 218-224.

<sup>6</sup> *Modern Language Review* VIII, 537-539.

<sup>7</sup> *Anglia* XII, 191-199.

commonly accounted for as indications of an original Anglian dialect in which the poem was composed and which were blurred over when the poem was transcribed into West Saxon.

If the poem was written in the north of England, about the year 700, time and theme fit so exactly the description of Cædmon as poet given by Bede that the ascription of the poem to Cædmon might seem to be beyond cavil. On the whole, however, modern scholars have hesitated to assign even Genesis A to Cædmon, preferring rather to characterize it as Cædmonian, or of the school of Cædmon. Nevertheless the argument is by no means all on one side. "Having weighed all the evidence," declares Gollancz, "having tested and investigated all the points at issue, I can find nothing against the authenticity of Genesis A, including even the paraphrases of the genealogies, as the work of Cædmon."<sup>1</sup> Against this may be placed Sievers' characterization of the notion of Cædmon as the inventor of a *Buchepos* as one of the most wrong-headed delusions that philology has ever fallen into.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. EXODUS

Though long custom has established EXODUS as the title for the second poem in the Junius Manuscript, the name is not well chosen. For EXODUS is not in intent merely a paraphrase of the second book of the Old Testament as GENESIS is of the first. On the contrary it is a carefully organized epic narrative, single in time, in place, and in action. The story moves directly to its climax in the passing of the Red Sea, and it ends swiftly after the destruction of the Egyptians. The conclusion is lacking, but if we may judge from the feeling for structure exhibited in the poem as a whole, not much can have been lost. The internal evidence of style also separates EXODUS sharply from GENESIS.

The main source of EXODUS is the second book of the Old Testament; but of the Old Testament narrative, the poem uses only chapters xiii and xiv, with some brief allusions to earlier

<sup>1</sup> *The Cædmon Manuscript*, p. lxii.

<sup>2</sup> *Beiträge L* (1927), 426. See also his article "Cædmon und Genesis," in *Britannica* (Förster Festschrift), 1929, pp. 57-84.



and to later events in the life of Moses. A question of interpolation is raised in *EXODUS* as in *GENESIS* by the presence in *EXODUS* of ll. 362-446, which tell first, briefly, the story of Noah's Flood, and then at greater length the story of Abraham and Isaac. This digression is greater than many critics have thought to be appropriate in a story of the passing of the Red Sea, but it is not indefensible. The poet of *EXODUS* has been telling the story of a great flood, the flood which drowned the evil Egyptians. What more natural than that he should pause, having passed the highest point of interest in his narrative, to tell about that other great flood which drowned the whole race of wicked men, and that having spoken of Noah, he should proceed to Abraham, with whom also, as with Noah and Moses, God made a covenant and to whom he gave the promise of the land of Canaan. It will be observed that this episode of Noah's Flood and the story of Abraham, is treated in a somewhat simpler style than the rest of the poem, and perhaps it is not too much to suppose that the poet of *EXODUS*, with his sensitiveness to style, consciously reverted in this passage of falling action in his poem to that older manner of the Cædmonian poetry as appropriate to an episode properly belonging to the story of *GENESIS*. Viewed in this light, the story of Noah's Flood and of Abraham in *EXODUS* is not an inept interpolation, but an evidence of the artistic skill of the poet. After this quieter episode, the poet returns to his original theme and manner, and except for the loss of some possibly few final lines, the poem closes with no effect of incompleteness or disorganization.<sup>1</sup>

In connection with the latter part of the poem, however, further question has been raised, not as to interpolation, but as to possible displacement of parts. After the episode of Noah and Abraham, the poet returns to his main theme, which he

<sup>1</sup> Blackburn, *Exodus and Daniel*, p. 54, thinks it possible that the scribe was copying a defective manuscript and that in the original copy the poet made the transitions to and from this digression more fully and explicitly. But there is no evidence that he did so, and episodic passages like this are frequently allusive and compact. Gollancz, *The Cædmon Manuscript*, p. lxxii, says that though the passage may seem a digression and so have the appearance of an interpolation, it is in his opinion "an integral part of the poet's elaboration of his theme."

develops descriptively, ending with the account of the complete destruction of the Egyptians, corresponding to Genesis xiv. 28, and with a final statement, l. 515, "They have striven against God." The poem, as a poem, might have ended here, but as a versification of chapters xiii-xiv of Exodus it would have been incomplete, since there are three more verses in chapter xiv. As the poem stands in the manuscript, however, the poet does not proceed directly to the material of these three verses. On the contrary, the poem takes a glance into the future: "After that, Moses spake lasting counsels to the Israelites on the seashore."<sup>1</sup> Or *panon*, l. 516, might be translated "at a later time," "afterwards," since there is no indication that what Moses said was said to the army at the moment of victory, nor is the matter of this passage immediately relevant or contained in chapter xiv of Exodus. It seems to be indeed a reference to Deuteronomy and to Moses as the lawgiver, an allusion therefore to matter far in advance of the theme of this poem. The allusion is very brief, however, for the poet passes quickly into a general homiletic mood, and this passage ends at l. 548 with a picture of the joys of heaven. Then follows a second passage, ll. 549-580, in which Moses actually does address the army briefly, calling their attention to the fulfillment of the Lord's promise on this day. The passage continues through l. 579 with an account of the exultation of the children of Israel—they praised the Lord, the warriors raised a song of glory, the women in turn, the greatest of folk-bands, sang a battle hymn with reverent voices. But the words of this song are not given, and apparently we have here a brief and not very exact allusion to the Song of Moses, in Exodus xv, for in the poem it is the Hebrew men and women who sing the song, not Moses. It seems quite evident that the poet avoided entering on the matter of Exodus xv, perhaps feeling—and rightly—that though the Song of Moses was excellent material for elaboration into poetry, it did not properly belong to his poem. Then comes a third passage, ll.

<sup>1</sup> This reference to the seashore should not be connected with the destruction of the Egyptians, but with Deuteronomy i. 1, where it is said that Moses spoke to all Israel "in the plain over against the Red Sea." See l. 519, note.



580-590, which concludes the poem and in which the poet returns once more to the main theme, with emphasis now on the spoiling of the Egyptians dead upon the seashore. This corresponds to Exodus xiv. 30. The remaining verse, if it was utilized, as it may well have been in the lost concluding lines, would have returned to Moses as leader of the Israelites and servant of the Lord, thus linking the end of the poem with the beginning.

But the question has been raised whether this third passage, ll. 580-590, was at the end of the poem as the poet wrote it, and whether these lines ought not to be joined directly to the preceding passage in which the final overthrow of the Egyptians has been described in detail, that is, to the passage ending at l. 515. Thus Gollancz maintains<sup>1</sup> that these three passages are all "integral parts of the poem, but have by some mischance been copied in the wrong order. We should expect that immediately after the overthrow of the Egyptians, the poet would describe how Israel was thus saved from the Egyptians, how they saw the Egyptians dead upon the seashore, how they 'feared the Lord, and believed the Lord, and his servant Moses,' Exodus xiv. 30, 31, the verses preceding the song of Moses." All of this Gollancz thinks is contained in ll. 580-590, and he would therefore place ll. 580-590 after l. 515; ll. 549-579, the speech of Moses to the army, he would place after l. 590; and ll. 516-548, the forward glance at Moses as the lawgiver, he would place after l. 579, as the conclusion of the poem. In other words, Gollancz would reverse the position of these passages, placing them in the order (3) ll. 580-590, (2) ll. 549-579, (1) ll. 516-548. In this interpretation the poem would be finished at the end of ll. 516-548, these lines being intended "as a fitting epilogue—Moses is the hero of the epic, and in the story of his achievements as general is added the glorification of his teaching as set forth in Deuteronomy."

That this would have been a possible arrangement of the material of the poem cannot be denied, but it is doubtful if we are doing the poet a service in thus rearranging the text. Gollancz maintains that this new arrangement makes the poem "an organic whole," but does not the placing of ll. 516-548 at

<sup>1</sup> *The Caedmon Manuscript*, p. lxxv.

the end make it less a whole than the present arrangement? To have told the exciting story of the drowning of the Egyptians and then to end with a general allusion to Moses as lawgiver, would have been an anticlimax. But the rearrangement is even worse, for the allusion to Moses as lawgiver is only a small part of ll. 516-548, and the main part of this passage is but commonplace, homiletic amplification. In its present position after l. 515 it is appropriate enough. Just as in the earlier passage about Noah and Abraham, the poet had stopped for a momentary glance backward, so now he stops for a momentary glance forward, but only a glance, for his present concern is with Moses as captain, not as lawgiver. He therefore quickly passes on to that kind of didactic sermonizing which is so frequent as episodic embellishment in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and when this is ended, he comes back to Moses in the address of Moses to the Israelites, and in conclusion to the gathering of the booty, their rightful due, from the bodies of the dead Egyptians.

The date of composition of *EXODUS* cannot be determined exactly, and it can be determined relatively, as has been pointed out, p. xxvi, only with some degree of probability. As to authorship, little can be said except that for stylistic reasons it seems scarcely credible that the poet or poets who wrote *Genesis A*, in spite of the many excellences in their kind of that poem, could have written *EXODUS*.

### 3. DANIEL

The central figure of this poem is Daniel, as it is of the Old Testament book upon which the poem is based. The poem utilizes materials from the Vulgate, Daniel i-v, ending with the Feast of Belshazzar. It opens with a conventional epic formula, followed by a short account of the Jews in Jerusalem (ll. 1-45), as introductory to the main narrative. It is incomplete at the end, probably through loss in the manuscript. The subject matter of the missing part was presumably Daniel's interpretation of the writing on the wall and the account of the slaying of Belshazzar. This would have made a fitting climax for the poem, and it seems improbable that the poem ever comprised a paraphrase of all of the Vulgate Daniel. The story moves



along in regular order, except that ll. 279-439 have the appearance of being an interruption. These lines constitute a kind of lyric interlude in the general narrative course of the poem. The main content of them is the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Children, with the necessary connecting lines between these and other parts of the poem. The first of these two lyric passages, that is, ll. 279-361, Gollancz regards as an interpolation and as the work of some other poet.<sup>1</sup> He believes that the poet of DANIEL intentionally omitted this passage from his paraphrase, and that someone else made good the omission by inserting here a version of the Prayer already extant in an Anglo-Saxon poem. This interpolated passage was taken from a poem which has fortunately been preserved in the Exeter Book and is now commonly entitled AZARIAS. There can be no question of the practical identity of the AZARIAS and the DANIEL versions of the Prayer, but just how the one is related to the other is not quite so certain. It is clear, however, that the Prayer is awkwardly fitted into the poem DANIEL. Gollancz thinks the proper place for it was after l. 231, when the children had just been put into the fiery furnace, but that the scribe who interpolated the Prayer made a mistake and placed it after l. 278, with the result that a prayer for aid is sung after the aid had been given. The interpolater continued the interpolated passage to l. 356*b*, and continued it too long, since ll. 335*b*-356*a* repeat what the DANIEL poet had already paraphrased, ll. 232 ff., the account of the angel and of the pleasant summer weather in the fiery furnace. With l. 356*b* we apparently return to the words of the poet of DANIEL, ll. 356*b*-361 leading up to the introduction of the Song of the Three Children. This may be the right explanation of the presence of the Prayer in DANIEL, but it should be pointed out that even if the Prayer had been interpolated, or inserted by the poet himself, after l. 231, it would still have been awkward to have this somewhat long and irrelevant lyric thrust in just at a moment of high suspense in the action.

The Song of the Three Children, ll. 362-408, corresponds to the Benedicite in the Vulgate, Daniel iii. 52-90, the Benedicite

<sup>1</sup> *The Cadmon Manuscript*, p. lxxxvi.

proper beginning with verse 57. This Song follows the Prayer in the Exeter Book AZARIAS as in DANIEL, but the differences between the AZARIAS Song and the DANIEL Song are so great as to make of them separate versions of the same material. The DANIEL Song cannot be an interpolation, therefore, as the DANIEL Prayer may well be, though the evidence of phrasing indicates that the two versions of the Song are not independent of each other. The doubtful point is, which is the earlier of the two versions? Gollancz thinks that the poet of AZARIAS knew and in some details followed the version of the poet of DANIEL.<sup>1</sup> The earlier investigations of the question arrived at no convincing results, and perhaps the whole matter may be said to be still open for consideration.<sup>2</sup> For if it is true that DANIEL is indebted to AZARIAS for the Prayer of Azariah, i.e., DAN. 279-361, and AZARIAS is indebted to DANIEL for some of the phrasing of the Song of the Three Children, the possibilities obviously become more numerous than those of simple borrowing and interpolating. We may have to do with different poems and versions by the same author, or with collaboration, or with dependence on common sources.

The Song of the Three Children corresponds to the Benedicite in the Vulgate, Daniel iii. 57-90, but neither the poet of AZARIAS nor the poet of DANIEL used the Vulgate version of the Benedicite, but a Canticle version which differed in a number of respects from the Vulgate version.<sup>3</sup> A copy of this Canticle version, in Latin with an interlinear Anglo-Saxon gloss, is readily accessible in Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*, pp. 414-415, among the hymns in the Vespasian Psalter, where it is entitled *Hymnum trium puerorum*. The Vulgate passages which underlie the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Children are not present in the authorized English Bible.

#### 4. CHRIST AND SATAN

The vexed question of unity raises its head again in connection with the fourth and last poem in the Junius Manuscript. So

<sup>1</sup> *The Cædmon Manuscript*, pp. xc-xci.

<sup>2</sup> See Blackburn, *Exodus and Daniel*, p. xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> See Steiner, *Ueber die Interpolation im angelsächsischen Gedichte Daniel* (1889), pp. 21-25.



far as the record of the manuscript goes, there is nothing to indicate that this is not a single unified poem. It begins in the usual way and it is divided into sections in the same manner as the other poems of the manuscript. The opening lines are a slight variation of the customary Anglo-Saxon epic formula for the beginning of a poem. And the poem is so uniform in content, in manner, and in language, that no separation into parts of different origin is indicated on these grounds. The chief reason for doubting the unity of the poem, for viewing it, as some have done, as a loose collection of fragments, has been found in the vague continuity of the narrative or structural interest in the poem. Grein treated the poem as a unit in the *Bibliothek* (1857), and was the first to give to it the title CHRIST AND SATAN. In his revision of Grein, Wülker (1894) divided the poem into three parts, each with a title of its own. The first part, ll. 1-364, he called *Die Klagen der Gefallenen Engel*, the second part, ll. 365-662, he called *Christi Höllenfahrt, Auferstehung, Himmelfahrt und Kommen zum Jüngsten Gericht*, and the third part, ll. 663-729, he called *Versuchung Christi*. These titles were well chosen, and they serve to call attention to the fact that whatever continuity the poem has, it is not that of a sustained narrative. Clubb prefers Grein's single title for the poem, but in his analysis of the structure of it, he recognizes the appropriateness of Wülker's three divisions, which he designates as Part I, The Laments of the Angels who rebelled against Christ and fell from Heaven; Part II, Events in the career of Christ from the Crucifixion to the Last Judgment; and Part III, The Temptation of Christ. Another arrangement proposes that these three parts be placed in the order I, III, II, in order to improve the logical coherence of the parts.<sup>1</sup> Gollancz likewise approves the three main divisions of the poem, though he thinks the second division should end with l. 596 and the third begin with l. 597.

It is obvious therefore that CHRIST AND SATAN does not contain a simple story, like GENESIS, EXODUS, and DANIEL, that in fact it is not primarily a narrative poem. It is better described as a set of lyric and dramatic amplifications of a

<sup>1</sup>R. L. Greene, *Modern Language Notes* XLIII (1928), 108-110.



number of Biblical and legendary themes of a familiar character, as a poem therefore more in the manner of Cynewulfian than in that of Cædmonian verse. In a poem of this kind one would not look for as obvious a structural form as would be expected in a narrative poem. Clubb makes a good case for the poem as "the product of a single molding spirit."<sup>1</sup> Gollancz also sees in the poem "a unity with three divisions," and he detects "the same type of mind at work in the various sections forming Book II of the manuscript, and the same unusual theological knowledge and outlook."<sup>2</sup> It is quite probable that the poet began to write without a developed plan in his mind, that his design grew as he wrote, and it is possible also that the poem was still in a growing and formative stage when the manuscript from which the extant copy was made passed out of the hands of the poet.

No single source has been found for CHRIST AND SATAN as a whole, and it is probable that it never had one. The first part, containing the laments of the fallen angels, rests upon the later legendary development of this theme, and upon the meager statements of the Old Testament. But there is little evidence that the poet in this part of his poem "was drawing from Latin documents, either Scriptural, apocryphal, or patristic."<sup>3</sup> A number of parallels indicate that the poet was well acquainted with the Cynewulfian poems, and certain similarities between CHRIST AND SATAN and Guthlac A seem best accounted for as the result of the use of a common source. The second part is mainly occupied with the theme of the Harrowing of Hell, the Resurrection, the Ascension (the second part ending here, at l. 596, according to Gollancz), and the Judgment Day. The general tone of this part of the poem, as well as the similarity it bears to certain extant examples of homiletic literature, suggests that this part of the poem may have had a homily for Easter Sunday as its source.<sup>4</sup> No homily which exactly fits the situation has been found, however, and perhaps it is not neces-

<sup>1</sup> *Christ and Satan*, p. lvi.

<sup>2</sup> *The Cædmon Manuscript*, p. cv.

<sup>3</sup> Clubb, *Christ and Satan*, p. xxxii.

<sup>4</sup> See Clubb, *ibid.*, pp. xxxiv ff.

sary to look for one. For manifestly an ecclesiastic as well supplied with good pulpit material as the poet of CHRIST AND SATAN must have been could easily write his own Easter homily—at the same time that he was writing his poem. In the third part of the poem, apart from passages which seem to be due to his own imagination, the poet “would seem to have depended upon his well-stocked, but not especially accurate, memory of Gospel story.”<sup>1</sup>

With respect to authorship, the most definite thing that can be said is that CHRIST AND SATAN was not written by Cædmon and is not a Cædmonian poem. Its closest literary relations are with Cynewulfian poetry, and this connection is important also in determining the date of composition of the poem. It seems most probable that the poem was written in the eighth century, but according to Clubb, what we know does not “warrant assigning a more precise period for the composition of CHRIST AND SATAN than 790–830.”<sup>2</sup>

## XI

## TABLE I

## CONTENTS OF THE PAGES OF THE MANUSCRIPT

GENESIS							
Page	Line	to	Line	Page	Line	to	Line
1	1	Us	32	15	271	folcge-	
2	33	ham	48			stælna	296 habban
4	49	Him	81	16	297	ealra	309 deofum
				17	309	Forþon	324 tomiddes
				18	325	brand	358 hean
5	82	Wæron	114	19	358	on	388 geweald
6	114	and	134	21	389	Ac	408 þencean
8	135	þa	168	22	409	Gif	441 lare
9	169	Ne	185	23	442	Angan	476 hean
10	186	þa	205	24	476	heofon	490 wann
11	206	þa	209	25	491	Wearp	521 hearra
12	210	fremum	234	26	521	þas	552 wyrð
13	235	ac	245	27	552	swa	585 ic
14	246	Hæfde	270	28	585	geornlice	598 com

<sup>1</sup> Clubb, *Christ and Satan*, p. xli.

<sup>2</sup> *Christ and Satan*, p. lx.

## INTRODUCTION

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<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>Line</i>
29	599		628 heo-	77	1584		Hie 1588 Iafeð
30	628	-foncyn-		78	1588		Ða 1608 blað
		inges	663 willað	79	1608		mid 1648 eorðbu-
32	663	Hwæt	694 ge-				end
33	694	-weald	730 witod	80	1648		Ebrei 1691 meah-
34	730	nu	731 forleton	81	1691		-te 1696 spræce
35	731	Forþon	763 bitresta	82	1697		Toforan 1718 bearnum
36	763	sceolde	764 læg	83	1719		þa 1758 wæstmæ
37	765	simon	799 magon	84	1758		þam 1766 gefyllad
38	800	sorgian	830 gesawe	85	1767		Him 1793 helme
39	830	þu	841 weald	86	1793		Him 1830 wraðra
40	842	sæton	871 nacod	89	1830		sum 1865 geðread-
42	872	Him	907 bearm				ne
43	907	tredan	938 scealt	90	1866		brego 1901 sibgebyr-
45	939	Hwæt	951 healdeð				dum
46	952	No	971 willge-	91	1901		þu 1938 leodþea-
			broðor				wum
47	972	Oðer	993 swa	92	1938		Loth 1973 to-
48	994	of	1026 ic	93	1973		-geanes 2009 Mægð
49	1026	lastas	1035 hweorfan	94	2009		siðedon 2045 þa
50	1036	Him	1062 burhstede	95	2045		Abraham 2082 Domasco
52	1063	Se	1100 wracu	96	2083		unfeor 2095 geræsde
55	1101	micel	1127 sceolde	97	2096		þa 2129 folce
56	1128	Him	1142 sceolde	98	2130		feoh 2167 reordode
57	1143	Him	1158 woce	99	2168		Meda 2181 mag
58	1159	þa	1176 lange	100	2182		ræd 2219 frofre
59	1176	mon-		101	2219		ongann 2238 worden
		dreama	1196 land	102	2239		ongan 2258 þen-
60	1196	and	1214 læfde	103	2258		-den 2276 tearig-
62	1215	folc	1236 gewat	104	2276		-hleor 2298 spræce
63	1237	Hæfde	1256 hafað	105	2299		þa 2303 sægde
64	1257	sare	1297 gehwilc	106	2304		þa 2337 mære
65	1297	cucra	1313 mare	107	2338		Abraham 2376 þa
66	1314	Noe	1326 beatað	108	2376		scolf 2381 fremman
67	1327	Ða	1362 weroda	109	2382		þa 2417 swefyl
68	1362	drihten	1362 ahead	110	2417		and 2418 folce
69	1363	Him	1403 buton	111	2419		Weras 2440 forlæt
70	1403	þæt	1406 cyning	112	2441		þa 2461 gymden
71	1407	þa	1443 tealde	113	2462		þa 2475 eow
72	1443	þæt	1481 ætywan	114	2476		Him 2493 burhwa-
73	1482	on	1496 lafe				rena
74	1497	þa	1520 sawldreo-	115	2493		blind 2499 Lothe
			re	116	2500		Gif 2512 milde
75	1521	Ælc	1559 fela	117	2513		Him 2537 idesum
76	1559	sohte	1584 recede	118	2537		ac 2541 eode



<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>Line</i>
119	2542	þa	2575	132	2760	þa	2776
121	2576	Him	2594	133	2776	agen	2791
122	2594	and	2599	134	2791	þa	2806
123	2600	Hie	2614	135	2807	Sweotol	2823
124	2615	Of	2635	136	2824	Gyld	2840
125	2636	Ongan	2655	137	2840	-steap	2856
126	2656	wif	2672	138	2856	ad	2871
127	2672	Heht	2690	139	2871	Isaac	2889
128	2691	Abraham	2707	140	2890	Wit	2908
129	2708	Ic	2721	141	2908	þa	2926
130	2721	[Spræc] <sup>1</sup>	2740	142	2926	Ða	2936
131	2740	scippende	2759				
		bæd					

## EXODUS

143	1	Hwæt	29	156	252	Ahleop	275
144	30	Hæfde	44	157	276	Hof	287
145	45	folc	62	158	287	þa	318
146	63	Heht	95	160	319	Hæfdon	350
				161	350	wolcnum	385
147	96	heahþegn- unga	106	162	386	sibgema- gas	418
			106				418
148	107	hlud	141	163	419	Ne	446
149	142	þa	163	166	447	Folc	480
				167	480	hand	510
151	164	wonn	196	169	511	bodigean	544
153	197	Hæfdon	207	170	544	-tra	577
154	208	Hæfde	241	171	577	wif	590
155	241	onþeon	251				

## DANIEL

173	1	Gefrægn	35	184	224	þa	237
174	35	æt	70	185	237	drugon	240
175	70	unrim	78	186	241	Hreohmod	254
176	79	Het	103	187	254	Ðær	268
				188	268	-mod	300
177	104	þa	115	189	300	towrecene	308
178	116	þa	133	190	309	Ne	340
179	134	þa	157	191	340	fyres	369
180	158	Ða	177	192	369	gehwilc	405
181	178	þa	193	193	406	gewurðad	429
				195	430	Het	439
				196	440	Ða	457
182	193	bearn	208	197	458	þa	475
183	209	Ða	223				

<sup>1</sup> Written twice in MS., at the end and at the beginning of a page.

Page	Line	to	Line	Page	Line	to	Line
198	475	lof	494 astigeð	206	618	Naboch-	
199	495	þa	504 wild-			odonos-	
200	504	-deor	522 mæge	207	632	nið	632 nydgenga
201	523	þa	535 craft	208	640	þa	639 com
202	536	wisne	568 ðec	209	673	unwaclice	673 eorla
203	568	wineleas-	588 woruld-				705 cyne-
		ne	rice	210	706	cempan	ðrymme
205	589	Oft	617 begete	212	731	Sohton	730 seon
							764 wealdeð

## CHRIST AND SATAN

213	1	þæt	44 iu	222	381	gesawon	430 ge-
214	44	dreamas	86 helendes	223	430	-sæt	480 up
215	86	agan	124 gelomp	224	481	æpla	528 þa
216	125	Swa	171 þære	225	528	on ( <i>MS.</i>	
217	171	byrhtes-				gingran)	556 þenceð
		tan	209 behofað	226	557	þa	599 on
218	209	se	248 can	227	599	domdæge	
219	248	eow	293 se			( <i>MS.</i>	
220	293	torhta	335 wyrma			on)	651 eadige
221	335	þreat	381 heafod	228	651	sawla	709 hæbbe
				229	710	þa	730 Amen

## XII

## TABLE II

## SECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The sectional divisions as they are contained in the manuscript are given according to the lines of this edition in the following table, the numbers in square brackets not being present in the manuscript.

[Liber I]	[IV] GEN. 169-234 <sup>2</sup>
[I] GEN. 1-81	[V] GEN. 235-245 <sup>3</sup>
[II] GEN. 82-134	[VI] GEN. 246-324
[III] GEN. 135-168 <sup>4</sup>	[VII] GEN. 325-388 <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Incomplete at the end owing to the loss of probably three folios between pages 8 and 9, which contained the end of [III] and the opening of [IV].

<sup>2</sup> Incomplete at the beginning owing to the loss of folios in the manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> Incomplete at the beginning owing to the loss of probably two folios between pages 12 and 13.

<sup>4</sup> Section VII begins with *brand*, in the middle of a sentence, and Section [VI] ends with *tomiddes*, probably through a mistake of the illustrator. The original ending of [VI] was probably l. 320 and the beginning of VII was l. 321 (Gollancz, *The Cædmon Manuscript*, p. cix).

VII[I] GEN. 389-441 <sup>1</sup>	XXXVIII GEN. 2691-2771
[IX-X] Missing <sup>2</sup>	XI GEN. 2772-2833
[XI] GEN. 442-546	XLI GEN. 2834-2936
[XII] GEN. 547-683	XLII EX. 1-62
[XIII] GEN. 684-820	[XLIII] EX. 63-106
[XIV] GEN. 821-871	[XLIIII] EX. 107-141 <sup>7</sup>
[XV] GEN. 872-917	[XLV] EX. 142-251
XVI GEN. 918-1001	XLVI EX. 252-318
XVII GEN. 1002-1081	XLVII EX. 319-446
XVIII GEN. 1082-1166	[XLVIII] Missing
[X] <sup>3</sup> VIII GEN. 1167-1247	XLVIII EX. 447-590
XX GEN. 1248-1326	L DAN. 1-103
XXI GEN. 1327-1406	LI DAN. 104-223
XXII GEN. 1407-1482	[LII] DAN. 224-361
XXIII GEN. 1483-1554	LIII DAN. 362-494
XXIIII GEN. 1555-1636	[LIV] DAN. 495-674
XXV GEN. 1637-1718	LV DAN. 675-764
[XXVI] GEN. 1719-1804	[Liber II]
[XXVII] GEN. 1805-1889	[I] CHR. AND SAT. 1-74
[ ] GEN. 1890-1959 <sup>4</sup>	II CHR. AND SAT. 75-124
XXVIII GEN. 1960-2017	III CHR. AND SAT. 125-188
XXVIII GEN. 2018-2095	[IV] CHR. AND SAT. 189-223
[XXX] GEN. 2096-2172	V CHR. AND SAT. 224-253
[XXXI] GEN. 2173-2260	VI CHR. AND SAT. 254-314
[XXXII] GEN. 2261-2337	[VII] CHR. AND SAT. 315-364
[XXXIII] GEN. 2338-2398	[VIII] CHR. AND SAT. 365-440
XXXIIII GEN. 2399-2418 <sup>5</sup>	[IX] CHR. AND SAT. 441-511
XXXV GEN. 2419-2512	[X] CHR. AND SAT. 512-556
[XXXVI] GEN. 2513-2575 <sup>6</sup>	[XI] CHR. AND SAT. 557-596
XXXVII GEN. 2576-2620	[XII] CHR. AND SAT. 597-729
XXXVIII GEN. 2621-2690	

<sup>1</sup> Incomplete at the end through the loss of a number of folios. Marked VII at the bottom of p. 19, probably a mistake for VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Sections IX and X must be assumed to be missing because counting back from XVI, the next numbered section in the manuscript, all the sections from XV to XI appear regularly in the manuscript, though without numbering, and VIII follows regularly after numbered VII.

<sup>3</sup> The X for the nineteenth number was apparently omitted inadvertently.

<sup>4</sup> The section following this is numbered XXVIII and the one before it is without number, but follows in order after XXV and [XXVI]. Apparently the scribe omitted to count this section.

<sup>5</sup> A leaf has been cut out of the manuscript between pages 110 and 111.

<sup>6</sup> The beginning of [XXXVI] is lacking, a leaf having been cut out between pages 116 and 117.

<sup>7</sup> This section begins at the middle of a sentence. It is incomplete at the end through the loss of two folios.



## XIII

TABLE III

## SMALL CAPITALS IN THE MANUSCRIPT

Since the small capitals are sometimes merely the ordinary small letters made larger, it is not always possible to tell whether a letter was intended to be a capital or not. If the capitals had rhetorical value, as it seems they must have had, the scribe may have felt that there were degrees of capitalization, a feeling that would be reflected in the size of his letters. In the following lists, only those words are listed in which the capital letter is distinctly different from the ordinary small letter, and in all instances only the first letter of the word is capitalized. Occasionally the conventions of Modern English have required the substitution in the text of a small letter for the capitals of the manuscript.

## GENESIS

65 Sceof [ <i>MS.</i> Sceop]	666 Ic	1296 Ic	1661 Ða
79 Frea	673 Gehyran	1314 Noe	1710 Abraham
103 Ne	715 Oðpæt	1325 Symle	1744 Ða
198 Inc	760 Nu	1335 Ond	1754 Gif
201 Inc	790 Adam	1339 Swilce	1767 Him
205 Inc	816 Nu	1345 Gewit	1779 Him
233 Swilce	842 Sæton	1346 Ic	1793 Him
236 <i>b</i> Inc [ <i>but</i> <i>not inc in</i> 236 <i>a</i> ]	867 Ic	1356 Him	1820 Abraham
	897 Me	1363 Him	1854 Ac
	925 Abead	1367 Noe	1873 Ða
279 Ic	939 Hwæt	1390 Ða	1880 Ongunnon
280 Ic	952 No	1392 Siððan	1904 Ac
283 Ic [ <i>but not</i> <i>ic in 282b</i> ]	961 Gesæton	1411 Gelædde	1927 <sup>2</sup> Him
	965 Ongunnon	1443 Noe	1945 Abraham
288 Ic	1022 Him	1449 He	1973 Him
347 Satan	1023 Ne	1460 Gewat	2003 Hæfde
401 Ne	1036 Him	1464 Ða	2045 Him
438 Sittan	1055 Se	1476 Ða	2049 Rincas
484 Sceolde	1063 Se	1493 He	2136 Him
599 Heo	1069 Siððan	1512 Tymað	2180 Ne
617 Sæge	1138 Seth	1543 Ða	2187 Him
636 <i>a</i> Sum	1172 Se	1555 Noe	2188 Næfre
655 Adam	1240 Sem	1562 Ða	2201 Ic
	1285 Noe	1588 Ða	2221 Me

2228 Her	2484 þa	2626 þy	2750 Oðþæt
2234 þa	2500 Gif	2628 þa	2791 þa
2256 Hire	2513 Him	2630 þa	2804 þa
2274 Ic	2519 Ic	2636 Ongan	2807 Sweetol
2280 Hire	2526 Him	2641 Him	2824 Gyld
2286 Ic	2528 þu	2643 Hwæt	2846 þa
2296 Heo	2535 þa	2653 Him	2860 Ne
2326 Ic	2540 þa	2655 Agif	2880 Ða
2353 Him	2542 þa	2666 þa	2885 Gewat
2358 Ic	2571 Nu	2672 Heht	2890 Wit
2363 Hwæðre	2591 Ne	2674 þa	2893 Abraham
2370 Abraham	2593 Ac	2694 Ac	2902 Ongan
2408 Ic	2600 Hie	2698 Ic	2908 þa
2426 þa	2607 Idesa	2708 Ic	2912 Him
2428 Hie	2615 Of	2719 Sealde	2914 Abraham
2466 Her	2617 Oðre	2721 Spræc	2926 Ða <sup>1</sup>
2473 Onfoð	2619 Oðre	2736 Abraham	2932 Abrægd
2476 Him			

## EXODUS

19 Heah	120 Hæfde	259 Ne	419 Ne
22 Ða	124 Nymðe	266 Ne	426 Hu
30 Hæfde	135 Ðær	276 Hof	526 Run
33 þa	164 Wonn	278 Hwæt	549 Swa
54 Fyrd	183 Hæfde	326 þracu	554 Micel
From	197 Hæfdon	377 Swa	563 Gesittað
93 Him	208 Hæfde	415 Ne	

## DANIEL

4 Siððan	145 <sup>a</sup> Ne	268 Geseah	486 Swa
33 þa	154 Him	288 Swa	508 Ðuhte
52 Gesamnode	158 Ða	309 Ne	523 þa
65 Gehlodon	163 Ða	409 Ða	529 Nalles
79 Het	168 No	414 Nu	546 He
96 þa	170 Ac	416 Ða	562 Swa
106 No	178 þa	427 Aban	585 Gehyge
116 þa	200 Oft	430 Het	589 Oft
119 No	209 Ða	440 Ða	593 No
127 þa	241 Hreohmod	444 Hyssas	598 Ongan
136 Næron	250 Ða	448 Gebead	604 Wearð
141 Ne	254 Ðær	452 Agæf	608 Ðu
143 Ge	263 Næs	458 þa	

<sup>1</sup> The capital in this word and in Ða, l. 2880, is a large small ð, though usually even the small capital of this letter is Ð.

# INTRODUCTION

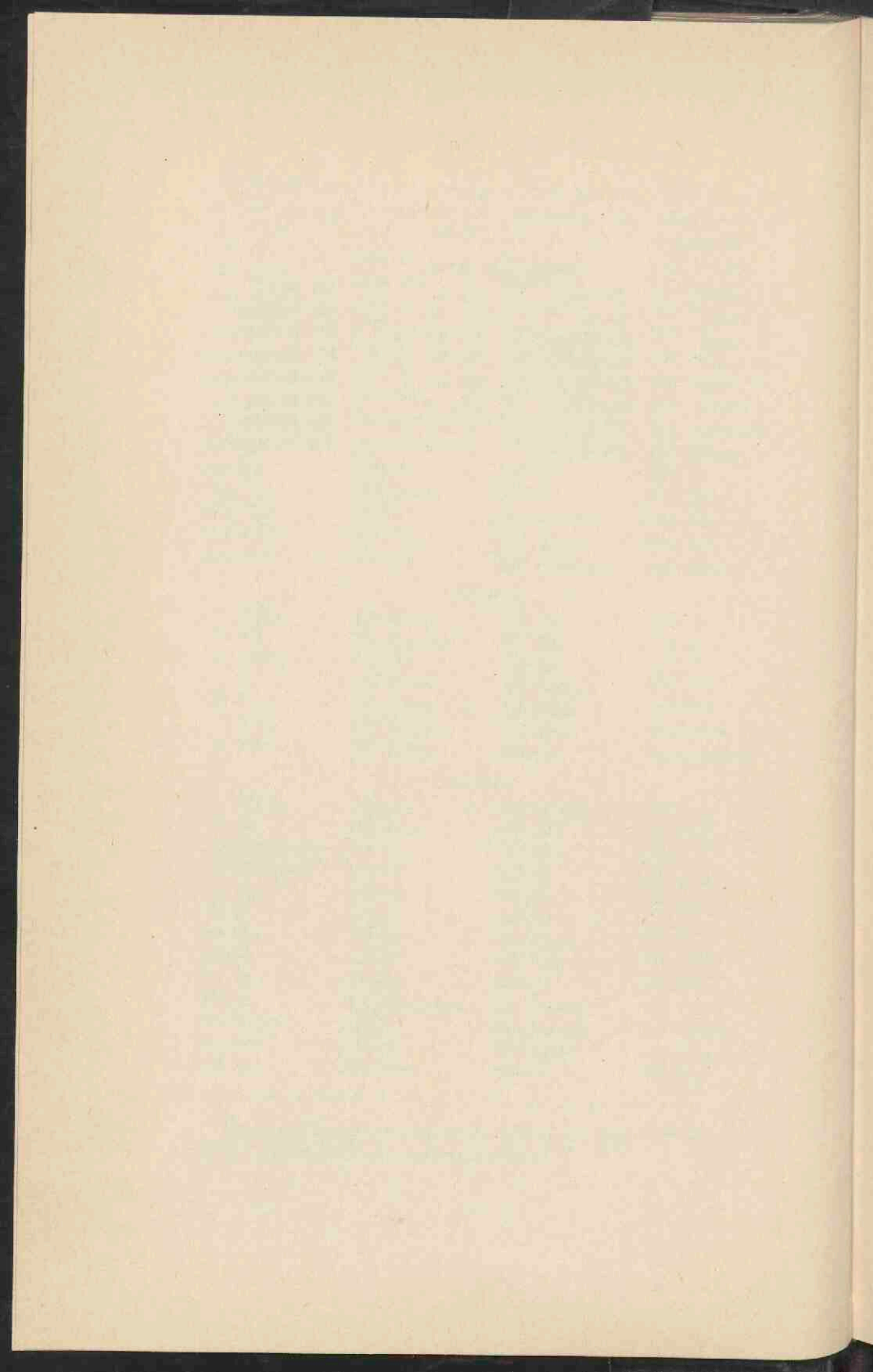
xliii

612 Ða	622 Ða	645 Ne	743 No
618 Nabochod- onossor	624 Gemunde	731 Sohton	753 No
	640 þa	733 Ne	

## CHRIST AND SATAN

13 Seolua	65 Swa	248 Ic	659 Swa
17 Hwa	84 þa	279 Swa	705 Seoððan
20 Adam	100 Nagan	370 Satanus	712 Hwilum
28 Saran	114 Ne	378 þa	713 Hwilum
36 Hwær	125 Swa	408 Ic	714 Hwilum
51 Ða	163 Eala	430 Aras	716 Ðonne
61 Atol	209 þonne	450 Seoððan	717 Hæfdon
63 Segdest	246 Ongan	585 Siteð	727 Ongunnon





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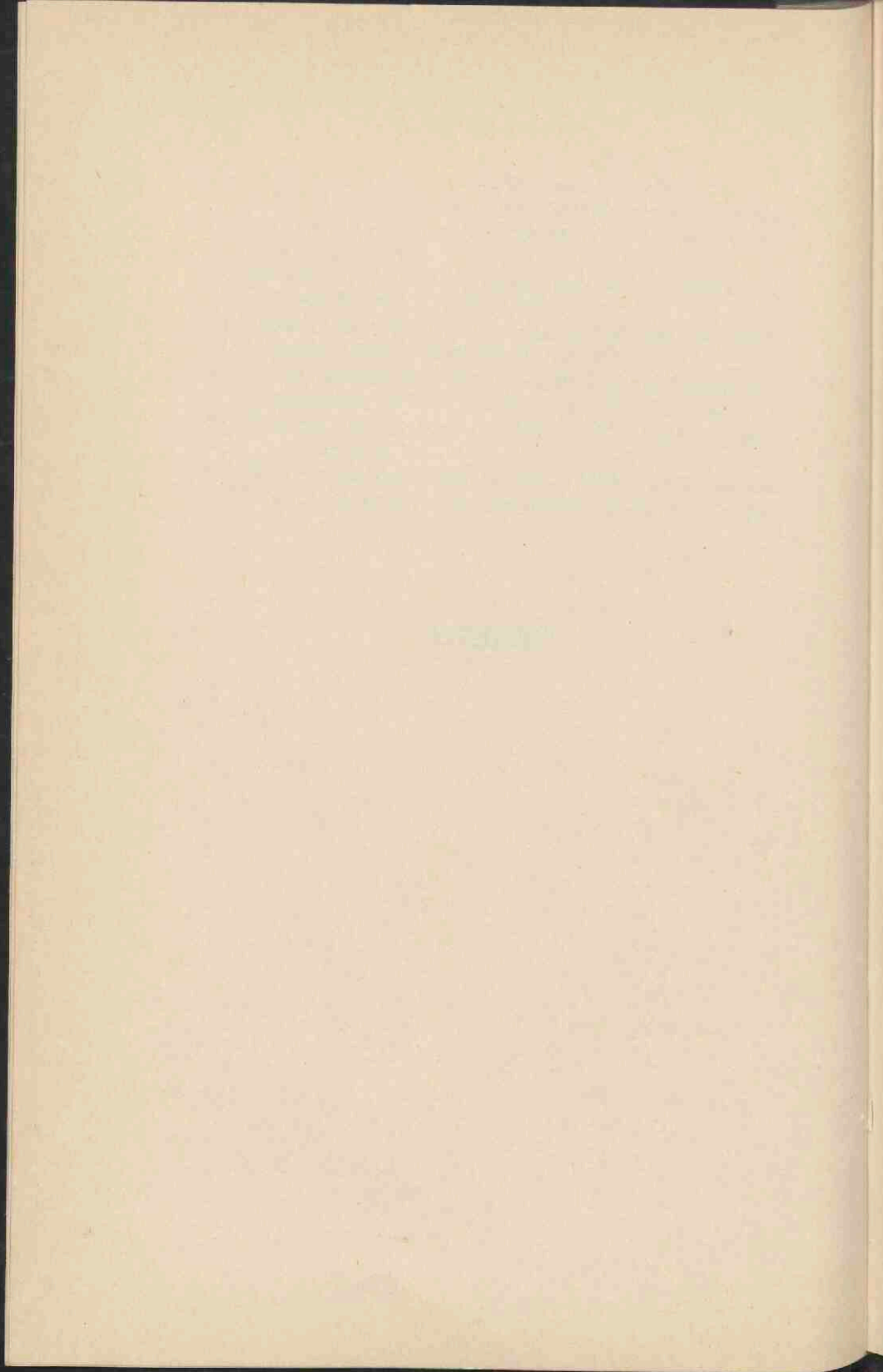
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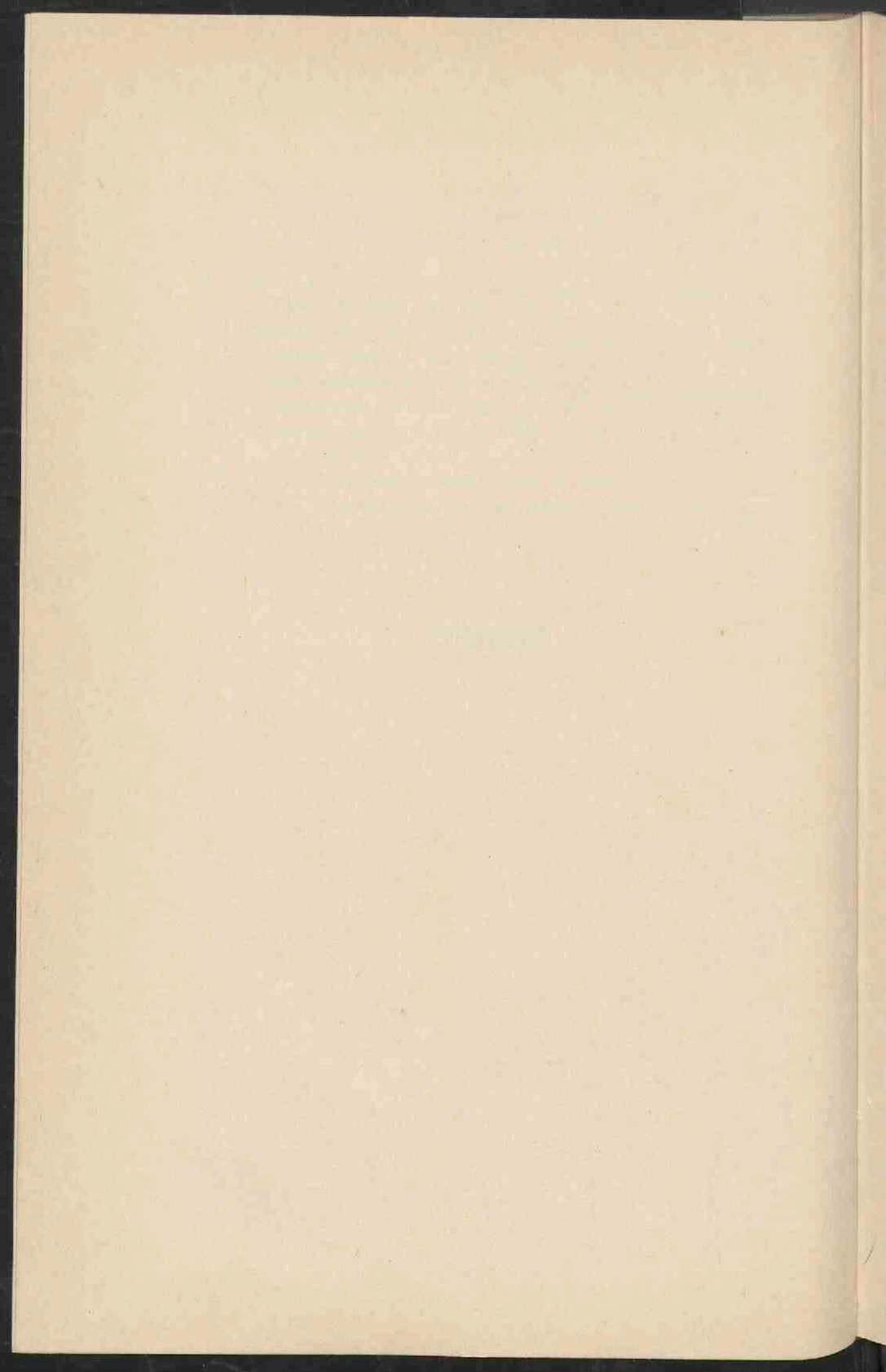


GENESIS



GENESIS





## GENESIS

- Us is riht micel ðæt we rodera weard,  
 wereda wuldorcining, wordum herigen,  
 modum lufien! He is mæгна sped,  
 heafod ealra heahgesceafta,  
 5 frea ælmihtig. Næs him fruma æfre,  
 or geworden, ne nu ende cymþ  
 ecean drihtnes, ac he bið a rice  
 ofer heofenstolas. Heagum þrymmum  
 soðfæst and swiðfeorm sweglbosmas heold,  
 10 þa wæron gesette wide and side  
 þurh geweald godes wuldres bearnum,  
 gasta weardum. Hæfdon gleam and dream,  
 and heora ordfruman, engla þreatas,  
 beorhte blisse. Wæs heora blæd micel!  
 15 Þegnas þrymfæste þeoden heredon,  
 sægdon lustum lof, heora liffrean  
 demdon, drihtenes dugeþum wæron  
 swiðe gesælige. Synna ne cuþon,  
 firena fremman, ac hie on friðe lifdon,  
 20 ece mid heora aldor. Elles ne ongunnon  
 ræran on roderum nymþe riht and soþ,  
 ærðon engla weard for oferhygde  
 dwæl on gedwilde. Noldan dreogan leng  
 heora selfra ræd, ac hie of siblufan  
 25 godes ahwurfon. Hæfdon gielp micel  
 þæt hie wið drihtne dælan meah-ton  
 wuldorfæstan wic werodes þrymme,  
 sid and swegltorht. Him þær sar gelamp,  
 æfst and oferhygd, and þæs engles mod  
 30 þe þone unræd ongan ærest fremman,  
 wefan and weccean, þa he worde cwæð,

9 swiðfeorm] swið ferom  
 23 dwæl] dæl

14 beorhte] beorte *with h added above the line*

- niþes ofþyrsted, þæt he on norðdæle  
 ham and heahsetl heofena rices  
 agan wolde. Ða wearð yrre god  
 35 and þam werode wrað þe he ær wurðode  
 wlite and wuldre. Sceop þam werlogan  
 wræclīcne ham weorce to leane,  
 helleheafas, hearde niðas.  
 Heht þæt witehus wræcna bidan,  
 40 deop, dreama leas, drihten ure,  
 gasta weardas, þa he hit geara wiste,  
 synnihte beseald, susle geinnod,  
 geondfolen fyre and færcyle,  
 rece and reade lege. Heht þa geond þæt rædleas hof  
 45 weaxan witebrogan. Hæfdon hie wrohtgeteme  
 grimme wið god gesomnod; him þæs grim lean becom!  
 Cwædon þæt heo rice, reðemode,  
 agan woldan, and swa eaðe meahtan.  
 Him seo wen geleah, siððan waldend his,  
 50 heofona heahcining, honda arærde,  
 hehste wið þam herge. Ne mihton hygelease,  
 mæne wið metode, mægyn bryttigan,  
 ac him se mæra mod getwæfde,  
 bælc forbigde. Ða he gebolgen wearð,  
 55 besloh synsceaþan sigore and gewealde,  
 dome and dugeðe, and dreame benam  
 his feond, friðo and gefean ealle,  
 torhte tire, and his torn gewræc  
 on gesacum swiðe selfes mihtum  
 60 strengum stiepe. Hæfde styrne mod,  
 gegremed grymme, grap on wraðe  
 faum folmum, and him on fæðm gebræc  
 yrre on mode; æðele bescyrede  
 his wiðerbrecan wuldorgestealdum.  
 65 Sceof þa and scyrede scyppend ure  
 oferhidig cyn engla of heofnum,  
 wæreleas werod. Waldend sende



- laðwendne here on langne sið,  
 geomre gastas; wæs him gylp forod,  
 70 beot forborsten, and forbigeð þrym,  
 wlite gewemmed. Heo on wrace syððan  
 seomodon swearte, siðe ne þorfton  
 hlude hlihhan, ac heo helltregum  
 werige wunodon and wean cuðon,  
 75 sar and sorge, susl þrowedon  
 þystrum beþeahhte, þearl æfterlean  
 þæs þe heo ongunnon wið gode winnan.  
 Þa wæs soð swa ær sibb on heofnum,  
 fægre freoþeawas, frea eallum leof,  
 80 þeoden his þegnum; þrymmas weoxon  
 duguða mid drihtne, dreamhæbbendra.  
 Wæron þa gesome, þa þe swegl buað,  
 wuldres eðel. Wroht wæs asprungen,  
 oht mid englum and orlegnið,  
 85 siððan herewosan heofon ofgæfon,  
 leohte belorene. Him on laste setl,  
 wuldorspedum welig, wide stodan  
 gifum growende on godes rice,  
 beorht and geblædfæst, buendra leas,  
 90 siððan wræcstowe werige gastas  
 under hearmlocan heane geforan.  
 Þa þeahode þeoden ure  
 modgeþonce, hu he þa mæran gesceaft,  
 eðelstaðolas eft gesette,  
 95 swegltorhtan seld, selran werode,  
 þa hie gielpsceaþan ofgifen hæfdon,  
 heah on heofenum. Forþam halig god  
 under roderas feng, ricum mihtum,  
 wolde þæt him eorðe and uproder  
 100 and sid wæter geseted wurde  
 woruldgesceafte on wraðra gield,  
 þara þe forhealdene of hleo sende.  
 Ne wæs her þa giet nymþe heolstersceado  
 wiht geworden, ac þes wida grund

- 105 stod deop and dim, drihtne fremde,  
 idel and unnyt. On þone eagum wlat  
 stiðfrihþ cining, and þa stowe beheold,  
 dreama lease, geseah deorc gesweorc  
 semian sinnihte sweart under roderum,
- 110 wonn and weste, oðþæt þeos woruldgesceaft  
 þurh word gewearð wuldorcyniges.  
 Her ærest gesceop ece drihten,  
 helm eallwihta, heofon and eorðan,  
 rodor arærde, and þis rume land
- 115 gestapelode strangum mihtum,  
 frea ælmihtig. Folde wæs þa gyta  
 græs ungrene; garsecg þeahte  
 sweart synnihte, side and wide,  
 wonne wægas. Þa wæs wuldortorht
- 120 heofonweardes gast ofer holm boren  
 miclum spedum. Metod engla heht,  
 lifes brytta, leoht forð cuman  
 ofer rumne grund. Raþe wæs gefylled  
 heahcyniges hæ; him wæs halig leoht
- 125 ofer westenne, swa se wyrhta bebead.  
 Þa gesundrode sigora waldend  
 ofer lagufode leoht wið þeostrum,  
 sceade wið sciman. Sceop þa bam naman,  
 lifes brytta. Leoht wæs ærest
- 130 þurh drihtnes word dæg genemned,  
 wlitebeorhte gesceaft. Wel licode  
 frean æt frymðe forþbæro tid,  
 dæg æresta; geseah deorc sceado  
 sweart wiðrian geond sidne grund.
- 135 Þa seo tid gewat ofer timber sceacan  
 middangeardes, metod æfter sceaf  
 scirum sciman, scippend ure,  
 æfen ærest. Him arn on last,  
 þrang þystre genip, þam þe se þeoden self
- 140 sceop nihte naman. Nergend ure
- 116 gyta] gyt with a following letter erased    119 wægas] wegas    131 gesceaft] gescaft    135 timber] tiber

- hie gesundrode; siððan æfre  
 drugon and dydon drihtnes willan,  
 ece ofer eorðan. Ða com oðer dæg,  
 leoht æfter þeostrum. Heht þa lifes weard  
 145 on mereflode middum weorðan  
 hyhtlic heofontimber. Holmas dælde  
 waldend ure and geworhte þa  
 roderas fæsten; þæt se rica ahof  
 up from eorðan þurh his agen word,  
 150 frea ælmihtig. Flod wæs adæled  
 under heahrodore halgum mihtum,  
 wæter of wætrum, þam þe wuniað gyt  
 under fæstenne folca hrofes.  
 þa com ofer foldan fus siðian  
 155 mære mergen þridda. Næron metode ða gyta  
 widlond ne wegas nytte, ac stod bewrigen fæste  
 folde mid flode. Frea engla heht  
 þurh his word wesan wæter gemæne,  
 þa nu under roderum heora ryne healdað,  
 160 stowe gestefnde. Ða stod hraðe  
 holm under heofonum, swa se halga bebed,  
 sid ætsomne, ða gesundrod wæs  
 lago wið lande. Geseah þa lifes weard  
 drige stowe, dugoða hyrde,  
 165 wide æteowde, þa se wuldorcynig  
 eorðan nemde. Gesette yðum heora  
 onrihtne ryne, rumum flode,  
 and gefetero

\* \* \*

- Ne þuhte þa gerysne rodora wearde,  
 170 þæt Adam leng ana wære  
 neorxnawonges, niwre gesceafte,  
 hyrde and healdend. Forþon him heahcynig,  
 frea ælmihtig fultum tiode;  
 wif aweahte and þa wraðe sealde,  
 175 lifes leohtfruma, leofum rince.

150 Flod] fold    155 metode] *Final e above the line*    gyta] gyt *with a following letter erased*    170 Adam] *Followed by e erased*



- He þæt andweorc of Adames  
 lice aleoðode, and him listum ateah  
 rib of sidan. He wæs reste fæst,  
 and softe swæf, sar ne wiste,  
 180 earfoða dæl, ne þær ænig com  
 blod of benne, ac him brego engla  
 of lice ateah liodende ban,  
 wer unwundod, of þam worhte god  
 freolice fæmnan. Feorh in gedyde,  
 185 ece saula. Heo wæron englum gelice,  
 þa wæs Eve, Adames bryd,  
 gaste gegearwod. Hie on geogoðe bu  
 wlitebeorht wæron on woruld cenned  
 meotodes mihtum. Man ne cuðon  
 190 don ne dreogan, ac him drihtnes wæs  
 bam on breostum byrnende lufu.  
 þa gebletsode bliðheort cyning,  
 metod alwihta, monna cynnes  
 ða forman twa, fæder and moder,  
 195 wif and wæpned. He þa worde cwæð:  
 "Temað nu and wexað, tudre fyllað  
 eorðan ælgrene, incre cynne,  
 sunum and dohtrum. Inc sceal sealt wæter  
 wunian on gewealde and eall worulde gesceaft.  
 200 Brucað blæddaga and brimhlæste  
 and heofonfugla. Inc is halig feoh  
 and wilde deor on geweald geseald,  
 and lifigende, ða ðe land tredað,  
 feorheaceno cynn, ða ðe flod wecceð  
 205 geond hronrade. Inc hyrað eall."  
 þa sceawode scyppend ure  
 his weorca wlite and his wæstma blæd,  
 niwra gesceafta. Neorxnawong stod  
 god and gastlic, gifena gefylled

184 freolice] freo licu    gedyde] ge *added above the line*    185 saula]  
*Final a altered to æ*    gelice] glice *the final e in a different ink*    186 Eve]  
*Not in MS.*    190 ne] *Abbreviation for and, with a dot beneath and ne added*  
*above*

- 210 fremum forðweardum. Fægere leohte  
 þæt liðe land lago yrnende,  
 wylleburne. Nalles wolcnu ða giet  
 ofer rumne grund regnas bæron,  
 wann mid winde, hwæðre wæstmum stod
- 215 folde gefrætwod. Heoldon forðryne  
 eastreamas heora æðele feower  
 of þam niwan neorxnawonge.  
 Þa wæron adælede drihtnes mihtum  
 ealle of anum, þa he þas eorðan gesceop,
- 220 wætre wlitebeorhtum, and on woruld sende.  
 Þæra anne hatað ylde, eorðbuende,  
 Fison folcweras; se foldan dæl  
 brade bebugeð beorhtum streamum  
 Hebeleac utan. On þære eðyltyrf
- 225 niððas findað nean and feorran  
 gold and gymcynn, gumþeoda bearn,  
 ða selestan, þæs þe us secgað bec.  
 Þonne seo æftre Ethiopia  
 land and liodgeard beligeð uton,
- 230 ginne rice, þære is Geon noma.  
 Þridda is Tigris, seo wið þeodscipe,  
 ea inflede, Assirie belið.  
 Swilce is seo feorðe, þa nu geond folc monig  
 weras Eufraten wide nemnað.
- \* \* \*
- 235 "ac niotað inc þæs oðres ealles, forlætað þone ænne beam,  
 variað inc wið þone wæstm. Ne wyrð inc wilna gæd."  
 Hnigon þa mid heafdum heofoncynninge  
 georne togenes and sædon ealles þanc,  
 lista and þara lara. He let heo þæt land buan,
- 240 hwærf him þa to heofenum halig drihten,  
 stiðferhð cyning. Stod his handgeweorc  
 somod on sande, nyston sorga wiht

218 adælede] *A letter erased and d written above the line before the final e*  
 221 þæra] þære anne] *Not in MS.* 222 se] sæ 223 bebugeð] *With*  
*u altered to i* 229 liodgeard] liod geard *with i altered to e* 232 Assirie]  
 assirie 238 togenes] *First e altered from a by the scribe*





- gylpword ongean, nolde gode þeowian,  
 265 cwæð þæt his lic wære leoht and scene,  
 hwit and hiowbeorht. Ne meahte he æt his hige findan  
 þæt he gode wolde geongerdome,  
 beodne þeowian. Þuhte him sylfum  
 þæt he mægyn and cræft maran hæfde  
 270 þonne se halga god habban mihte  
 folcgestælna. Feala worda gespæc  
 se engel ofermodes. Þohte þurh his anes cræft  
 hu he him strenglicran stol geworhte,  
 heahran on heofonum; cwæð þæt hine his hige speone  
 275 þæt he west and norð wyrcean ongunne,  
 trymede getimbro; cwæð him tweo þuhte  
 þæt he gode wolde geongra weorðan.  
 "Hwæt sceal ic winnan?" cwæð he. "Nis me wihhtæ  
 þearf  
 hearran to habbanne. Ic mæg mid handum swa fela  
 280 wundra gewyrcean. Ic hæbbe geweald micel  
 to gyrwanne godlecra stol,  
 hearran on heofne. Hwæt sceal ic æfter his hyldo ðeowian,  
 bugan him swilces geongordomes? Ic mæg wesan god  
 swa he.  
 Bigstandað me strange geneatas, þa ne willað me æt  
 þam striðe geswican,  
 285 hæleþas heardmode. Hie habbað me to hearran gecorene,  
 rofe rincas; mid swilcum mæg man ræd geþencean,  
 fon mid swilcum folcgesteallan. Frynd synd hie mine  
 georne,  
 holde on hyra hygesceaftum. Ic mæg hyra hearra wesan,  
 rædan on þis rice. Swa me þæt riht ne þinceð,  
 290 þæt ic oleccan awiht þurfe  
 gode æfter gode ænegum. Ne wille ic leng his geongra  
 wurþan."

267 he] *Added above the line* 274 heahran] *A letter erased before r, probably o, and the second h altered from n* cwæð] *Followed by a large caret-shaped mark, with space before and after for one letter; the space between cwæð and þæt probably left inadvertently* speone] *speoþne* 277 weorðan] *weorð with an added above the line*

- þa hit se allwalda call gehyrde,  
 þæt his engyl ongan ofermede micel  
 ahebban wið his hearran and spræc healic word  
 295 dollice wið drihten sinne, scoolde he þa dæd ongyldan,  
 worc þæs gewinnes gedælan, and scoolde his wite habban,  
 ealra morðra mæst. Swa deð monna gehwilc  
 þe wið his waldend winnan ongyrneð  
 mid mane wið þone mæran drihten. Þa wearð se mih-  
 tiga gebolgen,  
 300 hehsta heofones waldend, wearp hine of þan hean stole.  
 Hete hæfde he æt his hearran gewunnen, hyldo hæfde  
 his ferlorene,  
 gram wearð him se goda on his mode. Forþon he scoolde  
 grund gesecean  
 heardes hellewites, þæs þe he wann wið heofnes waldend.  
 Acwæð hine þa fram his hyldo and hine on helle wearp,  
 305 on þa deopan dala, þær he to deofle wearð,  
 se feond mid his geferum callum. Feollon þa ufon of  
 heofnum  
 þurhlonge swa þreo niht and dagas,  
 þa englas of heofnum on helle, and heo ealle forsceop  
 drihten to deoflum. Forþon heo his dæd and word  
 310 noldon weorðian, forþon he heo on wyrse leoht  
 under eorðan neoðan, ællmihtig god,  
 sette sigelease on þa sweartan helle.  
 Þær hæbbað heo on æfyn ungemet lange,  
 ealra feonda gehwilc, fyr edneowe,  
 315 þonne cymð on uhtan easterne wind,  
 forst fyrnum cald. Symble fyr oððe gar,  
 sum heard geswinc habban sceoldon.  
 Worhte man hit him to wite, (hyra woruld wæs ge-  
 hwyrfed),  
 forman siðe, fylde helle  
 320 mid þam andsacum. Heoldon englas forð  
 heofonrices hehðe, þe ær godes hyldo gekeston.

317 geswinc] gewrinc    319 siðe] sið with e added in a different hand, and a curved stroke of the pen below e

Lagon þa oðre fynd on þam fyre, þe ær swa feala  
hæfdon

- gewinnes wið heora waldend. Wite þoliað,  
hatne heaðowelm helle tomiddes,  
325 brand and brade ligas, swilce eac þa biteran recas,  
þrosm and þystro, forþon hie þegnscipe  
godes forgymdon. Hie hyra gal beswac,  
engles oferhygd, noldon alwaldan  
word weorþian, hæfdon wite micel,  
330 wæron þa befeallene fyre to botme  
on þa hatan hell þurh hygeleaste  
and þurh ofermetto, sohton oþer land,  
þæt wæs leohtes leas and wæs liges full,  
fyles fær micel. Fynd ongeaton  
335 þæt hie hæfdon gewrixled wita unrim  
þurh heora miclan mod and þurh miht godes  
and þurh ofermetto ealra swiðost.  
þa spræc se ofermoda cyning, þe ær wæs engla scynost,  
whitost on heofne and his hearran leof,  
340 drihtne dyre, oð hie to dole wurdon,  
þæt him for galscipe god sylfa wearð  
mihtig on mode yrre. Wearp hine on þæt morðer innan,  
niðer on þæt niobedd, and sceop him naman siððan,  
cwæð se hehsta hatan sceolde  
345 Satan siððan, het hine þære sweartan helle  
grundes gyman, nalles wið god winnan.  
Satan maðelode, sorgiende spræc,  
se ðe helle forð healdan sceolde,  
gieman þæs grundes. Wæs ær godes engel,  
350 whit on heofne, oð hine his hyge forspeon  
and his ofermetto ealra swiðost,  
þæt he ne wolde wereda drihtnes

328 alwaldan] *With e above the line after w* 330 wæron] *wæro with n added above the line* 336 heora] *herra, the first r changed to o* 339 whitost] *A second t added above the line after i* 339 heofne] *The final e altered to o and n added above the line* 344 cwæð se] *With the abbreviation for þæt inserted between* 346 winnan] *widnan* 349 gieman] *gieman with y added above ie* 350 heofne] *Final e altered to o and n added above the line*



- word wurðian. Weoll him on innan  
 hyge ymb his heortan, hat wæs him utan  
 355 wraðlic wite. He þa worde cwæð:  
 "Is þæs ænga styde ungelic swiðe  
 þam oðrum ham þe we ær cuðon,  
 hean on heofonrice, þe me min hearra onlag,  
 þeah we hine for þam alwaldan agan ne moston,  
 360 romigan ures rices. Næfð he þeah riht gedon  
 þæt he us hæfð befællend fyre to botme,  
 helle þære hatan, heofonrice benumen;  
 hafað hit gemearcod mid moncynne  
 to gesettanne. Þæt me is sorga mæst,  
 365 þæt Adam sceal, þe wæs of eorðan geworht,  
 minne stronglican stol behealdan,  
 wesan him on wynne, and we þis wite þolien,  
 harm on þisse helle. Wa la, ahte ic minra handa  
 geweald  
 and moste ane tid ute weorðan,  
 370 wesan ane winterstunde, þonne ic mid þys werode—  
 Ac licgað me ymbe irenbenda,  
 rideð racentan sal. Ic eom rices leas;  
 habbað me swa hearde helle clommas  
 fæste befangen. Her is fyr micel,  
 375 ufan and neoðone. Ic a ne geseah  
 laðran landscipe. Lig ne aswamað,  
 hat ofer helle. Me habbað hringa gespong,  
 sliðhearda sal siðes amyrrad,  
 afyrrad me min feðe; fet synt gebundene,  
 380 handa gehæfte. Synt þissa heldora  
 wegass forworhte, swa ic mid wihhte ne mæg  
 of þissum lioðobendum. Licgað me ymbe  
 heardes irenes hate geslægene

356 þæs] *With æ altered to e* ænga] *With i added above the line after n*  
 styde] *With y canceled and e written above it* 357 ham] *Not in MS.* 358a  
 on] *Added in the margin; the first word on p. 19* 359 alwaldan] *With e*  
*added above the line after w* 361 befællend] *With y written above æ* 371  
 irenbenda] *With a long s added at end* 382 ymbe] *ymb with a following*  
*e erased, and utan added above the line*

- grindlas greate. Mid þy me god hafað  
 385 gehæfted be þam healse, swa ic wat he minne hige cuðe;  
 and þæt wiste eac weroda drihten,  
 þæt sceolde unc Adame yfele gewurðan  
 ymb þæt heofonrice, þær ic ahte minra handa geweald.  
 Ac ðoliaþ we nu þrea on helle, (þæt syndon þystro  
 and hæto),
- 390 grimme, grundlease. Hafað us god sylfa  
 forswapen on þas sweartan mistas; swa he us ne mæg  
 ænige synne gestælan,  
 þæt we him on þam lande lað gefremedon, he hæfð us  
 þeah þæs leohtes bescyrede,  
 beworpen on calra wita mæste. Ne magon we þæs wrace  
 gefremman,  
 geleanian him mid laðes wihte þæt he us hafað þæs  
 leohtes bescyrede.
- 395 He hæfð nu gemearcod anne middangeard, þær he hæfð  
 mon geworhtne  
 æfter his onlicnesse. Mid þam he wile eft gesettan  
 heofona rice mid hluttrum saulum. We þæs sculon  
 hycgan georne,  
 þæt we on Adame, gif we æfre mægen,  
 and on his eafrum swa some, andan gebetan,
- 400 onwendan him þær willan sines, gif we hit mægen  
 wihte aþencan.  
 Ne gelyfe ic me nu þæs leohtes furðor þæs þe he him  
 þenceð lange niotan,  
 þæs eades mid his engla cræfte. Ne magon we þæt on  
 aldre gewinnan,  
 þæt we mihtiges godes mod onwæcen. Uton oðwendan  
 hit nu monna bearnum,  
 þæt heofonrice, nu we hit habban ne moton, gedon þæt  
 hie his hyldo forlæten,
- 405 þæt hie þæt onwendon þæt he mid his worde bebead.  
 Þonne weorð he him wrað on mode,  
 ahwet hie from his hyldo. Þonne sculon hie þas helle  
 secan

and þas grimman grundas. Þonne moton we hie us to  
 giongrum habban,  
 fra bearn on þissum fæstum clomme. Onginnað nu ymb  
 þa fyrde þencean!

- Gif ic ænegum þægne þeodenmadmas
- 410 geara forgeafe, þenden we on þan godan rice  
 gesælige sæton and hæfdon ure setla geweald,  
 þonne he me na on leofran tid leanum ne meahte  
 mine gife gyldan, gif his gien wolde  
 minra þegna hwilc gēpafa wurðan,
- 415 þæt he up heonon ute mihte  
 cuman þurh þas clustro, and hæfde cræft mid him  
 þæt he mid feðerhoman fleogan meahte,  
 windan on wolcne, þær geworht stondað  
 Adam and Eue on eorðrice
- 420 mid welan bewunden, and we synd aworpene hider  
 on þas deopan dalo. Nu hie drihtne synt  
 wurðran micle, and moton him þone welan agan  
 þe we on heofonrice habban sceoldon,  
 rice mid rihte; is se ræd gescyred
- 425 monna cynne. Þæt me is on minum mode swa sar,  
 on minum hyge hreoweð, þæt hie heofonrice  
 agan to aldre. Gif hit eower ænig mæge  
 gewendan mid wihte þæt hie word godes  
 lare forlæten, sona hie him þe laðran beoð.
- 430 Gif hie brecað his gebodscipe, þonne he him abolgen  
 wurðeþ;  
 siððan bið him se wela onwended and wyrð him wite  
 gearwod,  
 sum heard hearmscearu. Hycgað his ealle,  
 hu ge hi beswicen! Siððan ic me sefte mæg  
 restan on þyssum racentum, gif him þæt rice losað.
- 435 Se þe þæt gelæsteð, him bið lean gearo  
 æfter to aldre, þæs we her inne magon  
 on þyssum fyre forð fremena gewinnan.

409 þægne] æ altered to e 417 feðerhoman] *The first e altered from æ and ð altered from d* 425 minum mode] mode minum with marks for transposing  
 431 gearwod] *With e above the line before a*



Sittan læte ic hine wið me sylfne, swa hwa swa þæt sec-  
 gan cymeð  
 on þas hatan helle, þæt hie heofoncyninges  
 440 unwurðlice wordum and dædum  
 lare”

\* \* \*

Angan hine þa gyrwan godes andsaca,  
 fus on frætsum, (hæfde fæcne hyge),  
 hæleðhelm on heafod asette and þone full hearde geband,  
 445 spenn mid spangum; wiste him spræca fela,  
 wora worda. Wand him up þanon,  
 hwearf him þurh þa helldora, (hæfde hyge strangne),  
 leolc on lyfte laþwendemod,  
 swang þæt fyr on twa feondes cræfte;  
 450 wolde dearnunga drihtnes geongran,  
 mid mandædum men beswican,  
 forlædan and forlæran, þæt hie wurdon lað gode.  
 He þa geferde þurh feondes cræft  
 oððæt he Adam on eorðrice,  
 455 godes handgesceaft, gearone funde,  
 wislice geworht, and his wif somed,  
 freo fægroste, swa hie fela cuðon  
 godes gegearwigean, þa him to gingran self  
 metod mancynnes mearcodes selfa.  
 460 And him bi twegin beamas stodon  
 þa wæron utan ofættes gehlædene,  
 gewered mid wæstm, swa hie waldend god,  
 heah heofoncýning handum gesette,  
 þæt þær ylde bearn moste on ceosan  
 465 godes and yfeles, gumena æghwilec,  
 welan and wawan. Næs se wæstm gelic!  
 Oðer wæs swa wynlic, wlitig and scene,  
 liðe and lofsum, þæt wæs lifes beam;

445 spenn] *With o added after e* 446 wora worda] *Glossed in the margin*  
 wraþra worda 451 men] *With a second n added above the line* 453  
 geferde] *geferede with e after r erased* 459 metod] *metot* 460 twegin] *i*  
*altered to e* 466 and wawan] *Repeated in the margin because blurred in*  
*the text* 467 and scene] *Repeated in the margin because blurred in the text*

- 470 *moste on ecnisse æfter lybban,*  
*wesan on worulde, se þæs wæstmes onbat,*  
*swa him æfter þy ylde ne derede,*  
*ne suht sware, ac moste symle wesan*  
*lungre on lustum and his lif agan,*  
 475 *hyldo heofoncyninges her on worulde,*  
*habban him to wæron witode geþingþo*  
*on þone hean heofon, þonne he heonon wende.*  
*þonne wæs se oðer eallenga sweart,*  
*dim and þystre; þæt wæs deaðes beam,*  
*se bæc bitres fela. Scolde bu witan*  
 480 *ylde æghwile yfles and godes*  
*gewand on þisse worulde. Scolde on wite a*  
*mid swate and mid sorgum siððan libban,*  
*swa hwa swa gebyrgde þæs on þam beame geweo.*  
*Scolde hine ylde beniman ellendæda,*  
 485 *dreamas and drihtscipes, and him beon deað scyred.*  
*Lytle hwile sceolde he his lifes niotan,*  
*secan þonne landa sweartost on fyre.*  
*Scolde feondum þeowian, þær is ealra frecna mæste*  
*leodum to langre hwile. þæt wiste se laða georne,*  
 490 *dyrne deofles boda þe wið drihten wann.*  
*Wearp hine þa on wyrmes lic and wand him þa*  
*ymbutan*  
*þone deaðes beam þurh deofles cræft,*  
*genam þær þæs ofætcs and wende hine eft þanon*  
*þær he wiste handgeweorc heofoncyninges.*  
 495 *Ongon hine þa frinan forman worde*  
*se laða mid ligenum: "Langað þe awuht,*  
*Adam, up to gode? Ic eom on his ærende hider*  
*feorran gefered, ne þæt nu fyrn ne wæs*  
*bæt ic wið hine sylfne sæt. þa het he me on þysne sið*  
*faran,*  
 500 *het þæt þu þisses ofætcs æte, cwæð þæt þin abal and*  
*cræft*
- 473 agan] *Second a altered from o*      475 witode] *witod with final e above the line*  
 geþingþo] *geþing, then þ added on an erasure and o above the line*  
 476 he] *heo*      481 gewand] *With o added above the line after n*

and þin modsefa mara wurde,  
 and þin lichoma leohtra micle,  
 þin gesceapu scenran, cwæð þæt þe æniges sceattes  
 ðearf

ne wurde on worulde. Nu þu willan hæfst,  
 505 hyldo geworhte heofoncyniges,  
 to þance geþenod þinum hearran,  
 hæfst þe wið drihten dyrne geworhtne. Ic gehyrde hine  
 þine dæd and word

lofan on his leohte and ymb þin lif sprecaþ.  
 Swa þu læstan scealt þæt on þis land hider  
 510 his bodan bringað. Brade synd on worulde  
 grene geardas, and god siteð  
 on þam hehstan heofna rice,  
 ufan alwalda. Nele þa earfeðu  
 sylfa habban þæt he on þysne sið fare,  
 515 gumena drihten, ac he his gingran sent  
 to þinre spræce. Nu he þe mid spellum het  
 listas læran. Læste þu georne  
 his ambyhto, nim þe þis ofæt on hand,  
 bit his and byrige. Þe weorð on þinum breostum rum,  
 520 wæstm þy wlitegra. Þe sende waldend god,  
 þin hearra þas helpe of heofonrice."

Adam mæðelode þær he on eorðan stod,  
 selfsceafte guma: "Þonne ic sigedrihten,  
 mihtigne god, mæðlan gehyrde  
 525 strangre stemne, and me her stondaþ het,  
 his bebodu healdan, and me þas bryd forgeaf,  
 wlitesciene wif, and me warniaþ het  
 þæt ic on þone deaðes beam bedroren ne wurde,  
 beswicen to swiðe, he cwæð þæt þa sweartan helle  
 530 healdan sceolde se ðe bi his heortan wuht  
 laðes gelæde. Nat þeah þu mid ligenum fare  
 þurh dyrne geþanc þe þu drihtnes eart  
 boda of heofnum. Hwæt, ic þinra bysna ne mæg,

503 sceattes] sceates 506 hearran] hearan 509 þis] þs with i inserted  
 above the line 519 byrige] byrige 521 helpe] Final e altered to a  
 of] f blurred, the result of changing n to f?



- worda ne wisna wuht oncnawan,  
 535 siðes ne sagona. Ic wat hwæt he me self bebead,  
 nergend user, þa ic hine nehst geseah;  
 he het me his word weorðian and wel healdan,  
 læstan his lare. Þu gelic ne bist  
 ænegum his engla þe ic ær geseah,  
 540 ne þu me oðiewdest ænig tacen  
 þe he me þurh treowe to onsende,  
 min hearra þurh hylde. Þy ic þe hyran ne cann,  
 ac þu meaht þe forð faran. Ic hæbbe me fæstne geleafan  
 up to þam ælmihtegan gode þe me mid his earmum  
 worhte,  
 545 her mid handum sinum. He mæg me of his hean rice  
 geofian mid goda gehwilcum, þeah he his gingran ne  
 sende.”

- Wende hine wraðmod þær he þæt wif geseah  
 on eorðrice Euan stonðan,  
 sceone gesceapene, cwæð þæt scaðena mæst  
 550 eallum heora eaforum æfter siððan  
 wurde on worulde: “Ic wat, inc waldend god  
 abolgen wyrð, swa ic him þisne bodscipe  
 selfa secge, þonne ic of þys siðe cume  
 ofer langne weg, þæt git ne læstan wel  
 555 hwilc ærende swa he easten hider  
 on þysne sið sendeð. Nu sceal he sylf faran  
 to incre andsware; ne mæg his ærende  
 his boda beodan; þy ic wat þæt he inc abolgen wyrð,  
 mihtig on mode. Gif þu þeah minum wilt,  
 560 wif willende, wordum hyran,  
 þu meaht his þonne rume ræd geþencan.  
 Gehyge on þinum breostum þæt þu inc bam twam  
 meaht  
 wite bewarigan, swa ic þe wisie.  
 Æt þisses ofetes! þonne wurðað þin eagan swa lecht  
 565 þæt þu meaht swa wide ofer woruld ealle  
 geseon siððan, and selfes stol

540 ne] Repeated after me but with cancel marks beneath 546 geofian]  
 Withy above e

- herran þines, and habban his hyldo forð.  
 Meaht þu Adame eft gestyran,  
 gif þu his willan hæfst and he þinum wordum getrywð.  
 570 Gif þu him to soðe sægst hwylce þu selfa hæfst  
 bisne on breostum, þæs þu gebod godes  
 lare læstes, he þone laðan strið,  
 yfel andwyrde an forlæteð  
 on breostcofan, swa wit him bu tu  
 575 an sped sprecað. Span þu hine georne  
 þæt he þine lare læste, þy læs gyt lað gode,  
 incrum waldende, weorðan þyrfen.  
 Gif þu þæt angin fremest, idesa seo betste,  
 forhele ic incrum herran þæt me hearmes swa fela  
 580 Adam gespræc, eargra worda.  
 Tyhð me untryowða, cwyð þæt ic seo teonum georn,  
 gramum ambyhtsecg, nales godes engel.  
 Ac ic cann ealle swa geare engla gebyrd,  
 heah heofona gehlidu; wæs seo hwil þæs lang  
 585 þæt ic geornlice gode þegnode  
 þurh holdne hyge, herran minum,  
 drihtne selfum; ne eom ic deofle gelic.”  
 Lædde hie swa mid ligenum and mid listum speon  
 idese on þæt unriht, oðþæt hire on innan ongan  
 590 weallan wyrmes geþeaht, (hæfde hire wacran hige  
 metod gemearcod), þæt heo hire mod ongan  
 lætan æfter þam larum; forþon heo æt þam laðan onfeng  
 ofer drihtnes word deaðes beames  
 weorcsumne wæstm. Ne wearð wyrse dæd  
 595 monnum gemearcod! þæt is micel wundor  
 þæt hit ece god æfre wolde  
 þeoden þolian, þæt wurde þegn swa monig  
 forlædd be þam lygenum þe for þam larum com.  
 Heo þa þæs ofætæs æt, alwaldan bræc  
 600 word and willan. Þa meahte heo wide geseon  
 þurh þæs laðan læn þe hie mid ligenum beswac,  
 dearnenga bedrog, þe hire for his dædum com,  
 þæt hire þuhte hwitre heofon and eorðe,

- and eall þeos woruld wlitigre, and geweorc godes  
 605 micel and mihtig, þeah heo hit þurh monnes geþeaht  
 ne sceawode; ac se sceaða georne  
 swicode ymb þa sawle þe hire ær þa siene onlah,  
 þæt heo swa wide wlitan meahte  
 ofer heofonrice. Ða se forhatena spræc  
 610 þurh feondscipe (nalles he hie fremre lærde):  
 "þu meahst nu þe self geseon, swa ic hit þe secgan ne  
 þearf,  
 Eue seo gode, þæt þe is ungelic  
 wlite and wæstmas, siððan þu minum wordum getruw-  
 odest,  
 læstes mine lare. Nu scineð þe leoht fore  
 615 glædlic ongean þæt ic from gode brohte  
 hwit of heofonum; nu þu his hrinan meahst.  
 Sæge Adame hwilce þu gesihðe hæfst  
 þurh minne cime cræfta. Gif giet þurh cusne siodo  
 læst mina lara, þonne gife ic him þæs leohtes genog  
 620 þæs ic þe swa godes gegired hæbbe.  
 Ne wite ic him þa womcwidas, þeah he his wyrðe ne sie  
 to alætanne; þæs fela he me laðes spræc."  
 Swa hire eaforan sculon æfter lybban:  
 þonne hie lað gedoð, hie sculon lufe wyrcean,  
 625 betan heora hearran hearmcwyde and habban his hylðo  
 forð.  
 Ða gieng to Adame idesa scenost,  
 wifa wlitigost þe on woruld come,  
 forþon heo was handgeweorc heofoncyniges,  
 þeah heo þa dearnenga fordon wurde,  
 630 forlæd mid ligenum, þæt hie lað gode  
 þurh þæs wraðan geþanc weorðan sceolden,  
 þurh þæs deofles searo dom forlætan,  
 hierran hylðo, hefonrices þolian  
 monige hwile. Bið þam men full wa  
 635 þe hine ne warnað þonne he his gewæld hafað!  
 Sum heo hire on handum bær, sum hire æt heortan læg,

610 feondscipe] feonscipe with d above the line after n 625 and] ond  
 written out 626 gieng] gien 631 sceolden] The second e altered to o



- æppel unsælga, þone hire ær forbead  
 drihtna drihten, deaðbeames ofet,  
 and þæt word acwæð wuldres aldor,  
 640 þæt þæt micle morð menn ne þorfton  
 þegnas þolian, ac he þeoda gehwam  
 hefonrice forgeaf, halig drihten,  
 widbradne welan, gif hie þone wæstm an  
 lætan wolden þe þæt laðe treow  
 645 on his bogum bær, bitre gefylled;  
 þæt wæs deaðes beam þe him drihten forbead.  
 Forlec hie þa mid ligenum se wæs lað gode,  
 on hete heofoncyniges, and hyge Euan,  
 wifes wac geþoht, þæt heo ongan his wordum truwian,  
 650 læstan his lare, and geleafan nom  
 þæt he þa bysene from gode brungen hæfde  
 þe he hire swa wærlice wórdum sægde,  
 iewde hire tacen and treowa gehet,  
 his holdne hyge. Þa heo to hire hearran spræc:  
 655 "Adam, frea min, þis ofet is swa swete,  
 bliðe on breostum, and þes boda sciene,  
 godes engel god, ic on his gearwan geseo  
 þæt he is ærendsecg unces hearran,  
 hefoncyniges. His hyldo is unc betere  
 660 to gewinnanne þonne his wiðmedo.  
 Gif þu him heodæg wuht hearmes gespræce,  
 he forgifð hit þeah, gif wit him geongordom  
 læstan willað. Hwæt scal þe swa laðlic strið  
 wið þines hearran bodan? Unc is his hyldo þearf;  
 665 he mæg unc ærendian to þam alwaldan,  
 heofoncynige. Ic mæg heonon geseon  
 hwær he sylf siteð, (þæt is suð and east),  
 welan bewunden, se ðas woruld gesceop;  
 geseo ic him his englas ymbe hweorfan  
 670 mid feðerhaman, ealra folca mæst,  
 wereda wynsumast. Hwa meahte me swelc gewit gifan,  
 gif hit gegnunga god ne onsende,

644 laðe] lað    656 bliðe] blið    661 gespræce] gesprece    667 hwær]  
 hær with w added above the line after h

- heofones waldend? Gehyran mæg ic rume  
 and swa wide geseon on woruld ealle  
 675 ofer þæs sidan gesceaft, ic mæg swegles gamen  
 gehyran on heofnum. Wearð me on hige leohte  
 utan and innan, siðþan ic þæs ofætes onbat.  
 Nu hæbbe ic his her on handa, herra se goda;  
 gife ic hit þe georne. Ic gelyfe þæt hit from gode come,  
 680 broht from his bysene, þæs me þes boda sægde  
 wærum wordum. Hit nis wuhte gelic  
 elles on eorðan, buton swa þes ar sægeð,  
 þæt hit gegnunga from gode come.”  
 Hio spræc him þicce to and speon hine ealne dæg  
 685 on þa dimman dæd þæt hie drihtnes heora  
 willan bræcon. Stod se wraða boda,  
 legde him lustas on and mid listum speon,  
 fylgde him frecne; wæs se feond full neah  
 þe on þa frecnan fyrd gefaren hæfde  
 690 ofer langne weg; leode hogode  
 on þæt micle morð men forweorpan,  
 forlæran and forlædan, þæt hie læn godes,  
 ælmihtiges gife an forleten,  
 heofenrices geweald. Hwæt, se hellsceaða  
 695 gearwe wiste þæt hie godes yrre  
 habban sceoldon and hellgeþwing,  
 þone nearwan nið niede onfon,  
 siððan hie gebod godes forbrocen hæfdon,  
 þa he forlærde mid ligenwordum  
 700 to þam unræde idese sciene,  
 wifa wlitegost, þæt heo on his wilan spræc.  
 wæs him on helpe handweorc godes  
 to forlæranne.  
 Heo spræc ða to Adame idesa sceonost  
 705 ful þiclice, oð þam þegne ongan  
 his hige hweorfan, þæt he þam gehate getruwode  
 þe him þæt wif wordum sægde.  
 Heo dyde hit þeah þurh holdne hyge, nyste þæt þær  
 hearma swa fela,
- 696 hellgeþwing] hell geþwin *with a letter following erased* 702 him] hire

- fyrenearfeða, fylgean sceolde  
 710 monna cynne, þæs heo on mod genam  
 þæt heo þæs laðan bodan larum hyrde,  
 ac wende þæt heo hyldo heofoncyninges  
 worhte mid þam wordum þe heo þam were swelce  
 tacen oðiewde and treowe gehet,  
 715 oðþæt Adame innan breostum  
 his hyge hwyrfde and his heorte ongann  
 wendan to hire willan. He æt þam wife onfeng  
 helle and hinnsið, þeah hit nære haten swa,  
 ac hit ofetes noman agan sceolde;  
 720 hit wæs þeah deaðes swefn and deofles gespon,  
 hell and hinnsið and hæleða forlor,  
 menniscra morð, þæt hie to mete dædon,  
 ofet unfæle. Swa hit him on innan com,  
 hran æt heortan, hloh þa and plegode  
 725 boda bitre gehugod, sægde begra þanc  
 hearran sinum: "Nu hæbbe ic þine hyldo me  
 witode geworhte, and þinne willan gelæst  
 to ful monegum dage. Men synt forlædde,  
 Adam and Eue. Him is unhyldo  
 730 waldendes witod, nu hie wordcwyde his,  
 lare forleton. Forþon hie leng ne magon  
 healdan heofonrice, ac hie to helle sculon  
 on þone sweartan sið. Swa þu his sorge ne þearft  
 beran on þinum breostum, þær þu gebunden ligst,  
 735 murnan on mode, þæt her men bun  
 þone hean heofon, þeah wit hearmas nu,  
 þreaweorc þoliað, and bystre land,  
 and þurh þin micle mod monig forleton  
 on heofonrice heahgetimbro,  
 740 godlice geardas. Unc wearð god yrre  
 forþon wit him noldon on heofonrice  
 hnigan mid heafdum halgum drihtne  
 þurh geongordom; ac unc gegenge ne wæs  
 þæt wit him on þegnscipe þeowian wolden.  
 745 Forþon unc waldend wearð wrað on mode,  
 on hyge hearde, and us on helle bedraf,



- on þæt fyr fylde folca mæste,  
 and mid handum his eft on heofonrice  
 rihte rodorstolas and þæt rice forgeaf  
 750 monna cynne. Mæg þin mod wesan  
 bliðe on breostum, forþon her synt bu tu gedon:  
 ge þæt hæleða bearn heofonrice sculon  
 leode forlætan and on þæt lig to þe  
 hate hweorfan, eac is hearm gode,  
 755 modsorg gemacod. Swa hwæt swa wit her morðres þoliað,  
 hit is nu Adame eall forgolden  
 mid hearran hete and mid hæleða forlore,  
 monnum mid morðes cwealme. Forþon is min mod  
 gehæled,  
 hyge ymb heortan gerume, ealle synt uncre hearmas  
 gewrecene  
 760 laðes þæt wit lange þoledon. Nu wille ic eft þam lige  
 near,  
 Satan ic þær secan wille; he is on þære sweartan helle  
 hæft mid hringa gesponne." Hwearf him eft niðer  
 boda bitresta; sceolde he þa bradan ligas  
 secan helle gehliðo, þær his hearra læg  
 765 simon gesæled. Sorgedon ba twa,  
 Adam and Eue, and him oft betuh  
 gnornword gengdon; godes him ondredon,  
 heora herran hete, heofoncyniges nið  
 swiðe onsæton; selfe forstodon  
 770 his word onwended. Þæt wif gnornode,  
 hof hreowigmod, (hæfde hyldo godes,  
 lare forlæten), þa heo þæt leoht geseah  
 ellor scriðan þæt hire þurh untreowa  
 tacen iewde se him þone teonan geræd,  
 775 þæt hie helle nið habban sceoldon,  
 hynða unrim; forþam him higesorga  
 burnon on breostum. Hwilum to gebede feollon  
 sinhiwan somed, and sigedrihten  
 godne gretton and god nemdon,  
 780 heofones waldend, and hine bædon  
 752 heofonrice] heofon rices

- þæt hie his hearmsceare habban mosten,  
 georne fulgangan, þa hie godes hæfdon  
 bodscipe abrocen. Bare hie gesawon  
 heora lichaman; næfdon on þam lande þa giet  
 785 sælða gesetena, ne hie sorge wiht  
 weorces wiston, ac hie wel meah-ton  
 libban on þam lande, gif hie wolden lare godes  
 forweard fremman. Þa hie fela spræcon  
 sorhworda somed, sinhiwan twa.
- 790 Adam gemælde and to Euan spræc:  
 "Hwæt, þu Eue, hæfst yfele gemearcod  
 uncer sylfra sið. Gesyhst þu nu þa sweartan helle  
 grædige and gifre. Nu þu hie grimman meah-t  
 heonane gehyran. Nis heofonrice  
 795 gelic þam lige, ac þis is landa betst,  
 þæt wit þurh uncres hearran þanc habban moston,  
 þær þu þam ne hierde þe unc þisne hearm geræd,  
 þæt wit waldendes word forbræcon,  
 heofoncyninges. Nu wit hreowige magon  
 800 sorgian for þis siðe. Forþon he unc self bebead  
 þæt wit unc wite warian sceolden,  
 hearma mæstne. Nu slit me hunger and þurst  
 bitre on breostum, þæs wit begra ær  
 wæron orsorge on ealle tid.
- 805 Hu sculon wit nu libban oððe on þys lande wesan,  
 gif her wind cymð, westan oððe eastan,  
 suðan oððe norðan? Gesweorc up færeð,  
 cymeð hægles scur hefone getenge,  
 færeð forst on gemang, se byð fyrnum ceald.
- 810 Hwilum of heofnum hate scineð,  
 blicð þeos beorhte sunne, and wit her baru standað,  
 unwered wædo. Nys unc wuht beforan  
 to scursceade, ne sceattes wiht  
 to mete gemearcod, ac unc is mihtig god,  
 815 waldend wraðmod. To hwon sculon wit weorðan nu?  
 Nu me mæg hreowan þæt ic bæd heofnes god,  
 waldend þone godan, þæt he þe her worhte to me

781 his] *Written in above the line*

- of liðum minum, nu þu me forlæred hæfst  
 on mines herran hete. Swa me nu hreowan mæg  
 820 æfre to aldre þæt ic þe minum eagam geseah.”  
 Ða spræc Eue eft, idesa scienost,  
 wifa wlitegost; hie wæs geweorc godes,  
 þeah heo þa on deofles cræft bedroren wurde:  
 “þu meaht hit me witan, wine min Adam,  
 825 wordum þinum; hit þe þeah wurs ne mæg  
 on þinum hyge hreowan þonne hit me æt heortan deð.”  
 Hire þa Adam andswarode:  
 “Gif ic waldendes willan cuðe,  
 hwæt ic his to hearmsceare habban sceolde,  
 830 ne gesawe þu no sniomor, þeah me on sæ wadan  
 hete heofones god heonone nu þa,  
 on flod faran, nære he firnum þæs deop,  
 merestream þæs micel, þæt his o min mod getweode,  
 ac ic to þam grunde genge, gif ic godes meahte  
 835 willan gewyrcean. Nis me on worulde niod  
 æniges þegnscipes, nu ic mines þeodnes hafa  
 hyldo forworhte, þæt ic hie habban ne mæg.  
 Ac wit þus baru ne magon bu tu ætsomne  
 wesan to wuhte. Uton gan on þysne weald innan,  
 840 on þisses holtes hleo.” Hwurfon hie ba twa,  
 togengdon gnorngende on þone grenan weald,  
 sæton onsundran, bidan selfes gesceapu  
 heofoncyniges, þa hie þa habban ne moston  
 þe him ær forgeaf ælmihtig god.  
 845 þa hie heora lichoman leafum beþeahdon,  
 weredon mid ðy wealde, wæda ne hæfdon;  
 ac hie on gebed feollon bu tu ætsomne  
 morgena gehwilce, bædon mihtigne  
 þæt hie ne forgeate god ælmihtig,  
 850 and him gewisade waldend se goda,  
 hu hie on þam leohte forð libban sceolden.  
 þa com feran frea ælmihtig  
 ofer midne dæg, mære þeoden,  
 on neorxnawang neode sine;



- 855 wolde neosian nergend usser,  
 bilwit fæder, hwæt his bearn dyde;  
 wiste forworhte þam he ær wlite sealde.  
 Gewitan him þa gangan geomermode  
 under beamsceade blæde bereafod,  
 860 hyddon hie on heolstre, þa hie halig word  
 drihtnes gehyrdon, and ondredon him.  
 Þa sona ongann swegles aldor  
 weard ahsian woruldgesceafta,  
 het him recene to rice þeoden  
 865 his sunu gangan. Him þa sylfa oncwæð,  
 hean hleoðrade hrægles þearfa:  
 "Ic wreo me her wæda leasne,  
 lifrea min, leafum þecce.  
 Scyldfull mine sceaðen is me sare,  
 870 frecne on ferhðe; ne dear nu forð gan  
 for ðe andweardne. Ic eom eall eall nacod."  
 Him ða ædre god andswarede:  
 "Saga me þæt, sunu min, for hwon secest ðu  
 sceade sceomiende? Þu sceonde æt me  
 875 furðum ne anfenge, ac gefean eallum.  
 For hwon wast þu wean and wriht sceome,  
 gesyhst sorge, and þin sylf þecest  
 lic mid leafum, sagast lifceare  
 hean hygegeomor, þæt þe sie hrægles þearf,  
 880 nymþe ðu æppel ænne byrgde  
 of ðam wudubeame þe ic þe wordum forbead?"  
 Him þa Adam eft andswarode:  
 "Me ða blæda on hand bryd gesealde,  
 freolucu fæmne, freadrihten min,  
 885 ðe ic þe on teonan geþah. Nu ic þæs tacen wege  
 sweotol on me selfum. Wat ic sorga ðy ma."  
 Ða ðæs Euan frægn ælmihtig god:  
 "Hwæt druge þu, dohtor, dugeþa genohra,  
 niwra gesceafta neorxnawanges,

857 þam] þa 875 ne] *Not in MS.* 876 þu] *The þ of þu perhaps crowded  
 in by a corrector* 880 byrgde] *st added above the line* 883 ða] *ðe with  
 e canceled and a written above* 885 nu ic] *ic added above the line after nu*

- 890 growendra gifa, þa þu gitsiende  
 on beam gripe, blæda name  
 on treowes telgum, and me on teonan  
 æte þa unfreme, Adame sealdest  
 wæstmæ þa inc wæron wordum minum  
 895 fæste forbodene?" Him þa freolecu mæg,  
 ides æwiscmod andswarode:  
 "Me nædre beswac and me neodlice  
 to forsceape scyhte and to scyldfrece,  
 fah wurm þurh fægir word, oðþæt ic fracoðlice  
 900 feondras gefremede, fæhðe geworhte,  
 and þa reafode, swa hit riht ne wæs,  
 beam on bearwe and þa blæda æt."  
 þa nædran sceop nergend usser,  
 frea ælmihtig fagum wyrme  
 905 wide siðas and þa worde cwæð:  
 "þu scealt wideferhð werig þinum  
 breostum bearm tredan bradre eorðan,  
 faran feðleas, þenden þe feorh wunað,  
 gast on innan. þu scealt grot etan  
 910 þine lifdagas. Swa þu laðlice  
 wrohte onstealdest, þe þæt wif feoð,  
 hatað under heofnum and þin heafod tredeð  
 fah mid fotum sinum. þu scealt fiersna sætan  
 tohtan niwre; tuddor bið gemæne  
 915 incrum orlegnið a þenden standeð  
 woruld under wolcnum. Nu þu wast and canst,  
 lað leodsceaða, hu þu lifian scealt."  
 Ða to Euan god yrringa spræc:  
 "Wend þe from wynne! þu scealt wæpnedmen  
 920 wesan on gewearde, mid weres egsan  
 hearde gearwad, hean þrowian  
 þinra dæda gedwild, deaðes bidan,  
 and þurh wop and heaf on woruld cennan  
 þurh sar micel sunu and dohtor."  
 925 A bead eac Adame ece drihten,
- 906 werig] werg    907 bradre] brade    908 feorh] feoh *with r added above*  
*the line after o*    917 hu] nu

- lifes leohtfruma, lað ærende:  
 "þu scealt oðerne eðel secean,  
 wynleasran wic, and on wræc hweorfan  
 nacod niedwædla, neorxnawanges  
 930 dugeðum bedæled; þe is gedal witod  
 lices and sawle. Hwæt, þu laðlice  
 wrohte onstealdest; forþon þu winnan scealt  
 and on eorðan þe þine andlifne  
 selfa geræcan, wegan swatig hleor,  
 935 þinne hlaf etan, þenden þu her leofast,  
 oðþæt þe to heortan hearde gripeð  
 adl unliðe þe þu on æple ær  
 selfa forswulge; forþon þu sweltan scealt."  
 Hwæt, we nu gehyrað hwær us hearmstafas  
 940 wraðe onwocan and woruldyrmðo.  
 Hie þa wuldres weard wædum gyrede,  
 scyppend usser; het heora sceome þeccan  
 frea frumhrægle; het hie from hweorfan  
 neorxnawange on nearore lif.  
 945 Him on laste beleac liðsa and wynna  
 hihtfulne ham halig engel  
 be frean hæse fyrene sweorde;  
 ne mæg þær inwitfull ænig geferan  
 womscyldig mon, ac se weard hafað  
 950 miht and strengðo, se þæt mare lif  
 dugeðum deore drihtne healdeð.  
 No hwæðre ælmihtig ealra wolde  
 Adame and Euan arna ofteon,  
 fæder æt frymðe, þeah þe hie him from swice,  
 955 ac he him to frofre let hwæðere forð wesan  
 hyrstedne hrof halgum tunglum  
 and him grundwelan ginne sealde;  
 het þam sinhiwum sæs and eorðan  
 tuddorteondra teohha gehwilcre  
 960 to woruldnytte wæstmas fedan.  
 Gesæton þa æfter synne sorgfulre land,  
 eard and eðyl unspedigran



- fremena gehwilcre þonne se frumstol wæs  
 þe hie æfter dæde of adriſen wurdon.
- 965 Ongunnon hie þa be godes hæse  
 bearn astrienan, swa him metod bebead.  
 Adames and Euan aforan wæron  
 freolicu twa frumbearn cenned,  
 Cain and Abel. Us cyðað bec,
- 970 hu þa dædfruman dugeþa stryndon,  
 welan and wiste, willgebroðor.  
 Oðer his to eorðan elnes tilode,  
 se wæs ærboren; oðer æhte heold  
 fæder on fultum, oðþæt forð gewat
- 975 dægriſes worn. Hie þa drihtne lac  
 begen brohton. Brego engla beseah  
 on Abeles gield eagam sinum,  
 cyning eallwihta, Caines ne wolde  
 tiber sceawian. Þæt wæs torn were
- 980 hefig æt heortan. Hygewælm asteah  
 beorne on breostum, blatende nið,  
 yrrer for æfstum. He þa unræden  
 folmum gefremede, freomæg ofsloh,  
 broðor sinne, and his blod ageat,
- 985 Cain Abeles. Cwealmdreore swealh  
 þæs middangeard, monnes swate.  
 Æfter wælswege wea wæs aræred,  
 tregena tuddor. Of ðam twige siððan  
 ludon laðwende leng swa swiðor
- 990 reðe wæstmæ. Ræhton wide  
 geond werþeoda wrohtes telgan,  
 hrinon hearmtanas hearde and sare  
 drihta bearnum, (doð gieta swa),  
 of þam brad blado bealwa gehwilces
- 995 sprytan ongunnon. We þæt spell magon,  
 wælgrimme wyrd, wope cwiðan,  
 nales holunge; ac us hearde sceod  
 freolecu fæmne þurh forman gylt
- 980 Hygewælm asteah] hyge wælmos teah 987 aræred] *The second r  
 written over an erased letter*

- þe wið metod æfre men gefremeden,  
 1000 eorðbuende, siððan Adam wearð  
 of godes muðe gaste eacen.  
 Ða worde frægn wuldres aldor  
 Cain, hwær Abel eorðan wære.  
 Him ða se cystleasa cwealmes wyrhta  
 1005 ædre æfter þon andswarode:  
 "Ne can ic Abeles or ne fore,  
 hleomæges sið, ne ic hyrde wæs  
 broðer mines." Him þa brego engla,  
 godspedig gast gean þingade:  
 1010 "Hwæt, befealdest þu folmum þinum  
 wraðum on wælbedd wærfæstne rinc,  
 broðor þinne, and his blod to me  
 cleopað and cigeð. Þu þæs cwealmes scealt  
 wite winnan and on wræc hweorfan,  
 1015 awyrgeð to widan aldre. Ne seleð þe wæstmas eorðe  
 wlitige to woruldnytte, ac heo wældreore swealh  
 halge of handum þinum; forþon heo þe hroðra oftihð,  
 glæmes grene folde. Þu scealt geomor hweorfan,  
 arleas of earde þinum, swa þu Abele wurde  
 1020 to feorhbanan; forþon þu flema scealt  
 widlast wrecan, winemagum lað."  
 Him þa ædre Cain andswarode:  
 "Ne þearf ic ænigre are wenan  
 on woruldrice, ac ic forworht hæbbe,  
 1025 heofona heahcýning, hylde þine,  
 lufan and freode; forþon ic lastas sceal  
 wean on wenum wide lecgan,  
 hwonne me gemitte manscyldigne,  
 se me feor oððe neah fæhðe gemonige,  
 1030 broðorcwealmes. Ic his blod ageat,  
 dreor on eorðan. Þu to dæge þissum  
 ademest me fram duguðe and adrifest from  
 earde minum. Me to aldorbanan  
 weorðeð wraðra sum. Ic awyrgeð sceal,  
 1035 þeoden, of gesyhðe þinre hweorfan."  
 1011 wærfæstne] wær fæsne    1022 ædre] *Not in MS.*

- Him þa selfa oncwæð sigora drihten:  
 "Ne þearft ðu þe ondrædan deaðes brogan,  
 feorhcwealm nu giet, þeah þu from scyle  
 freomagum feor fah gewitan.
- 1040 Gif þe monna hwelc mundum sinum  
 aldre beneoteð, hine on cymeð  
 æfter þære synne seofonfeald wracu,  
 wite æfter weorce." Hine waldend on,  
 tinfæst metod, tacen sette,
- 1045 freoðobeacen frea, þy læs hine feonda hwilc  
 mid guðþræce gretan dorste  
 feorran oððe nean. Heht þa from hweorfan  
 meder and magum manscyldigne,  
 cnosle sinum. Him þa Cain gewat
- 1050 gongan geomormod gode of gesyhðe,  
 wineleas wrecca, and him þa wic geceas  
 eastlandum on, eðelstowe  
 fædergeardum feor, þær him freolecu mæg,  
 ides æfter æðelum eaforan fedde.
- 1055 Se æresta wæs Enos haten,  
 frumbearn Caines. Siððan fæsten ongon  
 mid þam cneomagum ceastre timbran;  
 þæt wæs under wolcnum wealfæstenna  
 ærest ealra þara þe æðelingas,
- 1060 sweordberende, settan heton.  
 Þanon his eaforan ærest wocan,  
 bearn from bryde, on þam burhstede.  
 Se yldesta wæs Iared haten,  
 sunu Enoses. Siððan wocan,
- 1065 þa þæs cynnes cneowrim icton,  
 mægburg Caines. Malalehel wæs  
 æfter Iarede yrfes hyrde  
 fæder on laste, oðþæt he forð gewat.  
 Siððan Mathusal magum dælde,
- 1070 bearn æfter bearne broðrum sinum  
 æðelinga gestreon, oðþæt aldorgedal
- 1040 þe] *Not in MS.* 1056 fæsten] *Not in MS.* 1069 Mathusal]  
 matusal with h above the line after t



- frod fyrndagum fremman sceolde,  
 lif oflætan. Lameh onfeng  
 æfter fæder dæge fletgestealdum,  
 1075 botlgestreonum. Him bryda twa,  
 idesa on eðle eaforan feddon,  
 Ada and Sella; þara anum wæs  
 Iabal noma, se þurh gleawne geþanc  
 herbuendra hearpan ærest  
 1080 handum sinum hlyn awehte,  
 swinsigende sweg, sunu Lamehes.  
 Swylce on ðære mægðe maga wæs haten  
 on þa ilcan tid Tubal Cain,  
 se þurh snytro sped smiðcræftega wæs,  
 1085 and þurh modes gemynd monna ærest,  
 sunu Lamehes, sulhgeweorces  
 fruma wæs ofer foldan, siððan folca bearn  
 æres cuðon and isernes,  
 burhsittende, brucan wide.  
 1090 þa his wifum twæm wordum sægde  
 Lameh seolfa, leofum gebeddum,  
 Adan and Sellan unarlic spel:  
 "Ic on morðor ofsloh minra sumne  
 hyldemaga; honda gewemde  
 1095 on Caines cwealme mine,  
 fylde mid folmum fæder Enoses,  
 ordbanan Abeles, eorðan sealde  
 wældreor weres. Wat ic gearwe  
 þæt þam lichryre on last cymeð  
 1100 soðcyninges seofonfeald wracu,  
 micel æfter mane. Min sceal swiðor  
 mid grimme gryre golden wurðan  
 fyll and feorhcwealm, þonne ic forð scio."  
 þa wearð Adame on Abeles gyld  
 1105 eafora on eðle oþer feded,  
 soðfæst sunu, þam wæs Seth noma.  
 Se wæs eadig and his yl drum ðah  
 freolic to frofre, fæder and meder,

1088 æres] ærest

1093 sumne] sune

1098 ic] *Not in MS.*

- Adames and Euan, wæs Abeles gield  
 1110 on woruldrice. Þa word acwæð  
 ord moncynnnes: "Me ece sunu  
 sealde selfa sigora waldend,  
 lifes aldor on leofes stæl,  
 þæs þe Cain ofsloh, and me cearsorge  
 1115 mid þys magotimbre of mode asceaf  
 þeoden usser. Him þæs þanc sie!"  
 Adam hæfde, þa he eft ongan  
 him to eðelstæfe oðres strienan  
 bearnes be bryde, beorn ellenrof,  
 1120 XXX and C þisses lifes,  
 wintra on worulde. Us gewritu secgað  
 þæt her eahtahund iecte siððan  
 mægðum and mægum mægburg sine  
 Adam on eorðan; ealra hæfde  
 1125 nigenhund wintra  
 and XXX eac, þa he þas woruld  
 þurh gastgedal ofgyfan sceolde.  
 Him on laste Seth leod weardode,  
 eafora æfter yldrūm; eþelstol heold  
 1130 and wif begeat. Wintra hæfde  
 fif and hundteontig þa he furðum ongan  
 his mægburge men geicean  
 sunum and dohtrum. Sethes eafora  
 se yldesta wæs Enos haten;  
 1135 se nemde god niðþa bearna  
 ærest ealra, siððan Adam stop  
 on grene græs gaste geweorðad.  
 Seth wæs gesælig; siððan strynde  
 seofon winter her suna and dohtra  
 1140 and eahtahund. Ealra hæfde  
 XII and nigonhund, þa seo tid gewearð  
 þæt he friðgedal fremman sceolde.  
 Him æfter heold, þa he of worulde gewat,

1111-1112 sunu sealde] scalde sunu 1118 eðelstæfe] edulf stæfe 1120  
 and] *The runic symbol for w instead of the usual abbreviation for* and  
 1128 leod] leaf 1131 he] heo 1133 Sethes] sedes 1140 and] ond

- Enos yrfe, siððan eorðe swealh  
 1145 sædberendes Sethes lice.  
 He wæs leof gode and lifde her  
 wintra hundnigontig ær he be wife her  
 þurh gebedscipe bearn astrynde;  
 him þa cenned wearð Cainan ærest  
 1150 eafora on eðle. Siððan eahtahund  
 and fifty no on friðo drihtnes  
 gleawferhð hæleð geogoðe strynde,  
 suna and dohtra; swealt, þa he hæfde,  
 frod fyrnwita, V and nigonhund.  
 1155 Þære cneorisse wæs Cainan siððan  
 æfter Enose aldordema,  
 weard and wisa. Wintra hæfde  
 efne hundsefontig ær him sunu woce.  
 Þa wearð on eðle eafora feded,  
 1160 mago Cainanes, Malalehel wæs haten.  
 Siððan eahtahund æðelinga rim  
 and feowertig eac feorum geicte  
 Enoses sunu. Ealra nigonhund  
 wintra hæfde þa he woruld ofgeaf  
 1165 and tyne eac, þa his tiddæge  
 under rodera rum rim wæs gefylled.  
 Him on laste heold land and yrfe  
 Malalehel siððan missera worn.  
 Se frumgara fif and sixtig  
 1170 wintra hæfde þa he be wife ongann  
 bearna strynan. Him bryd sunu  
 meowle to monnum brohte. Se maga wæs  
 on his mægðe, mine gefræge,  
 guma on geogoðe, Iared haten.  
 1175 Lifde siððan and lissa breac  
 Malalehel lange, mondreama her,  
 woruldgestreona. Wintra hæfde  
 fif and hundnigontig, þa he forð gewat,

1148 þurh] þur 1154 -wita] a altered from e 1155 Cainan] cain with  
 two letters following erased 1160 Cainanes] caines 1162 feowertig]  
 feowertigum



- and eahtahund; eaforan læfde  
 1180 land and leodward. Longe siððan  
 Geared gumum gold brittade.  
 Se eorl wæs æðele, æfæst hæleð,  
 and se frumgar his freomagum leof.  
 Fif and hundteontig on fyore lifde  
 1185 wintra gebidenra on woruldrice  
 and syxtig eac þa seo sæl gewearð  
 þæt his wif sunu on woruld brohte;  
 se eafora wæs Enoc haten,  
 freolic frumbearn. Fæder her þa gyt  
 1190 his cynnes forð cneorim icte,  
 eaforan eahtahund; ealra hæfde  
 V and syxtig, þa he forð gewat,  
 and nigonhund eac nihtgerimes,  
 wine frod wintres, þa he þas woruld ofgeaf  
 1195 and Geared þa gleawum læfde  
 land and leodward, leofum rince.  
 Enoch siððan ealdordom ahof,  
 freoðosped folces wisa, nalles feallan let  
 dom and drihtscipe,  
 1200 þenden he hyrde wæs heafodmaga.  
 Breac blæddaga, bearna strynde  
 þreohund wintra. Him wæs þeoden hold,  
 rodera waldend. Se rinc heonon  
 on lichoman lisse sohte,  
 1205 drihtnes duguðe, nales deaðe swealt  
 middangeardes, swa her men doþ,  
 geonge and ealde, þonne him god heora  
 æhta and ætwist eorðan gestreona  
 on genimeð and heora aldor someð,  
 1210 ac he cwic gewat mid cyning engla  
 of þyssum lænan life feran  
 on þam gearwum þe his gast onfeng  
 ær hine to monnum modor brohte.  
 He þam yldestan eaforan læfde  
 1215 folc, frumbearne; V and syxtig  
 1191 eaforan] eafora    1195 and] ond *written out*    1211 feran] frean

- wintra hæfde þa he woruld ofgeaf,  
and eac III hund. Þrage siððan  
Mathusal heold maga yrfe,  
se on lichoman lengest þissa
- 1220 worulddreama breac. Worn gestrynde  
ær his swylddæge suna and dohtra;  
hæfde frod hæle, þa he from sceolde  
niþþum hweorfan, nigonhund wintra  
and hundseofontig to. Sunu æfter heold,
- 1225 Lamech leodgeard, lange siððan  
woruld bryttade. Wintra hæfde  
twa and hundteontig þa seo tid gewearð  
þæt se eorl ongan æðele cennan,  
sunu and dohtor. Siððan lifde
- 1230 fif and hundnigontig, frea moniges breac  
wintra under wolcnum, werodes aldor,  
and V hund eac; heold þæt folc teala,  
bearna strynde, him byras wocan,  
eaforan and idesa. He þone yldestan
- 1235 Noe nemde, se niððum ær  
land bryttade siððan Lamech gewat.  
Hæfde æðelinga aldorwisa  
V hund wintra þa he furðum ongan  
bearna strynan, þæs þe bec cweðað.
- 1240 Sem wæs haten sunu Noes,  
se yldesta, oðer Cham,  
þridda Iafeth. Þeoda tymdon  
rume under roderum, rim miclide  
monna mægðe geond middangeard
- 1245 sunum and dohtrum. Ða giet wæs Sethes cynn,  
leofes leodfruman on lufan swiðe  
drihtne dyre and domeadig,  
oðþæt bearn godes bryda ongunnon  
on Caines cynne secan,
- 1250 wergum folce, and him þær wif curon  
ofer metodes est monna eaforan,
- 1219 þissa] þisse    1232 and] *Not in MS.*    1234 eaforan] eafora  
1235 Noe] noē

- scyldfulra mægð scyne and fægere.  
 Ða reordade rodora waldend  
 wrað moncynne and þa worde cwæð:  
 1255 "Ne syndon me on ferhðe freo from gewitene  
 cneoriscn Caines, ac me þæt cynn hafað  
 sare abolgen. Nu me Sethes bearn  
 torn niwiað and him to nimað  
 mægð to gemæccum minra feonda;  
 1260 þær wifa wlite onwod grome,  
 idesa ansien, and ece feond  
 folcdriht wera, þa ær on friðe wæron."  
 Siððan hundtwelftig geteled rime  
 wintra on worulde wræce bisgodon  
 1265 fæge þeoda, hwonne frea wolde  
 on wærlogan wite settan  
 and on deað slean dædum scyldige  
 gigantmæcgas, gode unleofe,  
 micle mansceaðan, metode laðe.  
 1270 Ða geseah selfa sigoro waldend  
 hwæt wæs monna manes on eorðan  
 and þæt hie wæron womma ðriste,  
 inwitfulle. He þæt unfægere  
 wera cneorissum gewrecan þohte,  
 1275 forgripan gumcynne grimme and sare,  
 heardum mihtum. Hreaw hine swiðe  
 þæt he folcmægþa fruman aweahte,  
 æðelinga ord, þa he Adam sceop,  
 cwæð þæt he wolde for wera synnum  
 1280 eall aæðan þæt on eorðan wæs,  
 forleosian lica gehwilc þara þe lifes gast  
 fæðmum þeahte. Eall þæt frea wolde  
 on ðære towardan tide acwellan  
 þe þa nealæhte niðða bearnum.  
 1285 Noe wæs god, nergende leof,  
 swiðe gesælig, sunu Lameches,  
 domfæst and gedefe. Drihten wiste  
 1264 bisgodon] bisgodon *with e added above the line after s* 1283 towardan]  
*The second a made by altering e*



- þæt þæs æðelinges ellen dohte  
 breostgehygdum; forðon him brego sægde,  
 1290 halig æt hleoðre, helm allwihta,  
 hwæt he fah werum fremman wolde;  
 geseah unrihte eorðan fulle,  
 side sælwongas synnum gehladene,  
 widlum gewemde. Ða waldend spræc,  
 1295 nergend usser, and to Noe cwæð:  
 "Ic wille mid flode folc acwellan  
 and cynna gehwilc cucra wuhta,  
 þara þe lyft and flod lædað and fedað,  
 feoh and fuglas. Ðu scealt frið habban  
 1300 mid sunum þinum, ðonne sweart wæter,  
 wonne wælstreamas werodum swelgað,  
 sceaðum scyldfullum. Ongyn þe scip wyrcan,  
 merehus micel. On þam þu monegum scealt  
 reste geryman, and rihte setl  
 1305 ælcum æfter agenum eorðan tudre.  
 Gescype scylfan on scipes bosme.  
 Ðu þæt fær gewyrc fiftiges wid,  
 ðrittiges heah and þreohund lang  
 elngemeta, and wið yða gewyrc  
 1310 gefeg fæste. Þær sceal fæsl wesan  
 cwiclifigendra cynna gehwilces  
 on þæt wudufæsten wocor gelæded  
 eorðan tudres; earc sceal þy mare."  
 Noe fremede swa hine nergend heht,  
 1315 hyrde þam halgan hefoncyninge,  
 ongan ofostlice þæt hof wyrcan,  
 micle mercieste. Magum sægde  
 þæt was þrealic þing þeodum toeward,  
 reðe wite. Hie ne rohton þæs!  
 1320 Geseah þa ymb wintra worn wærfæst metod  
 geofonhusa mæst gearo hlifgean,  
 innan and utan eorðan lime

1306 gescype] *y made by altering i (or u, Holthausen)*    1307 þæt] þær  
 1308 and] *Not in MS.*    1314 fremede] *freme*    1319 ne] *A letter, ap-  
 parently g, erased before n*

- gefæstnod wið flode, fær Noes,  
 þy selestan. Þæt is syndrig cynn;  
 1325 symle bið þy heardra þe hit hreoh wæter,  
 swearte sæstreamas swiðor beatað.  
 Ða to Noe cwæð nergend usser:  
 "Ic þe þæs mine, monna leofost,  
 wære gesylle, þæt þu weg nimest  
 1330 and feora fæsl þe þu ferian scealt  
 geond deop wæter dægriemes worn  
 on lides bosme. Læd, swa ic þe hate,  
 under earce bord eaforan þine,  
 frumgaran þry, and eower feower wif.  
 1335 Ond þu seofone genim on þæt sundreced  
 tudra gehwilces geteled rimes,  
 þara þe to mete mannum lifige,  
 and þara oðerra ælces twa.  
 Swilce þu of eallum eorðan wæstmum  
 1340 wiste under wægbord werodum gelæde,  
 þam þe mid sceolon mereflod nesan.  
 Fed freolice feora wocre  
 oð ic þære lafe lagosiða eft  
 reorde under roderum ryman wille.  
 1345 Gewit þu nu mid hiwum on þæt hof gangan,  
 gasta werode. Ic þe godne wat,  
 fæsthydigne; þu eart freoðo wyrðe,  
 ara mid eaforum. Ic on andwlitan  
 nu ofor seofon niht sigan læte  
 1350 wællregn ufan widre eorðan.  
 Feowertig daga fæhðe ic wille  
 on weras stælan and mid wægþreate  
 æhta and agend eall acwellan  
 þa beutan beoð earce bordum  
 1355 þonne sweart racu stigan onginneð."  
 Him þa Noe gewat, swa hine nergend het,  
 under earce bord eaforan lædan,

1335 Ond] *Written out in MS., a large O over the abbreviation?* 1338  
 oðerra] oðe ra *with an erasure after e*

- weras on wægþæl and heora wif somed;  
 and eall þæt to fæslæ frea ælmihtig  
 1360 habban wolde under hrof gefor  
 to heora ætgifan, swa him ælmihtig  
 weroda drihten þurh his word abead.  
 Him on hoh beleac heofonrices weard  
 merehuses muð mundum sinum,  
 1365 sigora waldend, and segnade  
 earce innan aenum spedum  
 nergend usser. Noe hæfde,  
 sunu Lameches, syxhund wintra  
 þa he mid bearnum under bord gestah,  
 1370 gleaw mid geogoðe, be godes hæse,  
 duguðum dyrum. Drihten sende  
 regn from roderum and eac rume let  
 willeburnan on woruld þringan  
 of ædra gehwære, egorstreamas  
 1375 swearte swogan. Sæs up stigon  
 ofer stæðweallas. Strang wæs and reðe  
 se ðe wætrum weold; wraeh and þeahhte  
 manfæhðu bearn middangeardes  
 wonnan wæge, wera eðelland;  
 1380 hof hergode, hygeteonan wræc  
 metod on monnum. Mere swiðe grap  
 on fæge folc feowertig daga,  
 nihta oðer swilc. Nið wæs reðe,  
 wællgrim werum; wuldorcyniges  
 1385 yða wræcon arleasra feorh  
 of flæschoman. Flod ealle wraeh,  
 hreoh under heofonum hea beorgas  
 geond sidne grund and on sund ahof  
 earce from eorðan and þa æðelo mid,  
 1390 þa segnade selfa drihten,  
 scyppend usser, þa he þæt scip beleac.  
 Siððan wide rad wolcnum under  
 ofer holmes hrincg hof seleste,  
 for mid fearme. Fære ne moston



- 1395 wægliðendum wætres brogan  
 hæste hrinon, ac hie halig god  
 ferede and nerede. Fiftena stod  
 deop ofer dunum se drenceflod  
 monnes elna; þæt is mæro wyrd!
- 1400 Þam æt niehstan wæs nan to gedale,  
 nymþe heof wæs ahafen on þa hean lyft,  
 þa se egorhere eorðan tuddor  
 eall acwealde, buton þæt earce bord  
 heold heofona frea, þa hine halig god
- 1405 ece upp forlet edmodne flod  
 streamum stigan, stiðferhð cyning.  
 Þa gemunde god mereliðende,  
 sigora waldend sunu Lameches  
 and ealle þa wocre þe he wið wætre beleac,
- 1410 lifes leohtfruma, on lides bosme.  
 Gelædde þa wigend weroda drihten  
 worde ofer widland. Willflod ongan  
 lytligan eft. Lago ebbade,  
 sweart under swegle. Hæfde soð metod
- 1415 eaforum egstream eft gecyrred,  
 torhtne ryne, regn gestilled.  
 For famig scip L and C  
 nihta under roderum, siððan nægledbord,  
 fær seleste, flod up ahof,
- 1420 oðþæt rimgetæl reðre þrage  
 daga forð gewat. Ða on dunum gesæt  
 heah mid hlæste holmærna mæst,  
 earc Noes, þe Armenia  
 hatene syndon. Þær se halga bad,
- 1425 sunu Lameches, soðra gehata  
 lange þrage, hwonne him lifes weard  
 frea ælmihtig frecenra siða  
 reste ageafe, þæra he rume dreah  
 þa hine on sunde geond sidne grund

1398 se] sæ *blurred and imperfectly altered to se* 1401 heof] heo 1405  
 edmodne] ed monne flod] *Not in MS.* 1416 torhtne] torht 1428  
 þæra] þære

- 1430 wonne yða wide bæron.  
 Holm wæs heononweard; hæleð langode,  
 wægliðende, swilce wif heora,  
 hwonne hie of nearwe ofer nægledbord  
 ofer streamstaðe stæppan mosten
- 1435 and of enge ut æhta lædan.  
 Ða fandode forðweard scipes,  
 hwæðer sincende sæflod þa gyt  
 wære under wolcnum. Let þa ymb worn daga  
 þæs þe heah hlioðo horde onfengon
- 1440 and æðelum eac eorðan tudres  
 sunu Lameches sweartne fleogan  
 hrefn ofer heahflod of huse ut.  
 Noe tealde þæt he on neod hine,  
 gif he on þære lade land ne funde,
- 1445 ofer sid wæter secan wolde  
 on wægþele. Eft him seo wen ge Leah,  
 ac se feonde gespearn fleotende hreaw;  
 salwigfeðera secan nolde.  
 He þa ymb seofon niht sweartum hrefne
- 1450 of earce forlet æfter fleogan  
 ofer heah wæter haswe culufan  
 on fandunga hwæðer famig sæ  
 deop þa gyta dæl ænigne  
 grenre eorðan ofgifen hæfde.
- 1455 Heo wide hire willan sohte  
 and rume fleah. Nohweðere reste fand,  
 þæt heo for flode fotum ne meahte  
 land gespornan ne on leaf treowes  
 steppan for streamum, ac wæron steap hleoðo
- 1460 bewrigen mid wætrum. Gewat se wilda fugel  
 on æfenne earce secan  
 ofer wonne wæg, werig sigan,  
 hungri to handa halgum rince.  
 Ða wæs culufre eft of cofan sended
- 1465 ymb wucan wilde. Seo wide fleah  
 oðþæt heo rumgal restestowe
- 1447 feonde| feond      1451 heah| hea *with final h added above the line*

- fægere funde and þa fotum stop  
 on beam hyre; gefeah bliðemod  
 þæs þe heo gesittan swiðe werig  
 1470 on treowes telgum torhtum moste.  
 Heo feðera onsceoc, gewat fleogan eft  
 mid lacum hire, liðend brohte  
 elebeames twig an to handa,  
 grene blædæ, þa ongeat hraðe  
 1475 flotmonna frea þæt wæs frofor cumen,  
 earfoðsiða bot. þa gyt se eadega wer  
 ymb wucan þridan wilde culufan  
 ane sende. Seo eft ne com  
 to lide fleogan, ac heo land begeat,  
 1480 grene bearwas; nolde gladu æfre  
 under salwed bord syððan ætywān  
 on þellfæstene, þa hire þearf ne wæs.  
 þa to Noe spræc nergend usser,  
 heofonrices weard, halgan reorde:  
 1485 "þe is eðelstol eft gerymed,  
 lisse on lande, lagosiða rest  
 fæger on foldan. Gewit on freðo gangan  
 ut of earce, and on eorðan bearm  
 of þam hean hofe hiwan læd þu  
 1490 and ealle þa wocre þe ic wægþrea on  
 liðe nerede þenden lago hæfde  
 þrymme geþeahhtne þridan eðyl."  
 He fremede swa and frean hyrde,  
 stah ofer streamweall, swa him seo stefn bebead,  
 1495 lustum miclum, and alædde þa  
 of wægþele wraðra lafe.  
 þa Noe ongan nergende lac  
 rædfæst reðran, and recene genam  
 on eallum dæl æhtum sinum,  
 1500 ðam ðe him to dugeðum drihten sealde,  
 gleaw to þam gielde, and þa gode selfum  
 torhtmod hæle tiber onsægde,
- 1469 gesittan] gesette    1491 liðe] hliðe    1492 geþeahhtne] geþeahhte  
 þridan] þrida



- cyninge engla. Huru cuð dyde  
 nergend usser, þa he Noe
- 1505 gebletsade and his bearn somed,  
 þæt he þæt gyld on þanc agifen hæfde  
 and on geogoðhade godum dædum  
 ær gecearnod þæt him ealra wæs  
 ara este ælmihtig god,
- 1510 domfæst dugeþa. þa gyt drihten cwæð,  
 wuldris aldor word to Noe:  
 "Tymað nu and tiedrað, tires brucað,  
 mid gefean fryðo; fyllað eorðan,  
 eall geiceað. Eow is eðelstol
- 1515 and holmes hlæst and heofonfuglas  
 and wildu deor on gewæld geseald,  
 eorðe ælgrene and eacen feoh.  
 Næfre ge mid blode beodgereordu  
 unarlice eowre þicgeað,
- 1520 besmiten mid synne sawldreore.  
 Ælc hine selfa ærest begrindeð  
 gastes dugeðum þæra þe mid gares orde  
 oðrum aldor oðþringeð. Ne ðearf he þy eðlcane gefeon  
 modgeþance, ac ic monnes feorh
- 1525 to slagan sece swiðor micle,  
 and to broðor banan, þæs þe blodgyte,  
 wællfyll weres wæpnum gespedeð,  
 morð mid mundum. Monn wæs to godes  
 anlicnesse ærest gesceapen.
- 1530 Ælc hafað magwlite metodes and engla  
 þara þe healdan wile halige þeawas.  
 Weaxað and wridað, wilna brucað,  
 ara on eorðan; æðelum fyllað  
 eowre fromcynne foldan sceatas,
- 1535 teamum and tudre. Ic eow treowa þæs  
 mine selle, þæt ic on middangeard  
 næfre egorhere eft gelæde,  
 wæter ofer widland. Ge on wolcnum þæs
- 1508 þæt] þa 1515a and] *Not in MS.* heofonfuglas] heofon fugla  
 1517 feoh] *With r written above h* 1522 þæra] þære 1525 sece] seðe

- oft and gelome andgiettacen  
 1540 magon sceawigan, þonne ic scurbogan  
 minne iewe, þæt ic monnum þas  
 wære gelæste, þenden woruld standeð.”  
 Ða wæs se snotra sunu Lamehes  
 of fere acumen flode on laste  
 1545 mid his eaforum þrim, yrfes hyrde  
 (and heora feower wif;  
 nemde wæron Percoba, Olla,  
 Olliua, Olliuiani),  
 wærfæst metode, wætra lafe.  
 1550 Hæleð hygerofe hatene wæron,  
 suna Noes Sem and Cham,  
 Iafeð þridda. From þam gumrincum  
 folc geludon and gefylled wearð  
 eall þes middangeard monna bearnum.  
 1555 Ða Noe ongan niwan stefne  
 mid hleomagum ham staðelian  
 and to eorðan him ætes tilian;  
 won and worhte, wingearde sette,  
 seow sæda fela, sohte georne  
 1560 þa him wlitebeorhte wæstmas brohte,  
 geartorhte gife, grene folde.  
 Ða þæt geeode, þæt se eadega wer  
 on his wicum wearð wine druncen,  
 swæf symbelwerig, and him selfa sceaf  
 1565 reaf of lice. Swa gerysne ne wæs,  
 læg þa limnacod. He lyt ongeat  
 þæt him on his inne swa earme gelamp,  
 þa him on hreðre heafodswima  
 on þæs halgan hofe heortan clypte.  
 1570 Swiðe on slæpe sefa nearwode  
 þæt he ne mihte on gemynd drepen  
 hine handum self mid hrægle wryon  
 and sceome þeccan, swa gesceapu wæron  
 werum and wifum, siððan wuldres þegn  
 1575 ussum fæder and meder fyrene sweorde  
 1539 and] *Not in MS.* 1549 metode] metod 1567 inne] inne

- on laste beleac lifes eðel,  
 þa com ærest Cam in siðian,  
 eafora Noes, þær his aldor læg,  
 ferhðe forstolen. Þær he freondlice  
 1580 on his agenum fæder are ne wolde  
 gesceawian, ne þa sceonde huru  
 hleomagum helan, ac he hlihende  
 broðrum sægde, hu se beorn hine  
 reste on recede. Hie þa raðe stopon,  
 1585 heora andwlitan in bewrigenum  
 under loðum listum, þæt hie leofum men  
 geoce gefremede; gode wæron begen,  
 Sem and Iafeð. Ða of slæpe onbrægd  
 sunu Lamehes, and þa sona ongeat  
 1590 þæt him cynegodum Cham ne wolde,  
 þa him wæs are þearf, ænige cyðan  
 hyldo and treowa. Þæt þam halgan wæs  
 sar on mode, ongan þa his selves bearn  
 wordum wyrgan, cwæð, he wesan sceolde  
 1595 hean under heofnum, hleomaga þeow,  
 Cham on eorþan; him þa cwyde syððan  
 and his fromcynne frecne scodon.  
 þa nyttade Noe siððan  
 mid sunum sinum sidan rices  
 1600 ðreohund wintra þisses lifes,  
 freomen æfter flode, and fiftig eac, þa he forð gewat.  
 Siððan his eaforan ead bryttedon,  
 bearna stryndon; him wæs beorht wela.  
 þa wearð Iafeðe geogoð afeded,  
 1605 hyhtlic heorðwerod heafodmaga,  
 sunu and dohtra. He wæs selfa til,  
 heold a rice, eðeldreamas,  
 blæd mid bearnum, oðþæt breosta hord,  
 gast ellorfus gangan sceolde  
 1610 to godes dome. Geomor siððan  
 fæder flettgesteald freondum dælde,  
 1579 ferhðe|ferðe with h above the line after r



- swæsum and gesibbum, sunu Iafeðes;  
 þæs teames wæs tuddor gefylled  
 unlytel dæl eorðan gesceafta.
- 1615 Swilce Chames suno cende wurdon,  
 eaforan on eðle; þa yldestan  
 Chus and Chanan hatene wæron,  
 ful freolice feorh, frumbearn Chames.  
 Chus wæs æðelum heafodwisa,
- 1620 wilna brytta and worulddugeða  
 broðrum sinum, botlgestreona,  
 fæder on laste, siððan forð gewat  
 Cham of lice, þa him cwealm gesceod.  
 Se magoræswa mægðe sinre
- 1625 domas sægde, oðþæt his dogora wæs  
 rim aurnen. Ða se rinc ageaf  
 eorðcunde ead, sohte oðer lif,  
 fæder Nebroðes. Frumbearn siððan  
 eafora Chuses yrfestole weold,
- 1630 widmære wer, swa us gewritu secgeað,  
 þæt he moncynnnes mæste hæfde  
 on þam mældagum mægen and strengo.  
 Se wæs Babylones bregorices fruma,  
 ærest æðelinga; eðelðrym onhof,
- 1635 rymde and rærde. Reord wæs þa gieta  
 eorðbuendum an gemænc.  
 Swilce of Cames cneorisse woc  
 wermægða fela; of þam widfolce  
 cneorim micel cenned wæron.
- 1640 Ða wearð Seme suna and dohtra  
 on woruldrice worn afeded,  
 freora bearna, ær ðon frod cure  
 wintrum wælreste werodes aldor.  
 On þære mægðe wæron men tile,
- 1645 þara an wæs Eber haten,  
 eafora Semes; of þam eorle woc  
 unrim þeoda, þa nu æðelingas,
- 1617 Chanan] cham    1628 Nebroðes] nebreðer    1630 swa] wwa  
 1637 Swilce] Svilce    1638 widfolce] wid folc    1642 frod] forð

ealle eorðbuend, Ebrei hatað.

- Gewiton him þa eastan æhta lædan,  
 1650 feoh and feorme. Folc wæs anmod;  
 rofe rincas sohton rumre land,  
 oðþæt hie becomon corðrum miclum,  
 folc ferende, þær hie fæstlice  
 æðelinga bearn, eard genamon.
- 1655 Gesetton þa Sennar sidne and widne  
 leoda ræswan; leofum mannum  
 heora geardagum grene wongas,  
 fægre foldan, him forðwearde  
 on ðære dægtide duguðe wæron,
- 1660 wilna gehwilces weaxende sped.  
 Ða þær mon mænig be his mægwine,  
 æðeling anmod, oðerne bæd  
 þæs hie him to mærdæ, ær seo mengeo eft  
 geond foldan bearm tofaran sceolde,
- 1665 leoda mægðe on landsocne  
 burh geworhte and to beacne torr  
 up arærde to rodortunglum.  
 Þæs þe hie gesohton Sennera feld,  
 swa þa foremeahtige folces ræswan,
- 1670 þa yldestan oft and gelome  
 liðsum gewunedon; larum sohton  
 weras to weorce and to wrohtscipe,  
 oðþæt for wlence and for wonhygdum  
 cyðdon cræft heora, ceastre worhton
- 1675 and to heofnum up hlædræ rærdon,  
 strengum stepton stænenne weall  
 ofer monna gemet, mærdæ georne,  
 hæleð mid honda. þa com halig god  
 weras cneorissa weorc sceawigan,
- 1680 beorna burhfæsten, and þæt beacen somed,  
 þe to roderum up ræran ongunnon  
 Adames eaforan, and þæs unrædes  
 stiðferhð cyning steore gefremede,

1664 bearm] bearn 1674 ceastre] ea altered from some other letter, probably m 1676 stænenne] stænnene

- þa he reðemod reorde gesette  
 1685 eorðbuendum ungelice,  
 þæt hie þære spæce sped ne ahton.  
 þa hie gemitton mihtum spedge,  
 teoche æt torre, getalum myclum,  
 weorces wisan, ne þær wermægða  
 1690 ænig wiste hwæt oðer cwæð.  
 Ne meahte hie gewurðan weall stænenne  
 up forð timbran, ac hie earmlice  
 heapum tohlocon, hleoðrum gedælde;  
 wæs oðerre æghwiltc worden  
 1695 mægburh fremde, siððan metod tobræd  
 þurh his mihta sped monna spræce.  
 Toforan þa on feower wegas  
 æðelinga bearn ungeþeode  
 on landsocne. Him on laste bu  
 1700 stiðlic stantorr and seo steape burh  
 samod samworht on Sennar stod.  
 Weox þa under wolcnum and wriðade  
 mægburh Semes, oðþæt mon awoc  
 on þære cneorisse, cynebearna rim,  
 1705 þancolmod wer, þeawum hydig.  
 Wurdon þam æðelinge eaforan acende,  
 in Babilone bearn afeded  
 freolicu tu, and þa frumgaran,  
 hæleð higerofe, hatene wæron  
 1710 Abraham and Aaron; þam eorlum wæs  
 frea engla þam freond and aldor.  
 Ða wearð Aarone eafora feded,  
 leoflic on life, ðam wæs Loth noma.  
 Ða magorincas metode geþungon,  
 1715 Abraham and Loth, unforcuðlice,  
 swa him from yldrums æðelu wæron  
 on woruldrice; forðon hie wide nu  
 dugeðum demað drihtfolca bearn.

1693 tohlocon] tohlodon 1694 oðerre] oðere 1710 wæs] wees *with the first e altered to a* 1711 freond] freed 1718 drihtfolca bearn] drihta bearnum



- Ða þæs mæles wæs mearc agongen  
 1720 þæt him Abraham idese brohte,  
 wif to hame, þær he wic ahte,  
 fæger and freolic. Seo fæmne wæs  
 Sarra haten, þæs þe us secgeað bec.  
 Hie þa wintra fela woruld bryttedon,  
 1725 sinc ætsomne, sibbe heoldon  
 geara mengeo. Nohwæðre gifeðe wearð  
 Abraham þa gyt þæt him yrfeward  
 wlitebeorht ides on woruld brohte,  
 Sarra Abraham, suna and dohtra.  
 1730 Gewat him þa mid cnosle ofer Caldea folc  
 feran mid feorme fæder Abrahames;  
 snotor mid gesibbum secean wolde  
 Cananea land. Hine cneowmægas,  
 metode gecorene mid siðedon  
 1735 of þære eðeltyrf, Abraham and Loth.  
 Him þa cynegode on Carran  
 æðelinga bearn eard genamon,  
 weras mid wifum. On þam wicum his  
 fæder Abrahames feorh gesealde,  
 1740 wærfæst hæle; wintra hæfde  
 twa hundteontig, geteled rime,  
 and fife eac, þa he forð gewat  
 misserum frod methodsceaft seon.  
 Ða se halga spræc, heofonrices weard,  
 1745 to Abraham, ece drihten:  
 "Gewit þu nu feran and þine fare lædan,  
 ceapas to cnosle. Carran ofgif,  
 fæder eðelstol. Far, swa ic þe hate,  
 monna leofost, and þu minum wel  
 1750 larum hyre, and þæt land gesec  
 þe ic þe ælgrene ywan wille,  
 brade foldan. Þu gebletsad scealt  
 on mundbyrde minre lifigan.  
 Gif ðe ænig eorðbuendra  
 1755 mid wean greteð, ic hine wergðo on

1722 was] *Added above the line*      1747 Carran] *carram*

- mine sette and modhete,  
longsumne nið; lisse selle,  
wilna wæstmne þam þe wurðiað.  
þurh þe eorðbuende ealle onfoð,  
1760 folcbearn freoðo and freondscipe,  
blisse minre and bletsunge  
on woruldrice. Wriðende sceal  
mægðe þinre monrim wesan  
swiðe under swegle sunum and dohtrum,  
1765 oðþæt fromcyme folde weorðeð,  
þeodlond monig þine gefylled.”  
Him þa Abraham gewat æhte lædan  
of Egipta eðelmeorce,  
gumcystum god, golde and seolfre  
1770 swiðfeorm and gesælig, swa him sigora weard,  
waldend usser þurh his word abead,  
ceapas from Carran; sohton Cananea  
lond and leodgeard. Þa com leof gode  
on þa eðelturf idesa lædan,  
1775 swæse gebeddand and his suhtrian  
wif on willan. Wintra hæfde  
fif and hundseofontig ða he faran sceolde,  
Carran ofgifan and cneowmagas.  
Him þa feran gewat fæder ælmihtiges  
1780 lare gemyndig land sceawian  
geond þa folcsceare be frean hæse  
Abraham wide, oðþæt ellenrof  
to Sicem com siðe spedig,  
cynne Cananeis. Þa hine cyning engla  
1785 Abrahame ieuwde selfa,  
domfæst wereda and drihten cwæð:  
“Þis is seo eorðe þe ic ælgrene  
tudre þinum torhte wille  
wæstmum gewlo on geweald don,  
1790 rume rice.” Þa se rinc gode  
wibed worhte and þa waldende  
1758 wilna] n over l erased? 1764 swegle| segle with w added above the  
line after s 1783 Sicem] siem

- lifes leohtfruman lac onsægde  
 gasta helme. Him þa gyt gewat  
 Abraham eastan eagam wlitan
- 1795 on landa cyst, (lisse gemunde  
 heofonweardes gehat, þa him þurh halig word  
 sigora selfcýning soð gecyðde),  
 oðþæt drihtwas duguþum geforan  
 þær is botlwela Bethlem haten.
- 1800 Beorn bliðemod and his broðor sunu  
 forð oferforan folcmæro land  
 eastan mid æhtum, æfæste men  
 weallsteapan hleoðu, and him þa wic curon  
 þær him wlitebeorhte wongas gepuhton.
- 1805 Abraham þa oðere siðe  
 wibed worhte. He þær wordum god  
 torhtum cigde, tiber onsægde  
 his liffrean, (him þæs lean ageaf  
 nalles hneawlice þurh his hand metend),
- 1810 on þam gledstýde gumcystum til.  
 Ðær ræsbora þrage siððan  
 wicum wunode and wilna breac,  
 beorn mid bryde, oðþæt brohþrea  
 Cananea wearð cynne getenge,
- 1815 hunger se hearda, hamsittendum,  
 wælgrim werum. Him þa wishydig  
 Abraham gewat on Egypte,  
 drihtne gecoren, drohtað secan,  
 fleah wærfæst wean; wæs þæt wite to strang.
- 1820 Abraham maðelode, geseah Egypta  
 hornsele hwite and hea byrig  
 beorhte blican; ongan þa his bryd frea,  
 wishydig wer, wordum læran:  
 "Siððan Egypte eagam moton
- 1825 on þinne wlite wlitan wlance monige,  
 þonne æðelinga eorlas wenað,  
 mæg ælfscieno, þæt þu min sie

1795 landa| lande    1809 hneawlice| hnea lice *with space for one letter  
 between*



- beorht gebedda, þe wile beorna sum  
 him geagnian. Ic me onegan mæg  
 1830 þæt me wraðra sum wæpnes ecge  
 for freondmynde feore beneote.  
 Saga þu, Sarra, þæt þu sie sweostor min,  
 lices mæge, þonne þe leodweras  
 fremde fricgen hwæt sie freondlufu  
 1835 ellðeodigra uncer twega,  
 feorren cumenra. Þu him fæste hel  
 soðan spræce; swa þu minum scealt  
 feore gebeorgan, gif me freoðo drihten  
 on woruldrice, waldend usser,  
 1840 an ælmihtig, swa he ær dyde,  
 lengran lifes. Se us þas lade sceop,  
 þæt we on Egiptum are sceolde  
 fremena friclan and us fremu secan.”  
 Ða com ellenrof eorl siðian,  
 1845 Abraham mid æhtum on Egypte,  
 þær him folcweras fremde wæron,  
 wine uncuðe. Wordum spræcon  
 ymb þæs wifes wlite wlonce monige,  
 dugeðum dealle; him drihtlicu mæg,  
 1850 on wlite modgum mænegum ðuhte,  
 cyninges þegnum. Hie þæt cuð dydon  
 heora folcfrean þæt fægerro lyt  
 for æðelinge idesa sunnon,  
 ac hie Sarran swiðor micle,  
 1855 wynsumne wlite wordum heredon,  
 oðþæt he lædan heht leoffic wif to  
 his selfes sele. Sinces brytta,  
 æðelinga helm heht Abrahame  
 duguðum stepan. Hwæðere drihten wearð,  
 1860 frea Faraone fah and yrre  
 for wifmyne; þæs wraðe ongeald  
 hearde mid hiwum hægstealdra wyn.  
 Ongæt hwæðere gumena aldor

1829 onegan] on agen    1836 feorren] n *altered from m*    1852 þæt] *Ab-*  
*brevisation for* and    1853 idesa] *idese*

- hwæt him waldend wræc witeswingum;  
 1865 heht him Abraham to egesum geðreadne  
 brego Egipto, and his bryd ageaf,  
 wif to gewearde; heht him wine ceosan,  
 ellor æðelingas, oðre dugeðe.  
 Aþeod þa þeodcyning þegnum sinum,  
 1870 ombihtscealcum, þæt hie hine arlice  
 ealles onsundne eft gebrohten  
 of þære folcsceare, þæt he on friðe wære.  
 Ða Abraham æhte lædde  
 of Egypta eðelmearce;  
 1875 hie ellenrofe idese feredon,  
 bryd and begas, þæt hie to Bethlem  
 on cuðe wic ceapas læddon,  
 eadge eorðwelan oðre siðe,  
 wif on willan and heora woruldgestreon.  
 1880 Ongunnon him þa bytlian and heora burh ræran,  
 and sele settan, salo niwian.  
 Weras on wonge wibed setton  
 neah þam þe Abraham æror rærde  
 his waldende þa westan com.  
 1885 þær se eadga eft ecan drihtnes  
 niwan stefne noman weorðade;  
 tilmodig eorl tiber onsægde  
 þeodne engla, þancode swiðe  
 lifes leohtfruman lisse and ara.  
 1890 Wunedon on þam wicum, hæfdon wilna geniht  
 Abraham and Loth. Ead bryttedon,  
 oðþæt hie on þam lande ne meahton leng somed  
 blædes brucan and heora begra þær  
 æhte habban, ac sceoldon arfæste,  
 1895 þa rincas þy rumor secan  
 ellor eðelseld. Oft wæron teonan  
 wærfæstra wera weredum gemæne,  
 heardum hearmplega. Þa se halga ongan  
 ara gemyndig Abraham sprecan  
 1900 fægere to Lothe: "Ic eom fædera þin  
 1879 on] *Abbreviation for and*

- sibgebyrdum, þu min suhterga.  
 Ne sceolon unc betweonan teonan weaxan,  
 wroht wriðian— ne þæt wille god!  
 Ac wit synt gemagas; unc gemæne ne sceal  
 1905 elles awiht, nymþe eall tela  
 lufu langsumu. Nu þu, Loth, geþenc,  
 þæt unc modige ymb mearce sittað,  
 þeoda þrymfæste þegnum and gesiððum,  
 folc Cananea and Feretia,  
 1910 rofum rincum. Ne willað rumor unc  
 landriht heora; forðon wit lædan sculon,  
 teon of þisse stowe, and unc staðolwangas  
 rumor secan. Ic ræd sprece,  
 bearn Arones, begra uncer,  
 1915 soðne secge. Ic þe selves dom  
 life, leofa. Leorna þe seolfa  
 and geþancmeta þine mode  
 on hwilce healfe þu wille hwyrft don,  
 cyrran mid ceape, nu ic þe cyst ahead.”  
 1920 Him þa Loth gewat land sceawigan  
 be Iordane, grene eorðan.  
 Seo wæs wætrum weaht and wæstmum þeaht,  
 lægostreamum leoht, and gelic godes  
 neorxnawange, oðþæt nergend god  
 1925 for wera synnum wylme gesealde  
 Sodomian and Gomorran, sweartan lige.  
 Him þa eard geceas and eðelsetl  
 sunu Arones on Sodoma byrig;  
 æhte sine ealle lædde,  
 1930 beagas from Bethlem and botlgestreon,  
 welan, wunden gold. Wunode siððan  
 be Iordane geara mænego.  
 Þær folcstede fægre wæron,  
 men arlease, metode laðe.  
 1935 Wæron Sodomisc cynn synnum þriste,  
 dædum gedwolene; drugon heora selfra  
 1912 teon of] teon wit of 1924 neorxna-] neoxna oðþæt] on þæt  
 1929 ealle lædde] *Not in MS.*



- ecne unræd. Æfre ne wolde  
 þam leodþeawum Loth onfon,  
 ac he þære mægðe monwisan fleah,  
 1940 þeah þe he on þam lande lifian sceolde,  
 facen and fyrene, and hine fægre heold,  
 þeawfæst and geþyldig on þam þeodscipe,  
 emne þon gelicost, lara gemyndig,  
 þe he ne cuðe hwæt þa cynn dydon.  
 1945 Abraham wunode eðleardum  
 Cananea forð. Hine cyning engla,  
 metod moncynnes mundbyrde heold,  
 wilna wæstmum and worulddugeðum,  
 lufum and lissum; forþon his lof secgað  
 1950 wide under wolcnum wera cneorisse,  
 foldwonga bearn. He frean hyrde  
 estum on eðle, ðenden he eardes breac,  
 halig and higefrod; næfre hleowlora  
 æt edwihtan æfre weorðeð  
 1955 feorhberendra forht and acol,  
 mon for metode, þe him æfter a  
 þurh gemynda sped mode and dædum,  
 worde and gewitte, wise þance,  
 oð his ealdorgedal oleccan wile.  
 1960 Ða ic aldor gefrægn Elamitarna  
 fromne folctogan, fyrð gebedan,  
 Orlahomar; him Ambrafel  
 of Sennar side worulde  
 for on fultum. Gewiton hie feower þa  
 1965 þeodcyningas þrymme micle  
 secan suð ðanon Sodoman and Gomorran.  
 Ða wæs guðþergum be Iordane  
 wera eðelland wide geondsended,  
 folde feondum. Sceolde forht monig  
 1970 blachleor ides bifiende gan  
 on fremdes fæðm; feollon wergend  
 bryda and beaga, bennum seoce.
- 1938 Loth] leoht    1951 foldwonga] full wona    1953 hleowlora] hleor lora  
 1957 mode] mod

- Him þa togeanes mid guðþræce  
fife foran folccyningas
- 1975 sweotum suðon, woldon Sodome burh  
wraðum werian; þa wintra XII  
norðmonnum ær niede sceoldon  
gombon gielðan and gafol sellan,  
oðþæt þa leode leng ne woldon
- 1980 Elamitarna aldor swiðan  
folcgestreonum, ac him from swicon.  
Foron þa tosomne (francan wæron hlude),  
wraðe wælherigas. Sang se wanna fugel  
under deoreðscaftum, deawigfeðera,
- 1985 hræs on wenan. Hæleð onetton  
on mægencorðrum, modum þryðge,  
oðþæt folcgetrume gefaren hæfdon  
sid tosomne suðan and norðan,  
helmum þeahhte. Þær wæs heard plega,
- 1990 wælgara wrixl, wigcyrn micel,  
hlud hildesweg. Handum brugdon  
hæleð of scæðum hringmæled sweord,  
ecgum dihtig. Þær wæs eaðfynde  
eorle orlegceap, se ðe ær ne wæs
- 1995 niðes genihtsum. Norðmen wæron  
suðfolcum swice; wurdon Sodomware  
and Gomorre, goldes bryttan,  
æt þæm lindcrodan leofum bedrorene,  
fyrdgesteallum. Gewiton feorh heora
- 2000 fram þam folcstyde fleame nergan,  
secgum ofslegene; him on swaðe feollon  
æðelinga bearn, ecgum ofþegde,  
willgesiððas. Hæfde wigsigor  
Elamitarna ordes wisa,
- 2005 weold wælstowe. Gewat seo wæpna laf  
fæsten secan. Fynd gold strudon,  
ahyðdan þa mid herge hordburh wera,  
Sodoman and Gomorran, þa sæl ageald,  
mære ceastra. Mægð siðedon,
- 1986 þryðge] þrydge      2007 ahyðdan] ahudan

2010 fæmnan and wuduwan, freondum beslægene,  
 from hleowstole. Hettend læddon  
 ut mid æhtum Abrahames mæg  
 of Sodoma byrig. We þæt soð magon  
 secgan furður, hwelc siððan wearð

2015 æfter þæm gehnæste herewulfa sið,  
 þara þe læddon Loth and leoda god,  
 suðmonna sinc, sigore gulpon.

Him þa secg hraðe gewat siðian,  
 an gara laf, se ða guðe genæs,

2020 Abraham secan. Se þæt orlegweorc  
 þam Ebriscan eorle gecyðde,  
 forslegen swiðe Sodoma folc,  
 leoda duguðe and Lothes sið.

þa þæt inwitspell Abraham sægde

2025 freondum sinum; bæd him fultumes  
 wærfæst hæleð willgeðoftan,  
 Aner and Manre, Escol þridan,  
 cwæð þæt him wære weorce on mode,  
 sorga sarost, þæt his suhtriga

2030 þeownyd þolode; bæd him þræcrofe  
 þa rincas þæs ræd ahicgan,  
 þæt his hyldemæg ahreded wurde,  
 beorn mid bryde. Him þa broðor þry  
 æt spræce þære spedum miclum

2035 hældon hygesorge heardum wordum,  
 ellenrofe, and Abrahame  
 treowa sealdon, þæt hie his torn mid him  
 gewræcon on wraðum, oððe on wæl feollan.

þa se halga heht his heorðwerod

2040 wæpna onfon. He þær wigena fand,  
 æscherendra, XVIII  
 and CCC eac þeodenholdra,  
 þara þe he wiste þæt meahste wel æghwylc  
 on fyrd wegana fealwe linde.

2045 Him þa Abraham gewat and þa corlas þry

2032 ahreded] ahred 2038 feollan] feallan 2040 onfon] ofon *with n*  
*added above the line before f* 2042 þeodenholdra] þeonden holdra



- þe him ær treowe sealdon mid heora folcgetrume;  
 wolde his mæg huru,  
 Loth alynnan of laðscipe.  
 Rincas wæron rofe, randas wægon
- 2050 forð fromlice on foldwege.  
 Hildewulfas herewicum neh  
 gefaren hæfdon. þa he his frumgaran,  
 wishydig wer, wordum sægde,  
 þares afera, him wæs þearf micel
- 2055 þæt hie on twa healfe  
 grimme guðgemot gystum eowdon  
 heardne handplegan; cwæð þæt him se halga,  
 ece drihten, eaðe mihte  
 æt þam spereniðe spede lænan.
- 2060 þa ic neðan gefrægn under nihtscuwan  
 hæleð to hilde. Hlyn wearð on wicum  
 scylda and sceafta, sceotendra fyll,  
 guðflana gegrind; gripon unfægre  
 under sceat werum scharpe garas,
- 2065 and feonda feorh feollon ðicce,  
 þær hlihende huðe feredon  
 secgas and gesiððas. Sigor eft ahwearf  
 of norðmonna niðgeteone,  
 æstir wera. Abraham sealde
- 2070 wig to wedde, nalles wunden gold,  
 for his suhtrigan, sloh and fylde  
 feond on fitte. Him on fultum grap  
 heofonrices weard. Hergas wurdon  
 feower on fleame, folccyningas,
- 2075 leode ræswan. Him on laste stod  
 hihtlic heorðwerod, and hæleð lagon,  
 on swaðe sæton, þa þe Sodoma  
 and Gomorra golde berofan,  
 bestrudon stigwitung. Him þæt stiðe geald
- 2080 fædera Lothes. Fleonde wæron

2046 folcgetrume] folce getrume    2049 wæron] waron    rofe] f *altered*  
*from r*    wægon] g *altered from r?*    2055 hie] he    2058 eaðe] eað  
 2080 wæron] *Not in MS.*

- Elamitarna aldorduguðe  
dome bedrorene, oðþæt hie Domasco  
unfeor wæron. Gewat him Abraham ða  
on þa wigrode wiðertrod seon
- 2085 laðra monna. Loth wæs ahreded,  
eorl mid æhtum, idesa hwurfon,  
wif on willan. Wide gesawon  
freora feorhbanan fuglas slitan  
on ecgwale. Abraham ferede
- 2090 suðmonna eft sinc and bryda,  
æðelinga bearn, oðle nior,  
mægeð heora magum. Næfre mon ealra  
lifigendra her lytle werede  
þon wurðlicor wigsिð ateah,
- 2095 þara þe wið swa miclum mægne geræsde.  
þa wæs suð þanon Sodoma folce  
guðspell wegen, hwelc gromra wearð  
feonda fromlād. Gewat him frea leoda,  
eorlum bedroren, Abraham secan,
- 2100 freonda feasceaft. Him ferede mid  
Solomia sines hyrde;  
þæt wæs se mæra Melchisedec,  
leoda bisceop. Se mid lacum com  
fyrdrinca fruman fægre gretan,
- 2105 Abraham arlice, and him on sette  
godes bletsunge, and swa gyddode:  
“Wæs ðu gewurðod on wera rime  
for þæs eagum þe ðe æsca tir  
æt guðe forgeaf! þæt is god selfa,
- 2110 se ðe hettendra herga þrymmas  
on geweald gebræc, and þe wæpnum læt  
rancstræte forð rume wyrcan,  
huðe ahreddan and hæleð fyllan.  
On swaðe sæton; ne meahton siðwerod
- 2115 guðe spowan, ac hie god flymde,  
se ðe æt feohtan mid frumgarum  
wið ofermægnes egsan sceolde
- 2096 folce] folc    2097 wegen] wegan    2107 Wæs] wær

- handum sinum, and halegu treow,  
seo þu wið rodora weard rihte healdest.”
- 2120 Him þa se beorn bletsunga lean  
þurh hand ageaf, and þæs hereteames  
ealles teoðan sceat Abraham sealde  
godes biscope. Ða spræc guðcyning,  
Sodoma aldor, secgum befyllend,  
2125 to Abrahame (him wæs ara þearf):  
“Forgif me mennen minra leoda,  
þe þu ahreddest herges cræftum  
wera wælclommum! Hafa þe wunden gold  
þæt ær agen wæs ussum folce,  
2130 feoh and frætwa! Læt me freo lædan  
eft on eðel æðelinga bearn,  
on weste wic wif and cnihtas,  
earme wydewan! Eaforan syndon deade,  
folcgesiðas, nymðe fea ane,  
2135 þe me mid sceoldon mearce healdan.”  
Him þa Abraham andswarode  
ædre for eorlum, elne gewurðod,  
dome and sigore, drihtlice spræc:  
“Ic þe gehate, hæleða waldend,  
2140 for þam halgan, þe heofona is  
and þisse eorðan agendfrea,  
wordum minum, nis woruldfeoh,  
þe ic me agan wille,  
sceat ne scilling, þæs ic on sceotendum,  
2145 þeoden mæra, þines ahredde,  
æðelinga helm, þy læs þu eft cweðe  
þæt ic wurde, willgesteallum,  
eadig on eorðan ærgestreonum  
Sodoma rices; ac þu selfa most heonon  
2150 huðe lædan, þe ic þe æt hilde gesloh,  
ealle buton dæle þissa drihtwera,  
Aneres and Mamres and Escolles.

2135–2136 mid . . . Abraham] *Written in above the line*  
ge *written over an erasure* 2141 and] *Not in MS.*  
selfa] *Not in MS.*

2137 gewurðod]  
2149 rices] rice



- Nelle ic þa rincas rihte benæman,  
 ac hie me fulleodon æt æsþræce,  
 2155 fuhton þe æfter frofre. Gewit þu ferian nu  
 ham hyrsted gold and healsmægeð,  
 leoda idesa. Þu þe laðra ne þearft  
 hæleða hildþræce hwile onsittan,  
 norðmanna wig; ac nefuglas  
 2160 under beorhhleoþum blodige sittað,  
 þeodherga wæle þicce gefylled.”  
 Gewat him þa se healdend ham siðian  
 mid þy hereteame þe him se halga forgeaf,  
 Ebrea leod arna gemyndig.  
 2165 Þa gen Abrahame eowde selfa  
 heofona heahcyning halige spræce,  
 trymede tilmodigne and him to reordode:  
 “Meda syndon micla þina! Ne læt þu þe þin mod  
 asealcan,  
 wærfæst willan mines! Ne þearft þu þe wiht ondrædan,  
 2170 þenden þu mine lare læstest, ac ic þe lifigende her  
 wið weana gehwam wreo and scylde  
 folmum minum; ne þearft þu forht wesan.”  
 Abraham þa andswarode,  
 dædrof drihtne sinum, frægn hine dægrime frod:  
 2175 “Hwæt gifest þu me, gasta waldend,  
 freomanna to frofre, nu ic þus feasceaft eom?  
 Ne þearf ic yrfestol eaforan bytlian  
 ænegum minra, ac me æfter sculon  
 mine woruldmagas welan bryttian.  
 2180 Ne sealdest þu me sunu; forðon mec sorg dreceð  
 on sefan swiðe. Ic sylf ne mæg  
 ræd ahycgan. Gæð gerefa min  
 fægen freobearnum; fæste mynteð  
 ingeþancum þæt me æfter sie  
 2185 eaforan sine yrfeweardas.

2159 ac nefuglas] eacne fuglas 2160 blodige] blodig 2161 wæle]  
 wæl 2164 gemyndig] gem at end of a line with m partly erased, and  
 myndig at beginning of the next line 2171 gehwam] wa written over an  
 erasure 2174 frægn] æg written over an erasure

- Geseoð þæt me of bryde bearn ne wocon.”  
 Him þa ædre god andswarode:  
 “Næfre gerefan rædað þine  
 eafora yrfe, ac þin agen bearn  
 2190 frætwa healdeð, þonne þin flæsc ligeð.  
 Sceawa heofon, and hyrste gerim,  
 rodores tungel, þa nu rume heora  
 wuldorfæstne wlite wide dælað  
 ofer brad brymu beorhte scinan.  
 2195 Swilc bið mægburge menigo þinre  
 folcbearnum frome. Ne læt þu þin ferhð wesan  
 sorgum asæled. Gien þe sunu weorðeð,  
 bearn of bryde þurh gebyrd cumen,  
 se ðe æfter bið yrfes hyrde,  
 2200 gode mære. Ne geomra þu!  
 Ic eom se waldend se þe for wintra fela  
 of Caldea ceastre alædde,  
 feowera sumne, gehet þe folcstede  
 wide to gewearde. Ic þe wære nu,  
 2205 mago Ebra, mine selle,  
 þæt sceal fromcynne folde þine,  
 sidland manig, geseted wurðan,  
 eorðan sceatas oð Eufraten,  
 and from Egypta eðelmearce  
 2210 swa mid niðas swa Nilus sceadeð  
 and eft Wendelsæ wide rice.  
 Eall þæt sculon agan eaforan þine,  
 þeodlanda gehwilc, swa þa þreo wæter  
 steape stanbyrig streamum bewindað,  
 2215 famige flodas folcmægða byht.”  
 þa wæs Sarran sar on mode,  
 þæt him Abrahamæ ænig ne wearð  
 þurh gebedscipe bearn gemæne,  
 freolic to frofre. Ongann þa ferhðcearig
- 2191 and] *Not in MS.* 2195 mægburge] mæg burh 2197 asæled] asæled 2203 feowera] o altered from w 2210b swa] twa 2211 Wendelsæ] wendeð sæ 2216 Sarran] sar at end of a line, followed by a letter erased, possibly a, with ran at beginning of next line

- 2220 to were sinum wordum mæðlan:  
 “Me þæs forwyrnde waldend heofona,  
 þæt ic mægburge moste þinre  
 rim miclian roderum under  
 eaforum þinum. Nu ic eom orwena
- 2225 þæt unc se eðylstæf æfre weorðe  
 gifeðe ætgædere. Ic eom geomorfrod!  
 Drihten min, do swa ic þe bidde!  
 Her is fæmne, freolecu mæg,  
 ides Egyptisc, an on gewealde.
- 2230 Hat þe þa recene reste gestigan,  
 and afanda hwæðer frea wille  
 ænigne þe yrfewearda  
 on woruld lætan þurh þæt wif cuman.”  
 Ða se eadega wer idese larum
- 2235 geðafode, heht him þeowmennen  
 on bedd gan bryde larum.  
 Hire mod astah þa heo wæs magotimbre  
 be Abrahame eacen worden.  
 Ongan æþancum agendfreat
- 2240 halsfæst herian, higeþryðe wæg,  
 wæs laðwendo, lustum ne wolde  
 þeowdom þolian, ac heo þriste ongan  
 wið Sarran swiðe winnan.  
 Ða ic þæt wif gefrægn wordum cyðan
- 2245 hire mandrihtne modes sorge,  
 sarferhð sægde and swiðe cwæð:  
 “Ne fremest þu gerysnu and riht wið me.  
 Ðafodest þu gena þæt me þeowmennen,  
 siððan Agar ðe, idese laste,
- 2250 beddreste gestah, swa ic bena wæs,  
 drehte dogora gehwam dædum and wordum  
 unarlice. Ðæt Agar sceal ongieldan,  
 gif ic mot for þe mine wealdan,  
 Abraham leofa. Ðæs sie ælmihtig,

2225 se] seo eðylstæf] Followed by a letter erased; a second f? 2251  
 drehte] drehta gehwam] geham 2252 Agar] agan ongieldan] Not  
 in MS.



- 2255 drihtna drihten, dema mid unc twih."  
 Hire þa ædre andswarode  
 wishidig wer wordum sinum:  
 "Ne forlæte ic þe, þenden wit lifiað bu,  
 arna lease, ac þu þin agen most
- 2260 mennen ateon, swa þin mod freoð."  
 Ða wearð unbliðe Abrahames cwen,  
 hire worcþeowe wrað on mode,  
 heard and hreðe, higeteonan spræc  
 fræcne on fæmnan. Heo þa fleon gewat
- 2265 þrea and þeowdom; þolian ne wolde  
 yfel and ondlean, þæs ðe ær dyde  
 to Sarran, ac heo on sið gewat  
 westen secan. Þær hie wuldres þegn,  
 engel drihtnes an gemitte
- 2270 geomormode, se hie georne frægn:  
 "Hwider fundast þu, feascaft ides,  
 siðas dreogan? Þec Sarre ah."  
 Heo him ædre andswarode:  
 "Ic fleah wean, wana wilna gehwilces,
- 2275 hlæfdigan hete, hean of wicum,  
 tregan and teonan. Nu sceal tearighleor  
 on westenne witodes bidan,  
 hwonne of heortan hunger oððe wulf  
 sawle and sorge somed abregde."
- 2280 Hire þa se engel andswarode:  
 "Ne ceara þu feor heonon fleame dælan  
 somwist incre, ac þu sece eft,  
 earna þe ara, eaðmod ongin  
 dreogan æfter dugeðum, wes drihtenhold.
- 2285 þu scealt, Agar, Abrahame sunu  
 on woruld bringan. Ic þe wordum nu  
 minum secge, þæt se magorinc sceal  
 mid yldum wesan Ismahel haten.  
 Se bið unhyre, orlæggifre,
- 2290 and wiðbreca wera cneorissum,

2255 drihtna] *Not in MS.* twih] twig *with h above g* 2290 and] *Not in MS.*

- magum sinum; hine monige on  
 wraðe winnað mid wæpenþræce.  
 Of þam frumgaran folc awæcniad,  
 þeod unmæte. Gewit þu þinne eft  
 2295 waldend secan; wuna þæm þe agon!"  
 Heo þa ædre gewat engles larum  
 hire hlafordum, swa se halga bebead,  
 godes ærendgast, gleawan spræce.  
 Ða wearð Abrahame Ismael geboren,  
 2300 efne þa he on worulde wintra hæfde  
 VI and LXXX. Sunu weox and ðah,  
 swa se engel ær þurh his agen word,  
 fæle freoðoscealc, fæmnan sægde.  
 Ða se ðeoden ymb XIII gear,  
 2305 ece drihten, wið Abrahame spræc:  
 "Leofa, swa ic þe lære, læst uncre wel  
 treowrædenne! Ic þe on tida gehwone  
 duguðum stepe. Wes þu dædum from  
 willan mines! Ic þa wære forð  
 2310 soðe gelæste, þe ic þe sealde geo  
 frofre to wedde, þæs þin ferhð bemearn.  
 Ðu scealt halgian hired þinne.  
 Sete sigores tacn soð on gehwiltne  
 wæpnedcynnes, gif þu wille on me  
 2315 hlaford habban oððe holdne freond  
 þinum fromcynne. Ic þæs folces beo  
 hyrde and healdend, gif ge hyrað me  
 breostgehygdum and bebodu willað  
 min fullian. Sceal monna gehwilt  
 2320 þære cneorisse cildisc wesan  
 wæpnedcynnes, þæs þe on woruld cymð,  
 ymb seofon niht sigores tacne  
 geagnod me, oððe of eorðan  
 þurh feondscipe feor adæled,  
 2325 adrifen from duguðum. Doð swa ic hate!  
 Ic eow treowige, gif ge þæt tacen gegap  
 2293 frumgaran] frum garum awæcniad] apæcniad 2306 Leofa] In  
 the margin, lyfa

- soðgeleafan. þu scealt sunu agan,  
 bearn be bryde þinre, þone sculon burhsittende  
 ealle Isaac hatan. Ne þearf þe þæs eaforan sceomigan,  
 2330 ac ic þam magorince mine sylle  
 godcunde gife gastes mihtum,  
 freondsped fremum. He onfon sceal  
 blisse minre and bletsunge,  
 lufan and lisse. Of þam leodfruman  
 2335 brad folc cumað, bregowearda fela  
 rofe arisað, rices hyrdas,  
 woruldcyningas wide mære.”  
 Abraham ða ofestum legde  
 hleor on eorðan, and mid hucse bewand  
 2340 þa hleoðorcwydas on hige sinum,  
 modgeðance. He þæs mældæges  
 self ne wende þæt him Sarra,  
 bryd blondenfeax bringan meahhte  
 on woruld sunu; wiste gearwe  
 2345 þæt þæt wif huru wintra hæfde  
 efne C, geteled rimes.  
 He þa metode oncwæð missarum frod:  
 “Lifge Ismael larum swilce,  
 þeoden, þinum, and þe þanc wege,  
 2350 heardrædne hyge, heortan strange,  
 to dreoganne dæges and nihtes  
 wordum and dædum willan þinne.”  
 Him þa fægere frea ælmihtig,  
 ece drihten, andswarode:  
 2355 “þe sceal wintrum frod on woruld bringan  
 Sarra sunu, soð forð gan  
 wyrd æfter þissum wordgemearcum.  
 Ic Ismael estum wille  
 bletsian nu, swa þu bena eart  
 2360 þinum frumbearne, þæt feorhdaga  
 on woruldrice worn gebide,  
 tanum tudre. þu þæs tiða beo!  
 Hwæðre ic Isace, eaforan þinum,  
 geongum bearne, þam þe gen nis



- 2365 on woruld cumen, willa spedum  
 dugeða gehwilcre on dagum wille  
 swiðor stepan and him soðe to  
 modes wære mine gelæstan,  
 halige higetreowa, and him hold wesana.”
- 2370 Abraham fremede swa him se eca bebead,  
 sette friðotacen be frean hæse  
 on his selfes sunu, heht þæt segn wegan  
 heah gehwilcne, þe his hina wæs  
 wæpnedcynnes, wære gemyndig,
- 2375 gleaw on mode, ða him god sealde  
 soðe treowa, and þa seolf onfeng  
 torhtum tacne. A his tir metod,  
 domfæst cyning, dugeðum iecte  
 on woruldrice; he him þæs worhte to,
- 2380 siððan he on fære furðum meahte  
 his waldendes willan fremman.

\* \* \*

- þa þæt wif ahloh wereda drihtnes  
 nalles glædlice, ac heo gearum frod  
 þone hleoðorcwyde husce belegde
- 2385 on sefan swiðe. Soð ne gelyfde,  
 þæt þære spræce sped folgode.  
 þa þæt gehyrde heofona waldend,  
 þæt on bure ahof bryd Abrahames  
 hihtleasne hleahtor, þa cwæð halig god:
- 2390 “Ne wile Sarran soð gelyfan  
 wordum minum. Sceal seo wyrd swa þeah  
 forð steallian swa ic þe æt frymðe gehet.  
 Soð ic þe secge, on þas sylfan tid  
 of idese bið eafora wæcned.
- 2395 þonne ic þas ilcan oðre siðe  
 wic gesece, þe beoð wordgehat  
 min gelæsted. þu on magan wlitest,  
 þin agen bearn, Abraham leofa!”  
 Gewiton him þa ædre ellorfuse

2368 gelæstan] gelatan    2369 higetreowa] hige treawa    2372 wegan]  
 wesana    2396 wordgehat] worn gehat

- 2400 æfter þære spræce spedum feran  
of þam hleoðorstede, halige gastas,  
lastas legdon, (him wæs Lothes mæg  
sylfa on gesiððe), oðþæt hie on Sodoman,  
weallsteape burg, wlitan meahton.
- 2405 Gesawon ofer since salo hlifian,  
reced ofer readum golde. Ongan þa rodera waldend,  
arfæst wið Abraham sprecan, sægde him unlytel spell:  
“Ic on þisse byrig bearhtm gehyre,  
synnigra cyrm swiðe hludne,
- 2410 ealogalra gylp, yfele spræce  
werod under weallum habban; forþon wærlagona sint,  
folces firena hefige. Ic wille fandigan nu,  
mago Ebra, hwæt þa men don,  
gif hie swa swiðe synna fremmað
- 2415 þeawum and geþancum, swa hie on þweorh sprecað  
facen and inwit; þæt sceal fyr wrecan,  
swefyl and sweart lig sare and grimme,  
hat and hæste hæðnum folce.”

\* \* \*

- Weras basnedon witelaces,
- 2420 wean under weallum, and heora wif somed.  
Duguðum wlanca drihtne guldon  
god mid gnyrne, oðþæt gasta helm,  
lifes leoftfruma leng ne wolde  
torn þrowigean, ac him to sende
- 2425 stiðmod cyning strange twegen  
aras sine, þa on æfentid  
siðe gesohton Sodoma ceastre.  
Hie þa æt burhgeate beorn gemitton  
sylfne sittan sunu Arones,
- 2430 þæt þam gleawan were geonge þuhton  
men for his eagum. Aras þa metodes þeow  
gastum togeanes, gretan eode

2402 Lothes] leohtes    2409 synnigra] g altered from some other letter,  
perhaps f    2412 folces] folce    2416 fyr] Not in MS.    2418 hat]  
Followed by a letter erased, probably e    2419 witelaces] wite loccas

- cuman cuðlice, cynna gemunde  
riht and gerisno, and þam rincum bead  
2435 nihtfeormunge. Him þa nergendes  
æðele ærendracan andswarodon:  
"Hafa arna þanc, þara þe þu unc bude!  
Wit be þisse stræte stille þencað  
sæles bidan, siððan sunnan eft  
2440 forð to morgen metod up forlæt."  
þa to fotum Loth  
þam giestum hnah, and him georne bead  
reste and gereorda and his recedes hleow  
and þegnunge. Hie on þanc curon  
2445 æðelinges est, eodon sona,  
swa him se Ebrisca eorl wisade,  
in undor edoras. Þær him se æðela geaf,  
gleawferhð hæle, giestliðnyse  
fægre on flette, oðþæt forð gewat  
2450 æfenscima. þa com æfter niht  
on last dæge. Lagustreamas wreah,  
þrym mid þystro þisses lifes,  
sæs and sidland. Comon Sodomware,  
geonge and ealde, gode unleofe  
2455 corðrum miclum cuman acsian,  
þæt hie behæfdon herges mægne  
Loth mid giestum. Heton lædan ut  
of þam hean hofe halige aras,  
weras to gewealde, wordum cwædon  
2460 þæt mid þam hæleðum hæman wolden  
unscomlice, arna ne gymden.  
þa aras hraðe, se ðe oft ræd ongeat,  
Loth on recede, eode lungre ut,  
spræc þa ofer ealle æðelunga gedriht  
2465 sunu Arones, snytra gemyndig:  
"Her syndon inne unwemme twa  
dohtor mine. Doð, swa ic eow bidde  
(ne can þara idesa owðer gieta  
2433 cuman] cum *with an added above the line* 2436 ærendracan] ærendran  
2439 sunnan] sunne



- þurh gebedscipe beorna neawest)  
 2470 and geswicað þære synne. Ic eow sylle þa,  
 ær ge sceonde wið gesceapu fremmen,  
 ungifre yfel ylda bearnum.  
 Onfoð þæm fæmnum, lætað frið agon  
 gistas mine, þa ic for gode wille  
 2475 gemundbyrdan, gif ic mot, for eow.”  
 Him þa seo mænigeo þurh gemæne word,  
 arlease cyn, andswarode:  
 “Þis þinceð gerisne and riht micel,  
 þæt þu ðe aferige of þisse folcsceare.  
 2480 þu þas werðeode wræccan laste  
 freonda feasceaft feorran gesohtest,  
 wineþearfende. Wilt ðu, gif þu most,  
 wesan usser her aldordema,  
 leodum lareow?” þa ic on Lothe gefrægn  
 2485 hæðne heremæcgas handum gripan,  
 faum folmum. Him fylston wel  
 gystas sine, and hine of gromra þa,  
 cuman arfæste, clommum abrugdon  
 in under edoras, and þa ofstlice  
 2490 anra gehwilmum ymbstandendra  
 folces Sodoma fæste forsæton  
 heafodsiena. Wearð eal here sona  
 burhwarena blind. Abrecan ne meahton  
 reðemode reced æfter gistum,  
 2495 swa hie fundedon, ac þær frome wæron  
 godes spellbodan. Hæfde gistmægen  
 stiðe strengeo, styrnde swiðe  
 werode mid wite. Spræcon wordum þa  
 fæle freoðoscealcas fægre to Lothe:  
 2500 “Gif þu sunu age oððe swæsne mæg,  
 oððe on þissum folcum freond ænigne  
 eac þissum idesum þe we her on wlitað,  
 alæde of þysse leodbyrig, þa ðe leoife sien,  
 ofestum miclum, and þin ealdor nere,  
 2505 þy læs þu forweorðe mid þyssum wærlogan.  
 2482 wineþearfende] þine þearfende

Unc hit waldend heht for wera synnum  
 Sodoma and Gomorra sweartan lige,  
 fyre gesyllan and þas folc slean,  
 cynn on ceastrum mid cwealmprea  
 2510 and his torn wrecan. Þære tide is  
 neah geþrunge. Gewit þu nergean þin  
 feorh foldwege. Þe is frea milde.”

\* \* \*

Him þa ædre Loth andswarode:  
 “Ne mæg ic mid idesum aldornere mine  
 2515 swa feor heonon feðegange  
 siðe gesecan. Git me sibblufan  
 and freondscipe fægre cyðað,  
 treowe and hyldo tiðiað me.  
 Ic wat hea burh her ane neah,  
 2520 lytle ceastre. Lyfað me þær  
 are and reste, þæt we aldornere  
 on Sigor up secan moten.  
 Gif git þæt fæsten fyre willað  
 steape forstandan, on þære stowe we  
 2525 gesunde magon sæles bidan,  
 feorh generigan.” Him þa freondlice  
 englas arfæste andswaredon:  
 “Þu scealt þære bene, nu þu ymb þa burh sprycest,  
 tiða weorðan. Teng recene to  
 2530 þam fæstene; wit þe friðe healdað  
 and mundbyrde. Ne moton wyt  
 on wærlugum wrecan torn godes,  
 swebban synnig cynn, ær ðon þu on Sægor þin  
 bearn gelæde and bryd somed.”  
 2535 þa onette Abrahames mæg  
 to þam fæstene. Feðe ne sparode  
 eorl mid idesum, ac he ofstum forð  
 lastas legde, oðþæt he gelædde  
 bryd mid bearnum under burhlocan  
 2540 in Sægor his. Þa sunne up,  
 folca friðcandel, furðum eode,  
 2528 sprycest] spryst

- þa ic sendan gefrægn swegles aldor  
 swefl of heofnum and sweartne lig  
 werum to wite, weallende fyr,  
 2545 þæs hie on ærdagum drihten tyndon  
 lange þrage. Him þæs lean forgeald  
 gasta waldend! Grap heahþrea  
 on hæðencynn. Hlynn wearð on ceastrum,  
 cirm arleasra cwealmes on ore,  
 2550 laðan cynnes. Lig eall fornam  
 þæt he grenes fond goldburgum in,  
 swylce þær ymbutan unlytel dæl  
 sidre foldan geondsended wæs  
 bryne and brogan. Bearwas wurdon  
 2555 to axan and to yslan, eorðan wæstma,  
 efne swa wide swa ða witelac  
 reðe geræhton rum land wera.  
 Strudende fyr steapes and geapes,  
 swogende leg, forsweah eall geador  
 2560 þæt on Sodoma byrig secgas ahton  
 and on Gomorra. Eall þæt god spilde,  
 frea mid þy folce. Þa þæt fyrgebræc,  
 leoda lifgedal, Lothes gehyrde  
 bryd on burgum, under bæc beseah  
 2565 wið þæs wælfylles. Us gewritu secgað  
 þæt heo on sealtstanes sona wurde  
 anlicnesse. Æfre siððan  
 se monlica (þæt is mære spell)  
 stille wunode, þær hie strang begeat  
 2570 wite, þæs heo wordum wuldres þegna  
 hyran ne wolde. Nu sceal heard and steap  
 on þam wicum wyrde bidan,  
 drihtnes domes, hwonne dogora rim,  
 woruld gewite. Þæt is wundra sum,  
 2575 þara ðe geworhte wuldres aldor.  
 Him þa Abraham gewat ana gangan  
 mid ærdæge þæt he eft gestod

2559 leg] *Not in MS.* geador] eador 2573 hwonne] hwone *with a*  
*second n above the line after o* 2577 he eft] heft



- þær wordum ær wið his waldend spræc  
 frod frumgara. He geseah from foldan up  
 2580 wide fleogan wælgrimne rec.  
 Hie þæs wlenco onwod and wingedrync  
 þæt hie firendæda to frece wurdon,  
 synna þriste, soð ofergeaton,  
 drihtnes domas, and hwa him dugeða forgeaf,  
 2585 blæd on burgum. Forþon him brego engla  
 wylmhatne lig to wræce sende.  
 Waldend usser gemunde wærfæst þa  
 Abraham arlice, swa he oft dyde  
 leofne mannan. Loth generede,  
 2590 mæg þæs oðres, þa seo mænegeo forwearð.  
 Ne dorste þa dædrof hæle  
 for frean egesan on þam fæstenne  
 leng eardigean, ac him Loth gewat  
 of byrig gangan and his bearn somed  
 2595 wælstowe fyrr wic sceawian,  
 oðþæt hie be hliðe heare dune  
 eorðscræf fundon. þær se eadega Loth  
 wærfæst wunode, waldende leof,  
 dægrires worn and his dohtar twa.  
 \* \* \*
- 2600 Hie dydon swa; druncnum eode  
 seo yldre to ær on reste  
 heora bega fæder. Ne wiste blondenfeax  
 hwonne him fæmnan to bryde him bu wæron,  
 on ferhðcofan fæste gearwod  
 2605 mode and gemynde, þæt he mægða sið  
 wine druncen gewitan ne meahte.  
 Idesa wurdon eacne, eaforan brohtan  
 willgesweostor on woruld sunu  
 heora ealdan fæder. Þara æðelinga  
 2610 modor oðerne Moab nemde,  
 Lothes dohter, seo on life wæs  
 wintrum yldre. Us gewritu secgeað,
- 2587 wærfæst] wær fæst *with ær written over an erasure*      2604 gearwod]  
 gearwot

- godcunde bec, þæt seo gingre  
 hire agen bearn Ammon hete.
- 2615 Of þam frumgarum folces unrim,  
 þrymfæste twa þeoda awocon.  
 Oðre þara mægða Moabitare  
 eorðbuende ealle hatað,  
 widmære cynn, oðre weras nemnað,
- 2620 æðelinga bearn, Ammonitare.  
 Gewat him þa mid bryde broðor Arones  
 under Abimelech æhte lædan  
 mid his hiwum. Hæleðum sægde  
 þæt Sarra his sweostor wære,
- 2625 Abraham wordum (bearh his aldre),  
 þy he wiste gearwe þæt he winemaga,  
 on folce lyt freonda hæfde.  
 Þa se þeoden his þegnas sende,  
 heht hie bringan to him selfum.
- 2630 Þa wæs ellþeodig oðre siðe  
 wif Abrahames from were læded  
 on fremdes fæðm. Him þær fylste þa  
 ece drihten, swa he oft dyde,  
 nergend usser. Com nihtes self,
- 2635 þær se waldend læg wine druncen.  
 Ongan þa soðcýning þurh swefn sprecan  
 to þam æðelinge and him yrre hweop:  
 “Þu Abrahames idese gename,  
 bryde æt beorne. Þe abregdan sceal
- 2640 for þære dæde deað of breostum  
 sawle þine.” Him symbelwerig  
 sinces brytta þurh slæp oncwæð:  
 “Hwæt, þu æfre, engla þeoden,  
 þurh þin yrre wilt aldre lætan,
- 2645 heah beheowan, þæne þe her leofað  
 rihtum þeawum, bið on ræde fæst,

2615 folces] folc 2620 Ammonitare] ammontare *with i above the line after n* 2624 his] hi *with s added above the line* 2629 hie] *Not in MS.*  
 2631 Abrahames] abrames 2642 sinces] synna 2645 beheowan]  
 beheopan þæne] þære

- modgeþance, and him miltse  
 to þe seceð? Me sægde ær  
 þæt wif hire wordum selfa  
 2650 unfricendum, þæt heo Abrahames  
 sweostor wære. Næbbe ic synne wið hie,  
 facna ænig gefremed gena."
- Him þa ædre eft ece drihten,  
 soðfæst metod, þurh þæt swefn oncwæð:  
 2655 "Agif Abraham idese sine,  
 wif to gewearde, gif þu on worulde leng,  
 æðelinga helm, aldres recce.  
 He is god and gleaw, mæg self wið god sprecan,  
 geseon sweglcyning. Þu sweltan scealt  
 2660 mid feo and mid feorme, gif ðu þam frumgaran  
 bryde wyrnest. He abiddan mæg,  
 gif he ofstum me ærendu wile  
 þeawfæst and geþyldig þin abeodan,  
 þæt ic þe lissa lifigendum giet  
 2665 on dagum læte duguþa brucan  
 sinces gesundne." Þa slæpe tobrægd  
 forht folces weard. Heht him fetigean to  
 gesprecan sine, spedum sægde  
 2670 eorlum Abimeleh, egesan geðread,  
 waldendes word. Weras him ondredon  
 for þære dæde drihtnes handa  
 sweng æfter swefne. Heht sylf cyning  
 him þa Abraham to ofstum miclum.  
 Þa reordode rice þeoden:  
 2675 "Mago Ebra, þæs þu me wylle  
 wordum secgean, hu geworhte ic þæt,  
 siððan þu usic under, Abraham, þine  
 on þas eðelturf æhta læddest,  
 þæt þu me þus swiðe searo renodest?  
 2680 Þu ellþeodig usic woldest  
 on þisse folcsceare facne besyrwan,  
 2658 wið god] *Not in MS.* 2662 ærendu] ærenda 2667 Heht] heht  
 with e altered from a 2668 gesprecan] sprecan 2676 geworhte] orht on  
 an erasure (Holthausen)



- synnum besmitan, sægdest wordum  
 þæt Sarra þin sweostor wære,  
 lices mæge, woldest laðlice  
 2685 þurh þæt wif on me wrohte alecgean,  
 ormæte yfel. We þe arlice  
 gefeormedon, and þe freondlice  
 on þisse werþeode wic getæhton,  
 land to lissum. Þu us leanast nu,  
 2690 unfreondlice fremena þancast!"  
 Abraham þa andswarode:  
 "Ne dyde ic for facne ne for feondscipe  
 ne for wihte þæs ic þe wean uðe.  
 Ac ic me, gumena baldor, guðbordes sweng  
 2695 leodmagum feor lare gebearh,  
 siððan me se halga of hyrde frean,  
 mines fæder fyrn alædde.  
 Ic fela siððan folca gesohte,  
 wina uncuðra, and þis wif mid me,  
 2700 freonda feascaft. Ic þæs færes a  
 on wenum sæt hwonne me wraðra sum  
 ellþeodigne aldre beheowe,  
 se ðe him þas idese eft agan wolde.  
 Forðon ic wigsmiðum wordum sægde  
 2705 þæt Sarra min sweostor wære  
 æghwær eorðan þær wit earda leas  
 mid wealandum winnan sceoldon.  
 Ic þæt ilce dreah on þisse eðyltyrf,  
 siððan ic þina, þeoden mæra,  
 2710 mundbyrde geceas. Ne wæs me on mode cuð,  
 hwæðer on þyssum folce frean ælmihtiges  
 egesa wære, þa ic her ærest com.  
 Forþon ic þegnum þinum dyrnde  
 and sylfum þe swiðost micle  
 2715 soðan spræce, þæt me Sarra  
 bryde laste beddreste gestah."
- 2685 þurh] þur *with h added above the line* 2697 alædde] alæded 2702  
 ellþeodigne] elþeodigne *with a second l above the line before þ* 2715  
 Sarra] sarran

þa ongan Abimæleh Abraham swiðan  
 woruldgestreonum and him hið wif ageaf.  
 Sealde him to bote, þæs þe he his bryd genam,  
 2720 gangende feoh and glæd seolfor  
 and weorcþeos. Spræc þa wordum eac  
 to Abrahame æðelinga helm:

“Wuna mid usic and þe wic geccos  
 on þissum lande þær þe leofost sie,  
 2725 eðelstowe, þe ic agan sceal.  
 Wes us fæle freond, we ðe feoh syllað!”

Cwæð þa eft raðe oðre worde  
 to Sarran sinces brytta:  
 “Ne þearf ðe on edwit Abraham settan,  
 2730 ðin freadrihten, þæt þu flettþaðas,  
 mæg ælfscieno, mine træde,  
 ac him hygeteonan hwitan seolfre  
 deope bete. Ne ceara incit duguða  
 of ðisse eðyltyrf ellor secan,

2735 winas uncuðe, ac wuniað her.”  
 Abraham fremede swa hine his aldor heht,  
 onfeng freondscipe be frean hæse,  
 lufum and lissum. He wæs leof gode.  
 Forðon he sibbe gesælig dreah

2740 and his scippende under sceade gefor,  
 hleowfeðrum þeaht, her þenden lifde.

þa gien wæs yrre god Abimelehe  
 for þære synne þe he wið Sarrai  
 and wið Abrahame ær gefremede,  
 2745 þa he gedælde him deore twa,  
 wif and wæpned. He þæs weorc gehleat,  
 frecne wite. Ne meahton freo ne þeowe  
 heora bregoweardas bearnum ecan  
 monrim mægeð, ac him þæt metod forstod,

2750 oðþæt se halga his hlaforde

2721 weorcþeos] weorc feos *with s altered from h (Holthausen)* spræc]  
 Written twice in MS. 2727 eft] *Followed by erasure of two letters; þa eft*  
*written over an erasure (Holthausen)* 2730 flettþaðas] flett waðas 2748  
 ecan] agan

- Abraham ongan arna biddan  
 ecne drihten. Him engla helm  
 getigðode, tuddorsped onleac  
 folccynninge freora and þeowra,  
 2755 wera and wifa; let weaxan eft  
 heora rimgetel rodora waldend,  
 ead and æhta. Ælmihtig wearð  
 milde on mode, moncynnes weard,  
 Abimeleche, swa hine Abraham bæd.  
 2760 Þa com feran frea ælmihtig  
 to Sarrai, swa he self gecwæð,  
 waldend usser, hæfde wordbeot  
 leofum gelæsted, lifes aldor  
 eaforan and idese. Abraham woc  
 2765 bearn of bryde, þone brego engla,  
 ær ðy magotudre modor wære  
 eacen be eorle, Isaac nemde.  
 Hine Abraham on mid his agene hand  
 beacen sette, swa him behead metod,  
 2770 wuldortorht ymb wucan, þæs þe hine on woruld  
 to moncynne modor brohte.  
 Cniht weox and þag, swa him cynde wæron  
 æðele from yl drum. Abraham hæfde  
 wintra hundteontig þa him wif sunu  
 2775 on þanc gebær. He þæs ðrage bad,  
 siððan him ærest þurh his agen word  
 þone dægwillan drihten bodode.  
 Þa seo wyrd gewearð þæt þæt wif geseah  
 for Abraham Ismael plegan,  
 2780 ðær hie æt swæsendum sæton bu tu,  
 halig on hige, and heora hiwan eall,  
 druncon and drymdon. Þa cwæð drihtlecu mæg,  
 bryd to beorne: "Forgif me, beaga weard,  
 min swæs frea, hat siðian  
 2785 Agar ellor and Ismael  
 lædan mid hie! Ne beoð we leng somed
- 2751 arna] arra    2758 weard] wearð    2768 mid] *Not in MS.*    2774  
 hundteontig] hunteontig    2784 siðian] siððan



- willum minum, gif ic wealdan mot.  
 Næfre Ismael wið Isace,  
 wið min agen bearn yrfe dæleð  
 2790 on laste þe, þonne þu of lice  
 aldor asendest." Þa wæs Abrahame  
 weorce on mode þæt he on wræc drife  
 his selfes sunu, þa com soð metod  
 freom on fultum, wiste ferhð guman  
 2795 cearam on clommum. Cyning engla spræc  
 to Abrahame, ece drihten:  
 "Læt þe aslupan sorge of breostum,  
 modgewinnan, and mægeð hire,  
 bryde þinre! Hat bu tu aweg  
 2800 Agar feran and Ismael,  
 cniht of cyððe! Ic his cynn gedo  
 brad and bresne bearna tudre,  
 wæstmum spedig, swa ic þe wordum gehet."  
 Þa se wer hyrde his waldende,  
 2805 draf of wicum dreorigmod tu,  
 idese of earde and his agen bearn.  
 \* \* \*
- "Sweotol is and gesene þæt þe soð metod  
 on gesiððe is, swegles aldor,  
 se ðe sigor seleð snytru mihtum  
 2810 and þin mod trymeð,  
 godcundum gifum. Forðon ðe giena speow,  
 þæs þu wið freond oððe feond fremman ongunne  
 wordum oððe dædum. Waldend scufeð,  
 frea on forðwegas folnum sinum  
 2815 willan þinne. Þæt is wide cuð  
 burhsittendum. Ic þe bidde nu,  
 wine Ebraea, wordum minum,  
 þæt þu tilmodig treowa selle,  
 wæra þina, þæt þu wille me  
 2820 wesan fæle freond fremena to leane,  
 þara þe ic to duguðum ðe gedon hæbbe,  
 siððan ðu feascaft feorran come  
 2809 snytru] snytrum 2814 on] *Not in MS.*

- on þas werþeode wræccan laste.  
 Gyld me mid hyldo, þæt ic þe hneaw ne wæs  
 2825 landes and lissa. Wes þissum leodum nu  
 and mægburge minre arfæst,  
 gif þe alwalda, ure drihten,  
 scirian wille, se ðe gesceapu healdeð,  
 þæt þu randwigum rumor mote  
 2830 on ðisse folcsceare frætwa dælan,  
 modigra gestreon, mearce settan.”  
 Ða Abraham Abimelehe  
 wære sealde þæt he wolde swa.  
 Siððan wæs se eadega eafora þares  
 2835 in Filistea folce eardfæst,  
 leod Ebreá lange þrage,  
 feascaft mid fremdum. Him frea engla  
 wic getæhte þæt weras hatað  
 burhsittende Bersabea lond.  
 2840 Ðær se halga heahsteap reced,  
 burh timbrede and bearo sette,  
 weobedd worhte, and his waldende  
 on þam glædstede gild onsægde,  
 lac geneahe, þam þe lif forgeaf,  
 2845 gesæliglic swegle under.  
 Ða þæs rinces se rica ongan  
 cyning costigan, cunnode georne  
 hwilc þæs æðelinges ellen wære,  
 stiðum wordum spræc him stefne to:  
 2850 “Gewit þu ofestlice, Abraham, feran,  
 lastas lecgan and þe læde mid  
 þin agen bearn. Þu scealt Isaac me  
 onsecgan, sunu ðinne, sylf to tibre.  
 Siððan þu gestigest steape dune,  
 2855 hring þæs hean landes, þe ic þe heonon getæce,  
 up þinum agnum fotum, þær þu scealt ad gegærwan,  
 bælfyr bearne þinum, and blotan sylf  
 sunu mid sweordes ecge, and þonne sweartan lige  
 leofes lic forbærnan and me lac bebedan.”

2838 þæt] þær      2839 lond] lono

- 2860 Ne forsæt he þy siðe, ac sona ongann  
fysan to fore. Him wæs frean engla  
word ondrysne and his waldend leof.  
þa se eadga Abraham sine  
nihtreste ofgeaf. Nalles nergendes
- 2865 hæse wiðhogode, ac hine se halga wer  
gyrde grægan sweorde, cyðde þæt him gasta weardes  
egesa on breostum wunode. Ongan þa his esolas bætān  
gamolferhð goldes brytta, heht hine geonge twegen  
men mid siðian. Mæg wæs his agen þridda
- 2870 and he feorða sylf. þa he fus gewat  
from his agenum hofe Isaac lædan,  
bearn unweaxen, swa him bebed metod.  
Efste þa swiðe and onette  
forð folcwege, swa him frea tæhte
- 2875 wegas ofer westen, oðþæt wuldortorht,  
dæges þriddan up ofer deop wæter  
ord aræmde. þa se eadega wer  
geseah hlifigan hea dune  
swa him sægde ær swegles aldor.
- 2880 Ða Abraham spræc to his ombihtum:  
“Rincas mine, restað incit  
her on þissum wicum. Wit eft cumað,  
siððan wit ærende uncer twega  
gastcyninge agifen habbað.”
- 2885 Gewat him þa se æðeling and his agen sunu  
to þæs gemearces þe him metod tæhte,  
wadan ofer wealdas. Wudu bær sunu,  
fæder fyr and sword. Ða þæs fricgean ongann  
wer wintrum geong wordum Abraham:
- 2890 “Wit her fyr and sword, frea min, habbað;  
hwær is þæt tiber, þæt þu torht gode  
to þam brynegielde bringan þencest?”  
Abraham maðelode (hæfde on an gehogod  
þæt he gedæde swa hine drihten het):
- 2895 “Him þæt soðcyning sylfa findeð,

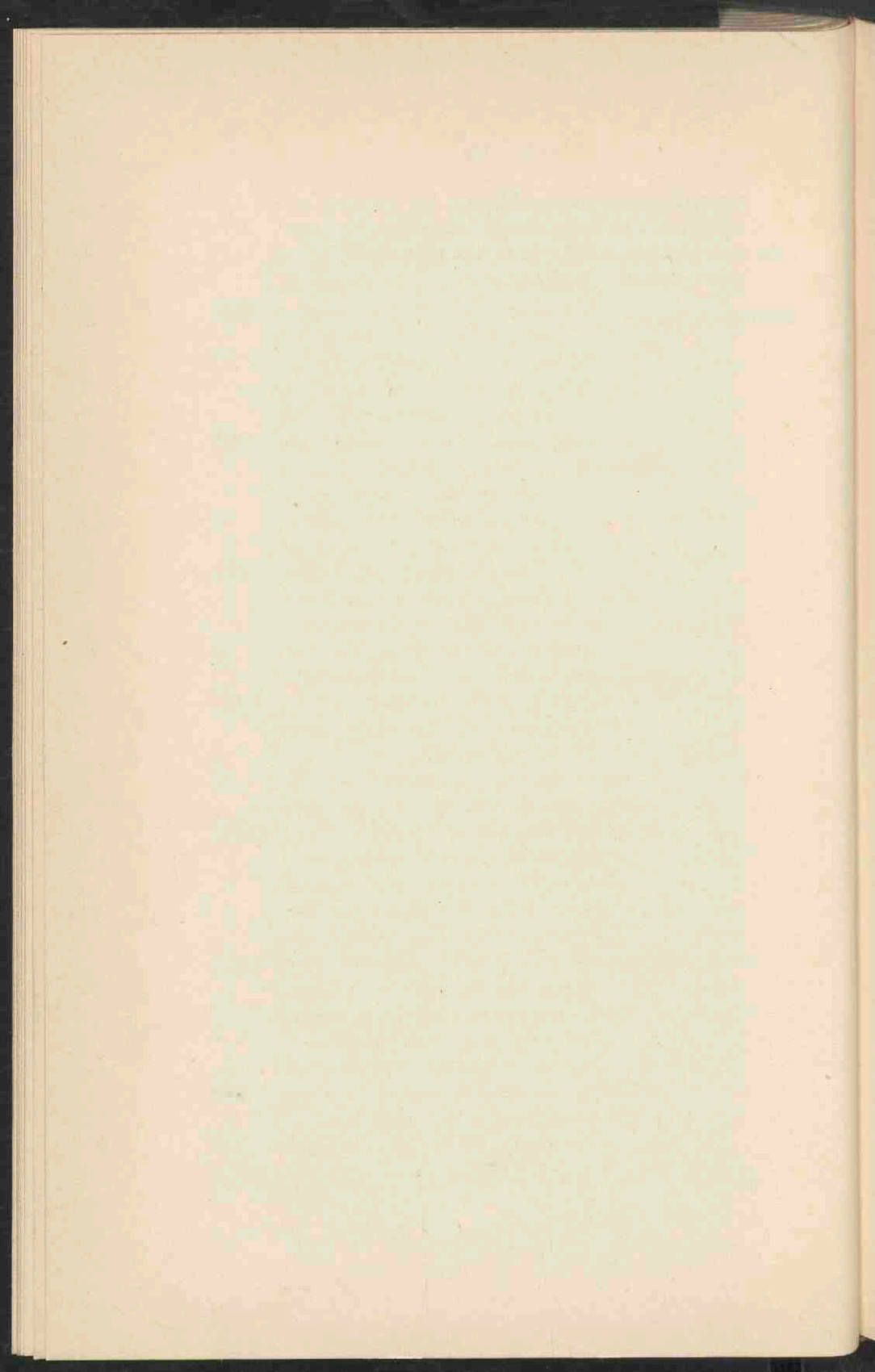
2861 frean] frea    2862 waldend] waldende    2894 gedæde] *The final e  
erased or rubbed*    swa] s altered from small capital h



- moncynnes weard, swa him gemet þinceð.”  
 Gestah þa stiðhydig steape dune  
 up mid his eaforan, swa him se eca bebead,  
 þæt he on hrofe gestod hean landes  
 2900 on þære stowe þe him se stranga to,  
 wærfæst metod wordum tæhte.  
 Ongan þa ad hladan, æled weccan,  
 and gefeterode fet and honda  
 bearne sinum and þa on bæl ahof  
 2905 Isaac geongne, and þa ædre gegrap  
 sweord be gehiltum, wolde his sunu cwellan  
 folmum sinum, fyre scencan  
 mæges dreore. þa metododes ðegn,  
 ufan engla sum, Abraham hlude  
 2910 stefne cygde. He stille gebad  
 ares spræce and þam engle oncwæð.  
 Him þa ofstum to ufan of roderum  
 wuldorgast godes wordum mælde:  
 “Abraham leofa, ne sleah þin agen bearn,  
 2915 ac þu cwicne abregd cniht of ade,  
 eaforan þinne! Him an wuldres god!  
 Mago Ebreā, þu medum scealt  
 þurh þæs halgan hand, heofoncyniges,  
 soðum sigorleanum selfa onfon,  
 2920 ginfæstum gifum. þe wile gasta weard  
 lissum gyldan þæt þe wæs leofre his  
 sibb and hyldo þonne þin sylfes bearn.”  
 Ad stod onæled. Hæfde Abraham  
 metod moncynnes, mæge Lothes,  
 2925 breost geblissad, þa he him his bearn forgeaf,  
 Isaac cwicne. Ða se eadega bewlat,  
 rinc ofer exle, and him þær rom geseah  
 unfeor þanon ænne standan,  
 broðor Arones, brembrum fæstne.  
 2930 þone Abraham genam and hine on ad ahof  
 ofestum miclum for his agen bearn.  
 Abrægd þa mid þy bille, brynegield onhread,  
 2900 stowe] *Not in M.S.*    2907 scencan] sencan    2921 leofre] leofra

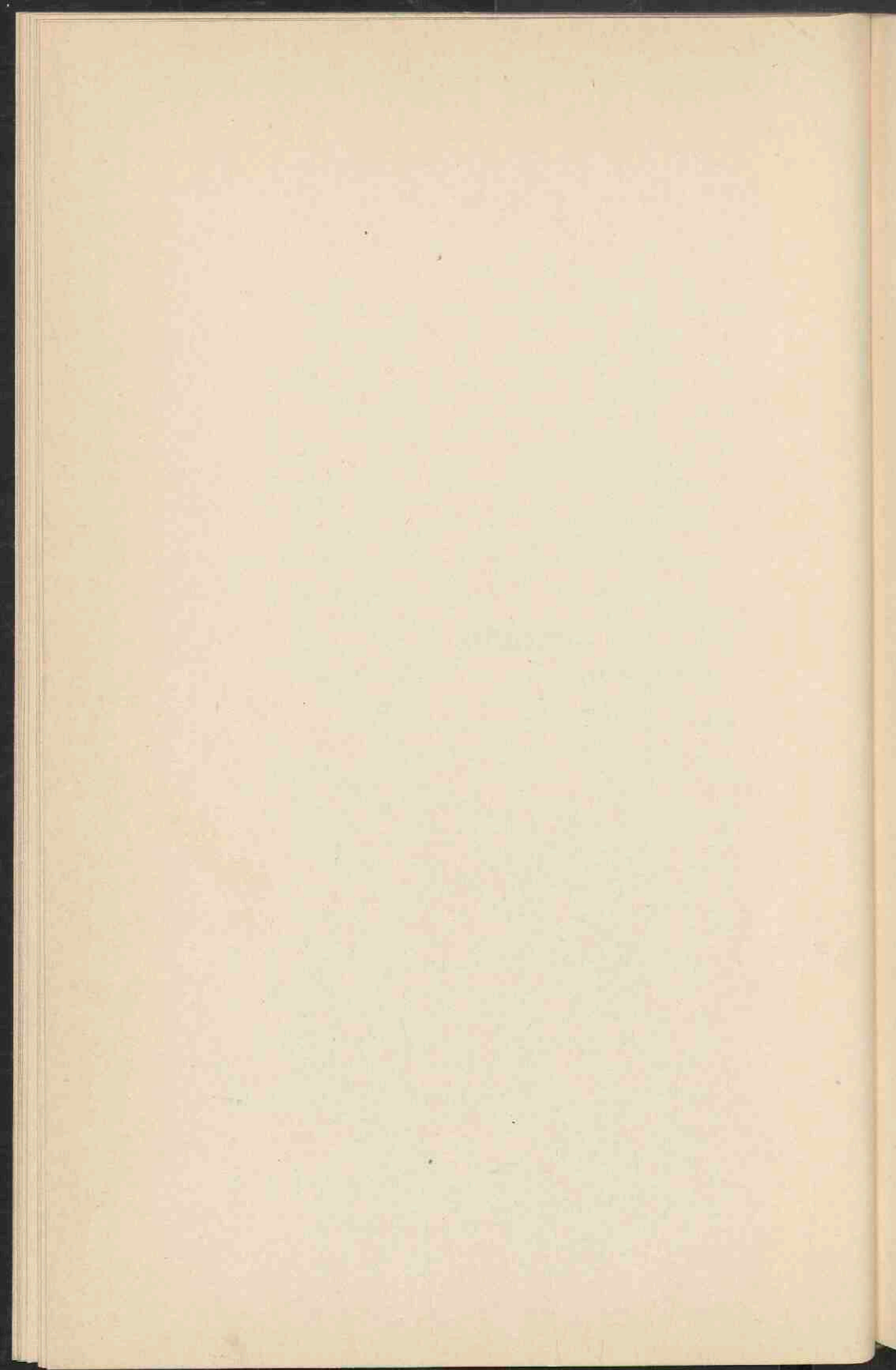
reccendne weg rommes blode,  
onbleot þæt lac gode, sægde leana þanc  
2935 and ealra þara sælða þe he him sið and ær,  
gifena drihten, forgifen hæfde.

2935 sælða] *Not in MS.*





EXODUS



## EXODUS

- Hwæt! We feor and neah gefrigen habað  
 ofer middangeard Moyses domas,  
 wræclico wordriht, wera cneorissum,—  
 in uprodor eadigra gehwam  
 5 æfter bealusiðe bote lifes,  
 lifigendra gehwam langsumne ræd,—  
 hælcðum secgan. Gehyre se ðe wille!  
 Þone on westenne weroda drihten,  
 soðfæst cyning, mid his sylfes miht  
 10 gewyrðode, and him wundra fela,  
 ece alwalda, in æht forgeaf.  
 He wæs leof gode, leoda aldor,  
 horsc and hræðergleaw, herges wisa,  
 freom folctoga. Faraones cyn,  
 15 godes andsacan, gyrdwite band,  
 þær him gesealde sigora waldend,  
 modgum magoræswan, his maga feorh,  
 onwist eðles, Abrahames sunum.  
 Heah wæs þæt handlean and him hold frea,  
 20 gesealde wæpna geweald wið wraðra gryre,  
 ofercom mid þy campe cneomaga fela,  
 feonda folcrist. Ða wæs forma sið  
 þæt hine weroda god wordum nægde,  
 þær he him gesægde soðwundra fela,  
 25 hu þas woruld worhte witig drihten,  
 eorðan ymbhwyrft and uprodor,  
 gesette sigerice, and his sylfes naman,  
 ðone ylde bearn ær ne cuðon,  
 frod fædera cyn, þeah hie fela wiston.  
 30 Hæfde he þa geswiðed soðum cræftum

8 weroda] werode    11 forgeaf] for geaf, *i.e.*, a deleted and then restored  
 15 andsacan] andsaca    17 magoræswan] mago ræs wum    22 feonda]  
*Written twice*



- and gewurðodne werodes aldor,  
 Faraones feond, on forðwegas.  
 Þa wæs ingere ealdum witum  
 deaðe gedrenced drihtfolca mæst;  
 35 hordwearda hryre heaf wæs geniwad,  
 swæfon seledreamas, since berofene.  
 Hæfde mansceaðan æt middere niht  
 frecne gefylled, frumbearna fela,  
 abrocene burhweardas. Bana wide scrað,  
 40 lað leodhata, land drysmyde  
 deadra hræwum, dugoð forð gewat,  
 wop wæs wide, worulddreama lyt.  
 Wæron hleahtorsmiðum handa belocene,  
 alyfed laðsið leode gretan;  
 45 folc ferende, feond wæs bereafod,  
 hergas on helle. Heofung þider becom,  
 druron deofolgyld. Dæg wæs mære  
 ofer middangeard þa seo mengeo for.  
 Swa þæs fæsten dreah fela missera,  
 50 ealdwerige, Egypta folc,  
 þæs þe hie wideferð wyrnan þohton  
 Moyses magum, gif hie metod lete,  
 on langne lust leofes siðes.  
 Fyrd wæs gefysed, from se ðe lædde,  
 55 modig magoræswa, mægburh heora.  
 Oferfor he mid þy folce fæstena worn,  
 land and leodward laðra manna,  
 enge anpaðas, uncuð gelad,  
 oðþæt hie on Guðmyrce gearwe bæron,  
 60 (wæron land heora lyfthelme beþeagt),  
 mearchofu morheald. Moyses ofer þa,  
 fela meoringa, fyrde gelædde.  
 Heht þa ymb twa niht tinfæste hæleð,  
 siððan hie feondum oðfaren hæfdon,

34 gedrenced] renced *written over an erasure in a large and different hand*  
 40 drysmyde] dryrmyde 45 feond] freond 46 Heofung] heofon  
 55 magoræswa] mago ræwa 63 Heht] EHT *with space for a capital*  
 tinfæste] tir fæstne

- 65 ymbwicigean werodes bearhtme  
 mid ælfere Æthanes byrig,  
 mægnes mæste mearclandum on.  
 Nearwe genyddon on norðwegas,  
 wiston him be suðan Sigelwara land,  
 70 forbærned burhhleoðu, brune leode,  
 hatum heofoncolum. Þær halig god  
 wið færbyrne folc gescylde,  
 bælc oferbrædde byrnendne heofon,  
 halgan nette hatwendne lyft.  
 75 Hæfde wederwolcen widum fæðmum  
 eorðan and uprodor efne gedæled,  
 lædde leodwerod, ligfyr adranc,  
 hate heofontorht. Hæleð wafedon,  
 drihta gedrymost. Dægsceades hleo  
 80 wand ofer wolcnum; hæfde witig god  
 sunnan siðfæt segle ofertolden,  
 swa þa mæstrapas men ne cuðon,  
 ne ða seglrode geseon meahton,  
 eorðbuende ealle cræfte,  
 85 hu afæstnod wæs feldhusa mæst,  
 siððan he mid wuldre geweorðode  
 þeodenholde. Þa wæs þridda wic  
 folce to frofre. Fyrd eall geseah  
 hu þær hlifedon halige seglas,  
 90 lyftwundor leoht; leode ongeton,  
 dugoð Israhela, þæt þær drihten cwom  
 weroda drihten, wicsteal metan.  
 Him beforan foran fyr and wolcen  
 in beorhtrodor, beamas twegen,  
 95 þara æghwæðer efngedælde  
 heahþegnunga haliges gastes,  
 deormodra sið dagum and nihtum.  
 Þa ic on morgen gefrægn modes rofan  
 hebban herebyman hludan stefnum,  
 100 wuldres woman. Werod eall aras,

66 Æthanes] ætanes with h added above the line after t      79 Dægsceades]  
 dæg scealdes      81 segle] swegle

- modigra mægen, swa him Moyses bebead,  
 mære magoræswa, metodes folce,  
 fus fyrdgetrum. Forð gesawon  
 lifes latþeow lifweg metan;  
 105 swegl siðe weold, sæmen æfter  
 foron flodwege. Folc wæs on salum,  
 hlud herges cyrm. Heofonbeacen astah  
 æfena gehwam, oðer wundor,  
 syllic æfter sunne setlade beheold,  
 110 ofer leodwerum lige scinan,  
 byrnende beam. Blace stodon  
 ofer sceotendum scire leoman;  
 scinon scyldhreoðan, sceado swiðredon,  
 neowle nihtscuwan neah ne mihton  
 115 heolstor ahydan; heofoncandel barn.  
 Niwe nihtweard nyde sceolde  
 wician ofer weredum, þy læs him westengryre,  
 har hæðbroga, holmegum wederum  
 on ferclamme ferhð getwæfde.  
 120 Hæfde foregenga fyrene loccas,  
 blace beamas; bellegsan hweop  
 in þam hereþreate, hatan lige,  
 þæt he on westenne werod forbærnde,  
 nymðe hie modhwate Moyses hyrde.  
 125 Scean scir werod, scyldas lixton,  
 gesawon randwigan rihte stræte,  
 segn ofer sweoton, oðþæt sæfæsten  
 landes æt ende leodmægne forstod,  
 fus on forðweg. Fyrdwic aras;  
 130 wyrpton hie werige, wiste genægdon  
 modige meteþegnas, hyra mægen beton.  
 Bræddon æfter beorgum, siððan byme sang,  
 flotan feldhusum. Ða wæs feorðe wic,  
 randwigena ræst, be þan readan sæ.

107 hlud] LUD *with space before for a large capital, and a small h in the margin* herges] heriges 109 sunne] sunnan 113 sceado] sceaðo  
 118 hæðbroga] broga *not in MS.* 119 on ferclamme] ofer clamme ge-  
 twæfde] getwæf 128 leodmægne] leo mægne



- 135 Ðær on fyrd hyra færsPELL becwom,  
 oht inlende. Egsan stoda,  
 wælgryre weroda; wræcmon gebad  
 laðne lastweard, se ðe him lange ær  
 eðel-leasum onnied gescraf,  
 140 wean witum fæst. Wære ne gymdon,  
 ðeah þe se yldra cyning ær ge

\* \* \*

- þa wearð yrfeweard ingefolca,  
 manna æfter maðmum, þæt he swa micles geðah.  
 Ealles þæs forgeton siððan grame wurdon  
 145 Egypta cyn ymbe antwig;  
 ða heo his mægwinum morðor fremedon,  
 wroht berenedon, wære fræton.  
 Wæron heaðowylmas heortan getenge,  
 mihtmod wera; manum treowum  
 150 woldon hie þæt feorhlean facne gyldan,  
 þætte hie þæt dægweorc dreore gebohte,  
 Moyses leode, þær him mihtig god  
 on ðam spildsiðe speðe forgefe.  
 þa him eorla mod ortrywe wearð  
 155 siððan hie gesawon of suðwegum  
 fyrd Faraonis forð ongangen,  
 oferholt wegan, cored lixan,  
 (garas trymedon, guð hwearfode,  
 blicon bordhreoðan, byman sungon),  
 160 þufas þunian, þeod mearc tredan,  
 on hwæl

\* \* \*

- Hreopon herefugolas, hilde grædige,  
 deawigfeðere ofer drihtneum,  
 wonn wælceasega. Wulfas sungon  
 165 atol æfenleoð ætes on wenan,  
 carleasan deor, cwyldrof beodan  
 on laðra last leodmægnes fyl.  
 Hreopon mearcweardas middum nihtum,

142 þa] A with space before for a large capital 145 ymbe] ymb 146 heo]  
 Written twice in MS. 151 hie] he 162 Hreopon] hwreopān 167 fyl]  
 ful 168 middum] midum with a second d added above the line before u

- fleah fæge gast, folc wæs gehæged.
- 170 Hwilum of þam werode wlanca þegnas  
 mæton milpaðas meara bogum.  
 Him þær segncyning wið þone segn foran,  
 manna þengel, mearcþreate rad;  
 guðweard gumena grimhelm gespeon,
- 175 cyning cinberge, (cumbol lixton),  
 wiges on wenum, wæhlencan sceoc,  
 het his hereciste healdan georne  
 fæst fyrdgetrum. Freond onsegon  
 laðum eagan landmanna cyme.
- 180 Ymb hine wægon wigend unforhte,  
 hare heorowulfas hilde gretton,  
 þurstige þræcwiges, þeodenholde.  
 Hæfde him alesen leoda dugeðe  
 tiredigra twa þusendo,
- 185 þæt wæron cyningas and cneowmagas,  
 on þæt eade riht, æðelum deore.  
 Forðon anra gehwilt ut alædde  
 wæpnedcynnes, wigan æghwiltne  
 þara þe he on ðam fyrste findan mihte.
- 190 Wæron ingemen ealle ætgædere,  
 cyningas on cordre. Cuð oft gebad  
 horn on heape to hwæs hægstealdmen,  
 guðþreat gumena, gearwe bæron.  
 Swa þær eorþ werod, ecan læddon,
- 195 lað æfter laðum, leodmægnes worn,  
 þusendmælum; þider wæron fuse.  
 Hæfdon hie gemynted to þam mægenheapum  
 to þam ærdæge Israhela cynn  
 billum abreotan on hyra broðorgyld.
- 200 Forþon wæs in wicum wop up ahafen,  
 atol æfenleoð, egesan stodon,  
 weredon wælnet, þa se woma cwom.  
 Flugon frecne spel, feond wæs anmod,  
 werud wæs wigblac, oðþæt wlanca forsceaf
- 176 wæhlencan] hwæl hlencan 178 fyrdgetrum] syrd getrum on-  
 segon] onsigon 181 heorowulfas] heora wulfas

- 205 mihtig engel, se ða menigeo beheold,  
 þæt þær gelaðe mid him leng ne mihton  
 geseon tosomne; sið wæs gedæled.  
 Hæfde nydfara nihtlangne fyrst,  
 þeah ðe him on healfa gehwam hettend seomedon,  
 210 mægen oððe merestream; nahton maran hwyrf.  
 Wæron orwenan eðelrihtes,  
 sæton æfter beorgum in blacum reafum,  
 weap on wenum; wæccende bad  
 eall seo sibgedriht somod ætgædere  
 215 maran mægenes, oð Moyses bebead  
 eorlas on uhttid ærnum bemum  
 folc somnigean, frecan arisan,  
 habban heora hlencan, hycgan on ellen,  
 beran beorht searo, beacnum cigean  
 220 sweot sande near. Snelle gemundon  
 weardas wigleoð, werod wæs gefysed,  
 brudon ofer burgum, (byman gehyrdon),  
 flotan feldhusum, fyrd wæs on ofste.  
 Siððan hie getealdon wið þam teonhete  
 225 on þam forðherge feðan twelfe  
 moderofra; mægen wæs onhrered.  
 Wæs on anra gehwam æðelan cynnes  
 alesen under lindum leoda duguðe  
 on folcgetæl fiftig cista;  
 230 hæfde cista gehwilc cuðes werodes  
 garberendra, guðfremmendra,  
 X hund geteled, tireadigra.  
 Þæt wæs wiglic werod; wace ne gretton  
 in þæt rincgetæl ræswan herges,  
 235 þa þe for geoguðe gyt ne mihton  
 under bordhreoðan breostnet wera  
 wið flane feond folmum werigean,  
 ne him bealubenne gebiden hæfdon  
 ofer linde lærig, licwunde swor,  
 240 gylpplegan gares. Gamele ne moston,  
 hare heaðorincas, hilde onþeon,



- gif him modheapum mægen swiðrade,  
 ac hie be wæstmum on wig curon,  
 hu in leodscipe læstan wolde  
 245 mod mid aran, eac þan mægnes cræft,  
 garbeames feng.  
 Ða wæs handrofra here ætgædere,  
 fus forðwegas. Fana up gerad,  
 beama beorhtost; bidon ealle þa gen  
 250 hwonne siðboda sæstreamum neah  
 leoht ofer lindum lyftedoras bræc.  
 Ahleop þa for hæleðum hildecalla,  
 bald beohata, bord up ahof,  
 heht þa folctogan fyrde gestillan,  
 255 þenden modiges meðel monige gehyrdon.  
 Wolde reordigean rices hyrde  
 ofer hereciste halgan stefne,  
 werodes wisa wurðmyndum spræc:  
 "Ne beoð ge þy forhtran, þeah þe Faraon brohte  
 260 sweordwigendra side hergas,  
 eorla unrim! Him eallum wile  
 mihtig drihten þurh mine hand  
 to dæge þissum dædlean gyfan,  
 þæt hie lifigende leng ne moton  
 265 ægnian mid yrmðum Israhela cyn.  
 Ne willað eow andrædan deade feðan,  
 fæge ferhðlocan, fyrst is æt ende  
 lænes lifes. Eow is lar godes  
 abroden of breostum. Ic on beteran ræd,  
 270 þæt ge gewurðien wuldres aldor,  
 and eow liffrean lissa bidde,  
 sigora gesynto, þær ge siðien.  
 Ðis is se ecea Abrahames god,  
 frumsceafta frea, se ðas fyrd wereð,  
 275 modig and mægenrof, mid þære miclan hand."  
 Hof ða for hergum hlude stefne  
 lifigendra leod, þa he to leodum spræc:

243 on] *Not in MS.* 248 gerad] rad 249 bidon] buton 253 ahof]  
 hof with a *prefixed above the line* 277 leod] þeod

- "Hwæt, ge nu eagam to on lociað,  
 folca leofost, færwundra sum,  
 280 hu ic sylfa sloh and þeos swiðre hand  
 grene tacne garsecgas deop.  
 Yð up fareð, ofstum wyrceð  
 wæter wealfæsten. Wegas syndon dryge,  
 haswe herestræta, holm gerymed,  
 285 ealde staðolas, þa ic ær ne gefrægn  
 ofer middangeard men geferan,  
 fage feldas, þa forð heonon  
 in ece tid yðe þeahnton,  
 sælde sægrundas. Suðwind fornam  
 290 bæðweges blæst, brim is areafod,  
 sand sæcir spaw. Ic wat soð gere  
 þæt eow mihtig god miltse gecyðde,  
 eorlas ærglade. Ofest is selost  
 þæt ge of feonda fæðme weorðen,  
 295 nu se agend up arærde  
 reade streamas in randgebeorh.  
 Syndon þa foreweallas fægre gesteppe,  
 wrætlicu wægfaru, oð wolcna hrof."  
 Æfter þam wordum werod eall aras,  
 300 modigra mægen. Mere stille bad.  
 Hofon herecyste hwite linde,  
 segnas on sande. Sæweall astah,  
 uplang gestod wið Israhelum  
 andægne fyrst. Wæs seo eorla gedriht  
 305 anes modes,  
 fæstum fæðmum freoðowære heold.  
 Nalles hige gehyrdon haliges lare,  
 siððan leofes leoþ læste near  
 sweg swiðrode and sances bland.  
 310 þa þæt feorðe cyn fyrmest eode,  
 wod on wægstream, wigan on heape,  
 ofer grenne grund, Iudisc feða.

283 wæter wealfæsten] wæter 7 wealfæsten    288 tid] *Not in MS.*    290  
 brim] bring    291 spaw] span

- on orette on uncuð gelad  
 for his mægwinum. Swa him mihtig god  
 315 þæs dægweorces deop lean forgeald,  
 siððan him gesælde sigorworca hreð,  
 þæt he ealdordom agan sceolde  
 ofer cynericu, cneowmaga blæd.  
 Hæfdon him to segne, þa hie on sund stigon,  
 320 ofer bordhreoðan beacen aræred  
 in þam garheape, gyldenne leon,  
 drihtfolca mæst, deora cenost.  
 Be þam herewisan hynðo ne woldon  
 be him lifigendum lange þolian,  
 325 þonne hie to guðe garwudu rærdon  
 ðeoda ænigre. Ðracu wæs on ore,  
 heard handplega, hægsteald modige  
 wæpna wæslihtes, wigend unforhte,  
 bilswaðu blodige, beadumægnes ræs,  
 330 grimhelma gegrind, þær Iudas for.  
 Æfter þære fyrde flota modgade,  
 Rubenes sunu. Randas bæron  
 sæwicingas ofer sealtne mersc,  
 manna menio; micel angetrum  
 335 eode unforht. He his ealdordom  
 synnum aswefede, þæt he siðor for  
 on leofes last. Him on leodsceare  
 frumbearnes riht freobroðor oðþah,  
 ead and æðelo; he wæs gearu swa þeah.  
 340 þær forð æfter him folca þryðum  
 sunu Simeones sweetum comon;  
 þridde þeodmægen (þufas wundon  
 ofer garfare) guðcyste onþrang  
 deawig sceaftum. Dægwoma becwom  
 345 ofer garsege, godes beacna sum,  
 morgen mæretorht; mægen forð gewat.  
 Ða þær folcmægen for æfter oðrum,

313 on orette on uncuð gelad] an on orette un cuð gelad 321 leon] leor  
 326 Ðracu] þraca 327 handplega] hand plega *with hand imperfectly  
 altered from heard* 334 manna] man 340 forð] *Not in MS.* 345 gar-  
 secge] gar secges



- isernhergum. An wisode  
 mægenþrymmum mæst, þy he mære wearð,  
 350 on forðwegas folc æfter wolcnum,  
 cynn æfter cynne. Cuðe æghwilec  
 mægburga riht, swa him Moises bead,  
 eorla æðelo. Him wæs an fæder,  
 leof leodfruma, landriht geþah,  
 355 frod on ferhðe, freomagum leof.  
 Cende cneowsibbe cenra manna  
 heahfædera sum, halige þeode,  
 Israela cyn, onriht godes,  
 swa þæt orþancum ealde reccað  
 360 þa þe mægburge mæst gefrunon,  
 frumcyn feora, fæderæðelo gehwæs.  
 Niwe flodas Noe oferlað,  
 þrymfæst þeoden, mid his þrim sunum,  
 þone deopestan drencefloda  
 365 þara ðe gewurde on woruldrice.  
 Hæfde him on hreðre halige treowa;  
 forþon he gelædde ofer lagustreamas  
 maðmhorda mæst, mine gefræge.  
 On feorhgebeorh foldan hæfde  
 370 eallum eorðcynne ece lafe,  
 frumcneow gehwæs, fæder and moder  
 tuddorteondra, geteled rime  
 mismicelra þonne men cunnon,  
 snottor sæleoda. Eac þon sæda gehwilec  
 375 on bearm scipes beornas feredon,  
 þara þe under heofonum hæleð bryttigað.  
 Swa þæt wise men wordum secgað  
 þæt from Noe nigoða wære  
 fæder Abrahames on folctale.  
 380 þæt is se Abraham se him engla god  
 naman niwan asceop; eac þon neah and feor  
 halige heapas in gehyld bebead,  
 werþeoda geweald; he on wræce lifde.
- 364 drencefloda] dren floda    368 gefræge] fr fræge    371 gehwæs] gehæs  
 381 feor] for with e added above the line after f

- Siððan he gelædde leofost feora  
 385 haliges hæsum; heahlond stigon  
 sibgemagas, on Seone beorh.  
 Wære hie þær fundon, wuldor gesawon,  
 halige heahtreowe, swa hæleð gefrunon.  
 þær eft se snottra sunu Dauides,  
 390 wuldorfæst cyning, witgan larum  
 getimbrede tempel gode,  
 alh haligne, eorðcyninga  
 se wisesta on woruldrice,  
 heahst and haligost, hæleðum gefrægost,  
 395 mæst and mærost, þara þe manna bearn,  
 fira æfter foldan, folmum geworhte.  
 To þam meðelstede magan gelædde  
 Abraham Isaac. Adfyr onbran;  
 fyrst ferhðbana no þy fægenra wæs.  
 400 Wolde þone lastweard lige gesyllan,  
 in bælblyse beorna selost,  
 his swæsne sunu to sigetibre,  
 angan ofer eorðan yrfelafe,  
 feores frofre, ða he swa forð gebad,  
 405 leodum to lafe, langsumne hiht.  
 He þæt gecyðde, þa he þone cniht genam  
 fæste mid folmum, folccuð geteag  
 ealde lafe, (ecg grymetode),  
 þæt he him lifdagas leofran ne wisse  
 410 þonne he hyrde heofoncynige.  
 Up aræmde Abraham þa;  
 se eorl wolde slean eaferan sinne  
 unweaxenne, ecgum reodan  
 magan mid mece, gif hine metod lete.  
 415 Ne wolde him beorht fæder bearn ætniman,  
 halig tiber, ac mid handa befeng.  
 þa him styran cwom stefn of heofonum,

384 gelædde] gelifde *with if altered to æ and d added above the line after d*  
 392 alh] alhn 399 fægenra] fæg ra *with space between g and r for one letter*  
 405 langsumne] *Final e obscured by a defect in the MS.* 411 Abraham  
 þa] *Not in MS.* 413 ecgum] eagam 414 metod] god

- wuldres hleoðor, word æfter spræc:  
 "Ne sleh þu, Abraham, þin agen bearn,  
 420 sunu mid sweorde! Soð is gecyðed,  
 nu þin cunnode cyning alwihta,  
 þæt þu wið waldend wære heolde,  
 fæste treowe, seo þe freoðo sceal  
 in lifdagum lengest weorðan,  
 425 awa to aldre unswiciendo.  
 Hu þearf mannes sunu maran treowe?  
 Ne behwylfan mæg heofon and eorðe  
 his wuldres word, widdra and siddra  
 þonne befæðman mæge foldan sceattas,  
 430 eorðan ymbhwyrft and uprodor,  
 garsecgas gin and þeos geomre lyft.  
 He að swereð, engla þeoden,  
 wyrda waldend and wereda god,  
 soðfæst sigora, þurh his sylfes lif,  
 435 þæt þines cynnes and cneowmaga,  
 randwiggendra, rim ne cunnon,  
 yldo ofer eorðan, ealle cræfte  
 to gesecgenne soðum wordum,  
 nymðe hwylc þæs snottor in sefan weorðe  
 440 þæt he ana mæge ealle geriman  
 stanas on eorðan, steorran on heofonum,  
 sæbeorga sand, sealte yða;  
 ac hie gesittað be sæm tweonum  
 oð Egipte incaðeode  
 445 land Cananea, leode þine,  
 freobearn fæder, folca selost."

\* \* \*

- Folc wæs afæred, flodegsa becwom  
 gastas geomre, geofon deaðe hweop.  
 Wæron beorhhliðu blode bestemed,  
 450 holm heolfre spaw, hream wæs on yðum,  
 wæter wæpna ful, wælmist astah.  
 Wæron Egipte eft oncyrde,  
 flugon forhtigende, fær ongeton,  
 428 widdra] id on an erasure    432 He] ne    442 sand] sund



- woldon herebleaðe hamas findan,  
 455 gylp wearð gnornra. Him ongen genap  
 atol yða gewealc, ne ðær ænig becwom  
 herges to hame, ac behindan beleac  
 wyrd mid wæge. Þær ær wegas lagon,  
 mere modgode, mægen wæs adrenced.  
 460 Streamas stodon, storm up gewat  
 heah to heofonum, herewopa mæst.  
 Laðe cyrmdon, (lyft up geswearc),  
 fægum stæfnum, flod blod gewod.  
 Randbyrig wæron rofene, rodor swipode  
 465 meredeaða mæst, modige swulton,  
 cyningas on corðre, cyre swiðrode  
 sæs æt ende. Wigbord scinon  
 heah ofer hælendum, holmweall astah,  
 merestream modig. Mægen wæs on cwealme  
 470 fæste gefeterod, forðganges weg  
 scarwum æsæled, sand basnodon,  
 witodre fyrde, hwonne waðema stream,  
 sincalda sæ, sealtum yðum  
 æflastum gewuna ece staðulas,  
 475 nacud nydboda, neosan come,  
 fah feðegast, se ðe feondum geneop.  
 Wæs seo hæwene lyft heolfre geblanden,  
 brim berstende blodegesan hweop,  
 sæmanna sið, oðþæt soð metod  
 480 þurh Moyses hand modge rymde,  
 wide wæðde, wælfæðmum sweop.  
 Flod famgode, fæge crungon,  
 lagu land gefeol, lyft wæs onhrered,  
 wicon weallfæsten, wægas burston,  
 485 multon meretorras, þa se mihtiga sloh  
 mid halige hand, heofonrices weard,  
 on werbeamas. Wlance ðeode  
 ne mihton forhabban helpendra pað,  
 merestreames mod, ac he manegum gesceod  
 490 gyllende gryre. Garsecg wedde,

- up ateah, on sleap. Egesan stodon,  
 weollon wælbenna. Witrod gefeol  
 heah of heofonum handweorc godes,  
 famigbosma flodwearde sloh,  
 495 unhleowan wæg, alde mece,  
 þæt ðy deaðdrepe drihte swæfon,  
 synfullra sweet. Sawlum lunnon  
 fæste befarene, flodblac here,  
 siððan hie on bugon brun yppinge,  
 500 modewæga mæst. Mægen eall gedreas  
 ða gedrencte wæron dugoð Egypta,  
 Faraon mid his folcum. He onfond hraðe,  
 siððan grund gestah godes andsaca,  
 þæt wæs mihtigra mereflodes weard;  
 505 wolde heorufæðmum hilde gesceadan,  
 yrre and egesfull. Egyptum wearð  
 þæs dægweorces deop lean gesceod,  
 forðam þæs heriges ham eft ne com  
 ealles ungrundes ænig to lafe,  
 510 þætte sið heora secgan moste,  
 bodigean æfter burgum bealospella mæst,  
 hordwearda hryre, hælēða cwenum,  
 ac þa mægenþreatas meredeað geswealh,  
 spelbodan eac. Se ðe sped ahte,  
 515 ageat gylp wera. Hie wið god wunnon!  
 þanon Israhelum ece rædas  
 on merehwearfe Moyses sægde,  
 heahþungen wer, halige spræce,  
 deop ærende. Dægword nemnað  
 520 swa gyt werðeode, on gewritum findað  
 doma gehwilcne, þara ðe him drihten bebead  
 on þam siðfate soðum wordum,  
 gif onlucan wile lifes wealhstod,  
 beorht in breostum, banhuses weard,

492 witrod] wit rod 499 on bugon] on bogum 501 gedrencte] þege-  
 directe wæron] *Not in MS.* 502 onfond] on feond 503 grund] *Not*  
*in MS.* 505 heorufæðmum] huru fæðmum 510 heora] heoro 514  
 eac] *Not in MS.* 517 Moyses] moyse 519 Dægword] dæg weorc

- 525 ginfæsten god gastes cægon.  
 Run bið gerecenod, ræd forð gæð,  
 hafað wislicu word on fæðme,  
 wile meagollice modum tæcan  
 þæt we gesne ne syn godes þeodscipes,
- 530 metodes miltsa. He us ma onlyhð,  
 nu us boceras beteran secgað  
 lengran lifwynna. Þis is læne dream,  
 wommun awyrgeð, wreccum alyfed,  
 earmra anbid. Eðellease
- 535 þysne gystsele gihðum healdað,  
 murnað on mode, manhus witon  
 fæst under foldan, þær bið fyr and wurm,  
 open ece scræf. Yfela gehwylces  
 swa nu regnþeofas rice dælað,
- 540 ylðo oððe ærdeað. Eftwyrd cymð,  
 mægenþrymma mæst ofer middangeard,  
 dæg dædum fah. Drihten sylfa  
 on þam meðelstede manegum demeð,  
 þonne he soðfæstra sawla lædeð,
- 545 eadige gastas, on uprodor,  
 þær is leoht and lif, eac þon lissa blæd;  
 dugoð on dreame drihten herigað,  
 weroda wuldorcýning, to widan feore.  
 Swa reordode ræda gemyndig
- 550 manna mildost, mihtum swiðed,  
 hludan stefne; here stille bad  
 witodes willan, wundor ongeton,  
 modiges muðhæl; he to mænegum spræc:  
 "Micel is þeos menigeo, mægenwisa trum,
- 555 fullesta mæst, se ðas fare lædeð;  
 hafað us on Cananea cyn gelyfed  
 burh and beagas, brade rice;  
 wile nu gelæstan þæt he lange gehet  
 mid aðsware, engla drihten,
- 560 in fyrndagum fæderycynne,
- 532 lifwynna] lyft wynna 535 healdað] healdeð 538 gehwylces]  
 gehylces 546 is] *Not in MS.* 556 us on] ufon



gif ge gehealdað halige lare,  
 þæt ge feonda gehwone forð ofergangað,  
 gesittað sigerice be sæm tweonum,  
 beorselas beorna. Bið eower blæd micel!"

565 Æfter þam wordum werod wæs on salum,  
 sungon sigebyman, (segnas stodon),  
 on fægerne sweg; folc wæs on lande,  
 hæfde wuldres beam werud gelæded,  
 halige heapas, on hild godes.

570 Life gefegon þa hie oðlæded hæfdon  
 feorh of feonda dome, þeah ðe hie hit frecne geneðdon,  
 weras under wætera hrofas. Gesawon hie þær weallas  
 standan,  
 ealle him brimu blodige þuhton, þurh þa heora beado-  
 searo wægon.

Hreðdon hildespelle, siððan hie þam herge wiðforon;

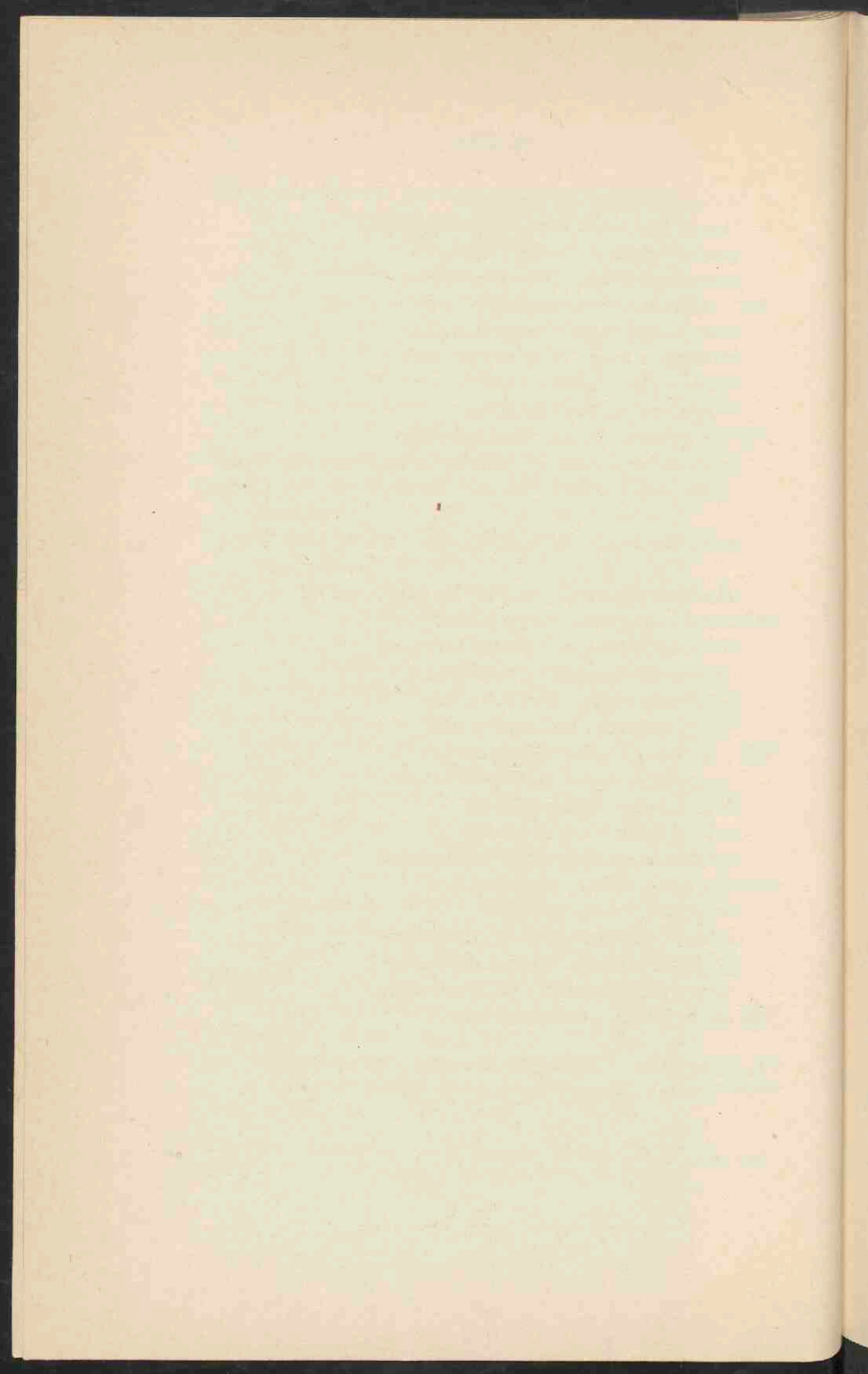
575 hofon hereþreatas hlude stefne,  
 for þam dædweorce drihten heredon,  
 weras wuldres sang; wif on oðrum,  
 folcsweota mæst, fyrdleoð golan  
 aclum stefnum, eallwundra felæ.

580 þa wæs eðfynde Afrisc neowle  
 on geofones staðe golde geweorðod.  
 Handa hofon hałswurðunge,  
 bliðe wæron, bote gesawon,  
 heddon herereafes, hæft wæs onsæled.

585 Ongunnon sælafe segnum dælan  
 on yðlafe, ealde madmas,  
 reaf and randas. Heo on riht sceodon  
 gold and godweb, Iosepes gestreon,  
 wera wuldorgesteald. Werigend lagon

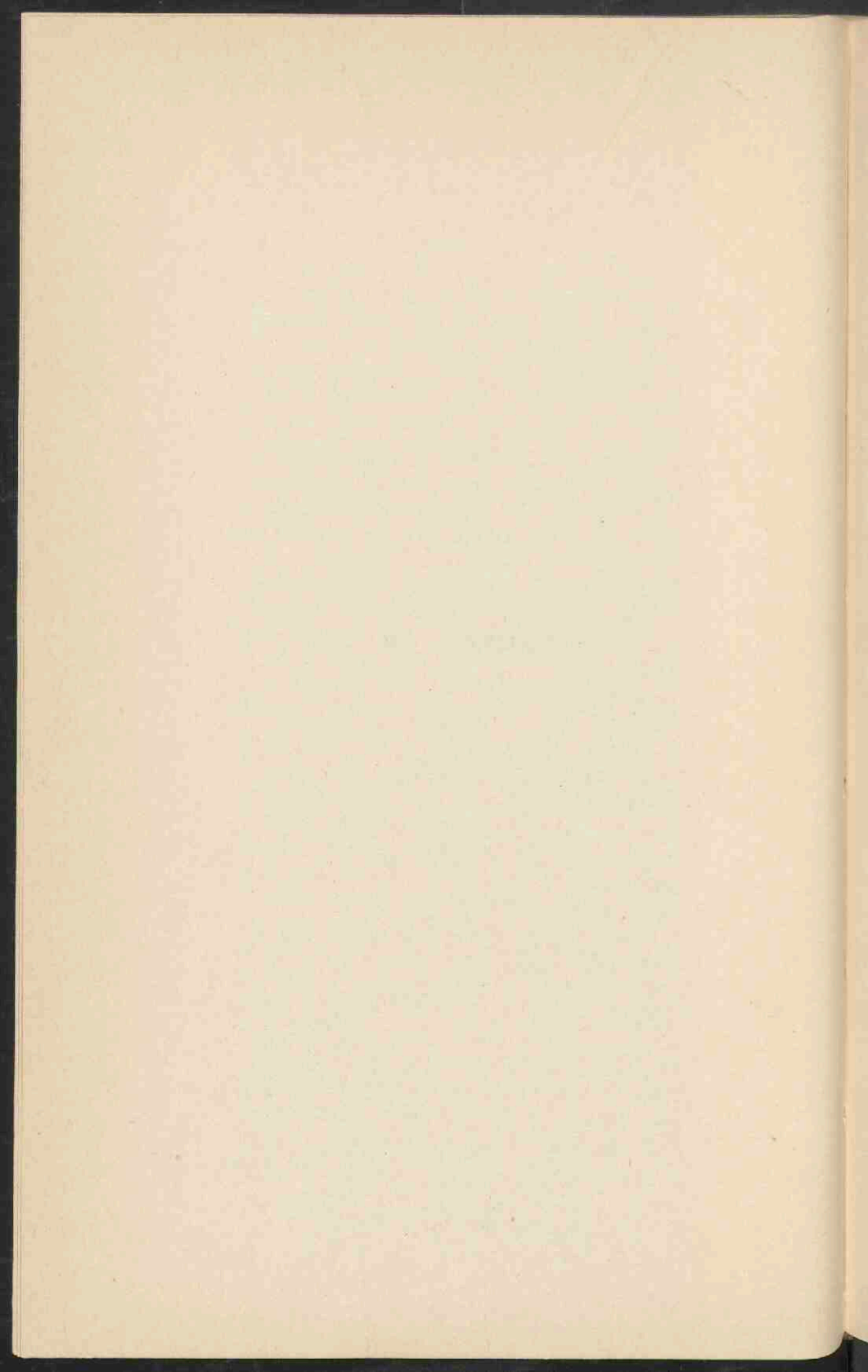
590 on deaðstede, drihtfolca mæst.

570 gefegon] gefeon    574 herge] *Not in MS.*    578 golan] galan    580  
 neowle] meowle    587 sceodon] sceo    590 mæst] mæ



DANIEL





## DANIEL

- Gefrægn ic Hebreos eadge lifgean  
in Hierusalem, goldhord dælan,  
cyningdom habban, swa him gecynde wæs,  
siððan þurh metodes mægen on Moyses hand  
5 wearð wig gifen, wigena mænio,  
and hie of Egyptum ut aforon,  
mægene micle. Þæt wæs modig cyn!  
Þenden hie þy rice rædan moston,  
burgum wealdan, wæs him beorht wela.  
10 Þenden þæt folc mid him hiera fæder wære  
healdan woldon, wæs him hyrde god,  
heofonrices weard, halig drihten,  
wuldres waldend. Se ðam werude geaf  
mod and mihte, metod alwihta,  
15 þæt hie oft fela folca feore gesceodon,  
heriges helmum, þara þe him hold ne wæs,  
oðþæt hie wlenco anwod æt winþege  
deofoldædum, druncne geðohtas.  
Þa hie æcræftas ane forleton,  
20 metodes mægenscipe, swa no man scyle  
his gastes lufan wið gode dælan.  
Þa geseah ic þa gedriht in gedwolan hweorfan,  
Israhela cyn unriht don,  
wommas wyrcean. Þæt wæs weorc gode!  
25 Oft he þam leodum to lare sende,  
heofonrices weard, halige gastas,  
þa þam werude wisdom budon.  
Hie þære snytro soð gelyfdon  
lytle hwile, oðþæt hie langung beswac  
30 eorðan dreamas eces rædes,  
þæt hie æt siðestan sylfe forleton  
drihtnes domas, curon deofles cræft.

- þa wearð reðemod rices ðeoden,  
 unhold þeodum þam þe æhte geaf.
- 35 Wisde him æt frymðe, ða ðe on fruman ær ðon  
 wæron mancynnes metode dyrust,  
 dugoda dyrust, drihtne leofost;  
 herepað tæhte to þære hean byrig,  
 eorlum elðeodigum, on eðelland
- 40 þær Salem stod searwum afæstnod,  
 weallum geweorðod. To þæs witgan foron,  
 Caldea cyn, to ceastre forð,  
 þær Israela æhta wæron,  
 bewrigene mid weorcum; to þam þæt werod gefor,  
 bewrigene mid weorcum; to þam þæt werod gefor,
- 45 mægenþreat mære, manbealwes georn.  
 Awehte þone wælnið wera aldorfrea,  
 Babilones brego, on his burhstede,  
 Nabochodonossor, þurh niðhete,  
 þæt he secan ongan sefan gehygdum
- 50 hu he Israelum eaðost meahte  
 þurh gromra gang guman oðþringan.  
 Gesamnode þa suðan and norðan  
 wælhreow werod, and west foran  
 herige hæðencyninga to þære hean byrig.
- 55 Israela eðelweardas  
 hæfdon lufan, lifwelan, þenden hie let metod.  
 þa ic eðan gefrægn ealdfeonda cyn  
 winburh wera. þa wigan ne gelyfdon,  
 hereafodon þa receda wuldor readan golde,
- 60 since and seolfre, Salomones templ.  
 Gestrudan gestreona under stanhliðum,  
 swilc eall swa þa eorlas agan sceoldon,  
 oðþæt hie burga gehwone abrocen hæfdon,  
 þara þe þam folce to friðe stodon.
- 65 Gehlodon him to huðe hordwearda gestreon,  
 feoh and frætwa, swilc þær funden wæs,  
 and þa mid þam æhtum eft siðedon,

34 þeodum] þeoden 35 Wisde] wisðe 38 herepað] herepoð tæhte]  
*Not in MS.* 53 foran] faran 56 hæfdon] *Not in MS.* 57 ic] eac  
 66 feoh] fea frætwa] frcos



- and gelæddon eac on langne sið  
 Israela cyn, on eastwegas  
 70 to Babilonia, beorna unrim,  
 under hand hæleð hæðenum deman.  
 Nabochodonossor him on nyd dýde  
 Israela bearn ofer ealle lufen,  
 wæpna lafe to weorcþeowum.  
 75 Onsende þa sinra þegna  
 worn þæs werudes west toferan,  
 þæt him þara leoda land geheolde,  
 eðne eðel, æfter Ebreum.  
 Het þa secan sine grefan  
 80 geond Israela earme lafe,  
 hwilc þære geogoðe gleawost wære  
 boca bebodes, þe þær brungen wæs.  
 Wolde þæt þa cnihtas cræft leornedon,  
 þæt him snytro on sefan secgan mihte,  
 85 nales ðy þe he þæt moste oððe gemunan wolde  
 þæt he þara gifena gode þancode  
 þe him þær to duguðe drihten scyrede.  
 þa hie þær fundon þry freagleawe  
 æðele cnihtas and æfæste,  
 90 ginge and gode in godsæde;  
 an wæs Annanias, oðer Azarias,  
 þrida Misael, metode gecorene.  
 þa þry comon to þeodne foran,  
 hearde and higeþancle, þær se hæðena sæt,  
 95 cyning cordres georn, in Caldea byrig.  
 þa hie þam wþancan wisdom sceoldon,  
 weras Ebra, wordum cyðan,  
 hige-cræft heane, þurh halig mod,  
 þa se beorn bebead, Babilone weard,  
 100 swiðmod cyning, sinum þegnum,  
 þæt þa frumgaras be feore dæde,  
 þæt þam gengum þrym gad ne wære  
 wiste ne wæde in woruldlife.

73 ofer] otor    76 west] wes    77 leoda] leode    88 þry] to    97 cyðan]  
 cyðdon

- þa wæs breme Babilone weard,  
 105 mære and modig ofer middangeard,  
 egesful ylða bearnum. No he æ fremede,  
 ac in oferhygde æghwæs lifde.  
 þa þam folctogan on frumslæpe,  
 siððan to reste gehwearf rice þeoden,  
 110 com on sefan hwurfan swefnes woma,  
 hu woruld wære wundrum geteod,  
 ungelic yldum oð edsceafta.  
 Wearð him on slæpe soð gecyðed,  
 þætte rices gehwæs reðe sceolde gelimpan,  
 115 eorðan dreamas, ende wurðan.  
 þa onwoc wulfheort, se ær wingal swæf,  
 Babilone weard. Næs him bliðe hige,  
 ac him sorh astah, swefnes woma.  
 No he gemunde þæt him meted wæs.  
 120 Het þa tosomne sinra leoda  
 þa wiccungdom widost bæron,  
 frægn þa ða mænigeo hwæt hine gemætte,  
 þenden reordberend reste wunode.  
 Wearð he on þam egesan acol worden,  
 125 þa he ne wisse word ne angin  
 swefnes sines; het him secgan þeah.  
 þa him unbliðe andswaredon  
 deofolwitgan (næs him dom gearu  
 to asecganne swefen cyninge):  
 130 "Hu magon we swa dygle, drihten, ahicgan  
 on sefan þinne, hu ðe swefnede,  
 oððe wyrða gesceaft wisdom bude,  
 gif þu his ærest ne meaht or areccan?"  
 þa him unbliðe andswarode  
 135 wulfheort cyning, witgum sinum:  
 "Næron ge swa eacne ofer ealle men  
 modgeþances swa ge me sægdon,  
 and þæt gecwædon, þæt ge cuðon  
 mine aldorlege, swa me æfter wearð,

107 æghwæs] æghæs with w added above the line after h  
 138 gecwædon] gcwædon

119 meted] metod

- 140 oððe ic furðor findan sceolde.  
 Nu ge mætinge mine ne cunnon,  
 þa þe me for werode wisdom berað.  
 Ge sweltað deaðe, nymþe ic dom wite  
 soðan swefnes, þæs min sefa myndgað.”
- 145 Ne meahte þa seo mænigeo on þam meðelstede  
 þurh witigdom wihte aþencean  
 ne ahicgan, þa hit forhæfed gewearð  
 þætte hie sædon swefn cyninge,  
 wyrda gerynu, oðþæt witga cwom,
- 150 Daniel to dome, se wæs drihtne gecoren,  
 snotor and soðfæst, in þæt seld gangan.  
 Se wæs ordfruma earmre lafe  
 þære þe þam hæðenan hyran sceolde.  
 Him god sealde gife of heofnum
- 155 þurh hleoðorcwyde haliges gastes,  
 þæt him engel godes eall asægde  
 swa his mandrihten gemæted wearð.  
 Ða eode Daniel, þa dæg lyhte,  
 swefen reccan sinum frean,
- 160 sægde him wislice wereda gesceafta,  
 þætte sona ongeat swiðmod cyning  
 ord and ende þæs þe him ywed wæs.  
 Ða hæfde Daniel dom micelne,  
 blæd in Babilonia mid bocerum,
- 165 siððan he gesæde swefen cyninge,  
 þæt he ær for fyrenum onfon ne meahte,  
 Babilonie weard, in his breostlocan.  
 No hwæðere þæt Daniel gedon mihte  
 þæt he wolde metodes mihte gelyian,
- 170 ac he wyrcan ongan weoh on felda  
 þam þe deormode Diran heton,  
 se wæs on ðære ðeode ðe swa hatte,  
 bresne Babilonige. þære burge weard  
 anne manlican ofer metodes est,
- 175 gyld of golde, gumum arærde,



for þam þe gleaw ne wæs, gumrices weard,  
reðe and rædleas, riht

\* \* \*

þa wearð hæleða hlyst þa hleoðor cwom  
byman stefne ofer burhware.

180 þa hie for þam cumble on cneowum sæton,  
onhnigon to þam herige hæðne þeode,  
wurðedon wihgyld, ne wiston wræstran ræd,  
efndon unrihtdom, swa hyra aldor dyde,  
mane gemenged, mode gefrecnod.

185 Fremde folcmægen, swa hyra frea ærest,  
unræd efnde, (him þæs æfter becwom  
yfel endelean), unriht dyde.

þær þry wæron on þæs þeodnes byrig,  
eorlas Israela, þæt hie a noldon

190 hyra þeodnes dom þafigan onginnan,  
þæt hie to þam beacne gebedu rærde,  
ðeah ðe ðær on herige byman sungon.  
Ða wæron æðelum god Abrahames bearn,  
wæron wærfæste, wiston drihten

195 ecne uppe, ælmihtigne.  
Cnihtas cynegode cuð gedydon,  
þæt hie him þæt gold to gode noldon  
habban ne healdan, ac þone hean cyning,  
gasta hyrde, ðe him gife sealde.

200 Oft hie to bote balde gecwædon  
þæt hie þæs wiges wihte ne rohton,  
ne hie to þam gebede mihte gebædon  
hæðen heriges wisa, þæt hie þider hweorfan wolden,  
guman to þam gyldnan gylde, þe he him to gode ge-  
teode.

205 þegnas þeodne sægdon þæt hie þære geþeahthe wæron,  
hæftas hearan, in þisse hean byrig,  
þa þis hegan ne willað, ne þysne wig wurðigean,  
þe ðu þe to wuldre wundrum teodest.

Ða him bolgenmod Babilone weard

193 god] *Not in MS.* 195 ælmihtigne] ælmihtne 208 wuldre] *Not in MS.*

- 210 yrre andswarode, eorlum onmælde  
 grimme þam gingum, and geocre oncwæð,  
 þæt hie gegnunga gyldan sceolde  
 oððe þrowigean þreanied micel,  
 frecne fyres wylm, nymðe hie friðes wolde
- 215 wilnian to þam wyrrestan, weras Ebrea,  
 guman to þam golde, þe he him to gode teode.  
 Noldon þeah þa hyssas hyran larum  
 in hige hæðnum. Hogedon georne  
 þæt æ godes ealle gelæste,
- 220 and ne awacodon wereda drihtne,  
 ne þan mæ gehwurfe in hæðendom,  
 ne hie to facne freoðo wilnedan,  
 þeah þe him se bitera deað geboden wære.  
 þa wearð yrre anmod cyning, het he ofn onhætan
- 225 to cwale cnihta feorum forðam þe hie his cræftas  
 onsocon.  
 þa he wæs gegledeð, swa he grimmost mihte,  
 frecne fyres lige, þa he þyder folc samnode,  
 and gebindan het, Babilone weard,  
 grim and gealhmod, godes spelbodan.
- 230 Het þa his scalcas scufan þa hyssas  
 in bælblyse, beornas geonge.  
 Gearo wæs se him geoce gefremede; þeah þe hie swa  
 grome nydde  
 in fæðm fyres lige, hwæðere heora feorh generede  
 mihtig metodes weard. Swa þæt mænige gefrunon,
- 235 halige him þær help geteode, sende him of hean rodore  
 god, gumena weard, gast þone halgan.  
 Engel in þone ofn innan becwom þær hie þæt aglac  
 drugon,  
 freobearn fæðmum beþeahte under þam fyrenan hrofe.  
 Ne mihte þeah heora wlite gewemman owiht
- 240 wylm þæs wæfran liges, þa hie se waldend neredede.  
 Hreohmod wæs se hæðena þeoden, het hie hraðe  
 bænan.

221 gehwurfe] gen hwyrf    226 gegledeð] gelædeð    227 he] þe with þ  
 altered to h    239 owiht] Not in MS.

Æled wæs ungescead micel. Ða wæs se ofen onhæted,  
 isen eall ðurhgleded. Hine ðær esnas mænige  
 wurpon wudu on innan, swa him wæs on wordum  
 gedemed;

- 245 bæron brandas on bryne blacan fyres,  
 (wolde wulfheort cyning wall onsteallan,  
 iserne ymb æfæste), oðþæt up gewat  
 lig ofer leofum and þurh lust gesloh  
 micle mare þonne gemet wære.
- 250 Ða se lig gewand on laðe men,  
 hæðne of halgum. Hyssas wæron  
 bliðmode, burnon scealcas  
 ymb ofn utan, alet gehwearf  
 teonfullum on teso. Ðær to geseah
- 255 Babilone brego. Bliðe wæron  
 eorlas Ebreas, ofestum heredon  
 drihten on dreame, dydon swa hie cuðon  
 ofne on innan, aldre generede.  
 Guman glædmode god wurðedon,
- 260 under þæs fæðme þe geflymed wearð  
 frecne fyres hæto. Freobearn wurdon  
 alæten liges gange, ne hie him þær lað gedydon.  
 Næs him se sweg to sorge ðon ma þe sunnan scima,  
 ne se bryne beot mæcgum þe in þam beote wæron,
- 265 ac þæt fyr fyr scyde to ðam þe ða scylde worhton,  
 hwearf on þa hæðenan hæftas fram þam halgan cnihton,  
 werigra wlite minsode, þa ðe ðy worce gefægon.  
 Geseah ða swiðmod cyning, ða he his sefan ontrowde,  
 wundor on wite agangen; him þæt wræclíc þuhte.
- 270 Hyssas hale hwurfon in þam hatan ofne,  
 ealle æfæste ðry; him eac þær wæs  
 an on gesyhðe, engel ælmihtiges.  
 Him þær on ofne owiht ne derede,  
 ac wæs þær inne ealles gelicost
- 275 efne þonne on sumera sunne scineð,

246 onsteallan] onstealle

255 Bliðe] bliðe

264 þe] þen

265 þe] we

266 hwearf on] hweorfon

268 cyning] cynig

273 on ofne] *Not in MS.*



and deaw dryge on dæge weorðeð,  
winde geondsawen. þæt wæs wuldres god  
þe hie generede wið þam niðhete.

Ða Azarias ingeþancum

280 hleoðrade halig þurh hatne lig,  
dread dæda georn, drihten herede,  
wer womma leas, and þa word acwæð:

“Metod alwihta, hwæt! þu eart mihtum swið  
niðas to nergenne. Is þin nama mære,

285 wlitig and wuldorfæst ofer werðeode.  
Siendon þine domas in daga gehwam  
soðe and geswiðde and gesigefæste,  
swa þu eac sylfa eart.

Syndon þine willan on woruldspedum

290 rihte and gerume, rodora waldend.  
Geoca user georne nu, gasta scyppend,  
and þurh hylde help, halig drihten,  
nu we þec for þreaum and for ðeonydum  
and for eaðmedum arna biddað,

295 lige belege. We ðæs lifgende  
worhton on worulde, eac ðon wom dyde  
user yldran; for oferhygdum  
bræcon bebodo burhsittende,  
had oferhokedon halgan lifes.

300 Siendon we towrecene geond widne grund,  
heapum tohworfene, hyldelease;  
is user lif geond landa fela  
fracoð and gefræge folca manegum,  
þa usic bewræcon to þæs wyrrestan

305 eorðcýninga æhta gewælde,  
on hæft heorugrimra, and we nu hæðenra  
þeowned þoliað. þæs þe þanc sie,  
wereda wuldorcýning, þæt þu us þas wrace teodest.

Ne forlet þu usic ane, ece drihten,

310 for ðam miltsum ðe ðec men hligað,

276 dryge] drias 281 dreag] *Not in MS.* 292 hylde] *Not in MS.*  
293 we] *Added above the line between nu and þec* 298 burhsittende]  
burhsittendum 304 usic] us ec 309 ane] ana

- and for ðam treowum þe þu, tirum fæst,  
niða nergend, genumen hæfdest  
to Abrahame and to Isaace  
and to Iacobe, gasta scyppend.
- 315 þu him þæt gehete þurh hleoðorcwyde,  
þæt þu hyra frumcyn in fyrndagum  
ican wolde, þætte æfter him  
on cneorissum cenned wurde,  
and seo mænigeo mære wære,
- 320 had to hebbanne swa heofonsteorran  
bebugað bradne hwyrft, oððe brimfaropes,  
sæfaroða sand, geond sealtne wæg  
in eare gryndeð, þæt his unrim a  
in wintra worn wurðan sceolde.
- 325 Fyl nu frumspræce, ðeah heora fea lifigen!  
Wlitiga þinne wordcwyde and þin wuldor on us!  
Gecyð craft and miht þæt þa Caldeas  
and folca fela gefrigen habbað,  
ða þe under heofenum hæðene lifigeað,
- 330 and þæt þu ana eart ece drihten,  
weroda waldend, woruldgesceafta,  
sigora settend, soðfæst metod!"  
Swa se halga wer hergende wæs  
metodes miltse and his mihta sped
- 335 rehte þurh reorde. Ða of roderum wæs  
engel ælbeorht ufan onsended,  
wlitescyne wer on his wuldorhaman,  
se him cwom to frofre and to feorhnere  
mid lufan and mid lisse. Se ðone lig tosceaf,
- 340 halig and heofonbeorht, hatan fyres,  
tosweop hine and toswende þurh þa swiðan miht,  
ligges leoman, þæt hyra lice ne wæs  
owiht geegled, ac he on andan sloh  
fyr on feondas for fyrendædum.
- 345 þa wæs on þam ofne, þær se engel becwom,
- 320 had] hat 321 oððe] oð þ for oð þæt brimfaroþes] brim fero . þæs  
323 in] me eare] are unrim a] unrima 327 þæt þa] þ þ 342  
leoman] leoma hyra] hyre

- windig and wynsum, wedere gelicost  
 þonne hit on sumeres tid sended weorðeð  
 dropena drearung on dæges hwile,  
 wearmlic wolcna scur. Swylc bið wedera cyst,
- 350 swylc wæs on þam fyre frean mihtum  
 halgum to helpe. Wearð se hata lig  
 todrifen and todwæsced þær þa dædhwatan  
 geond þone ofen eodon, and se engel mid,  
 feorh nerigende, se ðær feorða wæs,
- 355 Annanias and Azarias  
 and Misael. Þær þa modhwatan  
 þry on geðancum ðeoden heredon,  
 bædon bletsian bearn Israela  
 eall landgesceaft ecne drihten,
- 360 ðeoda waldend. Swa hie þry cwædon,  
 modum horsce, þurh gemæne word:  
 "Ðe gebletsige, bylywit fæder,  
 woruldcrafta wlite and weorca gehwile!  
 Heofonas and englas, and hluttur wæter,
- 365 þa ðe ofer roderum on rihtne gesceaft  
 wuniað in wuldre, ða þec wurðiað!  
 And þec, ælmihtig, calle gesceafte,  
 rodorbeorhtan tunglu, þa þe ryne healdað,  
 sunna and mona, sundor anra gehwile
- 370 herige in hade! And heofonsteorran,  
 deaw and deor scur, ða ðec domige!  
 And þec, mihtig god, gastas lofige!  
 Byrnende fyr and beorht sumor  
 nergend hergað! Niht somod and dæg,
- 375 and þec landa gehwile, leoht and þeostro,  
 herige on hade, somod hat and ceald!  
 And þec, frea mihtig, forstas and snawas,  
 winterbiter weder and wolcenfaru,  
 lofige on lyfte! And þec ligetu,
- 380 blace, berhtmhwate, þa þec bletsige!  
 Eall eorðan grund, ece drihten,  
 hyllas and hrusan and hea beorgas,



- sealte sæwægas, soðfæst metod,  
 eastream yða and upcyme,  
 385 wætersprync wylla, ða ðec wurðiað!  
 Hwalas ðec herigað, and hefonfugolas,  
 lyftlacende, þa ðe lagostreamas,  
 wæterscipe weggað! And wildu deor  
 and neata gehwilt naman bletsie!  
 390 And manna bearn modum lufiað,  
 and þec Israela, æhta scyppend,  
 herigað in hade, herran sinne!  
 And þec haligra heortan cræftas,  
 soðfæstra gehwæs sawle and gastas,  
 395 lofiað liffrean, lean sellende  
 eallum eadmodum, ece drihten!  
 Annanias ðec and Adzarias  
 and Misael metod domige  
 breostgeðancum! We þec bletsiað,  
 400 frea folca gehwæs, fæder ælmihtig,  
 soð sunu metodes, sawla nergend,  
 hæleða helpend, and þec, halig gast,  
 wurðiað in wuldre, witig drihten!  
 We ðec herigað, halig drihten,  
 405 and gebedum bremað! Þu gebletsad eart,  
 gewurðad wideferhð ofer worulde hrof,  
 heahcynig heofones, halgum mihtum,  
 lifes leohtruma, ofer landa gehwilt!"  
 Ða þæt ehtode ealdor þeode,  
 410 Nabochodonossor, wið þam nehstum  
 folcgesiðum: "Þæt eower fela geseah,  
 þeode mine, þæt we þry sendon,  
 geboden to bæle in byrnende  
 fyres leoman. Nu ic þær feower men  
 415 geseo to soðe, nales me sefa leogeð."  
 Ða cwæð se ðe wæs cyninges ræswa,  
 wis and wordgleaw: "Þæt is wundra sum

392 sinne] pinne    396 eadmodum] *Not in MS.*    403 wurðiað] wurðað  
 406 wideferhð] ferhð    409 ealdor] ealde    410 nehstum] nehstam  
 412 þeode] þeoden    sendon] syndon    415 sefa] selfa

- þæt we ðær eagum on lociað.  
 Geðenc, ðeoden min, þine gerysna!  
 420 Ongyt georne hwa þa gyfe sealde  
 gingum gædelingum! Hie god herigað,  
 anne ecne, and ealles him  
 be naman gehwam on neod sprecað,  
 þanciað þrymmes þristum wordum,  
 425 cweðað he sie ana ælmihtig god,  
 witig wuldorcýning, worlde and heofona.  
 Aban þu þa beornas, brego Caldea,  
 ut of ofne. Nis hit owihtes god  
 þæt hie sien on þam laðe leng þonne þu þurfe."  
 430 Het þa se cýning to him cnihtas gangan.  
 Hyssas hearde hyrdon lare,  
 cyrdon cynegode swa hie gecyðde wæron,  
 hwurfon hæleð geonge to þam hæðenan foran.  
 Wæron þa bende forburnene þe him on banum lagon,  
 435 laðsearo leoda cýninges, and hyra lice geborgen.  
 Næs hyra wlite gewemmed, ne nænig wroht on hrægle,  
 ne feax fyre beswæled, ac hie on friðe drihtnes  
 of ðam grimman gryre glade treddeðon,  
 gleawmode guman, on gastes hyld.  
 440 Ða gewat se engel up secan him ece dreamas  
 on heanne hrof heofona rices,  
 heh þegn and hold halgum metode.  
 Hæfde on þam wundre gewurðod ðe þa gewyrhto ahton.  
 Hyssas heredon drihten for þam hæðenan folce,  
 445 septon hie soðcwidum and him sædon fela  
 soðra tacna, oðþæt he sylfa gelyfde  
 þæt se wære mihta waldend se ðe hie of ðam mirce  
 generede.  
 Gebead þa se bræsna Babilone weard  
 swiðmod sinum leodum, þæt se wære his aldre scyldig,  
 450 se ðæs onsoce þætte soð wære  
 mære mihta waldend, se hie of þam morðre alysde.  
 Agæf him þa his leoda lafe þe þær gelædde wæron
- 421 gædelingum] gædelinge    434 bende] benne    444 heredon] heredo  
 445 septon] stepton

- on æht ealdfeondum, þæt hie are hæfdon.  
 Wæs heora blæd in Babilone, siððan hie þone bryne  
 fandedon,  
 455 dom wearð æfter duguðe gecyðed, siððan hie drihtne  
 gehyrdon.  
 Wæron hyra rædas rice, siððan hie rodera waldend,  
 halig heofonrices weard, wið þone hearm gescylde.  
 Þa ic secan gefrægn soðum wordum,  
 siððan he wundor onget,  
 460 Babilone weard, þurh fyres bryne,  
 hu þa hyssas þry hatan ofnes,  
 færgryre fyres, oferfaren hæfdon.  
 Wylm þurhwodon, swa him wiht ne sceod  
 grim gleda nið, godes spelbodan,  
 465 frecnan fyres, ac him frið drihtnes  
 wið þæs egesan gryre aldor gescylde.  
 Ða se ðeoden ongan geðinges wyrcan;  
 het þa tosomne sine leode,  
 and þa on þam meðle ofer menigo bebead  
 470 wyrd gewordene and wundor godes,  
 þætte on þam cnihtum gecyðed wæs:  
 "Onhicgað nu halige mihte,  
 wise wundor godes! We gesawon  
 þæt he wið cwealme gebearh cnihtum on ofne,  
 475 lacende lig, þam þe his lof bæron;  
 forþam he is ana ece drihten,  
 dema ælmihtig, se ðe him dom forgeaf,  
 spowende sped, þam þe his spel berað.  
 Forðon witigað þurh wundor monig  
 480 halgum gastum þe his hyld curon.  
 Cuð is þæt me Daniel dyglan swefnes  
 soð gesæde, þæt ær swiðe oðstod  
 manegum on mode minra leoda,  
 forþam ælmihtig eacenne gast  
 485 in sefan sende, snyttro cræftas."

453 on æht] 7 nahte    464 godes] ac godes    477 dema] *Not in MS.*  
 482 soð] soðe    oðstod] oðstod, a letter erased and deleted, and o written  
 above



- Swa wordum spræc werodes ræswa,  
 Babilone weard, siððan he beacen onget,  
 swutol tacen godes. No þy sel dyde,  
 ac þam æðelinge oferhygd gesceod,  
 490 wearð him hyrra hyge and on heortan geðanc  
 mara on modsefan þonne gemet wære,  
 oðþæt hine mid nyde nyðor asette  
 metod ælmihtig, swa he manegum deð  
 þara þe þurh oferhyd up astigeð.  
 495 Þa him wearð on slæpe swefen ætywed,  
 Nabochodonossor; him þæt neh gewearð.  
 Þuhte him þæt on foldan fægre stode  
 wudubeam wlitig, se wæs wyrtum fæst,  
 beorht on blædum. Næs he bearwe gelic,  
 500 ac he hlifode to heofontunglūm,  
 swilce he oferfæðmde foldan sceatas,  
 ealne middangeard, oð merestreamas,  
 twigum and telgum. Ðær he to geseah,  
 þuhte him þæt se wudubeam wilddeor scylde,  
 505 ane æte eallum heolde,  
 swylce fuglas eac heora feorhnere  
 on þæs beames blædum name.  
 Ðuhte him þæt engel ufan of roderum  
 stigan cwome and stefne abead,  
 510 torhtan reorde. Het þæt treow ceorfan  
 and þa wildan deor on weg fleon,  
 swylce eac þa fugolas, þonne his fyll come.  
 Het þonne besnædan seolfes blædum,  
 twigum and telgum, and þeh tacen wesan,  
 515 wunian wyrtruman þæs wudubeames  
 eorðan fæstne, oðþæt eft cyme  
 grene bleða, þonne god sylle.  
 Het eac gebindan beam þone miclan  
 ærenum clamnum and isernum,  
 520 and gesæledne in susl don,  
 þæt his mod wite þæt migtigra
- 491 mara on] maran    500 hlifode] hlifode    511 wildan deor] wildeor  
 515 wyrtruman] wyr trumam

- wite wealdeð þonne he him wið mæge.  
 Þa of slæpe onwoc, (swefn wæs æt ende),  
 eorðlic æðeling, him þæs egesa stod,  
 525 gryre fram ðam gaste ðe þyder god sende.  
 Het þa tosomne sine leode,  
 folctogan feran, frægn ofer ealle  
 swiðmod cyning hwæt þæt swefen bude,  
 nalles þy he wende þæt hie hit wiston,  
 530 ac he cunnode hu hie cweðan woldon.  
 Ða wæs to ðam dome Daniel haten,  
 godes spelboda. Him wæs gæst geseald,  
 halig of heofonum, se his hyge trymede.  
 On þam drihtenweard deopne wisse  
 535 sefan sidne geþanc and snytro cræft,  
 wisne wordwide. Oft he wundor manig,  
 metodes mihta, for men ætbær.  
 Þa he secgan ongan swefnes woman,  
 heahheort and hæðen heriges wisa,  
 540 ealne þone egesan þe him eowed wæs.  
 Bæd hine areccan hwæt seo run bude,  
 hofe haligu word and in hige funde  
 to gesecganne soðum wordum  
 hwæt se beam bude þe he blican geseah,  
 545 and him witgode wyrda geþingu.  
 He ða swigode, hwæðere soð ongeat,  
 Daniel æt þam dome, þæt his drihten wæs,  
 gumena aldor, wið god scyldig.  
 Wandode se wisa, hwæðre he worde cwæð,  
 550 æcræftig ar, to þam æðelinge:  
 “þæt is, weredes weard, wundor unlytel,  
 þæt þu gesawe þurh swefen cuman,  
 heofonheane beam and þa halgan word,  
 yrre and egeslicu, þa se engel cwæð,  
 555 þæt þæt treow sceolde, telgum besnæded,  
 foran afeallan, þæt ær fæste stod,  
 and þonne mid deorum dreamleas beon,  
 westen wunian, and his wyrtruman

- foldan befofen, fyrstmearc wesan  
 560 stille on staðole, swa seo stefn gecwæð,  
 ymb seofon tida sæde eft onfon.  
 Swa þin blæd lið. Swa se beam geweox,  
 heah to heofonum, swa þu hæleðum eart  
 ana eallum eorðbuendum  
 565 weard and wisa. Nis þe wiðerbreca,  
 man on moldan, nymðe metod ana.  
 Se ðec aceorfeð of cyningdome,  
 and ðec wineleasne on wræc sendeð,  
 and þonne onhweorfeð heortan þine,  
 570 þæt þu ne gemyndgast æfter mandreamme,  
 ne gewittes wast butan wildeora þeaw,  
 ac þu lifgende lange þrage  
 heorta hlypum geond holt wunast.  
 Ne bið þec mælmete nymþe mores græs,  
 575 ne rest witod, ac þec regna scur  
 weceð and wreceð swa wildu deor,  
 oðþæt þu ymb seofon winter soð gelyfest,  
 þæt sie an metod eallum mannum,  
 reccend and rice, se on roderum is.  
 580 Is me swa þeah willa þæt se wyrtruma  
 stille wæs on staðole, swa seo stefn gecwæð,  
 and ymbe seofan tide sæde onfenge.  
 Swa þin rice restende bið,  
 anwalh for eorlum, oðþæt þu eft cymst.  
 585 Gehyge þu, frea min, fæstlicne ræd.  
 Syle ælmyssan, wes earmra hleo,  
 þinga for ðeodne, ær ðam seo þrah cyme  
 þæt he þec aworpe of woruldrice.  
 Oft metod alæt monige ðeode  
 590 wyrcan bote, þonne hie woldon sylfe,  
 fyrene fæstan, ær him fær godes  
 þurh egesan gryre aldre gesceode."  
 No þæs fela Daniel to his drihtne gespræc  
 soðra worda þurh snytro cræft,

570 gemyndgast] gemydgast  
 MS.

584 anwalh] anwloh

590 bote] *Not in*



- 595 þæt þæs a se rica reccan wolde,  
 middangeardes weard, ac his mod astah,  
 heah fram heortan; he þæs hearde ongeald.  
 Ongan ða gyddigan þurh gylp micel  
 Caldea cyning þa he ceastergeweorc,
- 600 Babilone burh, on his blæde geseah,  
 Sennera feld sidne bewindan,  
 heah hlifigan; þæt se heretyma  
 werede geworhte þurh wundor micel,  
 wearð ða anhydig ofer ealle men,
- 605 swiðmod in sefan, for ðære sundorgife  
 þe him god sealde, gumena rice,  
 world to gewearde in wera life:  
 "Ðu eart seo micle and min seo mære burh  
 þe ic geworhte to wurðmyndum,
- 610 rume rice. Ic reste on þe,  
 eard and eðel, agan wille."  
 Ða for ðam gylpe gumena drihten  
 forfangen wearð and on fleam gewat,  
 ana on oferhyd ofer ealle men.
- 615 Swa wod wera on gewindagum  
 geocrostne sið in godes wite,  
 ðara þe eft lifigende leode begete,  
 Nabochoodonossor, siððan him nið godes,  
 hreð of heofonum, hete gesceode.
- 620 Seofon winter samod susl þrowode,  
 wildeora westen, winburge cyning.  
 Ða se earfoðmæcg up locode,  
 wilddeora gewita, þurh wolcna gang.  
 Gemunde þa on mode þæt metod wære,
- 625 heofona heahcyning, hæleða bearnum  
 ana ece gast. þa he eft onhwearf  
 wodan gewittes, þær þe he ær wide bær  
 herewosan hige, heortan getenge.  
 þa his gast ahwearf in godes gemynd,
- 630 mod to mannum, siððan he metod onget.  
 Gewat þa earmsceapen eft siðian,
- 599 ceastergeweorc] ceastre weold 615 wod] woð

- nacod nydgenga, nið geðafian,  
 wundorlic wræcca and wæda leas,  
 mætra on modgeðanc, to mancynne,  
 635 ðonne gumena weard in gylpe was.  
 Stod middangeard æfter mandrihtne,  
 eard and eðel æfter þam æðelinge,  
 seofon winter samod, swa no swiðrode  
 rice under roderum oðþæt se ræswa com.  
 640 þa wæs eft geseted in aldordom  
 Babilone weard, hæfde beteran ðeaw,  
 leohtran geleafan in liffruman,  
 þætte god sealde gumena gehwilcum  
 welan swa wite, swa he wolde sylf.  
 645 Ne lengde þa leoda aldor  
 witegena wordcwyrde, ac he wide bead  
 metodes mihte þær he meld ahte,  
 siðfæt sægde sinum leodum,  
 wide waðe þe he mid wilddeorum ateah,  
 650 oðþæt him frean godes in gast becwom  
 rædfæst sefa, ða he to roderum beseah.  
 Wyrð wæs geworden, wundor gecyðed,  
 swefn geseðed, susl awunnen,  
 dom gedemed, swa ær Daniel cwæð,  
 655 þæt se folctoga findan sceolde  
 earfoðsiðas for his ofermedlan.  
 Swa he ofstlice godspellode  
 metodes mihtum for mancynne,  
 siððan in Babilone burhsittendum  
 660 lange hwile lare sægde,  
 Daniel domas. Siððan deora gesið,  
 wildra wærgenga, of waðe cwom,  
 Nabochodonossor of niðwracum,  
 siððan weardode wide rice,  
 665 heold hæleða gestreon and þa hean burh,  
 frod, foremihtig folca ræswa,  
 Caldea cyning, oðþæt him cwelm gesceod,  
 swa him ofer eorðan andsaca ne wæs

643 gehwilcum] gehlilcum *with w written over the first l*

- gumena ænig oðþæt him god wolde  
 670 þurh hryre hreddan hea rice.  
 Siððan þær his aferan ead bryttedon,  
 welan, wunden gold, in þære widan byrig,  
 ealhstede eorla, unwaclice,  
 heah hordmægen, þa hyra hlaford læg.  
 675 Ða in ðære ðeode awoc his þæt þridde cneow.  
 Wæs Baldazar burga aldor,  
 weold wera rices, oðþæt him wlenco gesceod,  
 oferhyd egle. Ða wæs endedæg  
 ðæs ðe Caldeas cyningdom ahton.  
 680 Ða metod onlah Medum and Persum  
 aldordomes ymb lytel fæc,  
 let Babilone blæd swiðrian,  
 þone þa hæleð healdan sceoldon.  
 Wiste he ealdormen in unrihtum,  
 685 ða ðe ðy rice rædan sceoldon.  
 Ða þæt gehogode hamsittende,  
 Meda aldor, þæt ær man ne ongan,  
 þæt he Babilone abrecau wolde,  
 alhstede eorla, þær æðelingas  
 690 under wealla hleo welan bryttnedon.  
 þæt wæs þara fæstna folcum cuðost,  
 mæst and mærost þara þe men bun,  
 Babilon burga, oðþæt Baldazar  
 þurh gylp grome godes frasade.  
 695 Sæton him æt wine wealle belocene,  
 ne onegdon na orlegra nið,  
 þeah ðe feonda folc feran cwome  
 herega gerædum to þære heahbyrig  
 þæt hie Babilone abrecau mihton.  
 700 Gesæt þa to symble siðestan dæge  
 Caldea cyning mid cneomagum,  
 þær medugal wearð mægenes wisa.  
 Het þam æðelum beran Israela gestreon,

675 ðeode] *Preceded by a letter erased* 681 ymb] ym 691 cuðost] s  
 altered from c or t 694 frasade] frea sæde 700 symble] y altered  
 from u 703 æðelum] *Not in MS.*



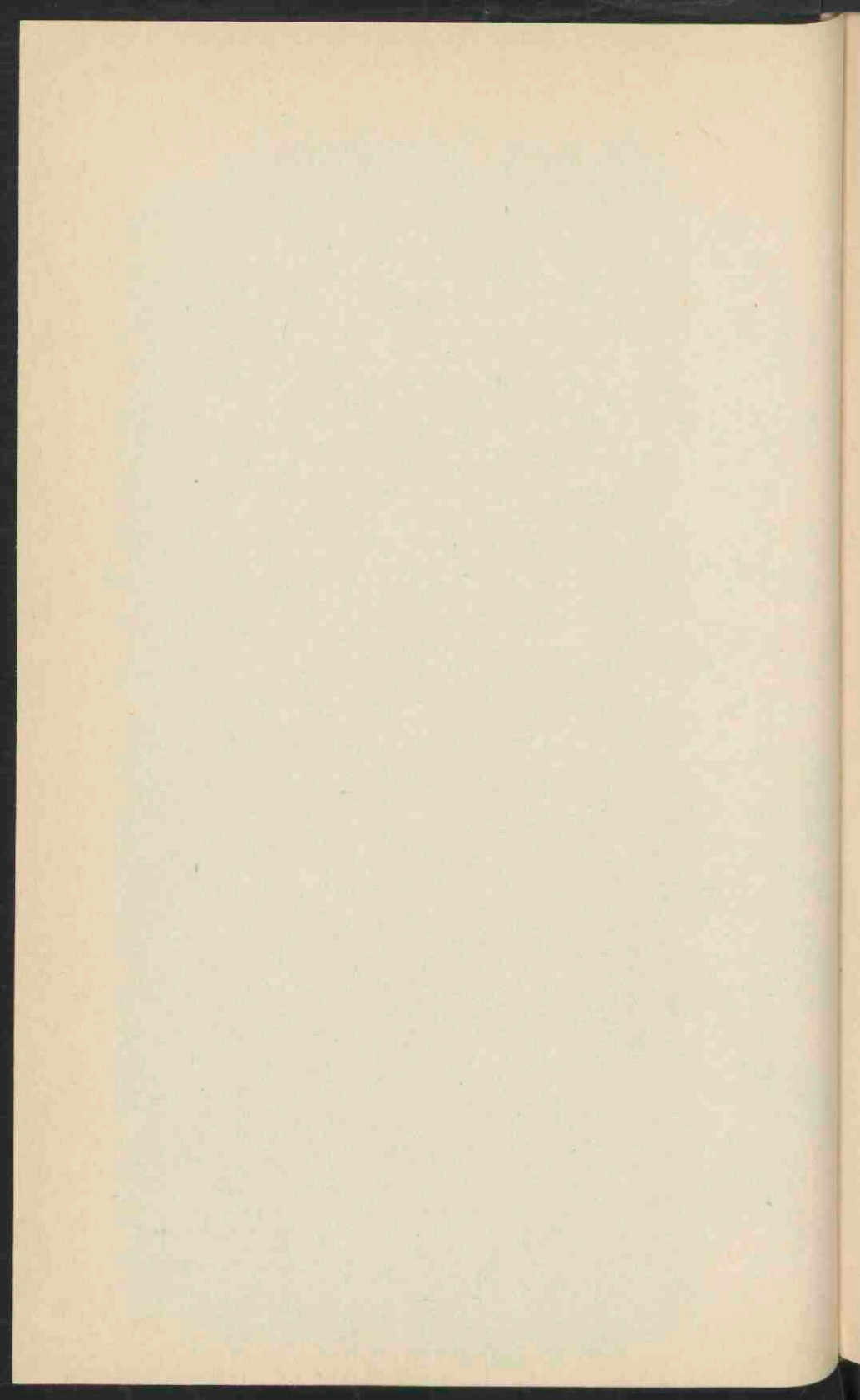
- huslfatu halegu, on hand werum,  
 705 þa ær Caldeas mid cyneðrymme,  
 cempa in ceastre, clæne genamon,  
 gold in Gerusalem, ða hie Iudea  
 blæd forbræcon billa ecgum,  
 and þurh hleoðorcyme, herige genamon  
 710 beorhte frætwe. Ða hie tempel strudon,  
 Salomanes seld, swiðe gulpon.  
 Ða wearð bliðemod burga aldor,  
 gealp gramlice gode on andan,  
 cwæð þæt his hergas hyrran wæron  
 715 and mihtigran mannum to friðe  
 þonne Israela ece drihten.  
 Him þæt tacen wearð þær he to starude,  
 egeslic for eorlum innan healle,  
 þæt he for leodum ligeword gecwæð,  
 720 þa þær in egesan engel drihtnes  
 let his hand cuman in þæt hea seld,  
 wrat þa in wage worda gerynu,  
 baswe bocstafas, burhsittendum.  
 Ða wearð folctoga forht on mode,  
 725 acul for þam egesan. Geseah he engles hand  
 in sele writan Sennera wite.  
 Þæt gyddedon gumena mænigeo,  
 hæleð in healle, hwæt seo hand write  
 to þam beacne burhsittendum.  
 730 Werede comon on þæt wundor seon.  
 Sohton þa swiðe in sefan gehydum,  
 hwæt seo hand write haliges gastes.  
 Ne mihton arædan runcraeftige men  
 engles ærendbec, æðelinga cyn,  
 735 oðþæt Daniel com, drihtne gecoren,  
 snotor and soðfæst, in þæt seld gangan.  
 Ðam wæs on gaste godes cræft micel,  
 to þam ic georne gefrægn gyfum ceapian  
 burhge weardas þæt he him bocstafas  
 740 arædde and arehte, hwæt seo run bude.
- 712 Ða] ð with a added above the line      739 burhge weardas] burh geweardas

- Him æcræftig andswarode,  
 godes spelboda, gleaw geðances:  
 "No ic wið feohsceattum ofer folc bere  
 drihtnes domas, ne ðe dugeðe can,  
 745 ac þe unceapunga orlæg secge,  
 worda gerynu, þa þu wendan ne miht.  
 þu for anmedlan in æht bere  
 huslfatu halegu, on hand werum.  
 On þam ge deoflu drincan ongunnon,  
 750 ða ær Israela in æ hæfdon  
 æt godes earce, oðþæt hie gylp beswac,  
 windruncen gewit, swa þe wurðan sceal.  
 No þæt þin aldor æfre wolde  
 godes goldfatu in gylp beran,  
 755 ne ðy hraðor hremde, ðeah ðe here brohte  
 Israela gestreon in his æhte geweald,  
 ac þæt oftor gecwæð aldor ðeoda  
 soðum wordum ofer sin mægen,  
 siððan him wuldres weard wundor gecyðde,  
 760 þæt he wære ana ealra gesceafta  
 drihten and waldend, se him dom forgeaf,  
 unscyndne blæd eorðan rices,  
 and þu lignest nu þæt sie lifgende,  
 se ofer deoflum dugeþum wealdeð."

748 halegu] halgu with e added above the line after l

CHRIST AND SATAN





## CHRIST AND SATAN

- þæt wearð underne eorðbuendum,  
 þæt meotod hæfde miht and strengðo  
 ða he gefestnade foldan sceatas.  
 Seolfa he gesette sunnan and monan,  
 5 stanas and eorðan, stream ut on sæ,  
 wæter and wolcn, ðurh his wundra miht.  
 Deopne ymblyt clene ymbhaldeð  
 meotod on mihtum, and alne middangeard.  
 He selfa mæg sæ geondwlitan,  
 10 grundas in geofene, godes agen bearn,  
 and he ariman mæg rægnas scuran,  
 dropena gehwelcne. Daga enderim  
 seolua he gesette þurh his soðan miht.  
 Swa se wyrhta þurh his wuldres gast  
 15 serede and sette on six dagum  
 eorðan dæles, up on heofonum,  
 and heanne holm. Hwa is þæt ðe cunne  
 orðonc clene nymðe ece god?  
 Dreamas he gedelde, duguðe and geþeode,  
 20 Adam ærest, and þæt æðele cyn,  
 engla ordfruman, þæt þe eft forwarð.  
 Ðuhte him on mode þæt hit mihte swa,  
 þæt hie weron seolfe swegles brytan,  
 wuldres waldend. Him ðær wirse gelamp,

1 wearð] ð over þ erased eorðbuendum] eorð buendum with a final e  
 erased in eorð 2 meotod hæfde] him added above the line between these  
 words 6 wolcn] e added above the line between c and n 7 ymblyt]  
 ybmlyt 9 sæ] æ altered from e? 10 geofene] heofene corrected to  
 heofenon with final e changed to o and n added above the line 17 and] Not in  
 MS. heanne] henne with a added above the line holm] holme 18  
 clene] Corrected to clæne by altering e nymðe] With a gloss buton added  
 above the line 19 gedelde] æ above second e 21 forwarð] With e added  
 above the line after w 22 him] hjm with eo above i 23 weron] e altered  
 to æ seolfe] y written above eo 24 wirse] wise with ors added above  
 the last three letters gelamp] o written above a

- 25 Ða heo in helle ham staðeledon,  
 an æfter oðrum, in þæt atole scref,  
 þær heo brynewelme bidan sceolden  
 saran sorge, nales swegles leoht  
 habban in heofnum heahgetimbrad,  
 30 ac gedufan sceolun in ðone deopan wælm  
 niðær under nessas in ðone neowlan grund,  
 gredige and gifre. God ana wat  
 hu he þæt scyldige werud forscifen hefde!  
 Cleopað ðonne se alda ut of helle,  
 35 wriceð wordcwedas weregan reorde,  
 eisegan stefne: "Hwær com engla ðrym,  
 þe we on heofnum habban sceoldan?  
 þis is ðeostræ ham, ðearle gebunden  
 fæstum fyrclommum; flor is on welme  
 40 attre onæled. Nis nu ende feor  
 þæt we sceolun ætsomne susel þrowian,  
 wean and wergu, nalles wuldres blæd  
 habban in heofnum, hehselda wyn.  
 Hwæt, we for dryhtene iu dreamas hefdon,  
 45 song on swegle selrum tidum,  
 þær nu ymb ðone æcan æðele stondað,  
 heleð ymb hehseld, herigað drihten  
 wordum and wercum, and ic in wite sceal  
 bidan in bendum, and me bættran ham  
 50 for oferhygdum æfre ne wene."  
 Ða him andsweradan atole gastas,

26 þæt] *The abbreviation, with a letter erased after it* 27 sceolden] *sceoden corrected to sceoldon with l above the line before d and o above e* 28 swegles] *sweogles with o erased* 29 habban] *haban with a second b above the line*  
 31 under] *undcr* 32 gredige] *æ above first e* 33 scyldige] *scyldi followed by ge above the line* hefde] *hefde* 34 cleopað] *cleopad* alda] *e before first a above the line* 35 wordcwedas] *cwedas with word added above the line* 37 þe] *ða þe* 38 ðeostræ] *þe ðeostræ with þe erased* 42 wergu] *wergum* nalles] *nelles with a above the deleted e* wuldres] *wulres*  
 46 æcan] *æ altered to e* 47 heleð] *The first e altered to æ* ymb] *ym with b added above the line* 48 wordum] *wordun* wercum] *wercum with io above the deleted e* 49 bættran] *ættran with b erased* ham] *for ham with for crossed out*



- swarte and synfulle, susle begnornende:  
 "þu us gelærdæst ðurh lyge ðinne  
 þæt we helende heran ne scealdon.  
 55 Ðuhte þe anum þæt ðu ahtest alles gewald,  
 heofnes and eorþan, wære halig god,  
 scypend seolfa. Nu earttu sceaðana sum,  
 in fyrlocan feste gebunden.  
 Wendes ðu ðurh wuldor ðæt þu woruld ahtest,  
 60 alra onwald, and we englas mid ðec.  
 Atol is þin onseon! Habbað we alle swa  
 for ðinum leasungum lyðre gefered.  
 Segdest us to soðe þæt ðin sunu wære  
 meotod moncynnes; hafustu nu mare susel!"  
 65 Swa firenfulle facnum wordum  
 heora aldorðægn on reordadon,  
 on cearam cwidum. Crist heo afirde,  
 dreamum bedelde. Hæfdan dryhtnes liht  
 for oferhygdum ufan forleton,  
 70 hæfdon hym to hyhte helle floras,  
 beornende bealo. Blace hworfon  
 scinnan forsepe, sceaðan hwearfedon,  
 earne æglecan, geond þæt atole scref,  
 for ðam anmedlan þe hie ær drugon.  
 75 Eft reordade oðre siðe  
 feonda aldor. Wæs þa forht agen,  
 seoððan he ðes wites worn gefelde.  
 He spearcade, ðonne he spreocan ongan  
 fyre and atre; ne bið swelc fæger dream  
 80 ðonne he in witum wordum indraf:
- 52 swarte] *With e above the line before a* begnornende] begrorenne 54  
 helende] *With æ above the first e* scealdon] *With o above a* 57  
 sceaðana sum] *earn sceaða followed by na sum, erased* 63 Segdest] *With æ*  
*above the first e* 66 on] un 68 bedelde] *The second e erased and æ written*  
*above* liht] *With i erased and eo written above* 69 ufan] *f over an erasure,*  
*perhaps originally uppan* forleton] *e altered to æ and o to e* 71 hworfon]  
*With e above the line after w* 72 hwearfedon] hwearfdon 74 anmedlan]  
 medlan *with an added above the line* 76 forht] for worht 77 ðes] *e*  
 79 atre] *erased and æ written above* 78 spearcade] *swearcade with c corrected to t*  
 wordum] *A second t above the line after a* ne] *n altered from h* 80

- "Ic wæs iu in heofnum halig ængel,  
 dryhtene deore; hefde me dream mid gode,  
 micelne for meotide, and ðeos menego swa some.  
 þa ic in mode minum hogade  
 85 þæt ic wolde towerpan wuldres leoman,  
 bearn helendes, agan me burga gewald  
 eall to æhte, and ðeos earne heap  
 þe ic hebbe to helle ham geledde.  
 Wene þæt tacen sutol þa ic aseald wes on wærgðu,  
 90 niðer under nessas in ðone neowlan grund.  
 Nu ic eow hebbe to hæftum ham gefærde  
 alle of earde. Nis her eadiges tir,  
 wloncra winsele, ne worulde dream,  
 ne ængla ðreat, ne we upheofon  
 95 agan moten. Is ðes atola ham  
 fyre onæled. Ic eom fah wið god.  
 Æce æt helle duru dracan eardigað,  
 hate on reðre; heo us helpan ne magon.  
 Is ðæs walica ham wites afylled;  
 100 nagan we ðæs heolstres þæt we us gehydan mægon  
 in ðissum neowlan genipe. Hær is nedran swæg,  
 wyrmas gewunade. Is ðis wites clom

82 dryhtene] dryhtene the final e crowded in 85 ic wolde] A letter erased  
 between the words towerpan] io above e wuldres] wulres 86 helendes]  
 æ above first e gewald] e above the line before a 87 ðeos] Made by  
 altering ðes to ðeos 88 geledde] The second e altered to æ 89 Wene]  
 wene with ge added above ne þa ic aseald wes on wærgðu] 7 wærgðu  
 þa ic of aseald wes 90 nessas] nessas with æ above e ðone] ðonne  
 with the first n erased 91 gefærde] geferde with the second e made by erasing  
 the first half of æ and with e added above the line after r, i.e., geferede 92  
 alle] With e above the line before a 93 winsele] y above i and final e altered  
 to a 94 ængla] The first half of æ erased ðreat] ð perhaps altered  
 from d (Gollancz) we] Added above the line upheofon] up heofon with a  
 second p above the line after p 95 agan moten] ne above the line between  
 these words ðes] s over erased os 96 fyre] fyr with e crowded in before  
 the next word 97 Æce] æce with æ altered to e 98 heo] heo with y  
 written above 99 ðæs] The first half of æ erased 100 nagan] Nagan  
 with N over an erasure (of same large capital, Gollancz) mægon] The second  
 part of æ erased 101 Hær] The first half of æ erased swæg] The first half  
 of æ erased

- feste gebunden. Feond seondon reðe,  
 dimme and deorce. Ne her dæg lyhteð  
 105 for scedes sciman, sceppendes leoht.  
 Iu ahte ic gewald ealles wuldres,  
 ær ic moste in ðeossum atolan æðele gebidan  
 hwæt me drihten god deman wille,  
 fagum on flora. Nu ic feran com  
 110 deofla menego to ðissum dimman ham.  
 Ac ic sceal on flyge and on flyhte ðragum  
 earda neosan, and eower ma,  
 þe ðes oferhydes ord onstaldon.  
 Ne ðurfon we ðes wenan, þæt us wuldorcyning  
 115 æfre wille eard alefan,  
 æðel to æhte, swa he ær dyde,  
 ecne onwald; ah him alles gewald,  
 wuldres and wita, waldendes sunu.  
 Forðon ic sceal hean and earm hweorfan ðy widor,  
 120 wadan wræclastas, wuldre benemed,  
 duguðum bedeled, nænigne dream agan  
 uppe mid ænglum, þes ðe ic ær gecwæð  
 þæt ic wære seolfa swægles brytta,  
 wihta wealdend. Ac hit me wyrse gelomp!"  
 125 Swa se werega gast wordum sæde

103 feste] *The first e altered to æ* 104 and] *The abbreviation written over on*  
*erased* lyhteð] *lyh with teð added above the line* 106 Iu] *nu ic]*  
*Added above the line before* gewald 107 ær] *þær æðele] The first half*  
*of æ erased* 108 wille] *y written over i* 111 Ac] *ac with c over h erased*  
 113 onstaldon] *With e added above the line before a* 114 ðes] *With e altered to æ*  
 115 alefan] *With y written over e* 116 æðel] *The first half of æ erased*  
 (Clubb, Gollancz) 117 ecne] *ecc with n added above the line after c* on-  
 wald] *With e added above the line before a* alles] *With e added above the*  
*line before a* gewald] *With e added above the line before a* 118 wuldres]  
 wulres with d added above the line after l waldendes] *With e added above*  
*the line before a* 119 sceal] *Added above the line* earm] *earm ma with*  
*the m of earm added by the corrector and ma canceled by him* hweorfan]  
 hweorfan with y written above eo widor] *A second d after d above the line*  
 122 ænglum] *The first half of æ erased* þes] *with e altered to æ* 123  
 swægles] *The first half of æ erased* 124 wihta wealdend] *ihta wealdend*  
*over an erasure, by second scribe?* Ac] *ac with c over h erased* me] *him*  
 gelomp] *gelomp with a above o*



his earfoðo ealle ætsomne,  
 fah in fyrnum, (fyrleoma stod  
 geond þæt atole scræf attre geblonden):

- “Ic eom limwæstmum þæt ic gelutian ne mæg
- 130 on þysson sidan sele, synnum forwundod.  
 Hwæt, her hat and ceald hwilum mencgað;  
 hwilum ic gehere hellescealcas,  
 gnornende cynn, grundas mænan,  
 niðer under næssum; hwilum nacode men
- 135 winnað ymb wyrmas. Is þes windiga sele  
 eall inneweard atole gefylled.  
 Ne mot ic hihtlicran hames brucan,  
 burga ne bolda, ne on þa beorhtan gescæft  
 ne mot ic æfre ma eagam starian.
- 140 Is me nu wyrsa þæt ic wuldres leoht  
 uppe mid englum æfre cuðe,  
 song on swegle, þær sunu meotodes  
 habbað eadige bearn ealle ymbfangen  
 seolfa mid sange. Ne ic þam sawlum ne mot
- 145 ænigum sceððan,  
 butan þam anum þe he agan nyle;  
 þa ic mot to hæftum ham geferian,  
 bringan to bolde in þone biteran grund.  
 Ealle we syndon ungelice
- 150 þonne þe we iu in heofonum hæfdon ærror  
 wlite and weorðmynt. Ful oft wuldres sweg  
 brohton to bearme bearn hælendes,  
 þær we ymb hine utan ealle hofan,  
 leomu ymb leofne, lofsonga word,
- 155 drihtne sædon. Nu ic eom dædum fah,  
 gewundod mid wommum; sceal nu þysne wites clom  
 beoran beornende in bæce minum,  
 hat on helle, hyhtwillan leas.”  
 þa gyt feola cwiðde firna herde,

133 gnornende] *With i added above the line between second n and e* 135  
 ymb] *With e added above the line* 140 wyrsa] *With a altered to æ* 143  
 eadige] eadigne 146 agan] to agan 151 sweg] *Not in MS.* 159  
 cwiðde] cwide *with dum written above, i.e., cwidum, as alternative reading*  
 herde] herede *with a "faint letter above first e," possibly a erased (Gollancz)*

- 160 atol æglæca, ut of helle,  
 witum werig. Word spearcum fleah  
 attre gelicost, þonne he ut þorhdraf:  
 "Eala drihtenes þrym! Eala duguða helm!  
 Eala meotodes miht! Eala middaneard!  
 165 Eala dæg leohta! Eala dream godes!  
 Eala engla þreat! Eala upheofen!  
 Eala þæt ic eam ealles leas ecan dreames,  
 þæt ic mid handum ne mæg heofon geræcan,  
 ne mid eagum ne mot up locian,  
 170 ne huru mid earum ne sceal æfre geheran  
 þære byrhtestan beman stefne!  
 Ðæs ic wolde of selde sunu meotodes,  
 drihten adrifan, and agan me þæs dreames gewald,  
 wuldres and wyne, me þær wyrse gelamp  
 175 þonne ic to hihte agan moste.  
 Nu ic eom asceaden fram þære sciran driht,  
 alæded fram leohte in þone laðan ham.  
 Ne mæg ic þæt gehicgan hu ic in ðæm becwom,  
 in þis neowle genip, niðsynnum fah,  
 180 aworpen of worulde. Wat ic nu þa  
 þæt bið alles leas ecan dreamas  
 se ðe heofencyninge heran ne þenceð,  
 meotode cweman. Ic þæt morðer sceal,  
 wean and witu and wrace dreogan,  
 185 goda bedæled, iudædum fah,  
 þæs ðe ic geþohhte adrifan drihten of selde,  
 weoroda waldend; sceal nu wreclastas  
 settan sorhgcearig, siðas wide."  
 Hwearf þa to helle þa he gehened wæs,  
 190 godes andsaca; dydon his gingran swa,

162 þorhdraf] þorh draf with u above o 165 leohta] o altered from d  
 (Clubb) 169 up] Followed by ð̅ erased (Clubb, Gollancz) 171 beman]  
 With y above e 178 becwom] becwom 179 niðsynnum] mid synnum  
 180 ic] At end of line; corrector adds abbreviation for þæt 181 ecan]  
 ecan dreamas] The second a altered to æ 183 morðer] morðre 188  
 sorhgcearig] The final g possibly added by the corrector siðas] sidas 190  
 swa] Followed by some above the line as a variant, i.e., swa some

- gifre and grædige, þa hig god bedraf  
 in þæt hate hof þam is hel nama.  
 Forþan sceal gehycgan hæleða æghwylc  
 þæt he ne abælige bearn waldendes.
- 195 Læte him to bysne hu þa blacan feond  
 for oferhygdum ealle forwurdon.  
 Neoman us to wynne weoroda drihten,  
 uppe ecne gefean, engla waldend.  
 He þæt gecyðde þæt he mægen-cræft hæfde,
- 200 mihta miccle, þa he þa mænego adraf,  
 hæftas of ðæm hean selde. Gemunan we þone halgan  
 drihten,  
 ecne in wuldre mid alra gescefta ealdre;  
 ceosan us eard in wuldre mid ealra cyninga cyninge,  
 se is Crist genemned;
- 205 beoran on breostum bliðe geþohtas,  
 sibbe and snytero; gemunan soð and riht,  
 þonne we to hehselde hnigan þencað,  
 and þone anwaldan ara biddan.  
 þonne behofað se ðe her wunað
- 210 weorulde wynnum þæt him wlite scine  
 þonne he oðer lif eft geseceð,  
 fægere land þonne þeos folde seo;  
 is þær wlitig and wynsum, wæstmas scinað,  
 beorhte ofer burgum. þær is brade lond,
- 215 hyhtlicra ham in heofonrice,  
 Criste gecwemra. Uta cerran þider  
 þær he sylfa sit, sigora waldend,  
 drihten hælend, in ðæm deoran ham,

191 hig] hç with ig above e 194 abælige] abælige with the first half of æ  
 erased 197 Neoman] neoman with i above eo 198 uppe] upne 202  
 ealdre] Not in MS. 207 hnigan] nigan at beginning of a line, with h added  
 in margin; h perhaps transferred from end of preceding line, where there  
 is an erasure 208 þone] þonne with the first n partly erased anwaldan]  
 With eal above an as a variant reading ara] Final a changed to æ 212  
 fægere] fægre preceded by .s. mycele, i.e., scilicet mycele, above the line  
 213 is þær wlitig] is wlitig with .s. þær above is, i.e., is þær wlitig 215  
 hyhtlicra] hyhtlicran with the n erased 216 Uta] uta with on above the line  
 between t and a, and a connected by dash with cerran, i.e., uton acerran



- and ymb þæt hehsetl hwite standað  
 220 engla feðan and eadigra,  
 halige heofenþreatas herigað drihten  
 wordum and weorcum. Heora wlite scineð  
 geond ealra worulda woruld mid wuldorcyninge.  
 Ða get ic furðor gefregen feond ondetan;  
 225 wæs him eall ful strang wom and witu; hæfdon wuldor-  
 cying

- for oferhigdum anforlæten;  
 cwædon eft hraðe oðre worde:  
 “Nu is gesene þæt we syngodon  
 uppe on earde. Sceolon nu æfre þæs  
 230 dreogan domlease gewinn drihtnes mihtum.  
 Hwæt, we in wuldres wlite wunian moston  
 þær we halgan gode heran woldon,  
 and him sang ymb seld secgan sceoldon  
 þusendmælum. Þa we þær wæron,  
 235 wunodon on wynnum, geherdon wuldres sweg,  
 beman stefne. Byrhtword aras  
 engla ordfruma, and to þæm æþelan  
 hnigan him sanctas; sigetorht aras  
 ece drihten, ofer us gestod  
 240 and gebletsode bilewitne heap  
 dogra gehwiltne, and his se deora sunu,  
 gasta scyppend. God seolfa wæs  
 eallum andfeng þe ðær up becom,  
 and hine on eorðan ær gelefde.  
 245 þa ðæs ofpuhte þæt se þeoden wæs  
 strang and stiðmod. Ongan ic þa steppan forð  
 ana wið englum, and to him eallum spræc:  
 ‘Ic can eow læran langsumne ræd,

219 ymb] *With e crowded in after b* 220 eadigra] eadigre 221 halige]  
 haligre *with r erased (Clubb, Gollancz)* 223 wuldorcyninge] *The final*  
*e added by corrector (Gollancz)* 224 feond] feonda 227 oðre worde]  
*With um as variant reading above each e, i.e., oðrum wordum* 228  
 syngodon] *ge added before above the line* 231 in] *Added above the line before*  
 wuldres 234 wæron] *Added above the line before wunodon* 244 gelefde]  
*y written above first e*

- gif ge willað minre mihte gelefan.  
 250 Uta oferhycgan helm þone micclan,  
 weroda waldend, agan us þis wuldres leoht,  
 eall to æhte. Þis is idel gylp  
 þæt we ær drugon ealle hwile.  
 Ða gewearð usic þæt we woldon swa  
 255 drihten adrifan of þam deoran ham,  
 cyning of cestre. Cuð is wide  
 þæt wreclastas wunian moton,  
 grimme grundas. God seolfa him  
 rice haldeð. He is ana cyning,  
 260 þe us eorre gewearð, ece drihten,  
 meotod mihtum swið. Sceal nu þeos menego her  
 licgan on leahtrum, sume on lyft scacan,  
 fleogan ofer foldan; fyr bið ymbutan  
 on æghwylcum, þæh he uppe seo.  
 265 Ne mot he þam sawlum þe ðær secað up,  
 eadige of eorþan æfre gehrinan,  
 ah ic be hondum mot hæþenre sceale  
 gripan to grunde, godes andsacan.  
 Sume sceolon hweorfan geond hæleða land  
 270 and on sibbe oft on styrian  
 monna mægðum geond middaneard.  
 Ic her geþolþan sceal þinga æghwylces,  
 bitres niðæs beala gnornian,  
 sic and sorhful, þæs ic seolfa weold,  
 275 þonne ic on heofonum ham staðelode,  
 hwæðer us se eca æfre wille  
 on heofona rice ham alefan,  
 eðel to æhte, swa he ær dyde.”  
 Swa gnornedon godes andsacan,  
 280 hate on helþe. Him wæs hælend god

249 gif] *Followed by w erased* minre] *mire with n added above the line after i*  
 mihte] *mihta with e written above a* 250 Uta] *uta with n added above the*  
*line* 261 swið] *swilc* 262 scacan] *With e above the line after the first c*  
 266 gehrinan] *gerinan with h above the line before r* 267 sceale] *scal*  
 273 niðæs] *in ðæs* 274 sic] *i altered to e and o added above the line, i.e., seoc*  
 278 eðel] *eðle*

- wrað geworden for womcwidum.  
 Forþon mæg gehycgan, se ðe his heorte deah,  
 þæt he him afirre frecne geþohtas,  
 laðe leahtras, lifigendra gehwylc.
- 285 Gemunan symle on mode meotodes strengðo;  
 gearwian us togenes grene stræte  
 up to englum, þær is se ælmihtiga god.  
 And us befæðman wile freobearn godes,  
 gif we þæt on eorðan ær geþencað,
- 290 and us to þam halgan helpe gelefað.  
 þonne he us no forlæteð, ah lif syleð  
 uppe mid englum, eadigne dream.  
 Tæceð us se torhta trumlicne ham,  
 beorhte burhweallas. Beorhte scinað
- 295 gesælige sawle, sorgum bedælde,  
 þær heo æfre forð wunian moten  
 cestre and cynestol. Uton cyþan þæt!  
 Deman we on eorðan, ærror lifigend,  
 onlucan mid listum locen waldendes,
- 300 ongeotan gastlice! Us ongean cumað  
 þusend engla, gif þider moton,  
 and þæt on eorðan ær gewyrcað.  
 Forþon se bið eadig se ðe æfre wile  
 man oferhycgen, meotode cweman,
- 305 synne adwæscan. Swa he sylfa cwæð:  
 "Soðfæste men, sunnan gelice,  
 fægre gefrætewod in heora fæder rice  
 scinað in sceldbyrig." þær heo sceppend seolf  
 friðe befæðmeð, fæder mancynnes,
- 310 ahefeð holdlice in heofones leoht,  
 þær heo mid wuldorcyninge wunian moton  
 awa to aldre,  
 agan dreama dream mid drihtne gode,  
 a to worulde a buton ende.
- 315 Eala hwæt! Se awyrgda wraðe gepohte

290 gelefað] gelefað with e above a 308 seolf] At the end of a line; followed  
 by two letters erased? 309 friðe] Not in MS. mancynnes] mancyn  
 with nes added above the line 315 Eala] ala with space for a capital, and  
 e noted at the edge of the margin



- þæt he heofencyninge heran ne wolde,  
 fæder frefergendum. Flor attre weol,  
 hat under hæftum; hreopan deofla,  
 wide geond windsele wean cwanedon,  
 320 man and morður. Wæs seo menego þær  
 swylce onæled; wæs þæt eall full strong,  
 þonne wæs heora aldor, þe ðær ærest com  
 forð on feþan, fæste gebunden  
 fyre and lige. Þæt wæs fæstlic þreat;  
 325 ec sceoldon his þegnas þær gewunian  
 atolan eðles, nalles up þanon  
 geheran in heofonum haligne dream,  
 þær heo oft fægerne folgað hæfdon  
 uppe mid englum. Wæron þa alles þæs  
 330 goda lease, ah nymþe gryndes ad  
 wunian ne moten and þone werigan sele  
 þær is wom and wop wide gehered,  
 and gristbitungc and gnornungc mecga.  
 Nabbað he to hyhte nymþe cyle and fyr,  
 335 wean and witu and wyrma þreat,  
 dracan and næddran and þone dimman ham.  
 Forðon mihte geheran, se ðe æt hylle wæs  
 twelf milum neh, þæt ðær wæs toða geheaw,  
 hlude and geomre. Godes andsacan  
 340 hweorfan geond helle hate onæled  
 ufan and utan (him wæs æghwær wa),  
 wituw erige, wuldres bescyrede,  
 dreamum bedælde. Heofon deop gehygd,  
 þa heo on heofonum ham staðelodon,  
 345 þæt hie woldon benæman nergendne Crist  
 rodera rices, ah he on riht geheold  
 hired heofona and þæt halige seld.
- 318 hreopan] hreowan    319 windsele] winsle *with d added above the line*  
*after n*    wean] wea    320 seo] ðær    330 lease] leas *with e added by a*  
*different hand*    ah] *Underlined (for canceling?) according to Clubb, but*  
*with scarcely visible underlining in the collotype*    ad] *Not in MS.*  
 331 ne] *Not in MS.*    333 gristbitungc] gristbitunge    gnornungc]  
 gnornunge    334 he] we    339 hlude] lude *with h before l above the line*

- Nis nænig swa snotor ne swa cræftig,  
 ne þæs swa gleaw, nymþe god seolfa,  
 350 þæt asecgan mæge swegles leoman,  
 hu scima þær scineð ymbutan  
 meotodes mihte, geond þæt mære cynn,  
 þær habbað englas eadigne dream,  
 sanctas singað (þæt is se seolfa) for god.  
 355 Þonne beoð þa eadigan þe of eorðan cumað,  
 bringað to bearme blostman stences,  
 wyrte wynsume (þæt synd word godes),  
 þonne hie befæðmeð fæder mancynnes,  
 and hie gesegnað mid his swiðran hond,  
 360 lædeð to lihte, þær hi lif agon  
 a to aldre, uplicne ham,  
 byrhtne burhstyre. Blæd bið æghwæm  
 þæm ðe hælende heran þenceð,  
 and wel is þam ðe þæt wyrcan mot.  
 365 Wæs þæt encgelcyn ær genemned,  
 Lucifer haten, leohtberende,  
 on geardagum in godes rice.  
 Þa he in wuldre wrohte onstalde  
 þæt he oferhyda agan wolde.  
 370 Þa Satanus swearte gepohte  
 þæt he wolde on heofonum hehseld wyrcan  
 uppe mid þam ecan. Þæt wæs ealdor heora,  
 yfeles ordfruma. Him þæt eft gehreaw,  
 þa he to helle hnigan sceolde,  
 375 and his hired mid hine, in hynðo geglidan,  
 nergendes nið, and no seoððan  
 þæt hi mosten in þone ecan andwlitan seon  
 buton ende. Þa him egsa becom,
- 351 scima] sunnu 354 se] *Written by the scribe and partly erased* 357  
 wyrte] e altered to a 360 lædeð] lædæð, probably first written lædað and  
 changed to lædæð 362 byrhtne] y canceled and eo written above  
 burhstyre] y canceled and e written above 363 heran] heran with y  
 written above e 364 wyrcan] Not in MS. 368 wrohte] wroht with e  
 crowded in before the next word onstalde] With e above the line before a  
 370 þa] Not in MS. 373 ordfruma] ordfruman 375 hynðo] to 377  
 seon] Not in MS.

dyne for deman, þa he duru in helle  
 380 bræc and begde. Blis wearð monnum  
 þa hi hælendes heafod gesawon.  
 Þonne wæs þam atolan þe we ær nemdon  
 \* \* \*

þa wæron mid egsan ealle afyrhte,  
 wide geond windsele wordum mændon:  
 385 "þis is stronglic, nu þes storm becom,  
 þegen mid þreate, þeoden engla.  
 Him beforan fereð fægere leoht  
 þonne we æfre ær eagum gesawon,  
 buton þa we mid englum uppe wæron.  
 390 Wile nu ure witu þurh his wuldres cræft  
 eall toweorpan. Nu ðes egsa com,  
 dyne for drihtne, sceal þes dreorga heap  
 ungeara nu atol þrowian.  
 Hit is se seolfa sunu waldendes,  
 395 engla drihten. Wile uppe heonan  
 sawla lædan, and we seoððan a  
 þæs yrreweorces henðo gepoliað."

Hwearf þa to helle hæleða bearnum,  
 meotod þurh mihte; wolde manna rim,  
 400 fela þusenda, forð gelædan  
 up to eðle. þa com engla sweg,  
 dyne on dægred; hæfde drihten seolf  
 feond oferfohten. Wæs seo fæhðe þa gyt  
 open on uhtan, þa se egsa becom.  
 405 Let þa up faran eadige sawle,  
 Adames cyn, ac ne moste Efe þa gyt  
 wlitan in wuldre ær heo wordum cwæð:  
 "Ic þe æne abealh, ece drihten,  
 þa wit Adam twa eaples þigdon

384 windsele] winsle with d added above the line after n 387 fægere] fæger  
 with final e added by corrector 398 to] Above the line after þa 403  
 fæhðe] fæhðe, indicating that the final e is to stand 405 sawle] e altered to a  
 406 ac] and, in the usual abbreviated form Efe] efe with the first e altered  
 from æ and the second over re erased; i.e., efe from æfre (Clubb) 407 heo]  
 he with o crowded in



- 410 þurh næddran nið, swa wit na ne sceoldon.  
 Gelærde unc se atola, se ðe æfre nu  
 beorneð on bendum, þæt wit blæd ahton,  
 haligne ham, heofon to gewalde.  
 Þa wit ðæs awærgdan wordum gelyfdon,
- 415 namon mid handum on þam halgan treo  
 beorhte blæda; unc þæs bitere forgeald  
 þa wit in þis hate scræf hweorfan sceoldon,  
 and wintra rim wunian seoððan,  
 þusenda feolo, þearle onæled.
- 420 Nu ic þe halsige, heofenrices weard,  
 for þan hirede þe ðu hider læddest,  
 engla þreatas, þæt ic up heonon  
 mæge and mote mid minre mægðe.  
 And ymb þreo niht com þegen hælendes
- 425 ham to helle; is nu hæftum strong,  
 witum werig, swylce him wuldorcyning  
 for onmædlan eorre geworden.  
 Segdest us to soðe þætte seolfa god  
 wolde helwarum ham gelihtan.
- 430 Aras þa anra gehwylc, and wið earm gesæt,  
 hleonade wið handa. Þeah hylle gryre  
 egeslic þuhte, wæron ealle þæs  
 fægen in firnum þæt freodrihten  
 wolde him to helpe helle gesecan."
- 435 Ræhte þa mid handum to heofencyninge,  
 bæd meotod miltse þurh Marian had:  
 "Hwæt, þu fram minre dohtor, drihten, onwoce  
 in middangeard mannum to helpe.  
 Nu is gesene þæt ðu eart sylfa god
- 440 and ece ordfruma ealra gesceafta."  
 Let þa up faran ece drihten;  
 wuldre hæfde wites clomma  
 feondum oðfæsted, and heo furðor sceaf

421 hider] "der over an erasure?" (Gollancz) 433 freodrihten] heora  
 drihten 435 Ræhte] rihte with æ above i 437 minre] mire 439 god]  
 Written twice, the second time canceled 440 and] The abbreviation, partly  
 erased

- in þæt neowle genip, nearwe gebegeð,  
 445 þær nu Satanus swearte þingað,  
 earm aglæca, and þa atolan mid him,  
 witum werige. Nalles wuldres leoht  
 habban moton, ah in helle grund,  
 ne hi edcerres æfre moton  
 450 wenan seoððan. Him wæs drihten god  
 wrað geworden, sealde him wites clom,  
 atole to æhte, and egsan gryre,  
 dimne and deorcne deaðes scuwān,  
 hatne helle grund, hinsiðgryre.  
 455 þæt, la, wæs fæger, þæt se feða com  
 up to earde, and se eca mid him,  
 meotod mancynnes in þa mæran burh!  
 Hofon hine mid him handum halige  
 witigan up to eðle, Abrahames cynn.  
 460 Hæfde þa drihten seolf deað oferwunnen,  
 feond geflemed; þæt in fyrndagum  
 witegan sædon þæt he swa wolde.  
 Þis wæs on uhtan eall geworden,  
 ær dægred, þæt se dyne becom,  
 465 hlud of heofonum, þa he helle duru  
 forbræc and forbegde; þan weornodon  
 þa hie swa leohtne leoman gesawon.  
 Gesæt þa mid þære fyrde frumbearn godes,  
 sæde soðcwidum: "Snotre gastas,  
 470 ic eow þurh mine mihte geworhte,  
 Adam ærest and þæt æðele wif.  
 þa hie begeton on godes willan  
 feowertig bearna, þæt forð þonon  
 on middangeard menio onwocon,  
 475 and wintra feoþa wunian moston,  
 eorlas on eðle, oððæt eft gelamp  
 þæt hie afyrde eft feond in firenum;

453 dimne] dimme 454 hinsiðgryre] in sið gryre 461 feond] *Followed*  
*by three or four letters erased* 462 swa] sawla 474 on] *Not in MS.*  
 middangeard] *With a final e added by corrector* onwocon] on weocon  
 477 hie] he afyrde] afyrhte

fah is æghwær.

- Ic on neorxnawonge niwe asette  
 480 treow mid telgum, þæt ða tanas up  
 æpla bæron, and git æton þa  
 beorhtan blæda, swa inc se balewa het,  
 handþegen helle. Hæfdon forþon hatne grund,  
 þæs git ofergymdon hælendes word,  
 485 æten þa egsan. Wæs se atola beforan,  
 se inc bam forgeaf balewe geþohtas.  
 Þa me gereaw þæt min handgeweorc  
 þæs carcernes clom ðrowade.  
 Næs ða monna gemet, ne mægen engla,  
 490 ne witegena weorc, ne wera snytero,  
 þæt eow mihte helpan, nimðe hælend god,  
 se þæt wite ær to wrece gesette.  
 Ferde to foldan þurh fæmnan had  
 ufan from eðle, and on eorþan gebad  
 495 tintregan fela and teonan micelne.  
 Me seredon ymb secgas monige  
 dæges and nihtes, hu heo me deaðes cwealm,  
 rices rædboran, hrefnan mihten.  
 Þa wæs þæs mæles mearc agangen  
 500 þæt on worulde wæs wintra gerimes  
 þreo and þritig geara ær ic þrowode.  
 Gemunde ic ðæs mænego on þam minnan ham  
 lange þæs ðe ic of hæftum ham gelædde  
 up to earde, þæt heo agan sceolon  
 505 drihtnes domas and duguðe þrym;  
 wuniað in wynnum, habbað wuldres blæd  
 þusendmælum. Ic eow þingade  
 þa me on beame beornas sticedon,  
 garum on galgum. Heow se giunga þær,  
 510 and ic eft up becom ece dreamas  
 to haligum drihtne.”

487 handgeweorc] handgeweorc with g partly erased 488 þæs] Not in MS.  
 495 fela and] and fela 498 rædboran] boran 502 on] Abbreviation for  
 and þam] þa minnan] minan with second n above the line after i  
 504 sceolon] Not in MS. 509 galgum] With e added above the line before a



- Swa wuldres weard wordum sæde,  
 meotod moncynnes ær on morgen  
 þæs þe drihten god of deaðe aras.
- 515 Næs nan þæs stronglic stan gefæstnod,  
 þeah he wære mid irne eall ymbfangen,  
 þæt mihte þam miclan mægne wiðhabban,  
 ah he ut eode, engla drihten,  
 on þæm fæstenne, and gefatian het
- 520 englas eallbeorhte andleofan gingran,  
 and huru secgan het Simon Petre  
 þæt he moste in Galileam god sceawian,  
 ecne and trumne, swa he ær dyde.
- þa ic gongan gefregn gingran ætsomme
- 525 ealle to Galileam; hæfdon gastes bled,  
 ongeton haligne godes sunu  
 swa heo gesegon hwær sunu meotodes  
 þa on upp gestod, ece drihten,  
 god in Galileam. To ðæs gingran þider
- 530 ealle urnon, þær se eca wæs.  
 Feollon on foldan, and to fotum hnigon;  
 þanceden þeodne þæt hit þus gelomp  
 þæt hi sceawodon scyppend engla.
- þa sona spræc Simon Petrus:
- 535 "Eart þu þis, drihten, dome gewurðad?  
 We ðe gesawon æt sumum cyrre,  
 þec gelegdon on laðne bend  
 hæþene mid hondum; him þæt gehreowan mæg  
 þonne heo endestæf eft gesceawiað."
- 540 Sume hie ne mihton mode oncnawan  
 þæt wæs se deora (Didimus wæs haten)  
 ær he mid hondum hælend genom  
 sylfne be sidan þær he his swat forlet;

512 Swa] wa *with space for s* 514 þe] *Above the line after þæs* 515 stan] satan 518 ah] aþ *with c above h* 519 gefatian] gefætian *with æ altered from a (Gollancz)* 521 and] winum and 526 ongeton] *Not in MS.* 528 þa on] þa gingran on gestod] stod 531 and to fotum] "*Blurred but still visible*" (Gollancz) 532 þæt hit] *Written twice, the second time underscored* 537 þec] þec 538 hæþene] hæþenne 540 mode] mod

- feollon to foldan fulwihtes bæðe.
- 545 Fæger wæs þæt ongin þæt freodrihten  
geþrowode, þeoden ure.  
He on beame astah and his blod ageat,  
god on galgan, þurh his gastes mægen.  
Forþon men sceolon mæla gehwylce
- 550 secgan drihtne þanc dædum and weorcum,  
þæs ðe he us of hæftum ham gelædde  
up to eðle, þær we agan sceolon  
drihtnes domas,  
and we in wynnum wunian moton.
- 555 Us is wuldres leoht  
torht ontyned, þam ðe teala þenceð.  
þa wæs on eorðan ece drihten  
feowertig daga folgad folcum,  
gecyðed mancynne, ær he in þa mæran gesceaft,
- 560 burhleoda fruma, bringan wolde  
haligne gast to heofonrice.  
Astah up on heofonum engla scyppend,  
weoroda waldend. þa com wolcna sweg,  
halig of heofonum. Mid wæs hond godes,
- 565 onfeng freodrihten, and hine forð lædde  
to þam halgan ham heofna ealdor.  
Him ymbflugon engla þreatas  
þusendmælum. þa hit þus gelomp,  
þa gyt nergende Crist gecwæð þæt he þæs
- 570 ymb tene niht twelf apostolas  
mid his gastes gife, gingran geswiðde.  
Hæfde þa gesette sawla unrim  
god lifigende. þa wæs Iudas of,  
se ðe ær on tife torhtne gesalde,
- 575 drihten hælend; him seo dæd ne geþeah,  
þæs he bebohte bearn wealdendes  
on seolfres sinc; him þæt swearte forgeald  
earm æglæca innon helle.

548 galgan] *With e added above the line before a* 552 sceolon] *Not in MS.*  
557 þa] *a with space for a capital* 559 mancynne] *man cynnes* 569  
gecwæð] *Not in MS.* 570 tene] *ane* 572 gesette] *ge sette with a letter*  
*erased after ge*

- Siteð nu on þa swiðran hond sunu his fæderes;  
 580 dæleð dogra gehwæm drihten weoroda  
 help and hælo hæleþa bearnum  
 geond middangeard. þæt is monegum cuð  
 þæt he ana is ealra gescefta  
 wyrhta and waldend þurh his wuldres cræft.  
 585 Siteð him on heofnum halig engel,  
 waldend mid witegum. Hafað wuldres bearn  
 his seolfes seld swegl betolden.  
 Leaðað us þider to leohte þurh his læcedom,  
 þær we moton seolfe sittan mid drihtne,  
 590 uppe mid englum, habban þæt ilce leoht,  
 þær his hired nu halig eardað,  
 wunað in wynnum, þær is wuldres bled  
 torht ontyned. Uton teala hycgan  
 þæt we hælende heran georne,  
 595 Criste cweman. þær is cuðre lif  
 þonne we on eorðan mægen æfre gestreonan.  
 Hafað nu geþingod to us þeoden mæra,  
 ælmihtig god,  
 on domdæge drihten seolfa.  
 600 Hateð hehenglas hluddre stefne  
 beman blawan ofer burga geseotu  
 geond foldan sceatas.  
 þonne of þisse moldan men onwecnað;  
 deade of duste arisað þurh drihtnes miht.  
 605 þæt bið daga lengust, and dinna mæst  
 hlud gehered, þonne hælend cymeð,  
 waldend mid wolcnum in þas woruld færeð.  
 Wile þonne gesceadan wlitige and unclæne

587 betolden] betalden with t partly erased, and he substituted above the line  
*i.e.*, behealden 588 Leaðað] læðað with e erased; see l. 630 591 his]  
 is with h added before i above the line 593 teala] Not in MS. 595  
 cweman] a altered from æ (Gollancz) 599 on] Written twice, at the end and  
 at the beginning of a page 600 hehenglas] heh englas with a above line after  
 e in heh 601 beman] With y above e 603 onwecnað] With i added above  
 the line before a 605 dinna] dimma 606 gehered] With y above the  
 second e 608 gesceadan] gesceawian



- on twa healfe, tile and yfle.  
 610 Him þa soðfæstan on þa swiðran hond  
 mid rodera weard reste gestigað.  
 Þonne beoð bliðe þa in burh moton  
 gongan in godes rice,  
 and heo gesenað mid his swiðran hond  
 615 cynincg alwihta, cleopað ofer ealle:  
 "Ge sind wilcuman! Gað in wuldres leoht  
 to heofona rice, þær ge habbað  
 a to aldre ece reste."  
 Þonne stondað þa forworhtan, þa ðe firnedon;  
 620 beoð beofigende hwonne him bearn godes  
 deman wille þurh his dæda sped.  
 Wenað þæt heo moten to þære mæran byrig  
 up to englum swa oðre dydon,  
 ac him bið reordende  
 625 ece drihten, ofer ealle gecwæð:  
 "Astigað nu, awyrgde, in þæt witehus  
 ofostum miclum. Nu ic eow ne con."  
 Sona æfter þæm wordum werige gastas,  
 helle hæftas, hwyrftum scriþað  
 630 þusendmælum, and þider leaðað  
 in þæt sceaðena scræf, scufað to grunde  
 in þæt nearwe nið, and no seoððan  
 þæt hie up þonan æfre moton,  
 ah þær geþolian sceolon earmlic wite,  
 635 clom and carcern, and þone caldan grund  
 deopne adreogan and deofles spellunge,  
 hu hie him on edwit oft asettað  
 swarte suslbonan, stæleð feondas

612 þa] Followed by þe above the line 613 gongan] o altered to a (Gollancz)  
 618 reste] The first e altered to æ 620 hwonne] þonne with þ altered to w  
 and h prefixed above the line 624 Ac] With c altered from h (Gollancz)  
 reordende] reodi de with two letters erased between i and d, en above erasure,  
 and r between e and o; one or two letters erased after this word 625 gecwæð]  
 gecwæð with y above æ 630 þider] "A word erased before þider; probably  
 he" (Gollancz) leaðað] lē dað (for lædað), a letter erased between e and d,  
 and d altered from ð 638 feondas] Not in MS.

- fæhðe and firne, þær ðe hie freodrihten,  
 640 ecne anwaldan, oft forgeaton,  
 þone þe hie him to hihte habban sceoldon.  
 Uton, la, geþencan geond þas worulde,  
 þæt we hælende heran onginnen!  
 Georne þurh godes gife gemunan gastes bled.  
 645 hu eadige þær uppe sittað  
 selfe mid swegle, sunu hælendes!  
 Þær is geat gylden gimum gefrætewod.  
 wynnum bewunden, þæm þe in wuldres leoht  
 gongan moten to godes rice,  
 650 and ymb þa weallas wlitige scinað  
 engla gastas and eadige sawla,  
 þa ðe heonon ferað.  
 Þær martiras meotode cwemað,  
 and herigað hehfæder halgum stefnum,  
 655 cyning in cestre. Cwepað ealle þus:  
 "þu eart hælða helm and heofendema,  
 engla ordfruma, and eorðan tudor  
 up gelæddest to þissum eadigan ham."  
 Swa wuldres weard wordum herigað  
 660 þegnas ymb þeoden, þær is þrym micel,  
 sang æt selde, is sylf cyning,  
 ealra aldor, in ðære ecan gesceft.  
 þæt is se drihten, se ðe deað for us  
 geþrowode, þeoden engla.  
 665 Swylce he fæste feowertig daga,  
 metod mancynnes, þurh his mildsa sped.  
 þa gewearð þone weregan, þe ær aworpen wæs  
 of heofonum þæt he in helle gedeaf,  
 þa costode cyning alwihta.  
 670 Brohte him to bearme brade stanas,  
 639 firne] in firne freodrihten] drihten 641 þone] þonne *with the first n erased* þe] *Added above the line* 643 heran] y *above e* 646 selfe] y *above the first e* sunu] torht sunu 647 gylden] gyldenne *with final ne erased* 656 heofendema] heofen deman 657 ordfruma] ordfruman *with the n erased* 658 up gelæddest] *Not in MS.* 662 aldor] aðor *with ð altered to d and with e above the line before a and l after* 668 he] *Inserted above the line*

bæd him for hungre hlafas wyrca—

“gif þu swa micle mihte hæbbe.”

þa him andswarode ece drihten:

“Wendest þu, awyrgða, þæt awriten nære,

675 nymþe me ænne

\* \* \*

ac geseted hafast, sigores agend,

lifigendum liht, lean butan ende,

on heofenrice, halige dreamas.”

þa he mid hondum genom

680 atol þurh edwit, and on esle ahof,  
herm bealowes gast, and on beorh astah,  
asette on dune drihten hælend:

“Loca nu ful wide ofer londbuende.

Ic þe geselle on þines seolfes dom

685 folc and foldan. Foh hider to me  
burh and breotone bold to gewealde,  
rodora rices, gif þu seo riht cyning  
engla and monna, swa ðu ær myntest.”

þa him andswarode ece drihten:

690 “Gewit þu, awyrgða, in þæt witescraef,  
Satanus seolf; þe is susl weotod  
gearo togegnes, nalles godes rice.

Ah ic þe hate þurh þa hehstan miht  
þæt ðu hellwarum hyht ne abeode,

695 ah þu him secgan miht sorga mæste,  
þæt ðu gemettes meotod alwihta,  
cyning moncynnes. Cer ðe on bæcþing!

Wite þu eac, awyrgða, hu wid and sid  
helheoðo dreorig, and mid hondum amet.

700 Grip wið þæs grundes; gang þonne swa  
oððæt þu þone ymbhwyrft alne cunne,

680 esle] *With h above the line after the first e* 681 herm] *her with m added above the line* bealowes] *bealowe with s added by scribe (Clubb) or corrector (Gollancz)* 683 londbuende] *lond b wende with a letter erased after b and with u written above the erasure; w underscored as mark of deletion* 684 on] *Not in MS.* seolfes dom] *seoferdum* 686 to] *Added above the line* 692 gearo] *gears with o above second a* 697 Cer] *cer with y above e*



and ærest amet ufan to grunde,  
and hu sid seo se swarta eðm.

Wast þu þonne þe geornor þæt þu wið god wunne,  
705 seoððan þu þonne hafast handum ametene  
hu heh and deop hell inneweard seo,  
grim græfhus. Gong ricene to,  
ær twa seondon tida agongene,  
þæt ðu merced hus ameten hæbbe.”

710 þa þam werigan wearð wracu getenge.  
Satan seolua ran and on susle gefeol,  
earn æglece. Hwilum mid folmum mæt  
wean and witu. Hwilum se wonna læg  
læhte wið þes laþan. Hwilum he licgan geseah  
715 hæftas in hylle. Hwilum hream astag,  
ðonne he on þone atolan eagum gesawun.  
Hæfdon gewunnon godes andsacan

\* \* \*

blac bealowes gast, þæt he on botme stod.  
þa him þuhte þæt þanon wære  
720 to helleduru hund þusenda  
mila gemearcodes, swa hine se mihtiga het  
þæt þurh sinne cræft susle amæte.  
Ða he gemunde þæt he on grunde stod.  
Locade leas wiht geond þæt laðe scræf,  
725 atol mid egum, oððæt egsan gryre  
deofla mænego þonne up astag.  
Wordum in witum ongunnon þa werigan gastas  
reordian and cweðan:

“La, þus beo nu on yfele! Noldæs ær teala!”

Finit Liber II. Amen.

703 seo] Follows eðm in MS. 708 seondon] seond with on added above  
the line (Clubb, Gollancz) 710 þa] þa with a on an erasure (Gollancz)  
þam] a altered from e and þ from s? (Gollancz) werigan] weriga with i above  
the line before g and with n after a wracu] wrecc with the first e altered to a and  
with v above the second e 711 ran] ra with n added above the line 712  
æglece] æglece 713 læg] The first half of æ erased 715 hream] ream with  
h added above the line before r astag] With h above g 718 bealowes]  
bealowe with s added above the line 722 sinne] synne 723 þæt] þa  
727 ongunnon] þa] ongunnon þa on þa

NOTES

## ABBREVIATIONS IN THE NOTES

An. Andreas    Ap. Fates of the Apostles    Az. Azarias    Beow.  
 Beowulf    Dan. Daniel    El. Elene    Ex. Exodus    Gen. Genesis    Guth.  
 Guthlac    Jul. Juliana

For Bouterwek, Grein, Junius, Thorpe, Wülker, see Bibliography, Part II. For Behaghel, Blackburn, Clubb, Holthausen, Klaeber, Piper, Schmidt, Sievers, see Bibliography, Part III. For Bright, Ettmüller, Greverus, Kluge, Körner, Rieger, Sedgfield, Sweet, see Bibliography, Part IV.

Anglia Beibl. Beiblatt zur Anglia.  
 Anz. fdA. Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum.  
 Archiv. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.  
 Beitr. Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur.  
 Bonner Beitr. Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik.  
 Bos.-Tol. Bosworth-Toller, Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.  
 Bouterwek, Erläut. Erläuterungen (in Vol. I of his edition).  
 Dietrich. Zu Cædmon, in ZfdA. X, 310-367.  
 Eng. Stud. Englische Studien.  
 Gollancz. The Cædmon Manuscript.  
 Graz. Die Metrik der sog. Cædmonschen Dichtungen.  
 Grein, Dicht. Dichtungen der Angelsachsen.  
 Grein, Spr. Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter.  
 Grein-Köhler. Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter, revised ed. by Köhler.  
 Groth. Composition und Alter der altenglischen (angelsächsischen) Exodus.  
 Indog. Forsch. Indogermanische Forschungen.  
 JEGPh. Journal of English and Germanic Philology.  
 Johnson. Translation of the OE. Exodus, in JEGPh. V, 44-57.  
 Kock, JJJ. Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings.  
 Kock, PPP. Plain Points and Puzzles.  
 Lye-Manning. Dictionarium Saxonico- et Gothico-Latinum.  
 Mason. Genesis A (translation).  
 MLN. Modern Language Notes.  
 MLRev. Modern Language Review.  
 Mürkens. Untersuchungen über das altenglische Exoduslied, in Bonner Beitr. II, 62-117.  
 Rieger, Verskunst. Die alt- und angelsächsische Verskunst, in ZfdPh. VII, 1-64.  
 Schubert. De Anglosaxonum arte metrica.  
 Sievers, Angels. Gram. Angelsächsische Grammatik, 3d ed., 1898.  
 ZfdA. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.  
 ZfdPh. Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.



## NOTES ON GENESIS

1-100

Genesis] For the title, see *Introd.*, p. xviii. 6 *cymb*] Holthausen changes to *cymeð* to gain a metrical syllable, and so also in l. 2321. For similar emendations, see note on *sprycest*, l. 2528, and also on *gan*, l. 870, *doþ*, l. 1206, *Noes*, l. 1240, and *Sarran*, l. 1854. 7 *eccan*] Holthausen has *ēcan*, i.e. *ēcan*, the second *e* being deleted for metrical reasons. He also deletes the *e* in *weccean*, l. 31, *secean*, l. 927, *geiceað*, l. 1514, and similar words. These emendations will not be noted hereafter. 9 *swiðfeorm*] All edd. read *-feorm*, as in l. 1770, but *-from* is also possible, see *Bos.-Tol.*, under *swiðfrom*. Holthausen suggests *-freom*. 10 *wide and side*] Holthausen, following *Graz*, *Festschrift für Schade*, p. 68, reads *side ond wide*, for metrical reasons. 13 *and*] Holthausen changes to *mid*. But *ordfruman* may be taken as a genitive dependent on *blisse*. 15-18] *Grein*, *Spr. I*, 208, proposes *dryhten-nes* for *drihtenes*, l. 17, a noun, "majesty," as obj. of *demdon*, with a genitive, "of god," to be supplied, or as alternative, *drihtenes* [æ], "the law of the lord." For the phrase *æ deman*, see *An*. 1194, 1403, *Ap.* 10. But the addition of *æ* does not remove the difficulties in the passage any more satisfactorily than punctuation will do. Translate, "The valiant thanes honored their prince, said his praise gladly, glorified their life-lord, in the strength of the lord were very happy." Holthausen has a comma after *liffrean* (for which he reads *liffregan* for metrical reasons, as similarly in ll. 868, 1808, 1822, 1852, 2141, 2231 note, 2239, and 2784), no punctuation after *lof*, and a semicolon after *drihtenes*. 22 *weard*] Holthausen, *Anglia XLVI*, 62, reads *wearð*, and so previously *Zupitza*, *Anz. fdA. I*, 121, note. 23 *dwæl*] *Grein*, *Spr. I*, 187, assumes a verb *delan*, not otherwise recorded, "labi," translating "lapsus est in errorem," but with hesitation. *Bouterwek* reads *dweal* for *dæl*, from the verb *dwelan*, "to go astray," "to err," the explanation followed in the text. *Wülker* would read *dælde gedwilde*, "engaged in error." The verbal echo in *dwæl* and *gedwilde* is nothing against the reading *dwæl*, see ll. 291, 564, 599, 657, 1825, 2216, etc. Reading *wearð*, l. 22, Holthausen takes *dæl* as a noun, "portion," and so also *Grein-Köhler*, p. 114. 51 *hehste*] Holthausen changes to *hehsta*, appositive to *waldend*, l. 49. *Kock*, *PPP.*, p. 10, suggests *hæste*, "with violence." But *hehste* can agree with *honda*. *Mason* translates, "lifted up his almighty hand against the throng," following *Grein*, *Dicht.*, p. 2, "seine Hand erhob die höchste wider die Heerschaar." 58 *tire*] Holthausen *fire*, corrected in *Anglia XLVI*, 60. 60 *styrne mod*] Holthausen *styrnemod* (and so *Kluge*), but changed to *styrne mod*, *Anglia XLVI*, 60. *Kock*, *PPP.*, p. 10, also reads

*styrne mod*, "He had a stern spirit." 63 yrre] Holthausen reads *yrre*, the usual form of the adjective, but the other edd. retain the MS. reading. The word stands at the end of a line in the MS. and this position may have determined the form *yr*. æðele] Subject of *bescyrede*, and referring to *se mæra*, l. 53. But Junius and Grein read *eðele*, inst. of *eðel*, and Holthausen, notes, approves this reading, though he does not incorporate it in his text. 65 Scoef] So Holthausen, as a Northumbrian form for *sceaf*. Greverus reads *sceof* or *sceaf*, Bouterwek *sceop* in his text, but *sceof* in Erläut., p. 294. Grein, Wülker retain *sceop*, translated by Grein, Dicht., p. 3, "schaffte," and Spr. II, 400, "relegavit." The *p* in the MS. reading *sceop* may have been written in anticipation of *scyppend*, l. 65b. 72 siðe] Wülker reads *seomodon swearte siðe*. *Ne þorfton*, etc. Sievers, Beitr. X, 512, and Holthausen read as in the text, except a colon after *swearte*. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 444, would rearrange to read:

heo on wrace seomodon  
swearte siðe; syððan ne þorfton, etc.

82 buað] The edd. retain the MS. reading *buan*, except Holthausen, who reads *budan* (for *budon*), or as alternative, *buað*. The form *buan* might stand if there were need for a subjunctive here. 98 roderas] Genitive singular in *-as*, see ll. 148, 485, and Sievers, Angels. Gram., §237, Anm. 1.

## 101-200

107 stiðfrihþ] The usual form is *stiðferhð*, as in ll. 241, 1406, 1683, and Bouterwek and Greverus alter the text here to agree. For examples of similar metathesis, see Sievers, Angels. Gram., §179. See l. 1142, note. 116 gyta] Holthausen reads *gyta*, which seems to have been the original form and is better metrically than *gyl*. The other edd., and Jovy, Bonner Beitr. V, 29, prefer *gyl*. See l. 155. 117 græs] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 297, supported by Holthausen, Anglia XLVI, 60, though not in his edition, reads *græse*, "with grass." But *græs* may be taken as appositive to *Folde*. Grein, Spr. I, 623, calls *græs* an instrumental accusative, see l. 812, note. 118 synnihte] Subject of *þeahhte*, *garsecg* and *wægas* being objects. See Genesis i. 2. So also Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 445. 131 gesceaft] Junius, Kluge, Wülker retain *gescaft*. 135 timber] Grein retains *tiber*, but Spr. II, 530, alters to *timber*, and so Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 297, Dietrich, Greverus, Wülker, Holthausen. 142 dydon] Holthausen, *dēdon*, and so also in l. 2600, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 498, who recommends *dēdon* for metrical reasons. 150 Flod] So Grein and later edd. See Genesis i. 7. 155 gyta] See l. 116, note. 165 wide ateowde] Kock, PPP., p. 10, regards these words as parenthetical, "wide did it appear." 167 onrihtne ryne] Holthausen changes to *ryne onrihtne* for the sake of alliteration, assuming that *onrihtne* must be stressed *onrihtne*. But it is simpler to assume a pronunciation *onrihtne*. See Holthausen, Eng. Stud. XXXVII, 202-203. 163 and gefetero] The last words on p. 8, after which several pages have been lost from the manuscript, the matter on these pages corresponding to



Genesis i. 11 to Genesis ii. 18. Gollancz, p. li, believes that eight pages (four leaves) were lost here. The edd. since Bouterwek complete the word to read *gefeterode*. 182 liodende] From *leodan*, "grow." For the spelling, see *liodgeard*, l. 229, *niotað*, l. 235, etc. 183 wer unwundod] Holthausen, following Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 298, supplies *wæs* after *wer*. Kock, PPP., p. 11, takes *wer* as an uninflected dative appositive to *him*, l. 181, translating, "but out of his, the hale man's, body drew the angels' sovereign a bone that grew." Mason translates, "while the man was unwounded." This seems to be the intent of the passage, though perhaps it is unnecessary to supply *wæs*, and *wer unwundod* may be taken as appositive to *he*, l. 178. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 445, regards *ne þær . . . ban* as parenthetical. 184 freolic] Grein and the earlier edd. retain *freolicu*, but Grein, Spr. I, 345, *freolice*, and so Wülker, Holthausen. 186 Eve] Something is needed to complete the line and the sense here, and Holthausen supplied *Eve* after *wæs*. Grein supplied *þe god Eve nemde* after *bryd*, and Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 298, *Eve hatte*.

## 201-300

203 ða ðe land tredað] This clause modifies *wilde deor*, l. 202. In l. 203, *lifigende* goes with *feorheaceno cynn*, modified by *ða ðe flod wecceð*, "which the flood brings forth." Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 445, reads *eall lifigende*. For l. 204b, Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 526, suggests *ða ðe flod wecgað*, citing Dan. 388. 205 Inc hyrað eall] These are the last words on p. 10, only one half of which contains text, the other half being occupied by an illustration. Although there is no break in the syntax, Gollancz, p. li, thinks a leaf has been lost between p. 10 and p. 11, which contained a paraphrase of Genesis i. 29-30 and Genesis ii. 1-5, including the ordination of the first Sabbath. After that the poet returned, l. 206, to the paraphrase of Genesis i. 31, which he made to refer "directly to the Sabbath contemplation," although in the Bible, Genesis i. 31 refers only to the work of the first six days. With l. 210 the poet then continues with the matter of Genesis ii. 5 ff. Certainly the omissions are striking here, and since the physical state of the manuscript indicates the loss of one leaf at this place, the missing matter may thus be accounted for. 209 gastlic] Holthausen, following Greverus, *gæstlic*. But *gastlic* may be retained as a variant of the same word, "hospitable," "ready for guests," as defined in Bos.-Tol. Grein, Spr. I, 374, defines the word in this passage as "gastlich." Less probable is the interpretation of the word as *gæstlic*, "spiritual," or "good and holy," as *god and gastlic* is translated by Mason, p. 6. 210 leohte] "Flowed over," from *leccan*. 221 þæra anne] The MS. reading *þære hatað* is not intelligible syntactically. Dietrich changed to *þæra anne*, followed by Grein and by Wülker. Holthausen reads merely *Hatað ylde*, but Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXX, 3, suggests *Ænne hatað ylde*. Kock, JJJ., p. 28, suggests *þæra ane*. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 446, suggests *þæne = þone*, citing l. 2645, taking the word as equivalent to *þone forman*. 222 se] Grein and later edd. read *se* for *sæ*. 224 Hebeleac] The MS. reads *hebeleac*, not *he beleac* as reported by Wülker



and so interpreted by Junius and Thorpe. Grein changes to *Hebeleat*. Holthausen has *Hebeleað*. The Vulgate reads *Nomen uni Phison: ipse est qui circuit omnem terram Hevilath, ubi nascitur aurum*, Genesis ii. 11. 232 Assirie] In the MS. the final letter of this word has a tag beneath it, like that used in various other places to indicate that *e* is to be taken as *æ*. Perhaps it should be also at this place so taken. See ll. 278, 661, 1235. 234 wide nemnað] These are the concluding words on p. 12 of the manuscript. The page is only about two thirds filled with writing, the rest remaining blank, as an indication that "the artist was to give a full-page illustration on the next leaf, probably in this case a picture of the four rivers," Gollancz, p. li. But the leaf following that containing p. 12 has been lost, including this illustration and the paraphrase of matter dealing with the tree of knowledge and forming a transition to l. 235. 235 ac niotað] With this line begins Gen. B, which is to a large extent an interruption of the orderly paraphrase of Gen. A. The work of the poet of Gen. A begins again with l. 852 with the paraphrase of Genesis iii. 8 ff. See *Introd.*, p. xxv. For the text of the OS. fragment which corresponds to the passage in Genesis, see l. 791, note. 238 sædon ealles þanc] For the sake of alliteration, Grein supplies *gode* before *ealles*; so also Sievers, but Sievers, *Beitr.* X, 195, retracts, noting with Rieger, *Verskunst*, p. 12, that *ea* alliterates with initial palatal *g*. But the confirmatory instances cited, Ex. 33, 190, 339, Christ and Satan 107, are all doubtful, except Ex. 339. Holthausen, *Anglia* XLIV, 335, suggests *sædon ealles godes þanc*. Klæber, *Anglia* XLIX, 361, remarks that nothing is needed to complete the meaning of the passage, but that one expects a *g* in the second half-line for alliteration. See l. 249 and note. 243 butan] Bouterwek, *Erläut.*, p. 299, alters to *butu* as subject of *læsten*, altered to *læston*. Grein suggests *hu* after *butan*, and Sievers, Piper, Behaghel supply *þæt* after *butan*. But *butan* must be taken here in some such sense as "on the condition that." 244 leof] Uninflected because neuter plural, to refer to two subjects of different genders. So also *lað*, l. 630, *baru*, l. 838. 249 fyligan] An appropriate word here, though it does not satisfy the demands of alliteration. Etmüller, Grein, Rieger, Sievers, Klæber alter to *fulgan*, Sweet, Körner to *fullgan*, and Piper, Behaghel to *fulgangan*, as in l. 782. Wülker retains the MS. reading. Grein, *Spr. I*, 356, records the word under *ful-gan*. See l. 238 and note. 258 leanes] Grein suggests *lænes*, but *Spr. II*, 169, retains *leanes*. leohte] For this sense of *leoht*, see l. 310, and see Klæber, *Anglia* XXXV, 455 f. for examples of *leoht* = *heofon*. See l. 401, note. 267 geongerdome] "In discipleship." 269 mægyn] For *mægen*; see *engyl*, l. 262, *æfsyn*, l. 313. 271 gespæc] Piper, Behaghel, *gespræc*. 283 bugan] Kock, *PPP.*, p. 11, remarks that "Versification and phraseology both point to corruption" here. The sense of *bugan* seems not appropriate. Kock suggests a form *begean* (cf. OHG. *bijehan*), "avow." "The OE. scribe," continues Kock, "had before him a word common in the related dialects but more or less strange to him; no wonder that he turned it into a familiar OE. word." See also Sievers, *Heliand*, p. xxxiii, n., and Klæber, *Anglia* XLIX, 361. Holthausen, *Anglia* XLIV, 355, proposes to

replace *bugan* by *unnan*. It seems best to retain the form *bugan* in some such meaning as Kock suggests. 287 *folcgesteallan*] A dative plural, see l. 657, note.

## 301-400

306 *ufon*] Omitted by Grein, Rieger, Sweet, but the other edd. retain the word. 307 *þurhlonge swa*] The MS. has *þurh longe*, but the two parts of one word are often thus separated. Dietrich, Behaghel read *þurh longe þrage*, and Rieger, Kluge, *þurhlonge þrage*, taking *þurh*, *þurhlonge* as prepositions. Grein reads *þurh swa longe swa*, and so also Sievers, Piper, Sweet, Körner. Klaeber, *Anglia* XXXVII, 539, takes *þurhlonge* as an acc. pl. adj., citing the phrase *ondlangne dæg*, and *Beow.* 759, *uplang astod*. Kock, PPP., p. 12, takes *þurhlonge* as adv., like Latin *perlonge*, an adv. of extent of time, parallel to *þreo niht and dagas*. "As for *ða. . . swa*, it is simply a variant of *swa ða*, 'thus then'"; see Gen. 1669. Kock's interpretation seems the most acceptable. 308 of *heofnum*] Grein, Rieger, and Sweet replace *of heofnum* by *ufon*, which they had omitted from l. 306. 309 *Forþon heo*] Grein, Rieger, Sweet, Körner supply *þe* before *heo*. 310 *he*] Grein, Rieger, Sievers, Sweet, Körner omit *he*, Thorpe, Bouterwek, Etmüller, Greverus read *þe* for *he*. 316 *gar*] Klaeber, notes, "Is *gar*, 'spear', meant for 'piercing cold'?" So also Klaeber, *Anglia* XXXVII, 539, and *Anglia* XLIX, 362. Holthausen, *Anglia* XLIV, 355, suggests *fær* (*fēr*) for *fyr* and *sār* for *gār*. Dietrich had suggested *gryre* for *gar*, Körner, *gal*. But *gar* may be taken literally, prodding with spears being commonly a part of the torments of hell. 317 *geswinc*] Grütters, *Bonner Beitr.* XVII, 13, n., notes Grein's translation of this word as "Geschwing" (see *Dicht.*, p. 10) and cites *Jul.* 337, *sustlum swingen*. 318 *man*] Behaghel omits, regarding *god*, l. 311, as the object of the verb. Klaeber, notes, "The indef. *man* (i.e. really 'God') serves as subj. of *fylde*." 321 *heofonrices hehðe*] Graz, *Festschrift für Schade*, p. 69, transposes, *hehðe heofonrices*. Klaeber, *heofona rices hehðe*, citing l. 512, or as alternative, *heofones hehðe*. For ll. 320-322 Holthausen, *Eng. Stud.* XXXVII, 203, proposes to read:

Heoldon englas forð  
 hehðe heofonrices, þe ær hylde godes,  
 lāre gelæston: lāgon þā oðre,  
 fynd on þam fyre, etc.

331 *hell*] Etmüller, Dietrich, Sweet, *helle*, but Klaeber, *JEGPh.* XII, 254, defends the form *hell* as a good OS. form, noting l. 792, where OS. *hell* has been made into AS. *helle*, to the detriment of the meter according to Graz. 334 *fyres fær micel*] Appositive to *oðer land*, *Cosijn, Beitr.* XIX, 446, but in the nominative on account of *þæt wæs*. 344 *cwæð se hehsta*] Piper, Behaghel supply *þæt* before *se* from the corrector's reading. 345 *swertan helle*] Perhaps a comma should be placed after *helle*, making *swertan helle* and *grundes* appositives, as urged by Kock, *Anglia* XLII, 122, though Klaeber, *Anglia* XLIX, 363, rightly points out that it is not always possible to



dogmatise as to the poet's intention in passages like this. 356 þæs ænga styde] The customary MS. form would be þes ænga stede. The corrector's change of ænga to æniga seems to indicate that he did not understand the passage. On æ for e, see l. 564, note, and Bülbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, § 92, Anm. 1. Piper, Behaghel read *Is þes ænga stede*. 357 ham] Rieger, note, supplies *hame*, Behaghel (1922), Klaeber, *ham* to complete the line. See Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 237, Anm. 2. 358 hean] Grein suggests *heah*, but *hean*, for *heam*, is dative singular, agreeing with l. 357a; but as Klaeber, notes, points out, *heanne*, agreeing with *þe*, l. 357b, would also be possible. 362 helle þære hatan] A dative parallel to *fyre*, see Kock, *Anglia* XLII, 122, and Klaeber, *Anglia* XLIX, 363. 370] Thorpe, Bouterwek, Grein regard this passage as a rhetorical anacoluthon, and it is so taken here. Rieger, Sweet, Sievers, Klaeber assume a loss in the MS. after *werode*. Wülker assumes no gap and places a period after *werode*, joining the phrase *þonne . . . werode* with what precedes—but just how is not clear. 371 irenbenda] Piper, Behaghel, *irenbendas*. 377 habbað] Grein suggests, and Sweet accepts, *hafað*; but *gesþong* is neuter and may be plural. 390 grimme, grundlease] The first of these two adjectives is best taken as modifying *þrea*, the second *helle*, "But we suffer now torments in hell, (these are darkness and heat), torments grievous in hell the bottomless." 393 Ne] Dietrich, Grein, Rieger, *nu* for *Ne*. 394 him] Piper omits *him*.

## 401-500

401 Ne gelyfe ic, etc.] "I have now no more hope of that life (light), which he thinks long to enjoy to himself, of that happiness with his host of angels." See also Klaeber, *Anglia* XXXVII, 540. Grein, Sievers, Körner omit *nu*, Rieger changes *nu* to *na*. See l. 258, note. 406 ahwet] "Rejects," "repudiates," if the word is from *ahwettan*. But Klaeber, citing Cosijn, *ZfdPh.* XXVIII, 149, thinks the word is *ahwæt* = *ahwæt*, from an otherwise unrecorded *\*ahwātan*, "curse." But the simpler explanation is to be preferred. The word may of course be translated as a future. 410 þan] Ettmüller, Greverus, Sievers change to *þam*, but see Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 187. 414 hwilc] The MS. reads plainly *hwilc*, not *hwolic*, as given by Klaeber. 417 feðerhoman] The scribe evidently wrote *fæder*—inadvertently as the first element of this word. His original may have had *fæðer*. See l. 356, note, on æ for e. 431 gegarwod] So Sievers, Klaeber, but other edd., *gegearwod*. 433 sefte] Grein, Rieger, Sievers, Sweet, *softe*. 441 lare] The last word on p. 22. Probably two leaves, i.e., four pages, have been lost between p. 22 and p. 23, containing sections IX and X of the manuscript. See Gollancz, p. cx. Various edd. complete the line in different ways, but no one has attempted to supply the whole of the missing sections. On the left-hand margin of p. 22 stand the letters *xm*, see *Introd.*, p. xvii, misinterpreted by Wülker, Klaeber and others as XIII. 444 asette and þone] Schröder, *ZfdA.* XLIII, 381, would omit these words. hæleð-helm] From *heoloðhelm*, "covering helmet," "helmet of invisibility," by



mechanical association of the first element with *hæleð*, "man," "hero." 445 spenn] Wülker correctly records the MS. reading as *speonn*, with *o* above the line. Klaeber also gives *speonn* as a MS. reading. 446 wora] From *woh*, but the loss of the final consonant in the uninflected form evidently troubled some reader who wrote *wraþra* in the margin as a gloss. 464 on] Metrically stressed, therefore not a prefix, but adverbial, and to be connected with *þær*, l. 464a. 465 godes and yfeles] Behaghel supplies *gewand* after *yfeles*, as in l. 481. 470 worulde] Klaeber alters to *wuldre*, but in Anglia XXXVII, 540, accepts *worulde* as permissible. 472 symle] Klaeber, *symble*. 475 habban] Grein suggests omitting this word, but he retains it in his text, placing it in l. 474, followed by a semicolon. So also Wülker. This would make *wæron witode* a verb, "were decreed." But to *wæron* is better regarded as an adverbial phrase, "in truth," and thus taken makes unnecessary the various additions and emendations that have been proposed. The interpretation in the text is that of Klaeber, following Graz, *Festschrift für Schade*, p. 69. See also Klaeber, *JEGPh.* XII, 252. Kock, *JJJ.*, p. 29, takes to *wæron witod* as meaning "zugesichert." Piper, Behaghel supply *tires* before *geþingþo*, following Grein, who later, *Spr. I*, 472, changed to *wuldres*. Klaeber thinks the alterations prove that the original text was different from the MS., and he restores thus: *habban him to wæron wuldor* (or *wynne*, OS. *wunnia*) *geþinged | on þone hean heofon*. He thinks *witod* might have been added as a gloss of *geþinged*. This is all possible, but if this is what happened, the changes resulted in a surprisingly good substitute for the original readings. It looks as though the scribe wrote *witod geþinge*, "appointed destiny," which might well have been allowed to stand. The corrector changed to *witode geþingþo*, "appointed honors." Holthausen, Anglia XLIV, 355, would supply *sceolde* before *on þone hean heofon*, citing the repetition of *sceolde* in ll. 479, 481, 484, 486, 488, but Klaeber, Anglia XLIX, 365, thinks *moste* is more suitable, if any verb is supplied. 476 wende] Subjunctive in a temporal clause, and better taken as a singular, therefore *he* for *heo*, in accord with the rest of the passage. 481 gewand] Grein, Wülker read *gewanod*, following the MS. corrector. Grein, *Spr. I*, 475, translates the word "humiliatus," agreeing with the subject of *sceolde*. Reading *gewand* as a noun, object of *witan*, the meaning would be a derived sense of *windan*, "turning," "distinction," as suggested by Klaeber, notes. Sweet, *Student's Dictionary*, gives "hesitation," "scruple" as meanings of the word. 485 dreamas] See l. 98, note. 486-488] Behaghel, following Graz, *Festschrift für Schade*, p. 69, makes two lines of these three, ending his first half-line with *niotan*, the first full line with *swærtost* and a semicolon, and the following half-line with *þeowian* and a colon. 487 on fyre] Klaeber, notes, suggests that *fyre* = *fýren*, and apparently he would translate this half-line, "swartest, i.e., blackest in crime." But the combination of *swært* with *fyr*, "fire," is in keeping with the medieval conception of hell.

## 501-600

503 sceattes] "Property," "treasure," see l. 813, where the proper form of the word appears in the MS. Grein, *Germania X*, 417, Wülker retain *sceates*, "garment," but Grein, *Spr. II*, 405, *sceattes*, and so also Klaeber, *Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V*, 228. 509 þis] Klaeber, *his*. 513 ufan] To be connected with *on*, l. 512. See *þær, on*, l. 464. 516 to þinre spræce] "For speech with thee." See l. 557, and Klaeber, *Anglia XXV*, 300, for other examples. 525 and me her stondan het] Sievers supplies *he* before *me*. Klaeber suggests omitting *and*. Grein suggests *stundum* for *stondan*. 546 geofian] Wülker wrongly records marks of deletion under *eo* in *geofian* in the MS. 555 swa] Klaeber puts *swa* in the second half-line, but logically it is closely connected with *hwilc*, "whatever." Grein, *Germania X*, 417, would supply a second *swa* before *hwilc*. The MS. has *hwilc ærende swa*, with a metrical point after *swa*. 561 his] "For it," "of it"—that the Lord will be angry. 564 Æt] An imperative, and altered by Ettmüller, Klaeber to *et*. But *æ* for *e* is frequent in the MS. Grein, *Germania X*, 417, suggests taking *æt* as an objective noun, "esum," "food," after *wisie*. Grein, Sievers read *ofætes* for *ofeles*, as in l. 599. 569 his willan] Klaeber, notes, takes *his* as gen. sg. neut., "if thou hast desire of this"—if you will agree to my plan. Kock, *PPP.*, p. 14, translates "his good-will (and confidence)," that is, Adam's. But Klaeber, *Anglia XLIX*, 366, adequately defends his interpretation, supported also by Cosijn, *Beitr. XIX*, 446, who cites l. 733, *his sorge*, as parallel. 571 bisne] Klaeber suggests *blisse*. 573 an forlæteð] Grein, Wülker, *anforlæteð*. See ll. 643, 693. 574 him bu tu] *Graz*, p. 99, reads *bu tu him*, and *Holthausen, Eng. Stud. XXXVII*, 203, Klaeber read *swa wil him bu tu nu*, in order to make the first metrically stressed syllable of the second half-line fall on *bu*. But examples of alliteration on the second stressed syllable in the second half-line are not uncommon, see ll. 892, 966, 2762, 2770, *Dan. 122*, 202, 460, *Christ and Satan 237*, 513, 617. 575 an sped] For *on sped*, "successfully," "effectively." 581 teonum georn] Klaeber suggests *teona*, noting the similar syntax of *dæda georn*, *Dan. 281*. In *Anglia XXXVII*, 540, he suggests the possibility of reading *gearo* for *georn*, noting *Beow. 1813*, *searwum gearwe*, etc. 592 lætan] *Bouterwek, Erläut.*, p. 301, *lædan* for *lætan*. The use of *lætan* here is not customary Anglo-Saxon, but Sievers, note, points out a similar idiom in *Heliand*, l. 2517.

## 601-700

609 forhatena] Klaeber suggests *forhwatena*, "accursed." See l. 406, note. 613 getruwodest] Sievers, *Beitr. X*, 486, *Graz*, p. 97, read *getrēowodest*, for metrical reasons. Klaeber suggests *getrū(w)dest*, and Trautmann, *Bonner Beitr. II*, 162, *Eng. Stud. XLIV*, 336, suggests a short vowel in the word, *trūwian*. 617 hwilce þu gesihðe, etc.] "What vision, what powers thou hast through my coming." In AS. *cræft* is usually masculine, but Klaeber, notes, points out that in OS. the word is masc., fem. or neut., the form here



being influenced by OS. Grein, Spr. I, 168, gives *cræfta* as gen. pl. with a question. Greverus alters *minne* to *minre*, "through the power (effect) of my coming," but *cime*, *cyme* is masculine. 622 þæs fela] The edd. take þæs fela as continuing the construction after *alætanne*, with þæs fela in the first half-line and no punctuation after *alætanne*. Kock, PPP., p. 14, thinks that "þæs belongs to the *b*-verse, and goes with *spræc*, whereas *alætanne* governs *his*." He places a colon after *alætanne*. Klaeber, Anglia XLIX, 367, approves. 623 hire] Junius, Klaeber retain *hire*, but other edd. change to *his* in order to make *Swa hire*, etc., harmonize with and become a part of the preceding speech of Satan. But one scarcely expects the poet to derive wisdom from the words of Satan, and ll. 623-625 seem like an inept moral intrusion, not a part of Satan's speech. See also Klaeber, JEGPh. XII, 253. Klaeber, notes, suggests that *hire*, l. 623, is for *hira*. But this is unnecessary, since Satan is speaking directly to Eve. 633 hierran] For *herran*, *hearran*, "the favor of the Lord." 634 monige hwile] "For a long time." Unusual Anglo-Saxon, but Klaeber, notes, accounts for the phrase as OS. use. 636 Sum. . . sum] Accusative sg. masc., referring to *æppel*, "One she bare in her hand, another lay at her heart," and the correct grammatical form would therefore be *sumne* for the first *sum*. 644 laðe treow] Grein, Sievers, Wülker, Piper, *laðtreow*. 647 hie] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 301, changes to *he*, Satan, and deletes *and*, l. 648b. Holthausen, Anglia XLIV, 355, would agree, unless one takes *hie* as accusative sing. fem. referring to Eve. But it may also be plural, referring to both Adam and Eve and continuing the dative plural of *him*, l. 646, then changing in l. 648b to remarks about Eve alone. Holthausen would also change *and hyge* to *hygeþanc*. He had previously suggested *speon hyge* (*Evan*), Anglia Beibl. XVIII (1907), 203, and *hygesceaft*, Eng. Stud. LI (1917), 180, as substitutes for *and hyge*. 649 wac gepoht] Sievers, Behaghel, *wacgepoht*. Grein, Spr. I, 472, glosses this phrase as nominative singular, but it is better taken as appositive to *hyge*, l. 648. But one would expect *wacne gepoht*, unless *gepoht* is regarded as a neuter. The compound avoids the grammatical difficulty, but it creates others. 656 bliðe] Klaeber, *bliðe*, citing l. 751. The earlier edd. follow the MS. 657 gearwan] A dative plural with a late weakened ending, see l. 287, *folcgesteallan*. Grein, Spr. I, 495, takes it as a weak dat. sing., but he has no other examples of this word as a weak sing. 667 suð and east] Thorpe and others read *suðeast*, and Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 447, formally defends this reading on the ground that "gott sitzt doch nur an einer und derselben stelle," not in two places. But of course *suð and east* can be the equivalent of *suðeast*. 676 leohte] Grein adds *swa* before *leohte*, and so also Sievers, Piper. 680 from] Klaeber suggests *for* or *be*. 686 bræcon] For *bræcen*, "should break," and Junius so gives it, but the other edd. follow the MS.



## 701-800

702 him] So Thorpe, notes, and later edd. except Grein, Germania X, 417, Wülker, Piper, who retain *hire* as a reflexive, an improbable construction.

703 to forlæranne] Similar incomplete lines occur elsewhere in the MS., see ll. 1125, 1199, 1602, and may have been so left by the poet. The editors have filled out this line in various ways. Grein, Piper supply *on laðlicne wroht* for l. 703b, Klaeber supplies *leafne mannan*. There is no indication of loss in the MS., but if anything has dropped out, this is more likely to have occurred after *handweorc godes*, which comes at the end of a line in the MS., than after *forlæranne*, which begins a line. Klaeber's addition makes it possible to take *handweorc* as the subject of *wæs*, but in the text as it stands, *handweorc* is object of *forlæranne*. 707 þe him þæt wif] Sievers assumes that something has been lost from the MS. after *wif*, and Klaeber, JEGPh. XII, 254, suggests as the original reading, *þe him þæt wif weðum | wordum sægde*, and so in his edition. Holthausen, Anglia XLIV, 355, supplies *wilitige* before *wif*, but Indog. Forsch. IV, 379, and Anglia Beibl. V, 228, *ofta* after *wif*. Behaghel supplies *wærlíce*, and Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 70, reads *þe þæt wif to him*. But many lines of the same type as *þe him þæt wif* can be found in the MS. and no change is necessary. 708 þær] Grein alters to *þæs*. 719 ofetes] Wülker, Klaeber misreport the MS. as reading *ofetes* and so print in their texts. 723 ofet unfæle] Appositive to *hit*, l. 720. 725 begra] "He said thank for both (i.e. Adam and Eve) to his master." Or Klaeber suggests reference to l. 751, though this seems remote.

730 his] Sievers, Graz, p. 97, Piper place *his* in l. 731. But see l. 748 and l. 771. 733 his] "For this," "of this," explained by l. 735b ff. 748 eft] Klaeber, following Behaghel, places *eft* in l. 748a. 752 heofonrice] Grein, Wülker, and the earlier edd., except Etmüller, retain the MS. reading, but Etmüller and Grein, Germania X, 417, read *heofonrice*. 760 laðes] "With respect to the injury." So apparently Klaeber in his edition and in Anglia XLIX, 367. Kock, JJJ., p. 29, takes the construction as equivalent to *and eall þæt wit laðes*, "whatever of injury that we have long suffered."

765 simon] For *simum*, dat. pl. of *sima*. 769 forstodon] Sievers, Behaghel assume a loss in the MS. after *forstodon*. 771 hof] Etmüller alters to *heaf*, Grein to *heof*, from *heafan*, "lament," as the sense requires, but Klaeber suggests OS. influence on the MS. form. 772 þa heo, etc.] "When she saw that light depart elsewhere which he who had brought this affliction on them through his advice had showed to her deceptively as a token." 774 geræd] For *gerēd*, preterite of a reduplicating verb, "brought about by advice," Sweet, Student's Dictionary. See l. 797. On *æ* for *e*, see ll. 258, 356, 417, 564. 780 heofones waldend, etc.] Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XVIII, 204, would supply *hel þan* before *bædon*, alter *þæt*, l. 781, to *hwæt*, and supply *to* before *hearmseare*. But as Klaeber points out, Anglia XXXVII, 541, the text can stand without alteration. Holthausen's readings are supported by l. 829. 785 sælða] Etmüller suggests *selda* for *sælða*, but the form in the MS. is probably influenced by OS. *seliða*, "dwelling," "habi-

tation." With Grein, Spr. I, 455, *geselena* is to be taken as participial adjective, modifying *sælda*. 788 forward] "In future," "continually," the only occurrence of this sense, and perhaps the word should be *forðweard*. But see Kock, PPP., p. 14. 791 Hwæt, etc.] The text of the OS. fragment which corresponds to Gen. 791-817, is as follows:

"Ueala that thu nu, Eua, habas," quað Aðam, | "ubilo gimarakot || unkaro selbaro sið. | Nu maht thu sean thia suarton hell || ginon gradaga. | Nu thu sia grimman maht || hinana gihorean. | Nis hebanriki || gelihc sulicaro lognun. | Thit uuas alloro lando sconiuþ || that uuit hier thuruh unkaros herraþ thank | hebbian muostun, || þar thu them ni hordis | thie unk thesan haram gried, || that uuit uualdandas | uuord farbrakun, || hebankuningas. | Nu uuit hriuug mugun || sorogon for them siða, | uuanþ he hunk selbo gibood || that uuit hunk sulic uuiti | uuardon scoldin, || haramo mestan. | Nu thuingit mi giu hungar endi thrust, || bitter balouuerek, | thero uaron uuit er beðero tuom. || Hu sculun uuit nu libbian, | efto hu sculun uuit an thesum liatha uesan, || nu hier huuilum uuind kumit | uuestan efto ostan, || suðan efto nordan; | gisuuerek upp dribit, || kumit haglas skion | himile bitengi, || ferið ford an gimang, | that is firinum kald. || Huilum thanne fan himile heto skinit, || blikit thiu berahto sunna. | Uuit hier thus bara standat, || unuuerid mið giuuaði. | Nis unk hier uuiht biuoran || . . . . te scura, | unk nis hier scattas uuiht || te meti gimarcot. | Uuit ebbiat unk giðuan mathigna god || uualdand uureðan. | Te hui sculun uuit uuerdan nu? || Nu mag mi that hreuan, | that ik is io bad hebanrikean god, || uualdand th. . ."

## 801-900

806 cymð] Graz, p. 100, Klaeber, *cymeð*, as an improvement in meter. 812 wædo] Grein, Spr. II, 642, calls this an "instrumentaler acc.," and Ettmüller alters to *wæde*. See l. 846, where *wæda* occurs as an accusative. Klaeber reads *wædon* from *wædum*, and so also JEGPh. XII, 254. It seems best to take the word as a dat. inst. with Klaeber, but if any change is made, to read *wæde* with Ettmüller. See l. 117, note. 813 sceattes] "Money"—a naive conception already present in the OS. original. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XIII, 266, suggests that a scribal error lies back of OS. *scattas*, miswritten for *scaftas*, gen. sing. of \**scaft*, "creature," "something fashioned, prepared." This certainly improves the poetry of the passage. Trautmann, Bonner Beitr. XVII, 139, reads *scēates* in the sense "Gewand." Koegel, Geschichte d. deutschen Lit., I, Ergänzungsheft, p. 10, suggests that the word means something to eat and that *scattas* = Fries. *sket*, "Vieh." The word is discussed also by Braune, Beitr. XXXV, 272, and Siebs, ZfdPh., XXVIII, 139. 830 no sniomor] "None the quicker," or Klaeber, Anglia XXXVII, 542, suggests merely "never," connecting with l. 833, "you would never see . . . that ever my mind doubted of it." 835 niod] The MS. plainly has *niod*, not *mod*, as Thorpe, Bouterwek, Ettmüller, and Grein read. 856 dyde] For *dyden*, a plural; see *swice*, l. 954, for *swicen*. Similar



forms occur so frequently in AS. manuscripts as to place them out of the class of accidents. See Bloomfield's article, JEGPh. XXIX (1930), 100-113. But Holthausen alters to *dyden*. 857 þam] Grein, Wülker retain the MS. reading þa, but Grein, note, suggests þam. 863 weard] Klaeber, notes, and Anglia XLIX, 369, and Holthausen, notes, take *weard* as accusative, referring to Adam, but Kock, PPP., p. 15, prefers to take it as nominative, accusative to *aldor*. Either is possible. 869 Scyldfull mine] Etmüller supplies *sceame*, Grein *sceome* after *mine*, and Holthausen, Eng. Stud. XXXVII, 203, would supply *sceame* (see l. 942) before *mine*, or as alternative, replace *mine* by *sceame*. In his edition, Holthausen reads *scyldfull* [*sceame*] *mine*, with a colon after *mine*. Klaeber, JEGPh. XII, 257, rejects all this and would alter *sceaðen* to *sceande* (see l. 874), and he prints it so in his edition, with no punctuation after *þecce*, l. 868, and none after *mine*, but a comma after his *sceande*, l. 869. But the passage can stand on its own merits if *mine* is taken as a noun, and *sceaðen* also as a noun, appositive to *me*, "a guilty conscience is to me, a sinner, grievous, oppressive in spirit." Both *sare* and *frecne* may be taken syntactically as adverbs. 870 gan] Holthausen, *gangan*, for metrical reasons, and so also in ll. 2236 and 2356. But see l. 1241, note. 871 eall eall] The MS. repeats *eall*, though Wülker mistakenly reports only one *eall*. Klaeber, Holthausen omit one *eall*, but the repetition may have been intentional for rhetorical emphasis. 877 gesyhst sorge] Grein, Spr. I, 453, "beholdest sorrow," Dicht., p. 26, "siehest Sorge." But *gesyhst* may be for *gesicst*, "sighest in sorrow." The order of the clause following is *sylf þecest þin lic*. 880 byrgde] Etmüller, Grein, Wülker, Holthausen, *byrgdest*, but Klaeber, *byrgde*. The optative form is obviously permissible. 888 Hwæt druge þu, etc.] The Vulgate merely says *Quare hoc fecisti?*, Gen. iii. 13. Translate: "What madest thou, daughter, of the abundant blessings. . . when thou greedy," etc., and see Bos.-Tol., I, 423, under *genog*. Holthausen reads *Hwæt druge þu, dohtor? Dugeþa* [*wæs*] *genohra*, and remarks in his notes that he takes *Dugeþa* as a partitive genitive, citing Shipley, The Genitive Case in AS. Poetry, p. 94. But Shipley's examples do not make Holthausen's reading of this passage convincing. 892 me on teonan] Sievers, Beitr. X, 512, Holthausen, *on teonan me*. But see l. 885. 893 þa] Holthausen omits þa. 894 wæstmē] For a plural *wæstmē*, beside the more common *wæstmas*, see l. 990. 899 fægir] For the spelling, see *twegin*, l. 460. 900 feondras] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 304, suggests *feondræd*, Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 447, *feondes ræd* for *feondræs*.

## 901-1000

906 werig] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 304, reads *werged* for the MS. *werg*, Etmüller, *werg*, and Grein, Wülker retain *werg*, "accursed," though *werg þinum* does not make a complete half-line. Sievers, Beitr. X, 512, changes to *wërig*, "weary," and so Klaeber, Holthausen. But Kock, JJJ., p. 29, returns to the interpretation "cursed," and alters *bearn* to *bearme*, already



accepted by Ettmüller, as appositive to *breostum*, therefore not connected with *bradre eorðan*, and he places *breostum* in l. 906b. The main objection to this reading, as Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* XXX, 3, points out, is that the resulting l. 907a, *bearme tredan*, is not acceptable metrically, a verse of this type with the second stressed syllable short normally having a rather heavy secondary stress in the first foot. Wülker accepts *bearm* as appositive to *breostum*, taking it as an instrumental without inflectional ending. By so doing he is able to retain the MS. reading *brade*, l. 907, as an accusative. 907 *bradre*] Wülker retains *brade*, see l. 906, note. 914 *tuddor*] Ettmüller, Klaeber, Holthausen alter to *tudde*. But see l. 1613, where *tuddor* as an instrumental occurs. Holthausen has *tudde* in his text, but in his notes he defends *tuddor* as a dative. 934 *swatig hleor*] Dietrich, Grein, Wülker read *swatighleor*. So also Kock, *JJJ.*, p. 29, who also would read *wegan swatighleor* || *þinne hlaf, etan*. This would make *wegan* and *etan* parallel and *hlaf* object of both. 954 *swice*] Holthausen, *swicen*, but see l. 856, note. 959 *gchwilcre*] So Klaeber in his text (not *gchwilce*, as reported by Holthausen), but he suggests *gchwilce* as a possible reading. The MS. reading must be taken as a dat. fem. after *hel*, the gender being determined by *teohha*. Translate, "He commanded each of procreating generations of sea and land to produce fruits for the benefit of this married pair." 964 *æfter*] Holthausen, *after*, corrected to *æfter*, *Anglia XLVI*, 60. of] Klaeber places *of* in l. 964b, but in *Anglia XLIX*, 370, places it in l. 964a. 966 *bebead metod*] Dietrich, Grein, Holthausen read *bebead metod*, but see l. 574, note. 972 *elnes*] Dietrich, *ætes*, see l. 1557. But the change is unnecessary, *Cosijn*, *Beitr.* XIX, 447. 974 *ford*] Holthausen, *ford*, corrected in *Anglia XLVI*, 60, to *ford*. 980 *Hygewælm asteah*] A better form for the verb would be *astah*, from *astigan*, and Wülker assumes that *asteah* is for *astah*, and so also Holthausen, though other examples of this variation are not recorded. Thorpe reads *wælm ofteah* for the MS. *wælmos teah*, translating, "rage him of thought bereft." Bouterwek makes a compound of *hyge* and *wælm* and omits the *-os* of the MS. In his text he reads *hygewelm ofteah*, in *Erläut.*, p. 305, *hygewelm upteah*. Grein reads *hygewælmas teah*, defining *teah*, *Spr.* II, 528, as "produced," "brought forth," as Wülker points out, a meaning otherwise unrecorded. Grein, *Dicht.*, p. 28, translates, "es zog Herzwallen auf in der Brust dem Helden." See l. 2237. 986 *þæs*] Thorpe, Bouterwek, Grein, Holthausen alter to *þes*. But see l. 356, and note.

## 1001-1100

1010 *Hwæt, befealdeþ þu, etc.*] Grein, Wülker, Holthausen take this as a question, with no punctuation after *Hwæt* and question mark after *cigeð*, apparently taking *Hwæt* in the sense of "why." The Vulgate has *Quid fecisti?*, but the main part of the sentence in the Vulgate is not a question. 1022 *ædre*] Supplied by Graz, *Festschrift für Schade*, p. 70, for alliteration. See ll. 872, 2187. 1028 *manscyldigne*] "Guilty," the first element being

*mān-*. So also l. 1048. 1040 *pe*] Holthausen supplies *þec*, Grein, note, *þe*. The sense of the passage requires an object. 1055 *Enos*] The Vulgate has *Henoch*. See l. 1134, *Enos*, son of Seth. 1056 *fæsten*] Supplied for alliteration. Bouterwek altered *frumbearn* to *sunu*. Grein, Holthausen supply *furðum*, and Holthausen notes ll. 1131, 1238, but these lines have *þa*, not *siððan*. See l. 1058b. 1062 *burhstede*] Holthausen wrongly states that *burh* is over *stede*. But *burhstede* is the last word on p. 50, *burh* the last word on a line, followed by *stede*, widely spaced, on the next line. The page is about three-fourths full. 1063 *Iared*] The Vulgate has *Irad*, and Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 447, would read *Irad* here, *Irade* in l. 1067, because the alliteration in both is vocalic, but *Jared* in l. 1174, where the alliteration is consonantal. Holthausen in his edition, *Iqred*, but Anglia XLVI, 60, *Ired*. Grein reads *Iared*, l. 1063, *Iarede*, l. 1067, and *Jared*, l. 1174. Wülker has *J* in all three passages. Holthausen reads *Iqrede*, l. 1067, and *Jæred* in l. 1174. The alliterative intention is clear, but the spelling need not be altered, since the scribe made no distinction between *I* and *J*. 1066 *Malaleh*] For the Vulgate *Maviael*. See l. 1160. 1070 *bearn* after *bearne*] Holthausen, notes, thinks that *bearn* is for *bearne*, "to one man after another," with the inflectional vowel omitted on account of the *æ* following. He would also place a comma after *bearne*. But Kock, PPP., p. 15, takes *bearn æfter bearne* more naturally as meaning practically "in his turn," "as his father had done before him." Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 447, takes *bearn* as object of *dælde*, which he assumes has the double sense required by the two different objects *bearn* and *gestreon*—a forced construction, as Cosijn himself acknowledges. 1084 *smiðcræftega*] Bouterwek, Wülker, *smið cræftega*. But Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 447, defends *smiðcræftega*. So Thorpe, in his translation, Grein, Holthausen. 1088 *æres*] See the Vulgate, *faber in cuncta opera aeris et ferri*, Genesis iv. 22. 1098 *ic*] Something is necessary metrically, and *ic* is supplied by Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 70, and Holthausen.

## 1101-1200

1106 *Seth*] The MS. has *seth*, and so elsewhere for this name. But l. 1133 the MS. has *sedes* for *sethes*. 1109 *Adames* and *Euan*] Genitive after *fræfre*, not appositive to *fæder* and *meder*, as Holthausen takes it, changing *Adames* to *Adame*. See l. 2176. 1111-1112 *sunu sealde*] The transposition of the MS. reading *sealde sunu* was suggested by Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 71, and is followed by Holthausen in order to regularize the meter of l. 1112a. But it also improves the order of words in the passage. The object of *sealde* is *sunu*, and *ece* goes with *waldend*, and so also *selfa*. As an alternative, Graz suggests *me ece god sealde sunu selfa*. 1118 *eðelstæfe*] Grein, Wülker, *eðulstæfe*, Holthausen, *eðelstæfe*. 1125 *nigenhund wintra*] Grein supplies *niðða fæder* before *nigenhund*, Holthausen *niðða ordfuma*, to complete the line. Wülker gives *nigenhund wintra* as a second half-line, indicating the loss of a first half-line. But if anything has



been lost, there is nothing to show that what has dropped out preceded *nigenhund wintra*. See l. 703, note. 1128 leod] The reading *leod* was suggested by Grein and accepted by Holthausen, thus giving *weardode* an object. Holthausen, *Anglia* XLVI, 60, alters *eafora* to *eaforan*, but it is better taken as an appositive to *Seth*. See l. 1070, note. 1133 Sethes] See l. 1106, note. 1136-1137 stop on grene græs] Holthausen, notes, "since he died," but Kock, *PPP.*, p. 15, more plausibly, "since Adam trod on the earth's green grass endowed with a living soul." 1142 friðgedal] Grein, *Spr. I*, 348, defines the first element of this compound as meaning "peace," the whole as *divortium a pace = obitus*. So also Holthausen in the glossary to his edition. Klaeber, *JEGPh.* XIX, 412, would change *frið-* to *ferhð-*, and Thorpe, notes, Bouterwek had previously made a similar suggestion. There can be no question that the first element must mean the same as *ferhð-*, but the form *frið-* may stand, see l. 107, note. 1143 worulde] Replaced by *earde* by Holthausen for the sake of alliteration. 1145 sædberendes] An appropriate description of Seth, Cain and Abel being dead. Moore, *MLRev.* VI, 199ff., sees in this adjective a reference to the legend of Seth and the Cross. 1154 *fyrnwita*] Grein, Wülker read *fyrnwited*, "experienced of old," as for a MS. *fyrn witet*. Thorpe, notes, Bouterwek change *witet* to *wintrum*. Cosijn, *Beitr.* XIX, 448, reads *fyrnwita*, and so also Holthausen. 1162 *feowertig*] Shipley, Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, p. 102, reads *feowertig*, and so Holthausen. Earlier edd. follow the MS., and Grein, *Spr. I*, 296, takes *eahta hund and feowertigum feorum*, "with 840 lives"! But Grein, *Dicht.*, p. 33, "achthundert und vierzig Jahre mit vielen Kindern." 1172 *meowle*] Holthausen omits as not needed for sense and as making the half-line too full metrically. 1174 *Iared*] See l. 1063, note, and *Gearad*, ll. 1181, 1195. 1184 *fyore*] For *feore*, from *feorh*. 1188 *Enoc*] Holthausen alters to *Enoch*, the Vulgate form being *Henoch*. See l. 1197. 1191 *cahtahund*] Supply *wintra* in thought to complete the meaning of *cahtahund*, and take *eaforan* as appositive to *cneorim*. Grein, Wülker retain *eafora*, Bouterwek, Holthausen read *eaforan*. Thorpe replaces *eafora* by *wintra*. 1193 *nihtgerimes*] Cosijn, *Beitr.* XIX, 448, accounts for *nihtgerimes* instead of *wintergerimes* or *geargerimes* by the requirements of alliteration and as a translation of the Vulgate *sunt omnes dies Iared CMLXII anni*, Genesis v. 20. 1194 *frod wintres*] Holthausen alters to *wintrum frod*. 1198 *wisa*] Sievers, *Beitr.* XII, 475, omits *wisa* as being metrically superfluous. So also Holthausen. 1199 *dom* and *drihtscipe*] Dietrich supplies *dæge sine*, Grein, Holthausen, *dædrof hæle* to complete the line. See l. 703, note.

## 1201-1300

1206 *doþ*] Holthausen, following Sievers, *Beitr.* X, 477, alters to *doap* to gain a metrical syllable, as similarly for *don* and *onfon* (*onfoð*) in ll. 1759, 1789, 1918, 1938, 2040, 2332, 2413 (*doen*), and 2919. 1208 *ahta* and *ætwest*] "Goods and residence," as translated by Kock, *Anglia* XLIII, 307,



the first element of *ætivist* being the adverb *æt*. 1209 on *genimeð*] Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 184, Anglia XLVI, 60, would supply *an* after *on*, i.e. *on an*, "straightway," because he thinks l. 1209a is too short. But *on* is needed as a preposition to govern *him*, l. 1207, "unto himself," and *on genimeð* is by no means without parallels metrically, nor does the addition of *an* essentially change the metrical structure of the half-line. 1211 *feran*] So Grein, Wülker, and Holthausen. 1217 *eac III hund*] Holthausen, *III hund eac*, as an improvement in alliteration. 1219 *þissa*] Grein, Wülker retain *þisse*, presumably as modifying *lichoman*, Mason, "in this body." But Grein suggests *þissa*, and so Holthausen in his text. 1224 *to*] "In addition." See Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 448. *æfter*] Holthausen, *after*, corrected Anglia, XLVI, 60. 1232 *and*] Supplied for metrical reasons; so Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 71, Holthausen. 1234 *eaforan*] The earlier edd. retain *eafora*, which would then be a genitive, but better with Holthausen, *eaforan*, appositive to *byras*. 1235 *Noe*] Thorpe prints this *Noæ*, and perhaps it should be so taken, see l. 232, note. 1240 *Noes*] Holthausen, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 480, reads *Nōees*, as also in ll. 1323, 1423, and 1551, for the sake of meter. The half-line must be so read, whether or not one alters the spelling. See l. 1241, note. 1241 *oðer Cham*] Holthausen supplies *wæs* before *oðer* to complete the half-line metrically. But if *Noes*, l. 1240, can be read as a trisyllable, *Cham* can be read as a dissyllable, and the reading without *wæs* is better stylistically. See l. 1736, *Carran*, and l. 1854, *Sarran*. 1256 *cneoriss*] Dietrich, Grein, Wülker read *cneoriss*, the more usual form of this word, see l. 1274. But Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 448, defends *cneorissn*. Grein, Germania X, 417, suggests *cneorim*, as in l. 1190. 1260 *þær*] The syntax would be improved by reading *þæra*, Holthausen, Anglia XLVI, 60. 1264 *bisgodon*] Wülker misreports the MS. as reading *bisgōdon*, hence *bisgedon* in his text, and so also Holthausen. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 448, suggests *basnedon*, see l. 2419, for *bisgodon*. As the text stands *bisgodon* must be taken as an intransitive, "suffered," and *wæcce* as instrumental. 1270 *sigoro*] So Holthausen, the earlier edd. altering to *sigora*. But see Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 237, Anm. 4, on *-o* as a gen. pl. ending. 1280 *æðan*] Holthausen, *æðan*, but see l. 356, note. 1296 *acwellan*] Wülker, Holthausen incorrectly report the MS. as reading *æcwellan*. 1298 *fedað*] Holthausen, text, *felað*, notes, *fedað*.

## 1301-1400

1308 *and*] Supplied by Holthausen to complete the line metrically, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 512. 1309 *and*] Holthausen, text, places this word in the first half-line, but Anglia XLVI, 60, suggests placing it in the second half-line and supplying *þinra* before *elngemeta*, or reading *elna gemetenra*. But no change is necessary, see l. 1209, note. *gewyrç*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 306, suggested *gewyrpe*, and so also Holthausen, notes, citing An. 306, *ofer waroða geweorþ*. But see An. 466, 932. 1316 *þæt hof*] The MS. has the usual abbreviation for *þæt* before *hof*. Grein, Holthausen alter to *yh-*

reading *yphof*. See ll. 1345, 1489. 1330 and] Holthausen changes to *mid*. This is perhaps a slight improvement but not necessary. The subject of *nimest* is both *þu* and *feora fæsl*, "the progeny of living creatures." 1337 to *mete*] Holthausen, *mete to*, as a metrical improvement, and Anglia XLVI, 61, he suggests a more elaborate reconstruction, *þara þe mannum to mete lifige*. 1338 *twa*] Holthausen, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 512, changes *twa* to *twegen* to secure a metrical syllable. 1355 *sweart racu*] Holthausen and the earlier edd., *sweart racu*, except Thorpe, Bouterwek, *sweart racu*. Dietrich, *stearc racu* or *streamracu*, and Grein, *streamracu*, for the sake of alliteration. *stigan*] Holthausen alters to *swogan*, to alliterate with *sweart*-, citing l. 1375. For the sense of *stigan*, see l. 1406. 1358 *wægþæl*] Junius, *-þæl*, the later edd., *-þel*. On *æ* for *e*, see l. 356, note. Holthausen incorrectly states that *a* has been erased after *þel* in the MS., but the erasure is after *þ* in the word. 1374 *gelwære*] Holthausen, *gelwæm*, citing Beow. 25, where some editors also read *in mægða gelwam*, as a metrical correction of the MS. reading *gelwære*, suggested by Sievers, Beitr. X, 485. See also Sievers, Angels. Gram., § 341, Anm. 4. 1378 *manfehðu*] A genitive after *bearn*; see Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 448. 1380 *hof*] Holthausen alters to *hofu*. 1387 *hea beorgas*] Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 71, reads *hæahe beorgas*. 1394 *fære*] This may be taken as a dative of *\*fær*, "ship," with Grein, Spr. I, 270, Holthausen, notes, or perhaps better as an instrumental case of *fær*, "with terror," parallel to *hæste*, l. 1396. See Kock, JJJ., p. 30. 1398 *sc*] Thorpe, Ettmüller, Lexicon, p. 656, Bouterwek retain the MS. reading *sæ*, making a compound *sæ-drence*, but Dietrich and the later edd. alter *sæ* to *se*. 1400 *þam æt niehstan*] For *æt þam niehstan*, "thereupon"? See Kock, Anglia XLIV, 253. Holthausen places *wæs* in the first half-line. Or should one read *þa* for *þam*? Or *þam* may be demonstrative, "for them," "to them," i.e. the victims of the flood. *nan to gedale*] Taking *nan* in the sense "nothing," Grein, Spr. II, 274, and *to gedale* in the sense "for a portion," "for a lot," with Kock, Anglia XLIV, 253, the sense of this phrase seems to be "Then nothing else was granted." This implies also the change of *heo* to *heof* in l. 1401.

## 1401-1500

1401 *heof*] Sievers, Beitr. XIX, 448, suggested *heof*, "lamentation," for the MS. *heo*, which otherwise would seem to stand for *earce*, a difficult interpretation, as Cosijn, *ibid.*, points out. Holthausen accepts *heof* in his text. Mason translates, "there was nothing at hand for [the Ark] but destruction, except that it was raised," etc. But this does not correspond to the text. Translate literally, "There was nothing to them for a portion, except lamentation was raised," etc., freely, "Then naught was their portion except lamentation raised," etc. 1404 *hine*] The antecedent is *egorhere*, l. 1402. 1405 *edmodne*] Dietrich altered the MS. *ed monne* to *edniowe*, "continually renewing itself," connecting it with *tuddor*, l. 1402. Grein, Germania X,



417, improved this by reading *edniowne*, referring to *egorhere*. As this would make a short line metrically, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 98, suggested a *edniowne*, and Holthausen reads *edniowne flod*. Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 380, had previously proposed *e[acne an]d wonne*. Wülker suggested, but did not place in his text, the reading *edmodne*, "obedient," i.e. obedient to the commands of the Lord, a reading to be preferred both on the side of sense and because it calls for only the change to *n* to *d*. It should be noted that the reading *edniowne* supposes that an original runic symbol for *w* was read as *n* by the scribe. 1407 gemunde god] Holthausen, Eng. Stud. XXXVII, 203, would replace *god* by *se mæra*. In his text he prints *gemyndgode*, but Anglia XLVI, 61, retracts this in favor of the MS. reading. 1416 torhtne] Wülker prints merely *torht ryne*. To complete the line metrically Grein read *rodortorht*, referring to *metod*, l. 1414, and so also Holthausen. But *torhtne ryne* is adequate, lines of this metrical type being not uncommon. Perhaps the inflectional ending of the adjective was lost in anticipation of the final *-ne* of *ryne*. 1417 L and C] To be resolved as *fiftig and hundteontig*. 1428 þæra] See l. 1522. Perhaps one should supply *þe* after *þæra*. 1447 se feonde] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 449, Holthausen read *feonde*, "but it [the raven] rejoicing," following a suggestion by Grein. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXIII, 88, alters *feond* to *feorh*, appositive to *hreaw*, but not in his text. 1491 liðe] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 307, reads *liðe* for the MS. *hliðe*, but Grein and the later edd. read *liðe*. 1492 þrymme geþeahte þridan eðyl] Holthausen in his text reads *þrymme geþeahte*, but in his notes he suggests either *mid þrymme geþeaht*, or *þrymme geþeahtne*. Dietrich, Grein, Wülker take *geþeahte* as a verb, parallel in syntax to *hæfde*—an awkward construction. Grein, Wülker, Holthausen alter *þrida* to *þridan*, and this is necessary if *eðyl* is accusative, and not appositive to *lago*. Kock, PPP., p. 15, reads *þrymme geþeahtne þridan eðyl*, suggesting that the poet had in mind heaven (air), earth, and ocean (water), not heaven, earth, and hell, as Holthausen, notes, states. But in any case *þridan eðyl* seems to refer here to the earth. Mason, p. 59, would read *ðryðe*, "strength," "in place of the meaningless *ðrida* = 'third,' in the MS., and at the same time making *þrymme* the object of *hæfde* (reading *þrymmas*, if necessary)." He translates, "while the deluge held sway [and] covered your home with its abundance." But Bos.-Tol., I, 454, translates more closely, "water had covered the country." For the spelling of *eðyl*, see l. 962. 1498 reðran] Not otherwise recorded as a verb. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 307, suggested *renian* for *reðran*, and Dietrich *reðian* or *ræran*. Grein, Wülker, Holthausen, *reðian*, but Holthausen, Anglia XLVI, 61, *redian*. So also Bos.-Tol., under *redian*. The meaning is obviously "prepare," but one hesitates to change such a clear reading in the MS., especially since *reðian* and *redian* are very unusual forms, though *aredian* as a compound is more frequent. Sweet, Student's Dictionary, p. 140, records a word *gerēþre* in the sense "ready," from which perhaps one may infer a verb *reðran*, "to make ready." The word *gerēðre*, as thus defined by Sweet, occurs in *Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. Sweet, p. 306, l. 15, where it is used as a synonym of *arod*. "prepared."



## 1501-1600

1504 þa he Noe] Holthausen adds *þær* after *Noe* to fill out the line metrically. But see ll. 1240, 1241, notes, on this word as a possible trisyllable. 1508 þæt] The change of the MS. *þa* to *þæt*, suggested by Grein, seems necessary, since *þæt him ealra*, etc., is an object clause after *geearnod*. 1511 wuldris] For the spelling, see *twegin*, l. 460, *fægir*, l. 899, *eðyl*, ll. 962, 1492, and Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 44, Anm. 2, § 237, Anm. 1. 1512 tiedrað] Holthausen, *Anglia XLVI*, 61, *tydrað*, but in his edition, *tiedrað*. 1515 and] Added to supply a metrical syllable by Sievers, *Beitr. X*, 512, and Holthausen. 1520 sawl] Metrically a dissyllable, and Holthausen alters to *sawul*, following Graz, *Festschrift für Schade*, p. 72, who reads *sawol*. 1522 þæra] See l. 1428. 1524 modgeþance] The MS. has *mod-*, not as Grein and Wülker read, *mode-*, and the change of *mode-* to *mod-* by Holthausen is unnecessary. 1525 sece] Thorpe, Grein retain the MS. reading *seðe*, which Grein takes as a verb, "avenge," citing *Beow. 1106*. So also *Spr. II*, 423. Wülker, Holthausen read *sette* for *seðe*. Bouterwek suggested *asece* (but *Erläut.*, p. 307, *sece*), Dietrich, *sece*, and Sievers, *Beitr. X*, 512, Kock, *JJJ.*, p. 31, also *sece*. This would correspond to *requiram*, in *Genesis ix. 5*, *et de manu viri et fratris ejus requiram animam hominis*, and to *slagan*, "from the slayer" (Bouterwek, Kock), would correspond to *de manu viri*. 1526 to broðor banan] The edd. print as a compound, but Kock, *JJJ.*, p. 31, points out that the phrase should translate the Vulgate *et fratris ejus*, "and from the brother of the slayer." 1528 Monn wæs] Holthausen reads *Wæs monn*, as a metrical improvement. 1539 and] Needed both for meter and for sense. 1543-1549] The simplest and most satisfactory explanation of these lines is that given by Gollancz, pp. lxii-lxvii. The matter printed in parentheses in the text is obviously unmetrical, and *wif* should agree in syntax with *easorum þrim*. The suggestion of Gollancz is that the reference to the names of the wives of Noah's sons was a late marginal comment which some scribe copied as part of the text. Gollancz notes that in this passage the poet was versifying *Genesis ix. 18*, where the wives are not mentioned. They are mentioned in *Genesis viii. 18*, but their names are not given there or elsewhere in the Bible. On the origin and occurrence of these names in medieval literature, see Gollancz, pp. lxiv-lxvii. It is perhaps idle to speculate how this bit of legendary lore got into the manuscript, but it may be pointed out that this is just the kind of information that Ælfwine of Newminster (see *Introd.*, p. x) seems to have been interested in. Grein alters *Percoba* to *Phercoba*, making one line of *and heora feower wif nemde wæron Phercoba*, then one line of the following three proper names, after which he supplies a line of his own, *þa wið flode nerede frea ælmihtig*. Grein, *Germania X*, 417, recasts to read:

and heora feower wif Phercoba,  
 Olla, Olliuu, Olliuani  
 nemde wæron, þa genered hæfde  
 wærfæst metod wætra lafe.

Holthausen follows this reading except that he adds *þa* before *Phercoba* and *and* before *Olliiani*. 1549 *wærfæst metode*] The manuscript reading *metod* makes the word a nominative and appositive to *sunn Lamehes*, but *metod* would not be an appropriate term for Noah. Gollancz, p. lxiv, would read *wærfæst metodes*, calling attention to Gen. 2169, which he would translate, "observant of thy will." But it seems a little simpler to read *metode* and to translate, "faithful to the Lord." 1551 *Noes*] Holthausen, *Noes*, following Graz, *Festschrift für Schade*, p. 72, but see l. 1240, note Graz also adds *samod* before *Sem*. and] Holthausen, *Eng. Stud.* XXXVII, 204, and in his text, *oðer* for *and*. But *Cham* may be taken as a dissyllable, see l. 1241, note. 1553 *folc*] Holthausen, following Graz, *Festschrift für Schade*, p. 72, supplies *eal* before *folc*. 1560 *þa*] Grein alters to *þæt*. 1564 *symbolwerig*] Holthausen, *sumbelwerig*, i.e. *sumblwerig*. 1572 *wryon*] Grein, *wryon*. The usual form of the verb is *wreon*. 1579 *ferhðe*] Holthausen adds *se wæs* before *ferhðe*, for metrical reasons. Graz, *Festschrift für Schade*, p. 72, reads *forstolen ferhðe*. 1582 *hlihende*] Holthausen, *hlihende*. 1585 *bewrigenum*] Holthausen, following Grein, *Spr. I*, 98, takes *andwilan bewrigenum* as dative or inst. absolute, "with countenances concealed." Both *in* and *listum* are adverbial. Perhaps it would be better to emend to *bewrigene*. The *-um* ending of *bewrigenum* might easily have been anticipated from the dative endings in the following line. Cosijn, *Beitr.* XIX, 450, would unite *in* with *stopon*, therefore remove the comma after *stopon*, but Sievers, *ibid.*, rightly objects that this would be a very difficult order of words. 1587 *gefremede*] Bouterwek, Holthausen, *gefremeden*, but see l. 856, note.

## 1601-1700

1601 *freomen æfter flode*, etc.] Grein suggests deleting *freomen* in order to shorten the line, which in his text includes *freomen... gewat*. Wülker also prints all this as one line. Holthausen would read *freom æfter flode and fiftig eac* as one line, *freom* modifying *Noe*, l. 1598, and the following line he constructs to read *fæder on laste, oð þæt he forð gewat*. Cosijn, *Beitr.* XIX, 450, also assumes a loss in the MS., and Holthausen, *Anglia* XLVI, 61, offers two new readings, *þa he forð gewat, fæder of life or feras of life*. See Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik*, § 98, and l. 703, note. 1607 *rice*] "Kingdom," see Kock, *Anglia* XLIII, 308, and Holthausen, *Anglia* XLVI, 61. The other possibility would be to take *rice* as an adjective, in which case there would be no comma after it. 1610 *Geomor*] For the Vulgate *Gomer*. 1613 *tuddor*] See l. 914, note. 1615 *Chames*] Bouterwek, *Erläut.*, p. 308, Dietrich, Grein,<sup>4</sup> Holthausen read *Chame*, slightly better syntax, as Wülker remarks, though *Chames* is permissible. 1617 *Chus* and *Chanan*] The MS. has *chus* and *cham* for the Vulgate *Chus* and *Chanaan*. 1619 *æðelum*] Holthausen, following Rieger, *Verskunst*, p. 16, *hæledum* for *æðelum*. 1623 *gesceod*] Dietrich (see *Beitr.* X, 485), Grein, Wülker, *gesceode*, but Cosijn, *Beitr.* XIX, 450, calls attention to Dan. 667, 677, and the frequent other



occurrences of *gesc(e)od*. Holthausen has *gescēod*, and so also in Anglia Bejbl. V, 229. lice] Holthausen, Eng. Stud. XXXVII, 204, reads *life* for *lice*, but in his text retains *lice*. 1628 *Nebroðes*] Grein reads *fæderne hreðer* for the MS. *nebreðer*, "er suchte den Schoos Gottes des Vaters." Wülker reads *Fæderne breðer*, with a point after *lif*, l. 1627. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 450, calls attention to Genesis x. 8, where the form *Nemrod* occurs as the name of the son of Chus, and suggests *fæderne Nebrod*, *Nebrod* as subject of *weold*, and *fæderne* an adjective modifying *yrfestole*. Sievers in a note to this reads *fæder Nebroðes*, appositive to *rinc*, l. 1626, with a period following. So also Holthausen in his text, but in Grein-Köhler, p. 887, he reads *fæder Nembroðes*. 1629 *weold*] Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 72, reads *yrfestol heold*, see l. 1129. 1638 *widfolc*] The MS. reading *wid folc* leaves the line lacking one syllable metrically. Holthausen, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 513, reads of *þam wide folc*, but the syntax of this is awkward, *wide* being taken as an adverb. The compound *widfolc* is like *widland*. 1642 *frod*] The MS. reading *forð* might be retained, as it is by Grein, Wülker, and the earlier edd., but Grein, Germania X, 417, suggests *frod*. The alliteration supports this, and *wintrum* would then go with *frod*. Holthausen reads *frod*. See l. 1743a. 1650 *Folc wæs*, etc.] Kock, PPP., p. 15, would place ll. 1650b-1651 within parentheses. 1656 *leofum mannum*] A dative plural to be construed with *wæron*, l. 1659. Holthausen, in his text, places a colon after *mannum*, and no punctuation after *ræswan*. In his notes, he moves the colon forward to follow *foldan*, l. 1658. 1661 *be*] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 450, would omit *be* and would alter *þæs*, l. 1663, to *þæt*. Holthausen so prints in his text. But as Kock, PPP., p. 16, points out, *biddan be his mægwine* is good idiom, and the construction of *þæs* is not unusual, see El. 962. 1664 *bearn*] Grein, Wülker, and the earlier edd. retain the MS. *bearn*, which might stand as a kind of plural amplification of the singular *mengeo*. But Grein, Germania X, 417, accepts *bearn*, as suggested by Lye-Manning, and so also Holthausen. 1666 *geworhte*] Holthausen, *geworhten*, but see l. 856, note. Holthausen also reads *arærdan*, l. 1667. 1676 *stænenne*] So Grein, Wülker, Holthausen. 1687 *hie*] Kock, PPP., p. 16, takes *hie* as reflexive object of *gemitton*, the phrase meaning "gathered together," with *spedge*, *teoche*, and *wisan* as appositive subjects of *gemitton*. "When they came together. . . with their many tribes," etc. 1688 *teoche*] For *teohhe*. 1693 *tohlocon*] Grein, Wülker, and the earlier edd. retain the MS. *tohlocon*, derived by Grein, Spr. II, 545, from an otherwise unrecorded *tohladan*, "scatter." So also Bos.-Tol., p. 999, Sweet, Student's Dictionary, p. 174. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 450, suggested *tôhiodon* = *tôiodon*, for *to-eodon*, "went apart," "separated." Sievers in a note to Cosijn proposes *tohlocon*, citing a verb *hleačā*, "assemble," from which might be assumed a strong verb *tohlacan*, "disperse." Holthausen follows Sievers, but in his notes suggests *tohleofan* also as a possibility. 1694 *oðerre*] Grein, Wülker retain *oðere*, but Rieger, Verskunst, p. 51, Sievers, Beitr. X, 462, Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 451, Holthausen alter to *oðerre*, to the improvement of grammar and meter.



## 1701-1800

1701 samod samworht] Holthausen, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 513, reads *samworht samod* for metrical reasons. 1704 rim] Bradley, MLRev. XI, 213, would read *sum* for *rim*, but Kock, PPP., p. 16, correctly interprets *þære cneorisse* and *cynebearna* as parallel genitives after *rim*, object of *on*. 1705 þeawum hydig] Bradley, MLRev. XI, 213, would replace these words by *þare wæs halen*, assuming that the poet would not let the *þancolmod wer* go unnamed. The name in the Vulgate is *Thare*. But poets are sometimes heedless. 1708 freolicu] Holthausen, Anglia XLVI, 61, would supply *ful* before *freolicu*, citing l. 1618. 1715 unforcuðlice] Holthausen, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 513, reads *unfracuðlice*, for metrical reasons. 1718 drihtfolca bearn] Holthausen, following Dietrich and Grein, reads *bearn* for *bearnum* construing *bearn* as subject of *demað*, *hie* as object. In order to complete the line metrically, Holthausen then alters *drihta* to *drihtfolca*, and suggests as an alternative reading *drihta eaforan*. Some such change seems necessary, since *demað* cannot be taken as a passive, see Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 451. Kock, JJJ., p. 32, takes *dugeðum deman* as a set phrase, "praise highly." Wülker retains *bearnum*, citing Christ and Satan 299 in support, but Wülker's *lifigendon* in this line is a misinterpretation of the MS. and the line therefore offers no parallel. 1736 Carran] For the Vulgate *Haran*. Holthausen, following Rieger, Verskunst, p. 56, reads *Carrane* for metrical reasons. But perhaps the metrical reading may have been as though the word were *Cárrán*. See l. 1747, *Cárrán ofgif*, and l. 1778, and see ll. 1240-1241, notes. 1755 hine . . . on] The pronoun is object of the preposition, *wergðo* the object of *sette*, and *mine* modifies *wergðo*. 1759 eorðbuende] Holthausen, *eorðbuend*, as a metrical improvement, citing l. 1648, and Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 73. So also Jovy, Bonner Beitr. V, 30. But the half-line as it stands is metrically acceptable. 1765 fromcyme] Holthausen, following Dietrich, changes to *fromcynne*. 1768 of Egipta] Grein replaces *Egipta* by *Assyria*, remarking that *Egipta* is an obvious error. Wülker changes *of* to *on*, "nach Ägypten hin," the journey of Abraham towards Egypt being referred to here, see Genesis xii, and from Egypt in l. 1873ff. But Abraham did not go from Haran to Egypt, but *in terram Chanaan*, as the poet says, l. 1772, and if any change is made, Grein's reading is to be preferred. 1783 Sicem] The Vulgate has *Sichem*. Dietrich, Grein, Holthausen read *Sicem*. Wülker retains the MS. reading as *Siem*, on the ground that *siem* = *sigem*, for *Sichem*. 1784 Cananeis] Holthausen, following Grein's suggestion, alters to *Cananea*. Grein retained *Cananeis* in his text, but translated, Dicht., p. 50, as a genitive plural. The MS. reading may be retained as a genitive singular, corresponding to the Vulgate, Genesis xii. 6, *Chananaeus autem tunc erat in terra*. On *i* for *e*, see l. 899, note, also *y* for *e*, l. 269, note. hine] Holthausen transfers *hine* to the beginning of l. 1785a, for metrical reasons, or as alternative, suggests adding *þær* after *Abrahame*. 1789 gewlo] Holthausen, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 458, *gewloe*, for metrical reasons. 1795 landa] So Grein

and later edd. 1795-1797 lisse...gecyðde] Grein, Wülker, Holthausen  
enclose within parentheses. 1799 Bethlem] For the Vulgate *Bethel*.

## 1801-1900

1805a] Holthausen adds *git* after *þa*, to complete the line metrically, taking *Abraham* as a dissyllable. 1809 metend] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 452, would change to *me(o)tud* and Holthausen prints *metud*. Grein, Wülker retain *metend* as a synonym for "God," and there is no reason why this should not stand. Cosijn places ll. 1808b-1809 within parentheses, and so also Holthausen, but Grein, Wülker print without parentheses. 1810 gledstyde] On *y* for *e*, see l. 269, note. 1813 brohþrea] Holthausen, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 479, *brohþrea*, as a metrical improvement. 1818a] Holthausen, following Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 73, adds *se wæs* before *drihtne* for metrical reasons. 1829 onegan] Thorpe, notes, and the later edd. alter the MS. *on agen* to *onegan*. So also Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 451. 1831 freondmynde] Thorpe, notes, suggested *feondmynde* for *freondmynde*, "through hostile mind." But Grein, Wülker retain *freond*-, "through loving intent," i.e. love of Abraham's wife. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 451, would read *freondmyne*, "love of a friend (woman)," and so Holthausen. Perhaps *-myne* for *-mynde* is an improvement, but *freond*-, "woman," "wife," raises doubts. The whole word might be reconstructed to read *freomyne*, see l. 1861, *wifmyne*. 1840 an] From *unnan*, "grant." 1842 sceolde] Holthausen, *scœolden*. See l. 856, note. 1849-1850 him drihtlicu, etc.] Translate "To them, many a valiant one, the woman seemed noble in countenance." For *drihtlicu* as applied to *mæg*, see l. 2782. Kock, PPP., p. 16, would rearrange to read *him drihtlicu on mægulite*. Holthausen, Anglia XLVI, 61, suggests *on wite modgum wancum*, citing l. 1825. In his text, Holthausen reads *modgum wite on*, and suggests *wynsum* as a substitute for *mænegum*. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 451, has *mægulite*, anticipating Kock. If one reads on *mægulite*, l. 1850b should read *modgum mænegum* and *ðuhte* should go with l. 1851. 1852 þæt] Perhaps *and* might stand, but *þæt* provides a closer logical connection. Holthausen, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 352, prints *þæt*. *fæggero*] A genitive plural, see *Egipto*, l. 1866, parallel to *idesa*, l. 1853. For the meaning of *sunnon*, "go," "walk," or perhaps "seek for," see Sievers, Beitr. XI, 352-353. The use of *lyt* is the familiar Anglo-Saxon figure of litotes. Grein alters *fæggero* to *fægerra*. Wülker would take *fægerra* as standing for *fægerrō* = *fægerran*, translating, "und wenig gedachten sie...einer lieblichern frau," Mason, "few women did they repute fairer before the king." Jovy, Bonner Beitr. V, 30, takes *sunnon* in the sense "desired," translating, "und begehrten wenig eine schönere frau für den fürsten." 1853 idesa] Wülker retains *idesa* as a genitive singular. Dietrich took *idesa* as standing for *idesa*, and Grein, Holthausen print *idesa*. 1854 Sarran] Holthausen, following Rieger, Verskunst, p. 56, assumes an indeclinable trisyllabic form *Sarraī*, which he reads instead of *Sarran* here and in ll. 2216, 2243, 2267, 2390, 2715, and 2728, and also



instead of *Sarra* in ll. 2342 and 2356. But see l. 1241, note. The MS. has *Sarra* in ll. 2743 and 2761. 1863-1868] The subject of *Ongæt* is *aldor*, i.e. Pharaoh, of *heht* is *brego*, and after *heht* a verb of motion, "come," is to be understood; *wine* is object of *heht*, l. 1867, *æðelingas* is appositive to *wine*, and *oðre duguðe* is a dependent genitive according to Holthausen, notes, or better, with Kock, PPP., p. 17, and Grein-Köhler, p. 132, an accusative plural, appositive to *æðelingas*. 1866 Egipto] Grein changes to *Egipta*. It is possible that the final *-o* of *Egipto* is an echo of the *-o* of *brego*, but see *fæggero*, l. 1852, note. 1873a] Holthausen adds *his* after *Abraham*. See l. 1805a, note. 1876 Bethlem] Holthausen, following Rieger, *Verskunst*, p. 56, *Bethleme*. See l. 1240, note. 1879 on] Thorpe, notes, *Bouterwek*, *Cosijn*, *Beitr.* XIX, 451, Holthausen read *on willan*, but Grein retains *and* suggesting that it is a preposition, and Wülker retains *and*, taking *willan* in the sense "desirable things," appositive therefore to *ceapas*, etc. But the phrase merely means "then they led *on willan*,"—"according to their desire," "as they wished." 1880 bytlian] Holthausen, *bytlian*, i.e. *bytlan*, and so also l. 2177, following Sievers, *Beitr.* X, 484. 1884 þa westan com] Grein reads *þa he west ancom*. 1898 hearmplega] Dietrich alters to *hearmplegan* as an instrumental, and so Holthausen. But Grein rightly takes *hearmplega* as appositive to *teonan*, and *heardum* as appositive to *weredum*.

## 1901-2000

1905 eall tela] Holthausen, notes, makes a compound, *ealltela*, following Grein, *Germania* X, 417. 1909 Feretia] Dietrich, Grein alter to *Feresita*, as closer to the Vulgate *Pherezaeus*, *Genesis* xiii. 7. 1910 Ne willað] Supply *wesan*. 1911 lædan] *Cosijn*, *Beitr.* XIX, 452, doubts *lædan* as an intransitive, but finds no word to take its place. Kock, PPP., p. 17, defends *lædan* as an intransitive, and such a use seems highly probable here. *Jovy*, *Bonner Beitr.* V, 30, emends *lædan* to *leoran*, "depart," previously considered and rejected by *Cosijn*. Holthausen changes *lædan* to *læfan*, with *landriht* to be supplied in sense. For the use of *lædan* intransitively in the sense of "venture forth," see *Fates of the Apostles*, ed. Krapp, l. 43, note. *Jovy* and Holthausen place a period after *sculon*, l. 1911, and Kock places the *teon wit of þisse stowe* of the MS. within parentheses as an exclamation. But see l. 1912, note. 1912 teon of] The presence of *wit* in the MS. after *teon* is accounted for as an echo of the *wit* of l. 1911. But *lædan* and *teon* are best taken as infinitives parallel in syntax. Dietrich, Grein, Wülker read *teonwit*, "contention," in Mason's translation, "Therefore shall we remove our differences from this place," p. 32. 1916 life] "Grant," "permit." 1917 and gepancmeta] Kock, PPP., p. 18, questions the existence of an Anglo-Saxon verb *gepancmetian*, accepted by the edd. and *Cosijn*, *Beitr.* XIX, 452. He would read *and* as *on*, and take *gepanc* as object of the preposition, *meta* alone being the verb. What Kock proposes is possible, but *gepancmetian* is also possible to a poet. 1923 leoht] Past participle of



læccan, "lave." 1929 ealle lædde] Something must be supplied to satisfy meter and to give a verb governing the objects. Grein reads *lædde eall bider*, and Holthausen *lædde ealle* for l.1929a, placing *æhte sine* in the second half-line. Kock, PPP., p. 19, supplies *lædde eadig* as l. 1929a. 1945 eðleardum] Holthausen, following Schröder, ZfdA. XLIII, 370, *eðelgeardum*, to avoid double alliteration in the second half-line. 1951 foldwonga] Thorpe, Grein, Wülker retain the MS. reading as *fullwona*, which Thorpe translates "of the baptized," Grein, Dicht., p. 54, "des Taufbades," Mason, p. 33, "children of baptism." Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 309, suggested *fulwodra bearn*, "children of the baptized," or *foldwuna bearn* or *foldan bearn*. Holthausen reads *foldwonga bearn*, and some such change seems necessary for the sake of meaning, though it is doubtful if *foldwonga* really arrives at the original intention of the poet. 1952 he] Holthausen, following Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 452, reads *her*—an improvement, but not a necessity. 1953 hleowlora] Dietrich, Grein, Wülker, Holthausen, *hleowlora*, "unprotected," for the MS. *hleor-*, in which the *r* was probably written in anticipation of the *r* in the second syllable. 1954 æt edwihtan] "In any way," or perhaps "at all," but no other occurrences of *edwihtan* which might determine the meaning of the word are recorded. æfre] Holthausen, following Grein, Germania X, 417, *ænig*, on which *feorhberendra*, genitive plural, would depend. With *æfre* retained, a similar syntax for *feorhberendra* must be assumed, with some such word as *ænig* implied. The *æfre* of l. 1954 may be an echo of *næfre*, l. 1953. 1956 æfter a] Grein supplies *mundbyrde* after *æfter*, and Holthausen supplies *miltse*, to the improvement of the meter but not of the sense. Wülker indicates a loss after *æfter* but supplies nothing. This whole passage, from l. 1953 to l. 1959, seems a bit suspicious, as possibly a hortatory interpolation, and perhaps the line never did alliterate. The phrase *æfter a* may be taken as adverbial, "always," "ever," like *symles a, a forð*, etc., or *a* may be taken as a noun, "according to the law," i.e. the Bible. 1957 mode] Thorpe and the later edd. read *mode*. 1963 Sennar] Holthausen, following Rieger, Verskunst, p. 56, reads *Sennare*. But see l. 1241, note. Holthausen, Anglia XLVI, 61, proposes *Sennaar*. side worulde] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 310, Dietrich, Grein, Holthausen read *worude* for *worulde*. 1964 for] Holthausen alters to *foron*, and assumes a gap in the narrative between ll. 1963–1964, to account for the fact that only two of the four kings are named. 1975 suðon] Grein alters to *suðan*. 1986 þryðge] The edd. except Holthausen retain *þrydge*, which Grein, Spr. II, 602, would connect with the verb *þreodian*, *þrydian*, "deliberate." But Holthausen, following Bos.-Tol., p. 1075, reads *þryðge*, "resolute," and so also Grein-Köhler, p. 727. Thorpe, note, suggests *þryste*.

## 2001–2100

2007 ahyðdan] Bouterwek, Grein, *ahudon*, Wülker, *ahudan*. Grein, Spr. I, 25, supposes an infinitive *ahudan*, "despoil," but no such strong verb is recorded. Grimm, Andreas und Elene, p. 141, alters to *ahyðdon*, from

*ahyðan*, of the same meaning as Grein's *ahyðan*. So also Dietrich, and Holthausen, Grein-Köhler, p. 376, *ahyðan*. hordburh] Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 184, Anglia XLVI, 61, reads *hordbyrh*, a plural, but in his text retains *hordburh*. Grein, Spr. II, 97, suggests that *hordburh* is to be taken as an accusative plural, but this meticulous logical consistency may not have been in the mind of the poet. 2027 Manre] The Vulgate has *Mambre*, Holthausen *Mamre*. 2032 ahreded] Grein, Wülker, and earlier edd. retain *ahred*, except Bouterwek, *ahreded*. Holthausen reads *ahreded*, and see l. 2085. 2038 feollan] Grein, Wülker, and the earlier edd. retain *feollan*, but Grein, Germania X, 417, suggests *feollan*. Holthausen has *feollan* and the word is obviously preterite. Perhaps one should emend further to *feollon*, see *gewræcon*, l. 2038a. 2042 þeodenholdra] Grein, *þeoden holdra*, taking *þeoden* as an uninflected dative. But Grein, Germania X, 417, and later edd., *þeodenholdra*. 2046-2047] Though these two lines are complete in sense, l. 2046 is defective in alliteration and l. 2047 is only a half-line. There is also a difficulty with the MS. *folce getrume*. Grein retains as two words, translating, Dicht., p. 57, "mit ihrem Volk dem starken." Wülker also prints as two words. Dietrich reads *folcgetrume*, as in l. 1987, which makes a practicable compound. So also Grein, Spr. I, 308, where Grein says that the alliteration in this line rests upon *t* (rather *tr*). Otherwise the passage can be emended only by extensive alteration. Wülker supposes a gap between *getrume* . . . *wolde*, which he does not supply. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 453, proposed *þe him ær wære sealdon mid heora wigena getrume*, or *wera getrume*. Holthausen, in his edition, reads *þe him tornum ær | treowe sealdon, || mid heora mægnes getrume*. Kock, PPP., p. 19, would read *micle getrume* for Holthausen's *mægnes getrume*. Holthausen, Anglia XLVI, 61, proposes for l. 2047 *mid heora folces getrume | wolde his freond huru*. The disturbance seems too deep-seated for any plausible emendation, and there still remains the possibility that the alliteration was never more perfect in l. 2046 and that l. 2047 was never completed, see l. 703, note. 2049 wæron] Wülker retains *waron*, but since the whole passage indicates careless writing, it seems better to emend with Grein and Holthausen to *wæron*. 2054b-2057] Grein, Wülker, Holthausen place *him* . . . *handplegan* within parentheses. 2055] Holthausen, following Grein, adds *tirlice* after *hie*, placing *on twa healfe* in the second half-line. See l. 703, note. 2057 *him se halga*] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 453, Holthausen read *se halga him*. 2058 eaðc] As a comparative *eað* might stand, but a comparative is not needed here, see Sievers, Beitr. X, 513, and the extra syllable of the positive is needed for meter. Grein, Wülker retain *eað*, Holthausen, following Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 310, *eaðe*. 2066 hlihende] Holthausen, *hlihhende*. 2080 wæron] Supplied by Thorpe, notes, and later edd., and needed both grammatically and metrically. 2082 Damasco] Holthausen, following Grein, *Damasco*. 2085 Loth was ahreded] Holthausen, *Loth ahreded was*. 2091 oðle nior] The MS. has *oð leni*, at the end of a line, followed on the next line by *or*. The earlier edd. found this troublesome, but Grein and the later edd. read *oðle nior*, *oðle* being for *eðle*, or as Cosijn,



Beitr. XIX, 453, suggests, *wðle*. 2096 folce] The edd. retain the MS. reading *folc*, and Grein, Dicht., p. 58, translates, "Da gieng südwärts von dannen das Sodomvolk, dass sie die Kunde brachten," Mason, p. 37, "Then the people of Sodom was southward from there, to bear the news." Holthausen retains *folc*, but states that *wegan*, l. 2097, is an infinitive for a present participle. This syntax is unconvincing, and Kock, JJJ., p. 32, points out that the view that "the Sodomites brought the news" does not accord with the Vulgate. Kock changes *wegan* to *wegen* as a past participle. 2099 eorlum bedroren] Holthausen, following Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 74, adds *se wæs* before *eorlum* for metrical reasons.

## 2101-2200

2101 Solomia] A genitive plural, = Salem, "the keeper of the treasury of Salem." 2107 Wæs] Grein emends the MS. *wær* to *wære*, but suggests *wes*. Wülker retains *wær*, and Holthausen reads *Wæs*. On *w* for *e*, see l. 356, note. 2111 læt] Grein, Holthausen, *let*, but Wülker retains *læt*. 2112 rancstræte] Dietrich altered to *randstræte*, Holthausen to *radstræte*, but Holthausen, notes, reverts to the MS. reading. A compound *rancstræte*, with which Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 453, compares *hereþað*, is otherwise unrecorded, and the meaning is debatable. Kock, PPP., p. 19, interprets as meaning "a bold path." 2114 on swaðe sæton] To account for the abruptness of this sentence, Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 453, suggests that the words *þæt hie* may have fallen out before *on*. 2117 sceolde] From *scieldan*, "protect," "shield," therefore for *scielde*, *scylde*, as suggested by Dietrich. 2120 beorn] Holthausen reads *beornwiga* for metrical reasons, or as alternative, Anglia XLVI 61, *beorhta beorn*. 2141 and] Supplied by Grein, Wülker, Holthausen. 2142 woruldfæoh] Holthausen, *woruldfæos*, made a genitive to accord with his addition of *ænig on eorðan*, to complete l. 2143. 2143a] Grein places *þe ic me agan wille* in l. 2142, and so also Wülker. Holthausen supplies *ænig on eorðan* for l. 2143a, placing *þe ic*, etc. in the second half-line. On incomplete lines, see l. 703, note. 2147 willgesteallum] Dietrich, Grein, Kock, JJJ., p. 33, read *willgestealdum*, "riches," as an appositive to *ærgestreonum*, l. 2148. But Grein, Spr. II, 706, suggests that the word may be from *willgestealla*, "faithful follower," and there is no reason why it should not be this as a dative after *cwæðe*, or with *eadig*. 2149 rices] Grein, Wülker, Holthausen, and others read *rices* as required by the grammar of the passage. selfa] The MS. reads *ac þu most heonon*, with metrical pointing before *ac* and after *heonon*. Grein, Germania X, 417, supplied *selfa* after *þu*, but placed *heonon* in the following line. Holthausen follows this reading of Grein, except that, with Graz, p. 75, he omits *heonon* altogether. In his text, Grein assumed a greater loss in the MS., supplying *seolfre and golde* for l. 2149b, and placing all of *ac . . . gesloh* in the following line. Wülker follows Grein, except that he supplies nothing for l. 2149b. 2159 ac nefuglas] The MS. reading *eaenz*, "gorged," might be retained except that it violates alliteration. Grein, Wülker, Holthausen read *nefuglas*,



"carrion birds." 2160 *blodige*] The edd. read *blodig*, but Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 184, *blodige*. 2161 *wæle*] Grein retained the MS. reading *wæl* as an uninflected instrumental with *sittað*, translating, Spr. II, 644, "sitzen auf den Leichen." Wülker also retains *wæl*. But Grein, Dicht., p. 60, translates, "gefüllet dicke mit der Volksheere Leichen." So also Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 453, Holthausen, Grein-Köhler, p. 752, read *wæle* as instrumental. 2173a] Holthausen, *Him þa Abraham*. 2176 *freomanna*] Holthausen, *freora*, following Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 74. 2184 *sie*] Holthausen, *sin*. But *sie* may stand for *sien*, see l. 856, note. 2189 *cafora*] Holthausen, following Thorpe, notes, reads *easforan*. 2191 *Sceawa heofon*, etc.] This makes a very light half-line, though Grein, Wülker print it so, with a full stop after *heofon*. Something may have dropped out after *heofon*, perhaps the second element of a compound, such as *heofonwerod*, *heofonleoma*. Of course the compound may have been *heofonhyrste*, but if so, an *h*-alliterating word must be supplied in the second half-line. So Holthausen, *Sceawa heofonhyrste ond hadre gerim*, following Schubert, p. 28. The Vulgate has *Suspice coelum et numera stellas, si potes*, Genesis xv. 5. and] Though not necessary for sense, *and* supplies a required metrical syllable. 2195 *mægburge*] The edd. retain *mægburh*, but Grein suggests *mægburge*, and cites l. 2222. Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 184, would read *mægbyrh*. The word obviously should be a genitive to agree with *þinre*, and it may have been written as a nominative by the scribe merely because it stands next to *bið*. 2197 *asæled*] All edd. print *asæled*, and the first *æ* of the MS. is probably there merely by anticipation of the second.

## 2201-2300

2203 *feowera*] Grein alters to *feawera*, and Holthausen, notes, remarks that *feowera* is equivalent to WS. *feawera*. Grein, Dicht., p. 61, translates, "mit wenigen Begleitern." 2210 *niðas*] Holthausen, *niððas*, and so Sievers, Beitr. X, 505. *swa*] Grein and later edd. read *swa* for the MS. *twa*. Holthausen places this *swa* at the end of l. 2210a. 2211 *Wendelsæ*] Thorpe, notes, suggested *oð wendelsæ* for the MS. *eft wendeð sæ*. Grein, Wülker retain the MS. reading, and Grein, Spr. II, 660, construes *sæ* as subject of *wendeð*, *rice* as object. Holthausen prints *wendelsæ*, defined in his glossary as "Weltmeer," and so Grein-Köhler, p. 773. On *Wendelsæ* as the name of the Mediterranean, see Bos.-Tol., p. 1189. All the passage means to say is that Egypt is bounded by *Eufraten*, by *Nilus*, and by *Wendelsæ*. The Vulgate, Genesis xv. 18, has merely *Semini tuo dabo terram hanc a fluvio Aegypti usque ad fluvium magnum Euphraten*. 2217 *him*] "To them," i. e. to her and Abraham, with Abraham then repeated in the dative. *wearð*] Holthausen, *wurde*. 2225 *eðylstæf*] Holthausen, following Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 314, *æðylstæf*. The other edd. retain *seo eðylstæf*, though Grein, Spr. I, 232, mentions *se eðylstæf* as a possibility. The change to a masculine article seems necessary, but the proper form of *eðylstæf* is doubtful. The article *seo* stands at the end of a line in the MS. and *eðylstæf* be-

gins the next line. A form *oðylstæf* is suggested as a possibility by l. 2091. 2227] Holthausen, following Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 75, adds *Ea la* before *Drihten*. 2228 *freolecu mæg*] Holthausen Anglia XLVI, 61, reads *ful freolecu mæg*. See l. 1708, note. 2235] Holthausen adds *þær* before *geðafode*. 2236 *larum*] Grein reads *lastum*, "with the footsteps of a bride," and so also Mason, p. 60. See Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 184. But Grein, Germania X, 418, returned to the MS. reading, which would mean "by the counsel of his wife." The phrase *bryde larum* may have been a scribal echo of *idese larum*, l. 2234, and see l. 2716, *bryde laste*, and l. 2249, *idese laste*. 2240 *herian*] "Scorn," and so Grein, Dicht., p. 62, "verhönen." See Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 453, who further defines *halsfæst* as "unfrei," *agend-frean* as "herrin." 2249 *idese laste*] "After (in the track, place of) thy wife." See l. 2236, note. 2252 *Agar*] Apparently the scribe misread *agar* as *agan*, and therefore omitted an infinitive to go with *sceal*, perhaps *agioldan*, as given in the text. There is no indication of loss in the MS. Holthausen indicates the loss of at least a line, but probably only one word has dropped out. Thorpe, notes, suggested *Agar* for *agan*, and so Holthausen, but Grein, Wülker retain the MS. reading. Kock, PPP., p. 19, retains *agan*, translating, "I shall have that owing," "I shall claim compensation for that," assuming also that *sceal* = *ic sceal*. The whole passage, ll. 2251-2255, indicates careless writing. 2253 *mine wealdan*] Grein, Dicht., p. 63, translates, "wenn ich meiner Magd vor dir noch mag gebieten," Mason, p. 41, "if I may still control mine own." See l. 2787. It is possible that *mennen* has dropped out after *mine*, see l. 2260, but this would require *min*, singular or plural, for *mine*. 2256 *drihtna*] So Thorpe and the later edd. 2278 *wulf*] Holthausen, *wulfas*, or Anglia Beibl. XVIII, 205, *se hara wulf*, both for metrical reasons. 2279 *abregde*] Holthausen, *abregden*. See l. 856, note. 2290 and] Supplied by Sievers, Beitr. X, 453, Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 454, and Holthausen for metrical reasons. Kock, JJJ., p. 33, would supply a more significant word, e.g. *wrað* or *wlonc*. 2293 *frumgaran*] Grein, Wülker retain *frumgarum*, but Grein, Germania X, 418, suggests *frumgaran*. Holthausen, *frumgaran*. This permits taking *frumgaran* as object of *awæcniað* and accords with the reference here to *Ismahel*, l. 2288. The dative plural *frumgarum* was an easy mistake after *þam*, "from that one." *awæcniað*] The MS. reads plainly *apæcniað*, but all edd. read *awæcniað*, except Holthausen, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 486, *awæcniað*. 2297 *hire hlaforðum*] Grein suggests supplying *to* before *hire*, "to her masters," and so Holthausen in his text. But Grein, Spr. II, 69, takes *hire* = *heore*, in this passage, as an adjective, "submissive to her masters," and with this interpretation, as Holthausen, note, remarks, *to* is unnecessary.

## 2301-2400

2305] Holthausen puts *wið* in the first half-line, but in his notes he places the word in the second half-line and alters *Abrahame* to *Abraham*, citing l. 2407. 2322 *seofon*] Kock, PPP., p. 20, would read *seofona* to gain a



metrical syllable. Holthausen, following Schubert, p. 35, supplies *symble* before *ymb*, but as Kock points out, this would mean "every seventh night," i.e. day. 2323 *oððe* of *eorðan*] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 454, adds *beon* after *eorðan*, and so Holthausen. But the infinitive can be supplied from *wesan*, l. 2320, and on *oððe* as an emphatic word, see Introd., p. xx. 2332 *fremum*] Kock, Anglia XLIV, 253, interprets as a noun, "by means of benefits," not as an adjective modifying *magorince*, l. 2330. 2338 Abraham ða] Holthausen transposes and supplies *his*, reading *His ða Abraham*, or as alternative, Anglia XLVI, 61, *ða Abraham his*. 2339 *hucse*] Junius has *hucse*, but not "aus versehen," as Wülker says, for the MS. has here *hucse*, though *husce*, l. 2384. In l. 2339, all edd. have *hucse*, except Junius and Thorpe, *hucse*. 2346 C] To be resolved as *hundteontig*. 2362 *tanum tudre*] Grein, Dicht., p. 65, translates, "mit wachsender Familie," Mason, p. 43, "with spreading progeny." This assumes that *tanum* is an adjective and *tudre* a noun. But an adjective *tan* is dubious, Kock, JJJ., p. 34, and it is better to take *tudre* as a verb, equivalent to *tydre*, and *tanum* as a noun, "with branches." So also Holthausen, Anglia XLVI, 61. 2364 *gen*] Holthausen, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 484, *gena*. 2368 *gelæstan*] Grein retains *gelætan*, supplying *wesan* in meaning. He translates, Dicht., p. 66, "bleiben lassen." So also Wülker. Thorpe, Bouterwek, Holthausen read *gelæstan*. 2369 *higetreowa*] Wülker and the earlier edd. retain *-treawa*, except Dietrich, Grein, Holthausen, *-treowa*. 2372 *wegan*] Dietrich, Grein, Wülker, Holthausen, *wegan*, as demanded by the sense. 2380 *fære*] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 454, alters to *on feore*, "during his life," but acknowledges that *on fære*, from *faru*, "journey," "life's journey," is possible. Grein had previously made the same suggestion. Holthausen alters to *on feore*. Kock, JJJ., p. 34, takes *fære* as derived from *fēore*, through *fēre*. On *æ* for *e*, see l. 356, note. 2381 *willan fremman*] These are the concluding words on p. 108 of the manuscript, which contains only four lines of writing, the rest left blank for illustration. Between p. 108 and p. 109 a leaf has been cut out of the manuscript, on which must have been the paraphrase of Genesis xviii. 1-11. 2382 *wereda drihtnes*] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 454, suggests *be worde drihtnes* for *wereda drihtnes* to avoid the unusual construction of a genitive after *ahloh*. Kock, PPP., p. 20, defends the genitive object. Jovy, Bonner Beitr. V, 31, avoids the syntactical difficulty by taking *wereda drihtnes* as limiting *wif*, "the wife of the lord of hosts," i.e. of Abraham. 2396 *wordgehat*] Grein retains *worngehat*, defining it, Spr. II, 736, as meaning "promise of multitudes," "promise of abundant offspring," and he translates, Dicht., p. 66, "dann ist mein Wort erfüllt, das vielen Samen dir verheisst." Wülker also retains *worngehat*. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 315, Dietrich, Holthausen, Grein-Köhler, p. 820, *wordgehat*.

## 2401-2500

2402 *Lothes*] Grein, Wülker retain *leohtes*, but Grein, Germania X, 418, reads *Lothes*, and so Holthausen. 2408 *pisse byrig*] Holthausen, *byrig pisse*.



2412 folces] The earlier edd. suggested a compound *folcefrena* or *folcfirena*, but Grein altered to *folces*, suggesting *folca* as alternative. Wülker, Holthausen, *folces*. It is appositive to *wærlagona*. 2416 fyr] An alliterating syllable is needed and *fyr* was supplied by Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 455, who notes ll. 2543-2544. Holthausen also supplies *fyr*. 2418 hæðnum folce] The last words on p. 110, which is left blank for illustration, except for a little over one line of writing. A leaf has been cut out of the manuscript between p. 110 and p. 111 which must have contained the matter of Genesis xviii. 23-33. 2419 witelaces] Dietrich suggested *witelaces* for the MS. *wite loccas*, and so Grein, as appositive to *wæan*. Holthausen prints *witelaccas*, taking -*as* a genitive singular ending. Wülker reads *witeloccan*, taking -*locan* as a genitive singular or accusative plural of -*loca*, "stronghold," and Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 455, rejects this interpretation in favor of Dietrich's. See *witelac*, l. 2556. 2436 ærendracan] Dietrich, Holthausen, *ærendreacan*. 2439 sunnan] So Holthausen. The word is sometimes masculine and sometimes feminine, but always weak. 2440 forlæt] Holthausen, following Jovy, Bonner Beitr. V, 23, *forlet*. 2441 þa to fotum Loth] These words begin p. 112 in the MS., with no indication that anything has been omitted. To complete the line, Holthausen, following Grein, reads *þa to fotum feoll* | *on foldan Loth*. The Vulgate has *adoravitque pronus in terram et dixit*. Wülker indicates the loss of a second half-line after *þa to fotum Loth* but does not attempt to fill the gap. See l. 703, note. 2451 Lagustreamas] Holthausen, notes, takes this as genitive, dependent on *þrym*. It seems simpler to take it as object of *wreak*, and also *þrym*. . . *þisses lifes*, "the glory of this life with darkness," as object. 2482 wineþearfende] All the edd. except Holthausen retain the MS. reading, with great difficulties of interpretation. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 455, alters to *wineþearfende*, citing Guth. 1321, An. 300. Holthausen follows Cosijn. 2487 þa] All edd. place *þa* in l. 2487, the metrical stresses then falling on *gromra* and *þa*. It may be taken as an adverb, or better as a demonstrative, "these (men)," appositive to *cuman*. 2496 gistmægen] Grein prints as two words, translating, Dicht., p. 69, "die Gäste hatten Macht," and so also *styrnde* is treated as a plural. But Grein, Germania X, 418, makes a compound, *gist-mægen* (defined in Spr. I, 374, as "Schaar der Gäste?"), with an alternative *gæst* as collective singular and *mægen* as object. Wülker prints *gistmægen*, and so also Holthausen, who defines the word in his glossary as meaning "Macht der Gäste," "mächtige Gäste." It seems best to take the word as a compound, though the two angels scarcely make a troop, except by poetical exaggeration. 2497 styrnde] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 455, would alter to *styrde*, and Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 316, had previously suggested *styrede*, "directed," "restrained." Holthausen prints *styrnde*, i.e. *styrde*. Grein, Spr. II, 492, defines *styrnan*, recorded only for this passage, as meaning "severum esse," and he translates, Dicht., p. 69, "strafte." Grein-Köhler, p. 644, retains *styrnan*. As this gives a possible meaning, it seems best to retain *styrnde*.

## 2501-2600

2506 Unc hit] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 455, would read *Uncit*, citing l. 2530, *wit*.  
 2509 cwealmþrea] Holthausen, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 480, *cwealmþræawe* = *-þrawe*.  
 2512 frea milde] The concluding words on p. 116, which contains only ten lines of writing. A leaf has been cut out of the manuscript between p. 116 and p. 117, on which was the matter of Genesis xix. 14-17. Most of the missing leaf must have been left blank for illustration, and this was probably the reason why it was cut out.  
 2522 Sigor] Holthausen, *Segor*, Vulgate, *Segor*. See *Sægor*, ll. 2533, 2540. Perhaps *Sigor* here has been affected by the noun *sigor*.  
 2528 sprycest] So Holthausen, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 473. Grein, without comment, *sprycst*, Wülker, *sprycst*. The form *sprycest* supplies a needed metrical syllable, and in any case, the MS. form *spryst* seems to be wrong.  
 2538 gelædde] Holthausen, Eng. Stud. XXXVII, 204, adds *hie* after *gelædde*; in his ed. he adds *þær*. As it stands in the text, *he* must take a metrical stress.  
 2545 on ærdagum] Grein alters to *on dagum ær*, the other edd., *ærdagum*, and see l. 2577. Holthausen changes *drihten*, l. 2545b, to *ecne* to improve the alliteration.  
 2547 heahþrea] Holthausen, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 480, *heahþræawu* = *-þrawu*.  
 2559 leg, geador] The MS. reading *swogende forswealh eall eador* cannot be divided to give an alliterating syllable in the second half-line. Grein, Wülker follow the MS., and Grein, Dicht., p. 71, translates *swogende . . . eador* by "zusammen sausend." Dietrich, Holthausen read *geador* for *eador*, and this may be accepted as an orthographical improvement. Holthausen, following Schubert, p. 41, supplies *leg* after *swogende*. So also Sievers, Beitr. X, 513. Kock, PPP., p. 20, *swogende forswealh | samod eall eador*. Jovy, Bonner Beitr. V, 31, reads *swogende feor, swealh eall eador*, or *swogende forð*, etc. For *swogende leg*, see Beow. 3145.  
 2596 be hliðe] Holthausen adds *steapum* after *hliðe*, or Nachträge, p. 132, *anum*, to improve the meter, but Anglia XLVI, 61, suggests *bliðe for be hliðe* and no addition. Kock, PPP., p. 21, assumes a form *hlið*, with long vowel, remarking that "the O. Sax. original [Was there an OS. original for this part of the poem?] thus evidently had *hliðu*, which gave a perfect verse." But *hie* may take a metrical stress and no change is necessary.  
 2599 dohtor twa] The last words on p. 122, which contains only four lines of writing. A leaf has been cut out between p. 122 and p. 123, on which must have been the matter of Genesis xix. 31-32.  
 2600 Hie dydon swa, etc.] The earlier edd. suppose an omission in the MS. here and supply variously, e.g. Grein reads *Hie dydon swa druncnum were*. Wülker supposes an omission after *druncnum* but supplies nothing. Holthausen arranges as in the text, but alters *dydon* to *dedon*.

## 2601-2700

2603-2604] Grein reconstructs to read *hwonne him fæmnan to fæðme eodon || and bryde laste him bi wæron*. Wülker assumes a loss of two half-lines between *to* and *bryde* but supplies nothing. Holthausen reads *hwonne him*



*fæmnan to | foron on reste, || bearn to bryde | him bu wæron.* There is no indication of loss in the MS., and no change is necessary, except possibly the omission of *him* in l. 2603a. 2604 *geneawod*] So Grein and later edd. 2614 *hire*] Grein, Wülker place *hire* at the end of l. 2613, but this leaves l. 2614a too short. Sievers, Beitr. X, 513, transfers *hire* to l. 2614, and so also Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 380, and in his edition. Holthausen also adds *ides* after *hire* to fill l. 2613b metrically. The alternative would be to take *gingre* as metrically a trisyllable. 2616 *folces unrim*] Grein retains *folc unrim*, though this is metrically incomplete. Wülker reads *folca unrim*, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 513, who suggested *folca unrim* or *folc unrimu*. Holthausen reads *folc unrimu*. But it seems better to read *folces unrim*, with Schubert, p. 41, since only two tribes or nations are in question. 2625–2626] Holthausen and the earlier edd. read *bearh his aldre þy ||*. In the MS. the metrical pointing puts *þy* in l. 2626a. In l. 2626, Holthausen reads *wiste he*, following Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 76. 2629 *heht hie*, etc.] Grein, following Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 316, reads *heht bringan to him selfum bryd Abrahames*, all as one line. In his text, Bouterwek had supplied *Sarran sciene*, but replaced this in the Erläut., p. 316, by *bryd(e) Abrahames*. Wülker indicates an omission after *selfum* but supplies nothing. Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 380, *heht beornes wif | bringan to him selfum*, and so in his edition. But an accusative feminine *hie* is all that is needed. 2631 *Abrahames*] Thorpe, Grein, and later edd., *Abrahames* for the MS. *abrames*. 2641 *him*] Holthausen, Anglia XLVI, 61, suggests placing *him* before *purh*, l. 2642. 2642 *sinces*] Grein, Wülker retain *synna*. Thorpe, notes, Bouterwek, Holthausen, *sinces*. See l. 2728. 2645 *beheowan*] Grein reads *beheopian* and records this incorrectly for the MS. *beheopan*, translating, Dicht., p. 73, “behauen.” Wülker reads *beheopan*. But as Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 455, maintains, *beheopan* (otherwise unrecorded) is probably merely a miswriting of *beheowan* = *beheawan*. For the phrase *aldrē . . . beheowan*, “deprive of life,” see l. 2702. Holthausen reads *beheowan*. *þæne*] Wülker retains *þære*, but Grein, Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 456, Holthausen, *þæne*. 2647 *miltse him*] The transposing of the MS. *him miltse* makes the alliteration regular. For a similar metrical use of a pronoun, see l. 2649a. The edd. assume a loss here in the MS. and Grein supplies *syllum*, placing *to þe* in l. 2647b, and reading *syllum seceð* for l. 2648a. So also Holthausen, except *simle* instead of *syllum*. Wülker indicates an omission here but does not supply anything. The metrical pointing in the MS. is *· and him miltse to þe seceð*. 2658 *wið god*] Supplied by Grein, Holthausen, to the improvement of syntax and meter. Wülker indicates an omission after *self* but supplies nothing. Thorpe, notes, suggested omitting *self* and supplying *wið god*. This makes the smoothest reading but *self* seems to be authentic. 2662 *ærendu*] Thorpe, notes, Bouterwek, Grein, *ærende*. Grein, Germania X, 418, changes to *ærendu*, and so Holthausen. Wülker retains the MS. *ærenda* as an accusative plural, but the customary form would be *ærendu*. 2668 *gesprecan*] Grein, Wülker, and the earlier edd. follow the MS. *sprecan*. Sievers, Beitr. X, 453, gains a metrical syllable by reading *gesprecan*. So



also Holthausen. 2669 *egesan geðread*] Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 76, reads *se wæs egesan geðread*. 2691 Abraham þa] Holthausen, *Him þa Abraham*. 2694 *guðbordes sweng*] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 456, suggests *guðsweordes sweng*. Holthausen reads *guðbrordes sweng*, "stroke of the battle point," i.e. spear. But Koçk, PPP., p. 22, takes *guðbordes sweng* as equivalent to "a blow on the shield"—as suitable a meaning as any other that has been proposed. 2695 *lare gebearh*] The difficulty in this passage is metrical. As the text stands, l. 2695*b* does not correspond to the usual types of verse as defined in the Sievers system of scansion. But for a defense of this metrical form, see Kock, Anglia XXVII, 219–220, and Anglia XLVI, 187–188. Holthausen emends *lare* to *on lade*, citing Beow. 1987, Ap. 92, and An. 276. Grein, Dicht., p. 74, translates, "durch die List," Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 456, translates, "rat," device, counsel, citing l. 1671, Kock, PPP., p. 22, "by my lore," "by my words." The notion of cunning is not necessarily contained in *lare*. 2696 *hyrde*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 316, suggests *hirede frea*, *frea* going with *se halga*. Grein retains *hyrde* = *heorde*, "land," "earth," translating, Dicht., p. 74, "vom Grund und Boden." But Grein, Spr. II, 68, takes the word in the sense "family," with Bouterwek's *hirede* as alternative reading, and with *frea*n carried over to l. 2697*a*. So also Grein-Köhler, p. 331. Holthausen glosses as "Hürde," "Tür," and cites Kluge, Zft. für vergl. Sprachforschung XXVI, 100. 2697 *mines fæder*] Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 380, adds *eðle* after *fæder* to complete the line metrically, and so in his edition. *alædde*] So Thorpe, notes, and later edd.

## 2701–2800

2707 *mid wealandum*] As it stands this compound at first suggests *wea*, "woe," and *land*, and Thorpe translates "hostile nations." Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 316, suggests *weallendum winian*, "dwell among foreign (peoples)." Dietrich retains *winnan* as equivalent to *dreogan*, and *wealand* as for *wealland* = *wealhland* "foreign lands," though he also suggests *mid wealdendum*. Grein follows the MS. with Dietrich's interpretation, but Grein, Germania X, 418, changes *winnan* to *wunian*. Wülker retains the MS. reading. Holthausen reads *mid weallendum wunian*, following Bouterwek, regarding *weallendum* as similar in formation to *ellende*. So also Klaeber, Anglia Beibl. XXXVIII, 357. Kock, PPP., p. 23, would take *wealandum* as appositive in meaning to *wigsmiðum*, l. 2704, connecting the word, though not convincingly, with the name of Weland, the smith. It seems best to take *wealandum* as equivalent to *weal-landum*, "foreign lands," and to retain *winnan* as equivalent to *dreogan*, though *wea-lende* = *wealh-lende* is also plausible. 2714 *Sarra*] Holthausen, *Sarrai*, following Rieger (see l. 1854, note) and Sievers, Beitr. X, 480. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 456, suggested *þæt Sarra me*, but withdrew this in favor of *Sarrai*. See l. 1241, note. Grein reads *Sarrah*, Dietrich, Wülker, *Sarra*. 2721 *weorcþeos*] The MS. reading *feos* seems to be an echo of *feoh* in l. 2720. Grein reads *weorc-*

*þeos*, noting Genesis xx. 14, *servos et ancillas*. Wülker retains the MS. reading, but does not indicate how he would construe a form like *weorcfeos*. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 456, Holthausen follow Grein. 2725 *þe ic agan sceal*] Grein takes this as an independent clause, translating, Dicht., p. 75, "ich will dich haben." Mason, p. 52, "I must have thee." So Wülker, Holthausen, but Holthausen, Anglia XLVI, 61, notes this unusual use of *agan* and suggests changing to *ecan*, "endow," "make rich." But it is better to take *þe* as a relative, with *wic* as antecedent, in the sense "any habitation," as the context of the passage implies. 2730 *flettraðas*] So Holthausen and all edd. since Bouterwek. 2732 *ac*] Grein suggests *ic* for *ac*. 2733 *deope*] Grein alters to *deore* and suggests *bette* for *bete*. *ceara*] Grein alters to *cearað*, and translates, Dicht., p. 75, "Sorgt ihr beide nicht." But Grein, Spr. I, 158, returns to the MS. reading, taking *incit* as accusative with following infinitive, and so Grein-Köhler, p. 85. The direct address to Sarah in the preceding passage favors a singular here, changing to the plural *wuniað* in l. 2735 because of *incit*. Wülker retains the MS. reading. Holthausen reconstructs to read *Ne cearað ðuguða inc*. Sievers, Beitr. X, 513, reads *ðuguða inc[il]*, transposing *ðuguða* to improve the alliteration. 2743 *Sarra*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 317, Grein, *Sarran*. 2747 *þeowe*] Holthausen, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 492, *þeos*. See l. 2754b. 2748 *bregoweardas*] A genitive singular, see Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 457. *ecan*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 317, *ecan*, Grein, Germania X, 418, *ecan* for the MS. *agan*, and so Holthausen, but the other edd. retain *agan* in the very doubtful meaning "endow," or "beschenken," Grein, Dicht., p. 76. See l. 1122. 2749 *monrim mægeð*] The object of *meahon* . . . *ecan* is *monrim*, and *mægeð* is appositive to *freo ne þeowe*. Retaining the MS. reading *agan* as meaning "endow," Kock, Anglia XLIII, 308, would take *bregoweardas* as object, and *monrim* as appositive to *bregoweardas*, with *mægeð* appositive to *freo ne þeowe*. 2751 *arna*] The earlier edd. followed the MS., but Grein altered to *arna*. Wülker returned to the MS. reading, but Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 457, Holthausen, *arna*. 2754 *þeowra*] Grein alters to *þeowna*, but see l. 2747, note. 2758 *weard*] So all edd. 2762 *hæfde wordbeot*] Holthausen, following Schubert, p. 51, *wordbeot hæfde*, but see l. 574, note. 2768 *mid*] Supplied by Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 457, citing Guth. 274, and Holthausen. Cosijn and Holthausen read *agne* for *agene*. Grein retained the MS. reading as instrumental, translating, Dicht., p. 76, "mit eigener Hand." 2770 *hine on woruld*] Holthausen, following Schubert, p. 50, *on woruld hine*, but see l. 574, note. 2772-2773 *cynde*, *æðele*] Holthausen alters *cynde* to *cynn*, declaring *cynde* to be metrically impossible, and *æðele* to *æðelo*, the first a noun, the second an adjective. Grein retains *cynde* but reads *æðelo*, the latter a noun and *cynde* an adjective. But Grein, Spr. I, 178, suggests *cynde* as a nominative plural feminine and *æðele* as adjective modifying *cynde*. This is the simpler reading, "as his qualities were excellent." Wülker follows the MS. 2774 *hundteontig*] Wülker retains *hunteontig*, but Thorpe and the other edd. *hundteontig* 2777 *dægwillan*] Grein, Wülker take as two words, see Grein, Spr. II, 708, "day



of joy." But Grein suggests also *dægwillan*, and translates, Dicht., p. 77, "den Freudentag." So Holthausen, and see Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 457. 2781 halig on hige] Holthausen reads *on hige halig*, and so previously Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 77. 2790 þu of lice] Holthausen, following Graz, Festschrift für Schade, p. 77, reads *of lice þu*. So also Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 456. 2795 *cearum*] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 457, suggests *cearium*, taking the word as an adjective, for *cearigum*, but *cearum* as adj. is doubtful and the word is best taken as inst. pl. of *cearu*.

## 2801-2900

2806 agen bearn] The last words on p. 134. Between p. 134 and p. 135 a leaf has been cut out which contained the matter of Genesis xxi. 15-21. 2809 snytru] The earlier edd. follow the MS., but Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 457, and Holthausen, *snytru*, as a genitive. The proper adjectival form would be *snottrum*. But Kock, Anglia XLVI, 87, takes *snytrum mihtum* as an example of asyndetic paratexis, i.e. as parallel instrumental nouns, citing several other examples, which scarcely prove that this is one. See l. 1084. 2810b] The lack of a half-line is supplied by Holthausen, *mago Ebraea*, following Grein. There is no indication of loss in the MS. See l. 703, note. 2814 on] Grein in his text follows the MS., taking *forðwegas* as an adverbial genitive, and so Wülker. But Grein, Spr. I, 320, supplies *on*, and so Holthausen. 2819 þina] Grein alters to *þine*, but see l. 2709. 2832 Ða Abraham] Holthausen, *His Ða Abraham*. 2838 þæt] So Grein and later edd. 2839 lond] So Thorpe and the later edd. 2843 glædstede] Grein alters to *glæstede*, and so Holthausen. See l. 1810, and on æ for e, l. 356, note. 2844 geneahe] Holthausen, *geneahhe*. 2844b] Holthausen, following Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 457, supplies *him* before *lif*, and Cosijn suggests omitting *þam*. 2857b] Holthausen, *ond hine blotan sylfa*. 2861 frean] So Holthausen, following Thorpe and the later edd. 2862 waldend] Thorpe and later edd., *waldend*, but Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 317, would read *hæs waldendes* for *his waldende*. 2869 men] Holthausen, *mannan*, and so previously Schmitz, Anglia XXXIII, 32. 2900 stowe] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 317, and the later edd. supply *stowe*, except Wülker who indicates an omission after *þære* but does not supply it.

## 2901-2936

2907 scencan] Thorpe retains the MS. reading here, translating, "the fire quench with the youth's gore." Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 317, reads *gesencan*, and *fyr* as object. Grein follows the MS., translating, Dicht., p. 80, "die Brandglut dämpfen mit des Sohnes Blute." But Grein also suggests *sengan* and *dreor*, "burn, consume the blood of his son with fire." Kock, JJJ., p. 34, would let *sencan* stand as equivalent to *sengan*, but suggests *mæg on dreore* for *mæges dreore*. The meaning thus would be, "consume with fire his son in his own blood." Jovy, Bonner Beitr. V, 31, suggested *swencan* for *sencan*, and Holthausen follows, reading *fyre swencan* || *mæg his deorne*,



"with fire afflict his dear son." So also Grein-Köhler, p. 597. Bright, Anglo-Saxon Reader, p. 221, proposed *scencan*, "to pour out liquor for drinking," translating literally, "to give drink to the fire (by means of) kin's blood." Klaeber, Anglia Beibl. XXV, 295, approves Bright's reading, and Anglia Beibl. XXXVIII, 358, defends the syntax of *dreore* as an instrumental after *scencan*. Bright's interpretation offers the least difficulty, though so violent a metaphor is not in the tone of Genesis, and *scencan* may be taken merely in the sense "pour out." Other suggestions, *swelgan* for *scencan* by Körner, *besprengan* by Zupitza, Übungsbuch, notes, call for the substitution of an entirely new word for *scencan*. 2921 leofre] Grein follows the MS., but suggests *leofre*. Wülker, Holthausen, *leofre*. 2932 onhread] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 457, suggests *onread*, citing Corpus Gloss. 1129, *onreod*, "stained." So Bos.-Tol., p. 756. The form *onhread* would be from *onhreoðan*, "adorn." Grein altered to *onhreað*, from *onhreoðan*, "adorn," Spr. II, 347, but Grein-Köhler, p. 358, gives the infinitive as *onhreoðan*. 2933 reccondne] Grein, Holthausen, *recendne*. 2935 and calra þara sælða] Grein, Körner, Zupitza, in his Übungsbuch, Bright supply *sælða* after *þara*. Wülker indicates an omission but does not supply it. Holthausen omits *and* and reads *calra þara* for l. 2935a as of the same syntax as *leana*. sið and ær] Holthausen, *ær ond sið*.

## NOTES ON EXODUS

## 1-100

Exodus] For the title, see Introd., p. xxvii. 3 wræclico wordriht] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 318, reads *wræclicu word dryhtnes*. But *wordriht* is an acc. pl. neuter noun, appositive to *domas*. Sedgfield reads *wræclico*. 4-5] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 457, would place these two lines within parentheses. 8 weroda] So all edd., except Blackburn, who assumes a gen. pl. *werode*. See Bright, MLN. XXVII, 13. 14 freom] A variant form of *from*, "valiant." Blackburn, in his glossary, unnecessarily assumes a word *fræom*, "strenuous." See Klaeber, Eng. Stud. XLI, 109, Bright, MLN. XXVII, 13. 15 andsacan] All edd. alter to *andsacan*, except Blackburn, who assumes that *andsaca* is a Northumbrian form for *andsacan*, either a genitive appositive to *Faraones*, or an accusative, appositive to *cyn*. But a Northumbrian *andsaca* = *andsacan* is very improbable in this text, and *andsacan* seems to be the necessary reading. Grein, Germania X, 418, sought to retain this word as a nominative by emending to *andraca*, taking this as a variant of *ærendraca*, "messenger," and as referring to Moses. So also Grein-Köhler, p. 24, but see Holthausen, p. 874. 17 magoræswan] Grein, Körner read *magoræswan*, the other edd. follow the MS. A dative plural is possible here, but the context strongly demands a dative singular, as Mürkens, p. 113, points out. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 458, approves *magoræswan*, calling attention to a similar scribal error in *frumgaran*, l. 2293.

18 onwist] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 318, reads *onwist*, as in An. 1540. But the word occurs only once in each of these two forms. 20 gesealde wæpna] Körner inserts *him* between these two words. 22 feonda] All edd. after Junius omit one *feonda*, except Körner, who emends the second to read *freonda*, and also omits *folcrist*. This makes *feonda* object of *ofercom* and *freonda* appositive to *cneomaga*. folcrist] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 458, suggests *feonda folcrist*, but *folcrist* is supported by Beow. 2608. 27 sigerice] Grein, Spr. II, 448, takes *sigerice* as an adj., here and in l. 563, and Klæber, JEGPh. XIX, 412, defends this interpretation, citing Beow. 94, *sigehrepig*. But Kock, JJJ., p. 24, more plausibly takes the word in both passages as a noun. 28 ylðo] A genitive plural, see l. 437. 33 ingere] The MS. reads *ingere*, as one word. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 318, suggests *iugera*, and Grein, Wülker read *iu gere*. Blackburn reads *ingere*, glossed "unexpectedly?", but suggests *ungere*, "not long before," in his notes, in accord with Klæber, Archiv CXIII, 146. Sedgefield reads *ungera*. The emendation *iu* does violence to the alliteration, and though *ungere* is possible, there seems to be no reason why a reference should be made just at this moment either to remote or near past time. It is better to retain the MS. reading, interpreting it, with Mürkens, p. 92, as an emphatic adverb, the second element as in l. 291, and *in-* an intensive prefix, as in the adj. compound *infrod*, Beow. 1874, 2449. The meaning then would be "altogether," "completely," and the metrical structure of this half-line would be parallel to that of l. 291. caldum witum] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 458, suggests changing to *geald unwitum*, with *werodes aldor* to be supplied in sense, and *geald unwitum* to be treated as a parenthesis. This would preserve the alliteration with *iu* for *in* in the first half-line. 34 gedrenced] The word *gedrenced* is an alteration of some earlier reading, probably made by an early reader of the MS. to cause this passage to refer definitely to the passing of the Red Sea. Groth, p. 15, would read *gedemed* for *gedrenced*, and Blackburn, notes, surmises *gedrecced*, *gedrefed*, or *gedemed* as the original form of the word. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 458, Bright, MLN. XXVII, 13, Klæber, Archiv CXIII, 146, favor *gedrecced*. The reading *gedrecced* undoubtedly improves the sense, the phrase *caldum witum*, "with terrible afflictions," referring to the threefold punishment of the Egyptians, loss of treasure, death of the first born, and the overthrowing of the idols, according to Bright. 36 berofene] In intent *berofene* goes with *hordwearda*, but grammatical agreement would require a genitive. A plural *wæron* may be supplied in sense from *wæs*, l. 35, "they were deprived of treasure." Blackburn takes *since berofene* as an instrumental phrase, "through plundered treasure," but this seems improbable. 37 mansceaðan] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 318, Mürkens, p. 113, and Bright, MLN. XXVII, 13, would read *mansceaða* as subject of *hæfde*. Otherwise *mansceaðan* is retained as an accusative, e.g. Grein, Dicht., p. 82, "er hatte die Meinschädiger furchtbar gefället, viele der Erstgeborenen," or as dative plural, Blackburn, notes, referring to the Egyptians, the subject of *hæfde* being Jehovah, to be supplied from l. 30. This third is the least and the second the most plausible interpretation.



39 abrocene] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 458, would read *abrotene*, and so Sedgefield.  
 40 drysmýde] Dietrich, Grein, Wülker read *drysmýde*, see Beow. 1375, but if the second *r* of *dryrmyde* is a scribal echo of the first, the second *y* may be similarly an echo of the first *y*, and perhaps one should emend to read *drysmede* or *drysmode*. Sedgefield has *drysmode*. 44 alyfed laðsið] As Kock, JJJ., p. 24, points out, *wæs* is to be supplied in sense before *alyfed* and also before *folc*, l. 45. gretan] Sedgefield reads *grétan*. 45 folc ferende] The *folc* are the Egyptians, *ferende* "departing," "perishing," with *hergas*, l. 46, appositive to *folc*, and *on helle* supplementing *ferende*. feond] Thorpe, note, Bouterwck, Erläut., p. 318, Grein, Körner, Wülker read *feond*, and so Blackburn in his notes. But the interpretation of *feond* varies, Mürkens, p. 70, assuming that the word refers to the Egyptians, Bright, MLN. XXVII, 13, that it refers to Satan. Blackburn, notes, comments as follows: "The devil and the hosts of hell were robbed" is an expression quite in keeping with the style of our poet, who thinks of the escape of the Hebrews as a rescue from bondage to Satan—a far-fetched interpretation. One might retain *freond* as *freonda*, "was deprived of its friends," but this is improbable. 46 hergas on helle] Taking *hergas* as appositive to *folc*, *feond*, it would mean "hosts," "armies," Grein, Dicht., p. 82, "die Heere in der Hölle." But Kock, PPP., p. 6, would place a full stop after *beresafod* and take *hergas* as appositive to *deofolgyld*, in the sense "altars." So also Bright, MLN. XXVII, 13. Kock would also take *on helle* as equivalent merely to an adjective, "hellish," modifying *hergas*, as in Beow. 101, *feond on helle*, an interpretation given by Klaeber, Archiv CXIII, 147. Mürkens, p. 70, taking *hergas* in the sense "hosts," would alter *on helle* to *on healle*, "in the hall," and so previously Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 231. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 458, proposes *hergas onædde*, for *hergas onhædde*, from *onhæded* or *onæded*. Heofung] Grein makes a compound *heofon-þider*, taking the second element in the sense "service," and translating, Dicht., p. 82, "Himmelsdienst," but Grein, Germania X, 418, separates and takes *heofon* in the sense "lamentation." But Blackburn, notes, more probably assumes that *heofon* is a scribal error for *heofung*. Kock, PPP., p. 6, would retain *heofon* in the sense "heaven," making *heofon þider* *becom* parenthetic, but it is not clear what this should mean. Thorpe had previously translated, "heaven thither came." 49 Swa] Thomas, MLRev. XII, 343, would take *swa* as a relative, "who," "which," and *ealdwerige* and *folc* as accusatives parallel to *fæsten*, translating, "That was a famous day when the Israelites fared forth, who had endured for many years captivity, the perverse folk of the Egyptians, because they (the Egyptians) had determined for ever to refuse to Moses' kinsmen their desire for the cherished expedition"—a very forced interpretation. fæsten] Mürkens, p. 113, would reconstruct to read *swa þæs (þas?) fæhðan dreah*, "obwol feinde (feindschaft) unterhielt viele jahre." 50 ealdwerige] Grein, Spr. I, 243, took this word as *eal-dwerig*, "very wicked," translating, however, Dicht., p. 83, "altelenden," and Körner, "das altverdammtte," Johnson, p. 45, "accursèd of old." Grein-Köhler, p. 146, retains the explanation of the second



element as *-dwerig*, and so Thomas, MLRev. XII, 343. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 459, would read *þæt ealwerige* or *ealwērige* for *ealdwerige*. For *eald* as an intensive, see *ealdum witum*, l. 33. Sievers, Beitr. X, 461, suggests the possibility of an original *ealdwerigra*, in the same case as *Egypta*. 53 on *langne*] Grein, Wülker, Blackburn read *onlangne*. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 318, proposes *ondlangne*. Kluge, Bright, MLN. XXVII, 14, read *onlangne*. It seems better to take *onlangne lust*, meaning freely, at their pleasure, as long as they wished, and continuing the meaning of *wideferð*, l. 51. This improves the meter and makes it possible to take *wyrnan* in the usual construction with genitive of the thing, *siðes*, and dative of the person, *magum*. 57 *leodweard*] Grein suggests *leodgeard*, and Sedgefield prints the word so. 59 *Guðmyrce*] Taken by Grein, Spr. II, 786, as meaning the Ethiopians, "die kampfgeübten Schwarzen." Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 459, would define as "grenzbewohner," noting Exodus xiii. 20, *in extremis finibus solitudinis*. Gollancz, p. lxxx, takes *Guðmyrce* to mean "the war-negroes," the Nubians, and sees in the word *lyfihelme*, l. 60, a play on the word *nubes*, "cloud," and the fictitious etymology of *Nubae*, "Nubians," from *nubes*, "cloud." gearwe] Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 59, and in his Verse Book, reads *geatwe*, "armor." But *gearwe* may be retained in the same meaning, and see l. 193. 61 *mearchofu morheald*] The meaning and form of *morheald* is in question. Blackburn glosses the word "near or by the moors, on the moors," but accepts this meaning only doubtfully. He construes *mearchofu* as object of *ofer*, and *þa* as adverb, citing l. 362 in support of this unusual syntax. For Blackburn's translation, see l. 62, note. Gollancz, p. lxxxi, would change *morheald* to *marheald*, the first element meaning "rope" (see AS. *mærels*, *mærels-rap*), the second meaning "safe," "secure." The whole phrase would mean "desert habitations, rope-secure," or in Gollancz's phrase, "desert dwellings securely moored," i.e. tents, this being the poet's interpretation of the Hebrew word *Succoth* (see Exodus xiii. 20), the first stopping place of the Israelites after their setting out. The Hebrew word means "tents," see Genesis xxxiii. 17. A word *mar*, "rope," is not found in AS., nor does *heald* occur in the sense "secure," though related forms of these words do occur with appropriate meanings. According to this interpretation *mearchofu* would refer to the dwellings of the Israelites, and this seems the best way to take the word, whether or not it is an allusion to Hebrew *Succoth*. Johnson translates, p. 45, "their march-dwellings on the hillside." Bright, MLN. XXVII, 14, would take *heald* as a verb = *heold*, and interprets, "a damp waste (*mōr*) extended its reach (*hēald* = *hēold*) over the marches (*mearchofu*)." 62 *fela meoringa*] The meaning of *meoringa* is doubtful. A word of this form does not occur elsewhere in AS., but it may possibly be related to *gemearr*, "hindrance," and other similar forms. This is the sense in which it is taken by Grein, Spr. II, 240. This would give Blackburn's translation, "Moses then led the army past the border-dwellings of the moors, [past] many hindrances." Gollancz, p. lxxxii, supposes here a scribal corruption and that the poet originally wrote "*fēle Mering* = *fæle Mæring*, the trusty Amramite (cf. Numbers iii. 27, etc.), the

description of Moses which one would expect in this passage, and which poetically balances the lines. . . Now Amram was taken to mean 'the exalted people,' from the Hebrew meaning of its component syllables, and for an Amramite no happier equivalent could perhaps be found in Old English than the term *mæring*, i.e. 'one of an illustrious family.' " Gollancz supposes that the scribe misunderstood *Mæring*, therefore changed *fele* = *fæle*, "trusty," into *fela*, and *Mæring* into a genitive plural to follow *fela*. But if so, he would seem to have changed from an unknown word to one no better known, for *meoringa* surely is not self-explanatory. Gollancz's theory is ingenious, but only slightly probable. A simpler reconstruction would be *fæle magorinc*, which also would balance *Moyses*, l. 61. Mürkens, p. 88, would read *meoringa* = *meoringa* for *meoringa*, citing Gothic *marzjan*, an emendation approved by Bright, MLN. XVII, 424, who translated, "Moses then led the host over many obstacles," and followed also by Sedgfield. 63 ymb twa niht] The camp at Etham, see Genesis xiii. 20, was the third camp, as is stated in l. 87, made after the Hebrews had been on the way two days. The second camp was the one at Succoth, not definitely named in the poem, unless *mearchofu morheald*, l. 61, is an allusion to it. The first camp was presumably at Rameses, see Genesis xii. 37, but this also is not definitely mentioned. The fourth and last camp, l. 133, was at the shore of the Red Sea, see Genesis xiv. 2, where the news that the Egyptians were pursuing was brought to the Hebrews. tirstæste] All edd. except Körner and Sedgfield retain *tirstæstne*, but Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 318, suggests *tirstæste*, and so Körner, Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 460, Mürkens, p. 113, and Sedgfield. The MS. reading could be retained only if one provided a subject for *heht*, but the natural subject for *heht* is not God, who has not been mentioned, but Moses, see l. 61. 66 ælfere] The MS. has *ælf* at the end of a line and *ere* on the following line, hence Thorpe and Bouterwek read *ælf ere*, but Grein, Spr. I, 57, makes the proper compound, *æl-faru*, "the whole army," citing *eal-mægen* as a similar compound. In his text Grein had explained the first element as *el-*, "foreign," as in *el-peod*. Sedgfield reads *ælfare*. 68 genyddon] Grein, following Dietrich, *geneðdon*, but Grein, Germania X, 418, returns to the MS. reading. Grein, Dicht., p. 83, translates, "Mit Nachdruck eilten sie," Johnson, p. 45, "Straitly they pressed on the northern roads." But Napier, MLRev. VI, 168, rejects this and translates, "the difficulties facing them (*nearwe*, i.e. the heat, if they took a southerly direction) forced them to the north." 69 Sigelwara] Mürkens, p. 113, changes to *Sigelwarena* for metrical reasons. 70 burh-hleoðu] Thorpe, notes, Bouterwek, *beorhhleoðu*. Grein retains the MS. reading, but defines the word, Spr. I, 148, as though the first element were *beorh-*, "mountain." So also Napier, MLRev. VI, 168, and Kock, Anglia XLV, 124. 73 bælce] Holthausen, Archiv CXV, 163, would read *bælg*, "covering," "canopy," citing *sances*, l. 309, as another instance of *c* for *g*. But it is doubtful if a word *bælg* was intended here, though the meaning "canopy" may very well have been, see Grein, Spr. I, 77, Bos.-Tol., p. 66, Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 460. See also l. 94, where the cloud is referred to as



*beam.* 78 hate] Grein reads *hat*, and he translates, Dicht., p. 83, "das heisse himmelsklare." Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 318, reads *hæte*, and *acwanc* for *adranc*, l. 77. It seems best to take *hate* as a noun, though it may be merely an instrumental of *hat*, "heaven-bright with heat." 79 Dægsceades] The MS. reads *dæg* at the end of a line, followed by *scealdes* in the next line. The edd. retain *dægscealdes*, but with insuperable difficulties of interpretation. Lye-Manning, Supplement, proposed *dægsceades*, referring to the cloud by day. The passage would thus mean "The protection of the day-shadow coursed *ofer wolcnum*, across the skies," and with *ofer wolcnum*, compare the common phrase *under wolcnum*, "on earth." Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 231, proposed *dægstealdes*, "des tagbesitzers"; in Archiv CXV, 163, Holthausen proposed *dægsweol(o)ðes hleo*, "protection against the heat of the day," but in Anglia Beibl. XXIX, 283, he returns to the MS. reading, taking *dægsceald* as for *dægsceld* and as referring to the sun as the "day-shield," *dei clipeus*, noting Ovid., Met. XV, 192 f. This is likewise Cosijn's interpretation, Beitr. XIX, 460. But the subject of *wand* is not a hypothetical *dægsceld*, but *hleo*, and "the protection of the day-shield" for "sun" is too tortured and unpoetical a figure of speech to be credible, even if *sceald* = *sceld* = *sciold*, *scyld* were credible. Blackburn, notes, and Thomas, MLRev. XII, 343, also take *dægsceald* as meaning "day-shield," though they refer it to the pillar of cloud. Bright, MLN. XXVII, 14, suggests *dæges-cealdes hleo* "protection against, or deliverance from, the day-cold"—i.e. the sun. Grein, Spr. I, 184, takes the word as certainly referring to the sun and notes the usual interpretation as "day-shield," but suggests as to be preferred the meaning "Tagbeherscherin." But he translates, Dicht., p. 83, "Der Schirm des Tagschiffes wand sich über die Wolken," with variants "Des Sonnenschiffs oder Sonnenwagens." Perhaps the *l* in the MS. *scealdes* was written by the scribe in anticipation of the *l* in *hleo*. 81 *segle*] Junius and Bouterwek follow the MS., but Thorpe, note, and the later edd. read *segle*, as the sense demands. See ll. 83, 89. 95 *efngedælde*] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 98, suggests *efne gedælde*, "divided equally," assuming that *efngedælde* would mean "shared." But *efngedælde* may be taken in the former sense, with Grein, Spr. I, 218. Kluge reads *efn gedælde*.

## 101-200

104 *latpeow*] Sedgfield alters to *latteow*. *lifweg*] Dietrich proposed *liftweg*, i.e. *lyftweg*, for *lifweg*, followed by Grein, Kluge, Wülker, Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 460, and Sedgfield. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 319, proposed *liðweg* or *lidweg* for *lifweg*. Gollancz, p. lxxxiii, sees in *lifweg* an allusion to the journey of the children of Israel as an allegory of "the way of life." But if the poet had this allegory in mind, he made remarkably slight use of it. He might well call the journey which was to save the lives of the children of Israel a "life-way" without any hidden meaning. 105 *sweg*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 319, Grein, Wülker, Sedgfield alter to *segl*. 106 *flodwege*] Grein suggests *fold-* for *flod-*; Blackburn, notes, translates, "by



(on, along) the road to the sea," Grein, Dicht., p. 84, "auf dem Flutwege nach," Johnson, p. 46, "toward the waters." 109 sunne] Bright, MLN. XVII, 425, reads *sunne* as subject of *beheold* and *settrade* as object, punctuating as follows: *Heofonbeacen astah* || *æfenna gehwam*, | *oðer wundor*, || *syllic*, *æfter sunne* | *settrade beheold*, || *ofer leodwerum* | *lige scinan*, || *byrnende beam*. Napier, MLRev. VI, 168, thinks the difficulty in the passage lies in *beheold* and suggests changing to *ongann*, as improving the sense. Blackburn, notes, takes *beheold* . . . *scinan* in the sense "took heed to shine" with *wundor* as the subject. Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 182, rejects this interpretation and suggests merely supplying "one," impersonal, as the unexpressed subject of *beheold*. Or one may take the subject as carried over from *Fole*, l. 106, see Bos.-Tol., Supplement, p. 74. This interpretation involves putting *byrnende beam*, l. 111, in the accusative case. Thomas, MLRev. XII, 344, takes *sunnan* as object of *æfter*, translating, "Another wonder, a strange one following upon the sun, observed the sun's setting, shining over the people with flame." Bright's interpretation presents the fewest difficulties. 110 lige scinan] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 460, suggests *liges sciman*. 113 sceado] Junius retains *sceaðo*, but Thorpe, notes, and later edd. read *sceado*, except Blackburn, who thinks *sceaðo* may be an orthographic variant of *sceado*. swiðredon] Sedgefield alters to *sweðredon*. 115 heolstor] Accusative, with *nihtscuwan* as subject, see Grein, Spr. II, 67, Bright, MLN. XXVII, 15. Johnson, p. 46, "The deep shades of night availed not to hide the dark retreats." Johnson fails to translate *neah*, which Grein, Dicht., p. 84, renders as "genugsam." 118 hæðbroga] Rieger, Verkunst, p. 46, suggested *hæðstapa*, as in Beow. 1368, and Bright, MLN. XVII, 425, supports this. But *hæðbroga*, suggested by Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 460, is a better parallel to *westengryre*. Sievers, Beitr. X, 513, Kluge, Mürkens, p. 113, would read *hares hæðes*, but Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 2, *harre hæðe*, taking *hæð* as a feminine. 119 on ferclamme] Dietrich recognized in the MS. *ofer clamme* a noun and read *færclamme*, dropping the *o* and treating the noun as an instrumental. Grein, Wülker, Blackburn retain the *o* as adverb, "ever." Kluge reads *on* for *o*, a reading approved by Mürkens, p. 113, and Bright, MLN. XXVII, 15. Sedgefield reads *on færclamme*. getwæfde] Bouterwek in his glossary proposed *getwæfe*, but all edd. approve *getwæfde*. 121 bellegsan] "With fire terror," parallel to *hatan lige*, l. 122. Regarded thus, the first element is an irregular spelling for *bæl-*, *bel-*. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 319, Grein read *bælegsan*, Sedgefield, *bælegesan*. The other possibility would be to regard *bell-* as having the sense of *bellan*, "roar," and according to Blackburn, notes, the poet may have "thought of the pillar of fire as gleaming with lightning and consequently bellowing with thunder." 122 in] Omitted by Grein, without comment. 124 hyrde] For *hyrden*, "hear," "obey," see Bright, MLN. XXVII, 15. See *gebohte*, l. 151. 126 rihte stræte.] This might be taken as accusative, appositive to *segn*, but better as an instrumental, as by Johnson, p. 47, "in a straight course." Grein alters to *rihtre* and then translates, Dicht., p. 85, "die Randkempfen sahen der rechten Strasse Anzeichen über den Schaaren."

127 sweeton] Grein, Graz, p. 25, Mürkens, p. 113, *sweetum*. 128 leodmægne forstod] All edd. after Junius read *leodmægne*, but Blackburn, notes, defends *leode mægne*, translating, "protected the people by its might," the subject being *sæfæsten*. But the proper sense of *forstod* is indicated by Bright, MLN. XXVII, 15, as "opposed," "hindered," followed by the dative *leodmægne*. Translate, "until the seafastness, at the end of the land, stood opposed to this people-host." So also Klaeber, Eng. Stud. XLI, 110. 129 fus on forðweg] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 319, reads *fusne forðweg* as object of *forstod*. Mürkens, p. 114, alters *fus* to *fuse* and connects it with *leodmægne*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 98, Kock, JJJ., p. 25, accept this syntax, though they retain *fus* as an uninflected form. Klaeber, Eng. Stud. XLI, 110, proposed *fuson* = *fusum* for *fus on*, taking *forðweg* as object of *forstod*, and *fuson* as a dative, "to them eager (to proceed)." So also Napier, MLRev. VI, 168. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXI, 14, and XXX, 3, proposes *fuson on*, for *fus on*. But the simplest and most convincing interpretation is that of Bright, MLN. XXVII, 15, who takes *fus on forðweg* as limiting *werod*, l. 125, noting as parallel l. 103a. 131 beton] Grein alters to *bitan*, an infinitive. Mürkens, p. 114, would read *bitton*. 134 þan] Grein alters to *þam*. 139 onnied] The MS. has *on nied*, but the alliteration here is vocalic, and *on nied* can scarcely be a prepositional phrase. Grein, Kluge, Wülker, Sedgefield alter to *ohnied*, but Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 99, rejects *ohnied*. Blackburn reads *onnied*, "oppression," and so Kock, PPP., p. 7. 141 ær ge] These syllables stand at the end of p. 148 in the manuscript. This is a full page of 26 lines, the first line of the page being the beginning of a section. The following page, p. 149, also begins a section. According to Gollancz, p. lxix, two leaves, that is four pages, have been lost between p. 148 and p. 149, which probably "contained an account of how Joseph got all the property of the Egyptians into Pharaoh's hands, Gen. xlvii. 20, and generally saved the country from famine. The *wære* in l. 140 seems to refer to the promise made by the elder Pharaoh that the Israelites should dwell in the land of Goshen. The attempts made by editors, notwithstanding the sectional division, to connect the last words of p. 148 with the opening words of p. 149 seem to me altogether futile." Dietrich, Grein read *getipode*, Kluge, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 2, Mürkens, p. 114, *gelyfde*, to complete l. 141b, and assume no further loss in the MS. 142 þa wearð, etc.] Grein connects these words directly with what precedes as a temporal subordinate clause, so translating, Dicht., p. 85, and followed by Johnson, p. 47, "when with treasures he purchased the lordship of the native-born people, and so mightily prospered." But Johnson remarks that construction and meaning are doubtful here. Grein supplies *he* before *wearð*. *ingefolca*] Dietrich suggested *yrre folce*, or *yrre folca herge*, or *heape*, for *ingefolca*. Kock, PPP., p. 7, also thinks that some word indicating the king's state of mind has dropped out after *wearð*, and he suggests *onmod*, "self-confident." Since the direct allusion to what preceded is missing, it seems best to let the text stand, in some such meaning as "Then he became guardian of the people, of the men after the treasure [had come into his



possession], so that he greatly prospered." 145 *ymbe antwig*] The MS. has *ymb an twig*, which is metrically too short for a half-line and not clear in meaning. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 319, tried to connect *twig* with Aaron's rod. Dietrich suggested *ymb an wig*, "über einen todtschlag." Grein reads *andwig*, citing Guth. 147. But Grein, Germania X, 418, suggests *anwig*, and so Wülker. Bright, MLN. XVII, 425, reads *ymbe anwig*. Mürkens, p. 114, reads *ymb ane* (= *anne* = *ænne*) *wig*. Sedgfield, MLRev. XVI, 59, proposes *ymb anes wig*, "concerning the attack of one man," i.e. Moses, and so in his Verse Book. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 461, suggested *ymb antwig seredon*, the Egyptians being the subject of the verb and *antwig* the object. Kock, PPP., p. 7, proposed *antbigða*, "success," for *antwig*, the *ða* coming from the next line, i.e. the Egyptians were angry on account of the prosperity of the Israelites. Blackburn retains *antwig* as an orthographic variant of *andwig*, and he interprets *ymb antwig* in a general sense, "in regard to war," "in apprehension of warfare." It seems best to retain *antwig* as a variant of *andwig*, though the reference may be more precise, see Exodus ii. 11-15. Blackburn would read *antwige* to complete the line metrically, but *ymb* takes the accusative. 147 *fræton*] Bright, MLN. XVII, 425, would read *bræcon*. 149 *manum treowum*] Bright, MLN. XXVII, 15, would alter to *mannum tweonum*, "to the two men," taking this to be a reference to *ymbe anwig*, "which is accepted to mean the 'duel' in which Moses slew the Egyptian." But it is better to take *manum treowum* as an adverbial phrase, parallel to *facne*, l. 150, see Bright, MLN. XVII, 425. 151 *hie*] Grein suggested *hie* for the MS. *he*, but did not place *hie* in his text. As Blackburn, notes, points out, the context requires a plural here, and *gebohte* is to be taken as an optative plural without ending, see Gen. 856, note. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 99, retains *he*, and takes *leode* as genitive, *Moyes* as nominative in l. 152. But with *hie* as a plural, *leode* becomes appositive. 157 *oferholt wegan*] Parallel to *forð ongangen*, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 99. Thorpe, Bouterwek divided *oferholt wegan*, and Kluge proposed *oferholtwegan* (-*wegan* for *wegum*). But *oferholt* is best taken as meaning "shield," the covering or protecting wood. According to Sedgfield, *oferholt* "probably means the forest of spears rising above the Egyptian army; but perhaps the original word was *eoferholt*, 'boar-spear.'" 160 *þufas þunian*, etc.] Grein places this line after l. 157, and so also Sedgfield. *þeod mearc*] Thorpe, Bouterwek, Graz, p. 25, Mürkens, p. 114, make a compound, *þeodmearc*. 161 *on hwæl*] In the MS. *on hwæl* stands at the beginning of a line, followed by *hwreoþæn*, with metrical pointing before and after this word. There is no indication of loss in the MS., but there was evidently some confusion in the mind of the scribe, for he apparently wrote the *hw* of *hwreoþæn* as an echo of the *hw* of *hwæl*. The parallel of l. 168 indicates that the MS. *hwreoþæn* is the beginning of a new sentence. Kluge, Holthausen, Archiv CXV, 163, omit *on hwæl*. Mürkens, p. 114, proposes *on hræ hreoþon on here sugolas*, for l. 161, and *hildegræðige hræfn sweart ægol*, for l. 162. Grein made *On hwæl . . . here sugolas* into one line, the following line being *hilde græðige; hræfen gol*. He translates *On hwæl* by "Rings im



Kreisse," Dicht., p. 86, connecting it therefore with the word for "wheel." For l. 162, Bright, MLN. XVII, 425, reads *hilde grædige hræfn ðppe gól*, citing El. 52-53. Holthausen, Archiv CXV, 163, supplies a whole line between l. 163 and l. 164, *herge on læste; hræfn ðppe gól*. 164 *wonn wæl-ceasega*] Johnson, p. 47, "the black carrion-seeker." The change from the plural *herfugolas*, l. 162, to the singular here is avoided by some of the emendations recorded under l. 161, note. But it is a simple rhetorical device that may have been intended. Blackburn, notes, prefers to take *wonn* as preterite of the verb *winnan*, "the lover of carrion hastened [thither]." Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 231, would change to a plural, *wonne wæl-ceasege*. 167 *fyl*] Wülker retains the MS. *ful* as a variant orthography for *fyl*, but the other edd. since Dietrich change to *fyl* or *fyll*. Grein, Germania X, 418, suggested *fal* = *feall*, "Fall," and so Spr. I, 286. 169 *gehæged*] Grein reads *genæged*, translating, Dicht., p. 86, "angegriffen," but in Germania X, 418, Grein returns to the MS. reading. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 319, proposed *gehnæged*, and Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 99, suggested *geæged*, "terrified." Blackburn, reading *gehæged*, translates, "hemmed in," the translation Grein gave for the MS. reading, but which he rejected in favor of *genæged*. 172 *segnycning*] Dietrich suggested *segga cyning*, Grein, Kluge alter to *sigecyning*. But Wülker, Blackburn, Sedgefield retain *segnycning*. For a similar verbal echo, see l. 93; and see Gen. 23, note. 176 *wæhlen-can*] The alliteration and the sense require *wæl-*, as all later edd. read. Perhaps *hwæl*, l. 161, is a similar miswriting. 178 *onsegon*] Thorpe and Bouterwek retained *onsigon*, but Thorpe, note, suggested *onsawon*. Blackburn also retains *onsigon*, taking the word in the sense "approach," "draw near," with *cyme* as plural subject, "the advance of the men of the land moved toward the friends with hostile looks." The other edd. read *onsegon*, except Kluge, *on segon*, Sedgefield, *on sægon*. 180 *wægon*] Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 59, and so also in his Verse Book, reads *wæron*, since *wægon* would have no object. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 100, also questions *wegan* in the sense "se movere." But the change to *wæron* enfeebles the line. See Cosijn's suggestion, l. 181, note. *wigend*] Sievers, Beitr. X, 511, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 3, Mürkens, p. 115, alter to *wigan*. Sievers proposes as alternative the stressing *unfórhte*, with *wigend* retained. 181 *heorawulfas*] Thorpe, note, Bouterwek read *herewulfas*. Grein alters to *heorowulfas*, but Spr. II, 71, *heoruwulfas*, defined as "lupus sanguinarius," "bellator." In Dicht., p. 86, however, Grein translated this word as "Kampfwölfe," i.e. *herewulfas*. Sedgefield reads *heorowulfas*, glossed "sword-wolf," under *heoru-*. *gret-ton*] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 100, would alter to *geatwe*, combining with the preceding word, and thus giving *wægon* an object. 183 *alesen*] Kluge, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 3, Mürkens, p. 115, read *alesene*. 184 *twa þusendo*] Bright, MLN. XXVII, 16, suggests *twa hund þusendo*. For further comment, see Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 100, Kock, PPP., p. 8. 186 *on þæt eade riht*] Thorpe suggested *eorðrice* or *earðrice* for *eade riht*. Kluge, Sedgefield read *ealde riht*, and Bright, MLN. XVII, 425, would change to *on þæs eades riht*, citing ll. 338-339, 353-354. Blackburn, notes, translates, "for that

honored duty,' i.e. for subordinate command, as the following verses show." As an adjective *ead* is not frequent but may be defended. 190 ingemen] The MS. has *ingemen* as a single word. It is so given by Thorpe, Bouterwek, Kluge, but Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 319, suggests *incgemen*. Dietrich, Grein, Wülker, Blackburn, Sedgefield read *inge men*, taking *inge* as equivalent to *ginge*, "young," see Sievers, Beitr. X, 195. But as Mürkens, p. 93, points out, it remains doubtful if *inge* is meant for *ginge*, not only because of the alliteration, but also because a noun, something similar to *ingefolca*, l. 142, or *ingepeode* (Grein's reading), l. 444, is expected here. 191 oft] Bouterwek altered to *eft*, Grein to *-ost*, combining with *cuð* to give *cuðost*. gebad] Grein, Sedgefield read *gebead*, and so Blackburn, notes. This seems to be the intent of the word, though a meaning from *gebidan*, "await," is not impossible. 193 gearwe] Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 59, and in his Verse Book, reads *geatwe*. See l. 59, note. 194 ecan] Grein takes *ecan* = *eacan* in the sense "addition," "reënförment," and so Kluge, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 3, Sedgefield. Blackburn, glossary, derives *ecan* from the adjective *ece*, "eternal," translating, "continuous," "unending," in his notes. Bright, MLN. XXVII, 16, changes to *eacan*, "increased," "great," "vast." It seems best to take *ecan* = *eacan* as a noun, appositive to *werod*. Thorpe, Bouterwek, Grein, Germania X, 418, Spr. I, 229, and Wülker read *ec anlæddon*. 197 to] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 100, Bright, MLN. XVII, 425, omit this word. 200 in] Grein has *on* for *in*.

## 201-300

202 weredon wælnet] Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 461, suggests *weredum wælned*, citing ll. 136b-137a. Mürkens, p. 115, accepts *weredum* but retains *wælnet*, translating, "angstgraus drohte, das netz des todes dem volke." Bright, MLN. XXVII, 16, defends *weredon wælnet*, taking *weredon* from *werian*, "wear." But it seems better to take *weredon* as meaning "defended," with *wælnet*, simply "coat of mail," see Kock, JJJ., p. 25, as object, and *woma* as meaning "war itself," see Kock, Anglia XLIV, 252. 204 wlance] Grein suggests *wlence* but retains *wlance* in his text. 206 mid him] To be united in sense with *tosomne*, l. 207, with *geseon* as reflexive, see Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 100. Johnson, p. 48, translates, "so that no longer could the foes gaze upon each other." 212 blacum] Bright, MLN. XXVII, 16, reads *blācum*, "black," and so Holthausen, in Grein-Köhler, p. 876, but the usual interpretation is *blācum*, "bright," "shining." 216 bemum] Thorpe, notes, and later edd. read *bemum*. 220 sande] Grein suggests *sunde* but retains *sande* in his text. 222 burgum] Grein alters to *beorgum*. 226 moderofra] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 320, Grein, note, Kluge, Graz, p. 25, Mürkens, p. 115, Sedgefield read *mode rofra*. Blackburn would retain *-rofa* as Northumbrian for *-rofan*, an adjective modifying *feðan*. But he suggests *-rofra* and *-rofe* as alternatives. 227 æðelan] Grein alters to *æðeles*. Holthausen, in Grein-Köhler, p. 873, proposes *æðel[est]lan*. 233 wace] Grein and later edd. read *wace* to secure grammatical agreement.



237 feond] Sedgefield, notes, says *feond* is genitive sing., but he does not explain how this can be. It is accusative singular with the adjective *flane*, from *flah*, agreeing. Kluge reads *fane*, from *fah*, for *flane*. 239 swor] Grein retained *swor* = *sweor*, defining it as "dolor," but suggested also *spor*. Blackburn, Grein-Köhler, p. 627 accept *spor*, "trace," "mark." Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 60, and Verse Book, reads *licwunde swol*, "the burning of a wound." But see Kock, Anglia XLIII, 305, for an adequate defense of *swor*, "pain." 242 modheapum] Grein suggests *modneapum*, citing *neþ*, l. 470, but does not place it in his text. He retains *modheapum* as derived from *modhæp*, "rich in courage," see Spr. II, 259. But Blackburn, Sedgefield take the word as a noun, defining it as "bold host," "gallant band." swiðrade] Sedgefield changes to *sweðrade*, translating, "had failed." But the usual form of this verb, meaning "grow less," "vanish," in this MS., has *i* and no change is necessary. See ll. 113, 309, 466. 243 on wig curon] Holthausen, Beibl. V, 231, suggested *him þa* before *wig* to complete the line metrically. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 3, supplies only *him* before *wig*, citing Gen. 1803. Mürkens, p. 115, reads *wigende curon*, Bright, MLN. XXVII, 16, on *wig curon*. Sedgefield reads *wigheap* for *wig*. 245 aran] Wülker, *æran*, which he mistakenly reports as the reading of the MS. 246 garbeames feng] There is no indication of loss in the MS., and perhaps the line was never completed. Wülker, Sedgefield indicate a missing first half-line, which they do not supply. But there is nothing to show that a first half-line, rather than a second, has been lost. Grein supplied *gegan mihte* before *garbeames*, and Kluge, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 3, Mürkens, p. 115, supply *gretan mihte* after *feng*. But it is possible to take *cræft*, l. 245, and *feng*, l. 246, as subjects of *wolde*, and as parallel to and amplifying *mod*. 248 forðwegas] Kluge altered to *fus on forðwegas*. But *forðwegas* is a gen. sg. in *-as*. gerad] Sievers, Beitr. X, 513, Graz, p. 25, Mürkens, p. 115, Sedgefield supply *ge* before *rad* to complete the line metrically. 249 beama] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 100, alters to *beacna*. bidon] So Grein and all later edd. 251 bræc] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 100, thinks an optative *bræce* would be more in keeping here, but see Bright, MLN. XXVII, 16. The suggestion *bræce* had previously been made by Grein. 253 beohata] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 320, suggests *bodhata*; Dietrich reads *beahhata*, "treasure hater," i.e. one who gives away treasure gladly, a prince. Grein, following Ettmüller, Lexicon, p. 303, reads *beothata*, translated in Dicht., p. 88, "Verheissung-bringer," but Grein, Germania X, 418, follows the MS. Bos.-Tol. follows Grein's first reading, taking *beo* as for *beat*, "command," "decree." Grein-Köhler, p. 44, records *beohata* as for *bihata*, and so Sedgefield, glossary, *bihata*, "challenger," "champion." Blackburn, notes, suggests that *beohata* is Northumbrian for *bēah-hāta*, "promiser of treasure," a prince, like *bēah-gifa*. The parallel to *hildecalla*, l. 252, and the context suggest (*ge*)*bod*, perhaps influenced by *beodan*, as the first element of the compound, but the formation of the word remains obscure. 255 monige] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 101, translates, "die Volksmengen," citing l. 553. 265 ægnian] Bouter-



wek, Erläut., p. 320, would read *egian*, and Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 60, and Verse Book, reads *ognian*, from *oga*, "terror." Dietrich suggested *xgian* or *eglian*, and Holthausen, Anglia XLVI, 54, suggests *eglan*. See also Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 101. Kock, JJJ., p. 26, would read *xngian*, "oppress." Blackburn retains *xgnian* in the sense "vex," "torment," and Bright, MLN. XXVII, 17, regards *xgnian* as a variant of *āgnian*, "own," "control as a possession," and so also Holthausen, in Grein-Köhler, p. 873. A verb *xgnian* occurs only in this passage, but it seems best to retain it, in the sense of *egsian*, or if any change is made, to omit the first *n*, reading *xgian* = *egian*, with Bouterwek. 269 on] From *unnan*. Dietrich, Kluge read *ræde*, as a verb. Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 461, reads *ic con veteran ræd*, and Mürkens, p. 115, proposes *ræd ic on veteran*. 277 leod] Gollancz, p. lxxi, suggests *þeodne* for the MS. *þeod*, regarding the line as suggested by Exodus xiv. 15, "when Moses raised a loud cry to the Lord of living men, then he spoke thus to the people." But this makes an unusual line metrically. Blackburn, notes, suggests *þeoden*, but against this the same objection holds. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 320, proposed *leod*, and so Grein, Kluge, Wülker, Sedgefield. See l. 172, note. Bright, MLN. XXVII, 17, proposed *leod* for *þeod*, "song of the living," citing ll. 308-309, but this seems remote. 278 to] Bright, MLN. XXVII, 17, Sedgefield, notes, would omit *to*. Blackburn, notes, suggests that *to* here may be an echo of *to* in the preceding line. 280 and] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 320, *mid* for *and*, and *þas* for *þeos*. 281 tacne] Dietrich proposed *tane* and the later edd. follow, except Blackburn, notes, who retains *tacne*, "'with the green symbol' [of authority], i.e. Moses' rod." The reference is undoubtedly to Exodus xiv. 16, with which *tane* would more literally agree, but *tacne* may well have been the poet's unliteral modification. 283 wæter wealfæsten] Grein retained *and* as a preposition, but Grein, Germania X, 418, following Thorpe, note, omits *and*. So also Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 4, Mürkens, p. 115, Bright, MLN. XXVII, 17, Sedgefield, *wæter* as subject, *wealfæsten* as object. Bright, MLN. XVII, 425, had previously proposed *in* for *and*, citing l. 296, and Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 101, would read *on* for *and*. 288 in ece tid] The MS. *in ece* is incomplete. Grein, Wülker read *in ece*, which is still incomplete metrically. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 101, proposes *in ær ece*. Kluge, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 4, Mürkens, p. 115, read *in ecnysse*, Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 60, and Verse Book, *in ecnesse*. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 231, proposed *in ece tid* or *in ælce tid*. 289 sælde] Thorpe suggested *sealle*, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 101, *side* for *sælde*. Cosijn also suggests *sund wind* for *suð wind*, *sund* as object of *fornam* and *wind* as subject. This would make *blæst*, l. 290, appositive to *wind*. But the allusion in Exodus xiv. 21 seems to justify *suðwind*. Sedgefield follows Cosijn. 290 brim] Thorpe and later edd., *brim* for *bring*. 291 sand sæcir spaw] Dietrich suggested *spen*, "bound," with *sæcir*, "the sea's return," as object. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 321, proposed *āspāu* = *āspāu*, and Grein reads *spaw* = *span*. Wülker follows Grein. Ettmüller, Lexicon, p. 656, gives *span*, and so Kluge. Blackburn, notes, retains *span*, and taking *sæcir* in the sense "ebb of the sea,"

he remarks, "have we here a strong metaphor, 'hath spun [a road of] sand'?" Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 60, and Verse Book, reconstructs to read *sandsæ aspranc*, "the sandy waters have started aside." The reading *spaw* is supported by l. 450. For *sæcir* see *cyre*, "tide"? l. 466. 295 *agend*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 321, Mürkens, p. 115, Sedgefield read *agendfrea*.

## 301-400

305 *anes modes*] To supply a second half-line, Grein added *yða weall*, Kluge, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 4, Mürkens, p. 115, add *swylce him yða weall*, Bright, MLN. XVII, 426, *him yða weall*, and Blackburn, notes, *hie yða weall*, taking *freoðowære*, l. 306, as a dative. Though probably some such addition is to be made, it is possible to read the passage as it stands if *gedriht*, l. 304, is taken as subject of *heold*, l. 306. 307 *hige gehyrdon*] "They disregarded, scorned not in mind," taking *gehyrdon* as from *gehyrwan*. Grein reads *hige gehyrwdon*, but Germania X, 418, *gehyndon*. Thorpe, notes, Bouterwek, Kluge, note, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 4, Mürkens, p. 115, Sedgefield change *hige* to *hie*, *hi*. 309 *sances*] Dietrich, Grein, Kluge, note, Graz, p. 25, Mürkens, p. 115, Sedgefield change to *sanges*. 312 *grenne*] Not an appropriate adjective here. Perhaps one should read *ofer ginne grund*, "over the wide abyss." 313 *on orette*] Thorpe, Bouterwek read *anon onette*, but Thorpe suggests *onette*, and Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 321, *an on onette*. Grein, Wülker, Blackburn read *an onorette*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 101, suggests *an ore onette*. Sedgefield reads *an onette*. But *orette* seems too genuine lightly to be set aside for *onette*, and the main difficulty in the passage lies apparently in the MS. reading *an on*. It seems best to take *orette* not as a verb, but as a noun, see Chambers, Widsith, p. 203, after *on*, and to attach *an*, for *on*, to *uncuð gelad*, making the line similar in structure to l. 311. Or *an* may be omitted and *uncuð gelad* taken as appositive to *grenne grund*. 318 *cynericu*] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 102, suggests *cynrynu*, "supra gentes," for *cynericu*. 321 *leon*] Thorpe, note, and later edd. read *leon*. 326 *pracu*] Grein altered the MS. *praca* to *pracu*, a nominative, and so Kluge, Mürkens, p. 115, Blackburn, in his glossary, Sedgefield, Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 182, but Wülker retains *praca*. 327 *hægsteald*] The noun is singular and *modige* is plural. Bright, MLN. XXVII, 17, suggests *hægstealda mod*, citing l. 489. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 102, reads *hægstealdas modge*. Blackburn, Sedgefield, Grein-Köhler, p. 295, take *hægsteald* as a plural, the former remarking in his notes that *hægsteald* is a singular for the plural "to fit the metre." 328 *wælslihtas*] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 102, would read *wælslihtas*, parallel in syntax to *handplega*, l. 327. Otherwise the genitive must be taken as dependent on *modige* (Sedgefield), or on *unforhte* (Bright, MLN. XXVII, 17). *wigend*] Sievers, Beitr. X, 511, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 3, Mürkens, p. 115, read *wigan*. See l. 180, note. 329 *blodige*] Sievers, Beitr. X, 461, note, Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 182, read *blodig*. 331 *flota modgade*] Bright, MLN. XVII, 426, reads *feða modgode*. 334 *manna menio*] Sievers, Beitr. X, 513, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 4, Mürkens, p. 115,



Blackburn, notes, Sedgefield read *manna menio*, but Mürkens suggests also *man-menio*, i.e. "man-multitude." micel angetrum] Kluge, note, suggests *micelan getrume*. 339 gearu] Dietrich, Grein read *earu*, "quick," "active," but Grein, Germania X, 418, returns to the MS. form, taking *gearu* as for *ge-earu*. But it is doubtful if there is such an adjective as *earu*, and *gearu*, of the same meaning, seems more probable, in spite of the alliteration. 340 forð] Grein supplied *forð* for alliteration, and so Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 102. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 231, would supply *fuse* after *him*, and Mürkens, p. 116, supplies *for*, from *faran*, before *þær*. Sedgefield supplies *foron* after *him* and changes *sunu*, l. 341, to *suná*. But *sunu* may be a plural, see Sievers, Angels. Gram. § 270. 343 guðcystel] This may be retained as a noun, "in a war-band," or less plausibly as a nom. pl. with sing. verb, see Spr. I, 534. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 102, would read *guðcyston þrang*, *guðcyston* for *guðcystum*. Grein, Kluge read *guðcyst*, a nominative appositive to *þeodmægen*. 344 deawig] Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 60, and Verse Book, reads *deadðwigsceafum*, "with deadly spears." 345 garsege] The MS. *secges* may have been a scribal anticipation of the ending of *godes*. Bouterwek supplied *gin* after *garseges*, Ettmüller, Lexicon, p. 434, supplied *begang*, Grein has *begong*. Kock, PPP., p. 8, supplies *begang*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 102, suggests *deop* or *stream*. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 4, proposed *garsege* or *geofones begang*. Mürkens, p. 116, Bright, MLN. XXVII, 17, Sedgefield read *garsege*. Blackburn, notes, takes *ofer* as a noun, "shore," object of *becwom*, "came to." 346 mæretorht] Kluge suggests *meretorht* or *mære morgenorht*. Sedgefield reads *meretorht*, glossed as "gleaming over the sea." Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 102, defends *mæretorht*. 348 an wisode] Kock, PPP., p. 8, places l. 348b and the whole of l. 349 within parentheses. 349 mægenþrymmum] Bright, MLN. XVII, 426, alters to *mægenþrymma*. 350 on forðwegas] Grein adds *for*, from *faran*, before *on*, taking *folc* as the subject. wolcnum] Thorpe, Bouterwek, Sedgefield read *folcum* for *wolcnum*. Bright, MLN. XVII, 426, reads *folce*. 353 æðelo] Ebert, Anglia V, 409, proposes *æðel* = *ēðel*, "der männer heimat." 358 onriht] Thorpe, Bouterwek read *on riht*. See l. 587, and Krapp, Andreas, l. 120, note. The chief objection to this division of the words is that in this passage the alliteration is vocalic. Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 60, and Verse Book, reads *ánriht*, "'possessing alone the right,' i.e. the privileged one of God." Blackburne translates, "the peculiar people of Jehovah?" 362 oferlað] For the scansion, see Bright, MLN. XXVII, 18. Blackburn reads *ofer lað*, taking *ofer* as a preposition governing *flodas*. 364 drencefloda] Thorpe, note, Bouterwek, Grein, Wülker read *drencefloda*, which is incomplete metrically. Sievers, Beitr. X, 513, would add *þara* or *ealra* before *drencefloda*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 103, reads *drencefloda*, citing Gen. 1398, and so Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 5, Mürkens, p. 116. 370 ece lafe] Thorpe suggested *ecende* for *ece*, Grein reads *egelafe*, and Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 231, proposed *ecagorlafe*. Blackburn translates *ece* as "'continuing,' lasting, surviving," as applied to those who survived the deluge. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 5, supports the MS. reading.



371 *gehwæs*] All edd. accept *gehwæs*, but Blackburn, notes, suggests that *gehæs* may be a dialectal variant, not a scribal error for *gehwæs*. 373 *mismicelra*] Grein suggests adding *ma* after this word. Cosijn, *Aanteekeningen*, p. 1, suggests *misticerra*. Bright, *MLN. XXVII*, 18, defends *mismicelra* as the gen. pl. of the comparative, citing Sievers, *Angels. Gram.* § 231, 4. 383 *he on wræce lifde*] Cosijn, *Beitr. XX*, 103, regards these words as a parenthesis. 386 *on Seone*] Grein, Wülker print *Seone*, i.e. Zion, and so Bright, *MLN. XXVII*, 18. But Mürkens, p. 116, reading *onseone beorh*, parallel to *heahlond*, sees here a reference to Genesis xxii. 12, *in terram visionis*. 387 *wuldor gesawon*] Kock, *JJJ.*, p. 16, regards these words as parenthetic. 391 *gode*] Graz, *Eng. Stud. XXI*, 5, Mürkens, p. 116, alter to *dryhtne* to avoid a metrical stress on a short syllable. 392 *alh*] Bouterwek, following Grimm, *Deutsche Myth.*, I, 58, and later edd. read *alh*. 399 *fyrst*] Klæber, *Archiv CXIII*, 147, suggests *fus* for *fyrst*. If *ferhðbana* refers to Abraham, as is most probable, then *fyrst* as an adj. seems inappropriate. But *fyrst*, "first," as an AS. adj. is dubious in any case. The only AS. example of *fyrst* as an adj. in the *New English Dictionary* is this passage, as of the year 1000, and the next is for 1220. It seems best to take *fyrst* as adverb, "At the first the life-destroyer was not the more joyful [though all turned out happily in the end]." *fægenra*] All edd. read *fægra*, deriving the word from *fæge* (Blackburn, notes, Grein-Köhler, p. 171) or from the adjective which appears in *Beow.* 915 as *gefægra* (Thomas, *MLRev. XII*, 344). Cosijn, *Beitr. XX*, 103, suggested *fægenra*, a reading approved by Klæber, *Archiv CXIII*, 147, and Bright, *MLN. XXVII*, 18. Whether one interprets the first half-line as referring to the devil, to Cain or to Abraham will depend on what word one employs here.

## 401-500

401 *beorna*] Barnouw, *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, p. 87, suggests *bearna*. 404 *forð gebad*] Wülker begins a new sentence with *ða* and takes *forð gebad* as a verb. But *ða* is better taken as a relative, referring to *trofre*, see Cosijn, *Beitr. XX*, 103, Blackburn, notes. 405 *lafe*] Bouterwek, Grein read *lare*. 411-412] Grein, Wülker make one line of these two, with no additions to the MS. reading. 413 *ecgum*] Thorpe and later edd. read *ecgum*, but Grein, *Spr. II*, 374, notes *eagum reodan* as a possible instrumental phrase, "with red eyes." Blackburn reads *ecgum*, but takes *reodan* as an adj., "with red blade." 414 *metod*] Grein, Cosijn, *Beitr. XX*, 103, Graz, *Eng. Stud. XXI*, 5, Mürkens, p. 116, Blackburn, notes, read *metod*, but Wülker follows the MS. 415 *æt niman*] Sievers, *Beitr. X*, 454, suggests *æt niman*, *æt* governing *him*, l. 415a, and so Graz, p. 26. 423 *freoðo*] Graz, *Eng. Stud. XXI*, 6, reads *freode*, Holthausen, *Eng. Stud. LI*, 182, proposes *furðor* for *freoðo*, or *freolic*, in Grein-Köhler, p. 882. 429 *mæge*] A plural, see Bright, *MLN. XXVII*, 18, and Bos.-Tol., *Supplement*, p. 75, under *behwylfan*. The singular *mæg*, l. 427, has *heofon and eorðe* as subject as two closely coordinated ideas. *sceattas*] Dietrich, Grein read *sceatas*.

431 geomre lyft] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 104, suggests *eormen-lyft*. This would make a compound like *eormengrund*, Beow. 859. 432 He] Thorpe, note, and later edd. read *he* for *ne*, but Kock, JJJ., p. 27, Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXX, 3, prefer *þē*, "to thee," and Bright, MLN. XXVII, 18, reads *nu*. 434 soðfast sigora] Dietrich, Grein add *weard* after these words. 437 yldo] Grein alters to *yide*. 442 sand] Thorpe and later edd. read *sand*. 444 oð Egipte incaðeode] Blackburn, notes, and Gollancz, p. lxxiii, retain the MS. reading *incaðeode*, defined by Blackburn "hostile nation," by Gollancz "culprit folk." This is the only occurrence of the compound in Anglo-Saxon. Grein, Wülker alter to *ingedeode*, see *ingfolca*, l. 142, and so Grein-Köhler, p. 389. *Egipte* is genitive plural. 446 folca selost] The last words on p. 163, which is about three-fourths full. Page 163 is followed by two blank pages, numbered 164 and 165, and p. 166 begins a new section in the manuscript. One leaf has been lost between p. 164 and p. 165, according to Gollancz, p. lxx, which contained Section XLVIII and which dealt with the matter of Exodus xiv. 23-24. 453 forhtigendel] Sievers, Beitr. X, 482, Mürkens, p. 116, read *forhtende*. 455 genap] Grein, *gehnaf*, but Grein, Germania X, 418, returns to *genap*. 457 behindan] Grein, *hie hindan*, but Grein, Germania X, 418, returns to *behindan*. 461 herewopa mæst] Bright, MLN. XXVII, 18, takes these words as object of *cyrmdon*, therefore no punctuation after *mæst*. 463 stafnum] Grein suggests *flascum* for *stafnum*. Sedgfield reads *stefnum*. 466 cyre swiðrode] Dietrich, Grein read *cyrr*, but Grein, Germania X, 418, returns to *cyre*. See l. 291, note. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 104, suggests *cyrn*, and so Sedgfield in his text. Sedgfield reads *swiðrode*, "grew strong," Grein, Spr. II, 512, *swiðrode*, "diminished," "ceased." Cosijn places l. 466b within parentheses. Imelmann, Forschungen zur ae. Poesie, p. 403, reads *cyre*, "Kür, Wahl," "Thre Chance verminderte sich." 467 sæs] Grein, Kluge, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 6, Mürkens, p. 116, alter to *wæges* for alliteration. 470 forðganges weg] Grein retained *neþ*, but Spr. II, 281, found no plausible explanation for the word. Wülker also retained *neþ*, without explanation, and so Blackburn, notes. Sedgfield, MLRev. XVI, 60, and Verse Book, alters to *forðgang esnes*, translating, "The advance of the warrior(s) was impeded by their armour." Thomas, MLRev. XII, 344, would retain *neþ* in the sense "lacking," citing possible Icelandic but no Anglo-Saxon connections for the word. Mürkens, p. 76, reads *forðgange neh*. Bright, MLN. XXVII, 18, alters *neþ* to *weg*, which gives a reasonable meaning for the passage. 471 *asæled*] Grein, Wülker, Sedgfield read *asæled*. *sand basnodon*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 322, suggested *berened on wilodre fyrde*. Similar is Sedgfield's reading, MLRev. XVI, 60, and Verse Book, *sand hie renedon wilodre wyrde*, "The sands prepared for their appointed destiny," with *fyrde* altered to *wyrde*. Grein reads *basnode*, "awaited," but Dietrich, Grein, Germania X, 418, Klaeber, Eng. Stud. XLI, 110, read *basnodon*. The edd. begin a new sentence with *sand*, but a punctuation which permits connecting the clause beginning with *hwonne* not only with *sand basnodon* but also with what precedes gives a more coherent structure in keeping with the style of



this writer. 472 fyrde] Dietrich, Wülker, Klaeber, Eng. Stud. XLI, 110, Sedgefield alter to *wyrde*. 474 æflastum gewuna] Bouterwek suggested *æglastum*, or *æglotum*, and Erläut., p. 322, *ealastum* or *wæglastum gewunad*, for this phrase. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 104, proposed *æflastungewuna*, "der noch nie hinweggeströmt war." Retaining the MS. reading, Sedgefield, notes, translates, "now accustomed to its changed course." 476 geneop] Dietrich reads *gehneop*, Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 60, and Verse Book, reads *gehweop*, "menaced." Grein, note, suggests a possible connection of this verb, which is of uncertain origin, with the MS. *nep* in l. 470. See l. 455. 480 modge rymde] The MS. reads *mod gerymde*, and so Thorpe, Bouterwek, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 6, Blackburn, the last translating, notes, "loosed its fury." Grein and later edd., except Blackburn, read *modge rymde*, translated by Johnson, p. 54, "removed the valorous." 482 famgode] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 105, suggests *famgende*. 483 lagu land] Dietrich, Grein, Kluge, Graz, p. 26, Mürkens, p. 116, read *laguland*, but Grein, Germania X, 418, Wülker, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 105, Blackburn, Sedgefield read *lagu* (subject) and *land* (object). 487 on werbeamas] The MS. reading lacks one metrical syllable in this half-line. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 231, proposes *werbeama sweot*, Mürkens, p. 116, *wraðe werbeamas*. Bright, MLN. XXVII, 19, alters to *on wægstreamas*. Grein-Köhler, p. 782, would read *werge beornas*. Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 60, reads *werbeamas on*, translating, "When the Almighty . . . struck the barriers," with *wer-beam* taken as meaning "weir-bar," "flood-gate." Sedgefield, Verse Book, reads *on werbeamas*, with the same interpretation. Blackburn, notes, would read *engel werbeamas*, or *weard werbeamas* (replacing *weard*, l. 486b, by *god*), *werbeamas* as a genitive singular, = *wærbēam*, "the protecting column, i.e. the pillar of cloud." Thomas, MLRev. XII, 345, reads *on werbeamas*, "the protecting columns." Grein, Dicht., p. 95, takes *werbeamas* and *ðeode* (with a period after *ðeode*) as appositives, "die Wehrbäume, das verwegene Volk." Grein, Spr. II, 661, suggested "baumstarker Mann," as a definition of *werbeam*. Johnson, p. 55, translates, "those warriors of oak." It seems most natural to take *werbeamas* as continuing the thought expressed by *meretorras*, l. 485, but the precise meaning remains debateable. 488 helpendra pað] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 322, suggested *halwendne* for *helpendra*. Grein suggested *helpenda*, as a form of *elpend*, "elephant," here for walrus. Kock, Anglia XLIII, 305, proposed *hleopandra pað*, "path of the sea-leopards." Holthausen, Anglia XLIV, 353, would read *hwelpendra pað*, the first element related to *hwilpe*, "water-fowl," see Seafarer 21, and so Bright, MLN. XVII, 426, translating, "the path of the sea-dogs, or sea-monsters = the sea." In Grein-Köhler, p. 885, Holthausen suggests *helwarena* for *helpendra*. Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 60, and Verse Book, reads *helpendra fæðm*, "Neither the proud people (the Egyptians) nor the hand (lit. embrace) of helpers could check the fury of the sea." Mürkens, p. 116, proposes *helpendra paða*, "sie konnten nicht zurückhalten (*forhabban*) von den (ihnen sonst) helfenden (sie schützenden) pfaðen die wütende meerflut (*merestreames mod*)." In the lack of any convincing emendation, it



seems best to retain the MS. reading. Bouterwek's *halwendne* suggests a plausible emendation to *hal-*, *hælwendra*, but as between *helpendra* and *hælwendra* there is little to choose. 492 *wælbenna*] Sisam, MLN. XXXII, 48, takes the second element as a form of *bend*, "bond," and translates, "the death-bonds (i.e. the enveloping waves) seethed." Witrod] Thorpe, note, alters to *witod*, "fated," Bouterwek to *wite-rod*, "rod of punishment." Dietrich proposed *wit-rod* = *wit-rad*, "zauberstrasse," and so Grein. But Grein, Germania X, 418, interpreted as *wig-trod*, and so Spr. II, 703, meaning "battle-way." Kock, JJJ., p. 27, translates, "the passage, God's handiwork, broke down from high aloft." Bright, MLN. XVII, 426, reads *wigrād*. Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 60, and Verse Book, reads *wigrōd*, "the war-pole," i.e. the mighty thunderbolt which God hurls down upon the Egyptians." Sisam, MLN. XXXII, 48, gives *wipertrod* as a suggestion of Napier's, and translates, "God's handiwork (the sea) fell upon their ways of retreat." Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 105, cites l. 483 as indicating that *witrod* is accusative. This seems the best interpretation of the syntax, though the form and meaning of *witrod* are debateable. See Gen. 2084. 494 *sloh*] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 105, suggests *flod weard gesloh*, with a full stop after *famigbosma*. 498 *flodblac*] See *wigblac*, l. 204. 499 *siððan hie*, etc.] Grein, Wülker read *onbugon* for *on bogum*. Blackburn, notes, reads *buge* for *bogum* and translates, "when on them fell the hugest of wild waves, dark [*brun*] with its towering mass [*yppinge*, as an instrumental]." Bright, MLN. XVII, 426, reads *onbrugdon* or *onbrudon* for *on bogum*, "after the brown floods struck them." Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 182, changes *brun* to *brēcun*, with *yppinge* as subject. Bright, MLN. XXVII, 19, suggests *brim-yppinge* or *brim yppende* for *brun yppinge*. Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 60, and Verse Book, reconstructs to read, *siððan hie on hogum hran yrringa modwæga mæst*, "when the greatest of angry waves furiously seized them by the heels." Mürkens, p. 116, reads *siððan hie on bugon ypping brunne*, "nachdem sie eingebogen waren in die offene braune flut." Thomas, MLRev. XII, 345, reads *siððan hie on bugon brun yppinge*, "after the dark masses fell on them," explaining *brun* for *brune* as due to loss of the final *e* by elision. This last seems the most plausible interpretation, though perhaps one should read *brune* with Dietrich. As a possible substitute for *yppinge*, see *yþung*, "inundation," Bos.-Tol., Supplement, p. 753. 500 *modewæga*] Grein, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 6, Mürkens, p. 117, read *mōd-wæga*, but Grein, Spr. II, 259, as in the MS.

## 501-590

501 *ða gedrencte wæron*] The MS. reads *ða þegedrecte*, probably for *ða þe gedrecte*. Bouterwek, Grein, Mürkens, p. 117, read *he* for *þe*. Thorpe and later edd., except Blackburn, read *gedrencte*, "drowned." Blackburn retains *gedrecte* = *gedrehte*, translating, notes, "when it (i.e. the great sea-wave mentioned just before) overwhelmed the hosts of Egypt." But this forces the meaning of *gedrehte*. Sedgefield, MLRev. XVI, 60, and Verse Book,

reads *deape*, see l. 34, for *ða þe*, and takes *gedrencte* as participial adjective modifying *mægen*, "submerged in death." For *dugoð* as a plural, see l. 547, and Krapp, Andreas, l. 693, note. 502 onfond] Thorpe, notes, Grein and later edd. read *onfond*, but Blackburn, notes, thinks *onfeond* may be a variant, not an error, for *onfond*. 503 grund] Grein, Kluge, Graz, p. 26, Mürkens, p. 117, Blackburn, notes, supply *grund*. Sedgefield supplies *he grund*. gestah] Dietrich alters to *geseah*. 504 was] Grein alters to *þær*. 505 heorufæðmum] Grein reads *heorofæðmum*, Kluge, Wülker, Sedgefield read *heorufæðmum* for the MS. *huru fæðmum*. Blackburn, notes, retains the MS. reading and translates *fæðmum* by " 'embraces,' the whelming of the hosts by the sea," with *huru* as adverb, "certainly." But the reference here seems to be more general and merely to sword warfare. 509 ungrundes] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 323, suggested *ungerimeses*, Kock, PPP., p. 10, *ungerimes*. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 6, defends the MS. reading. 510 heora] Thorpe, note, and later edd. read *heora*, except Blackburn, who retains *heoro* as a variant of *heora*. 514 spelbodan eac] The MS. reading *spelbodan* is metrically deficient. Grein, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 6, Mürkens, p. 117, supply *spilde* before *spelbodan*. Sedgefield supplies *swa eac* before, and Blackburn, notes, *eac* after *spelbodan*. Rieger, Verskunst, p. 46, proposed *hyrde* before *spelbodan*. 517 Moyses sægde] That the lines following were not intended as a formal speech is indicated by the informality of this phrase. But in l. 549, the address of Moses to the army is introduced by *Swa reordode*. Thorpe and later edd. read *Moyses*, a nominative, except Bouterwek, who retains the MS. form. 519 Dægword] The edd. retain *dægweorc*, interpreting it as meaning either the Decalogue, or the comment of Moses, as indicated in Deuteronomy i. 3 (Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 105). But Gollancz, p. lxxvii, ingeniously surmises that the poet wrote *dægword* = *dierum verba*, the Latin name of Chronicles, which in turn is a translation of the Hebrew name of Chronicles. But the Hebrew name for Deuteronomy is similar, and "old glossaries confused the Hebrew for Chronicles, written as one word, with the name for Deuteronomy, and this seems to explain the present crux. The poet's intention was to refer to Deuteronomy." There is nothing in Exodus xiii or xiv to account for *dægword* or for *dægweorc*, but this whole passage is an elaboration not contained in the Vulgate. 521 doma gehwiltne] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 105, calls attention to Deuteronomy vi. 1. 524 weard] Holthausen, Anglia XLIV, 353, reads *hord* for *weard*. 525 ginfæstan] Bouterwek, Grein read *ginfæst*, but Grein, Germania X, 418, reads *ginfæstan*, a weak adjective modifying *gōd*. See Beow. 2182, *ginfæstan gife*. Blackburn retains the MS. spelling with the same value. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 105, also reads *ginfæstan* as a weak adjective. Sievers, Beitr. X, 514, suggests *ginfæsta*. Mürkens, p. 117, reads *ginfæste gōd*, which he interprets as meaning the soul. Kock, Anglia XLIII, 306, retains *ginfæsten* as meaning "stronghold," translating, "If, with the Spirit's keys, Life's herald will unlock the body's ward, the stronghold good, that shines within his breast"—i.e., if the prophet will speak. 526 gæð] Mürkens, p. 117, reads *gangeð* to gain a metrical syllable. 529 gesne]



So in the MS., though all edd., except Blackburn, print *gesine* as the MS. reading, interpreting the word, however, as for *gesne*, *gæsne*. 532 *lifwynna*] Thorpe, Grein, Wülker read with the MS., *lyft wynna*, and Grein, Spr. II, 198, interprets *lyft* as meaning "grant," "gift." Thorpe suggested *lifwynna*, and Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 106, reads *lifwynna*, Blackburn, notes, *lyfwynna*. Grein-Köhler, p. 426, glosses the word under *lif-wyn*. 535 *healdað*] Grein, Kluge, notes, Wülker read *healdað*. Blackburn reads *healdeð* but glosses this form as a plural. 539 *rice dælað*] "Share dominion," see Klaeber, Archiv CXIII, 147, Eng. Stud. XLI, 110. The words *ylde oððe ærdeað* are appositive to *regnþeofas*. 540 *cymð*] Sievers, Beitr. X, 473, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 7, Mürkens, p. 117, read *cymeð*. 546 *is*] Grein, Kluge, Graz, p. 26, Mürkens, p. 117, supply *is* before *leohit*, but Wülker, Blackburn have no verb. 556 *us on*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 323, Grein, Kluge, Wülker, Sedgfield read *us on*, but Blackburn retains *ufon*, "from his home in the heavens (lit. from above)." 563 *sigerice*] See l. 27, note. 567 *fægerne*] Mürkens, p. 93, suggests *fægenne* for *fægerne*. 570 *gefegon*] Dietrich, Grein and later edd. read *gefegon* for the MS. *gefeon*, except Kluge, who retains *gefeon*. 574 *þam herge*] Grein, Kluge, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 7, Mürkens, p. 117, Blackburn, notes, supply *herge* before *wiðforon*. Sedgfield changes *þam* to *ham*, reading *siððan hie ham wiðforon*. *herge wiðforon*] Bouterwek replaces by *hildefrumum* followed by no punctuation. 576] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 106, would inclose this line within parentheses. 578 *golan*] Grein reads *golan*, Wülker has *golan*. Thorpe, Bouterwek, Kluge, Graz, p. 26, retain the MS. reading. 580 *Afrisc neowle*] The MS. reading *afrisc neowle* would mean "an African maiden," i.e. Egyptian maiden. But there is no reason to suppose that the Egyptians had maidens with them in their army, and no reason for referring to them here if they had. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 106, assumes that the reference is to the Hebrew women, and Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXI, 14, Bright, MLN. XXVII, 19, Gollancz, p. lxxv, take *afrisc* as a scribal error for *ebrisc*. Klaeber, Eng. Stud. XLI, 111, would explain *afrisc* as referring to the Hebrew women as "expressing an accidental relation rather than a permanent quality." Routh, Two Studies, p. 54, retains *afrisc* as referring to captive maidens in the Egyptian army. Gollancz further proposes that the phrase originally read *ebrisc neowle* (*neowle* probably adverb), and that it referred to the Hebrews prostrate in prayer, see Exodus iv. 31. This assumes that the Hebrews stopped to pray before they began to plunder. Reading *Afrisc neowle* with Blackburn, notes, the passage becomes consistent and credible: "Then an African [Egyptian] was easily found prostrate on the shore of the sea, adorned with gold," referring to Exodus xiv. 31. As Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 106, points out, *þa was eðfynde* is equivalent to "in great numbers," and *neowle* may be taken as logically a plural adjective. The sentence beginning *Handa hofon* then refers to the Hebrews who plundered the dead Egyptians of the gold with which they were adorned, not to an operatic chorus of Jewish maidens. A reference to Miriam, see Exodus xv. 20-21, is too remote to be plausible. 581 *hand*] Holthausen, in Grein-Köhler, p. 884,



reads *handum*. 586 on *yðlafe*] "On the shore," Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 106. In l. 585 *sælafe* is appositive to *madmas*, and *segnum* means "by standards," Blackburn, notes, Sedgefield, notes, i.e. among the divisions of the army. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 323, suggested *secgum* for *segnum*, and Klæber, Archiv CXIII, 147, would read *lædan* for *dælan*, but both changes are unnecessary. 587 Heo on riht sceodon] Grein, Kluge, Wülker, Sedgefield read *heom* for *heo*, and *sceode* for the MS. *sceo*, "rightly to them [the Hebrew women, on the assumption that the preceding lines also refer to a chorus of Hebrew women] fell." Thorpe, note, suggested *sceodon*, and so Blackburn, notes, and see Bright, MLN. XVII, 426, for *sceadan* in the sense "divide," "distribute." 590 *mæst*] All edd. agree that *mæ* is incomplete for *mæst*.

## NOTES ON DANIEL

## 1-100

Daniel] For the title, see Introd., p. xviii. 5 wig] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 106, suggests *wigsped*. 9 wealdan] All edd. retain *wealdon*, but the context indicates *wealdan*, parallel to *rædan*. 16 heriges helmum] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 107, suggests *hæleð under helmum* or *hergas under helmum* for this half-line. Schmidt reads *heapum* for *helmum*. þara] Schmidt would omit. 22 hweorfan] Grein reads *lifgan* for *hweorfan*. Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 181, would arrange the first half-line to read, *þa ic þa gedriht geseah*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 107, suggests *gefreaþ* for *geseah*, citing *gefregn*, l. 1. 25 to lare] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 107, suggested the addition of *to*. 27 þa þam] Schmidt, *þa þe þam*. 29 hie] All edd. read *hie*. 30 eorðan dreamas] Kock, JJJ., p. 12, places a comma after *beswac* and takes *eorðan dreamas* as a nominative appositive to *langung*. Otherwise it must be taken as a modifier of *langung*, "until the desire of the joy of earth," *dreamas* being a gen. sing. in *-as*. Schmidt suggests but does not adopt *dreama*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 107, rearranges ll. 30-31 to read *þæt hie ece rædas || æt siðestan sylfe forleton*. 34 þeodum] The MS. *þeoden* appears to be an echo of *þeoden*, l. 33. Blackburn retains *þeoden* as a careless writing for *þeodum*. Schmidt, Kock, JJJ., p. 12, read *þeodum*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 107, would replace *þeoden*, l. 34, by *drihten*. Thorpe proposed *þeodne*, Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 324, *þeode*. þe] Grein, Wülker read *he* for *þe*. 35 Wisde him æt frymðe] Schmidt retains *wisðe* = *wiste*, "knew," and changes *æt frymðe* to *ætfremde*, "estranged." Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 107, reads *wisðe him fremðe*, "sibi alienos." Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXX, 2, takes *wisðe* as for *wiste*, acc. pl. of *wist*, parallel to *æhte*, but Anglia Beibl. XXXII, 137, retracts this in favor of *wisde*, a verb. Thorpe, Grein, Wülker, Blackburn, notes, read *wisde*, "directed." Bouterwek has *wisode*, and Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 324, *fysde*. 37 dugoða dyrust] The repetition of *dyrust* in this line is dubious. Grein reads *drymust*, but Grein, Germania X, 419, returns to the MS. reading. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 107, suggests *demend* for *dyrust*, and Kock,

JJJ., p. 12, suggests *dryhta*. 38 herepað tæhte] All edd. read *herepað* for the MS. -*poð*, except Blackburn, who retains -*poð* as a scribal variation, and Schmidt, who has -*pæð*. As the word is too short for a half-line, Hofer, *Anglia* XII, 199, adds *laðne* before it, Holthausen, *Indog. Forsch.* IV, 381, adds *rihtne* or *hæleða*, Cosijn, *Beitr.* XX, 107, Schmidt, Kock, JJJ., p. 12, add *tæhte*, and Blackburn, notes, adds *heora*. 41 witgan] Sievers, *Beitr.* X, 514, *Graz, Eng. Stud.* XXI, 7, Schmidt read *wigan*, "warriors," for metrical reasons, and Cosijn, *Beitr.* XX, 107, defends *wigan* on the ground that a city is besieged by warriors, not by *magi*. But *witgan*, in the sense "false worshippers," may very well have been in the poet's mind as applicable to the Chaldeans, see Wülker, l. 41, note. 51 guman] Cosijn, *Beitr.* XX, 107, suggests *Gudan* or *Giuðan*, for *guman*, calling attention to the phrase *regem Juda*, *Daniel* i. 2. 52 Gesamnode þa] Schmidt reads *þa gesamnode* as a metrical improvement. Kock, JJJ., p. 13, takes *gesamnode* as an intransitive verb. 53 and west foran] Körner reads *foran*, pret. pl., for the MS. *faran*, and so Kock, JJJ., p. 13. Thorpe suggested *het* after *faran*, and Blackburn, notes, would supply *het* before *west*. Schmidt supplies *eode* before *west*, and Cosijn, *Beitr.* XX, 108, supplies *gewat*; both read *hæðencynning*, l. 54, as subject of the verb supplied. But with *herige* as inst., *hæðencynninga* may remain, "with their host of heathen kings." 55-56 *Israela*... *lifwelan*] Cosijn, *Beitr.* XX, 108, connects *Israela* with *byrig* as a genitive modifier. Kock, JJJ., p. 13, takes *eðelweardas* as a genitive, and *lufan*, *lifwelan* of the MS. as datives going with *byrig*, regarding this as an instance of asyndetic parataxis. Kock, *Anglia* XLVI, 89, suggests *eðelwearda* for *eðelweardas*. Grein, note, regarded *lufan*, the MS. reading in l. 56a, as a verb, "loved," but supplied no evidence to justify such a verb. Cosijn, *Beitr.* XX, 108, suggested *lifdan* for *lufan*, with *lifwelan* = *lifwelum*. Hofer, *Anglia* XII, 200, proposed *lucon*, "maintained," "preserved," and Schmidt reads *lucan* for *lufan*. Blackburn, notes, following Bos.-Tol., p. 631, proposed *hæfðon* before *lufan*, and Klaeber, *Eng. Stud.* XLI, 111, would supply *brucon* before *Israela*, retaining *lufan*, *lifwelan* as asyndetic objects. It seems necessary to supply a verb, but the choice is even between the proposal of Blackburn and that of Klaeber. Körner supplied *ðær* before *Israela*, Schmidt supplied *þa* after this word. The MS. has metrical pointing before and after *israela*, and the poet may well have regarded this word as sufficient for a half-line. 57 ic] Grein, Wülker, Schmidt, Blackburn, notes, read *ic*. 58 gelyfðon] Kock, *Anglia* XLIV, 250, proposes *gældon*, "the warriors did not hesitate," for *gelyfðon*, and later, *Anglia* XLVI, 184, *geylðon*, "delayed." Holthausen, *Anglia* Beibl. XXXII, 137, suggests *gelæfðon*, intransitive or with *wuldor* as object. Trautmann, in Schmidt, p. 31, reconstructs the passage to read for ll. 58b-59, *wigan beræddon || þa receda wuldor | readan golde*. Cosijn, *Beitr.* XX, 108, retains *gelyfðon* as equivalent to "believed in God," citing l. 106b. This is also Blackburn's interpretation, "The warriors [of the Chaldeans] believed not (*i.e.* were heathen)." Schmidt would omit *þa* before *wigan*. 59 *readan golde*] *Graz, Eng. Stud.* XXI, 7, would omit these words to shorten the line metrically. 61 stan-



hliðum] Schmidt reads *stanhlidum*. 66 feoh and frætwa] Ettmüller proposed *feo* = *feoh* for the MS. *fea*. For the MS. *freos* Grein proposed *fleos*, "Vlies, kostbares Pelzwerk." Körner reads *feoh* and *frætwa*, see Gen. 2130, and Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 108, approves this reading. Kock, Anglia XLIII, 305, retains the MS. *fea* and *freos* as genitives, "of cattle and its breed," citing Icelandic but no Anglo-Saxon justifications for these meanings. Holt-hausen, Anglia XLIV, 353, reads *featu* (= *fatu*?) for *fea* and *feos* = *feoes* for *freos*, or *fata freolicra*, omitting *and*. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 231, had suggested *feoh* and *freafatu*. Blackburn retains *fea* as a Northumbrian form of *feo(h)*, and retains *freos* also as a variant of *frean*, translating, "the wealth and the lords." Schmidt reads *feo* and *freosigl*, "money and jewels," and cites Trautmann as proposing *feo* and *freosinc*. Körner's reading presents the fewest difficulties, though *frætwa* is merely a substitution for, not an explanation of the MS. *freos*. 73 ofer ealle lufen] For the MS. *otor*, Bouterwek reads *uton*. Grein, Körner, Schmidt read *ofer*, Wülker *ofor*. Kock, Anglia XLVI, 89, suggests *ofer ealle lufne*, "'without any tenure,' i.e. without any privilege bestowed on free men." Schmidt reads *lufan* for *lufen*. Blackburn retains *lufen* in the sense "hope." 77 leoda] Blackburn retains *leode* as a gen. pl. form. See Ex. 8, note. Grein and later edd. read *leoda*. 79 þa] Schmidt alters to *þonne*. 82 boca bebodes] Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 7, would read *in bebodum boca* for metrical reasons. Schmidt reads *bebodes boca*, and Blackburn, notes, proposes *in bocum bebodes*. 85 he] Schmidt would omit *he*. Schmidt, notes, says this passage, ll. 85-87, is unintelligible and probably corrupt. But the meaning is clear: Nebuchadnezzar wanted to profit personally by the wisdom of the youths (taking *mihle*, l. 84, as a plural), and was not interested in their wisdom as a gift of God for which he should be grateful. 88 þær fundon] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 324, proposed *þreo feredon* for *þær fundon*. þry] Schmidt alters to *þry*, and so Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 108, though Cosijn would place *þry* after *freagleawe*. Thorpe, note, Bouterwek read *frean gleawe*. 90 godsæde] Thorpe, Bouterwek read *god sæde*, Dietrich and later edd., *godsæde*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 108, notes Daniel i. 3, *de semine regio et tyrannorum*. Trautmann, see Schmidt, suggested *godspede* for *godsæde*. 94 and] Schmidt would omit *and*. 95 corðres] Klaeber, Eng. Stud. XLI, 112, suggests *morðres* for *corðres*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 109, calls attention to Daniel i. 5. 97 cyðan] Thorpe, note, and later edd., *cyðan*, except Wülker, Schmidt, *cyðon*.

## 101-200

101 þæt þa, etc.] Schmidt, note, declares this line to be unintelligible and reconstructs to read *þe þa frumgaras befeormode*. But *dæde* is for *dyden*, and *be feore* means "on penalty of life," i.e. loss of life. See Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 109. 102 gengum] Blackburn reads this word in the MS. as *geagum*, but what he reads as *a* is clearly not a normal *a* and is probably merely *n* with an accidental stroke connecting the two lower points of the letter. In



his glossary, Blackburn suggests that *geagum* is an error for *gengum*. 104  
 [Ja wæs breme] Schmidt reads *þa breme wæs*. 106 ylda bearnum] Schmidt  
 reads *yldum* and omits *bearnum*. 111 geteod] Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 8,  
 alters to *geteohhod*. 114 gelimpan] Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 231,  
 Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 8, omit *gelimpan*. 115 dreamas] A gen. sing. in  
 -as. 118 woma] Grein reads *woman*, which would make the word a  
 modifier, not an appositive of *sork*. So also Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 109. 119  
 him meted wæs] Grein, Germania X, 419, would alter *wæs* to *wæf*, thus  
 making *metod* a noun. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 231, reads *hine ge-*  
*meted wæs*, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 8, reads *him gemæted wæs*. Schmidt has  
*meted*, for *metod*, as suggested by Dietrich. 122 hwæt hine gemætte] Holt-  
 hausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 231, adds *ær* after *gemætte*. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI,  
 8, reads *him gemæted wæs*, but Holthausen, Eng. Stud. XXXVII, 204, *hwæt*  
*gemætte hine*, for the sake of alliteration. 125 word] Kock, JJJ., p. 2,  
 notes a similarity to An. 555-556, and Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 109, connects  
*angin* with *or*, l. 133. The alliteration forbids *ord* for *word*. 138 þæt ge  
*cuðon*] Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 8, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 109, supply *wel* after  
*cuðon*. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 231, supplies *geare*. Schmidt alters  
*þæt* to *þætte*. Grein, Wülker place *mine* of l. 139 at the end of l. 138. But  
 it seems best to take the line as a bit of mechanical versifying with a stress  
 on *þæt* in each half-line. 139 æfter] Grein alters to *æfre*. 141a Nu]  
 Grein, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 109, Schmidt read *nu* for the MS. *ne*. 142  
 berað] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 324, Hofer, Anglia XII, 200, Cosijn, Beitr.  
 XXI, 13, read *berað*. Blackburn retains *bereð*, but takes it to be a plural.  
 147 ne ahicgan] Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 381, would supply *hraðe*,  
*huru* or *aucht* after *ahicgan*. Schmidt supplies *na*. But the scansion may  
 again be mechanical. *þa hit*, etc.] Schmidt changes *þa* to *na* and places  
 it in the first half-line, with a dash before and after the second half-line.  
 But translate, "when it was denied that they should tell," etc. 159 rec-  
 can] Sievers, Beitr. X, 514, Schmidt read *areccan*. 160 wereda] Thorpe,  
 note, Bouterwek, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 109, read *wyrda* for *wereda*, and Black-  
 burn, note, takes this as possible, but if this reading is not accepted, "the  
 meaning of the phrase is 'the destiny of nations.'" The reference may well  
 be to Daniel ii. 36ff. 170 weob] Dietrich, Grein, Schmidt read *weoh*,  
 "idol," and Wülker retains *woh* in the same sense. Blackburn retains *woh*,  
 "to work wrong," but notes the other interpretation. 172 ðe swa hatte]  
 Grein added *þrymlice* after *swa*, but Sievers, Beitr. X, 514, regards this as  
 "metrisch falsch." Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 381, Graz, Eng. Stud.  
 XXI, 8, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 109, change *swa* to *þus*, and Cosijn also suggests  
*þa* for *swa*. Schmidt reads *þa* for *swa*. But there is no telling how me-  
 chanically some of the verses of the poem may have been made, see ll. 138,  
 147, and notes. 176 þe] Bouterwek, Grein, Wülker alter *þe* to *he*. 177  
 riht] The last word on p. 180. A page has been cut out of the manuscript  
 between p. 180 and p. 181, see Gollancz, p. lxxxv, containing the matter of  
 Daniel iii. 2-6. Bouterwek adds *ne cuðe*, and Grein reads *rihtes ne gymde*,  
 to complete the line. 185 Fremde] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 110, Schmidt read

*fremede* for this word. 189 [æt hie] In the MS. appears the usual abbreviation for *þæt*, which Blackburn says may stand here for *þe*. Schmidt replaces *þæt* by *þe*. Thorpe, note, Bouterwek read *þa ðe* for these two words. 192 on herige] Thorpe, note, Grein altered to *on byrige*, Dietrich to *on byrige*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 110, reads *on berig*, Schmidt, *on berige*, "on the mount." Blackburn, notes, suggests *hornas* for *byman*, and Grein, Germania X, 419, proposed *herebyman*. Wülker left a gap before *byman*. There are many ways in which the line might be regularized, but it is not improbable that it slipped by without ever having alliteration. See l. 710. 194 wæron] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 110, proposed *weras* for *wæron*. But *wæron* is for *wærum*, "faithful in their covenants." An objection to this is the repetition in *wærfæste*, but the Daniel poet is fond of puns and etymological echoes, see ll. 5, 36, 90, 175, 204, 264, 265, 295, 344, 521-522, 550. 195 ælmihtigne] Grein retains the MS. *ælmihtne*, but Thorpe, Bouterwek, Wülker, Schmidt read *ælmihtigne*, and Sievers, Beitr. X, 514, approves this reading. Blackburn, notes, suggests that *ælmihtne* may be a correct form, some word for "Lord" being lost after it, but that more probably the scribe merely omitted a syllable. 196 gedydon] Sievers, Beitr. X, 498, Schmidt read *gedædon*. 197 gold] Thorpe, note, Bouterwek alter to *gyld*, "idol," and Schmidt reads *goldgyld*.

## 201-300

202 mihte gebædon] Wülker, Schmidt, Blackburn, notes, retain *gebædon* as infinitive, the other edd. read *gebædan*. Grein reads *gebædan mihte*, and Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XVIII, 206, would put *mihte* in the first half-line and supply *æfre* after *gebædon*. But see Gen. 574, note. 203 hæðen heriges] Thorpe, Bouterwek read *hæðenheriges*. 205 [æt] Schmidt would omit *þæt*. 206 hæftas hearan] As appositive to *þegnas*, *hæftas* means the servants of the king, see l. 266, and *hearan*, for *hearran*, is appositive to *þeodne*, see Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 110. Blackburn takes *hæftas hearan* as referring to the three children, "the higher captives in this lofty city, who will not do this or worship," etc. Schmidt leaves *hearan* unglossed and unexplained. Grein changed *hearan* to *heran*, "obey," but Grein, Germania X, 419, returned to the MS., taking *hearan* as the comparative of *heah*. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 324, also proposed a verb for *hearan*, i.e. *heanan*, *hynan* or *hangan*. 207 þa þis, etc.] Grein changed *þa* to *þæt*, supplied *hæðengyld* after *þis*, and changed *hegan* to *hergan*, his l. 207 then ending with *willað*. He compressed ll. 207b-208 into one line. Wülker follows Grein, except that he merely indicates an omission where Grein read *hæðengyld*. In Germania X, 419, Grein changed his earlier reading *hergan* to the MS. *hegan*. Schmidt follows Grein's text, except that he retains *þa*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 110, suggests *herenæðl* as better than *hæðengyld*. As a strong demonstrative *þa* means "those (men)." 208 to wuldre] If *hæðengyld* or some other word is not supplied in l. 207, something is needed here to complete this line and for alliteration. Blackburn, notes, suggests



wuldre after *to*, and this also gives the personal pronoun *þe*, "as honor to thyself," more significance. 214 wolde] A plural, see Gen. 856, note, and so *gelæste*, l. 219. 216 he] Schmidt omits *he*. 219 æ] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 110, would supply *hie* before *æ*. 221 *ne þan mæ gehwurfe*] The MS. has *neþan* (or *ne þan*) *mæ*, then the end of a line and *gen hwyrfe* on the next line, with metrical pointing after *hwyrfe* and before *ne*. Thorpe, Bouterwek made a compound *mægenhwyrfe*, translated "high course" by Thorpe. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 324, suggested *mægen hwyrfden*. Grein reads *ne heanmægen hwyrfe*, Grein, Germania X, 419, has *mæ* (= *ma*) *gen hwyrfe*. Wülker, Blackburn, Schmidt follow the MS. with the reading *ne þan mægen hwyrfe*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 110, reads *ne þan ma gehwurfe*, which gives the best reading, though *mæ* = *ma* may stand. Taking *gehwurfe* as a plural, the passage means, "nor the more would they turn towards heathendom." 224 [þa wearð, etc.] Grein, Wülker, Schmidt make two half-lines of l. 224a, and to make a full line of l. 224b, Grein inserts *egeslice*, Hofer, Anglia XII, 201, inserts *egeslicor*, Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 231, *esnas* or *iserne*, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 110, *eft sona*, and Schmidt *ofeslice* before *ofn*. But the metrical pointings in the MS. come after *cyning*, *onhælan*, *feorum*, *onsocon*, and these pointings indicate the best reading with no additions necessary. 226 gegleded] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 324, suggested *þæt* for *þa* and *gleded* for the MS. *gelæded*. Grein, Wülker read *gegleded*. Blackburn, notes, thinks *gelæded* is a careless spelling of *glæded* = *gleded*. Schmidt alters to *gefeded* and supplies *gledum* before this word. 232 him] Schmidt omits. grome] Schmidt changes to *grimme*. 233 *fæðm fyres lige*] Thorpe, note, suggested *fyrliġes*, Hofer, Anglia XII, 201, proposes *fæðmfyres*. Schmidt reads *fyres and liges*. But the phrase should be taken as it stands, literally, "in the embrace to the flame (*lige*) of the fire." *hwæðere*] Blackburn misreports the MS. as *hwæðre*. 234 *metodes*] Schmidt alters to *man-werodes*. One expects something like *manna weard*, see *gumena weard*, l. 236. 235 *halige*] Thorpe, note, Bouterwek read *haliga*, Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 324, *halig* or *se haliga*. Schmidt reads *halig him þær helpe*. But take *halige* as modifying *help*, "a holy help," i.e. *gast þone halgan*, l. 236. 237 in þone ofn innan] Sievers, Beitr. XII, 476, would omit *innan*, Schmidt would omit *þone*. 239-240] Grein supplied *ne him wroht oðfæstan* after *gewemman* as l. 239b. Schmidt supplies *ne nænig wloh of hrægle*, and also omits *þeah* in l. 239a. Hofer, Anglia XII, 201, transfers *þeah* to a place after *gewemman*, making *gewemman þeah* serve as l. 239b. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 110, reads *gewemman owiht*, citing l. 343. 241 *bærnan*] Schmidt reads *forbærnan*. 246-247] The parenthesis was suggested by Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 110. For the MS. *onstealle*, Thorpe, note, proposed *onsteallan*, Bouterwek reads *onstellan*. Grein reads *onsweallan*, but Germania X, 419, *on stealle*. Wülker also has *on stealle*. Schmidt reads *onstealle* as an infinitive. Blackburn, notes, favors *onswælan*, "make hot." Perhaps on *stealle*, "at the place," is the proper reading here, but if so, an infinitive to complete *wolde* must be found, and the most probable place to look for it would be in *iserne*. The reference in this passage is not to the oven, but to a wall of fire, and



perhaps some general word meaning "to construct" lies hidden in *iserne*. But if so it is so deeply hidden as not to be readily discovered. Perhaps a simple substitution, e.g. *wyrca*, should be made for *iserne*. To accord with his reading on *stealle*, Grein, *Germania X*, 419, supplies a full line after *æfaste: eall þurhgledan || þurh ældes leoman*. Schmidt prints *iserne* as the last word of a line and thinks the rest of this line has disappeared. He does not attempt to restore the supposed missing parts. 249 [ponne] Schmidt reads *þon* for *þonne*. 253 [alet] Holthausen, *Eng. Stud. XXXVII*, 204, supplies *ond* or *for*, Schmidt supplies *þa*, before *alet*, for metrical reasons. 257 [dydon] Cosijn, *Beitr. XX*, 110, reads *dyrdon*, "glorified." 258 [aldre genereðe] Grein, *Dicht.*, p. 105, translates, "unversehrt am Leben," "preserved in life." Blackburn, notes, less plausibly takes the whole phrase as instrumental, "because of saved life." 260 [þe] Schmidt reads *þa* for *þe*. 262 [gange] Grein changes to *ganga*, a gen. pl., and Blackburn retains *gange* but regards it as gen. pl. Schmidt alters to *fenge*. [gedydon] Schmidt alters to *gedædon*. 263 [sweg] Bouterwek, *Erläut.*, p. 325, and Schmidt read *swol* for *sweg*. 264 [beot mægum] Schmidt supplies *wæs* after *beot*, which makes *beot* a noun. Holthausen, *Eng. Stud. XXXVII*, 204, reads *beorhtum* for *beot*, in Grein-Köhler, p. 876, he reads *beotmægum* as a compound. [þe] Grein, Wülker, Schmidt read *þenden* for the MS. *þen*. [beote] Schmidt alters to *bæle*, and so Holthausen, as above. For the word-play in *beot*, verb, and *beole*, noun, see l. 194, note. 265 [fyr fyr scyde] The MS. writes *fyrscyde* as one word. Thorpe, Bouterwek, Dietrich, Grein, Wülker omit the second *fyr*. Holthausen, *Eng. Stud. XXXVII*, 204, reads *fyrsoðe*, following Lye-Manning, *Supplement*, which read *fyrsoðe*, for *fyr scyde*, and supplies *frecnan* before *scyde*, l. 265b, for alliteration. Cosijn, *Beitr. XX*, 110, suggests *þæt fyr þa scynde*. Bradley, *Archiv XCIX*, 127, proposed *ac þæt fyr fysde to ðam firen-wyrhtum*, an entirely unjustified rewriting of the text. Blackburn retains *fyrscyde* as a "careless writing" for *forsoðe*. Schmidt reads *ac þæt fyr fyr scynde to ðam, þe ða fyrene worhtion, fyr*, "fire," and *fyr*, "further." The retention of *fyr*, noun, and *fyr*, adverb, seems required, but *scyde* may remain, see Gen. 1103, and the change of *scyde* to *fyrene* is unnecessary. For *fyr* as a comparative, see *Beow.* 143, 252. 266 [hwearf on] Napier, *Archiv XCVIII*, 397, reads *hwearf on* for *hwearfon*, and all later edd. and commentators follow, though Blackburn, notes, keeps *hwearf* as a variant spelling of *hwearf*. 267 [þa] Grein alters to *þara*, and *gefægon*, l. 267b, to *gefægon*. 269 [wraclie] Schmidt alters to *wraclie*. 270 [in þam] Schmidt supplies *on* after *in*. 271 [afæste ðry] Grein supplies *unforbærned* after *ðry*, and begins a new line with *him eac*. Schmidt takes *him . . . gesyhðe* as l. 271b, for l. 272a he reads *engel ælmihtiges godes*, and *him . . . derede* constitutes his l. 272b. The supplying of *on ofne*, l. 273a, is a simpler solution of the difficulty. 275 [ponne] Schmidt reads *þon* for *þonne*. 276 [deaw dryge] For the MS. *drias* read *dryge*, when the dew becomes dry in the day, i.e. in the morning sunlight. Thorpe, note, suggested *deawdriþas* for *deaw drias*, Bouterwek reads *deawdroþan*. Grein prints *deaw-drias* in his text, in his note suggests

*deaw drias*, "the dew of the magician," the dew on the grass being regarded as the work of the fairies. In this Grein followed Dietrich. In Germania X, 419, Grein proposed *deaw-drias* = *-dreas*, and Blackburn, Schmidt retain *deaw-drias*, defining it as "dew-fall." Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 110, proposed *deawdriarong*, "dew-falling." Besides the uncertainty of *-drias* or *-driarong*, the objection to this interpretation is that the dew-fall does not come in the day. In l. 277, *winde gesawen* also refers to the scattering of the dew by the breeze. For Cosijn's *-driarong*, see l. 348a. 281 dreag] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 110, Schmidt supply *dreag* before *dæda*, following Az. 3. 283 [u] Schmidt omits. 284 niðas to nergenne] Schmidt reads *niððas to nergan*, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 482. 288b] Grein completes the line by adding *sigores waldend*, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 111, Schmidt add *soðfæst metod*, see l. 332. 291 nu] Schmidt omits, following Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 10. See Az. 12. 292 hylde] Supplied by Thorpe, Bouterwek, Grein, Schmidt, after Az. 13. 293 þreaum] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 325, reads *þearfum*, after Az. 14, and in l. 293b, his text has *þreanydum* for *ðeonydum*. 298 bræcon bebodo] Schmidt reads *þin bebodo bræcon*, following Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 10. burhsittende] All edd. read *burhsittende*.

## 301-400

301 hyldelease] Schmidt reads *hylda lease*. 302 is user lif] Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 181, Schmidt read *is lif user*. 304 usic] Grein, Schmidt read *usic*, Wülker *usec*, but Grein, Germania X, 419, as the MS. See l. 309a. 305 æhta gewealde] Thorpe, note, Bouterwek read *æhtgewealde*. 308 [u] Schmidt omits. 309 ane] Hofer, Anglia XII, 201, changes to the plural *ane* to agree with *usic*. Schmidt would omit *ana*, and Blackburn, notes, retains *ana* as referring to *ðrihten*, "thou only, eternal Lord." 310 hligað] On the meaning of *hligað*, "attribute," see Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 111. 312 niða] Schmidt reads *niðða*, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 505. 316 þæt þu, etc.] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 111, proposes *in fyrndagum* (as going with *gehete*) *þæt þu frumcyn kira*. 319 seo mænigeo] Schmidt adds *þæt* before *seo*, Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 381, adds *manna* before *mænigeo*. 320 had to hebbanne] Bouterwek, Wülker, Schmidt, Blackburn, notes, read *had*, after Az. 37. Grein reads *hat to hebbanne*, translated, Dicht., p. 107, "Verheissung zu haben," but Grein, Germania X, 419, has *had to hebbanne*. Blackburn, notes, translates, "a race to be exalted." 321 bebugað] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 111, reads *þe bugað*, a relative clause limiting *heafonsteorran*. oððe brimfaropæs] Grein, Germania X, 419, suggested *oððe brim faroðes* instead of the MS. reading, and Wülker prints *brim faropæs*, and so Schmidt. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 111, reads *oððe brimfaropæs*, and so Blackburn, notes and glossary. 322 sæfaroða] Grein, Germania X, 419, Wülker, Schmidt read *sæwaroða*, an unnecessary change, since Anglo-Saxon texts regularly show an interchange of *faroð* and *waroð*. 323 in eare] Fulton, MLN. XVI, 122, would supply a relative *þe* before *in eare*. Bouterwek read *in eargrynde* for the MS. *me are gryndeð*. Grein and later edd. and



commentators read *in eare*. The meaning of *gryndeð* seems best derived from the noun *grund*, "foundation," "bottom," i.e. "is founded," "underlies" (Blackburn). 326 *pinne*] Schmidt omits. 327 *þæt þæt*] The abbreviation for the second *þæt* may stand for *þa*, according to Blackburn, in which case *and* of l. 330 must be omitted. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 111, suggests *þec* for the second *þæt*, and omits *and*, l. 330. Schmidt also omits *and*. But the clause beginning with *and*, l. 330, may be parallel in syntax with the clause beginning with *þæt*, l. 327*b*. 341 *hine*] Schmidt omits. *to-swende*] Probably for *toswengde*, and perhaps so to be altered, see Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 111. 342 *leoman, hyra*] So Thorpe, note, and later edd. 347 *hit*] Thorpe, note, Schmidt omit *hit*. 349 *cyst*] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 111, would place a period after *cyst* and alter *swylc* of l. 350 to *se*, after Az. 65. 365 ofer] Bouterwek, Grein, Kock, PPP., p. 3, read *on* for the MS. *of*. *rihtne*] Grein, Wülker, Kock, as above, Schmidt read *rihtre*. 368 *tunglu*] Schmidt reads *tungl*, following Graz, Eng. Stud. XII, 11. 372 *mihtig god*] Grein, Schmidt read *god mihtig*. 379 *ligetu*] Schmidt reads *ligettu*. 391 *Israela*] For *Israela* as a nom. pl., see l. 750. 392 *herran sinne*] Thorpe, note, suggests *hyra* for the MS. *pinne*. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 325, alters to *heora þeodne*. Grein, Wülker read *herran sinne*. Schmidt, following Hofer, Anglia XII, 201, alters to *hëran þine*, a nom. pl., "thy servants." 396 *eadmodum*] Grein, Schmidt supply *æfæstum* after *callum*. Blackburn, notes, suggests *eadmodum* as corresponding more closely to the Latin *humiles corde*.

## 401-500

403 *wurðiað*] Grein, Wülker, Schmidt read *wurðiað*. 404 *ðec herigað*] Schmidt reads *herigað ðec*. 406 *wideferhð*] Thorpe, note, Bouterwek read *ferhðe* for the MS. *ferhð*. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 325, replaces his *ferhðe* by *werode*. Grein, Schmidt read *wideferhð*. 409 *ehtode*] Translated "uttered" by Kock, JJJ., p. 13. *ealdor*] Grein and later edd. read *ealdor*, and Blackburn, notes, takes *þeode* as gen. pl. 410 *nehstum*] Holt-hausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 231, supplies *spræc* after this word to gain a metrical syllable. In Anglia Beibl. XXX, 2, he suggests reading *nëistum* instead of *nehstum*, with no addition. 412 *þeode*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 325, reads *þeode wisan* for *þeoden mine*. Grein, Wülker, Schmidt read *þeode*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 111, retains the MS. *þeoden*. Blackburn, notes, suggests *þeodnas*. Hofer, Anglia XII, 201, reads *þeodend*. *þæt we þry sendon*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 325, reads *þe* for *we* and retains *sindon* for *syndon*. Grein reads *sendon* for *syndon*, but Grein, Germania X, 419, and Wülker follow the MS. Schmidt, Blackburn, notes, read *sendon*. 413 *geboden*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 325, suggests *gebunden*, and Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 111, Schmidt read *gebundne*, see ll. 228, 434. Cosijn also reads *byrnendes*, in l. 413*b*. 415 *sefa*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 325, Grein and later edd. read *sefa*. 421 *gædelingum*] Thorpe, note, Grein and later edd. read *gædelingum*. 423 *on neod sprecað*] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, would place these



lines within parentheses. 428 Nis hit owihtes] Grein reads *þæt* for *hit*, and Sievers, Beitr. X, 485, Schmidt read *ohtes* for *owihtes*. 429 hie] Schmidt omits, and alters *þonne*, l. 429b, to *þon*, following Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 11. 430 se] Schmidt omits. 432 swa hie gecyðde wæron] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, Schmidt reconstruct to read *swa him gecyðed wæs*. 434 bende forburnene] Thorpe, note, suggested *bendas* for the MS. *benne*, Bouterwek, Grein read *bendas*, but Grein, Germania X, 419, and later edd., *bende*. Blackburn, notes, proposes *forburnen* for *forburnene*. 436 wroht] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, reads *wloh*, citing An. 1471. 440 up] Schmidt reads *uppe*. 442 heh þegn] Schmidt reads *heh-þegn*. 444 heredon, for] All edd. read *heredon*, Schmidt *fore* for *for*. 445 septon hie] Grein reads *sewton*, Zupitza, Cynewulf's Elene p. xi, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, Hofer, Anglia XII, 202, Schmidt read *septon*, "instructed," after El. 530. Blackburn retains *stepton*, "raised," "lifted," "edified," with *hie* as subject and some word referring to the king to be supplied. Schmidt omits *hie*. Thorpe, Bouterwek changed *hie* to *hine*, a necessary change according to Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 232, unless one reads *septon*. 449 his] Schmidt omits. 450 se] Grein reads *þe* for *se*. 453 on aht] Dietrich proposed *rahte* for the MS. *nahte*, and Blackburn approves, deriving the verb from the infinitive *ræcan*, "extend," "reach." Grein, note, suggested *hnahte*, "bowed." Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 232, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, Schmidt read *on aht* for *and nahte*. 459b] Grein supplies for this half-line *worden in ofne*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, supplies *wyrd geworden*, after l. 470. Schmidt adds *wyrd on ofne*. 460 Babilone] Grein reads *Babilones*. þurh fyres bryne] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, suggests *bælbryne* or *bælblyse* (see l. 231) for *fyres bryne*. Schmidt satisfies the requirements of alliteration by reading *þurh bryne fyres*, following Grein. But see Gen. 574, note. 464 godes] Bouterwek, Grein and later edd. omit *ac* before *godes*. 467 geðinges] Schmidt reads *ðinges*. 469 bebead] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, reads *abead*. 475 lacende] Grein, note, suggested *lacendne*, and Schmidt so reads. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, cites Gen. 1081 (see also Gen. 1407) as in part justifying *lacende*. 476-477] This passage is most simply regularized by inserting *dema*, with Blackburn, before *ælmihlig*. Grein reads *ece ælmihlig || dugoda drihten*. Wülker follows the MS. but indicates an omission after *ælmihlig*. Hofer, Anglia XII, 202, reads *ece ealra gesceafta || drihten ælmihlig*. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 232, Schmidt read *ece waldend || drihten ælmihlig*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, reads *ece ælmihlig god, || dugoda drihten*. 479 monig] Grein reads *monige*. 482 soð] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, Schmidt read *soð* for the MS. *soðe*. 484 for þam] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, Schmidt add *him* after *þam*. 491 mara on modsefan] Dietrich, Schmidt read *mara modsefa*, or as second reading Dietrich proposed *geðah* for *gedanc*, l. 490b. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 232, proposed *mara on modsefan*, and Kock, PPP., p. 3, defends this reading. Blackburn translates, "in the thought of his heart greater pride [grew up]," which implies *mara modsefa*. 492 oðþæt] Schmidt reads *oð*. 497 þæt] Schmidt omits. 499 he] Thorpe, note, suggested *him* for *he*.

## 501-600

504 *þæt*] Schmidt omits. 505 *ane æte*] Dietrich proposed *ana* for *ane*, and so Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, citing Daniel iv. 9, *et esca universorum in ea*. But the same general intent is expressed by *ane* as adjective with *æte*. 507 *þæs*] Schmidt reads *þisses*. 511 *wildan deor*] For the MS. *wildeor*, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 12, Schmidt read *wildu deor*, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, *wildan deor*. 512 *eac*] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 112, transposes after *fugolas*. 517 *syll*] Thorpe, note, suggested *wille*. 522 *þonne*] Schmidt reads *þon*. 527 *folctogan feran*] Rieger, *Verskunst*, p. 46, completed the line by supplying *frome* before *folctogan*. Sievers, Beitr. X, 514, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 113, Schmidt supply *feran* after *folctogan*, and Cosijn also changes *folctogan* to *folctoga*. 529 *hit wiston*] Sievers, Beitr. X, 514, Schmidt read *wiston hit*. 536 *Oft*] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 113, Schmidt read *oft* for the MS. *eft*. 550 *æcraftig*] Grein, note, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 113, Schmidt read *æcraftig*. See l. 741. 558 *westen*] Grein, *Germania X*, 419, suggested *weste* for *westen*. *wyrtruman*] A nom. pl., Kock, JJJ., p. 14, who translates, "and that its roots should for some time be hidden in the earth," *befolen* being an uninflected predicate adjective. 559 *befolen*] Sievers, Beitr. X, 489, suggests, and Schmidt reads, *befolene*, but see l. 558, note. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 12, reads *befolen in foldan*. 562 *lið*] Thorpe, note, Bouterwek read *bið*, Sievers, Beitr. X, 473, Schmidt read *ligeð* for *lið*. 571 *wildeora*] Sievers, Beitr. X, 486, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 113, Schmidt read *wildra*. 573 *hlypum*] Schmidt, note, suggests *heorta mid heapum* for *heorta hlypum*. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 325, had previously suggested *hypum*. 574 *þec*] Schmidt reads *þe*. *mælmete*] Dietrich, Grein, Wülker read *mæl mete*. 576 *weceð*] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 113, defines as "benetzen," from an infinitive *weccan*. Grein-Köhler, p. 749, derives the word from *wæcan*, *wæcan*, "weaken, afflict." 581 *wæs*] Thorpe, note, suggests *wære* for *wæs*. 582 *ymb*] Grein reads *ymb*. 583 *Swa*] Schmidt adds *eac* after *Swa*. 584 *anwalh*] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 113, Schmidt read *anwalh*, "safe," glossed by Grein-Köhler, p. 535, under *on-walg*. Blackburn retains *anwloh* as meaning the same as *gewloh*, "adorned," hence here, "without loss of beauty, unharmed." *cymst*] Sievers, Beitr. X, 473, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 113, Schmidt read *cymest*. 588 *aworpe*] Grein alters to *aweorþe*. 590 *wyrcan bote*] For this defective line, Grein read *wæan and wyrcan*. Grein, *Germania X*, 419, read *witeleaste wyrcan*. Hofer, *Anglia XII*, 202, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 113, Schmidt read *wommas wyrcan*. Holthausen, *Indog. Forsch. IV*, 381, proposed *weorðmynd wyrcan*, which fits the context better than *wommas*. Blackburn, notes, suggests *wyrcan bote*, citing the Latin *forsitan ignoscet delictis tuis*. Kock, JJJ., p. 14, suggested *wending wyrcan*, accomplish a turn, change (of heart), and Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl. XXX*, 2, would read *wyrþ gewyrcan*. Kock, PPP., p. 4, suggests *weldæde wyrcan*. 591 *fyrene fæstan*] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 113, proposes *ætfaestan*, the passage in this interpretation meaning "when they would establish themselves in sin." But it seems better to take *fyrene fæstan* as appositive to *wyrcan bote* and to translate, "expiate their



sins by fasting," see Kock, JJJ., p. 14. Blackburn, notes, suggests taking *fæstan* as an adjective agreeing with *ðeode*, l. 589. 595 *reccan*] Grein reads *rēcan*. 599 *ceastergeweorc*] For the MS. *ceastre weold*, Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 325, proposed *ceastre weorc*, and so Schmidt. Grein reads *ceastre weall*, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 113, proposed *ceastra geweorc*.

## 601-700

602 *þæt*] Grein, note, suggests *þe* for *þæt*, and so Schmidt. 608 *ic*] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 114, Schmidt supply *me* after *ic*. 615 *wod*] Dietrich, Grein, Wülker, Blackburn, notes, Schmidt, notes, read *wod*, and Schmidt also proposes adding *aldor* after *wera*. 617 *ðara*] Schmidt omits. 619 *hreð*] Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 232, Schmidt read *hreðe* for *hreð*. 621 *wildeora*] Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 12, Schmidt read *wildra* here and in l. 623. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 114, reads *on wildra westen* in l. 621, *wildra* in l. 623, and *wildrum* in l. 649. Sievers, Beitr. X, 486, reads *wildrum* in l. 649. See l. 571, note. 627 *þær*] Grein, Schmidt read *þæs*. *he*] Schmidt omits. 632 *nið geðafian*] Thorpe, note, suggested *geþolian* for *geðafian*. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 325, alters to *niðum gedese*, and Grein to *niðgeþafa*. But Grein, Germania X, 419, returns to the MS. Klaeber, Eng. Stud. XLI, 112, retains *nið geðafian*, "suffering distress," i.e. the general humiliation of having to return naked and *wæda leas*. 634 *modgeðanc*] Grein, note, suggests *modgeðance*. 637 *þam*] Schmidt omits. 645 *lengde*] Bradley, MLRev. XI, 213, suggests *lēgnde* = *līgnde*, "denied," for *lengde*. Retaining *lengde*, the meaning must be "deferred." 646 *witegena*] Schmidt reads *wilena*. 647 *þær*] Grein, *þæs*, but Grein, Germania X, 419, returns to the MS. 650 *frean godes*] Grein, Germania X, 419, proposed *gumfrea* for *him frean*. Schmidt reads *ongean* for *frea*. Kock, PPP., p. 4, proposes *from gode* for *frea godes*. But take as genitive after *sefa*, "the spirit of the Lord God." 657 *Swa he ofstlice*] Dietrich, Grein, Schmidt read *geornlice* to provide alliteration. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 232, reads *giffæsilice*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 114, suggests *swylce* for *swa* to avoid repetition of this word, and so also *þenden* for *siððan*, l. 659, to avoid repetition of *siððan*. *godspellode*] Thorpe, Bouterwek, Grein read *god spellode*, but Grein, Germania X, 419, reads *godspellode*. Hofer, Anglia XII, 202, has *god ecne spellode*. 667 *gesceod*] Grein, note, proposes *gesceode*, and so also in l. 677. 675 *ðære*] Schmidt omits. 681 *ymb*] Grein, note, suggests *unlytel* for the MS. *ym lytel*, but in his text he reads *ymb litel* (mistake for *lytel*?), and all edd. read *ymb*, first suggested by Thorpe, except Blackburn, who thinks *ym* may be a genuine form. 683 *hæleð*] Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 13, Schmidt read *hæleðas* to gain a metrical syllable. Holthausen, in Grein-Köhler, p. 884, reads *þa hæleð[a bearn]*. 684 *he*] Schmidt omits. 692 *bun*] Sievers, Beitr. X, 476, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 114, read *buen*. Schmidt omits *þara* in this half-line. 693 *Babilone burh*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 325, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 114, read *Babilone burh*. But take *burga* as appositive to *fæstna*, l. 691, and Babilon as a nominative



appositive to the subject of *wzs*. 694 frasade] Thorpe, Bouterwek retained the MS. reading *frea sæde*, but Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 325, suggested *freolsade*. Dietrich reads *freasæde* as for *freesede, frasade*. Wülker also has *freasæde*. Grein has *freasade*, Schmidt has *frasade*, and Blackburn, notes, explains *freasæde* as careless spelling for *frasade*. 697 na] Grein, note, suggests *a* for *na*. 698 heahbyrig] Sievers, Beitr. X, 478, alters to *hean byrig*.

## 701-764

703 þam æðelum] The half-line is defective in the MS., and Grein changed *þam* to *þa* and added *on æht* after *þa*. Hofer, Anglia XII, 202, reads *het in æht þam beran*. Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 114, reads *þa inn æberan*, Schmidt has *þa inne beran*. Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 381, Klæber, Eng. Stud. XLI, 112, propose *þa in beran*, and Holthausen also suggests omitting *gestreon*, l. 703b. Blackburn supplies *æðelum*, a reading to be preferred because it permits retaining *þam*, and because it finds a parallel in *on hand werum*, l. 704b. 704 halegu] Sievers, Beitr. X, 461, note, reads *halig*, and so also in l. 748a. 709 hleoðorcyme] For this Thorpe, note, suggested *hleoðorcwæde*, and Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 115, *hleoðorhlynn*. Schmidt reads *þurh hleoða cyme*. Blackburn reads *hleoðor cyme*, taking *cyme* as an adj., "glad," modifying *hleoðor*. Kock, Anglia XLIV, 250, retains *hleoðorcyme* as parallel to *herige*, translating, "and took with boisterous onset, with a host, the brilliant ornaments"—the best interpretation. 710 beorhte] Thorpe, note, and later edd., except Wülker and Blackburn, read *torhte* for alliteration. But see l. 192, note. 715 friðe] Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 13, reads *frofre* for *friðe*, Schmidt alters to *wæce*. 717 þæt] Grein, Schmidt read *þæs*. 719 þæt] Dietrich reads *þær*, and *þæt* for *þa*, l. 720a. 729 to þam beacne] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 115, Schmidt read to *beacne þam*, i.e. *þam* going with *burhsittendum*, l. 729b. 731 in sefan gehydum] Schmidt reads *sefan in gehydum*. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 13, omits *in*. 735 drihtne] Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 13, Schmidt supply *se wzs* before *drihtne*, citing l. 150. 739 burhge weardas] Thorpe, Bouterwek, Wülker, Schmidt read *burhgeweardas* = *burh-geweardas*. Grein reads *burge weard*, Hofer, Anglia XII, 202, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 115, read *þære burge weard*. Blackburn, notes, retains *burhge*, as a genitive, and for the spelling, he cites Sievers, Angels. Gram. § 214, 1, Anm. 5. Blackburn also retains the plural *weardas*, as including the king and his followers. In the speech that follows, l. 743ff., Daniel addresses the king in the singular, but such slight logical inconsequences are not improbable in the style of this poet. 745 ac þe] Schmidt omits. 747 in æht bere] Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 115, suggests *in(n) æbere*. 753 þæt] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 326, suggested *þæs* or *þus* for *þæt*. Perhaps *þær*? 755 ne] Thorpe, note, Bouterwek read *he*. 764 dugeþum wealdeð] These are the last words on p. 212, a full page. Between p. 212 and p. 213, according to Gollancz, p. lxxxviii, a leaf has been lost which contained the end of the poem, and on this missing sheet was indicated "the conclusion of Liber I, even if merely by a scribal addition of the word 'Finit.' "

## NOTES ON CHRIST AND SATAN

### 1-100

Christ and Satan] For the title, see *Introd.*, p. xxxiv. 5 stream ut on sæ] Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 21, suggests *streamas and utsæ*. 7 Deopne ymblyt] For *ymblyt*, Grein reads *yðmyð*, but in *Germania* X, 419, and *Spr.* II, 772, Grein returns to the MS. reading. Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* V, 232, proposes *ymbhwyrft* for *ymblyt*. Bright, *MLN.* XVIII, 129, reads *ymblyhte*, followed by a period. He places a semicolon after *eorðan*, l. 5, and takes *stream* as object of *ymblyhte*, and *deopne* as adjective qualifying *stream*. Clubb retains *ymblyt*, defining it as "expanse," "circuit." *clene ymbhaldeð*] Unless *ymb-* in *ymbhaldeð* be taken as alliterating with *ymb* in l. 7a, this half-line provides no alliteration. Though this alliteration supposes an unusual stressing of the verb compound, it may nevertheless have been the poet's intention. See l. 294, ll. 343-344 for similar verbal echoes. Grein, note, suggests *dene*, a noun appositive to his *yðmyð*, for *clene*, and Grein-Köhler, p. 852, suggests *derne*, an adverb. Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* V, 232, proposes *dere*, and Cosijn, *Beitr.* XX, 21, suggests *dryhten* for *dene* (*clene*). Thorpe, note, avoids the repetition of *ymb* by reading *uphaldeð*, and Ettmüller has *uphealdeð*. Clubb, notes, acceptably translates, "The Creator in his might wholly embraces the deep expanse (i.e. the ocean which surrounds the world) and all the earth." 10 geofene] Grein, *Graz, Eng. Stud.* XXI, 14, Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 21, Clubb read *geofene*, as the sense demands. Wülker reads *heofenen*. 11 rægnas scuran] Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 21, reads *regna scura*, "each of the drops of the showers of the rains," citing *Dan.* 575. The same syntax could be retained with *scuran* and *rægnas* taken as genitive singular, or *scuran* may be accusative. 14 Swa se wyrhta] Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* V, 232, adds *eac* after *wyrhta*. 16 eorðan dæles] Thorpe, note, suggested *dalas*, "valleys," but he translates, "the parts of earth." Grein retained *dæles* as a genitive of *dæl*, "valley," translating in *Dicht.*, p. 129, by "drunten," beneath. Wülker retains *dæles* but does not explain. Clubb, notes, more plausibly retains *dæles* as plural of *dæl*, "region," "part," with the late ending *-es* for *-as*, see Sievers, *Angels. Gram.* § 237, Anm. 3. up on heofnum] Thorpe, note, suggested *and upheofon* or *upheofonas*, and Ettmüller, Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 21, Bright, *MLN.* XVIII, 129, Clubb read *and upheofon*. This may have been the original reading, but to secure it, one must rewrite a passage which is quite clear as it stands. 17 heanne holm] Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 21, suggests *heanne ofer holme*, or as less plausible, *heache holmas* for l. 17a. Ettmüller, Grein read *heahne* for *heanne*. Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* V, 232, Bright, *MLN.* XVIII, 129, and Clubb add *and* before *heanne*, to supply a metrical



syllable. Ettmüller, Grein, Wülker, note, and later commentators read *holm* for *holme*. 19 *duguðe* and *geþeode*] Both objects of *gedelde*, "Joys he appointed, men and nations, Adam first," etc. Thorpe, note, suggested *geleode*, "created," for *geþeode*, and Kock, JJJ., p. 69, would retain *geþeode* in the same sense, with *Adam* as object and *dreamas* and *duguðe* as objects of *gedælde*. Ettmüller, note, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 14, Bright, MLN. XVIII, 129, read *duguðe* and *geogoðe*. 24 *ðær*] Grein *ðæs*, but in Germania X, 419, he returns to the MS. *wirse*] The earlier edd. read *wors*. Grein, Clubb read *wirse*, Wülker, *wirs*. 29 *heahgetimbrad*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 326, suggested *heahgetimber* for this word. Grein, note, suggests *heahgetimbra* as appositive to *swegles*, l. 28. Holthausen, Anglia XLIV, 354, suggests *heahgetimbru*, citing Guth. 556, or *heofnes heahgetimbrum*. Clubb reads *heahgetimbra*, as acc. pl., appositive to *leoht*. Kock, Anglia XLIII, 311, retains *heahgetimbrad* as qualifying *heofnum* and in antithesis to *wælm, grund*, ll. 30, 31. It is quite possible that this passage and the one in Guthlac are related, but they may be so without being syntactical duplicates. See *folgad*, l. 558 and note. 30 *sceolun*] Ettmüller, Grein, Wülker, Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 22, read *sceoldun*. 37 *þe*] The MS. has *ða þe*, but since *ða* cannot have the singular *þrym* as its antecedent, Clubb properly omits it. One might read *ðone þe*. 40 *Nis*] Grein changes to *is*. 41 *sceolun ætsomne*] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 22, reads *ætsomme sceolun*. 42 *wean* and *wergu*] Bouterwek and the earlier edd. retain the MS. *and wergum*, but Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 326, suggests *mid wergum*. Wülker also retains *and wergum* without explanation. Grein read *wergung*, "curse," but Grein, Germania X, 419, changes to *wergun*, with the same meaning. Dietrich, Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 22, also read *wergun* = *wergung*. Frings and v. Unwerth, Beitr. XXXVI, 559, propose an abstract noun *wergum*, for *wergm*, "stranglement." Sperber, Beitr. XXXVII, 148, Williams, Short Extracts, p. 81, read *an (on) wergum*, "among the accursed." Sievers, Beitr. XXXVII, 339, Grein-Köhler, p. 782, Clubb read *wergu*, which Clubb glosses "misery." Kock, JJJ., p. 71, considers it an even choice between *wean* and *wergu* and *wean on wergum*. *wuldres blæd*] Clubb retains the MS. *wulres* here and in l. 85. Grein changes *blæd* to *leoht* without comment. 52 *susle begnornende*] "Lamenting in torment." See l. 134. For the MS. *begroenne*, Ettmüller, Wülker, Clubb read *begrorene*. Dietrich, Grein change to *begrowene*. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 232, proposes *behrorene*, and so Sievers, Beitr. XXI, 22. Cosijn, *ibid.*, suggests *susl begnornedon*. Clubb, notes, translates his reading *susle begrorene* by "horrified by," or "in terror at their torment," deriving *begrorene* from an unrecorded *begrōosan*, "be terrified." Grein-Köhler, p. 275, also records a verb *begrōosan* on the evidence of *begrorene*. But a single form in a carelessly written manuscript can scarcely carry such heavy weight. The changes required by *begnornende* are slight, and the improvement in meaning is great. 57 *sceaðana sum*] Thorpe, Ettmüller, Grein, Wülker read with the MS., *earn sceaða*, and Bouterwek reads *earmsceaða*. Grein, note, suggests *sceaða earm*. Bright, MLN. XVIII, 129, reads *nu, sceaða, earthu*, or *nu earthu, sceaða earma*. Clubb omits *earn* as a scribal echo after



*ear* and restores the erased letters, reading *earlth sceaðana sum*. It seems most probable that this was the original reading. 64 meotod] Clubb, notes, rightly rejects the interpretation of this passage which makes *meotod* subject of *wære*, "that the ruler of mankind was thy son," i.e. thy subject. Gollancz, p. civ, notes "in the *Gospel of St. Bartholomew* a direct reference to Satan taking counsel with his son Salpsan (*Apocryphal New Testament*, ed. M. R. James, 1924, p. 178)." hafustu] Etmüller reads *hafas tu*, Grein *hafastu*. 66 on reordadon] The earlier edd. retain the MS. *unreordadon*, except Etmüller, who reads *onreordadon*, as Bouterwek suggests in a footnote. Grein, Germania X, 419, Kock, PPP., p. 24, Clubb read *anreordadon*. But *an* would be a very unusual form for *on* in this text. 67 cearum] The edd. all follow the MS. *cearum*, except Clubb, who reads *cearium*, with Cosijn, Beitr. XIX, 457. Sievers, Beitr. X, 456, suggested *ceargum*, from *cearig*, and so Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 232, and in Grein-Köhler, p. 877. In these interpretations *cearum*, *ceargum*, *cearium* is an adjective. Kock, PPP., p. 24, reads *on cearum = in cearium*, and takes *cwidum* as appositive to *wordum*, l. 65. This seems the most reasonable interpretation. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 14, retains *cearum* and changes *cwidum* to *cwiðdum*. See Gen. 2795, note. 68 bedelde] Kock, JJJ., p. 30, would take *bedelde* as a finite verb, parallel to *afirde*, l. 67. This is possible grammatically but awkward stylistically. See l. 343. 72 hwearfedon] All edd. follow the MS. except Clubb, who reads *hwearfedon*, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 453, Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 232, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 14, Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 22. 76 forht] All edd. follow the MS. except Grein, Clubb, who alter *forworht* to *forht* for the sake of alliteration. So also Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 14. Grein, note, suggests *þy forhtor gen*, and Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 22, reads *þa forhtra gen*. Williams, Short Extracts, p. 23, reads *ða forworhta gen*. 78 spearcaede] Etmüller, note, suggested *spearcaede*, and so Grein, Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 21, Williams, Short Extracts, p. 23, Clubb. Wülker reads *sweartade*. 80 wordum] All edd. read *word*, except Clubb, who reads *worde*, and so Kock, JJJ., p. 17. But see l. 727. Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 382, proposes *word-gid* for *word*, and later, Anglia Beibl. XXX, 2, *þæt, þa* or *þas word*. Bright, MLN. XVIII, 129, reads *þa* or *þas word*. Graz, p. 60, proposes *in adraf*, but Eng. Stud. XXI, 15, prefers *ut adraf* or *ut þorhdraf*. See l. 162. 85 wuldres] See l. 42, note. 89 Wene] All edd. read *wene ge*, except Clubb, who follows the uncorrected reading. tacen] Grein-Köhler, p. 666, suggests *socen* for *tacen*. þa ic, etc.] Thorpe, Bouterwek and Wülker assume a loss in the MS. after *wærgðu*. For l. 89b Grein reads *and teon-wærgðu*, and for the following line he reads *þa ic of swegle aseald wæs*. Wülker follows the MS. except that he indicates another omission after of which he does not supply. Williams, Short Extracts, p. 23, follows Grein, except that he reads *wærgðu gesyne* instead of *teon-wærgðu*. Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 382, reads *þa ic aseald wæs of swegles wite*. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 22, proposes *þa ic of swegle adrifen and asæled wæs*. The reading in the text is that of Clubb, and the simplest way of disposing of the confusion in the MS. 92 eadiges]

Thorpe, note, Grein, note, and Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 22, suggest *eadigra* for *eadiges*. 94b ne we] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 22, would read *nu* for this *ne*, which would enable one to retain the *ne* added above the line in l. 95. The addition of *we* is necessary for sense. Cosijn also reads *moton* for *moten*, l. 95. 97 Æce] Holthausen, Eng. Stud. XXXVII, 205, would omit this word. Klaeber, Anglia Beibl. XXXVIII, 359, would change to *ec* and would make l. 96b parenthetic. All edd. follow the corrector's reading *ece*, except Wülker, Williams, Short Extracts, p. 24.

## 101-200

102 gewunade] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 326, suggests *gewuniað*, also *wilehus* for *wiles* and *clomum* for *clom*. ðis] Ettmüller, Grein, Williams, Short Extracts, p. 24, alter to *ðes*. 105 sciman] Thorpe, note, suggests *scuwan*, and so Ettmüller in his text. 106 Iu ahte ic] All edd. read *iu* for the MS. *ni*, and accept the corrector's *ic*, except Clubb, who retains *ni* and omits *ic*. Clubb also retains *þær* in l. 107, and translates, "But now had I possession of all glory; whereas I was forced to abide whatever God wills to condemn me to, his enemy on hell's floor." But the changing of the readings puts less constraint on the text. 111 on flyge and on flyhte] Clubb, following Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 15, reads *on flyhte and on flyge* as a metrical improvement. 117 ecne] All edd. accept the corrector's *ecne* as grammatically necessary. 124 me] Ettmüller, Grein, Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 23, read *me* for the MS. *him*, and Cosijn cites l. 174. 131 Hwæt, her] The edd. read *hwæðer* or *hwæther* for the MS. *hwæt her*, but Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 232, and Clubb treat as in the text. 135 winnað] All edd. read *winnað*, except Clubb, who reads *windað*, following a suggestion of Thorpe, note, with *wyrmas* as subject and *men* object of *ymb*. 143 eadige] All edd. read *eadigne*, except Clubb, who reads *eadige*, following Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 326, and Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 16, who reads *eadge*. 145 ænigum sceððan] The missing half-line has been variously supplied. Ettmüller added *earnum atolum* before *þe*, l. 146. Grein supplied *eadigra* before *ænigum*. Grein, Germania X, 419, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 16, supply *þara æfæstra* before *ænigum*. Barnouw, Textkritische Untersuchungen, p. 104, suggested *þe up of eorðan cumað* or *þe up to eðle (earde) cumað* before *ænigum*, and Clubb supplies *ðe of eorðan cumað* before *ænigum*. 146 agan] The MS. has *to agan*, and Thorpe and Bouterwek made a compositional verb, *toagan*. Grein reads *to agen*, taking *agen* as a noun, "possession" (see Spr. I, 20, Germania X, 419, where he reads *to agan*, translating, "zu Eigen"), from an otherwise unrecorded nominative *age*. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 23, reads *āgen*, "own," but Sievers, *ibid.*, rightly objects that one would expect a word for "have" to complete the sense. Sievers suggests that *to* be omitted as a scribal anticipation of *to* in l. 147a. Clubb reads *to agan* and calls it, notes, a "simple uninflected infinitive." 151 sweg] Grein, Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 232, Kock, JJJ., p. 69, Clubb supply *sweg* to complete the sense. 152 bearn] Kock, JJJ., p. 69, would change



to *bearne*, a dative, the idiom requiring in his opinion some such phrase as *bearne to bearne*. Otherwise *bearn* must be taken as subject of *brohton*. 154 *leomu*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 326, suggested *leoðu* for *leomu*. Kock, JJJ., p. 69, takes *leomu* as object of *hofan*, l. 153, and translates it as "wings." Much more plausible is Clubb's interpretation of *leomu* as appositive to *we*, "limbs," in the sense "members (of a group of people)," "servants." *lofsonga* word] Object both of *hofan* and *sædon*. 159 *cwiðde*] The edd. read *cwide*, except Clubb, who reads *cwiðde*, following Rieger, Grein, Germania X, 419, Sievers, Beitr. X, 456, Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 23, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 16. herde] For *hyrde*, as in Beow. 750; see Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 23. 166 *upheofen*] All edd. read *upheofon*, except Wülker and Clubb, who read *upheofen*. 174 *þær*] Grein, note, suggests *þæs* for *þær*, and so Rieger and Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 16. 175 *þonne ic*, etc.] Grein supplies *ær* after *ic*. Bright, MLN. XVIII, 129, would read *þone þe* for *þonne*, the antecedent of *þone* being *sunu*, l. 172, and he would also treat *and agan . . . gelamp*, ll. 173b-174, as parenthetical. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 232, and Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 16, change *agan* to *habban*. As it stands, the alliteration in the line must be on *ic* and *agan*. 178 in *ðæm*] Grein takes *ðæm* as a noun, in his text *þæm*, for *þeam*, "vapor," and Rieger reads *in þone ðæm*. Dietrich supposes a noun, *hof* or *ham*, has been lost, and Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 16, proposes *in þæt ham* or *in hæft*. 179 *niðsynnum*] Bouterwek and later edd. read *nið-* for the MS. *mid*, as the alliteration demands. Thorpe and Ettmüller assumed a loss of two half-lines after *geniþ*, but the change of *mid* to *nið-* removes any irregularity. 180 *worulde*] Grein, Rieger, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 17, read *wuldre* for *worulde*. 183 *þæt morðer*] Thorpe, note, suggested *þæs morðres*, and so Ettmüller. Grein, Wülker read *þæs morðre* and Rieger has *þæs morðer*. Kock, JJJ., p. 70, reads *þæt morðor* and Clubb, *þæt morðer*, parallel in syntax to *wean*, etc. 188 *sorhgcearig*] All edd. have *sorhg-*, except Ettmüller, Grein, who have *sorh-*, and all have *-cearig*, except Clubb, who has *-ceari*. 190 *swa*] Grein reads *swa some*. 198 *uppe*] The edd. follow the MS. *upne*, except Clubb, who reads *uppe*, an adjective *upne* being highly improbable. 199 *gecydde*] Bouterwek and later edd. read *gecyðde*, except Clubb, who reads *gecydde*. *mægencraft*] Ettmüller, Grein, Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 232, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 17, Clubb omit *mægen* in order to regularize the alliteration.

## 201-300

203-205] These lines have been variously rearranged and rewritten. Ettmüller reads *ecne in wuldre ealdor; heran we þone ælmiktigan || mid alra gescæfta mænego; ceosan us*, etc. Bouterwek supplies *eorðan*, but Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 326, and Grein supply *ordfruman* before *ceosan*, taking *eorðan* or *ordfruman ceosan* as a half-line following *gescæfta*. Dietrich suggested *ealdre* or *ealdor* to be supplied before *ceosan*, and Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 382, proposes *or* or *ord*, "beginning." Clubb reads *ecne mid alla gescæfta |*



*ceosan us eard in wuldre*, etc. By reading *ecne . . . wuldre*, ll. 202–203a, as one expanded line, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 17, is enabled to combine *mid . . . genemned* as a succeeding line. Perhaps this should be done, but there is so much evidence of careless composition here that it seems best to let the text stand with the least possible change, which would be the addition of some noun, like *ealdre*, to account for the genitive plural *alra gescefta*. A change of *cyninge*, l. 203, to *cyning* was suggested by Sievers, Beitr. XII, 476, and Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 23, as a metrical improvement. If this change is made, then *ealdre*, l. 202, should be *ealdor*. 207 hnigan] So all edd. except Clubb, who reads *nigan*. But in any case the alliteration demands *hnigan*. 210 him wlite] Read *his wlite* here? See l. 222. 212 fægere] Thorpe and Bouterwek read *mycele fægere*, Ettmüller, Grein, Wülker, Sievers, Beitr. X, 499, read *mycele fægerre*. Clubb reads *fægere*, omitting the corrector's addition. 213 is þær wlitig] Thorpe, Bouterwek read *seo is wlitig*, etc., omitting *þær* and ending the preceding line with *folde*. Grein, Wülker read *folde seo*: || *þær is wlitig*, etc. Clubb reads *folde seo*, || *is wlitig*, etc. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 17, omits both *is* and *þær*, *wlitig* and *wynsum* thus limiting *land*, l. 212. 214 brade] Kock, JJJ., p. 70, reads *bradre*, to agree with the other comparatives in the passage. 216 Uta cerran] All edd. read *uton acerran*, except Clubb, who reads *Uta cerran*. See l. 250. For the form *uta* = *utan*, Clubb cites Brown, Language of the Rushworth Gloss to the Gospel of Matthew, I, 2, 43. 220 eadigra] All edd. read *eadigra*, except Clubb, who retains *eadigre* as equivalent to *eadigra*. 223 wuldorcyninge] Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 232, would read *-cyning*. See l. 203, note. 224 feond ondetan] Thorpe reads *feond* for *feonda*, as a plural, and Bouterwek reads *feondas*. Grein supplies *bearn* after *feonda*, Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 382, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 17, supply *mænigu*. Wülker indicates an omission after *feonda* but supplies nothing. Clubb reads *feond*, and regards *ondetan* as used absolutely. This is not altogether satisfactory, but it is probably as near to the original form of the passage as a more elaborate rewriting would make it. But it seems better to take *feond* as a plural, as in ll. 103, 195, than as a singular, as Clubb does. Grein also supplies *unriht* before *ondetan* and begins a new line with *unriht*. Holthausen and Graz supply *yfel*. This gives a half-line *unriht* or *yfel ondetan*, and for a succeeding half, *wæs him eall ful strang*. 225 hæfdon] Clubb reads *hæfde* here and *Cwæð* in l. 227, to accord with his interpretation of *feond* as singular in l. 224. On the confusion of numbers and pronouns in the passage ll. 224–281, see Clubb, notes, pp. 81–82. 230 domleas] Sievers, Beitr. XII, 467, would read *domleas*, and Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 17, would omit *gewinn* for metrical reasons. 234 þusendmælum] Bouterwek, Grein supply *þegnas ymb þeoden* before *þusendmælum*, the whole constituting one line. Wülker indicates an omission before *þusendmælum* but supplies nothing. For the succeeding line Bouterwek and Grein have *þa we . . . sweg*, omitting the corrector's *wæron*. Wülker, Clubb read *þa we þær wæron*, || *wunodon*, etc. See ll. 507, 568, 630. 236 Byrhtword] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 23, suggests *burgweard*, as appositive to *ordfruma*, for *byrht*

word, an adjective glossed "clear-voiced" by Clubb, "voce clarus" by Grein, Spr. I, 152. 237 to þæm æpelan] Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 382, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 18, Clubb read þæm æpelan to. But see Gen. 574, note. 241 gehwilcne] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 23, reads gehwilce. 243 andfeng] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 23, suggests andfenge or andfengea. 245 þa ðæs] Grein, Wülker supply me after þa. 249 minre] Clubb reads mire = minre, and so in l. 437. 250 Uta] All edd. read utan, except Clubb, who has uta. See l. 216, note. 257 þæt] Grein, Wülker supply we after þæt. 258-259] Grein, Wülker take grimme...healdeð as one line, and he...drihten as the succeeding line. Sievers, Beitr. XII, 477, supposes that two half-lines have fallen out after haldeð, or omitting ece drihten, he would take he...gewearð as one line. The main difficulty lies in the lack of alliteration in the MS. reading he is ana cyning, l. 259b. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 18, corrected this by reading riht for ana. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 24, would read an or on riht for ana. Clubb reads he is ana riht Cyning, but even with this reading ana should alliterate. One may replace ana by riht, with Graz, or if one prefers, read an or on riht with Cosijn, but for other lines without alliteration, see ll. 296, 334, 450, 484, 634, 712, 717, 723, 726. 261 swið] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 326, and later edd. read swið, except Clubb, who retains swið in the sense "so great." 265 he] Grein changes to ic. 266 gehrinan] So all edd. except Clubb, who retains gerinan. 267 hæðenre sceale] Thorpe, note, suggested hæðene scealcas. Grein reads mæg for mot, l. 267a, and hæðenra sceal for l. 267b. But Grein, Spr. II, 403, changes to hæðenne scealc, and so Bouterwek, Wülker. Clubb reads sceale, "troop," "band," for sceal. 272 þinga æghwylces] Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 18, proposes þinga æghwylc or gehwylces as a metrical improvement. 273 bitres niðæs] The MS. reading in ðæs does not fit the context and might well be a careless scribal error for niðæs = niðes. The object of gepolian is beala, and þinga æghwylces and niðæs are dependent genitives. The edd. propose more elaborate reconstructions. Thorpe, note, suggested bitre in þas bealu. Grein has bitre in þæs brynes beala, Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 382, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 18, as Grein, except brandes for brynes. Trautmann, see Wieners, Zur Metrik, p. 65, would read bæles beala. Clubb has in ðæm bitran bryne. Clubb places in ðæm bitran...sorkful within parentheses. 276 hwæðer, etc.] Clubb treats hwæðer...dyde as a question. 278 eðel] Thorpe, note, and later edd. read eðel. 279 gnornedon] Clubb reads gnornede, and also andsaca to agree, in l. 279b, and hat in l. 280a. 294a beorhte] For this beorhte, Holthausen, Eng. Stud. XXXVII, 205 would read blāce. 296 æfre forð] Grein, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 19, Clubb read wideferð, the other edd. follow the MS. despite the lack of alliteration. See l. 259, note. 298 lifigend] The edd. all read lifigendon, except Clubb, who reads lifigend, with on- as prefix in the verb onlucan, l. 299a. This reading was suggested by Kock, JJJ., p. 70. Grein reads lifigendon, but also onlucan.



## 301-400

301 gif] Grein, Wülker supply *we* after *gif*. 309 friðe] Grein, note, suggests *friðe* before *befæðmeð*, and so Wieners, *Zur Metrik*, p. 65. Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* V, 232, transfers *heo* from l. 308*b* to the beginning of l. 309*a* and makes no addition. Clubb follows Holthausen. 311 wuldorcyninge] Sievers, *Beitr.* XII, 476, Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* V, 232, read *-cyning* for metrical reasons. Graz, *Eng. Stud.* XXI, 19, reads *wuldr-*. 312 awa to aldre] Bouterwek supplements the text by adding *unswiciende* after *aldre*. Grein reads *agan sceolon* for l. 312*b*. Holthausen, *Indog. Forsch.* IV, 382, would supply *æfre*, *fægre* or *wynne* instead of Grein's *sceolon*. Clubb, following Graz, *Eng. Stud.* XXI, 19, omits *a to worulde*, l. 314, and transfers *awa to aldre* from l. 312 to take the place of the omitted words. 314 buton ende] Rieger, *Verskunst*, p. 18, Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* V, 232, supply *forð* after *ende*. 318 hreopan] Grein and the earlier edd. retained *hrewan*, but Grein, *Germania* X, 420, altered to *hreoþan*, and so Wülker, *Kock*, JJJ., p. 71, Clubb. Grein also changes *deofla* to *deoflu*. 319 wean cwanedon] All edd. read *wea-cwanedon*, except Bouterwek, Clubb, who read *wea cwanedon*, and so Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* V, 232. Kock, JJJ., p. 71, changes *wea* to *wean*, but Clubb retains *wea* as a northern equivalent of *wean*. Kock treats *hreoþan . . . mordur* as parenthetical. See *Jul.* 537, *sar cwanian*. 320 seo] Thorpe, note, suggested *seo* for the MS. *ðær*, and so Bouterwek. Grein, Wülker, *Kock*, JJJ., p. 72, Clubb emend *ðær* to *ðære* as a dative. 321 swylce] Grein reads *swiðe*, Wülker *swyðe* for *swylce*. eall] Bouterwek, *Erläut.*, p. 326, suggests *æled* for *eall*. 324 þreat] Grein, note, suggests *þrea* or *þræd* for *þreat*. 330 gryndes ad] Grein supplies *bealu* after *gryndes*. Wülker would read *grynde* or *grundas* and supply nothing, but this leaves the half-line metrically imperfect. For *gryndes* as a possible plural, see *stences*, l. 356. Kock, JJJ., p. 73, omits *ah* and reads *nymðe grundas an*, "they might dwell only in the abysses." Clubb retains *gryndes* and supplies *ād*, "flame," "fire," after this word. 331 ne] Supplied by Thorpe and later edd. 333 gristbitungc and gnornungc] All edd. follow the MS. except Clubb, who reads as in the text, with Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 24. Reading *-unge* in both words, Graz, *Eng. Stud.* XXI, 20, omits *and* in l. 333*a* and *mecca* in l. 333*b* for metrical reasons. 334 he] Bouterwek, *Erläut.*, p. 326, Grein, Wülker read *hie* for *we*, Clubb reads *he* as a plural, see l. 716. cyle and fyr] All edd. follow the MS. except Clubb, who reads *hat and cyle*, with Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 24. Graz, *Eng. Stud.* XXI, 20, reads *hat and ceald*. See l. 259, note. 339 hlude and geomre] Clubb retains *lude*, all other edd. read *hlude*. Holthausen, *Eng. Stud.* XXXVII, 205, would read *geomre and hlude*, and take *hweorfan* as standing for *hwurfon*. 348 cræftig] Grein reads *sundorcraeftig*, Holthausen, *Indog. Forsch.* IV, 383, proposes *searocraeftig*, and so Graz, *Eng. Stud.* XXI, 20. 349 gleaw] Graz, *Eng. Stud.* XXI, 20, would add *and wis* after *gleaw*. 351 scima] Thorpe, note, suggested that *sunnu* was an error for *sunne*. Grein reads *scir sunnu*, and Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 24, proposes *scir sunna* or *scir*



*sunu*. Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 383, replaces *sunnu* by *scima*, and so Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 20, Clubb. This provides the appropriate alliteration and preserves the sense, "how the gleam shineth thereabout by the might of the Lord." 354 *þæt is se seolfa*] All edd. read *þæt is seolfa for god*, except Clubb, who reads *þæt is se seolfa God*, and so Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, except that Holthausen omits *se*. Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 181, also proposed *þæt is for seolfan gode*. Clubb places *þær . . . singað* within parentheses. But it seems better to take *þæt is se seolfa* as the parenthesis, and as exposition of the light that shines (whether one reads *scima* or *sunne* or *sunu*) as God. Note the similar exposition in l. 357b. See l. 394. 356 stences] An acc. pl., see l. 330, note. 357 *wyrte*] All edd. read *wyrte*, except Clubb, who reads *wyrta*. 360 *lædeð*] Clubb reads *lædað*, but treats this form as a third singular. 364 *wyrca*] All edd. read *ðe þæt mot*, except Clubb who supplies *wyrca* before *mot*, following the suggestion of Dietrich. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, suggests *fon* after *mot*. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 20, omits l. 364, as a prose addition by a pious scribe. 365-367] The text as it stands offers some difficulties. In the first place, Lucifer was not the name of an *engelcyn*, "a race of angels." Clubb, notes, suggests *engelcyning* for *engelcyn*, but wisely rejects this suggestion. It would also call for a further change of *þæt to se*. Apparently *engelcyn* must stand, and Clubb concludes that it is "not unnatural that Lucifer should be called 'that angel-order' by a sort of synecdoche." Thorpe, note, suggested that there was a gap in the MS. after *genemned*. Gollancz, p. civ, thinks the scribe has omitted a line or two, and he rewrites as follows:

Wæs þæt engelcyn ær genemned,  
 [þæt þe eft forwearf eple bedæled,  
 Bene elohim, þæt is bearn godes.  
 Anne hæfde dryhten deorestne geworht]  
 Lucifer haten, leoht berende,  
 On gear-dagum in godes rice.

Taking the text as it stands, *ær genemned* might mean "previously mentioned," that is, in this poem, as at ll. 20-21, or better "formerly," parallel to *on geardagum*; *genemned* and *haten* would also be parallel in syntax. The awkwardness of this syntax favors some such explanation as that of Gollancz, though not necessarily such an elaborate one. 369 *oferhyda*] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 24, suggests *for oferhyde* or else *eawan* or *afnan* in place of *agan*. Bright, MLN. XVIII, 130, defends the MS. reading and approves the translation in Bos.-Tol. II, 735, "he would give way to pride." 370 *þa*] All edd. read merely *Satanus* for l. 370a, except Clubb, who supplies *þa*, following Bright, MLN. XVIII, 130. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 20, suggests *þær* before *Satanus*, or with Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 383, *seolf* after *Satanus*. As alternatives Bright suggested *þæt* or *se* before *Satanus*. *geþohle*] Thorpe, Bouterwek alter to *gesohle*. Ettmüller reads *Satanus swearta searwum gepohle*. 373 *ordfruma*] All edd. read *ordfruma*, though *ordfruman* might possibly, though very improbably, stand as

appositive to *him*, l. 373b. 375 in *hynðo*] The MS. reading *in to* is defective metrically and in meaning, though Grein and Wülker retain it. Etmüller reads *in to henðo*. Graz, p. 58, suggests *heonon to geglidan*. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 24, reconstructs l. 375b-376a to read *him to gesiðum || in þæt nearwe nið*. Kock, JJJ., p. 73, reads *in hatunge glidan*, "fall in the hate." Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXX, 4, proposes *in hete geglidan* or *glidan*. Clubb reads *in inðo* for the MS. *in to*, taking *inðo* as equivalent to *hinðo*, and this is the simplest reconstruction. 376 no *seoððan*] Dietrich supplies *wæs* between these words. 377 *andwilitan seon*] Thorpe, note, suggests *onwilitan*, a verb, for *andwilitan*, and Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, Clubb supply *seon*. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 21, reads *eagum wilitan* for l. 377b. Bright, MLN. XVIII, 130, transfers *mosten* from l. 377a to a place after *andwilitan*, taking *andwilitan* as an infinitive. 378 *buton ende*] Etmüller, Grein, Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 24, read *a buton ende*. 379 in] Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 21, omits. 382 *ær nemdon*] There is an obvious break in the sense here. Etmüller supplied *fagum folce, forht geworden*. Grein reads *fagum folce ferhð geaclod*. 385 *stronglic*] Etmüller supplied *strið* after *stronglic*. 387 *fægere*] Wülker retains *fæger*, though a comparative is needed and *fæger* leaves the line too short. Etmüller, Grein read *fægerre*. Thorpe, Bouterwek, Clubb have *fægere*. 395 *uppe*] Grein, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 21, read *up*. 397 *yrreweorces*] All edd. follow the MS. here, except Clubb, who reads *hereweorces*, with Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 21, for the sake of the alliteration. But if Clubb can read *inðo* in l. 375, he might read (*h*)*enðo* here and thus preserve *yrreweorces*. *henðo*] Etmüller suggested *earfoðu* for *henðo*, and Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, suggests *ermðo*.

## 401-500

406 *ac*] Thorpe, note, suggests *ac*, and so Bouterwek and Etmüller, but the other edd. follow the MS. 419 *onæled*] Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, reads *onæelde*. 421 *þan*] Etmüller, Grein read *þam*. 423 *mægðe*] Thorpe, Bouterwek assume a loss in the MS. after *mægðe*. Etmüller supplies *feran* after *mægðe* and assumes a loss after *feran*. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 21, would either read *fare* for *mægðe*, or assume a loss in the MS. But the text may stand, with the verb of motion omitted after *mæge and note*. 428 *Segdest*] Etmüller, note, suggests *sægde* and Grein reads *segde*. 433 *fægen*] Etmüller, Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, read *fægene*. *freodrihten*] Wülker retains the MS. reading *heora drihten* despite the lack of alliteration. Etmüller reads *heora freadrihten*. Bouterwek has *freo drihten*, Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 21, Clubb have *freodrihten* as representing the MS. *heora drihten*. Grein alters *heora* to *feora*. 434 *helle*] Grein alters to *ham*. 437 *minre*] All edd. read *minre*, except Clubb, who retains *minre*, see l. 249, note. 440 *and*] All edd. omit *and* except Junius. 442 *wuldre hæfde*] Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 326, reads *hæftas* for *hæfde*, followed by *wites clommas feondum on fæstede*. For l. 442a, Grein reads *werud to wuldre*. Wülker indicates an



omission before *wuldre*. But *wuldre* is adverbial, "gloriously" (Clubb, notes), and *clomma* the object of *hæfde... ðfæsted*. *clomma*] Thorpe, note, suggested *clommas*, and so all edd. except Clubb, who reads *clomma* as an accusative plural. Grein, *Germania* X, 420, also returns to *clomma*. Sievers, *Beitr.* X, 514, *Graz*, *Eng. Stud.* XXI, 21, read *hæfde wites clom* for l. 442*b*, which requires an addition to l. 442*a*. 448 in] The sense would be improved, as Clubb, notes, remarks, by omitting *in*. The omission of *ah* would serve the same purpose. 449-451 ne hi... geworden] In the MS., p. 223, this passage is pointed as follows: ne hi ed cerres √ æfre moton wenan ⁊ Seoððan him was drihten god √ wrað geworden. This pointing has misled the edd., and the passage is simplified by placing a metrical point after *moton*. The only plausible change is the substitution of *weroda* for *god*, which would be placed before *drihten* for metrical regularity, but this is not necessary, see l. 259, note. Grein reads *ne hi edcerres æfre moton wenan*, || *seoððan him was drihten god deofla cynne* || *wrað geworden*. So also Wülker, except that he indicates a loss after *god* which he does not supply. Omitting *god*, Clubb reads *ne hi edcerres | æfre moton wenan*. || *Seoððan him was Drihten wrað geworden*, | *sealde him wites clom*. Ettmüller supplied *dugeða aldor* after *god*. Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* V, 233, supplies *domes* or *dreames* before *wenan*. Dietrich first suggested taking *wenan seoððan* together. 451 *clomm*] Ettmüller reads *clommas*, to agree with *atole*, l. 452. 452 *atole*] Grein, *Spr.* I, 11, suggests *atolne*, to agree with the singular *clom*. Clubb reads *atol*, a noun, appositive to *clom*. Some such change might be made, though it is possible to take *atole* as adverbial. 453 *dimne*] Thorpe, note, suggested *dimne*, and so later edd. 454 *hinsiðgryre*] Thorpe, *Bouterwek* read *hinsið gryre*. Grein, Wülker have *hinsiðgryre*. Clubb reads *insiðgryre* for *hin-*. See l. 375, note. Ettmüller reads *hinsiðes gryre*. 455 *þæt, la, was*] Grein reads *þæt was la*. 458 *him*] Ettmüller, Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* V, 233, *Graz*, *Eng. Stud.* XXI, 22, omit *him*. *Bouterwek*, *Erläut.*, p. 326, suggested supplying *on* before *handum*. 462 *þæt he swa wolde*] The infinitive of action is omitted. Thorpe, *Bouterwek* suppose a loss in the MS. after *wolde*, and Ettmüller writes in a line. *Bouterwek*, *Erläut.*, p. 326, suggests *swa* for *sawla*. Grein, Wülker, Clubb read *swa la*. *Graz*, *Eng. Stud.* XXI, 22, reads *wolde swa*. 466 *ban*] Thorpe, note, suggested *bendas* for *ban*. Grein reads *banan*. Translate, "their bones (i.e. bodies) failed (them) when," etc., and see Clubb, note, for this Biblical use of *ban*. 472-478 *þa... æghwær*] Clubb places these lines within parentheses and regards them as an interruption in the direct discourse. The lines certainly seem less direct, but may be only unskillfully done. 474 on] *Bouterwek* supplies *geond*, but Ettmüller supplies *on*, and so later edd., except Wülker, who reads *middangearde* without a preposition. Thorpe, note, Ettmüller read *middangearde*, but *Bouterwek*, Grein, *Klaeber*, *The Later Genesis*, p. 34, Clubb read *middangeard*. 477 *hie afyrde eft*] Ettmüller assumed the loss of a half-line after *eft*, and in a note suggested *þæt hie afyrrode eft se feorh-sceaða*. *Bouterwek*, *Erläut.*, p. 326, reads *þæt hie afyrde eft*. Dietrich reads *afyrde*, and *est* for *eft*. Grein reads *þæt þe*



*afyrde freodrihtnes est*, but Grein, Germania X, 420, changes *þe* to *he*. Wülker indicates a loss after his reading *afyrde* but supplies nothing. Klaeber, JEGPh. XII, 257, proposes *þæt he afyrde foldbuendum*, "that he, the enemy, removed it (= *eðel*) from men." Clubb omits *est* and reads *he afyrde*, taking *þæt he . . . æghwær* as one line. Clubb takes *he* as equivalent to *hie*, plural object of *afyrde*. If anything is to be supplied, it may be added as well after *æghwær* as elsewhere. 481 *æpla*] Grein reads *æplas*. 482 *beorhtan*] Grein supplies *þa* before *beorhtan*. 484 *ofergymdon*] The MS. reading suits the sense but not the alliteration, but see l. 259, note. Thorpe, note, Clubb read *oferhygdon*. Bouterwek, Ettmüller, Grein read *oferhyrdon*. Wülker retains the MS. reading. Grein-Köhler, p. 286, suggests supplying *hyge* before *ofergymdon*. 487 *gercaw*] For *gehreaw*, and so Dietrich and Grein read. Ettmüller supplies *hearde* before *gercaw*, and Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 22, would supply *hearde* or *æt heortan*. 488 *þæs*] Grein and Wülker follow the MS., though this leaves l. 488*a* metrically incomplete. Ettmüller supplies *þæs* before *carcernes*, and so Clubb. Ettmüller also changes *clom* to *clommas*. Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 383, would supply *cwealm* before *þrowade*, transferring *clom* to l. 488*a*. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 24, suggests that *cealdan* or *cealdne* has dropped out before *clom*, and suggests *þises* as better than Ettmüller's *þæs*. 490 *weorc*] Grein alters to *word*. 495 *tintregan fela* and *teonan micelne*] So Thorpe and later edd. Sievers, Beitr. X, 514, rejects this on metrical grounds. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, reads *tintregan micelne* and *teona fela*. 498 *rædboran*] All edd. read *rices boran*, with the MS., except Clubb, who has *rices rædboran*, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 454, Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, and Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 23. Dietrich had previously suggested *rice rædboran*. *hrefnan*] To normalize the alliteration, Ettmüller, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 23, read *ræfnan*. Dietrich has *refnan*, and Grein reads *arefnan*. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, reads *refnan leten*. 500 *þæt*] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 24, supplies *ic* after *þæt*.

## 501-600

501 *geara*] Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 23, and Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 24, would omit *geara*. 502 on *þam minnan ham*] Grein and Wülker, following Thorpe and Bouterwek, read *and þa minnan ham lange* for this half-line, though Grein, note, suggests removing *ham*. He translates, Dicht., p. 142, "wie die Meinigen verlange." Thorpe, note, suggested *lædde* for *lange*. Ettmüller reads *munan* for *minnan*. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, reads *þæt mæl lange* for l. 502*b*. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 23, reads *in þam minnan ham*, omitting *lange*. Clubb reads as in the text, and translates, notes, "I was mindful that this company in this wretched home were longing that I should lead them from their bonds [to their heavenly] home." There is some question as to the authenticity of an adj. *minnan*, "vile," see Clubb, notes. Perhaps one should emend here to *mircan*. 503 of *heftum*] Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, supplies *heo* before *of*. Ettmüller supplied

*hie* before *ham*. 504 *agan* scolon] Etmüller supplied *þær* after *agan*, Grein reads *agan moton*, Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 383, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 23, read *agan scolon*, and Clubb reads *agan sceolon*. 509 galgum] Clubb alters to *galgan*. 510-511 and *ic eft*, etc.] There is no indication of loss in the MS. Etmüller supplied *to eðle minum* after *becom*. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, suggested *ece on dreamas*. In l. 511, Grein supplied in *heofonrice* after *drihtne*. Clubb indicates a loss after *drihtne*, and takes *dreamas* as to be construed with some missing word. But the sense of the passage is complete as it stands, "and I then attained eternal joys at the hands of (to) the holy Lord." 513 *ær on morgen*] Holthausen, Eng. Stud. XXXVII, 205, and Clubb read *on morgen ær*, but see Gen. 574, note. 515 *stan*] Grein and later edd. read *stan*. 519 on] Dietrich, Grein, Wülker read *of*. 520 *andleofan*, etc.] In this passage the MS. reads: 7 *leofan gingran winum*. 7 *huru secgan het*. *simon petre*. Grein reads *gingrum sinum* for *gingran winum* and Wülker reads *gingran sinum*. Dietrich would read *and eowan* or *eteowan gingran sinum* for l. 520b. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 23, Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 25, Clubb omit *winum*, taking *andleofan* as meaning "eleven." Clubb, notes, translates, "He bade the shining angels summon his eleven followers." Grein, Dicht., p. 143, translates, "hiess künden allglänzende Engel seinen elf Jüngern." 526] Thorpe, Bouterwek, Wülker, Clubb assume the loss of a half-line before *haligne*. Grein supplies *ongeton* before *haligne*. There is no certainty that the loss occurred before *haligne*, and it may have been after *sunu*. But *bled*, l. 525, ends a line in the MS., and it may be that something dropped out in passing from one line to the next. 528 *þa on upp gestod*] The earlier edd. follow the MS., except Grein, who omits *þa gingran*. So also Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 383, and Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 23. Holthausen would then supply *cwic*, reading *cwic on upp stod*, or *on upp gestod*. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 25, suggests *þa upp astod* or *þær on upp astod*. Clubb reads *þa on upp gestod*. 537 on *laðne bend*] Bright, MLN. XVIII, 130, places *on* in l. 537a and alters l. 537b to *laðe* or *laðan benda*. 538 *hæpene*] So Grein and later edd. 540 *hie*] Bouterwek, Grein, Wülker read *hit* for *hie*. *mode*] So Thorpe, Bouterwek, Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233. The other edd. read *mod*, except Grein, who changes *mod* to *soð*. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 25, would read *mode*, or assume that a final *-e* is unexpressed before a following word beginning with a vowel. 544 *feollon*] Grein reads *feallan*, Wülker *feallon* as an infinitive after *forlet*. But *bæðe* is better taken as a nom. pl., subject of *feollon*, see Clubb, notes. Grein, Wülker alter *bæðe* to *bæð*, as object of their infinitive *feallan*. According to Clubb, the "baths" are the blood and water from Christ's wounds, or the reference may be "to Christ's passion itself as a second baptism of martyrdom." 550 *weorcum*] Dietrich, Grein, Wülker read *wordum*. 552 *sceolon*] Grein supplies *moton*, Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 383, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 24, supply *scolon* after *agan*. Clubb reads *sceolon*. 553 *drihtnes domas*] Bouterwek and later edd. supply *and duguðe þrym* for the missing half-line. 554-555] Bouterwek, Grein, Wülker, Clubb take *and*



*we. . leoht* as one line. Sievers, Beitr. XII, 477, assumes the loss of a half-line after *wynnum*. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 24, reconstructs l. 554 to read *wunian in wynnum* as a half-line. If an alliterating word in *d*, e.g. *diere*, *deore*, is supplied in l. 554*a*, this half-line could complete l. 553*a* and the meter of the whole passage could be regularized. 558 *feowertig daga folgad folcum*] So all edd., except Clubb, who reads *folgad folcum feowertig daga*, following a suggestion of Grein, note. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 25, reads as Clubb. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 25, would omit *folgad* and read *feowertig daga folcum gecyðed* || *meoðod mancynnes*. Kock, Anglia XLIV, 258, reads *feowertig daga folcum gecyðed* || *mancynnes folgad, ær he*, etc., translating *mancynnes folgad* as "the help of men." As the text stands, *folgad* is to be taken as a past participle from *folgian*, "followed," "served." 559 *mancynne*] So Grein, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 25, Clubb. Wülker retains *mancynnes*, but grants, note, that *mancynne* is better. 562 *Astah up*] Bright, MLN. XVIII, 130, reads *Up astah*. 563 *wolcna*] Grein, note, suggests *wuldres for wolcna*. 564 *Mid wæs*] Bright, MLN. XVIII, 130, reads *hond godes wæs mid*. 570 *tene*] The edd. follow the MS. reading *ane*, except Clubb, who has *tene*, adopting Bright's suggestion, MLN. XVIII, 130, though Bright reads *þæt he ymb tyn niht þæs | twelf*, etc. *twelf*] Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, reads *andleofan*. 578 *innon*] Grein, Wülker read *inn on*. 585 *encgel*] Grein alters to *þengel*, and Wülker alters to *encgla*, genitive after *waldend*. 587 *swegl betolden*] Dietrich reads *sweglbefalden*, and so Grein. Thorpe, Bouterwek, Wülker read *sweglbehealden*. Clubb has *swegl betolden*, and he regards *swegl* as an uninflected instrumental. Perhaps one should read *swegle*. 593 *teala*] The addition of *teala* with Dietrich, Grein and Clubb supplies the appropriate alliteration. 595 *þær*] Grein reads *þæt*. 598 *ælmihtig god*] All edd. assume a loss in the MS. after *god*, but there is no indication in the MS. of any loss, and the fact that *on*, the last word on p. 226, is repeated as the first word on p. 227, is an indication that the scribe was copying without break. The sense of the passage is also complete as it stands. Grein supplies *oðre siðe* for l. 598*b*. The other edd. indicate a gap, but supply nothing. 600 *hludre*] Grein, Wülker read *hludre*.

## 601-700

602 *geond foldan sceatas*] Grein supplied *feower* before *foldan*, Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 383, Clubb read *þa feower*, to complete the line metrically. 605 *dinna*] Thorpe, note, and later edd. read *dinna*, except Bouterwek, who has *dynna*. 608 *gesceadan*] Thorpe, note, suggests *gesceadan* for the MS. *gesceawian*, and so Bouterwek, Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 25. Grein, Clubb read *gescearian*. But Grein, Germania X, 420, returns to the MS. reading. 613 *gongan in godes rice*] Bouterwek supplied *gumena bearn* after *rice*. Dietrich read *burhweallas* for *burh*, in l. 612, and placed *moton* in the next line. Grein supplied *glædmode*, and Grein, Germania X, 420, *gegnum*, before *gongan*. The other edd. indicate an omission before *gongan* but supply



nothing. 617 þær ge habbað] Clubb, following Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 26, regularizes the alliteration by placing *habbað* before *ge*. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 233, reads *habban sculon* for *habbað*, and Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 25, adds *nu* after *habbað*. But see Gen. 574, note. 619 forworhtan] So all edd. except Clubb, who reads *forhtan* with Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 26, for the sake of alliteration. But it is doubtful if the metrical gain compensates for the weakening of the sense. After *forworhtan*, Grein supplies *on þa winstran hond*, as completing the line; *þa ðe firnedon* is the first half of the following line, and he then adds *on foldan æfre* as a second half-line. 624 reordende] The corrected reading of the MS. would make *reordiende*, which Junius reads as *reodiende*. All edd. read *reordiende*, except Clubb, who has *reordende*, following Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 25. Thorpe, note, Bouterwek, Grein read *rodera waldend* for the missing second half-line, and Cosijn, *ibid.*, reads *and reðe word*. 630 leaðað] All edd. read *lædað*, except Clubb, who reads *leaðað*. See l. 588. 632 nið] The noun *nið*, "hate," "affliction," is usually masculine, but Grein, Spr. II, 292, supposes a neuter noun *nið*, "abyssus," for this passage, and so also Clubb in his glossary. Grein-Köhler, p. 504, suggests *niðer* for *nið*. 634 earmlic] All edd. follow the MS., except Grein, Clubb, who read *þearlic* for alliteration. See l. 259, note. 637 on edwit] Bright, MLN. XVIII, 131, places a metrical stress on *on*, as adverb, taking *edwit* as object of *asettað*, or he suggests changing to *hu hie on him edwit* or *hu hie him edwit on*. 638 stæleð feondas, etc.] The MS. reads *stæleð fæhðe and in firne þær ðe hie drihten*. Thorpe and Bouterwek suppose a loss in the MS. after *firne*, and for *þær* Bouterwek reads *þæs*. Dietrich reads *in firnum, þæs ðe*, etc. Grein supplies *þonne Satanus* before *stæleð*, omits *and*, changes *firne* to *firene* and *þær* to *þæs*. Wülker indicates a loss before *stæleð*, omits *and*, but retains *firne* and *þær*. Clubb reads *stæleð feondas || fæhðe and firne*, taking *stæleð* as plural and *feondas* as subject. Holthausen, Indog. Forsch. IV, 383, follows Grein, except that he reads only *Satan* for Grein's *þonne Satanus*. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 25, reads *synna stæleð || fæhðe and firene, þæs*, etc. Kock, Anglia XXVII, 229, reads *Satanas stæleð || fæhðe and firne*, translating, "how Satan accuses them of the enmity and crime in which they so oft forgot the Lord, the eternal Monarch." In l. 639b, Grein, Clubb read *freodrihten*, but Wülker reads *drihten* with the MS. 641 þone þe hie] Thorpe, Bouterwek and Grein read *þone hie*, but Wülker and Clubb read *þone þe hie*. 646 selfe mid swegle] Grein reads *mid swegle torht sunu*, translating, Dicht., p. 146, "mit dem himmelsklaren Sohn." Wülker follows Grein. Grein, note, suggests *swegel-torhtne*, which would accord with his translation, or *sunu* as a plural. Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 181, approves of Grein's reading except that he omits *selfe*. Clubb takes *sunu* as a plural subject of *sillað*, omitting *torht*, and this seems the simplest solution. Clubb calls attention to *eadige bearn*, l. 143, as parallel to *eadige . . . sunu* here. 652 þa ðe heonon ferað] Bouterwek completed by adding *heofonrice* to, Grein by adding to *heofonrice*. 658 up gelæddest] Grein, Clubb supply *up gelæddest*, to complete meter and sense. 668 of heofonum] Sievers, Beitr. X, 514, adds *heah* before *of*, and Graz,

Eng. Stud. XXI, 26, reads of *heofonrice* to regularize the line metrically. 669 þa costode] Grein, Wülker read *þæt he costode*. 674-676] Syntax and meaning indicate a considerable loss in the MS. here which none of the edd. have ventured to supply. Clubb supposes a loss in the MS. also after *dreamas*, l. 678. 676 hafast] Grein changes to *hafað*. 679] Bouterwek, Grein, Wülker take on *heofonrice*. . . *genom*, ll. 678-679a, as one line. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 27, supplies *halig scyppend* for l. 679b, and Clubb reads *hæleda scyppend*. Grein, note, suggests *hine* for *he*. See Gen. 703, note. 681 herm] Grein, Wülker, Clubb read *herm*, "malicious," "evil." Grein, note, suggests *bær* for *herm*. Thorpe and Bouterwek made a compound, *hermbealwes*. Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 27, suggests *blac* for *herm*. 684 on þines seolfes dom] Junius, Thorpe retained the MS. *seoferdum*, but all later edd. read *seolfes dom*. Grein, Wülker, Clubb supply *on* before *þines*. 687 gif] Grein, Wülker read *þæt* for *gif*. 692 gearo] Clubb retains *geara*. 698 hu wid and sid] Thorpe suggested that *sy* or *seo* had dropped out after *sid*, see ll. 703, 706. Dietrich supplies *sie* or *seo*, and Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 25, adds *sio*. Sievers in a note to Cosijn's note would place *sio* after *hu*. Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 181, proposes *hu wid sie*, taking *sie* as a disyllable. Clubb supplies nothing, assuming that the form of the verb "to be" is understood, and this is certainly a possible construction. 699 helheoðo] All edd. retain the MS. reading *helheoðo* except Clubb, who reads *hel heoro-dreorig*. This was suggested by Grein, note, and so Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 27, Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 181. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 25, suggested *hel heaðodreorig*. Trautmann, Bonner Beitr. II, 149, proposed *helheoðo deop sig*. Bouterwek, Erläut., p. 326, suggested that *heoðo* was for *heahðo*, but the reading he prefers is *hel seo* for *helheoðo*. Grein-Köhler, p. 325, *hel-heoðo*, and in the lack of a satisfactory substitute, it seems best to retain the MS. reading. The fact that no other occurrences of the word are found is not sufficient ground for rejecting it.

## 701-729

703 and hu sid seo] Thorpe, note, suggested that *and wid* should be added after *sid*, and so Bouterwek, Williams, Short Extracts, p. 28. Grein reads *swol-eðm* for the MS. *eðm*. Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI, 181, omits *and* and reads *hu sid seo | se swarta eðel*. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 25, Clubb read *and hu sid seo | se swarta eðm*. 705 þonne hafast, etc.] Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 27, reads *þon handum | hafast ametene*. 706 hu heh and deop] Sievers, Beitr. X, 515, reads *hell inne seo* for the second half-line, and so Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 27. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 25, suggests *hu heh and deop seo || hell inneward*, transposing *seo* as in l. 703. Sievers in a note to Cosijn's reading would place *seo* after *hu*. 707 grim] Sievers, Beitr. X, 515, reads *grimme*, and so Graz, Eng. Stud. XXI, 27, Williams, Short Extracts, p. 28. 708 seondon] So all edd., except Wülker, who retains the MS. *seond*, presumably as equivalent to *sind*. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 25, reads *seon* as a disyllable. 709 merced hus] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 25, emends to *þæt merce* for *merced*.



710 werigan] So all edd. after Junius, except Clubb, who reads *werga*, dat. sg. masc. weak adjective, i.e. as equivalent to *wergan*. wracu] All edd. after Junius read *wracu*, except Clubb, who reads *wrecc* with the uncorrected MS. But Clubb interprets *wrecc* as a nom. sg., equivalent to *wracu*. 712 æglece] The earlier edd. read *æglæce*, Grein reads *earn æglæca* as a first half-line and supplies *in to helle* after this word as a second half-line. Wülker reads *æglæca*, but supplies nothing. Grein also supplies *feond in fyrlocan* after his *in to helle* as the first half of the next line, his second half-line being *hwilum . . . mætl*. Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* V, 234, reads *earnum* for *folnum* to provide alliteration. Clubb reads as in the text, taking *æglece* as an Anglian nominative. 714 þes] Grein reads *þæs*. 716 he] Thorpe and later edd. read *hie*, except Clubb, who retains *he* as a nom. pl., see l. 334. 717 Hæfdon gewunnon] Grein supplies *gryre* after *Hæfdon* and reads *gewunnen*. Grein also supplies a full line after *andsacan*, reading *þonne him se atola andweard stod*. Wülker assumes a loss after *andsacan*, but supplies nothing. Williams, *Short Extracts*, p. 29, follows Wülker. Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* V, 234, supposes the loss to have occurred after *gewunnon* (for which he reads *gewunnen*). Clubb reads as in the text. 722 sinne] All edd. read *synne* with the MS., except Clubb, who reads *sinne*, following Grein, *Germania X*, 420. susle] Grein alters to *susl*. 723 Ða he gemunde] Grein reads *þæt he gaste gemunde*. Holthausen, *Indog. Forsch.* IV, 383, proposes *gemde* for *gemunde* and *þæt* for the following *þa*, citing l. 719. 726 deofla mænego] After *mænego*, Grein supplies *adreogan ne mihton*. In the following line he places *þonne up astag* and supplies *earnra gedræg* as a second half-line. Wülker indicates a loss after *mænego* and after *astag*, but supplies nothing. This is what Thorpe and Bouterwek had done. Clubb reads as in the text, translating, notes, "The perfidious and loathsome wight gazed through that wretched den until the dreadful multitude of devils arose." The word *gryre* in the phrase *egsan gryre*, omitted in Clubb's translation, may be taken as nominative, subject of *astag*, or as instrumental. It seems best to take it as nominative, with *mænego* as a dependent genitive. This satisfies the sense, though the line remains defective in alliteration, as in ll. 712, 717, 723. See l. 259, note. 727 in witum] Grein reads *in witum*, and so Clubb. But Grein, *Germania X*, 420, Wülker read *inwitum*, as the earlier edd. had done. This would make *wordum inwitum* an adverbial phrase, "with wicked words." þa] Thorpe and later edd. omit *on þa*, the MS. reading *þa on þa* being obviously redundant. 728 reordian and cweðan] Grein supplies *wið heora rices boran* to complete the line.



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