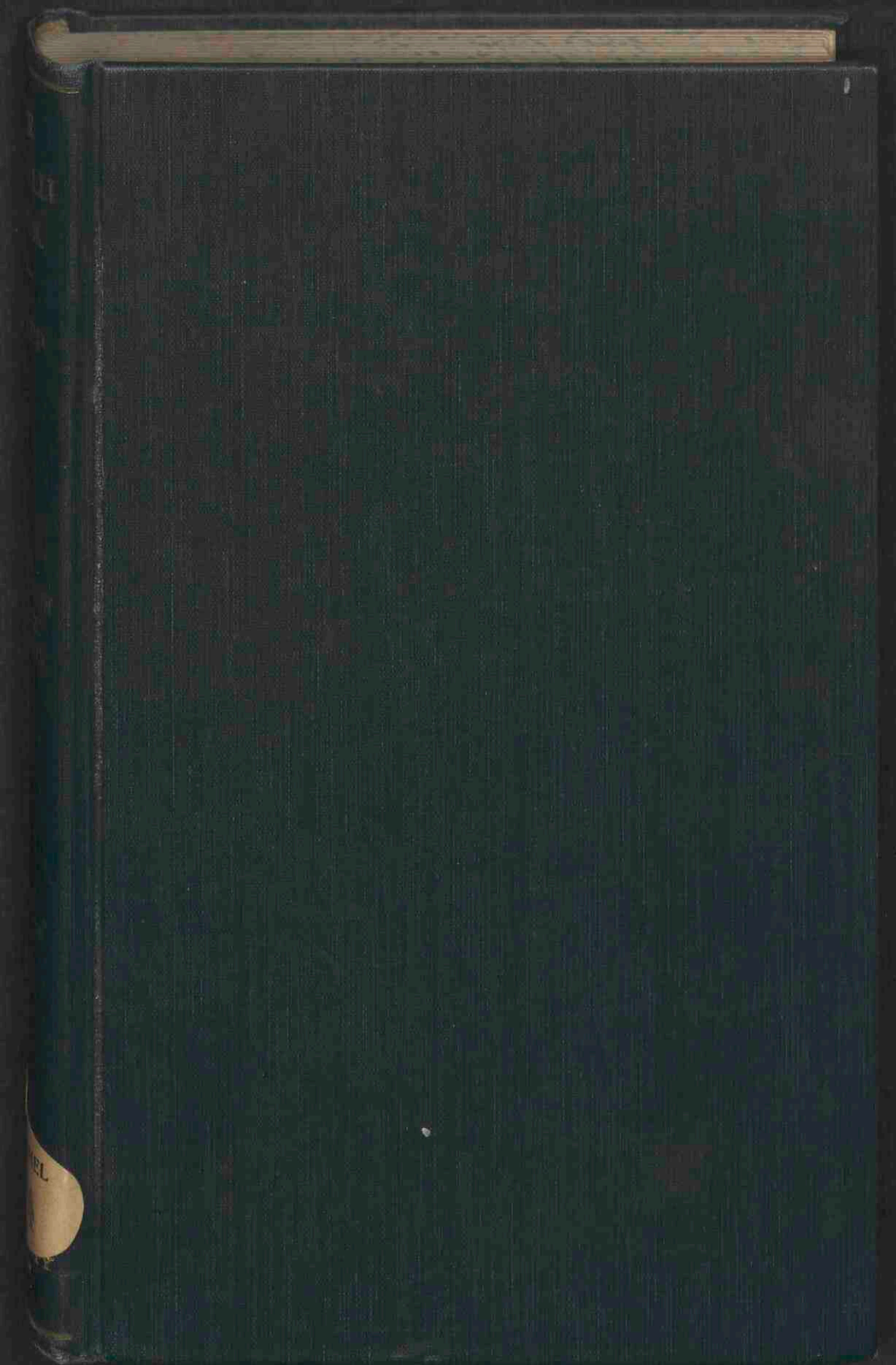


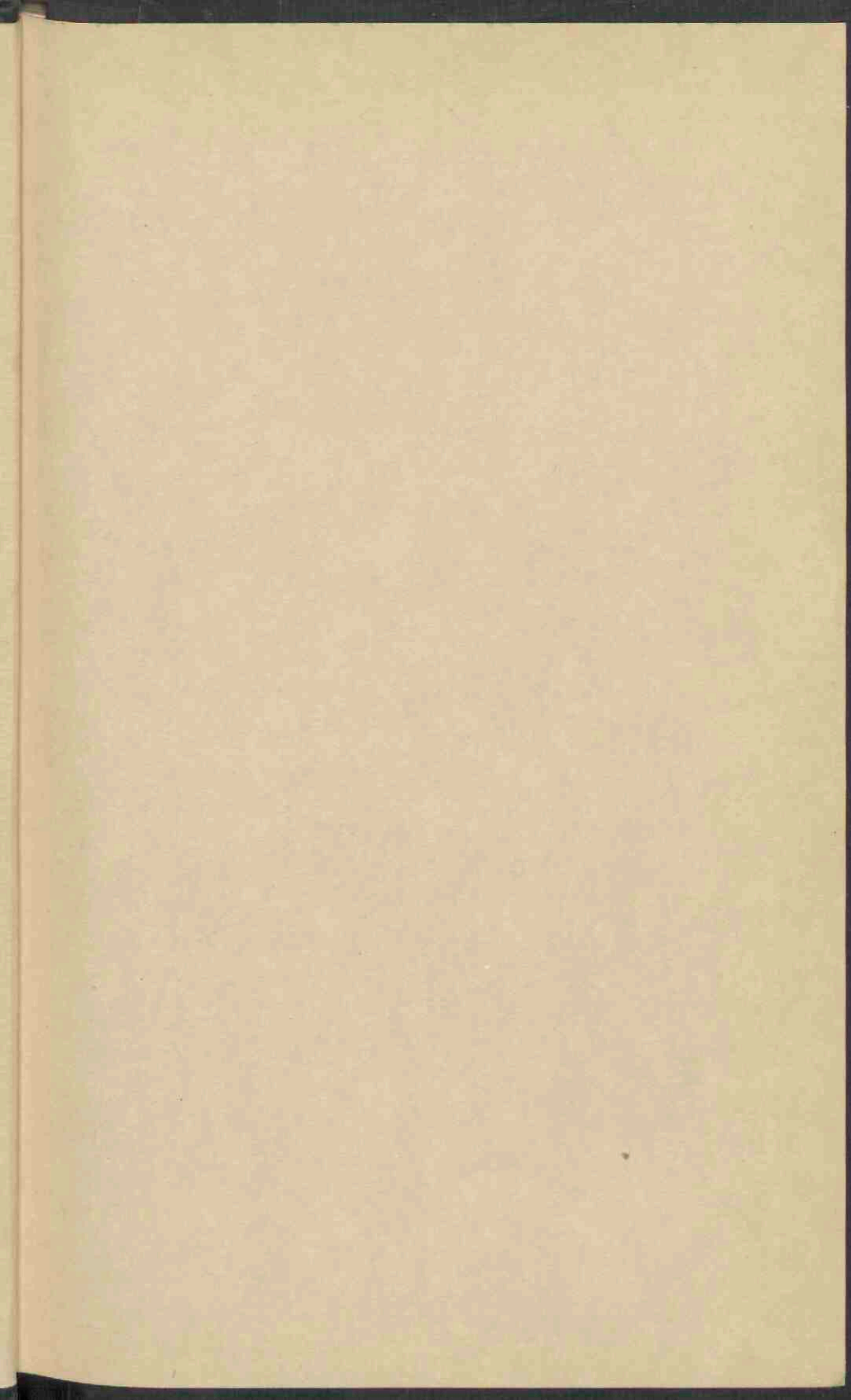


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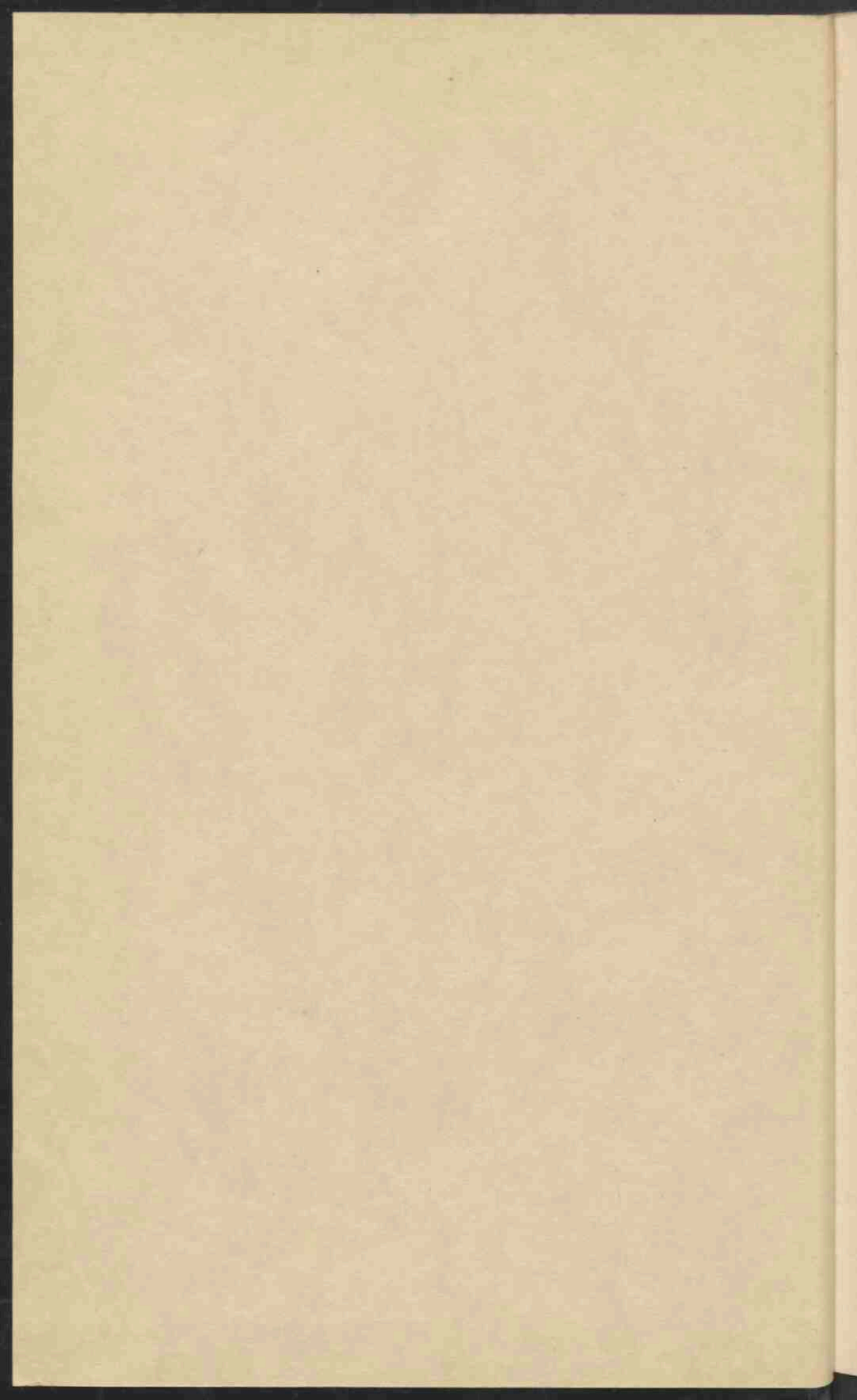
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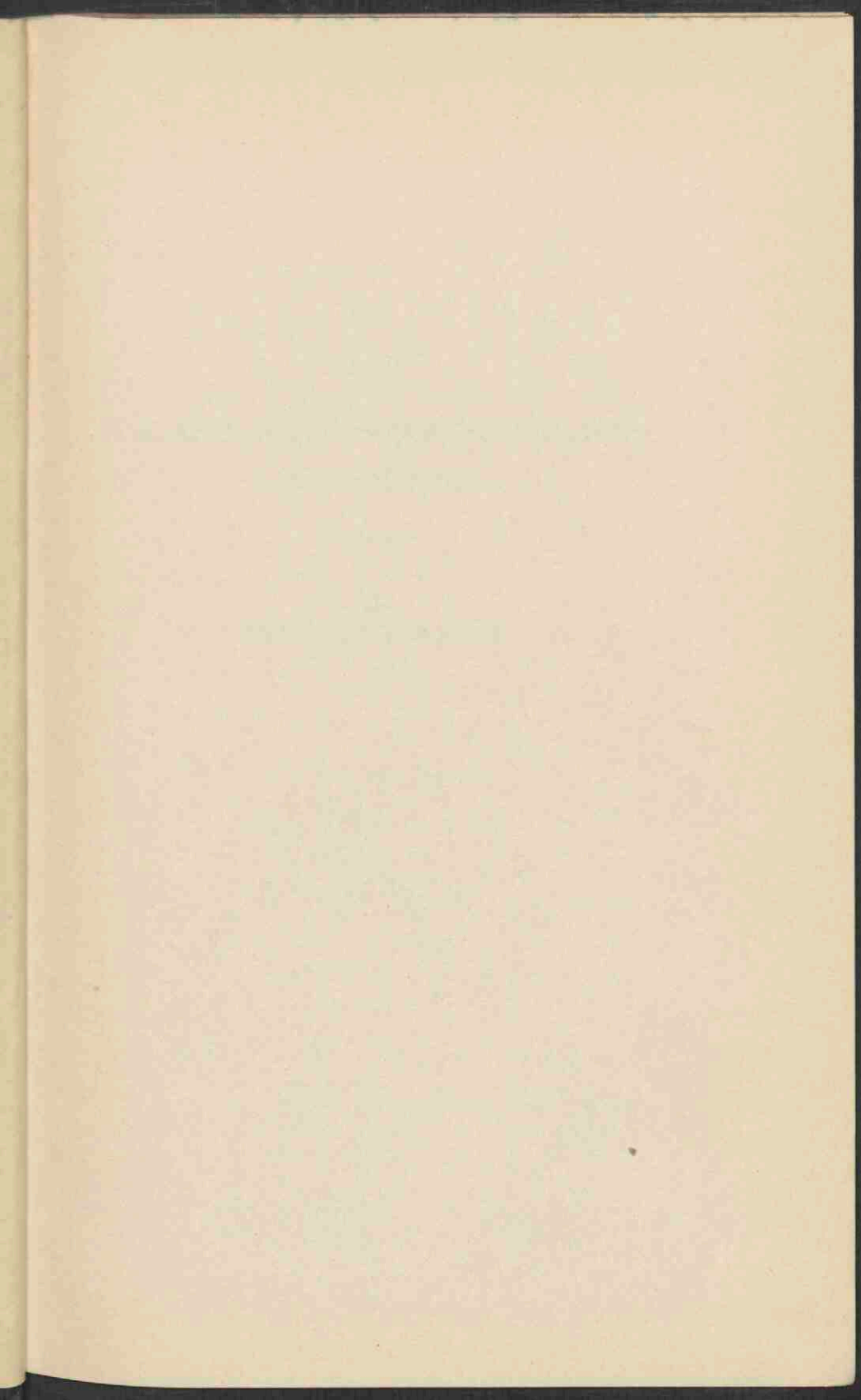


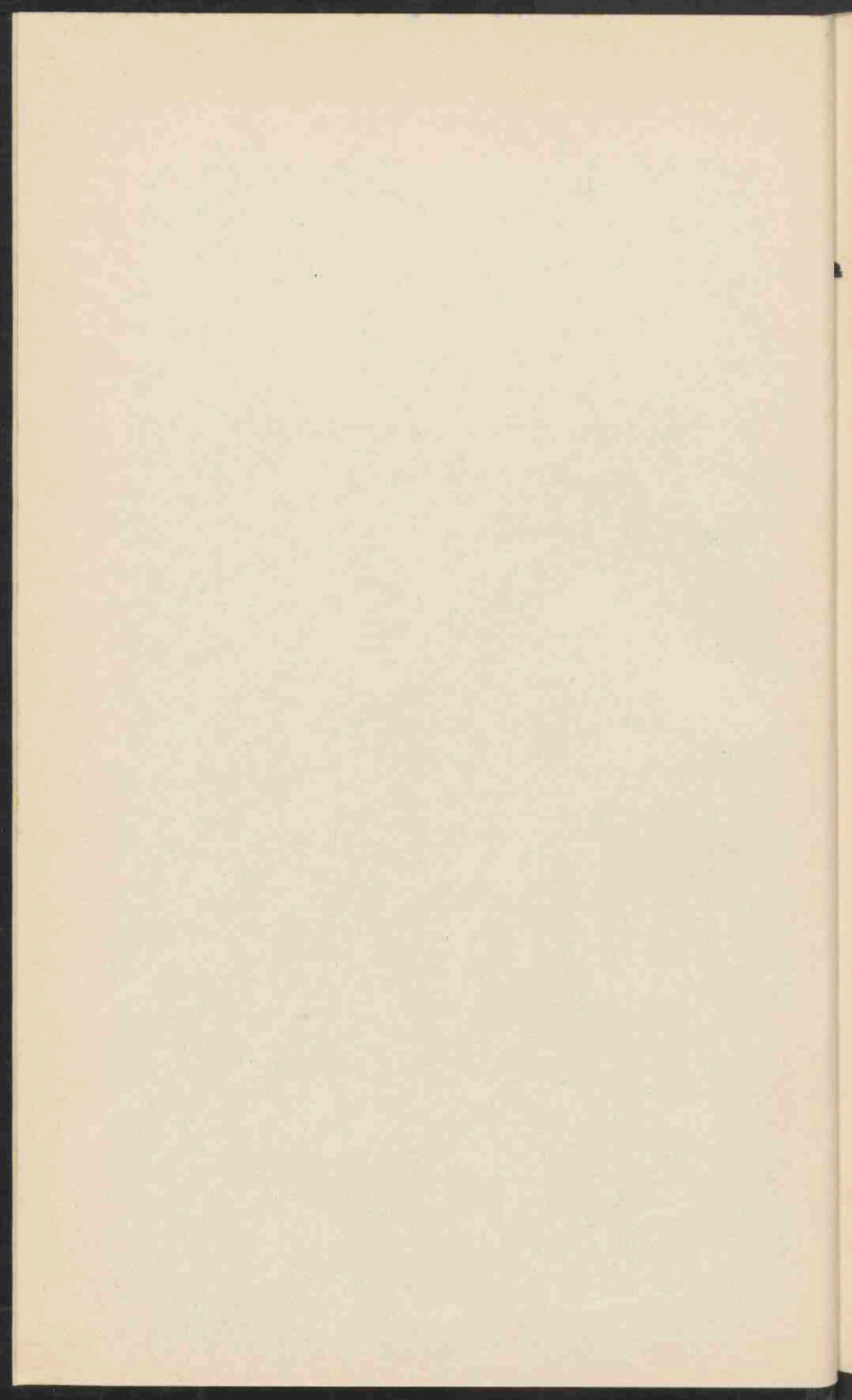
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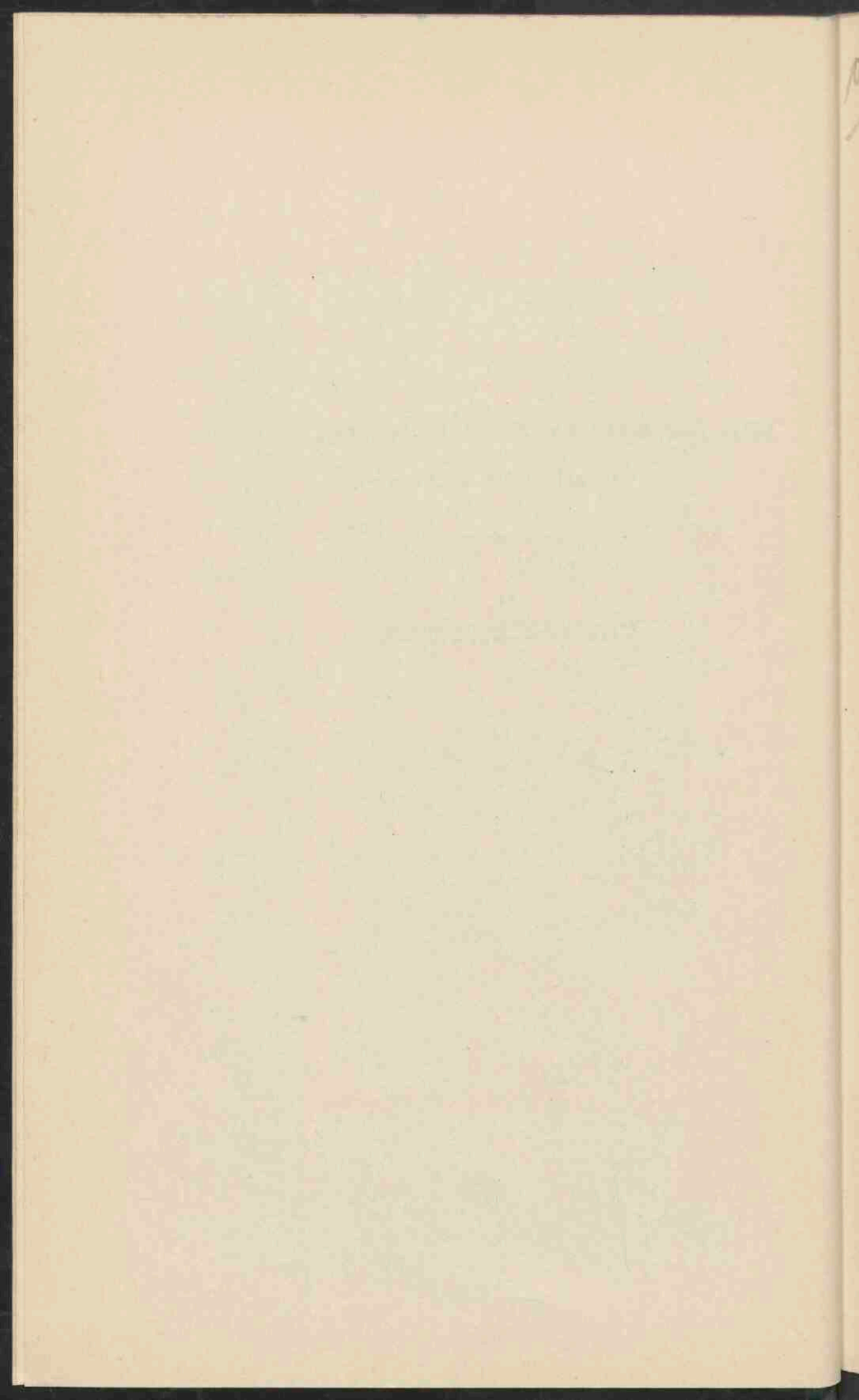


THE ANGLO-SAXON POETIC RECORDS

A COLLECTIVE EDITION

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II  
THE VERCELLI BOOK



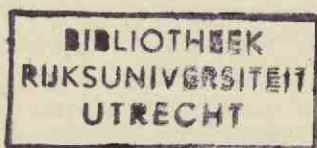
*Van Hamel 1124*

THE  
VERCELLI BOOK

EDITED BY

GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



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# THE VERCELLI BOOK

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NEW YORK

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1932



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Published April, 1932

Printed in the United States of America  
WAVERLY PRESS, INC.  
Baltimore, Md.

## PREFACE

In accordance with the plan of this collective edition of Anglo-Saxon poetry, as announced in the Preface to the first volume, containing the texts of the Junius Manuscript, the poetical parts of the Vercelli Book are here grouped together in a second volume. Although the original compilers of the Vercelli Book, as of the other extant Anglo-Saxon miscellanies, apparently had no very strict principles of similarity in mind in determining what should be included in their collection, nevertheless the Vercelli Book, like the Junius Manuscript, exhibits a certain degree of uniformity. For the poems of the Junius Manuscript are examples of versified Biblical narrative, whereas the poems of the Vercelli Book are legendary and homiletic in character. The two longest poems of the Vercelli Book are *ANDREAS* and *ELENE*, saints' lives of less authenticity than the Scripture itself, and like the prose homilies and the other poetical pieces in the Vercelli Book, probably designed for occasional use to supplement and lighten the formal offices of the service. The grouping of these poems in a volume of their own, therefore, reflects something more than a mere accident of preservation within the limits of a single manuscript.

Two excellent photographic reproductions of the poems of the Vercelli Book are available, that of Wülker, in a volume published in 1894, which contains reproductions only of the poetical parts of the manuscript, and that of Foerster, published in 1913 and containing both the prose and poetical texts of the manuscript. The present edition has been based upon these reproductions, and as the manuscript is in the main in an excellent state of preservation, the construction of the text has presented comparatively few difficulties. On those rare occasions when it was necessary to support the reading of the reproductions by other authority, especially in those passages in which stains or blots have obscured the readings of the manuscript, definite acknowledgement of this obligation has been made.

In accordance with the general principles of this collective edition, the text of the poems of the Vercelli Book has been conservatively treated. Emendations for metrical reasons have been introduced very sparingly, and then not to make the text correspond to any particular set of metrical convictions, but only when metrical considerations seem to support other evidence that some accidental disturbance has taken place in the transmission of the text. The same remarks apply to orthography. Accidents in writing befall every scribe, and obvious accidents have been corrected. But it is scarcely necessary for a modern editor to be a greater purist in spelling than an eleventh century professional scribe, especially one so conscientious and capable as the scribe of the Vercelli Book appears to have been. It is to be regretted that the present state of Anglo-Saxon scholarship does not permit more positive convictions with respect to the authorship and date of composition of the Anglo-Saxon poetical monuments, with respect also to the methods of composition and construction employed by Anglo-Saxon poets, or to the metrical principles according to which they wrote, or to the mixture of linguistic forms, dialectal or otherwise, which appear in the recorded texts. If a sceptical attitude towards all these questions still seems necessary after so many years of study, the hope nevertheless remains that further examination, and from new angles, will bring more certain results.

In the Introduction to this volume will be found a full list of the accent marks in the poetical parts of the Vercelli Book. No such complete statement was made of the accents of the Junius Manuscript in the first volume of this collective edition, and when the materials for that volume were being assembled, the editor doubted whether the usefulness of such a list would compensate for the amount of space required by it. These doubts have now been resolved, partly on further reflection, partly in deference to the opinions of others. It has therefore seemed advisable to add to the list of accented words in the Vercelli Book, a full list of the accented words in the Junius Manuscript as providing at least materials for study. It is obvious, however, that the whole question of the accents in

Anglo-Saxon manuscripts cannot be disposed of on the basis of poetical texts only, and that for a complete account of the matter, prose texts must also be drawn into consideration.

The editor wishes to take this opportunity to acknowledge gratefully the aid of Mr. Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie in assembling and seeing through the press the materials of this volume, as also of the volume previously published, containing the poems of the Junius Manuscript.





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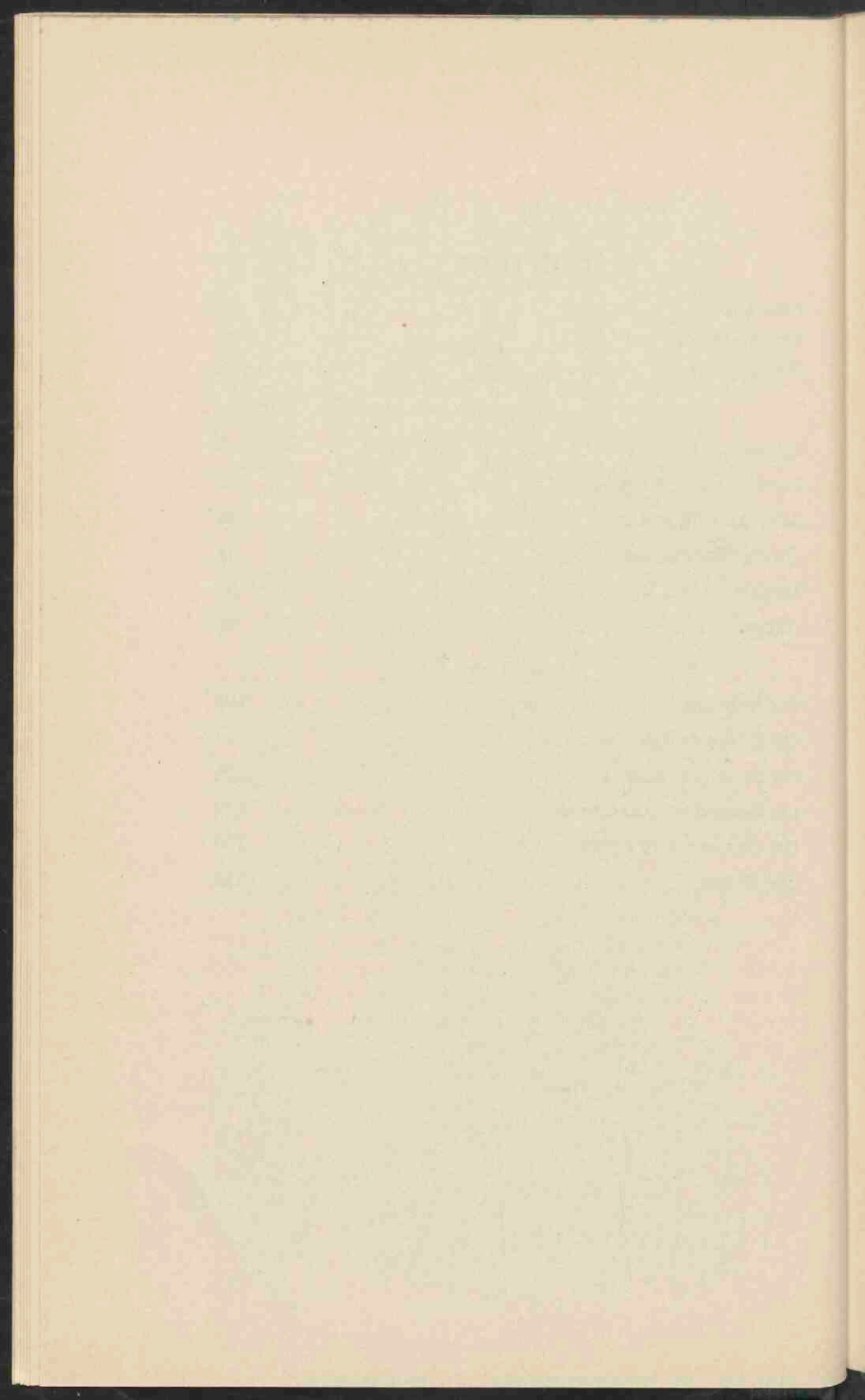
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# INTRODUCTION

## I

### THE MANUSCRIPT

The Vercelli Book, also known as the Vercelli Codex or Codex Vercellensis, is preserved in the chapter library of the cathedral at Vercelli in northern Italy. The library at Vercelli contains another famous manuscript, a text of the gospels perhaps written by Eusebius, which is also referred to at times by the name Codex Vercellensis.<sup>1</sup> The Anglo-Saxon manuscript is designated in the collections of the library as Cod. CXVII. It is a parchment manuscript of one hundred and thirty-six folios, of uniform size and character. Like the Junius Manuscript, the Vercelli Book was apparently conceived and executed as a single volume into which a variety of matters, prose as well as verse, and in this latter respect, differing from the Junius Manuscript, was to be placed.

The size of the folios in the Vercelli Book is on the average 31 by 20 centimeters, that is, approximately 12.2 inches by 7.8 inches. The space covered by writing on the folios is approximately 24 by 15 centimeters, that is 9.4 inches by 5.8 inches. The pages of the manuscript were prepared for a varying number of lines to be written on the several pages, but never for less than twenty-three or more than thirty-three. Sometimes a blank space for one or more lines takes the place of writing where sectional divisions occur, thus reducing the number of lines actually written but not the number of lines provided for writing. The grouping of the folios according to the number of lines arranged for on them is as follows:

2a-11a	24 lines	19a-24b	24 lines
11b	25 "	25a-32b	29 "
12a, 12b	24 "	33a-47b	24 "
13a-18b	25 "	48a-55b	25 "

<sup>1</sup> See Foerster, *Il Codice Vercellese*, p. 7.



56 <i>a</i> , 56 <i>b</i>	23 lines	111 <i>b</i> -120 <i>b</i>	31 lines
57 <i>a</i> -104 <i>b</i>	24 "	121 <i>a</i> -134 <i>b</i>	32 "
105 <i>a</i> -109 <i>b</i>	32 "	135 <i>a</i>	31 "
110 <i>a</i> -111 <i>a</i>	33 "	135 <i>b</i>	28 " (incomplete)

The last written page of the manuscript, fol. 135*b*, contains only twenty-eight lines, which means that the text the scribe was copying came to an end before the bottom of the page was reached. A number of other folios are only partly filled with writing, for example fol. 16*a*, 24*b*, 29*a*, 54*a*, 71*a*, 101*a* and 120*b*. On fol. 24*b* there are only fourteen lines of writing. But these blank spaces all occur on pages on which the work the scribe was copying came to an end before the bottom of the page was reached. There are no illustrations in the manuscript, except for one small animal figure at the foot of fol. 49*b*, and no indication that any of the blank spaces were left for illustrations to be supplied after the text was copied.

One may infer from this list that the manuscript was not prepared for writing all at one time, but at various times as the work of transcribing proceeded, and to a certain extent with the gatherings of the manuscript as the units of work. Thus the third gathering of the manuscript, fol. 19-24, is written throughout with twenty-four lines on a page, the fourth gathering, fol. 25-32, with twenty-nine lines on a page, the fifth and sixth, fol. 33-47, again with twenty-four lines, the seventh, fol. 48-55, with twenty-five lines, the greater part of the eighth to the fourteenth gatherings, fol. 56-104, with twenty-four lines, and the rest of the gatherings with lines varying from thirty-one to thirty-three. It will be seen therefore that from the fifteenth gathering to the end, the manuscript is written somewhat more closely than in the earlier parts. With respect to fol. 111*b*, which has only thirty-one lines, although the rest of the gathering to which it belongs has thirty-three or thirty-two lines, it should be noted that the bottom margin on this page is rather large and that the last line on this page is written more amply than the rest of the page, with long tails to the letters. From this we may infer that this page was intended to have one or two lines more than actually appear in the writing, thus bringing it into harmony with the other folios of its gathering.

On fol. 56*a*-56*b* there are written only twenty-three lines, the smallest number on any pages of the manuscript, but the reason for this was that there is a hole in the parchment at the bottom of the page which would have made it difficult to get in another line without crowding. This folio therefore really goes with the rest of its gathering and several that follow, all of the folios in gatherings eight to fourteen, fol. 56-104, having been planned for twenty-four lines. The last two pages of the manuscript, fol. 136*a*-136*b*, are blank.

The contents of the several folios in terms of the line numberings of this edition of the poetical parts of the manuscript are given in Table I at the end of this Introduction.

The manuscript as a whole is well preserved and the writing is clear and legible, except that certain places in it have suffered from the application of some discoloring material, possibly an acid, which has made it difficult, and in some instances impossible to read the writing in these passages. Thus fol. 1*a*-1*b* has been rendered quite illegible, except for traces of a large capital *H* on fol. 1*a*, and so also part of fol. 54*a*. The blotting out of some of these passages appears to have been accidental, but in other instances, as on fol. 75*b*, the blotting out was done line by line in a way which shows that it was intentional. No obvious reason appears, however, why the manuscript should have been treated in this way. The pages on which evidences of blotting are present in the manuscript, according to Foerster's reproductions, are as follows: fol. 1*a*, 1*b*, 2*a*, 25*a*, 26*a*, 36*b*, 37*b*, 38*a*, 38*b*, 42*b*, 54*a*, 54*b*, 55*b*, 57*a*, 65*a*, 75*b*, 77*a*, 84*a*, 85*b*, 86*a*, 86*b*, 106*b*, 119*a*, 121*a*, 134*a*, 135*a*, 135*b*. Several of these are smaller blots which may have been the result of scribal mishaps with ink, but most of them were caused by a stain of some kind, intentionally or unintentionally applied.

The folios of the manuscript were assembled in gatherings which contain a number of folios varying from two to nine. The last folio of the manuscript, fol. 136, was attached as a single folio to the last gathering of the manuscript. The gatherings of the manuscript were numbered from I to XIX, and lettered from A to T. The numbers and letters were added, according to Foerster, p. 9, by another scribe at a later date

than that at which the texts in the manuscript were transcribed, a number at the top of the first page of each gathering, and a letter at the bottom of the last page of each gathering. Some of these have been cut off, or are illegible in the facsimile, but those which remain are given in the first and third columns of the following list of the gatherings.

<i>Number</i>	<i>Folios</i>	<i>Letter</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Folios</i>	<i>Letter</i>
	1-9	A	XI	80-85	
II	10-18	B	XII	86-91	M
III	19-24		XIII	92-98	N
IIII	25-32	D	XIIII	99-104	O
V	33-40	E	XV	105-111	P
VI	41-47	F		112-118	
VII	48-55	G	XVII	119-120	
	56-63		XVIII	121-128	S
IX	64-71	I	XIX	129-135	
X	72-79	K			

But the gatherings of the manuscript as they now appear are not all complete in their original forms, certain folios having disappeared from the manuscript. These losses occur between folios as here indicated:

42-43	1 folio	85-86	1 folio, perhaps more
55-56	1 or possibly 2 folios	100-101	1 folio
63-64	1 folio	103-104	1 folio at least
75-76	possibly 1 or 2 folios	111-112	1 folio
83-84	1 folio	118-119	1 folio

The folios as they now stand in the manuscript are numbered consecutively from 1 to 135 in Arabic numerals on the upper right-hand corner of the recto of each folio by a modern hand, but no original folio numbering for the separate folios is present in the manuscript.

It was the opinion of Wülker that at least two and possibly three different hands appear in the Anglo-Saxon writing in the manuscript.<sup>1</sup> But there can be little doubt that the manuscript as a whole was the work of one scribal hand. Napier saw only one handwriting in the manuscript,<sup>2</sup> and this is also the

<sup>1</sup> *Codex Vercellensis*, p. vii, *Grundriss der Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur*, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* XXXIII, 67.



opinion of Foerster,<sup>1</sup> who infers from the writing that the scribe was a man of mature years with a firmly established style of writing. Foerster considers it possible, however, that a few of the corrections in the manuscript may come from a different hand than that of the scribe, though the greater number of them, not large in any case, were unquestionably made by the scribe. Foerster also doubts that the signatures on the gatherings, both the numerals at the beginnings and the letters at the ends, were the work of the scribe who wrote the body of the manuscript. On these questions, however, the evidence is not conclusive, and it is quite possible that both the body of the manuscript as it stands and the minor additions, except for the Arabic folio numberings and a few other additions to be noted, was the work of a single scribe. The exceptions that must be considered consist of several short sentences in Latin which have nothing to do with the main content of the manuscript, written on blank spaces in the manuscript, and a few other minor additions. For the sake of completeness of record, all of these casual additions, both of words and designs, are given in the following list of folios on which they occur:

24*b*, bottom: *Adiutor meus esto domine ne derelinquas deus salutaris meus.*

49*b*, bottom: A drawing of a dog, running and barking.

65*b*, right margin, five lines from bottom: A small capital *A*, similar to an *A* in the adjoining text; possibly a specimen or trial by the scribe.

112*a*, lower left corner: A trial sketch for the head of a large zoöomorphic capital *M* on the same page.

119*a*, upper left corner: *x̄b* (probably *x̄b̄*, with upper part of *b̄* cut off).<sup>2</sup>

121*a*, top, near right margin: *x̄b*.

123*a*, top, near left margin: *x̄b* (tip of *b̄* cut off).

123*a*, bottom, right side: Two small and crudely drawn figures, apparently intended to be human profiles.

126*a*, upper left corner: *x̄b* (probably *x̄b̄*, with upper part of *b̄* cut off).

<sup>1</sup> *Il Codice Vercellese*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> See *Records I, The Junius Manuscript*, p. xvii.

Last (unnumbered) page in MS., reverse side at bottom: The words *Cum peruenisse*, in small capitals, upside down.

The date of the handwriting of the manuscript has been given variously. Grimm thought the writing belonged to the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century,<sup>1</sup> but it is now generally agreed that this date is too early. Wülker gave the date as the beginning of the eleventh century,<sup>2</sup> Holthausen as the second half of the tenth century.<sup>3</sup> Keller is more precise and endeavors to establish the date of the writing as between 960 and 980,<sup>4</sup> or still more definitely, between 970 and 980.<sup>5</sup> Foerster hesitates to express himself quite so precisely and gives the date as the second half or towards the end of the tenth century.<sup>6</sup>

## II

### ORIGIN OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The presence of this manuscript in so unexpected a place as Vercelli in northern Italy has naturally been the occasion of much surmise. There can be no question that the manuscript was written and produced in England. Its presence in Italy is therefore no evidence of an interest in the copying and preserving of Anglo-Saxon records in Italian libraries. On the contrary the manuscript probably owes its existence to the collecting zeal of some one of those patrons of letters in England in the tenth century whose efforts account for the Junius Manuscript, the Exeter Book, and other West-Saxon transcriptions, these being perhaps only occasional survivals from an originally much larger representation of the body of Anglo-Saxon literature.

No direct evidence is available to explain the presence of the Vercelli Manuscript in Italy, and the indirect evidence is far from conclusive. The view that the manuscript was brought

<sup>1</sup> *Andreas und Elene*, p. xlv.

<sup>2</sup> *Codex Vercellensis*, p. viii.

<sup>3</sup> *Cynewulfs Elene*, p. ix.

<sup>4</sup> Keller, *Angelsächsische Palaeographie*, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> *Reallexicon der germanischen Altertumskunde* (1911), Vol. I, p. 102.

<sup>6</sup> *Il Codice Vercellese*, p. 14.

to Italy by Cardinal Guala, papal legate in England in the time of King John and of Henry III, has much to recommend it,<sup>1</sup> but Foerster has pointed out some reasonable objections to this explanation.<sup>2</sup> Foerster is inclined to think that the manuscript was brought to Italy in the eleventh or twelfth century, when the reading of an Anglo-Saxon manuscript was still possible to one interested in such studies, or if not at this early date, then in the sixteenth century as a more or less accidental result of the humanistic interest in the collecting of books and manuscripts at that time. But it seems scarcely credible that interest in the content of the manuscript should have led anyone to transport so bulky an object all the hard way from England to Italy in the eleventh or twelfth century. If it cannot be assumed that the manuscript owes its presence in Italy, directly or indirectly, to Cardinal Guala and his interest in English affairs, the most plausible supposition is that it reached its present resting place at a comparatively late date and as a chance addition to the collections of the library at Vercelli. It is possible that the wanderings of the manuscript after it left England and before it reached Vercelli were extensive, but if so, the course of its travels cannot now be followed.

## III

## THE CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The first folio of the manuscript apparently once contained the beginning of the first homily, but now only the remains of a large capital *H* are visible at the top left-hand corner of fol. 1*a*. The initial word of this homily may have been *Her*, as of the homily beginning on fol. 25*a*, of the one beginning on fol. 65*a*, and of several others in the manuscript. Foerster notes that the first two pages of the manuscript (i.e., fol. 1*a*-1*b*) are illegible, and that therefore the beginning of the first text in the manuscript is lacking. In the following list of contents, the titles of the poems as supplied by modern commentators and

<sup>1</sup> See Cook, *Cardinal Guala and the Vercelli Book* (1888), Krapp, *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles* (1906), pp. x-xiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Il Codice Vercellese*, pp. 27-40.



a brief description of the subject of each homily are given, and, except for the first, the opening sentence of the homily. A good many, though not all of the homilies have titles in the manuscript, but none of the poetical texts is provided with a special heading of any kind. The titles of the poems as they are used in this edition are supplied by the editor.

fol. 1*a*–9*a*. A Homily on the Passion.

fol. 9*b*–12*a*. A Homily on the Last Judgment: Men ða leofest-an, þæs myclan domdægcs worc bið swiðe egeslic 7 andrysllic eallum gesceaftum.

fol. 12*b*–16*a*. A Homily on Christian Virtues: Broðor þa leofestan, ic cyðe þæt þreo þing synt ærest on foreweardum æghwylcum men nydbehefe to habbanne.

fol. 16*b*–24*b*. A Homily on Penance in prospect of the Last Judgment, with a dialogue of the Soul and the Body: Men þa leofestan, ic eow bidde 7 eaðmodlice lære, þ ge wepen 7 forhtien on þysse medmiclan tide for eowrum synnum.

fol. 25*a*–29*a*. A Homily on the Birth of Christ, entitled, "To middan wintra. Ostende nobis domine": Her segð þis halige godspel be þære hean medomnesse þisse halgan tide þe nu onweard is 7 us læreð þætte we þas halgan tiid gedefelice 7 clænlice weorðien godes naman to lofe 7 to wuldre, 7 ussum sawlum to ecre hælo 7 to frofre.

fol. 29*b*–52*b*. ANDREAS.

fol. 52*b*–54*a*. THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES.

fol. 54*b*–56*a*. A Homily entitled, "Incipit narrare miracula que facta fuerant ante aduentum saluatoris, domini nostri Iesu Cristi": Her sagað ymb ðas mæran gewyrd þe to þyssum dæge gewearð, þætte ælmihtig dryhten sylfa þas world gesohte 7 þurh unwemme fæmnan on þas world acenned wæs.

fol. 56*b*–59*a*. Homily II.<sup>1</sup> Against extravagance and gluttony: Butan tweon lar is haligdomes dæl 7 ealles swiðost.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently only six homilies are numbered, beginning after the first two poems. No trace of a number I appears on fol. 54*b*, but a II is written at the bottom of fol. 56*a*, and evidently belongs to the following homily.

- fol. 59a-61a. Homily III. On the Last Judgment and the torments of hell: Men ða leofestan, manað us 7 myndgað on þyssum bocum scs gregorius se halega writere se ðis gewrit sette 7 wrat.
- fol. 61a-65a. Homily IIII. On Death, its terrors and suddenness: Men ða leofestan, manað us 7 myngaþ þeos halige boc þæt we sien gemyndige ymb ure sawle þearfe.
- fol. 65a-71a. Homily V. On the Transitoriness of the World and its joys: Her sagað on þyssum halegum bocum be ælmihtiges dryhtnes godspelle, þe he him sylfum þurh his ða halegan mihte geworhte mannum to bysene 7 to lare.
- fol. 71b-73b. Homily VI entitled, "Spel to forman gangdæge": Men ða leofestan, þis syndon halige dagas 7 halwendlice 7 ussum sawlum læcedomlice.
- fol. 73b-75b. Homily entitled, "Spel to ðam oðrum gangdæge": Girsandæg we wæron manode, men þa leofestan, þissa haliga daga bigangnes.
- fol. 75b-76b. Homily entitled, "Spel to þridan gangdæge": Dis is se þrida dæg, men þa leofestan, þysse halgan tide þe us on swiðe wel gelimpeð þæt we ealle eaðmodlice sculon dryhtne þeowian 7 wel forð gelæstan þ̅ we nu ær on þyssum dagum lærde wæron.
- fol. 76b-80b. Homily entitled, "Larspel to swylcere tide swa man wile": Men ða leofestan, þis synt halige dagas 7 gastlice 7 ussum sawlum læcedomlice.
- fol. 80b-85b. Homily entitled, "Alia omelia de die iudicii": Men, sægð us on þyssum bocum hu se halga thomas godes apstl acsode urne dryhten hwænne antecristes cyme wære.
- fol. 85b-90b. Homily entitled, "Omelia epyffania domini": Men, sceolon we nu hwylcumhwegu<sup>1</sup> wordum secgan be ðære arweorðnesse þysse halgan tide 7 þysses halgan dæges.
- fol. 90b-94b. Homily entitled, "De purificatione sancta Maria": Men, sægeð us 7 myngaþ þis halige godspel be þysse arwyrðan tide þe we nu to dæge gode ælmihtigum to lofe 7 to are wyrðiaþ.

<sup>1</sup> With *m* erased following *hwylcumhwegu*.



- fol. 94*b*–101*a*. Homily entitled, “De sancto Martino confessore”: Men, magon we nu hwylcumhwego wordum asecan be þære arwyrdnesse þysse halgan tide.
- fol. 101*b*–103*b*. SOUL AND BODY I.<sup>1</sup>
- fol. 104*a*–104*b*. HOMILETIC FRAGMENT I.<sup>1</sup>
- fol. 104*b*–106*a*. DREAM OF THE ROOD.
- fol. 106*b*–109*b*. Homily: “Men ða leofestan, us gedafenap ærest þæt we gemunen 7 gereccen be gode ælmihtigum þe geworhte heofonas 7 eorðan 7 ealle gesceafta.
- fol. 109*b*–112*a*. Homily on the deadly sins: “Men ða leofestan, þis syndon halige dagas 7 halwendlice 7 urum sawlum læcedomlice.
- fol. 112*a*–116*b*. Homily: “Men ða leofestan, us ys mycel bearf þæt we god lufien of eallre heortan 7 of eallre sawle 7 of eallum mægene.
- fol. 116*b*–120*b*. Homily on the Christian virtues: “Her sægð hu sc̅s isodorus spræc be ðære sawle gedale 7 be þæs lichoman.
- fol. 121*a*–133*b*. ELENE.
- fol. 133*b*–135*b*. Prose life of St. Guthlac: Wæs þær in þam sprecenan iglande sum mycel hlæw of eorþan geworht.

## IV

## LARGE CAPITALS IN THE MANUSCRIPT

In general, a large capital is used at the beginning of each of the homilies in the manuscript, and at the beginning of the first and all succeeding sections in the poems. A list of the sectional divisions in the poems in terms of the line numberings of this edition is given in Table II at the end of this Introduction.

In two places, at the beginning of Section [XII] of ANDREAS, fol. 46*a*, and at the beginning of the FATES OF THE APOSTLES, fol. 52*b*, a space was left for a large capital, which was not filled in, though apparently a wrong capital was first written in the passage in ANDREAS, see l. 1253 and footnote, which was later erased and nothing supplied to take its place.

<sup>1</sup> Both of these poems are fragments. One or more pages are missing between folios 103 and 104, so that the end of one poem and the beginning of the other have been lost.

Counting the nearly effaced *H* at the top of fol. 1*a*, there are in all fifty-five of these large capitals. Nearly all of them are of the plain, unornamented type. On fol. 49*a*, however, at the beginning of Section [XIV] of ANDREAS, there is a large zoöomorphic *H*, in a good style very similar to the large capitals of the early pages of the Junius Manuscript. It should be noted that on the verso of the folio, i.e., fol. 49*b*, occurs the animal drawing previously mentioned. On fol. 106*b* and on fol. 112*a* are large capital *M*'s of a curious and somewhat awkward type—an animal head with an arm or branch projecting out of the top of the head to each side. Although these are quite similar, the second is obviously the more crudely drawn of the two, and is perhaps a copy of the first, made by a less experienced artist. These *M*'s were apparently drawn before the rest of the text was written in, the text being made to fit the convolutions of the capitals. After a large capital, the rest of the word in which the capital occurs is usually written in small capitals, of the same general style as the large one, but about half the size. Sometimes the entire first line is capitalized, as on fol. 9*b*, 109*b*, 112*a*. On fol. 109*b*, two large *M*'s and a smaller *E* have been erased before the *M* which actually begins the homily. From these descriptions it will be seen that very little attention was paid to the decoration of the manuscript. An ornamental, red colored ink was used three times in the manuscript, in capitals and titles at the beginning of homilies, on fol. 71*b*, fol. 73*b* and fol. 75*b*.<sup>1</sup> These tinted openings are not reproduced in color in Wülker's or Förster's reproductions of the manuscript, but the one on fol. 75*b* is reproduced in color in *Mr. Cooper's Report on Rymer's Foedera*, at the end of Appendix B, Plate I.

## V

## SMALL CAPITALS IN THE MANUSCRIPT

In the use of small capitals ANDREAS differs in some respects from ELENE. In ELENE personal names are very frequently

<sup>1</sup> Förster, *Der Vercelli-Codex*, in *Studien zur englischen Philologie*, Vol. L (1913), p. 24.

capitalized, e.g. *Constantinus*, ll. 8, 79, 103, etc.; *Elene*, ll. 219, 266, 332, etc., but *elene*, ll. 1051, 1198; *Iudas*, ll. 609, 627, 655, but *iudas*, ll. 418, 586; *Cyriacus*, ll. 1058, 1068, 1097, but *ciriacus*, l. 1129, *cyriacus*, l. 1211. In ANDREAS and in the FATES OF THE APOSTLES personal names as such are not capitalized. In ANDREAS, only four proper names are capitalized, two with initial *I*, *Iudea*, l. 560, *Iosephes*, l. 691, *Moyse*, l. 1513, and *Platan*, l. 1651. In the FATES OF THE APOSTLES, capital *I* appears in *Iohanne*, l. 23, *Iacob*, l. 35, *Indeum*, l. 43, capital *P* in *Petrus*, l. 14, *Philippus*, l. 37, the only other capitalized name being *Simon*, l. 77.

Throughout the manuscript, *in* is very frequently capitalized, as in AN. 41, 52, 78, etc., EL. 6, 9, 127, etc. Very frequently *ic* is written with a capital *I*, as in AN. 72, 81, 97, 99, 110, EL. 288, 345, 353, 419, 574, etc. These capital *I*'s were undoubtedly written in these words, as occasionally in proper names, in order to give the letter a readily distinguishable form, for the same reason, therefore, that the dot over *i* was supplied at a later time, and that the acute accent appears over *i* even in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

In both ANDREAS and ELENE a small capital frequently marks the beginning of a sentence, but more frequently the sentence-beginning is unmarked by a capital. In ELENE, for example, a small capital begins a sentence in *Wæs*, l. 11, *Foron*, l. 21, *For*, l. 35, *Woldon*, l. 40, *þa*, l. 69, etc., in ANDREAS in *þam*, l. 14, *Oft*, l. 17, *þa*, l. 40, etc. In ANDREAS a small capital within a sentence most frequently marks the beginning of an important syntactical division of the sentence, as in AN. 281: *Ne magon þær gewunian · wid ferende ne þær elþeodige eardes brucað · Ah in þære ceastre cwealm þrowiað etc.* Or in AN. 327: (he is. . .) *án ece god · eallra gesceafta · Swa he ealle befehð ánes cræfte · etc.*, or AN. 403: *þafigan ne woldon · Ðæt hie forleton etc.* Or in AN. 558: *Saga þances gleaw þegn gif ðu cunne · Hu ðæt gewurde · etc.* Only rarely does the text of ANDREAS depart from the rule of capitalizing only the beginnings of important syntactical units. An interesting case where a word is apparently capitalized for emphasis is AN. 569: *ah he þara wundra · Á dóm ágende · etc.*, where *a*, although it



belongs metrically to the preceding half-line, is capitalized (and preceded by a point) because it is a very important word and its full force might be missed by the reader.

In *ELENE* the use of small capitals is less carefully regulated. Sometimes capitals are used at the beginning of short phrases, as in *EL. 109*: (Heht þa. . .) þæt halige treo him beforan ferian on feonda ge mang · Beran beacen godes *etc.* Or in *EL. 124*: þa was þuf hafen · Segn for swetolum *etc.* Or in *EL. 88*: swa him se ár ábead · Fæle friðo webba. Or in *EL. 992*: næs þa fricgendra under gold homan gád in burgū, Feorran geferede. This use of the capitals in *ELENE* is so frequent as to be characteristic of the poem. It is also frequent in the *DREAM OF THE ROOD*, as in *l. 23*: hwilum hit was mid wætan be stemed · be-syled mid swates gange · Hwilum mid since gegyrwed · *etc.* In general *SOUL AND BODY I* and *HOMILETIC FRAGMENT I* restrict the small capitals to the beginning of the sentence, but *Donne, SOUL AND BODY 86*, is capitalized, being the resumption of the main clause after the enumeration of the various lesser evils. A survey of the small capitals as they are listed for the poetical parts of the *Vercelli Book* at the end of this Introduction will show how frequently the capitals occur in small connective words, like *ac, swa, ða, nu, hu*, how largely they were therefore structural and syntactical in the intent of the scribe.

Throughout the poetical parts of the manuscript, and especially in *ANDREAS*, there is a gradation in size of the small capitals, but whether this is a reasoned effort to indicate degrees of capitalization, is open to question. It is especially hard to separate the small capitals of larger size from the smaller ones, because of the varying styles which are employed. There seems, for instance, to be only one small capital *F*, and one *N*. On the other hand, we have *D* and *ð* as capitals, which vary in size, one sometimes being the larger, sometimes the other. Frequently, however, attempts to distinguish these capitals in function can be recognized, as in *SOUL AND BODY I, 1-37*, where *Sceal, l. 9*, and *Cleopað, l. 15*, have the larger small capitals, but *Hwæt, l. 22*, and *Eardode, l. 33*, have the smaller ones. On the other hand *hwæt, l. 17*, is not capitalized at all, perhaps because it is obvious from the context that the quotation begins

there. In AN. 254-295 is found the same situation. The *H* of *Hie*, l. 254, is not as tall a letter as the *H* of *Hwanon*, l. 258, but it is heavier and fatter, and from the way it is finished off it is obvious that it is a more important capital than the other. Then *hwanon*, l. 256, is not capitalized, but *Hwanon*, l. 258, has the small capital of smaller size just mentioned.

It is only in cases like these that any deliberate distinction between small capitals of larger and smaller size can be traced. In *ELENE* the small capitals are much more consistent in size and shape, with no apparent gradation. The same is true of the *DREAM OF THE ROOD*, and it is probably more than a coincidence that these two poems come close together near the end of the book, where the 31- or 32-line page, beginning with the fifteenth gathering of the manuscript, is standard.

As a part of the record of the poetical portions of the manuscript, the small capitals in these texts are given in a list in Table III at the end of this Introduction.

In the prose texts the use of small capitals varies quite as much as in the poems. Latin quotations, which are plentiful toward the beginning of the manuscript, but less so toward the end, generally begin with a capital letter, e.g. *Ego*, *Numquid*, fol. 2*b*, *Reus*, fol. 3*b*, *Ergo*, fol. 5*a*, *Qui*, fol. 27*b*, *Nolite*, fol. 28*a*, etc., but not *beati*, fol. 26*b*. Personal names vary. In the first homily we have *iohannes*, *petrus*, fol. 2*b*, *crist*, fol. 3*a*, *pilatus*, fol. 4*a*, and this is uniformly the custom in this homily. In the third homily we have *iohannes*, fol. 12*b*, 13*b*, *esaiam*, fol. 13*b*, *esaias*, fol. 14*a*, but whenever a personal name begins a sentence it is capitalized, e.g., *Agustinus*, fol. 14*b*, *Moyses*, *Crist*, *Paulus*, fol. 15*a*. In general, non-capitalization of personal names is the rule in the homilies.

The small capitals in the homilies are also of various sizes, as in this passage on fol. 64*a*:

Ac [*very small capital A*] utan þydan us to þam uplican rice · forðan þær is þæt wuldor þæt nænig man ne mæg mid his wordum asecgan · Ða [*small capital Ð*] wynsumnesse þæs heofon cundan lifes · Ðær [*small capital Ð*] bið lif butan deaþe · 7 god butan ende · 7 yld butan sare · 7 dæg butan nihte · And [*much larger capital A*] þær bið gefea butan unrotnesse · 7 rice butan awendednesse · 7 ne þearf man etc.



Here there is obviously an attempt to distinguish the capitals according to syntax, but no simple generalizations can be made for the manuscript as a whole, or indeed for the separate homilies.

Thus on fol. 17*a* the manuscript reads:

Her ne mæg nan yfel ece beon · Forþan þeos woruld nis ece ·  
Her is lytelu unrotnes · Ac þær is singalo nearones · her syndon  
lytle wynlustas ác þær syndon þa ecan tin trego þon for worhton ·  
her bið unglædlic hleahter · Ac [*a very small capital A*] þær is se  
*etc.*

In this passage the first two sentences, with their contrasts, are capitalized, whereas the rest are not. This suggests that it was considered sufficient to indicate the structure at the beginning, to prepare the reader for what is to come, any further capitalization being thus unnecessary. In the prose, as in the poems, the beginnings of sentences and of important clauses are frequently but not always capitalized.

The best generalization that can be made is that capitalization in the manuscript, in the verse as well as in the prose, is purely pragmatic in origin and intention, that it was intended more as a rhythmical guide to the reader, to tell him when to pause, when to lift his voice, when to emphasize a word, than as a systematic logical or syntactical accompaniment of the text.

## VI

## ABBREVIATIONS IN THE MANUSCRIPT

The common abbreviations in the poetical portions of the manuscript, which have all been resolved in the text without comment, except in cases of special interest, are (1) a line, or macron, somewhat resembling the tilde, over a vowel, sometimes over a consonant, to indicate the omission of one or more letters following; (2) þ̅ for þæt; (3) 7 for ond, and.

The tilde or macron occurs most commonly in dative plural endings, but not consistently. Thus on fol. 29*b*, the manuscript reads *fyrn dagū*, AN. 1, but *tunglum*, AN. 2. On fol. 30*a* occurs *scyld hetū*, AN. 85, and *werigū*, AN. 86, but *wroht smiðum*, AN. 86. The manuscript shows similar irregularity throughout.

The tilde is also frequently used in the particle *þoñ* for *þonne*, *þā* for *þam*, and in *hū* for *him*, *frā* for *fram*, *ghwā* for *gehwam*, and less frequently in nouns, adjectives or verbs, as in *hear locan* for *hearmlocan*, AN. 95, *grāra* for *gramra*, *id.* 217, *grā hydiges* for *gramhydiges*, *id.* 1694, *yřpa* for *yrmpa*, *id.* 970, *frū bearn* for *frumbearn*, *id.* 1294, *frēme* for *fremme*, *id.* 1354, *wælgri* for *wælgrim*, *id.* 1415. Several times in ANDREAS, the tilde occurs over *g*, as in *ghwā* for *gehwam*, AN. 121, and *bletsunġ* for *bletsunge*, *id.* 223. The manuscript reading *gwyrhtum*, AN. 1180, may be an error for *gewyrhtum* or for *ġwyrhtum*.

In the other poetical texts of the manuscript, besides the common *-ū* for *-um*, *-ñ* for *-ne*, and other frequently occurring abbreviations, the following abbreviations may be noted: *frýðe* for *frymðe*, SOUL AND BODY I, 79, *dōdæge* for *domdæge*, *id.* 96; *dreā* for *dream*, HOMILETIC FRAGMENT I, 2; *gebringġ* for *gebringe*, DREAM OF THE ROOD 139; *hā* for *ham*, EL. 143, *frā* for *fram*, *id.* 190, 701, *þrý* for *þrym*, *id.* 483, 815, *þrýma* for *þrymma*, *id.* 483, 519, *þrýme* for *þrymme*, *id.* 329, 754, *þrýmes* for *þrymmes*, *id.* 348, *frēme* for *fremme*, *id.* 524, *wōma* for *womma*, *id.* 1310, *clōmum* for *clomnum*, *id.* 696, *gelāþ* for *gelamþ*, *id.* 962, and several exceptional abbreviations, *ġ* for *geseh*, *id.* 841, which the scribe seems to have written first merely as *ġ* and then to have supplemented this by writing *seh* above the line, *middan ġ* for *middangeard*, *id.* 16, 774, and *7sweř* for *andsweredon*. A noteworthy use of the runic symbol *ƿ*, the symbol regularly used by the scribe for *w*, occurs twice in the manuscript, on fol. 128*b* and fol. 131*b*, in EL. 788, 1089. The symbol is written with a dot before and after, and it stands for the word *wyn*, according to Cook, or *waldend*, according to Wülker. This use of a runic symbol to stand for a word is similar to that in the signatures of the name of Cynewulf on fol. 54*a* and fol. 133*a* of the manuscript, but the use is restricted to these four places in the manuscript.

The abbreviation *þ* for *þæt* occurs approximately four times as many times as the unabbreviated *þæt* in ANDREAS, but only four times altogether in ELENE, three times in SOUL AND BODY I, and not at all in the text of the other poems. The abbreviation *oþþ* occurs once in AN. 1574, but not elsewhere in the poems. The spelling *ðæt*, with initial *ð*, is not abbreviated in the poems.



In only seven instances in *ANDREAS* does *ond* occur written out, ll. 945, 1001, 1203, 1307, 1395, 1400, 1719; to these should perhaps be added *on*, l. 1039, apparently an error for *ond*. Elsewhere in *ANDREAS* the customary abbreviation *7* occurs. In *ELENE*, *ond* occurs written out four times, ll. 930, 976, 983, 1209; elsewhere the abbreviation is used. In each of the four instances where *ond* is written out, the *o* is a small capital in *ELENE*, whereas it never is in *ANDREAS*. In the other four poems, only the abbreviation occurs.

Where *ond-* occurs in compound words, the usage of the scribe varies. In *ANDREAS* the verb *ondswarian* and its forms occur with *7* five times, with *ond-* five times; *ondswerian* occurs once unabbreviated. The noun *ondsware* occurs three times written out, and *andsware* occurs twice written out. The form *7sware* occurs seven times. The form *7wist* occurs in AN. 1540, the only instance of the word; *7langne* occurs in AN. 1274, but *ondlangne*, l. 818, and *ondlange*, l. 1254. The form *7sware* occurs once in *SOUL AND BODY I*, 106. In *ELENE*, *andsware* occurs in ll. 567, 1002, but *7sware* nine times. The verb form *7swer* occurs once, l. 396, and also *7wlitan*, l. 298, *7weardlice*, l. 1140, *7sæc*, l. 472, *7wyrde*, ll. 545, 619, *7wearde*, l. 630, none of these words occurring unabbreviated. Since the spelling *ond* is the more frequent in this manuscript when the word is written out, the abbreviation has been regularly so resolved in the texts of the present volume.

In the prose parts of the manuscript, abbreviations are somewhat more fully used than in the poetical parts, but in the same ways, except that no runic symbols stand for words in the prose parts. A few of the more notable abbreviations of the prose are as follows: *ē* for *cwæð*, fol. 12*b*, 13*a*, 13*b*, etc., *cw̄* for *cwæð*, fol. 15*b*, 120*b*, *m̄ þa t̄* for *men þa leofestan*, fol. 9*a*, 117*b*, and also *men þa t̄*, fol. 23*b*, 24*b*, *men ð t̄*, fol. 80*a*, and occasionally merely *m̄*, fol. 19*a*, 19*b*, etc.; *dryhne* for *dryhtne*, fol. 9*a*, and also *drih* for *drihten*, fol. 9*a*; *heriḡ* for *herigode*, fol. 19*a*; *aplas* for *apostolas*, fol. 71*b*; *sēs* for *sanctus*, fol. 71*b*, etc.; *ðð* for *Dauid*, fol. 14*a*, etc.; *ioh̄* for *Iohannem*, fol. 85*b*. Latin passages in the prose text contain many abbreviations of the customary and easily recognizable types, e.g., *d̄s* for *deus*, *d̄ño* for *domino*, *scd̄m* for *secundum*, *ūr* for *uester*, etc.



## VII

## PUNCTUATION AND ACCENT MARKS

The metrical punctuation in the poems of the Vercelli Book is very irregular, and contrasts sharply with the careful system of metrical points in the Junius Manuscript. A large part of the pointing in the Vercelli Book seems to be syntactical, rather than metrical in purpose. Usage varies from poem to poem, and therefore the six poems must be taken up separately. The metrical points in the later poems of the manuscript are much less frequent than in *ANDREAS*.

An examination of the points in *AN.* 1-276 shows that the pointing is metrical, but by no means as consistently so, as in the Junius Manuscript. In *AN.* 1-100 there are 89 points, and this ratio, 89 to 200 half-lines, does not change materially in the rest of the poem.

A good example of the pointing is to be found in *AN.* 25-39:

swelc wæs þeaw hira · þæt hie æghwylcne ellðeodigra · dydan  
 him to mose mete þearfendū · þara þe þæt ealand utan sohte ·  
 Swylc wæs þæs folces freoðo leas tacen unlædra eafod · þæt  
 hie eagenas gesihð · hetted heoro grimme · heafod gimme ·  
 Ágeton gealmode gara ordum · syððan him geblondan bitere  
 to somne · dryas þurh dwolcraeft · drync unheorne · se on wende  
 gewit wera ingeþanc heortan hreðre · hyge wæs on cyrred ·  
 þæt hie ne murndan æfter man dreame · hæleþ heoro grædige ·  
 ac hie híg 7 gærs · for mete leaste · meðe gedrehte ·

The pointing here seems to be partly syntactical, partly metrical, though mainly syntactical. If the metrical intention had been uppermost in the mind of the scribe, one would at least expect points after *mose* and *tacen* in this passage. But that the metrical intention of the points was not entirely absent is evidenced by the fact that once in a while the scribe breaks out into a flurry of them, e.g., ll. 190-201:

Hu mæg ic dryhten min ofer deop ge lad · fore gefremman on  
 feorne weg · swa hrædlice · heofona scyppend · wuldres wal-  
 dend · swa ðu worde becwist · Ðæt mæg engel þin · eaðge  
 feran · of heofenum con him holma begang · sealte sæstreamas ·  
 7 swan rade · waroð faruða gewinn · 7 wæter brogan · wegas ofer

wid land· nesynt me winas cuðe· eorlas ellþeodige· ne þær æniges wát hæleða gehygdo· ne me here stræta ofer cald wæter cuðe sindon·

A case might also be made for syntactical pointing here, but what syntactical value the points have may be explained as due to the peculiar structure of Anglo-Saxon verse.

In AN. 1-276 there are only three points which do not come at the end of a half-line. They are after *lungre*, l. 77, *him*, l. 189, and *scealtu*, l. 220. Similar pointing occurs elsewhere, as in l. 601, where section [VI] begins: Ða gen weges· weard· word hord onleac· The pointing in these passages seems to be without rime or reason, unless it may have been intended to indicate some kind of rhetorical emphasis in reading. It is possible that in l. 77 the scribe regarded the line as ending with *lungre*, and *scyle* as belonging to the next line.

The only generalization which seems possible for ANDREAS is that the pointing, as a whole, is highly unsystematic and regularly conditioned neither by meter, syntax, nor sentence-rhythm, though any of these may have been the reason for individual points. The person—scribe or author—who inserted these points probably had a reason for each one, or most of them, but present knowledge of the technique of Anglo-Saxon poetry is not much furthered by his use of them.

In the FATES OF THE APOSTLES, the points are on the same system, or lack of system, as in ANDREAS, ranging from infrequent pointing in ll. 6b-22 to regular pointing in ll. 58-65a, except that no point follows *gesohte*, l. 62a. But this word comes at the end of a line and perhaps no point was felt to be necessary there.

In SOUL AND BODY I it is possible to make some generalizations. One notices first the recurring point-pattern in such phrases as the following:

Wære þu þe wiste wlanc· 7 wines sæd· l. 39.  
 strange gestryned· 7 gestaðolod þurh me· l. 45.  
 men to ge mæccan· ne meder ne fæder· ne nænigum gesybban  
 ll. 53-54.  
 secan þa hamas þe ðu me her scrife· 7 þa arleasan eardungstowe·  
 ll. 70-71.

þonne ðu æfre on moldan man gewurde· oððe æfre fulwihte  
onfon sceolde· ll. 86-87.

It will be observed that these coördinate constructions are very consistent in the pointing, which may be rhythmical or syntactical. On the other hand, in ll. 57-60, the manuscript reads: Ne mæg þe nu heonon adon hyrsta þy readan· ne gold ne seolfor ne þinra goda nán ne þinre bryde beag· ne þin gold wela· ne nan þara goda þe ðu iu ahtest·

One would expect more pointing here than the manuscript gives. In general, the points, which are rather infrequent in this poem, less than 60 in 166 lines, seem to have been inserted for syntactical or rhythmical, rather than for metrical, purposes.

In HOMILECTIC FRAGMENT I the points are also infrequent, about 12 in 47 lines, and of these the following may be noted especially:

manig· 7 mislic· in manna dreā· l. 2.  
in wita for wyrd· weoruda dryhten· l. 10.  
sare mid· þonne se sæl cymeð· l. 23.

Concerning these and the remaining points, no generalization is possible.

In the DREAM OF THE ROOD, the metrical points vary strangely. On fol. 104*b* (ll. 1-21), where there are 24 lines on a page, the points are rare, and seem to mark syntactical pauses within sentences, or else sentence-closes, as in: fægere æt foldan sceatum· swylce þær fife wæron *etc.*; ne wæs ðær huru fracodes gealga· Ac hine þær *etc.* On the next three pages (fol. 105*a*-106*a*) the number of lines on a page jumps to 32, and coincidentally with this change the pointing also changes. From *wendan*, l. 22, the first word on fol. 105*a*, to *bestemed*, l. 22, there is no pointing; but there is a point after *bestemed*, and then a point after each half-line, except after *licgende*, l. 24, to the end of l. 25. This is obviously metrical pointing, but it stops as suddenly as it began. In ll. 32-51*a*, the pointing becomes more abundant, but it appears to be syntactical, marking off the short sentences in this part of the poem. After l. 52 the points again become very infrequent, with apparently no consistency in their use.



In ELENE the first thing one observes is that of the 14 points which occur in EL. 1-100, all but three are followed by small capitals, as follows: after *hereteman*, l. 10, *Hreð gotan*, l. 20, *geador*, l. 26, *burg wigendra*, l. 34, *breahime*, l. 39, *sceawedon*, l. 58, *gesægon*, l. 68, *woma*, l. 71, *toglad*, l. 78, *ðe*, l. 81, *abead*, l. 87. This indicates unmistakably their syntactical character. In general, the points mark the ends of sentences or parts of sentences. The three exceptions are after *foron*, l. 21, where the *n* has apparently been added later, and the point inserted to separate the words; after *cyning*, l. 32, where the function of the point is not at all obvious; and after *gearu*, l. 85, where separation of words written closely together is perhaps again the intention. This syntactical function of the points continues throughout the poem, and in most, nearly all, cases a small capital follows. Frequently the point is shaped like a comma.

The other marks of punctuation used in the poetical parts of the manuscript are :7 and :~, which regularly mark the ends of sections, and frequently occur within sections, at times not differing in function from a plain point, as after *drynces*, SOUL BODY I, 41, *wolde*, *id.* 83, *treow*, DREAM OF THE ROOD 17, *fornam*, EL. 131, *þanon*, *id.* 143. Sometimes a semicolon (: or √) occurs, but very rarely, as after *wære*, SOUL AND BODY 21, *cure*, *id.* 155.

The only certain thing about all this punctuation is its extreme irregularity and frequent aimlessness. It seems quite probable, however, that much of this inconsistency is due to the heedlessness of scribes in transmitting what may have been originally a more systematic style of punctuation, or perhaps to the editorial policy of the scribe of the Vercelli manuscript. His principle seems to have been not to punctuate the poetical texts metrically, though occasionally he may have introduced metrical points unreflectingly, and perhaps under the influence of a copy which contained a greater abundance of metrical pointings.

A dot over the letter *y* which appears frequently in the Vercelli Book, but not in the Junius Manuscript, is scarcely to be regarded as a form of punctuation, but as a part of the letter itself. The purpose of this dot seems to have been to give the letter a distinctive mark of recognition. Several different

styles of *y* appear in the manuscript, especially one in which the two upper arms and the lower stroke of the letter are straight lines, and a second in which both of the upper arms and also the lower stroke are markedly curved. The first may be called the straight and the second the curly *y*. The curly *y* was frequent, according to Keller, *Angelsächsische Palaeographie*, pp. 40-42, in the first half of the tenth century. The straight *y* was in origin an earlier style of writing, and it is above the straight *y* that the dot usually occurs in the Vercelli Book. But all straight *y*'s are not uniformly provided with a dot, and on the other hand, occasionally the later curly *y* has a dot. After its early use the dot above the straight *y* was discontinued for a time in the practice of Anglo-Saxon scribes, according to Keller, but with the scribal reform at the beginning of the tenth century, the dot came in again, and by the eleventh century, the undotted *y* had practically disappeared. So far as the Vercelli Book is concerned, the writing of *y* is notable mainly for its unsystematic and eclectic character.

#### ACCENTS IN THE POEMS

Scattered throughout the manuscript, both in prose and verse texts, occur numerous acute accent marks placed above letters. These accents occur regularly only above vowel symbols, although *edniwīnga*, AN. 783, has the mark over the *g*, probably through inadvertence, instead of over the second *i* of the word. The marks are of varying degrees of heaviness, depending on the strength of the strokes of the pen with which they were made, but there is no indication that the scribe intended any difference of kind in the accent marks. The purpose or purposes for which these accent marks were made is not always clear, nor is it altogether certain whether they were made by the scribe as he wrote or were inserted afterward, though there seems no good reason for assuming anything other than that they were made by the scribe as he wrote.

In *ANDREAS*, *FATES OF THE APOSTLES* and *ELENE* accent marks occur with about the same degree of frequency, the percentages of accents in proportion to the lines being respectively .182, .172 and .164. In the shorter poems the accent marks are



a good deal less frequent, .06 per cent in SOUL AND BODY I, .085 in HOMILETIC FRAGMENT I, and .038 in the DREAM OF THE ROOD.

That these accent marks were not consistently used to indicate vowel length is obvious from an examination of the list of them given at the end of this Introduction. It is indeed questionable whether they were intended to indicate vowel length at all. Naturally vowel length frequently coincides with metrical stress and in such instances the accent may as well have been intended to indicate stress as vowel length. In any case poets and scribes of the Anglo-Saxon period could scarcely have had etymological length of vowels in mind in the placing of these accent marks, and if they were intended to indicate anything with respect to the character of the vowel sounds, it was more probably some shade of quality than a degree of quantity. Not infrequently accents appear over vowels historically short, especially *gód*, as in AN. 758, 760, 925, 999, 1030, *etc.* to distinguish the word for "god" from *gōd*, "good." This use occurs only in the text of ANDREAS. Other examples of accents over short vowels are *wæg*, AN. 223, *hýge*, *id.* 578, *gewit*, *id.* 645, *ongín*, *id.* 741, *gehýgd*, *id.* 772, *héonan*, *id.* 791, *inwít*, *id.* 946, *gewínn*, *id.* 958, *hlíndura*, *id.* 993, *hríne*, *id.* 1000, *lóf*, *id.* 1006, *hófe*, *id.* 1008, *hínca*, *id.* 1171, *círm*, *id.* 1237, *wíne*, *id.* 1464, *éngan*, EL. 712. Accent marks over short vowels are less frequent in ELENE than in ANDREAS. The frequency of accents over the letter *i*, long and short, suggests that the accent here was merely a distinguishing part of the letter, like the later conventional dot. The letter most frequently provided with an accent is *a*. In some instances the accent seems to be merely a syllabic indication, as in those many compounds in which the prefix *a-* is given an accent, or in writings like *bán hús*, AN. 1240, *brím rade*, *id.* 1262, or compounds with *or-*, *un-*, as in *órlege*, AN. 1146, *únhwílen*, *id.* 1154, *órmæte*, *id.* 1166, *únfyrn*, *id.* 1371. Stress accent seems to be indicated in the writing of proper names, as in *merme donía*, AN. 42, *ísrahelum*, *id.* 165, *hábráháme*, *id.* 779, *isáác*, *id.* 793, *achágia*, AP. 16, *ir tácus*, *id.* 68, and certainly *hwæt*, AN. 676. Accent on an inflectional ending, as in *hæfdón*, AN. 785, or *fárá*, *id.* 1023, 1060, may also have been rhetorical, though accents of this kind occur very infrequently.

Sometimes, though rarely, a vowel letter is doubled, presumably as a variant of the accent mark, and sometimes both double spelling and accent occur, as in *óor*, AN. 649, *táan*, *id.* 1099, *fáá*, *id.* 1593, *fáa*, *id.* 1599.

Although the accent marks in the poetical texts are certainly not applied in accord with any single system, they are by no means haphazard and accidental or ornamental additions to the text. As a part of the record of the manuscript, accented words in the poetical texts of the Vercelli Book are listed in Table IV at the end of this Introduction. For the purpose of comparative study, the accent marks in the Junius Manuscript are also given in this table. A bar separating the parts of a word has been inserted in certain words in these lists, as in *á | hwurfon*, Page 1, GEN. 25, the purpose of the bar being to indicate that the part of the word before the bar stands at the end of the line in the manuscript, the scribe's intent in these accents apparently being to call attention to the syllabic division of the word. Syllabic division as it appears in the manuscript in all other words is also indicated, since there seems to be no doubt that the scribes frequently used the accent merely to mark the syllabic character of a word. A bibliography of studies of the accents in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts will be found in Kennedy, *A Bibliography of Writings on the English Language from the Beginning of Printing to the End of 1922*, p. 134.

#### PUNCTUATION AND ACCENT-MARKS IN THE PROSE TEXTS

The point occurs in the prose texts as in the poems, although obviously its use here is syntactical only. The following passage, taken from the first homily, fol. 2*b*, is representative:

Hwæt ic openlice 7 undearnunga middan gearð lærde · 7 symle þær eower gesomnung wæs In eowrum templū þyder ealle iudas comon · þonne ic his ealle lærde · ne ic owiht dearnunga spræc · nemin lar ówiht diogol wæs ·

The tendency is to separate the various syntactical or rhythmic units of a sentence, but not to carry out this separation rigorously or completely.

In the fifth homily, and in those which immediately follow ANDREAS and the FATES OF THE APOSTLES, the punctuation is



appreciably less frequent than in the preceding prose texts. In the latter part of the book, beginning with fol. 106*b*, where the writing is smaller and with more lines on a page, the punctuation becomes again more frequent. The use of punctuation varies so much from homily to homily, and even within a homily, that, as in the verse, no single guiding principle can be discovered.

The semicolon (;) occurs in the prose also, e.g. fol. 11*a*, l. 11; fol. 15*a*, l. 22, etc. In the fourth homily, and particularly from fol. 16*b* to fol. 18*b*, this sign is quite frequent, in contrast to its infrequency in the other parts of the manuscript. But the use of the semicolon is also quite inconsistent, for instance, in a passage on fol. 18*b*:

[. . .] þ hie ne magon ongytan nan þing butan þa myrhðe þæs dryhtnes wuldres; He us gelifæst hæfð on þyssum middan gearde; 7 we hī under þyde bion sculon· gif we hit earnian willað: Nu we sindon m̄ on þysne middan geard *etc.*

The colon, as after *willað*, rarely occurs in the prose texts.

The accent-marks in the prose texts, like those in the verse, usually occur over vowels historically long. In frequency they vary considerably; in five lines on fol. 10*b* the words *rén*, *dóm*, *blácan*, and *wóp* have accents, but this is unusual, and on fol. 11*b* the only word accented is *gedóó*. Sometimes a long vowel is distinguished by doubling the letter, with or without an accent, as in *aa*, fol. 12*a*, *tiid*, fol. 25*a*, *tiid*, fol. 25*b*, and *gedóó* above.

In general, it may be said that accents do not occur as often or as consistently in the prose as in the poems, and that they are much less frequent in the later than in the earlier part of the book. The habits of punctuation as they appear in the prose texts are nevertheless quite in harmony with those that are present in the verse texts of the manuscript.

## VIII

## THE POEMS IN THE MANUSCRIPT

The poems in the Vercelli manuscript are not provided with titles, nor are they distinguished by any formal marks peculiar to them from the prose parts of the manuscript. Each poem



begins with a large capital, except the FATES OF THE APOSTLES, in which space for the capital was left but the letter itself was never supplied, and HOMILETIC FRAGMENT I, the beginning of which is lacking through a loss of one or more folios in the manuscript. After the initial large capital, the remaining letters of the first word of each poem is written in smaller large capitals, except in the DREAM OF THE ROOD, where only the first two letters of the first word are capitalized. The beginnings of the poems indeed are not more definitely marked than the sections in the poems. This informal treatment of the openings of the poems contrasts sharply with the treatment of the openings of the homilies. Many of the homilies not only have titles, but the openings are also more elaborately capitalized, a number of times through the whole of the first line of a homily, and most of the few attempts at decorative capitals also appear at the beginning of homilies. From this one may perhaps infer that the homilies were more highly esteemed for the purpose for which the volume was made than the poems.

The first poem in the manuscript, on fol. 29b-52b, is ANDREAS, a narrative account of the life of St. Andrew derived ultimately from the Greek Πράξεις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Μαθθαία εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων, edited by Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 65-116 (1898). The poem was made from a Latin version of the Greek text not now extant, so far as is known, in a complete form.<sup>1</sup> An Anglo-Saxon prose life of St. Andrew is preserved in two manuscripts, the manuscript of the Blickling Homilies and MS. 198, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, accessible in Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, pp. 113-128. This prose version is ultimately of the same origin as ANDREAS, but the two are independently derived from their source.

The narrative in ANDREAS follows the source very closely and no serious question of omission or interpolation occurs in the consideration of the poem. But because ANDREAS is followed in the manuscript by the FATES OF THE APOSTLES, and because this latter is such a short poem and nevertheless

<sup>1</sup> See Krapp, *Andreas*, pp. xxi ff.

contains one of the four well-known runic signatures of Cynewulf, an attempt has been made to attach it to ANDREAS as a part and conclusion of that poem. Nothing in the manuscript justifies such a disposition of the FATES OF THE APOSTLES. The poem begins with a large capital, or rather space for one, the capital never having been supplied, and it is separated from what precedes by the usual spacing. It is true that the method used by the scribe in separating the different sections of a poem is exactly the same as that used in separating quite different poems. But since this is so, the arrangement of the poem in the manuscript provides no argument either one way or the other concerning the theory of the FATES OF THE APOSTLES as an integral part of ANDREAS. Internal evidence, however, speaks more decisively. ANDREAS has its single source, as has already been pointed out, and there is no evidence that the author of ANDREAS endeavored to manipulate or to enlarge the structure of the narrative as his source gave it. The FATES OF THE APOSTLES has a different but quite as definite a source, although the exact text which the Anglo-Saxon poet used has not been discovered. But it must have been some Latin list of the Apostles, their missions and passions, of a type commonly current at the time the Anglo-Saxon poem was written, and possibly of Irish origin.<sup>1</sup> The general agreement in subject matter of ANDREAS as the story of the life of an apostle and of the FATES OF THE APOSTLES as a brief martyrology of the apostles is an evidence of the selective choice of the person who brought together the materials of the Vercelli Book, but not of any constructive intent on the part of the author of ANDREAS.

It should be noted, however, that the passage on fol. 54a, comprising AP. 96-122 and containing the runes which combine to form the name *Cynwulf*, stands on this folio by itself, and it has been argued from this that the FATES OF THE APOSTLES really ends with l. 95b, and that the runic passage, ll. 96-122, happens to have been misplaced, its proper position being at the end of ANDREAS, as an epilogue to that poem. But again nothing in the manuscript record justifies such an assumption,

<sup>1</sup> See Krapp, *Andreas*, pp. xxix-xxxii, Hamilton, *Modern Language Notes* XXXV, 385-95 (1920).



except the very slight evidence that the runic passage does begin on a new page. But there is no mark of punctuation at the conclusion of the preceding page, and the first word of the runic passage on fol. 54*a* does not begin with a large capital or any other indication that it is a new poem or even a sectional division of a larger poem. The text on the page preceding fol. 54*a* fills the page completely, the number of lines on the page being twenty-five, and the scribe was consequently compelled to begin on a new page with the words that follow. If it were certain that ANDREAS was written by Cynewulf, one might be inclined to stretch the point a little and to assume that the runic passage at least formed the conclusion of ANDREAS. Or of course it may be argued, as it was by Sievers,<sup>1</sup> that the passage on fol. 54*a* belongs neither to the FATES OF THE APOSTLES nor to ANDREAS, but to some unknown poem. But it is very far from certain that ANDREAS was the work of Cynewulf, and one hesitates to attach any part of the FATES OF THE APOSTLES to that poem. On the strength of the runic signature, the FATES OF THE APOSTLES has been generally assigned to Cynewulf. It may seem strange that Cynewulf should have taken the trouble to add his name to so slight a poem as the FATES OF THE APOSTLES, but on the other hand, it is not improbable that Cynewulf attached a higher value to the poem than the modern reader is inclined to do.<sup>2</sup>

The third poem in the manuscript, on fol. 101*b*–103*b*, follows a homily which ends on fol. 101*a*, on a page containing only seventeen lines of writing, the rest of the page being left blank. The poem begins at the top of fol. 101*b* with the usual capitals that mark the beginnings of new texts. In content the poem is an address of the soul to the body after death. Another version of the poem which loosely parallels the text in the Vercelli Book is contained in the Exeter Book. To distinguish the two versions, the one in the Vercelli Book is called SOUL AND BODY I, and the version in the Exeter Book is called SOUL AND BODY II. The poem ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia* XIII, 21–25.

<sup>2</sup> For discussions of these questions of structure, see the titles in the Bibliography.

at the foot of fol. 103*b*. The concluding parts of the poem were undoubtedly contained on the one or more folios now missing from the manuscript between fol. 103–104. But probably not much of this poem has been lost, for the text that follows in the manuscript as it now exists is HOMILETIC FRAGMENT I, which occupies only fol. 104*a* and five lines at the top of fol. 104*b*, in all forty-seven lines of text. A good share of the missing page or pages was not improbably occupied by the beginning of this poem.

The poem following SOUL AND BODY I is designated as HOMILETIC FRAGMENT I to distinguish it from another similar fragment contained in the Exeter Book and designated HOMILETIC FRAGMENT II. The beginning of this poem is missing for the same reason that the conclusion of SOUL AND BODY I is missing, but short as the surviving fragment is, probably not much has been lost. For the fragment is a loose amplification of Psalm XXVIII, and the beginning of the fragment corresponds to the third verse of the Psalm, which as a whole contains only nine verses. So far as this evidence goes, it seems to indicate therefore that not more than one or two folios may have been lost between fol. 103–104.

After HOMILETIC FRAGMENT I comes the DREAM OF THE ROOD in the manuscript, extending from the sixth line on fol. 104*b* to the bottom of fol. 106*a*. The poem begins in the usual way with capitals and with spacing separating it from the text that precedes, and it ends with no indication of incompleteness or loss on fol. 106*a*. The text is rather closely written on fol. 105*a*–106*a*, these pages each containing thirty-two lines; but this can scarcely be taken as evidence that the scribe wanted to crowd the text of the DREAM OF THE ROOD within a certain space, for the pages that follow fol. 106*a* contain a homily and these also are written with thirty-two lines on a page.

The earlier editors assigned the DREAM OF THE ROOD to Cynewulf, but no direct evidence and very little indirect evidence is available to justify such an ascription. Certain similarities of phrasing, sometimes helpful in determining the text, connect the runic inscription on the Ruthwell Cross with this poem, and also the very brief inscription on the Brussels Cross,



the plausible assumption being that these inscriptions were extracted from the text of the poem. It is not improbable that the DREAM OF THE ROOD was written by Cynewulf, but the lack of evidence, except that of a general and circumstantial character, forbids any positive statement.

The sixth and last poem in the manuscript is ELENE, contained on fol. 121*a*-133*b*. It begins at the top of fol. 121*a*, following a prose text which ends on fol. 120*b* at the middle of the page, the rest of the page being left blank. The narrative proper of ELENE ends on the twenty-first line of fol. 132*b* with the word *finit* and the usual punctuation indicating the close of a section, and it is followed on the same page by the opening of the passage containing the runic signature of Cynewulf. This passage extends through the sixth line on fol. 133*b* and is numbered XV, as a section of ELENE. It is followed in turn on the seventh line of fol. 133*b* by a part of the prose life of St. Guthlac, without section numbering. The poem is undoubtedly complete, but the prose life of St. Guthlac, although it begins as a new division, opens in the middle of a narrative with allusions to preceding matter not contained in this text. By virtue of the runic symbols on fol. 133*a*, in the passage following the end of the narrative of ELENE, this is one of the few Anglo-Saxon poems the authorship of which is unquestioned, for all agree that the poem was written by Cynewulf. This runic passage, it should be noted, is an appendage or epilogue to ELENE. The text of ELENE ends with the twenty-first line of fol. 132*b* of the manuscript and it ends with the word *finit*. This is the conclusion of a section numbered fourteen, and following it comes the number fifteen and the opening of the runic passage in the usual way as a new section. The runic passage therefore fills the remainder of fol. 132*b*, that is, ten lines, the whole of fol. 133*a*, and six lines of fol. 133*b*, where it ends with *Amen*. Nothing in the content of this runic passage connects it inescapably with ELENE, and indeed it is so different in general style that it would seem to have been composed as an entirely independent effort. The connection of the runic passage with the rest of the poem is therefore not structural but casual, though this fact scarcely justifies any doubts of it as a genuine addition to ELENE.

The actual text which Cynewulf had before him as his source in the composition of *ELENE* has not been discovered. It is almost certain, however, that Cynewulf followed his source closely and there are no questions of interpolation or structural misplacement to be considered. In its relation to its source, *ELENE* therefore resembles *ANDREAS*. The source of the poem was a Latin legend of the invention of the Cross, differing from but similar to that given in the *Acta Sanctorum*.<sup>1</sup> Other very similar forms of the Cross legend are to be found in a Latin *Acta Cyriaci* from Codex Paris. 2769, and in the Greek *Λόγος τῆς εὐρέσεως τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιῶ στανροῦ*, from Codex Graecus Monacensis 271.<sup>2</sup> In the *Heilagra manna sögur* there is a Norse version of the Cross legend which in many places shows a striking resemblance to *Elene*.<sup>3</sup> An even closer similarity with *Elene* is shown by the Irish version in the *Leabhar Breac*<sup>4</sup> and by an Anglo-Saxon prose homily entitled *pære halgan rode gemetnes* in MS. Auct. F. 4. 32 in the Bodleian Library.<sup>5</sup> It is quite probable<sup>6</sup> that the Irish version and the two Anglo-Saxon versions were from a common Latin source, made in Ireland, perhaps from a still earlier Greek text.

## IX

## TABLE I

## CONTENTS OF THE FOLIOS OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The contents of the folios of the Vercelli manuscript containing poetical texts are given in terms of the line numbers of this edition in the following table.

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii I, 445-448. See Glöde, *Anglia* IX, 271-318.

<sup>2</sup> These two texts are printed in Holder, *Inventio Sanctæ Crucis*, pp. 1-13, 30-39.

<sup>3</sup> *Heilagra manna sögur*, ed. Unger, Christiania, 1877, Vol. I, pp. 303-308. See Golther, *Literaturblatt* VIII, 261-263, and Brenner, *Englische Studien* XIII, 480-482.

<sup>4</sup> Schirmer, *Die Kreuzeslegenden im Leabhar Breac*, St. Gallen, 1886, pp. 8-19, with a German translation, pp. 31-44.

<sup>5</sup> Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood* (E. E. T. S., O. S. 46), pp. 3-17.

<sup>6</sup> See Brown, *Englische Studien* XL. 1-29.

## ANDREAS

<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 <i>b</i>	1		43 þegnas ( <i>M.S.</i> þegn)	41 <i>b</i>	914	Andreas	949 was
				42 <i>a</i>	950	Nu	986 mihte
				42 <i>b</i>	987	synfulra	1024 on
30 <i>a</i>	44	geasco- don	87 ofer	43 <i>a</i>	1025	gewyrht	1060 folc-
				43 <i>b</i>	1060	-mægen	1099 betweo- num
30 <i>b</i>	87	eorðan	131 hwile	44 <i>a</i>	1099	taan	1132 sweordes
31 <i>a</i>	131	wunedon	177 þeaw	44 <i>b</i>	1132	ecg	1167 hyran
31 <i>b</i>	178	þæt	222 ge-	45 <i>a</i>	1168	þa	1204 cumblum
32 <i>a</i>	222	-stigan	263 waroðe	45 <i>b</i>	1204	corðre	1241 hatan ( <i>M.S.</i> hat of)
32 <i>b</i>	263	wið-	306 -þingode				
33 <i>a</i>	307	Hu	342 hwæt				
33 <i>b</i>	342	ðu	373 grundon				
34 <i>a</i>	374	streamas	409 fira	46 <i>a</i>	1241	heolfre	1274 eft
34 <i>b</i>	409	bearn	444 bosme	46 <i>b</i>	1274	swa	1312 æglæca
35 <i>a</i>	444	on	479 þrym-	47 <i>a</i>	1312	yfela	1347 Ne
35 <i>b</i>	479	-fæst	512 scealcum	47 <i>b</i>	1347	magan	1379 susle
36 <i>a</i>	512	þonne	547 þeoda	48 <i>a</i>	1379	gebun- den	1416 ic
36 <i>b</i>	547	baldor	582 Swa	48 <i>b</i>	1416	gast	1453 ðu
37 <i>a</i>	582	he	616 on	49 <i>a</i>	1453	me	1487 Hwæðre
37 <i>b</i>	616	banan	652 ge-	49 <i>b</i>	1487	git	1523 ut
38 <i>a</i>	652	-samno- don	687 habbað	50 <i>a</i>	1523	awecoll	1560 belegdon
				50 <i>b</i>	1561	wite-	1598 pearlra
38 <i>b</i>	688	þurh	722 standað	51 <i>a</i>	1598	geþinga	1631 aspedde
39 <i>a</i>	722	stið-	761 þyssum	51 <i>b</i>	1632	mund-	1670 naman
39 <i>b</i>	761	wordum	799 hwær	52 <i>a</i>	1670	minne	1708 mæcgas
40 <i>a</i>	799	se	835 dryhten	52 <i>b</i>	1708	mod-	
40 <i>b</i>	835	forlet	875 ðær				
41 <i>a</i>	875	heah-	914 ðu				

## FATES OF THE APOSTLES

52 <i>b</i>		22	guðplegan	53 <i>b</i>	59	-ræs	95 hroðre
53 <i>a</i>	22	gealgan	59 sweord-	54 <i>a</i>	96	Her	122 Finit

## SOUL AND BODY I

101 <i>b</i>	1	Huru	33 <i>b</i> ðe	103 <i>a</i>	99	þonne	132 sprecað
102 <i>a</i>	33	of	65 dumb	103 <i>b</i>	133	snottre	166 þysses <sup>1</sup>
102 <i>b</i>	65	ond	99 agildan				

<sup>1</sup> Here the poem ends in the middle of a sentence. One or more sheets of the MS. are missing, containing the ending of this poem and the beginning of the next.



## INTRODUCTION

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## HOMILETIC FRAGMENT I

Page	Line	to	Line	Page	Line	to	Line
104a	1 sorh		41 wyn-	104b	41 -sume		

## DREAM OF THE ROOD

104b			21 beacen	105b	61 hefian		105 on
105a	22 wendan		61 ðam	106a	105 domdæge		156 wæs

## ELENE

121a	1 þa		49 hæfdon	128a	703 Is		756 legene
121b	49 to		97 sorgleasra	128b	756 sweorde		807 gecnawen
122a	97 secga		145 Constan-	129a	808 on		857 engla
			tino	129b	858 geþro-		
122b	145 cyning		193 willan		wode		913 wæs
123a	194 Ða		240 ic	130a	913 Syððan		966 breostum
123b	240 sið		290 geardagum	130b	967 Ða		1023 golde
124a	291 wyrðe		341 geeacnod	131a	1023 beweor-		1074 cininges
124b	341 þurh		388 þonne		cean		(MS. cining)
125a	388 nu		443 frignan				
125b	443 ond		497 larum	131b	1074 ryhte		1138 gnyrna
126a	498 feore		551 caseres	132a	1138 to		1196 ge-
126b	551 bodan		600 georne	132b	1196 -læste		1253 wundor
127a	600 bæd		650 man-	133a	1253 onwripen		1312 gemylted
127b	650 -rime		703 hungre	133b	1312 Swa		1321 Amen <sup>1</sup>

## X

## TABLE II

## SECTIONAL DIVISIONS IN THE POEMS

The division of the longer poems of the manuscript is indicated by a mark of punctuation at the end of the several sections, followed by spacing and by a capital letter at the beginning of the succeeding section, and by numbering. But all of these indications are not uniformly present, and only in ELENE do section numberings appear. The sectional divisions of the poems in terms of the line numbers of this edition are as follows, the numbers bracketed being those which do not appear in the manuscript:

## ANDREAS

[I] AN. 1-121  
[II] AN. 122-229

[III] AN. 230-351  
[IV] AN. 352-468

<sup>1</sup> The poem ends six lines from the top of the page, and is followed by the prose life of Guthlac which concludes the manuscript.



[V] AN. 469-600	[XI] AN. 1155-1252
[VI] AN. 601-695	[XII] AN. 1253-1351
[VII] AN. 696-821	[XIII] AN. 1352-1477
[VIII] AN. 822-949	[XIV] AN. 1478-1606
[IX] AN. 950-1057	[XV] AN. 1607-1722
[X] AN. 1058-1154	

## SOUL AND BODY I

[I] SOUL AND BODY I 1-126	[II] SOUL AND BODY I 127-166
---------------------------	------------------------------

## ELENE

[I] EL. 1-98	VIII EL. 709-801
II EL. 99-193	X EL. 802-893
III EL. 194-275	[XI] EL. 894-966
IIII EL. 276-363	[XII] EL. 967-1042
V EL. 364-453	XIII EL. 1043-1146
VI EL. 454-546	XIIII EL. 1147-1235
VII EL. 547-618	XV EL. 1236-1321
VIII EL. 619-708	

## XI

## TABLE III

## SMALL CAPITALS

## ANDREAS

5 Syððan	97 Ic	194 Dæt	270 Him
14 þam	98 Ne	202 Him	277 Eft
17 Oft	99 Ic	205 Nis	278 Of
26 þæt	110 Ic	207 Dæt	279 Ne
29 Swylc	111 In	212 Ne	281 Ah
32 Ageton	113 Is	214 Beo	285 Him
40 þa	117 In	216 Du	290 Him
41 In	121 In	217 In	292 We
51 Abrecoton	147 Ða	220 Scealtu	299 Him
52 In	157 Swa	231 In	301 Næbbe
72 Ic	163 In	239 Se	304 In
78 In	169 In	240 Syðþan	305 Him
81 Ic	174 Ðu	245 þrymlice	307 Hu
85 Dæt	175 Siðe	247 Sittan	315 Ða
88 Æfter	177 Swa	254 Hie	317 Ne
92 Ða	183 Ðær	258 Hwanon	319 Dæt
93 Wrætlic	185 Nu	260 Him	322 Swa
94 Mæres	190 Hu	261 Swa	327 Swa

329 Sigora	577 Sealde	801 Ða (1)	In
336 Ic	578 Hyge	811 Nu	1030 His
337 Ne	594 Swa	816 Ða	1031 Hælend
338 Ic	595 Nu	839 Onwoc	1043 In
340 Nu	596 Hu	851 Ic	1044 Gewat
343 Him	617 Him	854 In	1058 Inn
345 Swa	618 Ic	855 Ic	1064 Ece
349 In	621 Swylce	862 Vs	1066 Hwæt
351 On	623 Him	863 þa	1077 Hyrdas
356 <sup>a</sup> In	629 Hwæt	868 In	1078 Hie
356 <sup>b</sup> In	633 Ne	871 Vtan	1083 Ah
362 Heah-	644 Nu	885 Ðam	1087 Hungres
364 Ða	648 Nu	887 þær	1088 Nyston
386 Ðe	652 Oft	889 þam	1091 In
391 Nu	655 Ðonne	897 Nu	1093 Ða
396 Him	656 In	900 Ðeh	1102 Hluton
403 Ðæt	661 Swa	903 Ic	1106 Hraðe
405 Hwider	670 Inwitðanc	910 Ða	1111 Hie
419 Rece	676 Hwæt	913 þa	1114 Hungre
427 Ongan	686 þus	914 Wes	1116 Hreow
433 Ic	691 Suna	920 Hu	1123 Hie
454 Ða	Iosephes	925 Him	1129 Ne
474 Ic	692 Swa	936 Aris	1133 Of
489 Ic	702 Waldend	939 Ðu	1142 On
498 Ic	704 Swylce	In	1149 Swa
510 Him	706 Syþþan	940 Vnder	1155 In
514 Hwilum	707 In	941 Wat	1165 Nu
519 Se	712 Swylce	948 <sup>a</sup> In	1169 Hæfde
537 þa	717 Ðis	948 <sup>b</sup> In	1174 Innan
540 Wes	719 In	951 In	1177 Ða
546 þætte	729 Nu	960 Hu	1179 Nu
547 Hu	735 Ne	969 Ic	1185 Hwæt
549 Huru	736 Ac	972 Swa	1187 In
553 Ic	738 Stefn	981 Ða	1190 Ðe
555 Him	739 Hlud	982 In	1197 Nu
557 Saga	740 Wrætlic	987 Hæfde	1198 Se
558 Hu	750 Amearcode	990 Hæfde	1199 Ðæt
559 Inwidþan-	753 He	In	1201 Ða
cum	758 Is	996 Ða	1202 Heriges
560 Iudea	764 Soð	1008 In	1209 Ne
561 Ahof	766 Scin	1011 Aras	1210 Nis
562 In	773 Ða	1016 Cyston	1215 Ne
566 Se	792 Het	1018 Halig	1235 Innan
569 A	795 Het	Innan	1245 Swa
572 Him	797 Hwa	1023 Nu	1250 He
573 In	800 Ne	1029 Swylce	1251 Him

1252 Halig	1358 Habbað	1443 No	1563 Is
1261 Ofer	1362 Aclæc-	1450 Ða	1581 Symble
1264 In	1363 Hwæt	1451 Sie	1582 Swa
1266 Acol	1364 Nu	1455 Swa	1591 Nalas
1269 Ða	1377 In	1461 Mago-	1598 Ðrage
1272 Heton	1380 In	1463 In	1601 Hie
1273 In	1383 Ðu	1471 Næs	1602 Nu
1274 Ða	1385 Of	Ne	1604 Se
1284 Ic	1386 Ða	1472 Ne	1609 Ne
1293 Ne	1394 Ða	1473a Ne	1613 Sende
1299 In	1401 Næfre	1473b Ne	1619 In
1300 Sleað	1404 Sint	1476 Ac	1621 Haliges
1307 Ond	1406 Hwæt	1481 Mycel	1649 In
1308 In	1413 Hwæt	1482 In	1651 Platan
1309 In	1414 Ic	1487 Hwæðre	1661 Ða
1316 Hwæt	1418 Ðu	1492 He	1669 Ne
1317 Hwær	1419 Ða	1504 Inflede	1672 In
1328 Swa	1422 Ne	1512 On	1674 Syððan
1331 In	1423 Ne	1513 Moyse	1685 In
1332 In	1425 Nu	1517 Nu	1686 In
1334 Hie	Is	1522 Næs	1687 Swylce
1337 Syððan	1429 Him	1543 Ne	1703 In
1345 Hearn-	1431 Ne	1547 Ðær	1706 Ða
1347 Ne	1432 Ic	Innan	1710 Hie
1356 Vton	1436 On	1558 Nu	

## FATES OF THE APOSTLES

11 Sume	In	70 Hyrde	88 Nu
14 Petrus	33 Næs	In	96 Her <sup>2</sup>
16 In	35 Iacob	72 Ðurg	98 Hwa
18 Ne	37 Philipus	75 Næron	105 NV <sup>1</sup>
23 Hwæt	42 Huru	77 Sohton	107 Sie
Iohanne	43 Indeum	Simon	109 Ic
25 Se	45 In	84 Idle	111 Nat
27 Syððan	50 Swylce	85 DVs <sup>1</sup>	118 In
30 He	63 Hwæt		

## SOUL AND BODY I

9 Sceal	17 Hwæt	33 Eardode	42 Forðan
15 Cleopað	22 Hwæt	39 Wære	46 Ic

<sup>1</sup> These words were written with capitals of varying size, the first one larger, the second smaller, but both to be regarded as small capitals.

<sup>2</sup> From this point on in the poem some small capitals may be hidden by the blot or stain in the MS.

## INTRODUCTION

xlvii

61 Ac	92 Donne	117 Se	159 Wolde
76 Forðan	95 Ac	155 Forþan	168 Wat
86 þonne	108 Bið		

## HOMILETIC FRAGMENT I

2 In	8 Forðan	13 In	35 Inwit
6 In	10 In	15 In	

## DREAM OF THE ROOD

11 Ac	24 Hwæðre	47 Inwid-	95 Nu
13 Syllic	28 Ic	Ic	115 Ac
Ic	30 Genaman	59 Sare	117 Ne
18 Hwæðre	39 Ongyrede	63 Aledon	119 Ac
21 Forht	43 Ac	65 Ongunnon	131 Nah
23 Hwilum	44 Rod	78 Nu	132 Ac

## ELENE

6 In	153 Heht	320 Eodan	499 To
8 Constan-	157 Ða	326 Hio	511 Nu
tines	163 þe	329 þrunгон	517 Forðan
9 In	166 Hio	330 In	522 Forðan
11 Wæs	169 þa	332 Elene	527 In
21 Foron	175 Ðæt	336 In	528 Ðus
27 For	177 In	339 Eow	551 Caseres
35 For	181 Alysde	345 Ic	565 Heo
40 Woldon	189 Ðus	353 Ic	573 Elene
59 Ðæt	198 Ongan	377 Eodan	574 Ic
69 þa	209 Iudea	389 Ða	575 In
72 þuhte	210 In	391 In	578 In
79 Constan-	212 þa	396 Hie	584 Ða
tinus	219 Elene	404 Elene	595 In
82 Ðeah	225 Ongan	411 Eodon	598 Hio
88 Fæle	229 Ða	412 In	602 In
91 Wæs	237 Leton	417 þa	604 Elene
103 Constan-	243 þær	419 Ic	609 Iudas
tinus	256 Ðær	426 Nu	611 Hu
105 Heht	266 Elene	436 Swa	620 Elene
109 Beran	274 In	441 Gif	621 Gif
124 Segn	282 Ða	448 Ne	In
127 Instæpes	288 Ic	462 Ða	623 In
132 Sume	293 Hwæt	468 Næfre	627 Iudas
138 Ða	305 In	469 Ac	632 Hu
144 þa	306 Swa	484 In	638 Ic
148 Gewat	308 Inwit-	487 Ðeoden	642 Elene
150 Com	313 Gangap	492 Stephanus	655 Iudas



662 Him	812 Inwrige	967 In	1104 Leort
667 Iudas	813 Nu	972 In	1109 Ða
669 Him	821 In	976 Ond	1118 In
680 Ingeþanc	822 In	979 Ða	1120 Nu
683 Ic	823 Stephanus	983 Ond	1122 Nu
685 Elene	825 In	986 In	In
691 Heht	827 Ongan	991 In	1125 Ða
693 In	832 In	992 Feorran	1152 In
694 In	He	993 In	1155 Ðinga
699 Ic	833 In	1007 Constan-	1160 Heht
708 Soð	839 þa	tinus	1181 He
713 Hie	841 Inbryrded	1017 Ða	1191 Cuþ
725 Dryhten	845 In	1025 Besetton	1201 Heht
736 In	852 Hwæt	1032 Godcunde	1204 In
740 In	859 Ne	1037 In	1209 Ond
746 In	867 Gesæton	1045 Inbryrded	1217 Ða
750 Halig	876 Heht	1048 In	1223 In
764 In	895 Ingemynde	1050 Siððan	1228 On
765 In	900 Ongan	1054 þæt	1252 Ingemynd
767 In	906 In	1055 In	1258 In
770 In	911 Feala	1058 Cyriacus	1280 Ðonne
772 Gif	920 In	1061 In	1290 In
774 In	921 Ic	1062 þa	1296 In
775 In	930 Ond	1068 Cyriacus	1297 In
778 In	934 Iudas	1073 þu	1299 In
781 In	942 In	1086 Nu	1304 Wuldor-
783 Gedo	943 In	1088 In	1305 In
806 Iudas	952 Elene	1097 Cyriacus	1315 Moton
In	966 In		

## XII

## TABLE IV

## A

## ACCENTS IN THE VERCELLI BOOK

<i>*fol. 29b</i>	<i>fol. 30a</i>	131 wíc
<i>An. 2 tír cadige</i>	<i>An. 50 hell fúse</i>	<i>fol. 31a</i>
15 ígland	51 Á breoton	<i>An. 140 mód</i>
32 ágeton	64 á	140 on wód
38 híg	73 á dreogan-	150 bán hring-
42 merme do-	ne	as
nía	<i>fol. 30b</i>	165 ísrahelum <sup>1</sup>
42 mán   fulra	<i>An. 123 to glád</i>	171 þá

<sup>1</sup> There is a distinct stroke over *í*, probably intended as an accent.



<i>fol. 31b</i>	<i>fol. 35b</i>	721 écan
<i>An.</i> 180 mán fulle	<i>An.</i> 485 tír	<i>fol. 39a</i>
183 wát	492 áne	<i>An.</i> 724 ámearcod
190 mfn	492 má	724 ís
199 wát	510 éce	725 híw
202 éce	<i>fol. 36a</i>	726 áwriten
203 á	<i>An.</i> 532 ár yða	731 séce
212 wác	535 ðé	736 áhleop
214 tíð	<i>fol. 36b</i>	741 ongfn
<i>fol. 32a</i>	<i>An.</i> 552 wís	747 éce
<i>An.</i> 222 ge   stígan	561 Áhof	749 sé strea-
223 bæð wég	569 wís dóm	mas
232 an ráð	569 Á	751 gód
233 híge róf	570 dóm ágen-	758 gód
247 sé	de	760 gód
249 éce	570 áenigne	<i>fol. 39b</i>
254 stóð	578 Hýge	<i>An.</i> 767 mán
258 áne	<i>fol. 37a</i>	768 brand
<i>fol. 32b</i>	<i>An.</i> 587 wín	hata ? <sup>2</sup>
<i>An.</i> 296 á   gifen	589 áfedde	769 fág
298 áras	597 spéon	770 æl fále
<i>fol. 33a</i>	<i>fol. 37b</i>	770 ór cnawe
<i>An.</i> 326 án	<i>An.</i> 624 wís	771 móð
327 ánes	628 ágef	772 ge hýgd
339 dóm	634 hran ráde	775 gán
339 áhwette	645 ge wít	778 tó
<i>fol. 33b</i>	649 óor	779 hábráháme
<i>An.</i> 355 dóm weor-	<i>fol. 38a</i>	782 on fón
ðunga	<i>An.</i> 661 síge déma	783 edniwínga
371 glád	663 sínra	785 hæfdón
<i>fol. 34a</i>	674 ahóf	786 gewát
<i>An.</i> 381 sé flotán	675 wóðe	791 hrá
383 ár geblond	676 Hwát	793 isáac
400 áras	678 nú	797 Hwá
<i>fol. 34b</i>	680 ór hlytte	<i>fol. 40a</i>
<i>An.</i> 416 áhóf	<i>fol. 38b</i>	<i>An.</i> 805 ge áclód
423 lád	<i>An.</i> 694 mán	829 áras
430 fára	703 án	<i>fol. 40b</i>
443 ástod	703 éce	<i>An.</i> 838 hádor
<i>fol. 35a</i>	703 gód	841 stán
<i>An.</i> 445 yð líð	708 ástag	851 ór gete
450 áras	712 ágræfene <sup>1</sup>	853 ár welan
476 lýt	719 ís	865 ábrug   don

<sup>1</sup> With g inserted above the line.

<sup>2</sup> Wülker, Bibliothek II, 205, records an accent over *t*, but it is doubtful if there is any accent.

	<i>fol. 41a</i>		<i>fol. 43b</i>		1246 sár
<i>An.</i>	883 ttr eadige	<i>An.</i>	1064 Êçce		1246 ge   wóð
	885 wéll		1073 ét		1257 hrím
	897 góð		1091 tíð		1258 háre
	904 wát		<i>fol. 44a</i>		1261 éa stream-
	911 tíð	<i>An.</i>	1099 táan		as
	<i>fol. 41b</i>		1103 tán		1261 ís
<i>An.</i>	914 hál		1106 óre		1262 brfm ráðe
	916 mán ge		1111 lác		1266 Acól
	niðlan		1125 ástáh		1267 á
	925 góð		1128 féa scaeft		1267 dóm licost
	946 in wít		1129 áre		<i>fol. 46b</i>
	wrasnum		1131 áeglæcan	<i>An.</i>	1274 éer
	<i>fol. 42a</i>		<i>fol. 44b</i>		1275 sár slegum
<i>An.</i>	952 hrá	<i>An.</i>	1132 écg		1276 bán cofan
	954 fáran		1134 fág		1277 hrá
	956 sár		1146 órlege		1278 wópes
	956 áber		1154 ún hwilen		1279 blát
	957 áhweorfan		1160 tíð		1281 góð
	958 gár gewínn		1164 láre		1284 mín
	959 á		1166 ór mæte		1286 ffra
	967 ród		<i>fol. 45a</i>		1289 mín
	967 áræred	<i>An.</i>	1169 híw		1303 arás
	979 ár		1171 helle hínca		1310 wfc
	983 án ráð		1178 má		1312 átol
	984 róf		1188 fág		1312 áglæca
	<i>fol. 42b</i>		1190 þíne		<i>fol. 47a</i>
<i>An.</i>	993 hlín   dura		1193 á	<i>An.</i>	1313 mán frea
	999 góð		1193 sáta		1314 réow
	999 on árn		1194 á		1314 bereafóð
	1000 han hríne		1202 á hleoþon		1315 hósp word
	1006 lóf		<i>fol. 45b</i>		1317 þín
	1008 gnorn hófe	<i>An.</i>	1209 áh		1321 þín
	1010 hálig		1218 mán slaga		1322 a hóf
	1010 háligne		1232 dún scræf-		1325 for cóm
	1011 Arás		um		<i>fol. 47b</i>
	1012 ón sunde		1236 stán fáge	<i>An.</i>	1348 gá
	1023 fára		1237 círm		1351 án hagan
	<i>fol. 43a</i>		1239 sár ben-		1355 woþnan <sup>1</sup>
<i>An.</i>	1030 góð		num		1362 Aclác
	1031 hrá		1240 bán hus		cræftum
	1046 wil síð		<i>fol. 46a</i>		1366 werig móð
	1060 fára	<i>An.</i>	1242 móð		1369 gúð plegan

<sup>1</sup> The accent over *m*, but meant for *o*?

1371 ún fyrn	<i>An.</i> 1582 fót	30 effessia
1371 fáca	1587 ge bád	38 éce
1379 á	1587 to   hlád	38 líf
<i>fol.</i> 48a	1593 fáá	41 á hlangen
<i>An.</i> 1382 ór	<i>fol.</i> 51a	56 áras
1403 áe	<i>An.</i> 1599 fáa	57 gád
1405 bán hus	1604 ár	59 sín
1405 blod fág	1629 fár	<i>fol.</i> 53b
1415 wítu	<i>fol.</i> 51b	<i>Ap.</i> 59 sweord
<i>fol.</i> 48b	<i>An.</i> 1634 á   rás	rás
<i>An.</i> 1422 bán	1637 wín burg	63 béc
1427 feorh gedál	1640 onfón	65 on wóc
1439 áwæged	1647 ár	68 ir   tácus
1442 bán ge brec	1648 wís   faest-	73 éce
1443 má	ne	73 líf
1451 lóf	1651 apostol	86 tír
<i>fol.</i> 49a	hád	93 eard wíc
<i>An.</i> 1453 sáre	1664 fús	<i>fol.</i> 54a
1453 mín	1666 wóp	<i>Ap.</i> 105 þeo dóm
1454 án	1670 áh	<i>fol.</i> 102a <sup>2</sup>
1457 gewát	<i>fol.</i> 52a	<i>Soul</i> 37 á
1462 gód	<i>An.</i> 1672 wín byrig	37 onbád
1464 wíne	1676 róf	38 góð
1468 sás <sup>1</sup>	1679 ár	58 nán
1473 bán	1681 tír   eadig-	<i>fol.</i> 102b
1476 ár	ra	<i>Soul</i> 79 sáe
1483 órde	1683 hám	<i>fol.</i> 103a
1483 áe glæwra	1700 áchaie	<i>Soul</i> 100 dó
<i>fol.</i> 49b	1701 gedál	109 góman
<i>An.</i> 1498 marman	1702 gebád	110 á socene
stán	1705 fáh	129 eadíglicre
1523 tó gan	<i>fol.</i> 52b	<i>fol.</i> 103b
<i>fol.</i> 50a	<i>An.</i> 1717 án	<i>Soul</i> 152 wát
<i>An.</i> 1530 fáer	1717 gód	<i>fol.</i> 104a
1535 órde	<i>Ap.</i> 14 apostol	<i>Hom. Fr.</i> 16 sáre
1539 dún	hád	27 be swicap <sup>3</sup>
1549 fús leoð	16 achágia	31 máne
1551 here téam	19 éce	34 máne
1552 gelác	20 líf	<i>fol.</i> 104b
1554 wóp	<i>fol.</i> 53a	<i>Rood</i> 13 fáh
1555 án	<i>Ap.</i> 27 háde	<i>fol.</i> 105a <sup>4</sup>
<i>fol.</i> 50b	29 hríf	<i>Rood</i> 29 áheawen

<sup>1</sup> For *sár*.

<sup>2</sup> There are no accents on *fol.* 101b.

<sup>3</sup> Only part of the accent visible in the MS. (Wülker).

<sup>4</sup> There are no accents on *fol.* 105b.

- |                          |                           |                           |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 44 á hof                 | 212 lóf                   | 486 áras                  |
| 61 á hofon               | 219 ród                   | <i>fol. 126a</i>          |
| <i>fol. 106a</i>         | <i>fol. 123b</i>          | <i>El. 506 á lærendra</i> |
| <i>Rood 136 ród</i>      | <i>El. 275 æsc   rófe</i> | 510 á   breotan           |
| <i>fol. 121a</i>         | 281 é                     | 511 mín                   |
| <i>El. 7 géar</i>        | 283 é                     | 512 árfæst                |
| 17 a hóf                 | <i>fol. 124a</i>          | 513 ábylgð                |
| 27 agól                  | <i>El. 293 un wíslíce</i> | 517 mín                   |
| 29 a hóf                 | 305 líf                   | 520 láttíow               |
| 35 Fór                   | 313 nú                    | 520 wíte                  |
| 40 róm   wara            | 315 é                     | 526 líf                   |
| 41 á hyðan               | 329 bád                   | 528 mín                   |
| 47 síge rófe             | 333 rúne                  | 531 fród                  |
| <i>fol. 121b</i>         | 335 líf fruma             | <i>fol. 126b</i>          |
| <i>El. 50 rófne</i>      | <i>fol. 124b</i>          | <i>El. 578 bæll</i>       |
| 51 fór                   | <i>El. 342 á   gól</i>    | 581 á pundrad             |
| 52 gól                   | 347 mín                   | 582 nú                    |
| 53 wálfel                | 353 a hóf                 | 585 ádes                  |
| 56 á fyrhted             | 355 ác                    | 590 á riht                |
| 61 un ríme               | 357 wís   domes           | 597 þín                   |
| 61 mód                   | 359 gód dénd              | <i>fol. 127a</i>          |
| sorge                    | 364 béc                   | <i>El. 604 án hagan</i>   |
| 62 róm wara              | 365 dóm                   | 605 tír eadig             |
| 76 ár                    | 373 gén                   | 606 líf                   |
| 86 háes                  | 375 á riht                | 612 mór land              |
| 87 ár                    | 378 béad                  | 614 bú                    |
| 87 ábead                 | <i>fol. 125a</i>          | 619 ágeaf                 |
| 89 hróf                  | <i>El. 392 án boren</i>   | 622 líf                   |
| 91 béam                  | 393 é                     | 625 nú                    |
| 94 gewát                 | 396 án mode               | 626 mán                   |
| <i>fol. 122a</i>         | 397 é                     | 628 wá                    |
| <i>El. 103 róde</i>      | 401 é bylgð               | 630 án for lete           |
| 104 tír eadig            | 407 ásecap                | <i>fol. 127b</i>          |
| 109 býman                | 417 án                    | <i>El. 654 winter ge</i>  |
| 112 áhof                 | 434 má                    | rím                       |
| 127 Instépes             | 435 é cræft               | 656 mín                   |
| 142 lýt hwon             | 436 mín                   | 687 áhangnan              |
| <i>fol. 122b</i>         | <i>fol. 125b</i>          | 693 drýgne                |
| <i>El. 152 beadu róf</i> | <i>El. 447 mín</i>        | <i>fol. 128a</i>          |
| 164 tír                  | 455 é witan               | <i>El. 712 éngan</i>      |
| 180 á hangen             | 455 ágeaf                 | 717 úp                    |
| 187 áras                 | 459 ær                    | 717 ær                    |
| 188 ástah                | 462 mín                   | 720 ród                   |
| 193 tíd                  | 463 fród                  | 730 úp rador              |
| <i>fol. 123a</i>         | 470 ásced                 | 735 úp                    |
| <i>El. 202 æsc róf</i>   | 475 á hengen              | 742 scínap                |



743 á	884 áhafen	1074 róde
753 tú	884 hrá	<i>fol. 131b</i>
<i>fol. 128b</i>	886 ród	<i>El. 1075 á hangen</i>
<i>El. 758 brogden</i>	886 áræred	1077 gén
mæl	888 bú	1079 gén
766 wið sóc	901 áclæca	1081 á
768 fúl	904 íceð	1091 gén
768 fáh	906 mán frem-	1095 glæd mód
769 þín	mende	1117 án mode
770 áweorpan	<i>fol. 130a</i>	1121 ér
783 þín	<i>El. 923 góda</i>	1128 ge áclod
786 tíð	924 fáh	1136 lác
787 bán	925 þúrþ	<i>fol. 132a</i>
788 þín	940 sár	<i>El. 1152 wite dóm</i>
792 nú	941 mán frea	1174 dón
793 úp	946 án for lete	1185 gár þræce
799 éce	954 tír eadig	1187 é glæce
801 á	<i>fol. 130b</i>	1189 ge wód
802 úp	<i>El. 970 é</i>	<i>fol. 132b</i>
803 réc	975 hálig	<i>El. 1208 tíð</i>
805 á gleaw	981 róm ware-	1217 gén
<i>fol. 129a</i>	na	1223 ród
<i>El. 811 mán weor-</i>	989 mód	1225 á weoxe
cum	991 gád	1236 fráð
821 mín	1002 héel	1236 fús
828 ánhydíg	1011 ród	1242 wis dóm
837 á hofun	<i>fol. 131a</i>	1242 fáh
843 á   hóf	<i>El. 1037 wíc</i>	1247 á mæt
846 ásetton	1039 wið sóc	1249 bán cofan
856 tíð	1041 é	<i>fol. 133a</i>
<i>fol. 129b</i>	1054 sacerð háð	<i>El. 1268 líf wynne</i>
<i>El. 861 á hafén</i>	1062 é	1311 fýr
867 áhofon	1063 móð	<i>fol. 133b</i>
869 tíð	1065 fét	<i>El. 1314 fýr</i>
878 áhof	1071 ácwæð	1317 mána
880 hús		

## B

## ACCENTS IN THE JUNIUS MANUSCRIPT

The total number of accents in the Junius Manuscript is something over three thousand, or in terms of percentage, .622 in proportion to the number of verse lines in the manuscript. This contrasts with only .161 percent in the poetical parts of the Vercelli Book. The accents are relatively most numerous in Genesis B, the percentage being .932 for that section of Genesis, but only .1596 for Genesis A. After Genesis B, the most heavily accented

text is Exodus, with .753 percent. The percentage for Daniel is .528, for Christ and Satan it is .438. In Christ and Satan, the percentage of accents in the portion written by the first scribe is 1.081, in that by the second scribe, it is .301, and .450 for the small part written by the third scribe. This uneven distribution of the accents probably bears some relation to the texts which the scribes used for copying. The letter over which accents most commonly appear is *a*, and after this letter, *i*, *o*, *e* and *x* in order, with relatively few accents over the remaining symbols.

Gollancz suggests<sup>1</sup> that the accent marks of the Junius Manuscript are possibly by several hands. They are certainly very different in form, but these differences scarcely prove that they were made by different persons. In Liber I two forms of accents may be distinguished, a long slanting accent which is found throughout Liber I and not at all in Liber II, and a shorter and less slanting accent, which in Liber I is found only in the first thousand lines of Genesis but which occurs regularly throughout Liber II. The first occurrence of the second, or shorter and more vertical, type of accent is on page 6 of the manuscript, in *hól̄m* (Gen. 120), and the last occurrence on page 46 of the manuscript, in *ēð̄yl* (Gen. 962). Within these limits accents of this type are very frequent, especially on pages 18 to 23 of the manuscript, where they far outnumber the other accents. For instance, on page 23 of the manuscript, the accents in *fús* (Gen. 443), *laþ wende móð* (l. 448), *gódes* (l. 458), *bí* (l. 460), *útan* (l. 461), *ýldo* (l. 464), *gódes* (l. 465), *liðe* (l. 468), *béam* (l. 468), *écnisse* (l. 469), *onbát* (l. 470), *swdre* (l. 472) are of the long, slanting type, while all the other accents on this page are of the shorter and more vertical type. On page 23 of the manuscript there are a number of accents in red ink, as in *dædum* (l. 451), *mënn* (l. 451), where not only the double accent but also the added final *n* is in red, *ófates* (l. 461), and *waldend* (l. 462). Only on page 23 are these red accents to be found. These accents in red are all of the shorter type.

It is sometimes impossible to be sure to which of the two types an accent belongs, and consequently no attempt has been made to distinguish the two types in the following list. In the collotype reproduction of the Junius Manuscript by Gollancz, the accents do not always clearly show, and for this reason the following list of accents has been completely based upon the original manuscript.

<i>Page 1</i>	<i>Page 2</i>	75 sár
Gen. 1 <i>Ūs</i>	Gen. 44 <i>réce</i>	78 <i>ér</i>
<i>ís</i>	<i>Page 4</i>	<i>Page 5</i>
6 <i>ór</i>	Gen. 53 <i>ác</i>	Gen. 84 <i>órleg nið</i>
7 <i>á</i>	<i>móð</i>	93 <i>hú</i>
16 <i>lif frean</i>	58 <i>hís</i>	99 <i>úp roder</i>
19 <i>ác</i>	62 <i>fáum</i>	100 <i>síð</i>
25 <i>á   hwurfon</i>	67 <i>wár leas</i>	104 <i>ác</i>

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

106 ún nyt	180 earfóða	224 útan
112 éce	né	éðyltyrf
Page 6	cóm	225 nfððas
Gen. 117 úngre   ne	181 blóð	226 gýmcynn
gár secg	bén   ne	gúm þeoda
119 wégas	ác	227 sélestan
120 hólm	182 óf	ús
124 háes	áteah	229 beligeð
125 wé   stenne	bán	úton
126 gesúndro-	183 wér	230 ís
de	ún wundod	géón
132 fré   an	óf	231 ís
Page 8	gód	tígris
Gen. 135 tíð	184 ín	þéodscipe
138 árn	185 éce	232 éa
143 éce	Page 10	233 ís
148 sé	Gen. 186 þá	234 éufra   tén
áhóf	187 ón	Page 13
149 úp	bú	Gen. 235 ác
150 áðæled	189 mán	236a ínc
152 óf	190 dón	236b géð
154 þá	ác	239 lísta
155 gýt	wáes	lára
156 wíð   lond	191 bám	búan
ác	194 twá	243 tó
158 gemáne	195 wíf	Page 14
159 nú	196 nú	Gen. 248 téné <sup>2</sup>
rýne	201 ís	250 hís
162 síð	Page 11	gewít
165 wíde	Gen. 207a hís	252 gesétt
æt éowde	207b hís	híe
þá	209 gód	gesáeliglice
166 éorðan	Page 12	253a swá
Page 9	Gen. 218 þá	hís
Gen. 173 tfoðe	adælede <sup>1</sup>	253b lét
174 á weahte	220 ón	254 hfm
176 adámes	221 eorðbú-	255 þ
177 áleoðode	ende	256 lóf
áteah	222 fison	257a dýran
178 rfb	sé	dréa   mas
óf	223 bráde	257b hís
179 swáf	bebúgeð	258 léte
sár	stréamum	259a ác

<sup>1</sup> With second *d* added above the line.

<sup>2</sup> With *y* written above first *e*.

	awénde <sup>1</sup>	hē	330 þá
	hít	284 bíg stan-	fýre
	hím	dað	bótme
259b	ón gán	stríðe	331 hátan
	hím	286 ráð	háll
	úp	287 fón	333 líges
260	síteð	289 þís	fúll
	ón	290 íc	334 fær
261	hé	áwiht	ongéaton
	né	291 góde	335 wíta
262	hís	íc	únrim
	ófermod	292 sé	338 ofer móða
263	áhóf	294 áheb   ban	ær
	hís	Page 16	339 héarran
	héte spræ	Gen. 299 þá	léof
	ce	301 hís	340 dýre
264	ongéan	302 grám	dóle
265	hís	304 ácwæð	341 gálscipe
	líc	305 ón	342 mó   de
266	né	306 þá	ýrre
	hé	Page 17	mórðer
	hís	Gen. 313 æfyn	innan
267	géonger-	úngemet	343 níobedd
	dome	314 fýr	345 sátan
268	þéodne	éd   neowe	hét
	þúhte	316 fýr	swéartan
269	máran	gár	346 grúndes
270	sé	318 hím	347 Sátán
	gód	321 þé	máðelode
	Page 15	ær	349 ár
Gen. 272	sé	hýldo	350 hís
273	hú	322 þá	forspéon
	hé	ær	351 ofer méttó
	hím	Page 18	éalra
274	híge	Gen. 325 bráde	353 hím
276	trýmede	lígas	innan
277	góde	éac	354 hís
278	íc	récas	héortan
281	tó	326 þégnsci   pe	hát
282	íc	327 gál	hím
283	hím	beswác	356 fs
	Íc	328 ofer hýgd	þés <sup>2</sup>
	gód	329 wíte	úngelic

<sup>1</sup> *a* added above the line.<sup>2</sup> With *e* altered from *æ*.



## INTRODUCTION

lvii

357 áer	383 héardes	423 wé
héan	385 íc	heofon rí
<i>Page 19</i>	387 adáme	ce
<i>Gen.</i> 358 heofon rice	<i>Page 21</i>	424 ríce
mín	<i>Gen.</i> 389 Ác	ís
360 rómigan	wé	425 ís
gedón	nú	mínnum
361 fýre	394 bescýrede	426 heofon
362 hélle	395 geméarcod	ríce
hátan	món	429 sóna
heofon ríce	396 hís	hfe
benúmen	ónlicnesse	hím
363 háfað	397 wé	430 hís
geméarcod	398 ádáme	gebódscipe
364 mé	399 sóme	431a hím
367 wésan	ándan	432 súm
wýnne	400 sínes	433 hú
wé	401 íc	íc
368 wá	níotan <sup>1</sup>	434 hím
lá	402 éades	438 læte
hán   ða	403 nú	íc
gewéald	404 wé	440 ún wurð
369 áne	405 bebéad	lice
tíd	hím	<i>Page 23</i>
úte	ón	<i>Gen.</i> 442 ándsaca
371 ác	406 á hwet	443 fús
íc	<i>Page 22</i>	frætwwum
ríc   es	<i>Gen.</i> 409 íc	fæcne
374 hér	þægne	444 þóne
fýr	þeoden	fáll
375 úfan	madmas	héarde
áne	410 géara	gebánd
377 hát	wé	445 spángum
378 slíð hearda	góðan	spræca
379 mín	411 gewéald	féla
fét	415 úp	446 þánon
380 hánda	416 hím	448 léolc
gehæfte	417 feðer hó-	laþ wende
hældora	man	mód
381 forwórhte	419 ádam	449 swáng
wihthe	éue	fýr
mæg	422 móton	twá
382 líoðo ben-	wélan	féondes
dum	ágan	cræfte

<sup>1</sup> With *i* altered to *e*.

450	déarnunga <sup>1</sup>	wáestm	510	bráde	
451	mán dáed-	468	líðe	513	úfan
	um		béam	515	ác
	ménn <sup>2</sup>	469	écnisse	518	hís
	beswícan		æfter	519	þé
452	forléadan	470	wésan		rúm
	for léaran		onbát		<i>Page 26</i>
	láð	472	súht	<i>Gen. 523</i>	íc
453	gefér de		swáre	530	sé
454	ádám	473	ágan <sup>3</sup>	531	geláede
455	hánd ge-	475	wáron		nát
	scéaft		wítode <sup>4</sup>	536	íc
	géarone		<i>Page 24</i>	538	hís
	fúnde	<i>Gen. 478</i>	dím	539	ær
456	wíslíce	479	scéolde	542	íc
	gewórht		bú	543	ác
	wíf	480	æghwílc <sup>5</sup>	545	hér
	sómed	481	wíte		mfd
457	fréo		á		hís
	cúðon	485	dréamas		héan
458	gódes	486	lífes	546	góða
	gegéarwi-		<i>Page 25</i>		wráðmód
	gean	<i>Gen. 491</i>	ón	548	ón
	þá	495	frínan		éuan
	gíngnan	496	þé	551	Íc
	sélf	497	ádám		<i>Page 27</i>
459	métot		úp	<i>Gen. 552</i>	íc
460	bí		tó	553	íc
	béamas		hís		síðe
	stódon	498	geféred	556	nú
461	útan		né	557	tó
	ófættes	499	þá		né
462	gewéred		síð		mæg
	wáldend	500	ófættes		hís
464	ýlde		æte	558	hís
	béarn		ábal	561	rúme
	ón	501	mód sefa		ræd
465	gódes	506	geþénod	562	ínc
	ýfeles	507	dýrne	564	æt
466	nás		dáed	568	gestýran

<sup>1</sup> The accent is over *r*, but apparently belongs to *ea*.

<sup>2</sup> Second *n* added above the line.

<sup>3</sup> Second *a* altered from *o*.

<sup>4</sup> *e* added above the line.

<sup>5</sup> The accent is over the *h*, and may belong to either *æ* or *i*.

570 só   ðe	636 légg	726 sí   num
571 gebóð	637 ún   sælga	nú
573 án	ær	íc
574 bú	639 ácwæð	728 mén
tú	642 hefon ríce	729 éue
575 spéd	643 án	ís
579 íc	645 bóggum	<i>Page 34</i>
ínccrum	647 for léc	<i>Gen. 730</i> nú
583 ác	649 hís	hís
íc	650 nómm	<i>Page 35</i>
585 íc	653 íewde	<i>Gen. 732</i> ác
<i>Page 28</i>	655 mfn	733 hís
<i>Gen. 587</i> né	ís	735 bún
588 spéon	657 góð	736 nú
591 móð	659 hís	738 forléton
596 éce	ís	739 heofon ríce
598 lárum	661 gespréce	741 heofon ríce
<i>Page 29</i>	662 geongor	742 hní   gan
<i>Gen. 600</i> wórd	dóm	743 geongor-
wíde	<i>Page 32</i>	dóm
601 læn	<i>Gen. 667</i> ís	ác
602 bedrógg	671 hwá	746 ús
hís	gewít	748 hís
cóm	673 íc	heofon ríce
606 ác	675 íc	749 ríce
607 ær	677 íc	750 móð
on láh	681 wáerum	751 gedón
609 heofon ríce	682 ár	752 heofon
610 léér   de	685 dáéd	ríces
611 nú	686 wráðða	753 for létan
612 éue	688 néah	líg
ungelíc	692 for léédan	755 móð sorg
613 mínúm	lænn	756 ís
616 hrinan	693 án	758 ís
617 címe	<i>Page 33</i>	móð
619 lára	<i>Gen. 700</i> únraede	ge   háeled
íc	703 forléranne	759 gerúme
620 góðes	712 ác	760 Nú
627 cóme	715 áðame	íc
<i>Page 30</i>	719 ác	761 sé can
<i>Gen. 629</i> þá	722 tó	<i>Page 36</i>
for dón	dáédon	<i>Gen. 763</i> lígas
630 for lééd	723 únfaele	764 hís
632 dóm	cóm	
634 wá	724 hrán	

	<i>Page 37</i>	827 ádam	885 þé
<i>Gen.</i> 765 símon		<i>Page 39</i>	téonan
bá		<i>Gen.</i> 830 nó	886 má
twá		sá	888 þú
766 éue		832 flóð	893 éete
767 ondrédon		833 ó	ún   freme
772 láre		mín	ádame
773 úntreowa		móð	896 ídes
774 geráed		834 ác	æwisc móð
776 hýnða		836 nú	897 Mé
únrim		íc	900 feond ríes
778 sín hiwan		837 máeg	902 áet
783 bóðsci   pe		840 bá	<i>Page 43</i>
784 líc haman		twá	<i>Gen.</i> 910 lífdagas
786 ác		<i>Page 40</i>	912 þín
787 láre		<i>Gen.</i> 844 áer	915 órleg nið
790 éuan		846 wáeda	á
791 éue		háfdon	925 éce
794 gehýran		847 bú	926 lífes
795 gelíc		848 báedon	láð
ác		850 góða	ær   ende
797 geráed		852 cóm	927 þú
<i>Page 38</i>		féran	934 geráecan
<i>Gen.</i> 801 wíte		857 áer	936 grípeð
803 áer		860 há   lig	937 ádl
804 ór sorge		862 þá	ær
tíð		só   na	<i>Page 45</i>
807 úp		864 ríce	<i>Gen.</i> 939 ús
808 scúr		865 hís	944 líf
810 háte		867 hér	946 háam
811 hér		wáeda	947 háese
813 scúr		868 líf   frea	949 ác
sceade		mín	950 líf
814 ác		869 sáre	<i>Page 46</i>
ís		870 gán	<i>Gen.</i> 954 hímm
815 hwón		<i>Page 42</i>	955 ác
nú		<i>Gen.</i> 873 mín	lét
816 Nú		875 ác	956 hróf
817 hér		876 wéan	958 sés
818 forláred		881 þé	960 fédan
819 mínes		for béad	962 éðyl
820 áefre		882 ádámm	964 of
íc		883 mé	ádri   fen
mínū		blá   da	966 ástrienan
824 wítan		hánd	<i>Page 47</i>
mín		884 mín	<i>Gen.</i> 972 hís



973 ár boren	1049 sínum	1147 ár
982 ún ræden	1050 geomor-	hér
984 agéat	mód	1149 árest
987 aráered	1051 wíc	1150 éð   le
992 tánas	1055 énos	1156 énose
<i>Page 48</i>	1060 sweord	<i>Page 58</i>
<i>Gen.</i> 994 brád	bérende	<i>Gen.</i> 1160 malale
996 wópe	héton	hél
997 ác	1061 wócan	1161 rím
1005 áedre	<i>Page 52</i>	1162 geícte
1006 íc	<i>Gen.</i> 1068 gewát	1165 éac
ór	1071 aldor gedál	tíd dæge
fóre	1072 fród	1166 rúm
1009 géan	1077 áda	rím
1011 wár fæsne	wás	1167 lánd
rinc	1081 swég	1168 ma   lale-
1016 ác	1083 tubál	hél
1017 hróðra	1085 árest	1169 frum
1019 ár leas	1089 wíde	gára
1023 éniagre	1092 un árlic	1172 tó
áre	1097 órd banan	wás
1024 woruld	<i>Page 55</i>	1173 hís
ríce	<i>Gen.</i> 1106 séth	1174 fáred
íc	1107 óáh	1176 malalehél
1026 íc	1110 woruldríce	<i>Page 59</i>
<i>Page 49</i>	1111 éce	<i>Gen.</i> 1176 hér
<i>Gen.</i> 1027 wéan	1113 lífes	1178 gewát
wénun	1115 ásceaf	1182 áfæst
1028 mán scyld-	1118 stríenan	1183 frum gár
igne	1119 ellenróf	freo mágū
1030 hís	<i>Page 56</i>	1185 woruld
1032 ádemest	<i>Gen.</i> 1132 geícean	ríce
ádrifest	1134 énos	1186 éac
<i>Page 50</i>	1135 sé	sáel
<i>Gen.</i> 1037 on dráðan	1137 gréne	1188 wás
brógan	grás	énoc
1039 freo mág-	1139 hér	1189 hér
um	1142 fríð   gedál	gýt
fáh	<i>Page 57</i>	1192 gewát
1040 sínum	<i>Gen.</i> 1143 hím	1193 niht
1043 ón	1144 énos	gerímes
1044 tírfæst	1145 sáed   ber-	<i>Page 60</i>
1045 fráa	endes	<i>Gen.</i> 1196 rínce
1046 grétan	líce	1199 dóm
1048 mán scyld-	1146 hé	1200 wás
igne	hér	1206 dóþ

1208	1271	1340
1209	1273	geláede
1210	1280	1341
1213	1281	1342
Page 62	1283	wócre
Gen. 1219	tíde	1343
ón	1284	1344
1222	1285	1345
1224	wáes	híwum
1227	gód	1346
1228	1286	góдне
1228	lámeches	wát
1233	1287	1348
býras	dóm fæst	ára
wócan	gedéfc	ánd   wli-
1235	1292	tan
1235	ún rihte	1349
Page 63	1293	sígan
Gen. 1239	sáel wongas	láete
béc	1295	1351
1240	tó	1356
Sém	nóe	hím
háten	1296	nóe
nóes	1296	1357
1241	1296	bórd
sé	1296	lædan
chám	1296	1358
1242	1296	wáeg þel
1243	1296	wíf
1243	1296	1360
1247	1296	hróf
dýre	1296	ge   fór
dóm eadig	1296	1361
1249	1296	1296
sécan	1296	Page 68
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ést	1296	Gen. 1363
1256	1296	Hím
ác	1296	heofon
cýnn	1296	ríces
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ábolgen	1296	ágenum
1258	1296	1367
hím	1296	Nóe
tó	1296	1372
1260	1296	lét
þér	1296	1374
wífa	1296	égor strá-
on wód	1296	mas
1261	1296	1375
éce	1296	swógan
1262	1296	sás
1263	1296	úp
1263	1296	1378
1267	1296	mán fæh-
1268	1296	ðu
1268	1296	1379
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1269	1296	éðellánd
mán sce-	1296	1380
aðan	1296	hóf

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1383 réðe	1462 wæg	1540 scúrij
1385 ár leasra	sígan	bogan
1387 héa	1463 rínce	1544 fére
1388 á hóf	1464 Ðá	1551 nóes
1389 míð	éft	1555 Nóe
1392 wíde	1465 wíde	1559 sáða
rád	1466 rum gál	<i>Page 76</i>
1394 fór	1471 gewát	<i>Gen.</i> 1561 géar torhte
fáere	éft	1563 wíne
1396 hrínon	1473 án	1565 líce
1400 gedále	1476 þá	1577 þá
1401 áhafen	1478 áne	cám
1402 égor here	1479 ác	1578 nóes
<i>Page 70</i>	1481 atýwan	1580 áre
<i>Gen.</i> 1405 éce	<i>Page 73</i>	1582 ác
éd monne	<i>Gen.</i> 1484 heofon	1584 réste
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<i>Gen.</i> 1409 wócre	1485 eðel stól	<i>Gen.</i> 1587 géoce
1412 wíð land	éft	góðe
ongán	1488 út	1588 sém
1415 égstream	1489 óf	<i>Page 78</i>
1417 fór	héan	<i>Gen.</i> 1588 slápe
1419 á hof	1490 wæg þrea	1589 lámehes
1420 rím getæl	<i>Page 74</i>	sóna
1422 héah	<i>Gen.</i> 1497 lác	1590 chám
1428 rúme	1498 rád faest	1591 áre
1430 wíde	1499 dáel	1593 sár
báeron	sínum	1596 chám
1435 út	1507 góðum	1597 fréc   ne
þá	dæ   dum	scódon
1438 wáere	1509 ára	1598 þá
lét	1511 tó	nóe
1440 éac	nóe	1599 sínū
1442 húse	1512 nú	síðan
út	tíres	ríces
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hréaw	1524 ác	dóme
1459 ác	1533 ára	1614 ún lytel
1460 Gewát	1535 íc	1617 chús
1461 sécan	1537 égor here	chám
	1538 wíð land	

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	wáeron	<i>Gen. 1692</i> úp	<i>Page 86</i>
1618	chámes	ác	<i>Gen. 1802</i> áe fæste
1619	chús	1693 tohlódon	1803 wíc
1622	lás   te	1694 ððere	1808 líf   frean
1623	chám	<i>Page 82</i>	1819 wíte
	líce	<i>Gen. 1698</i> ún geþeode	1822 blícan
1625	dómas	1703 awóc	brýd
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1627	éad	1710 á   áron	<i>Gen. 1832</i> mín
	líf	1711 bám	1835 úncer
1629	chúses	1712 áárone	1836 hél
	yrfe stóle	1717 wíde	1837 mínun
1630	wíd máre	nú	1839 woruld
1632	máel da-	<i>Page 83</i>	rice
	gum	<i>Gen. 1719</i> þá	1840 án
1636	án	1726 géara	ár
1637	cámes	1727 gýt	1842 áre
	wóc	1735 abrahám	1843 sécan
1638	wíd folc	1736 cyne góde	1845 égypte
1640	séme	1738 wícum	1847 úncuðe
1645	án	1739 abrahámes	1849 hfm
	éber	1741 ríme	mæg
1646	sémes	1742 gewát	1852 lýt
	wóc	1743 fróð	1854 Ác
1647	ún rím	séon	1860 fáh
	<i>Page 80</i>	1745 éce	1865 tó
<i>Gen. 1648</i>	ebréi	1746 nú	<i>Page 90</i>
1650	án mod	ládán	<i>Gen. 1870</i> árlice
1651	rófe	1750 hýre	1873 Ðá
1657	géar da-	1751 ýwan	1876 brýd
	gum	1755 wéan	tó
1659	dæg tíde	gréteð	1883 éror
1661	mæg wine	1756 mód hete	1885 écan
1662	án mod	<i>Page 84</i>	1889 ára
1667	úp	<i>Gen. 1762</i> woruld-	1894 ác
1671	lá   rum	rice	árfæste
1675	úp	<i>Page 85</i>	<i>Page 91</i>
	rærdon	<i>Gen. 1769</i> góð	<i>Gen. 1902</i> né
1681	úp	1772 cananéa	1913 ræd
1682	ún rædes	1782 wíde	1915 dóm
1684	hé	1789 gewló	1916 lífe
	réðe mód	dón	1920 gewát
1685	ún gelice	1790 rúme	1923 gelíc
		rice	1926 líge



1934 árlease	2020 órleg	2115 ác
1937 ún ræd	weorc	2118 sínun
Page 92	2026 wær fæst	2125 ára
Gen. 1938 on fón	2033 þrý	2127 áhreddest
1939 ác	2037 hfm	2129 ér
1941 híne	2040 onfón <sup>1</sup>	ágen
1946 cananéa	Page 95	Page 98
1955 feorh bér- endra	Gen. 2046 ér	Gen. 2132 wéste
ácol	2048 lóth	wíc
1956 á	2050 frómlice	2134 áne
1961 fróne	2053 wís hydig	2138 dóme
1962 órla hom   ar	2054 þáres	2142 nfs
1964 fór	2058 éce	2143 ágan
1970 blác hle   or	2063 ún fægre	2145 mára
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1973 Hfm	2069 æsc tír	2148 ón
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1977 ér	2081 elamítar   na	ác
1981 ác	2082 dóme	2150 geslólh
1982 fóron	Page 96	2151 déle
1985 wénan	Gen. 2083 ún feor gewát	2153 íc
ónetton	2084 wíg   rode	benáeman
1986 móðum	2085 á   hreded	2154 ác
1988 síd	2087 wíf	2155 nú
1991 hilde swég	ón	2156 hám
1994 ér	2090 brýða	2159 wíg
1996 wúrdon	2093 hér	éacne
sódom	2094 áteah	2162 gewát
ware	Page 97	hám
1998 lind cróðan	Gen. 2098 from   lác	2164 ebréa
2000 fléame	léoda	árna
2003 Háfde	2099 sécan	2165 gén
2004 wísa	2103 lác   um	hím
2005 gewát	2104 grétan	tó
2007 áhudan	2105 árlice	Page 99
Page 94	2107 ón	Gen. 2168 þín
Gen. 2012 út	ríme	mód
2019 án	2108 tír	2169 mínes
genás	2112 rúme	2170 láre
	2113 á hreddan	2173 þá
		2174 dáð róf

<sup>1</sup> First *n* added above the line.

2176 nú	2229 án	2285 ágar
fc	ón	2286 nú
2177 íc	2231 áfanda	2287 mfnum
2178 ác	2233 létan	mago rínc
2180 fórr   ðon	2236 gán	2289 ún hyre
Page 100	Page 102	ór læg gif
Gen. 2182 ráð	Gen. 2239 óngan	re
áhyrgan	2242 ác	2291 mágum
mfn	2245 módes	sfnum
2185 síne	2246 sár ferhð	ón
2186 brýde	2249 á   gar	2294 únma:   te
wócon	2250 íc	2295 sécan
2188 geréfan	bé   na	ágon
2189 ác	wás	2298 árend gast
2191 gerím	2252 un árlice	Page 105
2197 gfen	2253 mót	Gen. 2299 ismaél
2199 hýrde	míne	2301 wéox
2200 máere	2255 déma	ðáh
2202 álædde	2257 wér	2302 ár
2203 gehét	Page 103	2303 fá   le
2204 wíde	Gen. 2258 bú	fémnan
wáere	2259 árna	Page 106
nú	ác	Gen. 2304 géar
2205 ebréa	þfn	2305 éce
míne	2260 áteon	2307 íc
2209 égypta	mód	tíða
2210 nílus	2261 ún bliðe	2308 dáðum
2211 wendeð sáe	2262 móde	fróm
ríce	2265 þeow dóm	2309 mínes
2214 stán byrig	né	wáere
2216 sár	2266 ér	2311 beméarn
móde	2269 én   gel	2313 ón
2217 hírn	án	2319 mín
2218 geméne	2270 geomor	2322 tácne
Page 101	móde	2323 ge ágnod
Gen. 2222 þínre	Page 104	2324 féor
2223 rím	Gen. 2277 wéstenne	áðáled
2224 nú	bíðan	2325 ádrifen
fc	2279 abrég   de	2329 ísáác
ór wena	2281 héonon	2330 ác
2225 únc	fléame	2333 mínre
2226 átgædere	dálán	2336 rófe
2227 mín	2282 íncre	arísað
2228 Hér	ác	ríces
ís	séce	2337 wíde
	2283 ára	

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<i>Gen.</i> 2341 móð ge- ðance	hím	út
2347 fróð	ún   lýtel	2458 áras
2354 éce	2408 Íc	2461 ún scom- lice
2356 gán	gehýre	ár   na
2358 Íc	2410 spréce	gýmden
2359 nú	2412 íc	<i>Page 113</i>
2361 wor   uld	nú	<i>Gen.</i> 2462 áras
ríce	2413 ebréa	ræð
gebíde	dón	2463 út
2363 íc	2416 ínwit	2465 árones
2364 nís	<i>Page 110</i>	2466 Hér
2367 stépan	<i>Gen.</i> 2417 lfg	ún wemme
2368 wære	<i>Page 111</i>	2467 míne
gelætan	<i>Gen.</i> 2419 wíte loccas	2470 íc
2371 háese	2422 góð	2471 éer
2375 móde	2424 ác	2472 ún gifre
<i>Page 108</i>	tó	2473 Ón foð
<i>Gen.</i> 2377 á	2425 stið móð	ágon
tír	2426 áras	2474 mí   ne
2378 dóm   fæst	síne	2475 íc
2379 woruld	æfen tíð	mót
ríce	2429 árones	<i>Page 114</i>
2380 féere	2431 éagum	<i>Gen.</i> 2476 gemáne
<i>Page 109</i>	arás	2477 ár lease
<i>Gen.</i> 2383 ác	2432 togéanes	2479 á   ferige
fróð	grétan	2483 hér
2385 ón	2437 árna	aldor déma
gelyfde	únc	2485 hándum
2386 spéd	2439 bíðan	2487 síne
2388 ahóf	2440 tó	há
2389 há	úp	2488 ár fæste
góð	<i>Page 112</i>	2489 ín
2391 wórdum	<i>Gen.</i> 2444 ón	2491 for sæton
mín   um	2445 ést	<i>Page 115</i>
2392 fóð	2446 wísade	<i>Gen.</i> 2494 reðe móde
2393 íc	ín	2495 ác
tíð	2449 gewát	fróme
2396 wíc	2450 æfen scíma	wáron
worn gehát	2451 lást	2498 wíte
2397 mín	2452 þýstro	2499 tó
2399 ædre	2453 sás	lóthe
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2400 spédum	2454 únleofe	<i>Gen.</i> 2502 éac
2401 gástas	2455 ácsian	2503 alæde

2505 wær logan	2557 rúm	2606 wíne
2507 líge	lánd	drúncen
2508 fýre	2558 fýr	2610 moáb
2509 cwealm	stéapes	2613 béc
þréa	géapes	2614 ágen
2510 ís	2561 ón	héte
<i>Page 117</i>	2562 fýr gebréc	<i>Page 124</i>
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2516 gesécan	2566 sóna	rum
2519 Íc	2567 áfre	únrim
hér	2568 máre	2616 awócon
2520 lýfað	2570 wíte	2618 hátað
2521 áre	2571 Nú	2619 wfd máre
2525 bídan	2573 rím	2621 Gewát
2527 ár fæste	2574 gewíte	arónes
2529 tó	<i>Page 121</i>	2622 lédan
2532 wær   lo-	<i>Gen.</i> 2576 ána	2624 wære
gum	2577 ár dæge	2626 wine mága
tórn	2578 ár	2627 lýt
2533 ár	2579 fród	2633 éce
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2534 geláede	úp	<i>Gen.</i> 2642 sláp
2536 tó	2580 réc	ón   cwæð
<i>Page 118</i>	2581 on wóð	2643 áfre
<i>Gen.</i> 2537 ác	wín ge	2644 þín
2540 hís	drync	ýrre
úp	2583 ofer géaton	2647 móð ge-
<i>Page 119</i>	2584 dómas	þance
<i>Gen.</i> 2542 íc	2586 líg	2648 ár
2543 líg	tó	2651 íc
2544 wíte	2587 wær fæst	2652 géna
fýr	2588 árlice	2654 óncwæð
2545 ár dagum	2590 mág	2655 Agíf
týn   don	2591 déð róf	síne
2549 árleasra	2593 Ác	<i>Page 126</i>
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2550 líg	<i>Gen.</i> 2595 wíc	2661 mág
2552 ymb   útan	2596 dáne	2662 árenda
ún lytel	2597 fúndon	2664 íc
dél	2598 wær fæst	gíet
2554 brógan	2599 dægrímes	2665 láete
2555 tó (1)	hís	brúcan
ýslan	<i>Page 123</i>	2666 sínces
2556 wíde	<i>Gen.</i> 2601 tó	þá
wíte lác	ár	2667 tó
	2605 móde	2668 síne



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on drédon	<i>Gen. 2723</i> wíc	2813 dáe   dum
2671 dáede	2725 ágan	2814 sínum
<i>Page 127</i>	2731 míne	2817 mínum
<i>Gen. 2673</i> tó	2733 béte	2819 wára
2675 ebréa	<i>Page 131</i>	2821 ge   dón
2676 íc	<i>Gen. 2744</i> ár	2822 có   me
2683 wáre	2746 gehléat	<i>Page 136</i>
2684 líces	2747 wíte	<i>Gen. 2824</i> hýldo
2686 ór máete	2748 ágan	hnéaw
ár lice	2749 mon rím	2825 nú
2688 wíc	ác	2826 mfnre
2689 nú	2751 árra	árfæst
2690 ún freond	2752 écne	2827 úre
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2693 íc	<i>Gen. 2760</i> féran	swá
2694 Ác	2765 brýde	2834 wæs
guð	2766 ár	þáres
bórdes	2767 isáác	2835 filistéa
2697 mínes	2775 bád	2836 ebréa
aláded	<i>Page 133</i>	þrage
2700 íc	<i>Gen. 2776</i> ágen	2838 wíc
fiáres	2780 bú	2839 bersabéa
á	tú	2840 sé
2701 wénum	2783 brýd	héah
2704 íc	2785 ágar	steap
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2705 mín	2789 ágen	líf
2707 wéa lan	2790 líce	2845 gesélig lic
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2712 íc	2800 ágár	féran
hér	2801 íc	2851 láede
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2713 for   þón	2805 wícum	2852 isáác
2716 gestáh	-mód	2854 dúne
2717 on gán	tú	2855 lándes
2719 bóte	2806 ágen	ge   téce
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	blótan		báel	35	geníwad
2859	líc		áhóf	37	mán scea-
	lác	2905	isáác		ðan
2860	ác	2907	sínum	39	wide
2861	fóre		fýre	41	gewát
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	ác		2911 áres		dréama
2866	gréegan		2913 máelde		lýt
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2874	swá		2929 árones		þý
	hím	2930	ád	58	úncuð
2877	órd		ahóf	61	mór heald
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	wícum		6 réed	78	háte
2883	íer   ende		11 éce	80	wítig
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2899	hrófe		26 úp   rodor		<i>Page 147</i>
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2903	fét	<i>Ex.</i>	32 faraónes		

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129 fýrd wíc arás	171 máeton míl paðas	227 ánra
130 wíste	bógum	228 líndum
131 móðige	173 ráð	232 tír eadigra
132 býme	176 wénun 178 ónsigon	233 wác 239 líc wunde

240 gá   res	299 arás	346 mære torht
móston	301 hwí   te	gewat
241 heaðo rín-	302 sá weall	348 ísern   her-
cas	303 úp lang	gum
<i>Page 155</i>	304 án dægne	án
<i>Ex.</i> 242 móð heap-	306 freoðo	wísode
um	wiére	349 mést
243 ác	307 láre	mære
wíg	311 wóð	<i>Page 161</i>
244 hú	wæg	<i>Ex.</i> 354 lánd riht
245 móð	stream	geþáh
áran	312 iúdisc	358 isrácla
246 gár beames	fé   ða	359 ór þancum
248 fús	313 án	362 nœ
rád	órette	364 drén floda
250 sé stream-	ún cuð	368 woruld rice
um	gelád	368 mne
<i>Page 156</i>	317 ealdor dóm	370 éce
<i>Ex.</i> 256 ríces	ágan	372 ríme
259 fáraón	318 cyne rícu	374 sá   leoda
260 síde	cneow	380 ís
261 únrim	mága	381 níwan
267 ís	<i>Page 160</i>	éac
268 lár	<i>Ex.</i> 320 béacen	382 héapas
272 gesýnto	arér   ed	ge hýld
273 écea	321 gár heape	385 hásum
275 mægen	325 gár wudu	heah lónd
róf	326 óre	<i>Page 162</i>
<i>Page 157</i>	328 únforhte	<i>Ex.</i> 386 sib gemá-
<i>Ex.</i> 278 nú	329 ríes	gas
279 fær wun-	330 fór	387 wære
dra	331 móð gade	gesáwon
281 gár secges	333 sá wicin-	393 woruld rice
282 úp	gas	395 mær   ost
284 here stráta	334 án getrum	397 mágan
gerýmed	335 únforht	398 abrahám
287 fáge	ealdor dóm	isáac
<i>Page 158</i>	338 oð þáh	ád fýr
<i>Ex.</i> 288 éce	340 þrýðum	399 nó
289 ségrundas	341 simeónes	fæg ra
291 sánd	343 gár fare	400 líge
sá cír	344 dæg wó	401 bál   blysc
293 ár glade	ma	403 yrfe láfe
295 úp	becwóm	404 gcbád
á   rærde	345 gár secges	405 láfe
298 wægfaru		406 genám



407 getéag	457 háme	521 dóma
411 úp	ác	522 sið fáte
arémde	458 wáge	523 líf   es
413 únweax	ár	wealhstód
enne	459 mód gode	524 bán húses
414 mfd	ádrenced	525 cágon
méce	460 gewát	526 Rún
416 ác	461 here   wópa	ræd
417 stýran	mæst	528 módum
418 wórd	463 gewód	tácan
<i>Page 163</i>	467 sás	529 sýn
<i>Ex.</i> 419 ágen	én   de	530 onlýhð
420 gecýðed	468 ástah	531 nú
422 wére	473 sáe	533 alýfed
424 líf dagum	475 nýd boda	534 ánbid
425 áwa	cóme	536 móde
únswici-	479 sáe manna	mán hus
endo	<i>Page 167</i>	537 fýr
429 fóldan	<i>Ex.</i> 481 wíde	538 éce
430 úp rodor	482 flód	539 ríce
431 gár secges	484 wícon	540 áer deað
gín	wágas	eft wýrd
435 cneow	486 heofon	541 mæst
mága	ríces	542 fáh
440 ána	489 ác	543 démeð
geríman	490 gár secg	<i>Page 170</i>
442 sáe beorga	492 wáelbenna	<i>Ex.</i> 546 líf
443 ác	495 méce	548 wfdan
444 íncaðeode	498 flod blác	551 bád
446 freo be	500 móde	552 ongéton
árn	wæga	553 muð hál
sélost	ge   dréas	hé
<i>Page 166</i>	503 gestáh	tó
<i>Ex.</i> 447 afáred	507 léan	554 mæ   gen
becwóm	508 cóm	wísa
449 blóde	509 ún   grundes	556 cananéa
bestémed	láfe	gelyfed
450 spáw	<i>Page 169</i>	557 bráde
451 astáh	<i>Ex.</i> 513 ác	ríce
452 oncyrde	514 spéd	558 gehét
453 fíer	515 agéat	561 láre
ongéton	516 éce	563 síge ríce
455 genáp	519 déop	564 bléd
456 ýða	árende	567 swég
becwóm	520 gýt	569 híld

570 life	45 máere	121 wiccung
571 dóme	mán beal-	dóm
575 hóf   on	wes	124 ácol
hlúde	47 babilónes	125 ángin
577 sáng	49 sécan	126 sínes
<i>Page 171</i>	50 hú	133 ór
<i>Ex. 580 éð   fynde.</i>	54 héan	<i>Page 179</i>
585 sáe lafe	56 líf welan	<i>Dan. 134 ún bliðe</i>
587 scéo	58 wín burh	135 sínum
<i>Page 173</i>	61 ge   strú-	137 mód   ge-
<i>Dan. 3 cyning</i>	dan	þances
dóm	66 féa	141 máetinge
4 hánd	<i>Page 175</i>	míne
5 wíg	<i>Dan. 70 únrim</i>	142 wisdóm
6 út	72 nýd	143 íc
afóron	73 ótor	dóm
7 módig	75 þá	146 witig   dóm
8 ríce	sínra	149 wýr   da
ráedan	78 ebréu	gerýnu
11 góð	<i>Page 176</i>	cwóm
12 heofon	<i>Dan. 79 síne</i>	150 dóme
ríces	89 æfæste	152 lá   fe
17 anwóð	91 án	156 á   sægde
18 deofol	annanías	<i>Page 180</i>
dáedum	azarías	<i>Dan. 159 sínum</i>
19 áe cræftas	94 sáét	162 órd
áne	100 sínum	ywed
20 nó	102 gád	165 ge sáede
21 hís	103 wíste	166 ær
dáelan	wære	on fón
23 únriht	<i>Page 177</i>	168 gedón
dón	<i>Dan. 105 máere</i>	169 gelyfan
25 láre	106 æ	170 Ác
26 heofon	107 ác	171 déormóde
ríces	108 frum slápe	díran
30 ráedes	111 wære	héton
31 for léton	getéod	176 gum ríces
32 dómas	112 úngelic	177 réad leas
33 réðe mód	113 slápe	<i>Page 181</i>
ríces	114 ríces	<i>Dan. 178 cwóm</i>
34 únhold	<i>Page 178</i>	182 réad
<i>Page 174</i>	<i>Dan. 116 onwóc</i>	183 únriht dóm
<i>Dan. 40 stóð</i>	ær	184 móde
41 fór   on	wín gal	185 árest
43 wáeron	118 ác	186 únriæd
44 gefór	wóma	becwóm

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187 únriht	250 líg	345 becwóm
189 á	gewánd	347 tíð
190 dóm	253 útan	349 scúr
þáfigan	álét	350 fráan
191 rærde	<i>Page 187</i>	351 háta
<i>Page 182</i>	<i>Dan.</i> 255 wáron	líg
<i>Dan.</i> 194 wár fæste	262 líges	353 míð
195 écne	hím	355 azarías
196 gedý   don	263 má	356 mód hwa-
198 ác	scíma	tan
200 gecwáedon	265 ác	358 báedon
201 wíges	267 gefáegon	359 lánd ge-
202 gebáedon	<i>Page 188</i>	scaft
204 getéode	<i>Dan.</i> 268 swið   mód	écne
205 wáron	269 wræclíc	361 móðū
206 héaran	271 æ   fæste	369 ánra
héan	ðry	<i>Page 192</i>
207 hégan	272 án	<i>Dan.</i> 373 fyr
<i>Page 183</i>	274 ác	376 háde
<i>Dan.</i> 217 lárūm	280 líg	hát
219 á	282 ácwæð	379 lígetu
221 hæðen dóm	286 dó   mas	380 bláce
223 wære	295 líge	381 éce
<i>Page 184</i>	296 wóm	382 héa
<i>Dan.</i> 224 án mod	<i>Page 189</i>	383 sé wáegas
ófn	<i>Dan.</i> 304 us éc	384 éa stream
227 frécne	<i>Page 190</i>	ýða
229 gealh mód	<i>Dan.</i> 309 éce	389 néata
231 bæl blyse	313 isááce	390 mó   dum
232 géoce	315 gehéte	396 éce
235 héan	317 ícan	397 annanías
237 ófn	319 máere	<i>Page 193</i>
becwóm	322 wæg	<i>Dan.</i> 412 þry
áglac	323 áre	413 báele
<i>Page 185</i>	únrim	417 wís
<i>Dan.</i> 240 líges	325 féa	419 mín
<i>Page 186</i>	326 þín	421 gíngum
<i>Dan.</i> 243 ísen	330 ána	425 á   na
245 báeron	éce	427 Ában
blácan	338 cwóm	428 út
fýres	340 hátan	ówihtes
247 íserne	<i>Page 191</i>	gód
áfæste	<i>Dan.</i> 342 líce	<i>Page 195</i>
gewát	343 ác	<i>Dan.</i> 431 láre
248 líg	344 fyren	432 cyne góde
249 máere	dáedum	wáeron

433 tó	489 ác	562 blád
434 lágon	ofer hýgd	béam
435 líce	491 mód   sefan	564 ána
436 náenig	wére	565 nís
437 fýre	494 úp	566 ána
ác	<i>Page 199</i>	567 áccorfeð
439 gleaw	<i>Dan.</i> 495 ætýwed	cyning
móde	497 stóde	dóme
<i>Page 196</i>	500 ác	<i>Page 203</i>
<i>Dan.</i> 440 gewát	503 twígum	<i>Dan.</i> 574 máel mete
úp	<i>Page 200</i>	575 rést
sécan	<i>Dan.</i> 505 áne	ác
éce	áete	578 án
441 hróf	508 ró   derum	579 sé
ríces	512 cóme	582 tíde
446 táčna	513 besnádan	séde
447 wére	514 tácen	583 þín
448 babilóne	520 dón	ríce
449 swið mód	522 wíte	584 ánwloh
450 wére	<i>Page 201</i>	585 réed
453 áre	<i>Dan.</i> 524 stóð	587 ér
456 ráedas	525 gáste	588 woruld ríce
ríce	526 síne	<i>Page 205</i>
<i>Page 197</i>	528 swið mód	<i>Dan.</i> 589 alæt
<i>Dan.</i> 458 sécan	530 ác	591 féer
460 fýr   es	531 dóme	595 á
461 þrý	<i>Page 202</i>	596 ác
hátan	<i>Dan.</i> 537 æt báer	mód
462 féer   gryre	538 ongán	600 bláede
fýres	541 rún	604 án   hydig
463 þurh   wó-	542 hófe	605 swið mód
don	544 blícan	606 ríce
464 ác	545 wýrda	609 gewórh   te
465 ác	547 dóme	610 rúme
468 síne	549 wándode	ríce
475 líg	wísa	613 gewát
<i>Page 198</i>	550 ár craftig	616 wíte
<i>Dan.</i> 475 háeron	ár	<i>Page 206</i>
476 ána	551 únlytel	<i>Dan.</i> 624 móde
éce	555 besnáded	626 ána
477 dóm	556 áfeallan	éce
478 spéd	ér	627 ér
480 hýld	561 tída	631 gewát
482 geséde	séde	632 nýd genga
483 móde	onfón	



<i>Page 207</i>	750 ár	22 hím <sup>3</sup>
<i>Dan.</i> 633 wáða	æ	móðe
639 ríce	758 sín	míhte
cóm	760 wære	swá
<i>Page 207</i>	ána	25 héo
<i>Dan.</i> 644 wíte	761 dóm	hélle
646 ác	762 ríces	hám
650 becwóm	<i>Page 213</i>	26 án
654 dóm	<i>Sat.</i> 1 eorð búen-	öðrū
662 cwóm	dum	átole
664 wíde	2 míht	scréf
670 ríce	stréngðo	27 héo
<i>Page 209</i>	3 ðá	bíðan
<i>Dan.</i> 675 awóc	fóldan	28 Sáran
677 ríces	4 gesétte	náles
679 caldéas	mónan	30 ác
680 méðum	5 út	31 níðær
682 lét	sæ	néssas
bláð	6 wólcen <sup>1</sup>	32 ána
684 ún rihtum	7 ybmlýt <sup>2</sup>	34 út
685 ríce	9 sáe	39 fýrclom-
686 hám sit-	géond	mum
tende	wlitan	40 nú
687 ár	10 ágen	42 wéan
695 sáeton	11 aríman	43 héh sélda
698 geræðum	rágnas	44 iú
703 hét	scúran	<i>Page 214</i>
705 ár	12 énde rím	<i>Sat.</i> 45 sóng
<i>Page 210</i>	13 sóðan	47 héh seld
<i>Dan.</i> 706 genámon	míht	48 wíte
708 bláð	14 swá	49 bíðan
for bræcon	gást	béndum
717 tó	15 síx	51 átole
722 wáge	17 Hwá	56 héofnes
723 bóc stafas	ís	59 wéndes
726 wíte	18 éce	ðú
<i>Page 212</i>	19 dréamas	60 wé
<i>Dan.</i> 733 aræðan	dúguðe	61 þín
735 cóm	20 Áðam	swá
741 áe cræftig	cýn	63 þ
745 ór læg	21 órd fru-	ðín
	man	64 máre

<sup>1</sup> e added above the line.<sup>2</sup> Accent on *b*; intended for *y*?<sup>3</sup> eo above *i*.

65 fácnun	102 gewúnade	146 tó
71 bláce	wítes	147 þá
73 áeglecan	103 réðe	149 úngelice
74 ánmedlan <sup>1</sup>	106 áhte	150 iú
76 ágen	107 átolan	155 fáh
77 wítes	éðele	156 wítes
wórñ	gebídan	159 fírna
ge félda	108 déman	160 út
79 fýre	109 fágum	161 wítu
dréam	féran	wérig
80 fndraf	110 háñ	162 gelicost
81 iú	113 órd	út
82 dréam	114 wéñan	þorh dráf <sup>7</sup>
83 ðéos	115 æfre	165 dég
84 hógade	wílle	dréam
<i>Page 215</i>	aléfan <sup>4</sup>	166 þréat
<i>Sat.</i> 86 ágan	117 écne <sup>5</sup>	úp heofen
87 éall	118 wíta	167 éam
88 háñ	wældén-	léas
89 wéne	des <sup>6</sup>	écan
90 ðó ne	119 héan	dréames
91 háñ	120 wúldre	168 gerácan
92 tír	benémed	170 éarum
94 úpp heo-	121 dréam	scéal
fon <sup>2</sup>	ágan	<i>Page 217</i>
95 ágan	122 úppe	<i>Sat.</i> 173 ágan
átola	<i>Page 216</i>	175 ágan
háñ	<i>Sat.</i> 126 éarfoðo	176 ascáden
97 éce	127 fýr leoma	scíran
99 wálica	stód	177 aláded
háñ	128 géond	178 becwóm
wítes	131 hát	179 fáh
100 Nágan	135 þés	181 écan
ús	136 ínne weard	184 wéan
101 genípe	139 má	wítu
Héar <sup>3</sup>	141 úppe	185 góda
swáeg <sup>3</sup>	144 mót	iú dædu

<sup>1</sup> *an* added above the line.

<sup>2</sup> Second *þ* added above the line.

<sup>3</sup> *æ* altered to *e* by erasure of *a*.

<sup>4</sup> *y* written above *e*.

<sup>5</sup> *n* added above the line.

<sup>6</sup> First *e* added above the line.

<sup>7</sup> With *u* above *o*.

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188 sídas	313 ágan	<i>Page 223</i>
wíde	dréama	<i>Sat. 436 hád</i>
189 ge hénéd	dréam	439 ge   séne
191 gífre	314a á	440 éce
195 blácan	314b á	444 gebéged
198 écne	315 ála	455 féða
ge féan	319 wíde	cóm
202 écne	wéa	456 éca
207 hnígan	320 mán	467 léoman
208 ára	322 cóm	471 ádam
<i>Page 218</i>	324 fýre	473 fórd
<i>Sat. 212 þeos</i>	330 góða	478 fáh
215 hám	332 wóp	<i>Page 224</i>
216 ge cwémra	334 fýr	<i>Sat. 501 ér</i>
á   cerran	335 wéan	504 ágan
217 sígora	wítu	507 íc
219 þj	<i>Page 221</i>	510 éce
226 án forlæten	<i>Sat. 338 tóða</i>	512 wá
228 wé	341 wá	<i>Page 225</i>
236 arás	345 nérgendne	<i>Sat. 530 éca</i>
239 éce	348 náenig	537 þeç
ús	né	541 déora
ge stóð	349 þæs	<i>Page 226</i>
247 ána	350 léoman	<i>Sat. 567 ýmb flugon</i>
<i>Page 219</i>	351 þær	588 læcedom
<i>Sat. 249 mfnre<sup>1</sup></i>	360 ágon	592 bléd
254 swá	365 ér	<i>Page 227</i>
263 fýr	369 ágan	<i>Sat. 612 móton</i>
265 sécað	372 écan	614 héo
266 ge hrínan <sup>2</sup>	385 ín	618 á
267 mót	377 andwlítan	éce
270 ún   sibbe	<i>Page 222</i>	622 wénað
276 éca	<i>Sat. 387 féreð</i>	625 éce
277 hám	388 ér	627 ófostū
aléfan	393 nú	éow
278 ér	396 á	632 nfð
286 to génes	406 adámes	634 wíte
289 ér	éfe	637 édwit
<i>Page 220</i>	408 éce	640 écne
<i>Sat. 302 ér</i>	410 nfð	650 þá
306 gefíce	411 nú	<i>Page 228</i>
312 áwa	430 Arás	<i>Sat. 652 férað</i>

<sup>1</sup> *n* added above the line.<sup>2</sup> *h* added above the line.

656 heofen	691 þé	713 wéan
déman	692 géara <sup>2</sup>	lég <sup>3</sup>
662 écan	698 éac	714 láþan
663 ús	wíd	715 hréam <sup>4</sup>
667 ár	síd	717 ánd sacan
668 gedéaf	708 áer	718 stóð
673 éce	Page 229	729 lá
683 búende <sup>1</sup>	Sat. 712 áglęce	nú
689 éce		

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<sup>1</sup> *ú* added above an erasure.

<sup>2</sup> With *o* above *a*.

<sup>3</sup> *e* altered from *æ*.

<sup>4</sup> *h* added above the line.



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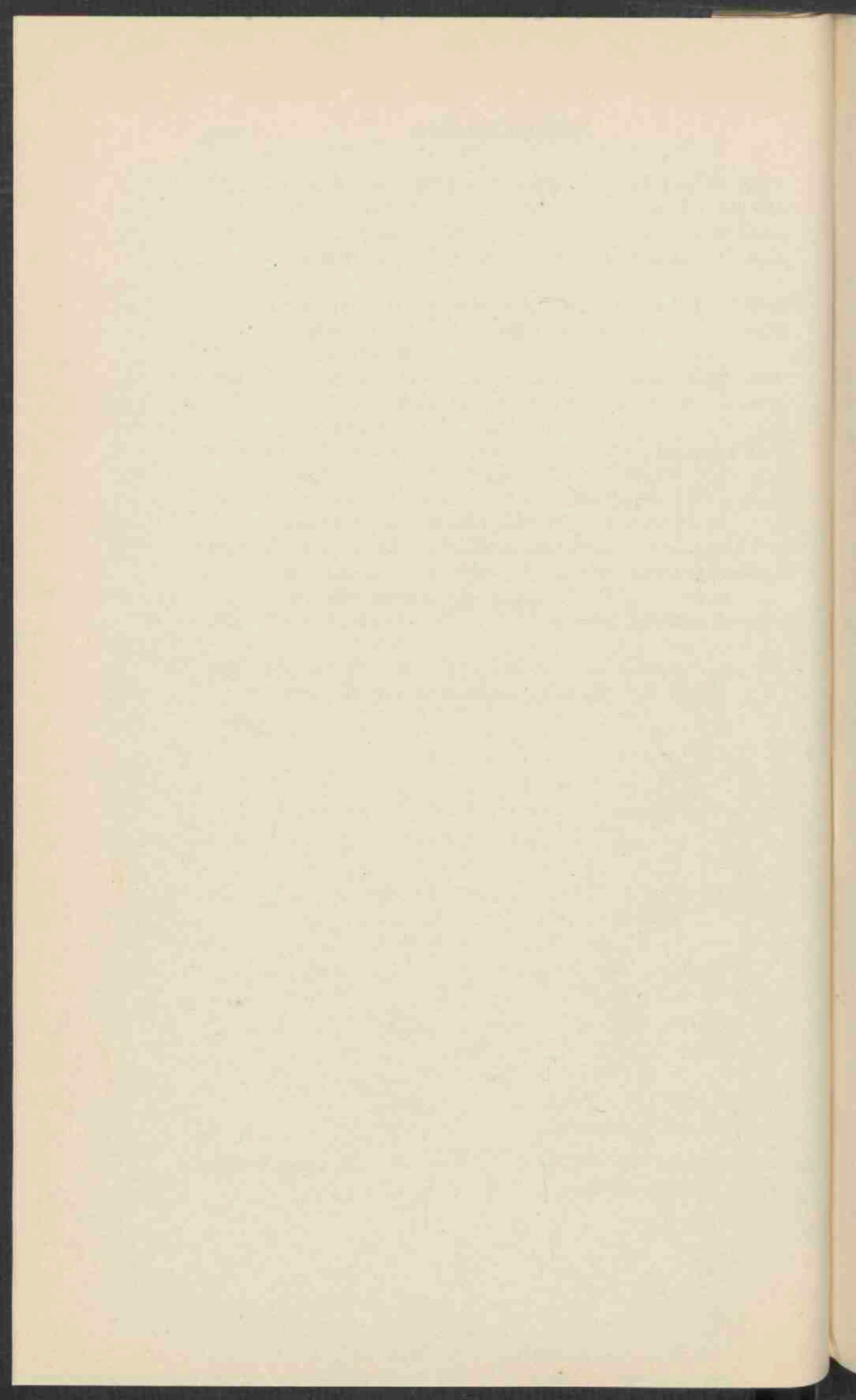
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TEXTS





## ANDREAS

Hwæt! We gefrunan on fyrndagum  
 twelfe under tunglum tireadige hæleð,  
 þeodnes þegnas. No hira þrym alæg  
 camprædenne þonne cumbol hneotan,  
 5 syððan hie gedældon, swa him dryhten sylf,  
 heofona heahcyning, hlyt getæhte.

þæt wæron mære men ofer eorðan,  
 frome folctogan ond fyrrdhwate,  
 rofe rincas, þonne rond ond hand  
 10 on herefelda helm ealgodon,  
 on meotudwange. Wæs hira Matheus sum,  
 se mid Iudeum ongan godspell ærest  
 wordum writan wundorcraefte.

þam halig god hlyt geteode  
 15 ut on þæt igland þær ænig þa git  
 ellþeodigra eðles ne mihte  
 blædes brucan. Oft him bonena hand  
 on herefelda hearde gesceode.

Eal wæs þæt mearcland morðre bewunden,  
 20 feondes facne, folcstede gumena,  
 hæleða eðel. Næs þær hlafes wist  
 werum on þam wonge, ne wæteres drync  
 to bruconne, ah hie blod ond fel,  
 fira flæschoman, feorrancumenra,

25 ðegon geond þa þeode. Swelc wæs þeaw hira  
 þæt hie æghwylcne ellðeodigra  
 dydan him to mose meteþearfendum,  
 þara þe þæt ealand utan sohte.

Swylc wæs þæs folces freoðoleas tacen,  
 30 unlædra eafod, þæt hie eagna gesihð,  
 hettend heorgrimme, heafodgimmas

4 camprædenne] cam rædenne  
 heafodgimmas] heafod gimme

6 hlyt] lyt

31 hettend] hetted

- agetton gealgmode gara ordum.  
 Syððan him geblendan bitere tosomne,  
 dryas þurh dwolcraeft, drync unheorne,  
 35 se onwende gewit, wera ingeþanc,  
 heortan on hreðre, (hyge wæs oncyrrred),  
 þæt hie ne murndan æfter mandream, e,  
 hæleþ heorogrædige, ac hie hig ond gærs  
 for meteleaste meðe gedrehte.  
 40 Þa wæs Matheus to þære mæran byrig  
 cumen in þa ceastre. Þær wæs cirm micel  
 geond Mermedonia, manfulra hloð,  
 fordenera gedræg, syþþan deofles þegnas  
 geascodon æðelinges sið.  
 45 Eodon him þa togenes, garum gehyrsted,  
 lungre under linde, (nalas late wæron),  
 eorre æsberend, to þam orlege.  
 Hie þam halgan þær handa gebundon  
 ond fæstnodon feondes cræfte,  
 50 hæleð hellfuse, ond his heafdes segl  
 abreoton mid billes ege. Hwæðre he in breostum þa git  
 herede in heortan heofonrices weard,  
 þeah ðe he atres drync atulne onfenge.  
 Eadig ond onmod, he mid elne forð  
 55 wyrðode wordum wuldres aldor,  
 heofonrices weard, halgan stefne,  
 of carcerne. Him wæs Cristes lof  
 on fyrhðlocan fæste bewunden.  
 He þa wepende weregum tearum  
 60 his sigedryhten sargan reorde  
 grette, gumena brego, geomran stefne,  
 weoruda wilgeofan, ond þus wordum cwæð:  
 "Hu me elþeodige inwitwrasne  
 searonet seowað! A ic symles wæs  
 65 on wega gehwam willan þines  
 georn on mode; nu ðurh geohða sceal  
 dæde fremman swa þa dumban neat.

32 agetton] ageton    33 geblendan] geblondan    36 on] *Not in MS.*  
 43 þegnas] þegn *at end of page*    64 seowað] seoðað

- þu ana canst ealra gehygdō,  
 meotud mancynnes, mod in hreðre.  
 70 Gif þin willa sie, wuldres aldor,  
 þæt me wærlogan wæpna ecgum,  
 sweordum, aswebban, ic beo sona gearu  
 to adreoganne þæt ðu, drihten min,  
 engla eadgifa, eðelleasum,  
 75 dugeða dædfruma, deman wille.  
 Forgif me to are, ælmihtig god,  
 leoht on þisum life, þy læs ic lungre scyle,  
 ablended in burgum, æfter billhete  
 þurh hearmcwide heorugrædigra,  
 80 laðra leodsceaðena, leng þrowian  
 edwitspræce. Ic to anum þe,  
 middangeardes weard, mod staþolige,  
 fæste fyrhðlufan, ond þe, fæder engla,  
 beorht blædgifa, biddan wille  
 85 ðæt ðu me ne gescyrige mid scyldhetum,  
 werigum wrohtsmiðum, on þone wyrrestan,  
 dugoða demend, deað ofer eorðan."  
 Æfter þyssum wordum com wuldres tacen  
 halig of heofenum, swylce hadre segl  
 90 to þam carcerne. Þær gecyðed wearð  
 þæt halig god helpe gefremede,  
 ða wearð gehyred heofoncyniges stefn  
 wrætlic under wolcnum, wordhleodres sweg  
 mæres þeodnes. He his maguþegne  
 95 under hearmlocan hælo ond frofre  
 beadurofum abead beorhtan stefne:  
 "Ic þe, Matheus, mine sylle  
 sybbe under swegle. Ne beo ðu on sefan to forht,  
 ne on mode ne murn. Ic þe mid wunige  
 100 ond þe alyse of þyssum leoðubendum,  
 ond ealle þa menigo þe þe mid wuniað  
 on nearonedum. Þe is neorxnawang,  
 blæda beorhtost, boldwela fægrost,  
 71 wærlogan] wær lo gan *with second l erased after o* 89 segl] segl  
 99 ne murn] ne ne murn 101 þe þe] *Second þe above the line*

- hama hyhtlicost, halegum mihtum  
 105 torht ontyned. Þær ðu tyres most,  
 to widan feore willan brucan.  
 Geþola þeoda þrea! Nis seo þrah micel  
 þæt þe wærlogan witebendum,  
 synnige ðurh searocraft, swencan motan.
- 110 Ic þe Andreas ædre onsende  
 to hleo ond to hroðre in þas hæðenan burg.  
 He ðe alyseð of þyssum leodhete.  
 Is to þære tide tælnet hwile  
 emne mid soðe seofon ond twentig
- 115 nihtgerimes, þæt ðu of nede most,  
 sorgum geswenced, sigore gewyrðod,  
 hweorfan of henðum in gehyld godes.”  
 Gewat him þa se halga helm ælwihta,  
 engla scyppend, to þam uplican
- 120 eðelrice. He is on riht cyning,  
 staðolfæst styrend, in stowa gehwam.  
 Ða wæs Matheus miclum onbryrded  
 niwan stefne. Nihthelm toglad,  
 lungre leorde, Leoht æfter com,
- 125 dægredwoma. Duguð sammade,  
 hæðne hildfreca, heapum þrungon,  
 (guðsearo gullon, garas hrysedon),  
 bolgenmode, under bordhreoðan.  
 Woldon cunnian hwæðer cwise lifdon
- 130 þa þe on carcerne clommmum fæste  
 hleolessan wic hwile wunedon,  
 hwylcne hie to æte ærest mihton  
 æfter fyrstmearce feores berædan.  
 Hæfdon hie on rune ond on rimcraft
- 135 awriten, wælgrædige, wera endestæf,  
 hwænne hie to mose meteþearfendum  
 on þære werþeode weorðan sceoldon.  
 Cirdon caldheorte, (cordor oðrum getang),

109 synnige] synne 117 hweorfan] hweorfest 118 Gewat him] ge him

120 eðelrice] eðel rice, *the final e followed by s, partly erased, and by a comma*

136 hwænne] hwæne



- reðe ræsboran. Rihtes ne gimdon,  
 140 meotudes mildse. Oft hira mod onwod  
 under dimscuan deofles larum,  
 þonne hie unlædra eafeðum gelyfdon.  
 Hie ða gemetton modes glawne,  
 haligne hæle, under heolstorlocan  
 145 bidan beadurofne þæs him beorht cyning,  
 engla ordfruma, unnan wolde.  
 Ða wæs first agan frumrædenne  
 þinggemearces butan þrim nihtum,  
 swa hit wælwulfas awriten hæfdon  
 150 þæt hie banhringas abrecaþ þohton,  
 lungre tolysan lic ond sawle,  
 ond þonne todælan duguðe ond geogoðe,  
 werum to wiste ond to wilþege,  
 fæges flæschoman. Feorh ne bemurndan,  
 155 grædige guðrincas, hu þæs gastes sið  
 æfter swyltcwale geseted wurde.  
 Swa hie symble ymb þritig þing gehedon  
 nihtgerimes; wæs him neod micel  
 þæt hie tobrugdon blodigum ceafum  
 160 fira flæschoman him to foddorþege.  
 Ða wæs gemyndig, se ðe middangeard  
 gestaðelode strangum mihtum,  
 hu he in ellþeodigum yrmðum wunode,  
 belocen leoðubendum, þe oft his lufan adreg  
 165 for Ebreum ond Israhelum;  
 swylce he Iudea galdorcraeftum  
 wiðstod stranglice. Ða sio stefn gewearð  
 gehered of heofenum, þær se halga wer  
 in Achaia, Andreas, wæs,  
 170 (leode lærde on lifes weg),  
 þa him cirebaldum cininga wuldor,  
 meotud mancynnes, modhord onleac,  
 weoruda drihten, ond þus wordum cwæð:  
 "Ðu scealt feran ond frið lædan,

- 175 siðe gesecan, þær sylfætan  
 eard weardigað, eðel healdar  
 morðorcraeftum. Swa is þære menigo þeaw  
 þæt hie uncuðra ængum ne willað  
 on þam folcstede feores geunnan
- 180 syþþan manfulle on Mermedonia  
 onfindar feasceafne. Þær sceall feorhgedal,  
 earmlic ylða cwealm, æfter wyrþan.  
 Ðær ic seomian wat þinne sigebroðor  
 mid þam burgwarum bendum fæstne.
- 185 Nu bið fore þreo niht þæt he on þære þeode sceal  
 fore hæðenra handgewinne  
 þurh gares gripe gast onsendan,  
 ellorfusne, butan ðu ær cyme.”  
 Ædre him Andreas agef andsware:
- 190 “Hu mæg ic, dryhten min, ofer deop gelad  
 fore gefremman on feorne weg  
 swa hrædlice, heofona scyppend,  
 wuldres waldend, swa ðu worde becwist?  
 Ðæt mæg engel þin eað geferan,
- 195 halig of heofenum con him holma begang,  
 sealte sæstreamas ond swanrade,  
 waroðfaruða gewinn ond wæterbrogan,  
 wegas ofer widland. Ne synt me winas cuðe,  
 eorlas elþeodige, ne þær æniges wat
- 200 hæleða gehygd, ne me herestræta  
 ofer cald wæter cuðe sindon.”  
 Him ða ondswarude ece dryhten:  
 “Eala, Andreas, þæt ðu a woldest  
 þæs siðfætes sære weorþan!
- 205 Nis þæt uneaðe eallwealdan gode  
 to gefremmanne on foldwege,  
 ðæt sio ceaster hider on þas cneorisse  
 under swegles gang aseted wyrðe,  
 breogostol breme, mid þam burgwarum,
- 210 gif hit worde becwið wuldres agend.
- 195 halig] *Not in MS.* 196 sealte] *A letter erased between s and e*  
 sæstreamas] *sæ stearmas*

- Ne meht ðu þæs siðfætēs sǣne weorðan,  
 ne on gewitte to wac, gif ðu wel þencest  
 wið þinne waldend wære gehealdan,  
 treowe tacen. Beo ðu on tid gearu;  
 215 ne mæg þæs ærendes ylding wyrðan.  
 Ðu scealt þa fore geferan ond þin feorh beran  
 in gramra gripe, ðær þe guðgewinn  
 þurh hæðenra hildewoman,  
 beorna beaducraft, geboden wyrðeð.  
 220 Scealtu æninga mid ærdæge,  
 emne to morgene, æt meres ende  
 ceol gestigan ond on cald wæter  
 brecan ofer bæðweg. Hafa bletsunge  
 ofer middangeard mine, þær ðu fere!"  
 225 Gewat him þa se halga healdend ond wealdend,  
 upengla fruma, eðel secan,  
 middangeardes weard, þone mæran ham,  
 þær soðfæstra sawla moton  
 æfter lices hryre lifes brucan.  
 230 Þa wæs ærende æðelum ceman  
 aboden in burgum, ne wæs him bleað hyge,  
 ah he wæs anræd ellenweorces,  
 heard ond higerof, nalas hildlata,  
 gearo, guðe fram, to godes campe.  
 235 Gewat him þa on uhtan mid ærdæge  
 ofer sandhleoðu to sæs faruðe,  
 þriste on geþance, ond his þegnas mid,  
 gangan on greote. Garsecg hlyneðe,  
 beoton brimstreamas. Se beorn wæs on hyhte,  
 240 syðþan he on waruðe widfæðme scip  
 modig gemette. Þa com morgentorht  
 beacna beorhtost ofer breomo sneowan,  
 halig of heolstre. Heofoncandel blac  
 ofer lagofodas. He ðær lidweardas,  
 245 þrymllice þry þegnas gemette,  
 modiglice menn, on merebate

- sittan siðfreme, swylce hie ofer sæ comon.  
 þæt wæs drihten sylf, dugeða wealdend,  
 ece ælmihtig, mid his englum twam.
- 250 Wæron hie on gescirplan scipferendum,  
 eorlas onlice ealiðendum,  
 þonne hie on flodes fæðm ofer feorne weg  
 on cald wæter ceolum lacað.
- Hie ða gegrette, se ðe on greote stod,  
 255 fus on faroðe, fægn reordade:  
 "Hwanon comon ge ceolum liðan,  
 macræftige menn, on mereþissan,  
 ane ægflotan? Hwanon eagorstream  
 ofer yða gewealc eowic brohte?"
- 260 Him ða ondswarode ælmihti god,  
 swa þæt ne wiste, se ðe þæs wordes bad,  
 hwæt se manna wæs meðelhegendra,  
 þe he þær on waroðe wiðþingode:  
 "We of Marmedonia mægðe syndon
- 265 feorran geferede. Us mid flode bær  
 on hranrade heahstefn naca,  
 snellic sæmearh, snude bewunden,  
 oðþæt we þissa leoda land gesohton,  
 wære bewrecene, swa us wind fordraf."
- 270 Him þa Andreas eaðmod oncwæð:  
 "Wolde ic þe biddan, þeh ic þe beaga lyt,  
 sincweorðunga, syllan meahte,  
 þæt ðu us gebrohte brante ceole,  
 hea hornscipe, ofer hwæles eðel
- 275 on þære mægðe. Bið ðe meorð wið god,  
 þæt ðu us on lade liðe weorðe."  
 Eft him ondswarode æðelinga helm  
 of yðlide, engla scippend:  
 "Ne magon þær gewunian widferende,
- 280 ne þær elþeodige eardes brucað,  
 ah in þære ceastre cwealm þrowiað,  
 þa ðe feorran þyðer feorh gelædaþ,



- ond þu wilnast nu ofer widne mere  
 þæt ðu on þa fægðe þine feore spilde.”  
 285 Him þa Andreas agef ondsware:  
 “Usic lust hweteð on þa leodmearce,  
 mycel modes hiht, to þære mæran byrig,  
 þeoden leofesta, gif ðu us þine wilt  
 on merefarode miltse gecyðan.”  
 290 Him ondswarode engla þeoden,  
 neregend fira, of nacan stefne:  
 “We ðe estlice mid us willað  
 ferigan freolice ofer fises bæð  
 efne to þam lande þær þe lust myneð  
 295 to gesecanne, syððan ge eowre  
 gafulrædenne agifen habbað,  
 sceattas gescrifene, swa eow scipweardas,  
 aras ofer yðbord, unnan willað.”  
 Him þa ofstlice Andreas wið,  
 300 wineþearfende, wordum mælde:  
 “Næbbe ic fated gold ne feohgestreon,  
 welan ne wiste ne wira gespann,  
 landes ne locenra beaga, þæt ic þe mæge lust ahwettan,  
 willan in worulde, swa ðu worde becwist.”  
 305 Him þa beorna breogo, þær he on bolcan sæt,  
 ofer waroða geweorp wiðþingode:  
 “Hu gewearð þe þæs, wine leofesta,  
 ðæt ðu sæbeorgas secan woldes,  
 merestreama gemet, maðmum bedæled,  
 310 ofer cald cleofu ceoles neosan?  
 Nafast þe to frofre on faroðstræte  
 hlafes wiste ne hlutterne  
 drync to dugoðe. Is se drohtað strang  
 þam þe lagolade lange cunnaþ.”  
 315 Ða him Andreas ðurh ondsware,  
 wis on gewitte, wordhord onleac:  
 “Ne gedafenað þe, nu þe dryhten geaf  
 welan ond wiste ond woruldspede,

- 320   ðæt ðu ondsware mid oferhygdum,  
       sece sarcwide. Selre bið æghwam  
       þæt he eaðmedum ellorfusne  
       oncnawe cuðlice, swa þæt Crist bebead,  
       þeoden þrymfæst. We his þegnas synd  
       gecoren to cempum. He is cyning on riht,  
 325 wealdend ond wyrhta wuldorþrymmes,  
       an ece god eallra gesceafta,  
       swa he ealle befehð anes cræfte,  
       hefon ond eorðan, halgum mihtum,  
       sigora selost. He ðæt sylfa cwæð,  
 330 fæder folca gehwæs, ond us feran het  
       geond ginne grund gasta streonan:  
       'Farað nu geond ealle eorðan sceatas  
       emne swa wide swa wæter bebugeð,  
       oððe stedewangas stræte gelicgaþ.  
 335 Bodiað æfter burgum beorhtne geleafan  
       ofer foldan fæðm. Ic eow freoðo healde.  
       Ne ðurfan ge on þa fore frætwe lædan,  
       gold ne seolfor. Ic eow goda gehwæs  
       on eowerne agenne dom est ahwette.'  
 340 Nu ðu seolfa miht sið userne  
       gehyran hygeþancol. Ic sceal hraðe cunnan  
       hwæt ðu us to duguðum gedon wille."  
       Him þa ondswarode ece dryhten:  
       "Gif ge syndon þegnas þæs þe þrym ahof  
 345 ofer middangeard, swa ge me secgaþ,  
       ond ge geheoldon þæt eow se halga bead,  
       þonne ic eow mid gefean ferian wille  
       ofer brimstreamas, swa ge benan sint."  
       þa in ceol stigon collenfyrhðe,  
 350 ellenrofe, æghwylcum wearð  
       |on merefaroðe mod geblissod.  
       Ða ofer yða geswing Andreas ongann  
       mereliðendum miltsa biddan  
       wuldres aldor, ond þus wordum cwæð:

323 his] is    332 sceatas] c corrected from t    342 duguðum] dugudum  
 343 ece] ece

- 355 "Forgife þe dryhten domweorðunga,  
willan in worulde ond in wuldre blæd,  
meotud manncynnes, swa ðu me hafast  
on þyssum siðfæte sybbe gecyðed!"  
Gesæt him þa se halga helmwearde neah,
- 360 æðele be æðelum. Æfre ic ne hyrde  
þon cymlicor ceol gehladenne  
heahgestreonum. Hæleð in sæton,  
þeodnas þrymfulle, þegnas wlitige.  
Ða reordode rice þeoden,
- 365 ece ælmihtig, heht his engel gan,  
mærne maguþegn, ond mete syllan,  
frefran feasceafta ofer flodes wylm,  
þæt hie þe eað mihton ofer yða geþring  
drohtaþ adreogan. þa gedrefed wearð,
- 370 onhrered hwælmere. Hornfisc plegode,  
glad geond garsecg, ond se græga mæw  
wælgifre wand. Wedercandel swearc,  
windas weoxon, wægas grundon,  
streamas styredon, strengas gurron,
- 375 wædo gewætte. Wæteregea stod  
þreata þryðum. Þegnas wurdon  
acolmode. Ænig ne wende  
þæt he lifgende land begete,  
þara þe mid Andreas on eagorstream
- 380 ceol gesohte. Næs him cuð þa gyt  
hwa þam sæflotan sund wisode.  
Him þa se halga on holmwege  
ofer argeblond, Andreas þa git,  
þegn þeodenhold, þanc gesægde,
- 385 ricum ræsboran, þa he gereordod wæs:  
"Ðe þissa swæsenda soðfæst meotud,  
lifes leohtfruma, lean forgilde,  
weoruda waldend, ond þe wist gife,  
heofonlicne hlaf, swa ðu hyldo wið me
- 390 ofer firigendstream freode gecyðdest!



Nu synt geþreade þegnas mine,  
 geonge guðrincas. Garsecg hlymmeð,  
 geofon geotende. Grund is onhrered,  
 deope gedrefed, duguð is geswenced,  
 395 modigra mægen myclum gebysgod.”

Him of helman oncwæð hæleða scyppend:  
 “Læt nu geferian flotan userne,  
 lid to lande ofer lagufæsten,  
 ond þonne gebidan beornas þine,  
 400 aras on earde, hwænne ðu eft cyme.”

Edre him þa eorlas agefan ondsware,  
 þegnas þrohthearde, þafigan ne woldon  
 ðæt hie forleton æt lides stefnan  
 leofne lareow ond him land curon:

405 “Hwider hweorfað we hlafordlease,  
 geomormode, gode orfeorme,  
 synnum wunde, gif we swicað þe?  
 We bioð laðe on landa gehwam,  
 folcum fracode, þonne fira bearn,  
 410 ellenrofe, æht besittap,  
 hwylc hira selost symle gelæste  
 hlaforde æt hilde, þonne hand ond rond  
 on beaduwange billum forgrunden  
 æt niðplegan nearu þrowedon.”

415 þa reordade rice þeoden,  
 wærfæst cining, word stunde ahof:  
 “Gif ðu þegn sie þrymsittendes,  
 wuldorcyninges, swa ðu worde becwist,  
 rece þa gerynu, hu he reordberend

420 lærde under lyfte. Lang is þes siðfæt  
 ofer fealuwne flod; frefra þine  
 mæcgas on mode. Mycel is nu gena  
 lad ofer lagustream, land swiðe feorr  
 to gesecanne. Sund is geblonden,

425 grund wið greote. God eaðe mæg  
 heaðoliðendum helpe gefremman.”

393 geofon] heofon    394 duguð] dugud    396 helman] holme  
 413 forgrunden] fore grunden    424 Sund] sand



- Ongan þa gleawlice gingran sine,  
wuldorspedige weras wordum trymman:  
“Ge þæt gehogodon, þa ge on holm stigon,  
430 þæt ge on fara folc feorh gelæddon,  
ond for dryhtnes lufan deað þrowodon,  
on Ælmyrcna eðelrice  
sawle gesealdon. Ic þæt sylfa wat,  
þæt us gescyldeð scyppend engla,  
435 weoruda dryhten. Wæteregeasa sceal,  
geðyd ond geðreatod þurh þryðcining,  
lagu lacende, liðra wyrðan.  
Swa gesælde iu, þæt we on sæbate  
ofer waruðgewinn wæda cunnedan,  
440 faroðridende. Frecne þuhton  
egle ealada. Eagorstreamas  
beoton bordstæðu, brim oft oncwæð,  
yð oðerre. Hwilum upp astod  
of brimes bosme on bates fæðm  
445 egeasa ofer yðlid. Ælmihtig þær,  
meotud mancynnes, on mereþyssan  
beorht basnode. Beornas wurdon  
forhte on mode, friðes wilnedon,  
miltsa to mærum. Þa seo menigo ongan  
450 clypian on ceole, cyning sona aras,  
engla eadgifa, yðum stilde,  
wæteres wælmum. Windas þreade,  
sæ sessade, smylte wurdon  
merestreama gemeotu. Ða ure mod ahloh  
455 syððan we gesegon under swegles gang  
windas ond wægas ond wæterbrogan  
forhte gewordne for frean egesan.  
Forþan ic eow to soðe secgan wille,  
þæt næfre forlæteð lifgende god  
460 eorl on eorðan, gif his ellen deah.”  
Swa hleoðrode halig cempa,  
ðeawum geþancul. Þegnas lærde

- eadig oreta, eorlas trymede,  
 oððæt hie semninga slæp ofereode,  
 465 meðe be mæste. Mere sweoðerade,  
 yða ongin eft oncyrde,  
 hreoh holmþracu. Þa þam halgan wearð  
 æfter gryrehwile gast geblissod.  
 Ongan ða reordigan rædum snottor,  
 470 wis on gewitte, wordlocan onspeonn:  
 "Næfre ic sælidan selran mette,  
 macræftigran, þæs ðe me þynceð,  
 rowend rofran, rædsnotterran,  
 wordes wisran. Ic wille þe,  
 475 eorl unforcuð, anre nu gena  
 bene biddan, þeah ic þe beaga lyt,  
 sincweorðunga, syllan mihte,  
 fætedsinces. Wolde ic freondscipe,  
 þeoden þrymfæst, þinne, gif ic mehte,  
 480 begitan godne. Þæs ðu gife hleotest,  
 haligne hyht on heofonþrymme,  
 gif ðu lidwerigum larna þinra  
 este wyrðest. Wolde ic anes to ðe,  
 cynerof hæleð, cræftes neosan,  
 485 ðæt ðu me getæhte, nu þe tir cyning  
 ond miht forgef, manna scyppend,  
 hu ðu wægflotan wære bestemdon,  
 sæhengeste, sund wisige.  
 Ic wæs on gifeðe iu ond nu þa  
 490 syxtyne siðum on sæbate,  
 mere hrerendum mundum freorig,  
 eagorstreamas, (is ðys ane ma),  
 swa ic æfre ne geseah ænigne mann,  
 þryðbearn hæleða, þe gelicne,  
 495 steoran ofer stæfnan. Streamwelm hwileð,  
 beateþ brimstæðo. Is þes bat ful scrid,  
 færeð famigheals, fugole gelicost  
 glideð on geofone. Ic georne wat

479 þinne] þine    483 este] est    489 þa] *Not in MS.*    491 hrerendum]  
*r erased before this word*    494 hæleða] hæleð    496 beateþ] beataþ

- þæt ic æfre ne geseah ofer yðlade  
 500 on sæleodan syllicran cræft.  
 Is þon geliccost swa he on landsceare  
 stille stande, þær hine storm ne mæg,  
 wind awecgan, ne wæterflodas  
 breacan brondstæfne, hwæðere on brim snoweð  
 505 snel under segle. Ðu eart seolfa geong,  
 wigendra hleo, nalas wintrum frod,  
 hafast þe on fyrhðe, faroðlacende,  
 eorles ondsware. Æghwylces canst  
 worda for worulde wislic andgit.”  
 510 Him ondswarede ece dryhten:  
 “Oft þæt gesæleð, þæt we on sælade,  
 scipum under scealcum, þonne sceor cymeð,  
 brecað ofer bæðweg, brimhengestum.  
 Hwilum us on yðum earfoðlice  
 515 gesæleð on sæwe, þeh we sið nesan,  
 frecne geferan. Flodwylm ne mæg  
 manna ænigne ofer meotudes est  
 lungre gelettan; ah him lifes geweald,  
 se ðe brimu bindeð, brune yða  
 520 ðyð ond þreatað. He þeodum sceal  
 racian mid rihte, se ðe rodor ahof  
 ond gefæstnode folmum sinum,  
 worhte ond wreðede, wuldras fylde  
 beorhtne boldwelan, swa gebledsod wearð  
 525 engla eðel þurh his anes miht.  
 Forþan is gesyne, soð orgete,  
 cuð oncnawen, þæt ðu cyninges eart  
 þegen geþungen, þrymsittendes,  
 forþan þe sona sæholm oncneow,  
 530 garsecges begang, þæt ðu gife hæfdes  
 haliges gastes. Hærn eft onwand,  
 aryða geblond. Egesa gestilde,  
 widfæðme wæg. Wædu swæðorodon  
 seoðþan hie ongeton þæt ðe god hæfde



- 535 wære bewunden, se ðe wuldres blæd  
gestaðolade strangum mihtum.”  
þa hleoðrade halgan stefne  
cempa collenferhð, cyning wyrðude,  
wuldres waldend, ond þus wordum cwæð:
- 540 “Wes ðu gebledsod, brego mancynnes,  
dryhten hælend! A þin dom lyfað!  
Ge neh ge feor is þin nama halig,  
wuldre gewlitegad ofer werþeoda,  
miltsum gemærsod. Nænig manna is
- 545 under heofonhwealfe, hæleða cynnes,  
ðætte areccan mæg oððe rim wite  
hu ðrymlice, þeoda baldor,  
gasta geocend, þine gife dælest.  
Huru is gesyne, sawla nergend,
- 550 þæt ðu þissum hysse hold gewurde  
ond hine geongne geofum wyrðodest,  
wis on gewitte ond wordcwidum.  
Ic æt efenealdum æfre ne mette  
on modsefan maran snyttro.”
- 555 Him ða of ceole oncwæð cyninga wuldor,  
frægn fromlice fruma ond ende:  
“Saga, þances gleaw þegn, gif ðu cunne,  
hu ðæt gewurde be werum tweonum,  
þæt ða arleasan inwidþancum,
- 560 Iudea cynn wið godes bearne  
ahof hearncwide. Hæleð unsælige  
no ðær gelyfdon in hira liffruman,  
grome gealgmode, þæt he god wære,  
þeah ðe he wundra feala weorodum gecyðde,
- 565 sweotulra ond gesynra. Synnige ne mihton  
oncnawan þæt cynebearn, se ðe acenned wearð  
to hleo ond to hroðre hæleða cynne,  
eallum eorðwarum. Æþelinge weox  
word ond wisdom, ah he þara wundra a,
- 570 domagende, dæl nænigne



frætre þeode beforan cyðde."

Him ða Andreas agef andsware:

- "Hu mihte þæt gewyrðan in werþeode,  
 þæt ðu ne gehyrde hælendes miht,  
 575 gumena leofost, hu he his gif cyðde  
 geond woruld wide, wealdendes bearn?  
 Sealde he dumbum gesprec, deafe gehyrdon,  
 healtum ond hreofum hyge blissode,  
 ða þe limseoce lange wæron,  
 580 werige, wanhale, witum gebundene,  
 æfter burhstedum blinde gesegon.  
 Swa he on grundwæge gumena cynnes  
 manige missenlice men of deaðe  
 worde awehte. Swylce he eac wundra feala  
 585 cynerof cyðde þurh his cræftes miht.  
 He gehalgode for heremægene  
 win of wætere ond wendan het,  
 beornum to blisse, on þa beteran gecynd.  
 Swylce he afedde of fixum twam  
 590 ond of fif hlafum fira cynnes  
 fif ðusendo. Feðan sæton,  
 reonigmode, reste gefegon,  
 werige æfter waðe, wiste þegon,  
 menn on moldan, swa him gemedost wæs.  
 595 Nu ðu miht gehyran, hyse leofesta,  
 hu us wuldres weard wordum ond dædum  
 lufode in life, ond þurh lare speon  
 to þam fægeran gefean, þær freo moton,  
 eadige mid englum, eard weardigan,  
 600 þa ðe æfter deaðe dryhten secað."
- Ða gen weges weard wordhord onleac,  
 beorn ofer bolcan, beald reordade:  
 "Miht ðu me geseccan, þæt ic soð wite,  
 hwæðer wealdend þin wundor on eorðan,  
 605 þa he gefremede nalas feam siðum,  
 folcum to frofre beforan cyðde,

þær bisceopas ond boceras  
 ond ealdormenn æht besæton,  
 mæðelhægende? Me þæt þinceð,  
 610 ðæt hie for æfstum inwit syredon  
 þurh deopne gedwolan. Deofles larum  
 hæleð hynfuse hyrdon to georne,  
 wraðum wærlogan. Hie seo wyrd beswac,  
 forleolec ond forlærde. Nu hie lungre sceolon,  
 615 werige mid werigum, wræce þrowian,  
 biterne bryne on banan fæðme."

Him ða Andreas agef ondsware:  
 "Secge ic ðe to soðe ðæt he swiðe oft  
 beforan fremede folces ræswum  
 620 wundor æfter wundre on wera gesiehðe,  
 swylce deogollice dryhten gumena  
 folcræd fremede, swa he to friðe hogode."

Him ondswarode æðelinga helm:  
 "Miht ðu, wis hæleð, wordum gesecgan,  
 625 maga mode rof, mægen þa he cyððe,  
 deormod on digle, ða mid dryhten oft,  
 rodera rædend, rune besæton?"

"Him þa Andreas ondsware agef:  
 "Hwæt frinest ðu me, frea leofesta,  
 630 wordum wrætlicum, ond þe wyrda gehwære  
 þurh snyttra cræft soð oncnawest?"

Ða git him wæges weard wiðþingode:  
 "Ne frine ic ðe for tæle ne ðurh teoncwide  
 on hranrade, ac min hige blissað,  
 635 wynnum wridað, þurh þine wordlæðe,  
 æðelum ecne. Ne eom ic ana ðæt,  
 ac manna gehwam mod bið on hyhte,  
 fyrhð afrefred, þam þe feor oððe neah  
 on mode geman hu se maga fremede,  
 640 godbearn on grundum. Gastas hweorfon,  
 sohton siðfreme swegles dreamas,  
 engla eðel þurh þa æðelan miht."

- Edre him Andreas agef ondsware:  
 "Nu ic on þe sylfum soð oncnawe,  
 645 wisdomes gewit, wundorcraefte  
 sigesped geseald, (snyttrum bloweð,  
 beorhtre blisse, breost innanweard),  
 nu ic þe sylfum secgan wille  
 oor ond ende, swa ic þæs æðelinges  
 650 word ond wisdom on wera gemote  
 þurh his sylfes muð symle gehyrde.  
 Oft gesamnodon side herigeas,  
 folc unmæte, to frean dome,  
 þær hie hyrcnodon haliges lare.  
 655 Ðonne eft gewat æðelunga helm,  
 beorht blædgifa, in bold oðer,  
 ðær him togenes, god herigende,  
 to ðam meðelstede manige comon,  
 snottre selerædend. Symble gefegon,  
 660 beornas bliðheorte, burhweardes cyme.  
 Swa gesælde iu þæt se sigedema  
 ferde, frea mihtig. Næs þær folces ma  
 on siðfate, sinra leoda,  
 nemne ellefne orettmæcgas,  
 665 geteled tireadige. He wæs twelfta sylf.  
 Þa we becomon to þam cynestole,  
 þær getimbred wæs tempel dryhtnes,  
 heah ond horngeap, hæledum gefrege,  
 wuldre gewlitegod. Husworde ongan  
 670 þurh inwitðanc ealdorsacerd  
 herme hyspan, hordlocan onspeon,  
 wroht webbade. He on gewitte oncneow  
 þæt we soðfastes swaðe folgodon,  
 læston larcwide. He lungre ahof  
 675 woðe wiðerhydig wean onblonden:  
 'Hwæt, ge syndon earme ofer ealle menn!  
 Wadað widlastas, weorn geferað  
 earfoðsiða, ellþeodiges nu

672 gewitte] ge witte

- butan leodrihte larum hyrað,  
 680 eadiges orhlytte æðeling cyðað,  
 secgað soðlice þæt mid suna meotudes  
 drohtigen dæghwæmlice. þæt is duguðum cuð  
 hwanon þam ordfruman æðelu onwocon.  
 He wæs afeded on þysse folcsceare,  
 685 cildgeong acenned mid his cneomagum.  
 þus syndon haten hamsittende,  
 fæder ond modur, þæs we gefrægen habbað  
 þurh modgemynd, Maria ond Ioseph.  
 Syndon him on æðelum oðere twegen  
 690 beornas geborene, broðorsybbum,  
 suna Iosephes, Simon ond Iacob.  
 Swa hleoðrodon hæleða ræswan,  
 dugoð domgeorne, dyrnan þohton  
 meotudes mihte. Man eft gehwearf,  
 695 yfel endeleas, þær hit ær aras.  
 Ða se þeoden gewat þegna heape  
 fram þam meðelstede mihtum geswiðed,  
 dugeða dryhten, secan digol land.  
 He þurh wundra feala on þam westenne  
 700 cræfta gecyðde þæt he wæs cyning on riht  
 ofer middangeard, mægene geswiðed,  
 waldend ond wyrhta wuldorþrymmes,  
 an ece god eallra gesceafta.  
 Swylce he oðerra unrim cyðde  
 705 wundorworca on wera gesyhðe.  
 Syþþan eft gewat oðre siðe  
 getrume mycle, þæt he in temple gestod,  
 wuldres aldor. Wordhleoðor astag  
 geond heahræced. Haliges lare  
 710 synnige ne swulgon, þeah he soðra swa feala  
 tacna gecyðde, þær hie to segon.  
 Swylce he wrætlice wundor agræfene,  
 anlicnesse engla sinra  
 geseh, sigora frea, on seles wage,



- 715 on twa healfe torhte gefrætwed,  
 wlitige geworhte. He worde cwæð:  
 'Dis is anlicnes engelcynna  
 þæs bremestan þe mid þam burgwarum  
 in þære ceastre is. Cheruphim et Seraphim
- 720 þa on swegeldreamum syndon nemned.  
 Fore onsyne ecan dryhtnes  
 standað stiðferðe, stefnum herigað,  
 halgum hleoðrum, heofoncyniges þrym,  
 meotudes mundbyrd. Her amearcod is
- 725 haligra hiw, þurh handmægen  
 awriten on wealle wuldres þegnas.  
 þa gen worde cwæð weoruda dryhten,  
 heofonhalig gast, fore þam heremægene:  
 'Nu ic bebeode beacen ætywan,
- 730 wundor geweorðan on wera gemange,  
 ðæt þeos onlicnes eorðan sece,  
 wlitig of wage, ond word sprece,  
 secge soðcwidum, (þy sceolon gelyfan  
 eorlas on cyððe), hwæt min æðelo sien.'
- 735 Ne dorste þa forhylman hælendes bebod  
 wundor fore weorodum, ac of wealle ahleop,  
 frod fyrngeweorc, þæt he on foldan stod,  
 stan fram stane. Stefn æfter cwom,  
 hlud þurh heardne, hleoðor dynede,
- 740 wordum wemde. Wrætlic þuhte  
 stiðhycgendum stanes ongin.  
 Septe sacerdas sweotolum tacnum,  
 witig werede ond worde cwæð:  
 'Ge synd unlæde, earmra geþohta
- 745 searowum beswicene, oððe sel nyton,  
 mode gemyrde. Ge mon cigað  
 godes ece bearn, þone þe grund ond sund,  
 heofon ond eorðan ond hreo wægás,  
 salte sæstreamas ond swegl uppe
- 750 amearcode mundum sinum.

718 þe] *Not in MS.*    746 Ge mon cigað] ge monetigað    747 þone]  
 ond þone

- Þis is se ilca ealwalda god  
 ðone on fyrndagum fæderas cuðon.  
 He Abrahame ond Isace  
 ond Iocobe gife bryttode,  
 755 welum weorðode, wordum sægde  
 ærest Habrahame æðeles geþingu,  
 þæt of his cynne cenned sceolde  
 weorðan wuldres god. Is seo wyrd mid eow  
 open, orgete, magan eagum nu  
 760 geseon sigores god, swegles agend.  
 Æfter þyssum wordum weorud hlosnode  
 geond þæt side sel, (swigodon ealle),  
 ða ða yldestan eft ongunnon  
 secgan synfulle, (soð ne oncneowan),  
 765 þæt hit drycræftum gedon wære,  
 scingelacum, þæt se scyna stan  
 mælde for mannum. Man wridode  
 geond beorna breost, brandhata nið  
 weoll on gewitte, weorm blædum fag,  
 770 attor ælfæle. Þær orcnawe wearð  
 þurh teoncwide tveogende mod,  
 mægga misgehygd morðre bewunden.  
 Ða se þeoden bebed þryðweorc faran,  
 stan on stræte of stedewange,  
 775 ond forð gan foldweg tredan,  
 grene grundas, godes ærendu  
 larum lædan on þa leodmearce  
 to Channaneum, cyninges worde  
 beodan Habrahame mid his eaforum twæm  
 780 of eorðscræfe ærest fremman,  
 lætan landreste, leoðo gadrigean,  
 gaste onfon ond geogoðhade,  
 edniwinga andweard cuman,  
 frode fyrnweotan, folce gecyðan,  
 785 hwylcne hie god mihtum ongiten hæfdon.  
 Gewat he þa feran, swa him frea mihtig,

- scyppend wera, gescrifen hæfde,  
 ofer mearcpaðu, þæt he on Mambre becom  
 beorhte blican, swa him bebead meotud,  
 790 þær þa lichoman lange þrage,  
 heahfædera hra, beheled wæron.  
 Het þa ofstlice up astandan  
 Habraham ond Isaac, æðeling þridan  
 Iacob of greote to godes geþinge,  
 795 sneome of slæpe þam fæstan. Het hie to þam siðe gyrwan,  
 faran to frean dome. Sceoldon hie þam folce gecyðan  
 hwa æt frumscafte furðum teode  
 eorðan eallgrene ond upheofon,  
 hwær se wealdend wære þe þæt weorc staðolade.  
 800 Ne dorston þa gelettan leng owihte  
 wuldorcyniges word. Geweotan ða ða witigan þry  
 modige mearcland tredan. Forlætan moldern wunigean  
 open eorðscraefu, woldon hie ædre gecyðan  
 frumweorca fæder. Þa þæt folc gewearð  
 805 egesan geaclod, þær þa æðelingas  
 wordum weorðodon wuldres aldor.  
 Hie ða ricene het rices hyrde  
 to eadwelan oþre siðe  
 secan mid sybbe swegles dreamas,  
 810 ond þæs to widan feore willum neotan.  
 Nu ðu miht gehyran, hyse leofesta,  
 hu he wundra worn wordum cyðde,  
 swa þeah ne gelyfdon larum sinum  
 modblinde menn. Ic wat manig nu gyt  
 815 mycel mære spell ðe se maga fremede,  
 rodera rædend, ða ðu aræfnan ne miht,  
 hreðre behabban, hygeþances gleaw."  
 Þus Andreas ondlangne dæg  
 herede hleoðorcwidum haliges lare,  
 820 oððæt hine semninga slæp ofereode  
 on hronrade heofoncyninge neh.  
 Ða gelædan het lifes brytta  
 ofer yða geþræc englas sine,  
 fæðmum ferigean on fæder wære

- 825 leofne mid lissum ofer lagufæsten,  
 oððæt sæwerige slæp ofereode.  
 Þurh lyftgelac on land becwom  
 to þære ceastre þe him cining engla  
 \* \* \*  
 ða þa aras siðigean,
- 830 eadige on upweg, eðles neosan.  
 Leton þone halgan be herestræte  
 swefan on sybbe under swegles hleo,  
 bliðne bidan burhwealle neh,  
 his niðhetum, nihtlangne fyrst,
- 835 oðþæt dryhten forlet dægandelle  
 scire scinan. Sceadu sweðerodon,  
 wonn under wolcnum. Þa com wederes blæst,  
 hador heofonleoma, ofer hofu blican.  
 Onwoc þa wiges heard, (wang sceawode),
- 840 fore burggeatum. Beorgas steape,  
 hleoðu hlifodon, ymbe harne stan  
 tigelfagan trafu, torras stodon,  
 windige weallas. Þa se wisa oncneow  
 þæt he Marmedonia mægðe hæfde
- 845 siðe gesohte, swa him sylf bebead,  
 þa he him fore gescraf, fæder mancynnes.  
 Geseh he þa on greote gingran sine,  
 beornas beadurofe, biryhte him  
 swefan on slæpe. He sona ongann
- 850 wigend weccan, ond worde cwæð:  
 "Ic eow secgan mæg soð orgete,  
 þæt us gystrandæge on geofones stream  
 ofer arwelan æðeling ferede.  
 In þam ceole wæs cyninga wuldor,
- 855 waldend werðeode. Ic his word oncneow,  
 þeh he his mægwlite bemiðen hæfde."  
 Him þa æðelingas ondsweorodon,  
 geonge gencwidum, gastgerynum:  
 "We ðe, Andreas, eaðe gecyðað

838 heofonleoma] heofon le<sup>o</sup>ma    843 wisa] wis    846 þa] þā = þam  
 852 gystrandæge] gyrstran dæge    855 werðeode] weorðode



- 860 sið userne, þæt ðu sylfa miht  
ongitan gleawlice gastgehygdum.  
Us sæwerige slæp ofereode.  
þa comon earnas ofer yða wylm  
faran on flyhte, feðerum hremige,  
865 us ofslæpendum sawle abrugdon,  
mid gefean feredon flyhte on lyfte,  
brehtmum bliðe, beorhte ond liðe.  
Lissum lufodon ond in lofe wunedon,  
þær wæs singal sang ond swegles gong,  
870 wlitig weoroda heap ond wuldres þreat.  
Utan ymbe æðelne englas stodon,  
þegnas ymb þeoden, þusendmælum,  
heredon on hehðo halgan stefne  
dryhtna dryhten. Dream wæs on hyhte.  
875 We ðær heahfæderas halige oncneowon  
ond martyra mægen unlytel,  
sungon sigedryhtne soðfæstlic lof,  
dugoð domgeorne. þær wæs Daudid mid,  
eadig oretta, Essages sunu,  
880 for Crist cumen, cining Israhela.  
Swylce we gesegon for suna meotudes,  
æðelum ecne, eowic standan,  
twelfe getealde, tireadige hæleð.  
Eow þegnodon þrymsittende,  
885 halige heahenglas. Ðam bið hæleða well  
þe þara blissa brucan moton.  
þær wæs wuldres wynn, wigendra þrym,  
æðelic onginn, næs þær ænigum gewinn.  
þam bið wræcsið witod, wite geopenad,  
890 þe þara gefeana sceal fremde weorðan,  
hean hwearfian, þonne heonon gangaþ.”  
þa wæs modsefa myclum geblissod  
haliges on hreðre, syðþan hleoðorcwide  
gingran gehyrdon, þæt hie god wolde  
895 onmunan swa mycles ofer menn ealle,

864 faran] *Not in MS.*      890 þe] *Preceded by a second þe erased in the MS.*  
gefeana] *Not in MS.*

- ond þæt word gecwæð wigendra hleo:  
 "Nu ic, god dryhten, ongiten hæbbe  
 þæt ðu on faroðstræte feor ne wære,  
 cyninga wuldur, þa ic on ceol gestah,  
 900 ðeh ic on yðfare, engla þeoden,  
 gasta geocend, ongitan ne cuðe.  
 Weorð me nu milde, meotud ælmihtig,  
 bliðe, beorht cyning! Ic on brimstream  
 spræc worda worn, wat æfter nu  
 905 hwa me wyrðmyndum on wudubate  
 ferede ofer flodas. Þæt is frofre gast  
 hæleða cynne. Þær is help gearu,  
 milts æt mærum, manna gehwylcum,  
 sigorsped geseald, þam þe seceð to him."  
 910 Ða him fore eagum onsyne wearð  
 æðeling oðywed in þa ilcan tid,  
 cining cwicera gehwæs, þurh cnihtes had.  
 Þa he worde cwæð, wuldres aldor:  
 "Wes ðu, Andreas, hal, mid þas willgedryht,  
 915 ferðgefeonde! Ic þe friðe healde,  
 þæt þe ne moton mangeniðlan,  
 grame grynsmiðas, gaste gesceððan."  
 Feoll þa to foldan, frioðo wilnode  
 wordum wis hæleð, winedryhten frægn:  
 920 "Hu geworhte ic þæt, waldend fira,  
 synnig wið seolfne, sawla nergend,  
 þæt ic þe swa godne ongitan ne meahte  
 on wægfære, þær ic worda gespræc  
 minra for meotude ma þonne ic sceolde?"  
 925 Him andswarode ealwalda god:  
 "No ðu swa swiðe synne gefremedest  
 swa ðu in Achaia ondsæc dydest,  
 ðæt ðu on feorwegas feran ne cuðe  
 ne in þa ceastre becuman mehte,  
 930 þing gehegan þreora nihta  
 fyrstgearnas, swa ic þe feran het

907 is] *Above the line in the MS.* 910 wearð] werð

927 Achaia] ach<sup>2</sup>ia

- ofer wega gewinn. Wast nu þe gearwor  
 þæt ic eaðe mæg anra gehwylcne  
 fremman ond fyrþran freonda minra  
 935 on landa gehwylc, þær me leofost bið.  
 Aris nu hrædlice, ræd ædre ongit,  
 beorn gebledsod, swa þe beorht fæder  
 geweorðað wuldorgifum to widan aldre,  
 cræfte ond mihte. Ðu in þa ceastre gong  
 940 under burglocan, þær þin broðor is.  
 Wat ic Matheus þurh mænra hand  
 hrinen heorudolgum, heafodmagan  
 searonettum beseted. Ðu hine secan scealt,  
 leofne alysan of laðra hete,  
 945 ond eal þæt mancynn þe him mid wunige,  
 elþeodigra inwitwrasnum,  
 bealuwe gebundene. Him sceal bot hraðe  
 weorþan in worulde ond in wuldre lean,  
 swa ic him sylfum ær secgende wæs.  
 950 Nu ðu, Andreas, scealt edre geneðan  
 in gramra gripe. Is þe guð weotod,  
 heardum heoruswengum scel þin hra dæled  
 wundum weorðan, wættre geliccost  
 faran flode blod. Hie þin feorh ne magon  
 955 deaðe gedælan, þeh ðu drype ðolie,  
 synnigra slege. Ðu þæt sar aber;  
 ne læt þe ahweorfan hæðenra þrym,  
 grim gargewinn, þæt ðu gode swice,  
 dryhtne þinum. Wes a domes georn;  
 960 læt ðe on gemyndum hu þæt manegum wearð  
 fira gefrege geond feala landa,  
 þæt me bysmredon bennum fæstne  
 weras wansælige. Wordum tyrgdon,  
 slogon ond swungon, synnige ne mihton  
 965 þurh sarcwide soð gecyðan.  
 Ða ic mid Iudeum gealgan þehte,  
 (rod wæs aræred), þær rinca sum
- 942 hrinen] hrinan heafodmagan] heafod magū 943 searonettum]  
 searo mettū 952 dæled] dælan



- of minre sidan swat ut forlet,  
dreor to foldan. Ic adreah feala
- 970 yrmþa ofer eorðan. Wolde ic eow on ðon  
þurh bliðne hige bysne onstellan,  
swa on ellþeode ywed wyrðeð.  
Manige syndon in þysse mæran byrig  
þara þe ðu gehweorfest to heofonleohte
- 975 þurh minne naman, þeah hie morðres feala  
in fyrndagum gefremed habban.”  
Gewat him þa se halga heofonas secan,  
eallra cyninga cining, þone clænan ham,  
eaðmedum upp, þær is ar gelang
- 980 fira gehwylcum, þam þe hie findan cann.  
Ða wæs gemyndig modgeþyldig,  
beorn beaduwe heard, eode in burh hraðe,  
anræd oretta, elne gefyrðred,  
maga mode rof, meotude getreowe,
- 985 stop on stræte, (stig wisode),  
swa him nænig gumena ongitan ne mihte,  
synfulra geseon. Hæfde sigora weard  
on þam wangstede wære betolden  
leafne leodfruman mid lofe sinum.
- 990 Hæfde þa se æðeling in geþrunge,  
Cristes cempa, carcerne neh.  
Geseh he hæðenra hloð ætgædere,  
fore hlindura hyrdas standan,  
seofone ætsomne. Ealle swylt fornam,
- 995 druron domlease. Deaðræs forfeng  
hæleð heorodreorige. Ða se halga gebæd  
bilwytne fæder, breostgehygdum  
herede on hehðo heofoncyniges þrym,  
godes dryhtendom. Duru sona onarn
- 1000 þurh handhrine haliges gastes,  
ond þær in eode, elnes gemyndig,  
hæle hildedeor. Hæðene swæfon,  
dreore druncne, deaðwang rudon.
- 996 heorodreorige] heoro deorig 998 þrym] *Not in MS.* 999 godes]  
god 1000 handhrine] han hrine



- Geseh he Matheus in þam morðorcofan,  
 1005 hæleð higerofne under heolstorlocan,  
 secgan dryhtne lof, domweorðinga  
 engla ðeodne. He ðær ana sæt  
 geohðum geomor in þam gnornhofe.  
 Geseh þa under swegle swæsne geferan,  
 1010 halig haligne. Hyht wæs geniwad.  
 Aras þa togenes, gode þancade  
 þæs ðe hie onsunde æfre moston  
 geseon under sunnan. Syb wæs gemæne  
 bam þam gebroðrum, blis edniwe.  
 1015 Æghwæðer oðerne earme beþehte,  
 cyston hie ond clypton. Criste wæron begen  
 leofe on mode. Hie leoht ymbscan  
 halig ond heofontorht. Hreðor innan wæs  
 wynnum awelled. Þa worde ongan  
 1020 ærest Andreas æðelne geferan  
 on clustorcleofan mid cwide sinum  
 gretan godfyrhtne, sæde him guðgeðingu,  
 feohtan fara monna: "Nu is þis folc on luste,  
 hæleð hyder on

\* \* \*

- 1025 gewyrht eardes neosan."  
 Æfter þyssum wordum wuldres þegnas,  
 begen þa gebroðor, to gebede hyldon,  
 sendon hira bene fore bearn godes.  
 Swylce se halga in þam hearmlocan  
 1030 his god grette ond him geoce bæd,  
 hælend helpe, ær þan hra crunge  
 fore hæðenra hildeþrymme,  
 ond þa gelædde of leoðobendum  
 fram þam fæstenne on frið dryhtnes  
 1035 tu ond hundteontig geteled rime,  
 swylce feowertig,  
 generede fram niðe, (þær he nænigne forlet  
 under burglocan bennum fæstne),

1023 þis] þin    1030 grette] grete    1037 nænigne] nænige

ond þær wifa þa gyt, weorodes to eacan,  
 1040 anes wana þe fiftig  
 forhte gefreoðode. Fægen wæron siðes,  
 lungre leordan, nalas leng bidon  
 in þam gnornhofe guðgeþingo.

Gewat þa Matheus menigo lædan  
 1045 on gehyld godes, swa him se halga bebead.  
 Weorod on wilsid wolcnum beþehte,  
 þe læs him scyldhatan scyððan comon  
 mid earhfare, ealdgeniðlan.

þær þa modigan mid him mæðel gehedan,  
 1050 treowgeþoftan, ær hie on tu hweorfan.  
 Ægðer þara eorla oðrum trymede  
 heofonrices hyht, helle witu  
 wordum werede. Swa ða wigend mid him,  
 hæleð higerofe, halgum stefnum

1055 cempa coste cyning weorðadon,  
 wyrda waldend, þæs wuldres ne bið  
 æfre mid eldum ende befangen.

Gewat him þa Andreas inn on ceastre  
 glædmod gangan, to þæs ðe he gramra gemot,  
 1060 fara folcmægen, gefrægen hæfde,  
 oððæt he gemette be nearcpaðe  
 standan stræte neah stapul ærenne.  
 Gesæt him þa be healfe, hæfde hluttre lufan,  
 ece upgemynd engla blisse;

1065 þanon basnode under burhlocan  
 hwæt him guðweorca gifeðe wurde.

þa gesamnedon side herigeas,  
 folces frumgaras. To þam fæstenne  
 wærleasra werod wæpnum comon,  
 1070 hæðne hildfreca, to þæs þa hæftas ær  
 under hlinscuwan, hearm þrowedon.  
 Wendan ond woldon wiðerhygcende  
 þæt hie on elpeodigum æt geworhton,  
 weotude wiste. Him seo wen gelah,

1039 ond] on 1064 ece] Eçce 1066 gifeðe] *Two letters erased before  
 this word*

- 1075 syððan mid corðre carcernes duru  
 eorre æsberend opene fundon,  
 onhliden hamera geweorc, hyrdas deade.  
 Hie þa unhyðige eft gecyrdon,  
 luste belorene, laðspell beran,
- 1080 sægdon þam folce þæt ðær feorrcundra,  
 ellreordigra, ænigne to lafe  
 in carcerne cwicne ne gemetton,  
 ah þær heorodreorige hyrdas lagan,  
 gæsne on greote, gaste berofene,
- 1085 fægra flæschaman. Þa wearð forht manig  
 for þam færspelle folces ræswa,  
 hean, hygegeomor, hungres on wenum,  
 blates beodgastes. Nyston beteran ræd,  
 þonne hie þa belidenan him to lifnere
- 1090 deade gefeormedon. Duruþegnum wearð  
 in ane tid eallum ætsomne  
 þurh heard gelac hildbedd styred.  
 Ða ic lungre gefrægn leode tosomne  
 burgwaru bannan. Beornas comon,
- 1095 wiggendra þreat, wicgum gengan,  
 on mearum modige, mæðelhegende,  
 æscum dealle. Þa wæs eall geador  
 to þam þingstede þeod gesamnod.  
 Leton him þa betweonum taan wisian
- 1100 hwylcne hira ærest oðrum sceolde  
 to foddurþege feores ongyldan;  
 hluton hellcræftum, hæðengildum  
 teledon betwinum. Ða se tan gehwearf  
 efne ofer ænne ealdgesiða,
- 1105 se wæs uðweota eorla dugoðe,  
 heriges on ore. Hraðe siððan wearð  
 fetorwrasnum fæst, feores orwena.  
 Cleopode þa collenferhð cearegan reorde,  
 cwæð he his sylfes sunu syllan wolde

1082 ne] *Not in MS.* gemetton] gemette 1089 belidenan] be hlidenan  
 1090 deade] *Not in MS.* 1099 taan] tá an 1102 hellcræftum] þell  
 cræftum 1109 sunu] *Preceded by a word (sunu?) erased*

- 1110 on ahtgeweald, eaforan geongne,  
lifes to lisse. Hie ða lac hraðe  
þegon to þance. Þeod wæs oflysted,  
metes modgeomre, næs him to maðme wynn,  
hyht to hordgestreonom. Hungre wæron
- 1115 þearle geþreatod, swa se ðeodsceaða  
reow ricsode. Ða wæs rinc manig,  
guðfrec guma, ymb þæs geongan feorh  
breostum onbryrded. To þam beadulace  
wæs þæt weatacen wide gefrege,
- 1120 geond þa burh bodad beorne manegum,  
þæt hie þæs cnihtes cwealm corðre gesohton,  
duguðe ond eogoðe, dæl onfengon  
lifes to leafne. Hie lungre to þæs,  
hæðene herigwardas, here samnodan
- 1125 ceastrewarena. Cym upp astah  
ða se geonga ongann geomran stefne,  
gehæfted for herige, hearmleoð galan,  
freonda feasceaft, friðes wilnian.  
Ne mihte earmsceapen are findan,
- 1130 freoðe æt þam folce, þe him feores wolde,  
ealdres geunnan. Hæfdon æglæcan  
sæcce gesohte. Sceolde sweordes ecg,  
scerp ond scurheard, of sceaðan folme,  
fyrmaelum fag, feorh acsigan.
- 1135 Ða þæt Andrea earmlic þuhte,  
þeodbealo þearlic to geðolianne,  
þæt he swa unscyldig ealdre sceolde  
lungre linnan. Wæs se leodhete  
þrist ond þrohthead. Þrymman sceocan,
- 1140 modige maguþegnas, morðres on luste,  
woldon æninga, ellenrofe,  
on þam hysebeorðre heafolan gescenan,  
garum agetan. Hine god forstod,  
halig of hehðo, hæðenum folce.
- 1145 Het wæpen wera wexe gelicost

1110 geongne] geone    1116 reow] Hreow    1132 Sceolde] sceo]de  
1139 þrist ond] *Not in MS.*



- on þam orlege eall formeltan,  
 þy læs scyldhatan sceððan mihton,  
 egle ondsacan, ega þryðum.  
 Swa wearð alysed of leodhete,  
 1150 geong of gyrne. Gode ealles þanc,  
 dryhtna dryhtne, þæs ðe he dom gifeð  
 gumena gehwylcum, þara þe geoce to him  
 seceð mid snytrum. Þær bið symle gearu  
 freod unhwilen, þam þe hie findan cann.  
 1155 Þa wæs wop hæfen in wera burgum,  
 hlud heriges cyrm. Hreoþon friccan,  
 mændon meteleaste, meðe stodon,  
 hungre gehæfte. Hornsalu wunedon,  
 weste winræced, welan ne benohton  
 1160 beornas to brucanne on þa bitran tid,  
 gesæton searuþancle sundor to rune  
 ermðu eahtigan. Næs him to eðle wynn.  
 Fregn þa gelome freca oðerne:  
 "Ne hele se ðe hæbbe holde lare,  
 1165 on sefan snyttro! Nu is sæl cumen,  
 þrea ormæte, is nu þearf mycel  
 þæt we wisfæstra wordum hyran."  
 Þa for þære dugoðe deoful ætywde,  
 wann ond wliteleas, hæfde weriges hiw.  
 1170 Ongan þa meldigan morþres brytta,  
 hellehinca, þone halgan wer  
 wiðerhygende, ond þæt word gecwæð:  
 "Her is gefered ofer feorne weg  
 æðelinga sum innan ceastre,  
 1175 ellþeodigra, þone ic Andreas  
 nemnan herde. He eow neon gesceod  
 ða he aferede of fæstenne  
 manncynnes ma þonne gemet wære.  
 Nu ge magon eaðe oncyðdæda  
 1180 wreacan on gewyrhtum. Lætað wæpnes spor  
 1147 sceððan] sceaðan 1154 freod] freond 1180 gewyrhtum] gwyrhtum  
 wæpnes] *Not in MS.*

- iren ecgheard, ealdorgeard sceoran,  
 fæges feorhhord. Gað fromlice  
 þæt ge wiðferohtend wiges gehnægan.”  
 Him þa Andreas agef ondsware:  
 1185 “Hwæt, ðu þristlice þeode lærest,  
 bældest to beadowe! Wæst þe bæles cwealm,  
 hatne in helle, ond þu here fysesst,  
 feðan to gefeohte. Eart ðu fag wið god,  
 dugoða demend. Hwæt, ðu deofles stræl,  
 1190 icesc þine yrmðo. Ðe se ælmihtiga  
 heanne gehnægde, ond on heolstor besceaf,  
 þær þe cyninga cining clamme belegde,  
 ond þe syððan a Satan nemdon,  
 ða ðe dryhtnes a deman cuðon.”  
 1195 Ða gyt se wiðermeda wordum lærde  
 folc to gefeohte, feondes cræfte:  
 “Nu ge gehyrað hæleða gewinnan,  
 se ðyssum herige mæst hearma gefremede.  
 Ðæt is Andreas, se me on fliteð  
 1200 wordum wrætlicum for wera menigo.”  
 Ða wæs beacen boden burhsittendum.  
 Ahleopon hildfrome heriges brehtme  
 ond to weallgeatum wigend þrungon,  
 cene under cumblum, corðre mycle  
 1205 to ðam orlege, ordum ond bordum.  
 Þa worde cwæð weoroda dryhten,  
 meotud mihtum swið sægde his magoþegne:  
 “Scealt ðu, Andreas, ellen fremman!  
 Ne mið ðu for menigo, ah þinne modsefan  
 1210 staðola wið strangum! Nis seo stund latu  
 þæt þe wæltreowe witum belecgaþ,  
 cealdan clommum. Cyð þe sylfne,  
 herd hige þinne, heortan staðola,  
 þæt hie min on ðe mægen oncnawan.  
 1215 Ne magon hie ond ne moton ofer mine est  
 þinne lichoman, lehrum scyldige,  
 deaðe gedælan, ðeah ðu drype þolige,  
 1181 ealdorgeard] eador geard 1191 on] *Not in MS.* 1193 Satan] sata

- mirce manslaga. Ic þe mid wunige.”  
 Æfter þam wordum com werod unmæte,  
 1220 lyswe larsmeoðas, mid lindgecrode,  
 bolgenmode; bæron ut hræðe  
 ond þam halgan þær handa gebundon.  
 Siþþan geyped wæs æðelinga wynn,  
 ond hie andweardne eagum meahton  
 1225 gesion sigerofne, þær wæs sec manig  
 on þam welwange wiges oflysted  
 leoda duguðe. Lyt sorgodon  
 hwylc him þæt edlean æfter wurde.  
 Heton þa lædan ofer landsceare,  
 1230 ðragmælum teon, torngeniðlan,  
 swa hie hit frecnost findan meahton.  
 Drogon deormodne æfter dunscreafum,  
 ymb stanhleoðo, stærcedferþne,  
 efne swa wide swa wegas to lagon,  
 1235 enta ærgeweorc, innan burgum,  
 stræte stanfage. Storm upp aras  
 æfter ceasterhofum, cirm unlytel  
 hæðnes heriges. Wæs þæs halgan lic  
 sarbennum soden, swate bestemed,  
 1240 banhus abrocen. Blod yðum weoll,  
 hatan heolfre. Hæfde him on innan  
 ellen untweonde, wæs þæt æðele mod  
 asundrad fram synnum, þeah he sares swa feala  
 deopum dolgslegum dreogan sceolde.  
 1245 Swa wæs ealne dæg oððæt æfen com  
 sigetorht swungen. Sar eft gewod  
 ymb þæs beornes breost, oðþæt beorht gewat  
 sunne swegeltorht to sete glidan.  
 Læddan þa leode laðne gewinnan  
 1250 to carcerne. He wæs Criste swa þeah  
 leof on mode. Him wæs leoht sefa  
 halig heortan neh, hige untyddre.

1232 deormodne] deormode    1233 stærcedferþne] stærced ferþþe  
 1241 hatan heolfre] hat of heolfre    1242 untweonde] untweodne    1246  
 sigetorht] sigel torht

- Ða se halga wæs under heolstorscuwan,  
 eorl ellenheard, ondlange niht  
 1255 searþancum beseted. Snaw eorðan band  
 wintergeworpum. Weder coledon  
 heardum hægelscurum, swylce hrim ond forst,  
 hare hildstapan, hæleða eðel  
 lucon, leoda gesetu. Land wæron freorig  
 1260 cealdum cylegicelum, clang wæteres þrym  
 ofer eastreamas, is brycgate  
 blæce brimrade. Bliðheort wunode  
 eorl unforcuð, elnes gemyndig,  
 þrist ond þrohtheard in þreanedum  
 1265 wintercealdan niht. No on gewitte blon,  
 acol for þy egesan, þæs þe he ær ongann,  
 þæt he a domlicost dryhten herede,  
 weorðade wordum, oððæt wuldres gim  
 heofontorht onhlad. Ða com hæleða þreat  
 1270 to ðære dimman ding, duguð unlytel,  
 wadan wælgifre weorodes brehtme.  
 Heton ut hræðe æðeling lædan  
 in wraðra geweald, wærfæstne hæleð.  
 Ða wæs eft swa ær ondlangne dæg  
 1275 swungen sarslegum. Swat yðum weoll  
 þurh bancofan, blodlifrum swealg,  
 hatan heolfre. Hra weorces ne sann,  
 wundum werig. Ða cwom wopes hring  
 þurh þæs beornes breost, blat ut faran,  
 1280 weoll waðuman stream, ond he worde cwæð:  
 "Geseoh nu, dryhten god, drohtað minne,  
 weoruda willgeofa! Ðu wæst ond const  
 anra gehwylces earfeðsiðas.  
 Ic gelyfe to ðe, min liffruma,  
 1285 þæt ðu mildheort me for þinum mægenspedum,  
 nerigend fira, næfre wille,  
 ece ælmihtig, anforlætan,  
 swa ic þæt gefremme, þenden feorh leofað,

1253 Ða] A with preceding S erased, but no other letter supplied 1286  
 wille] wille



- min on moldan, þæt ic, meotud, þinum  
 1290 larum leofwendum lyt geswice.  
 þu eart gescyldend wið sceaðan wæpnum,  
 ece eadfruma, eallum þinum;  
 ne læt nu bysmrian banan manncynnes,  
 facnes frumbearn, þurh feondes cræft  
 1295 leahtrum beleggan þa þin lof berað."
- Ða ðær ætywde se atola gast,  
 wrað wærloga. Wigend lærde  
 for þam heremægene helle dioful  
 awerged in witum, ond þæt word gecwæð:  
 1300 "Sleað synnigne ofer seolfes muð,  
 folces gewinnan! Nu to feala reordap."
- Ða wæs orlege eft onhrered,  
 niwan stefne. Nið upp aras  
 oþðæt sunne gewat to sete glidan  
 1305 under niflan næs. Niht helmade,  
 brunwann oferbræd beorgas steape,  
 ond se halga wæs to hofe læded,  
 deor ond domgeorn, in þæt dimme ræced;  
 sceal þonne in neadcofan nihtlangne fyrst  
 1310 wærfæst wunian wic unsyfre.
- Ða com seofona sum to sele geongan,  
 atol æglæca yfela gemyndig,  
 morðres manfrea myrce gescyrded,  
 deoful deaðreow duguðum bereafod,  
 1315 ongan þa þam halgan hospword sprecan:  
 "Hwæt hogodest ðu, Andreas, hidercyme þinne  
 on wraðra geweald? Hwæt is wuldor þin,  
 þe ðu oferhigdum upp arærdest,  
 þa ðu goda ussa gild gehnægdest?
- 1320 Hafast nu þe anum eall getihhad  
 land ond leode, swa dyde lareow þin.  
 Cyneþrym ahof, þam wæs Crist nama,  
 ofer middangeard, þynden hit meahte swa.  
 Þone Herodes ealdre besnyðede,

- 1325 forcom æt campe cyning Iudea,  
 rices berædde, ond hine rode befealg,  
 þæt he on gealgan his gast onsende.  
 Swa ic nu bebeode bearnum minum,  
 þegnum þryðfullum, ðæt hie ðe hnægen,
- 1330 gingran æt guðe. Lætað gares ord,  
 earh ættre gemæl, in gedufan  
 in fægnes ferð. Gað fromlice,  
 ðæt ge guðfrecan gylp forbegan.”  
 Hie wæron reowe, ræsdon on sona
- 1335 gifrum grapum. Hine god forstod,  
 staðulfæst steorend, þurh his strangan miht.  
 Syððan hie oncneowon Cristes rode  
 on his mægwlite, mære tacen,  
 wurdon hie ða acle on þam onfenge,
- 1340 forhte, afærde, ond on fleam numen.  
 Ongan eft swa ær ealdgeniðla,  
 helle hæftling, hearmleoð galan:  
 “Hwæt wearð eow swa rofum, rincas mine,  
 lindgesteallan, þæt eow swa lyt gespeow?”
- 1345 Him þa earmsceapen agef ondsware,  
 fah fyrensceaþa, ond his fæder oncwæð:  
 “Ne magan we him lungre lað ætfæstan,  
 swilt þurh searwe. Ga þe sylfa to!  
 Þær þu gegninga guðe findest,
- 1350 frecne feohtan, gif ðu furður dearest  
 to þam anhagan aldre geneðan.  
 We ðe magon eaðe, eorla leofost,  
 æt þam secgplegan selre gelæran;  
 ær ðu gegninga guðe fremme,
- 1355 wiges woman, weald, hu ðe sæle  
 æt þam gegnslege. Utan gangan eft,  
 þæt we bysmrigen bendum fæstne,  
 oðwitan him his wræcsið. Habbað word gearu  
 wið þam æglæcan eall getrahtod!”

1337 rode] rade  
 sceapen

1345 Him þa] *Not in MS.*

earmsccapen] Hearn

- 1360 þa hleoðrade hludan stefne,  
 witum bewæled, ond þæt word gecwæð:  
 “þu þe, Andreas, aclæccræftum  
 lange feredes! Hwæt, ðu leoda feala  
 forleolce ond forlærdest! Nu leng ne miht
- 1365 gewealdan þy weorce. Þe synd witu þæs grim  
 weotud be gewyrhtum. Þu scealt werigmod,  
 hean, hroðra leas, hearm þrowigan,  
 sare swyltcwale. Secgas mine  
 to þam guðplegan gearwe sindon,
- 1370 þa þe æninga ellenweorcum  
 unfyrn faca feorh ætþringan.  
 Hwylc is þæs mihtig ofer middangeard,  
 þæt he þe alyse of leoðubendum,  
 manna cynnes, ofer mine est?”
- 1375 Him þa Andreas agef ondsware:  
 “Hwæt, me eaðe ælmihtig god,  
 niða neregend, se ðe in niedum iu  
 gefæstnode fyrnum clommum!  
 Þær ðu syððan a, susle gebunden,
- 1380 in wræc wunne, wuldres blunne,  
 syððan ðu forhogedes heofoncyniges word.  
 Þær wæs yfles or, ende næfre  
 þines wræces weorðeð. Ðu scealt widan feorh  
 ecan þine yrmðu. Þe bið a symble
- 1385 of dæge on dæg drohtap strengra.”  
 Ða wearð on fleame se ðe ða fæhðo iu  
 wið god geara grimme gefremede.  
 Com þa on uhtan mid ærdæge  
 hæðenra hloð haliges neosan
- 1390 leoda weorude. Heton lædan ut  
 þrohtheardne þegn þridan siðe,  
 woldon aninga ellenrofes  
 mod gemyltan. Hit ne mihte swa!  
 Ða wæs niowinga nið onhrered,
- 1395 heard ond hetegrim. Wæs se halga wer

1377 niedum] medum



- sare geswungen, searwum gebunden,  
 dolgbennum þurhdrifen, ðendon dæg lihte.  
 Ongan þa geomormod to gode cleopian,  
 heard of hæfte, halgan stefne
- 1400 weop werigferð, ond þæt word gecwæð:  
 "Næfre ic geferde mid frean willan  
 under heofonhwealfe heardran drohtnoð,  
 þær ic dryhtnes æ deman sceolde.  
 Sint me leoðu tolocen, lic sare gebrocen,
- 1405 banhus blodfag, benne weallað,  
 seonodolg swatige. Hwæt, ðu sigora weard,  
 dryhten hælend, on dæges tide  
 mid Iudeum geomor wurde  
 ða ðu of gealgan, god lifigende,
- 1410 fynweorca frea, to fæder cleopodest,  
 cininga wuldor, ond cwæde ðus:  
 'Ic ðe, fæder engla, frignan wille,  
 lifes leohtfruma, hwæt forlætest ðu me?'  
 Ond ic nu þry dagas þolian sceolde
- 1415 wælgrim witu. Bidde ic, weoroda god,  
 þæt ic gast minne agifan mote,  
 sawla symbelgifa, on þines sylfes hand.  
 Ðu ðæt gehete þurh þin halig word,  
 þa ðu us twelfe trymman ongunne,
- 1420 þæt us heterofra hild ne gesceode,  
 ne lices dæl lungre oððeoded,  
 ne synu ne ban on swaðe lagon,  
 ne loc of heafde to forlore wurde,  
 gif we þine lare læstan woldon.
- 1425 Nu sint sionwe toslopen, is min swat adropen,  
 licgað æfter lande loccas todrifene,  
 fex on foldan. Is me feorhgedal  
 leofre mycle þonne þeos lifcearo."  
 Him þa stefn oncwæð, stiðhycgendum,
- 1430 wuldorcyniges word hloðrode:  
 "Ne wep þone wræcsið, wine leofesta,
- 1400 werigferð] ferð *above the line*    1404 leoðu] leoð    1425 adropen]  
 d altered from ð



- nis þe to frecne. Ic þe friðe healde,  
 minre mundbyrde mægene besette.  
 Me is miht ofer eall,  
 1435 sigorsped geseald. Soð þæt gecyðeð  
 mænig æt meðle on þam myclan dæge,  
 þæt ðæt geweorðeð, þæt ðeos wlitige gesceaft,  
 heofon ond eorðe, hreosaþ togadore,  
 ær awæged sie worda ænig  
 1440 þe ic þurh minne muð meðlan onginne.  
 Geseoh nu seolfes swæðe, swa þin swataget  
 þurh bangebrec blodige stige,  
 lices lælan. No þe laðes ma  
 þurh daroða gedrep gedon motan,  
 1445 þa þe heardra mæst hearma gefremedan."  
 Ða on last beseah leoflic cempa  
 æfter wordcwidum wuldorcyninges.  
 Geseh he geblowene bearwas standan  
 blædum gehrodene, swa he ær his blodaget.  
 1450 Ða worde cwæð wigendra hleo:  
 "Sic ðe ðanc ond lof, þeoda waldend,  
 to widan feore wuldor on heofonum,  
 ðæs ðu me on sare, sigedryhten min,  
 ellþeodigne, an ne forlæte."  
 1455 Swa se dædfruma dryhten herede  
 halgan stefne oððæt hador sægl  
 wuldortorht gewat under waðu scriðan.  
 Ða þa folctogan feorðan siðe,  
 egle ondsacan, æðeling læddon  
 1460 to þam carcerne, woldon cræfta gehygd,  
 magorædendes mod oncyrran  
 on þære deorcan niht. Ða com dryhten god  
 in þæt hlinræced, hæleða wuldor,  
 ond þa wine synne wordum grette  
 1465 ond frofre gecwæð, fæder manncynnes,  
 lifes lareow, heht his lichoman  
 hales brucan: "Ne scealt ðu in henðum a leng

1443 lices| lic

- searohæbbendra sar þrowian.”  
 Aras þa mægene rof, sægde meotude þanc,  
 1470 hal of hæfte heardra wita.  
 Næs him gewemmed wlite, ne wloh of hrægle  
 lungre alysed, ne loc of heafde,  
 ne ban gebrocen, ne blodig wund  
 lice gelenge, ne laðes dæl,  
 1475 þurh dolgslege dreore bestemed,  
 ac wæs eft swa ær þurh þa æðelan miht  
 lof lædende, ond on his lice trum.  
 Hwæt, ic hwile nu haliges lare,  
 leoðgiddinga, lof þæs þe worhte,  
 1480 wordum wemde, wyrd undyrne  
 ofer min gemet. Mycel is to secganne,  
 langsum leornung, þæt he in life adreag,  
 eall æfter orde. Þæt scell æglæwra  
 mann on moldan þonne ic me tælige  
 1485 findan on ferðe, þæt fram fruman cunne  
 eall þa earfeðo þe he mid elne adreah,  
 grimra guða. Hwæðre git sceolon  
 lytlum sticcum leoðworda dæl  
 furður reccan. Þæt is fyrnsægen,  
 1490 hu he weorna feala wita geðolode,  
 heardra hilda, in þære hæðenan byrig.  
 He be wealle geseah wundrum fæste  
 under sælwage sweras unlytle,  
 stapulas starðan, storme bedrifene,  
 1495 eald enta geweorc. He wið anne þæra,  
 mihtig ond modrof, mæðel gehede,  
 wis, wundrum gleaw, word stunde ahof:  
 “Geher ðu, marmanstān, meotudes rædum,  
 fore þæs onsyne ealle gesceafte  
 1500 forhte geweorðað, þonne hie fæder geseoð  
 heofonas ond eorðan herigea mæste  
 on middangeard mancynn secan.
- 1468 sar] sas    1472 alysed] alyside    1474 lice] lic    1478 Hwæt] HÆT  
 1490 geðolode] geðolode    1492 fæste] fæstne    1493 sælwage] sæl wange  
 1496 modrof] mod rofe

- Læt nu of þinum staþole streamas weallan,  
 ea inflede, nu ðe ælmihtig
- 1505 hateð, heofona cyning, þæt ðu hrædlice  
 on þis fræte folc forð onsende  
 wæter widrynig to wera cwealme,  
 geofon geotende. Hwæt, ðu golde eart,  
 sincgife, sylla! On ðe sylf cyning
- 1510 wrat, wuldres god, wordum cyððe  
 recene geryno, ond ryhte æ  
 getacnode on tyn wordum,  
 meotud mihtum swið. Moyse sealde,  
 swa hit soðfæste syðþan heoldon,
- 1515 modige magoþegnas, magas sine,  
 godfyrhte guman, Iosua ond Tobias.  
 Nu ðu miht gecnawan þæt þe cyning engla  
 gefrætwode furður mycle  
 giofum geardagum þonne eall gimma cynn.
- 1520 þurh his halige hæc þu scealt hræde cyðan  
 gif ðu his ondgitan ænige hæbbe.”  
 Næs þa wordlatu wihte þon mare  
 þæt se stan togan. Stream ut aweoll,  
 fleow ofer foldan. Famige walcan
- 1525 mid ærdæge eorðan þehton,  
 myclade mereflod. Meoduscerwen wearð  
 æfter symbeldæge, slæpe tobrugdon  
 searuhæbbende. Sund grunde onfeng,  
 deope gedrefed. Duguð wearð afyrhted
- 1530 þurh þæs flodes fær. Fæge swulton,  
 geonge on geofene guðræs fornam  
 þurh sealtne weg. Þæt wæs sorgbyrþen,  
 biter beorþegu. Byrlas ne gældon,  
 ombehtþegnas. Þær wæs ælcum genog
- 1535 fram dæges orde drync sona gearu.  
 Weox wæteres þrym. Weras cwanedon,

1508 geofon] heofon 1514 heoldon] *One or two letters erased before this word* 1516 Iosua] iosau 1527 tobrugdon] tobr<sup>u</sup>gdon 1528 searuhæbbende] searu *above the line, and* hæbbende 1532 sealtne] scealtes weg] sweg

- ealde æsberend. Wæs him ut myne  
 fleon fealone stream, woldon feore beorgan,  
 to duns-cræfum drohtað secan,  
 1540 eorðan ond wist. Him þæt engel forstod,  
 se ða burh oferbrægd blacan lige,  
 hatan heaðowælme. Hreoh wæs þær inne  
 beatende brim. Ne mihte beorna hloð  
 of þam fæstenne fleame spowan.  
 1545 Wægas weoxon, wadu hlynsodon,  
 flugon fyrgnastas, flod yðum weoll.  
 Ðær wæs yðfynde innan burgum  
 geomorgidd wrecen. Gehðo mændan  
 forhtferð manig, fusleoð golon.  
 1550 Egeslic æled eagsyne wearð,  
 heardlic hereteam, hleoðor gryrelic.  
 Þurh lyftgelac leges blæstas  
 weallas ymbwurpon, wæter mycladon.  
 Þær wæs wop wera wide gehyred,  
 1555 earmlic ylða gedræg. Ða þær an ongann,  
 feasceaft hæleð, folc gadorigean,  
 hean, hygegeomor, heofende spræc:  
 "Nu ge magon sylfe soð gecnawan,  
 þæt we mid unrihte ellþeodigne  
 1560 on carcerne clommum belegdon,  
 witebendum. Us seo wyrd scyðeð,  
 heard ond hetegrim. Þæt is her swa cuð,  
 is hit mycle selre, þæs þe ic soð talige,  
 þæt we hine alysan of leoðobendum,  
 1565 ealle anmode, (ofost is selost),  
 ond us þone halgan helpe biddan,  
 geoce ond frofre. Us bið gearu sona  
 sybb æfter sorge, gif we secap to him."  
 Ða þær Andrea orgete wearð  
 1570 on fyrhðlocan folces gebæro,  
 þær wæs modigra mægen forbegeð,  
 wigendra þrym. Wæter fæðmedon,
- 1545 wadu] wudu    1548 mændan] mænan    1549 golon] galen  
 1562 her] *Not in MS.*    1571 mægen] *Not in MS.*



- fleow firgendstream, flod wæs on luste,  
 oppæt breost oferstag, brim weallende,  
 1575 eorlum oð exle. Ða se æðeling het  
 streamfare stillan, stormas restan  
 ymbe stanhleoðu. Stop ut hræðe  
 cene collenferð, carcern ageaf,  
 gleawmod, gode leof. Him wæs gearu sona  
 1580 þurh streamræce stræt gerymed.  
 Smeolt wæs se sigewang, symble wæs dryge  
 folde fram flode, swa his fot gestop.  
 Wurdon burgware bliðe on mode,  
 ferhðgefeonde. Ða wæs forð cumen  
 1585 geoc æfter gyrne. Geofon swaðrode  
 þurh haliges hæs, hlyst yst forgeaf,  
 brimrad gebad. Ða se beorg tohlad,  
 eorðscraf egeslic, ond þær in forlet  
 flod fæðmian, fealewe wægas,  
 1590 geotende gegrind grund eall forswealg.  
 Nalas he þær yðe ane bisencte,  
 ach þæs weorodes eac ða wyrrestan,  
 faa folcsceaðan, feowertyne  
 gewiton mid þy wæge in forwyrd sceacan  
 1595 under eorþan grund. Ða wearð acolmod,  
 forhtferð manig folces on laste.  
 Wendan hie wifa ond wera cwealmes,  
 þearlra geþinga ðrage hnagran,  
 syððan mane faa, mordorscyldige,  
 1600 guðgelacan under grund hruron.  
 Hie ða anmode ealle cwædon:  
 "Nu is gesyne ðæt þe soð meotud,  
 cyning eallwihta, cræftum wealdeð,  
 se ðisne ar hider onsende  
 1605 þeodum to helpe. Is nu þearf mycel  
 þæt we gumcystum georne hyran."  
 Ða se halga ongann hæleð blissigean,  
 wigendra þreat wordum retan:
- 1579 wæs] *Not in MS.*    1585 Geofon] heofon    1597 wifa] *Not in MS.*  
 1601 Hie] H<sup>ie</sup>

“Ne beoð ge to forhte, þeh þe fell curen  
 1610 synnigra cynn. Swylt þrowode,  
 witu be gewyrhtum. Eow is wuldres leoht  
 torht ontyned, gif ge teala hycgað.”

Sende þa his bene fore bearn godes,  
 bæd haligne helpe gefremman

1615 gumena geogoðe, þe on geofene ær  
 þurh flodes fæðm feorh gesealdon,  
 ðæt þa gastas, gode orfeorme,  
 in wita forwyrd, wuldre bescyrede,  
 in feonda geweald gefered ne wurdan.

1620 Þa ðæt ærende ealwealdan gode  
 æfter hleoðorcwidum haliges gastes  
 wæs on þanc sprecen, ðeoda ræswan.  
 Het þa onsunde ealle arisan,  
 geonge of greote, þa ær geofon cwealde.

1625 Þa þær ofostlice upp astodon  
 manige on meðle, mine gefrege,  
 eaforan unweaxne, ða wæs eall eador  
 leoðolic ond gastlic, þeah hie lungre ær  
 þurh flodes fær feorh aleton.

1630 Onfengon fulwihte ond freoðuware,  
 wuldres wedde wutum aspedde,  
 mundbyrd meotudes. Þa se modiga het,  
 cyninges cræftiga, ciricean getimbran,  
 gerwan godes tempel, þær sio geogoð aras

1635 þurh fæder fulwiht ond se flod onsprang.

Þa gesamnodon secga þreate  
 weras geond þa winburg wide ond side,  
 eorlas anmode, ond hira idesa mid,  
 cwædon holdlice hyran woldon,

1640 onfon fromlice fullwihtes bæð  
 dryhtne to willan, ond diofolgild,  
 ealde eolhstedas, anforlætan.

Þa wæs mid þy folce fulwiht hæfen,  
 æðele mid eorlum, ond æ godes

1619 ne| *Not in MS.* 1622 ræswan] ræswum 1643 fulwiht] *Two letters (fo ?) erased before this word*

- 1645 riht aræred, ræd on lande  
 mid þam ceasterwarum, cirice gehalgod.  
 Þær se ar godes anne gesette,  
 wisfæstne wer, wordes gleawne,  
 in þære beorhtan byrig bisceop þam leodum,  
 1650 ond gehalgode fore þam heremægene  
 þurh apostolhad, Platan nemned,  
 þeodum on þearfe, ond þriste bebead  
 þæt hie his lare læston georne,  
 feorhræd fremedon. Sægde his fusne hige,  
 1655 þæt he þa goldburg ofgifan wolde,  
 secga seledream ond sincgestreon,  
 beorht beagselu, ond him brimþisan  
 æt sæs faroðe secan wolde.  
 Þæt wæs þam weorode weorc to geþoligenne,  
 1660 þæt hie se leodfruma leng ne wolde  
 wihte gewunian. Þa him wuldres god  
 on þam siðfæte sylfum ætywde,  
 ond þæt word gecwæð, weoruda dryhten:

\* \* \*

- “folc of firenum? Is him fus hyge  
 1665 gað geomriende, geohðo mænað  
 weras wif samod. Hira wop becom,  
 murnende mod

\* \* \*

fore sneowan.

- Ne scealt ðu þæt eowde anforlætan  
 1670 on swa niowan gefean, ah him naman minne  
 on ferðlocan fæste getimbre.  
 Wuna in þære winbyrig, wigendra hleo,  
 salu sinchroden, seofon nihta fyrst.  
 Syððan ðu mid mildse minre ferest.”  
 1675 Þa eft gewat oðre siðe  
 modig, mægene rof, Marmedonia  
 ceastre secan. Cristenra weox  
 word ond wisdom, syððan wuldres þegn,

1647 se] sio    1653 hie] he    1658 faroðe] foroðe    1659 weorc] weor

1664 Is] his    1676 modig] *Followed by e erased*

- æþelcyninges ar, eagam sawon.  
 1680 Lærde þa þa leode on geleafan weg,  
 trymede torhtlice, tiredigra  
 wenede to wuldre weorod unmæte,  
 to þam halgan ham heofona rices,  
 þær fæder ond sunu ond frofre gast  
 1685 in þrinnesse þrymme wealdeð  
 in woruld worulda wuldorgestealda.  
 Swylce se halga herigeas þreade,  
 deofulgild todraf ond gedwolan fylde.  
 Þæt wæs Satane sar to geþolienne,  
 1690 mycel modes sorg, þæt he ða menigeo geseah  
 hweofan higebliðe fram helltrafum  
 þurh Andreas este lare  
 to fægeran gefean, þær næfre feondes ne bið,  
 gastes gramhydiges, gang on lande.  
 1695 þa wæron gefylde æfter frean dome  
 dagas on rime, swa him dryhten bebead,  
 þæt he þa wederburg wunian sceolde.  
 Ongan hine þa fysan ond to flote gyrwan,  
 blissum hremig, wolde on brimþisan  
 1700 Achaie oðre siðe  
 sylfa gesecan, þær he sawulgedal,  
 beaducwealm gebad. Þæt þam banan ne wearð  
 hleahtre behworfen, ah in belle ceaf  
 sið asette, ond syððan no,  
 1705 fah, freonda leas, frofre benohte.  
 Ða ic lædan gefrægn leoda weorode  
 leofne lareow to lides stefnan,  
 mæcgas modgeomre. Þær manegum wæs  
 hat æt heortan hyge weallende.  
 1710 Hie ða gebrohton æt brimes næsse  
 on wægþele wigan unslawne.  
 Stodon him ða on ofre æfter reotan  
 þendon hie on yðum æðelinga wunn  
 ofer seolhpaðu geseon mihton,  
 1715 ond þa weorðedon wuldres agend,  
 1704 syððan] syð



cleopodon on corðre, ond cwædon þus:  
 "An is ece god eallra gesceafta!  
 Is his miht ond his æht ofer middangeard  
 breme gebledsod, ond his blæd ofer eall  
 1720 in heofonþrymme halgum scineð,  
 wlitige on wuldre to widan ealdre,  
 ece mid englum. Þæt is æðele cyning!"

## FATES OF THE APOSTLES

Hwæt! Ic þysne sang siðgeomor fand  
 on seocum sefan, samnode wide  
 hu þa æðelingas ellen cyðdon,  
 torhte ond tireadige. Twelfe wæron,  
 5 dædum domfæste, dryhtne gecorene,  
 leofe on life. Lof wide sprang,  
 miht ond mærdō, ofer middangeard,  
 þeodnes þegna, þrym unlytel.  
 Halgan heape hlyt wisode  
 10 þær hie dryhtnes æ deman sceoldon,  
 reccan fore rincum. Sume on Romebyrig,  
 frame, fyrdhwate, feorh ofgefon  
 þurg Nerones nearwe searwe,  
 Petrus ond Paulus. Is se apostolhad  
 15 wide geweorðod ofer werþeoda!  
 Swylce Andreas in Achagia  
 for Egias aldre geneðde.  
 Ne þreodode he fore þrymme ðeodcyniges,  
 æniges on eorðan, ac him ece geceas  
 20 langsumre lif, leoht unhwilen,  
 syþþan hildeheard, heriges byrhtme,  
 æfter guðplegan gealgan þehte.  
 Hwæt, we eac gehyrdon be Iohanne  
 æglæawe menn æðelo reccan!  
 25 Se manna wæs, mine gefrege,

1 Hwæt] WÆT with space vacant for an initial capital    4 wæron] woron  
 13 nearwe] neawe    18 he] Added above the line

þurh cneorisse Criste leofast  
 on weres hade, syððan wuldres cyning,  
 engla ordfruma, eorðan sohte  
 þurh fæmnan hrif, fæder manncynnes.

30 He in Effessia ealle þrage  
 leode lærde, þanon lifes weg  
 siðe gesohte, swegle dreamas,  
 beorhtne boldwelan. Næs his broðor læt,  
 siðes sæne, ac ðurh sweordes bite

35 mid Iudeum Iacob scolde  
 fore Herode ealdre gedælan,  
 feorh wið flæsce. Philipus wæs  
 mid Asseum, þanon ece lif  
 þurh rode cwealm ricene gesohte,

40 syððan on galgan in Gearapolim  
 ahangen wæs hildecorðre.

Huru, wide wearð wurd undyrne  
 þæt to Indeum aldre gelædde  
 beaducræftig beorn, Bartholameus!

45 Þone heht Astrias in Albano,  
 hæðen ond hygeblind, heafde beneotan,  
 forþan he ða hæðengild hyran ne wolde,  
 wig weorðian. Him wæs wuldres dream,  
 lifwela leofra þonne þas leasan godu.

50 Swylce Thomas eac þriste geneðde  
 on Indea oðre dælas,  
 þær manegum wearð mod onlihted,  
 hige onhyrded, þurh his halig word.  
 Syððan collenferð cyninges broðor

55 awehte for weorodum, wundorcraefte,  
 þurh dryhtnes miht, þæt he of deaðe aras,  
 geong ond guðhwæt, ond him wæs Gad nama,  
 ond ða þæm folce feorg gesealde,  
 sin æt sæcce. Sweordræs fornam

60 þurh hæðene hand, þær se halga gecrang,  
 wund for weorudum, þonon wuldres leoht  
 sawle gesohte sigores to leane.

43 gelædde] *Altered from* gelæððe 52 onlihted] *i corrected from u*

- Hwæt, we þæt gehyrdon þurg halige bec,  
 þæt mid Sigelwarum soð yppe wearð,  
 65 dryhtlic dom godes! Dæges or onwoc,  
 leohtes geleafan, land wæs gefælsod  
 þurh Matheus mære lare.  
 Þone het Irtacus ðurh yrne hyge,  
 wæltreow cyning, wæpnum aswebban.  
 70 Hyrde we þæt Iacob in Ierusalem  
 fore sacerdum swilt þrowode.  
 Ðurg stenges sweng stiðmod gecrang,  
 eadig for æfestum. Hafað nu ece lif  
 mid wuldorcining, wiges to leane.  
 75 Næron ða twegen tohtan sæne,  
 lindgelaces, land Persea  
 sohton siðfrome, Simon ond Thaddeus,  
 beornas beadorofe! Him wearð bam samod  
 an endedæg. Æðele sceoldon  
 80 ðurh wæpenhete weorc þrowigan,  
 sigelean secan, ond þone soðan gefean,  
 dream æfter deaðe, þa gedæled wearð  
 lif wið lice, ond þas lænan gestreon,  
 idle æhtwelan, ealle forhogodan.  
 85 Ðus ða æðelingas ende gesealdon,  
 XII tilmodige. Tir unbræcne  
 wegán on gewitte wuldres þegnas.  
 Nu ic þonne bidde beorn se ðe lufige  
 þysses giddes begang þæt he geomrum me  
 90 þone halgan heap helpe bidde,  
 friðes ond fultomes. Hu, ic freonda beþearf  
 liðra on lade, þonne ic sceal langne ham,  
 eardwic uncuð, ana gesecan,  
 lætan me on laste lic, eorðan dæl,  
 95 wælreaf wunigean weormum to hroðre.  
 Her mæg findan foreþances gleaw,  
 se ðe hine lysteð leoðgiddunga,

77 Thaddeus] tþaddeus    84 ealle] ealne    90 halgan] halga  
 93 gesecan] gesece    94 lætan] læt    96-122] *For the MS. readings,*  
*see Notes*

- hwa þas fitte fegde. ƿ þær on ende standeþ,  
 eorlas þæs on eorðan brucaþ. Ne moton hie awa ætsomne,  
 100 woruldwunigende; ƿ sceal gedreosan,  
 ƿ on eðle, æfter tohreoſan  
 læne lices frætewa, efne swa ƿ toglideð.  
 þonne h ond ƿ cræftes neosað  
 nihtes nearowe, on him ƿ ligeð,  
 105 cyninges þeodom. Nu ðu cunnon miht  
 hwa on þam wordum wæs werum oncyðig.  
 Sie þæs gemyndig, mann se ðe lufige  
 þisses galdres begang, þæt he geoce me  
 ond frofre fricle. Ic sceall feor heonan,  
 110 an elles forð, eardes neosan,  
 sið aſettan, nat ic sylfa hwær,  
 of þiſſe worulde. Wic ſindon uncuð,  
 eard ond eðel, swa bið ælcum menn  
 nemþe he godcundes gaſtes bruce.  
 115 Ah utu we þe geornor to gode cleopigan,  
 ſendan uſſe bene on þa beorhtan geſceaft,  
 þæt we þæs botles brucan motan,  
 hames in hehðo, þær is hihta mæſt,  
 þær cyning engla clænum gildeð  
 120 lean unhwilen. Nu a his lof ſtandeð,  
 mycel ond mære, ond his miht ſeomaþ,  
 ece ond edgiong, ofer ealle geſceaft. Finit.

## SOUL AND BODY I

- Huru, ðæs behofað hæleða æghwylc  
 þæt he his ſawle ſið sylfa geþence,  
 hu þæt bið deoplic þonne ſe deað cymeð,  
 aſyndreð þa ſybbe þe ær ſamod wæron,  
 5 lic ond ſawle! Lang bið ſyððan  
 þæt ſe gaſt nimeð æt gode ſylfum  
 ſwa wite ſwa wuldor, ſwa him on worulde ær  
 efne þæt eorðfæt ær geworhte.



- Sceal se gast cuman geohðum hremig,  
 10 symble ymbe seofon niht sawle findan  
 þone lichoman þe hie ær lange wæg,  
 þreo hund wintra, butan ær þeodcyning,  
 ælmihtig god, ende worulde  
 wyrcan wille, weoruda dryhten.
- 15 Cleopað þonne swa cearful cealdan reorde,  
 spreceð grimlice se gast to þam duste:  
 "Hwæt, druh ðu dreorega, to hwan drehtest ðu me,  
 eorðan fulnes eal forwisnad,  
 lames gelignes! Lyt ðu gemundest  
 20 to hwan þinre sawle þing siðþan wurde,  
 syððan of lichoman læded wære!  
 Hwæt, wite ðu me, weriga! Hwæt, ðu huru wyrma gyfl  
 lyt geþohtest, þa ðu lustgryrum callum  
 ful geeodest, hu ðu on eorðan scealt  
 25 wyrnum to wiste! Hwæt, ðu on worulde ær  
 lyt geþohtest hu þis is þus lang hider!  
 Hwæt, þe la engel ufan of roderum  
 sawle onsende þurh his sylfes hand,  
 meotod ælmihtig, of his mægenþrymme,  
 30 ond þe gebohte blode þy halgan,  
 ond þu me mid þy heardan hungre gebunde  
 ond gehæftnedest helle witum!  
 Eardode ic þe on innan. Ne meahte ic ðe of cuman,  
 flæsce befangen, ond me fyrenlustas  
 35 þine geþrungon. Þæt me þuhte ful oft  
 þæt hit wære XXX þusend wintra  
 to þinum deaðdæge. A ic unces gedales onbad  
 earfoðlice. Nis nu huru se ende to god!  
 Wære þu þe wiste wlanc ond wines sæd,  
 40 þrymful þunedest, ond ic ofþyrsted wæs  
 godes lichoman, gastes drynces.  
 Forðan þu ne hogodest her on life,  
 syððan ic ðe on worulde wunian scoolde,  
 þæt ðu wære þurh flæsc ond þurh fyrenlustas

22a ðu] ðuðu 24 geeodest] geodest 36 wære] wær 38 god] goð  
 40 ic] *Not in MS.*

- 45 strange gestryned ond gestaðolod þurh me,  
 ond ic wæs gast on ðe fram gode sended.  
 Næfre ðu me wið swa heardum helle witum  
 ne generedest þurh þinra nieda lust.  
 Scealt ðu minra gesynta sceame þrowian
- 50 on ðam myclan dæge þonne eall manna cynn  
 se ancenneda ealle gesamnað.  
 Ne eart ðu þon leofra nænigum lifigendra  
 men to gemæccan, ne meder ne fæder  
 ne nænigum gesybban, þonne se swearta hrefen,
- 55 syððan ic ana of ðe ut siðode  
 þurh þæs sylfes hand þe ic ær onsended wæs.  
 Ne magon þe nu heonon adon hyrsta þa readan  
 ne gold ne seolfor ne þinra goda nan,  
 ne þinre bryde beag ne þin boldwela,
- 60 ne nan þara goda þe ðu iu ahtest,  
 ac her sceolon onbidan þan bereafod,  
 besliten synum, ond þe þin sawl sceal  
 minum unwillum oft geseccan,  
 wemman þe mid wordum, swa ðu worhtest to me.
- 65 Eart ðu nu dumb ond deaf, ne synt þine dreamas  
 awiht.

Sceal ic ðe nihtes swa þeah nede geseccan,  
 synnum gesargod, ond eft sona fram þe  
 hweorfan on hancrod, þonne halige men  
 lifendum gode lofsang doð,

- 70 secan þa hamas þe ðu me her scrife,  
 ond þa arleasan eardungstowe,  
 ond þe sculon her moldwyrmas manige ceowan,  
 slitan sarlice swearte wihta,  
 gifre ond grædige. Ne synt þine æhta awihte
- 75 þe ðu her on moldan mannum eowdest.  
 Forðan þe wære selre swiðe mycle  
 þonne þe wæron ealle eorðan speda,

47 wið] mid 48 nieda] meda 51 ancenneda] acenneda 54 þonne]  
 þonn *with e crowded in before the next word* 57 magon] mæg þa] þy  
 59 boldwela] gold wela 62 sceal] *Followed by abbreviation for ond, partly  
 obliterated* 63 unwillum] unwillu

- (butan þu hie gedælde dryhtne sylfum),  
 þær ðu wurde æt frymðe fugel oððe fisc on sæ,  
 80 oððe on eorðan neat ætes tilode,  
 feldgangende feoh butan snyttro,  
 oððe on westenne wildra deora  
 þæt wyrreste, þær swa god wolde,  
 ge þeah ðu wære wyrma cynna  
 85 þæt grimmete, þær swa god wolde,  
 þonne ðu æfre on moldan man gewurde  
 oððe æfre fulwihte onfon sceolde.  
 Þonne ðu for unc bæm andwyrðan scealt  
 on ðam miclan dæge, þonne mannum beoð  
 90 wunda onwrigene, þa ðe on worulde ær  
 fyrenfulle men fyrr geworhton,  
 ðonne wyle dryhten sylf dæda gehyran  
 hæleða gehwylces, heofena scippend,  
 æt ealra manna gehwæs muðes reorde  
 95 wunde wiðerlean. Ac hwæt wylt ðu þær  
 on þam domdæge dryhtne secgan?  
 Þonne ne bið nan na to þæs lytel lið on lime aweaxen,  
 þæt ðu ne scyle for anra gehwylcum onsundrum  
 riht agildan, þonne reðe bið  
 100 dryhten æt þam dome. Ac hwæt do wyt unc?  
 Sculon wit þonne eft ætsomne siððan brucan  
 swylcra yrmða, swa ðu unc her ær scrife!"  
 Fyrnað þus þæt flæschord, sceall þonne feran onweg,  
 secan hellegrund, nallæs heofondreamas,  
 105 dædum gedrefed. Ligeð dust þær hit wæs,  
 ne mæg him ondsware ænige gehatan,  
 geomrum gaste, geoce oððe frofre.  
 Bið þæt heafod tohliden, handa toliðode,  
 geaglas toginene, goman toslitene,  
 110 sina beoð asocene, swyra becowen,  
 fingras tohrorene.  
 Rib reafiað reðe wyrmas,  
 beoð hira tungan totogenne on tyn healfa

82 wildra deora] wild deora 84 wyrma] wyrm 103 onweg] on weg  
 with a w erased before on 105 Ligeð] liget



- hungregum to frofre; forþan hie ne magon huxlicum  
 115 wordum wrixlian wið þone werian gast.  
 Gifer hatte se wyrm, þe þa eaglas beoð  
 nædle scearþran. Se genydde to  
 ærest eallra on þam eorðscræfe,  
 þæt he þa tungan totyhð ond þa teð þurhsmyhð  
 120 ond þa eagan þurheteð ufan on þæt heafod  
 ond to ætwelan oðrum gerymeð,  
 wýrmum to wiste, þonne þæt werie  
 lic acolod bið þæt he lange ær  
 werede mid wædum. Bið þonne wyrma gifel,  
 125 æt on eorþan. Þæt mæg æghwylcum  
 men to gemynde, modsnotra gehwam!  
 Ðonne bið hyhtlicre þæt sio halige sawl  
 færeð to ðam flæsce, frofre bewunden.  
 Bið þæt ærende eadiglicre  
 130 funden on ferhðe. Mid gefean seceð  
 lustum þæt lamfæt þæt hie ær lange wæg.  
 Þonne þa gastas gode word sprecað,  
 snottre, sigefæste, ond þus soðlice  
 þone lichoman lustum gretap:  
 135 "Wine leofesta, þeah ðe wyrmas gyt  
 gifre gretap, nu is þin gast cumen,  
 fægere gefrætewod, of mines fæder rice,  
 arum bewunden. Eala, min dryhten,  
 þær ic þe moste mid me lædan,  
 140 þæt wyt englas ealle gesawon,  
 heofona wuldor, swylc swa ðu me ær her scrife!  
 Fæstest ðu on foldan ond gefyldest me  
 godes lichoman, gastes drynces.  
 Wære ðu on wædle, sealdest me wilna geniht.  
 145 Forðan ðu ne þearft sceamian, þonne sceadene beop  
 þa synfullan ond þa soðfæstan  
 on þam mæran dæge, þæs ðu me geafe,  
 ne ðe hreowan þearf her on life  
 calles swa mycles swa ðu me sealdest

117 to] to me    123 he] *Not in MS.*    125 æt] *Not in MS.*  
 132 sprecað] sprecað    135 þeah ðe] ah ðæ    138 arum] carum



150 on gemotstede manna ond engla.

Bygdest ðu þe for hæledum ond ahofe me on ecne  
dream.

Forþan me a langaþ, leofost manna,  
on minum hige hearde, þæs þe ic þe on þyssum hynðum  
wat

wyrmum to wiste, ac þæt wolde god,

155 þæt þu æfre þus laðlic legerbed cure.

Wolde ic þe ðonne secgan þæt ðu ne sorgode,

forðan wyt bioð gegaderode æt godes dome.

Moton wyt þonne ætsomme syþan brucan

ond unc on heofonum heahþungene beon.

160 Ne þurfon wyt beon cearie æt cyme dryhtnes,

ne þære andsware yfele habban

sorge in hreðre, ac wyt sylfe magon

æt ðam dome þær dædum agilpan,

hwylce earnunga uncre wæron.

165 Wat ic þæt þu wære on woruldrice

geþungen þrymlice þysses"

\* \* \*

## HOMILETIC FRAGMENT I

sorh cymeð

manig ond mislic in manna dream.

Eorl oðerne mid æfþancum

ond mid teonwordum tæleð behindan,

5 spreceð fægere beforan, ond þæt facen swa þeah

hafað in his heortan, hord unclæne.

Byð þonne þæs wommes gewita weoruda dryhten.

Forðan se witiga cwæð:

"Ne syle ðu me ætsomme mid þam synfullum

10 in wita forwyrd, weoruda dryhten,

ne me on life forleos mid þam ligewyrhtum,

þam þe ful smeðe spræce habbað,

ond in gastcofan grimme geþohtas,

151 ahofe] *Followed by another me erased*      162 hreðre] reðre

5 swa] swa swa

gehatað holdlice, swa hyra hyht ne gæð,  
 15 wære mid welerum." Wea bið in mode,  
 siofa synnum fah, sare geblonden,  
 gefylled mid facne, þeah he fæger word  
 utan ætywe. Ænlice beoð,

swa ða beon berað buta ætsomme  
 20 arlicne anleafan, ond ætterne tægel  
 hafað on hindan, hunig on muðe,  
 wynsume wist. Hwilum wundiaþ  
 sare mid stinge, þonne se sæl cymeð.

Swa bioð gelice þa leasan men,  
 25 þa ðe mid tungan treowa gehataþ  
 fægerum wordum, facenlice þencaþ,  
 þonne hie æt nehstan nearwe beswicaþ,  
 hafað on gehatum hunigsmæccas,  
 smeðne sybcwide, ond in siofan innan

30 þurh deofles cræft dyrne wunde.

Swa is nu þes middangeard mane geblonden,  
 wanað ond weaxeð. Wacað se ealda,  
 dweleð ond drefeð dæges ond nihtes  
 miltse mid mane, mægene getryweð,

35 ehteð æfestra, inwit saweð,  
 nið mid geneahe. Nænig oðerne  
 freoð in fyrhðe nimþe feara hwylc,  
 þæt he soðlice sybbe healde,  
 gastlice lufe, swa him god bebead.

40 Forþan eallunga hyht geceoseð,  
 woruld wynsume, se ðe wis ne bið,  
 snottor, scarocræftig sawle rædes.

Uton to þam beteran, nu we bot cunnon,  
 hycgan ond hyhtan, þæt we heofones leoht

45 uppe mid englum agan moton  
 gastum to geoce, þonne god wile  
 eorðan lifes ende gewyrcan!

23 stinge] *Not in MS.* 39 bebead] *One or two letters erased between be and*  
 bead 43 bot] *Not in MS.*

## DREAM OF THE ROOD

Hwæt! Ic swefna cyst secgan wylle,  
hwæt me gemætte to midre nihte,  
syðþan reordberend reste wunedon!

Ðuhte me þæt ic gesawe syllicre treow  
5 on lyft lædan, leohte bewunden,  
beama beorhtost. Eall þæt beacen wæs  
begoten mid golde. Gimmas stodon  
fægere æt foldan sceatum, swylce þær fife wæron  
uppe on þam eaxlegespanne. Beheoldon þær engel dryht-  
nes ealle,  
10 fægere þurh forðgescaft. Ne wæs ðær huru fracodes  
gealga,

ac hine þær beheoldon halige gastas,  
men ofer moldan, ond eall þeos mære gescaft.

Syllic wæs se sigebeam, ond ic synnum fah,  
forwunded mid wommum. Geseah ic wuldres treow,  
15 wædum geweorðode, wynnum scinan,  
gegyred mid golde; gimmas hæfdon  
bewrigene weorðlice wealdendes treow.  
Hwæðre ic þurh þæt gold ongytan meahte  
earmra ærgewin, þæt hit ærest ongan  
20 swætan on þa swiðran healfe. Eall ic wæs mid sorgum  
gedrefed,  
forht ic wæs for þære fæggran gesyhðe. Geseah ic þæt fuse  
beacen  
wendan wædum ond bleom; hwilum hit wæs mid wætan  
bestemed,  
beswyled mid swates gange, hwilum mid since gegyrwed.

Hwæðre ic þær licgende lange hwile  
25 beheold hreowcearig hælendes treow,  
oððæt ic gehyrde þæt hit hleoðrode.  
Ongan þa word sprecaþ wudu selesta:  
“Þæt wæs geara iu, (ic þæt gyta geman),  
þæt ic wæs aheawen holtes on ende,



- 30 astyred of stefne minum. Genaman me ðær strange  
feondas,  
geworhton him þær to wafersyne, heton me heora wergas  
hebban.  
Bæron me ðær beornas on eaxlum, oððæt hie me on beorg  
asetton,  
gefæstnodon me þær feondas genoge. Geseah ic þa frean  
mancynnes  
efstan elne mycle þæt he me wolde on gestigan.
- 35 Þær ic þa ne dorste ofer dryhtnes word  
bugan oððe berstan, þa ic bifian geseah  
eorðan sceatas. Ealle ic mihte  
feondas gefyllan, hwæðre ic fæste stod.  
Ongyrede hine þa geong hæleð, (þæt wæs god ælmihtig),
- 40 strang ond stiðmod. Gestah he on gealgan heanne,  
modig on manigra gesyhðe, þa he wolde mancyn lysan.  
Bifode ic þa me se beorn ymbclypte. Ne dorste ic hwæðre  
bugan to eorðan,  
feallan to foldan sceatum, ac ic sceolde fæste standan.  
Rod wæs ic aræred. Ahof ic ricne cyning,
- 45 heofona hlaford, hyldan me ne dorste.  
Þurhdrifan hi me mid deorcan næglum. On me syndon þa  
dolg gesiene,  
opene inwidlemmas. Ne dorste ic hira nænigum  
sceððan.  
Bysmeredon hie unc butu ætgædere. Eall ic wæs mid  
blode bestemed,  
begoten of þæs guman sidan, siððan he hæfde his gast  
onsended.
- 50 Feala ic on þam beorge gebiden hæbbe  
wraðra wyrda. Geseah ic weruda god  
pearle þenian. Þystro hæfdon  
bewrigen mid wolcnum wealdendes hræw,  
scirne sciman, sceadu forðeode,
- 55 wann under wolcnum. Weop eal gesceaft,  
cwiðdon cyninges fyll. Crist wæs on rode.  
Hwæðere þær fuse feorran cwoman  
to þam ædelinge. Ic þæt eall beheold.



Sare ic wæs mid sorgum gedrefed, hnag ic hwæðre þam  
 secgum to handa,  
 60 eaðmod elne mycle. Genamon hie þær ælmihtigne god,  
 ahofon hine of ðam hefian wite. Forleton me þa hilde-  
 rincas  
 standan steame bedrifenne; eall ic wæs mid strælum  
 forwundod.  
 Aledon hie ðær limwerigne, gestodon him æt his lices  
 heafdum,  
 beheoldon hie ðær heofenes dryhten, ond he hine ðær  
 hwile reste,  
 65 meðe æfter ðam miclan gewinne. Ongunnon him þa  
 moldern wyrčan  
 beornas on banan gesyhðe; curfon hie ðæt of beorhtan  
 stane,  
 gesetton hie ðæron sigora wealdend. Ongunnon him þa  
 sorhleoð galan  
 earne on þa æfentide, þa hie woldon eft siðian,  
 meðe fram þam mæran þeodne. Reste he ðær mæte  
 weorode.

70 Hwæðere we ðær grootende gode hwile  
 stodon on staðole, syððan stefn up gewat  
 hilderinca. Hræw colode,  
 fæger feorgbold. Þa us man fyllan ongan  
 ealle to cordan. Þæt wæs egeslic wyrd!

75 Bedealf us man on deopan seape. Hwæðre me þær  
 dryhtnes þegnas,

freondas gefrunon,  
 ond gyredon me golde ond seolfre.

Nu ðu miht gehyran, hæleð min se leofa,  
 þæt ic bealuwara weorc gebiden hæbbe,

80 sarra sorga. Is nu sæl cumen  
 þæt me weorðiað wide ond side  
 menn ofer moldan, ond eall þeos mære gesceaft,  
 gebiddaþ him to þyssum beacne. On me bearn godes  
 browode hwile. Forþan ic þrymfæst nu

59 sorgum] *Not in MS.*      65 moldern] moldjern      70 grootende] reotende  
 71 stefn] *Not in MS.*      77a ond] *Not in MS.*

- 85 hlifige under heofenum, ond ic hælán mæg  
æghwylcne anra, þara þe him bið egesa to me.  
Iu ic wæs geworden wita heardost,  
leodum laðost, ærþan ic him lifes weg  
rihtne gerymde, reordberendum.
- 90 Hwæt, me þa geweorðode wuldres ealdor  
ofer holmwudu, heofonrices weard!  
Swylce swa he his modor eac, Marian sylfe,  
ælmihhtig god for ealle menn  
geweorðode ofer eall wifa cynn.
- 95 Nu ic þe hate, hælæð min se leofa,  
þæt ðu þas gesyhðe secge mannum,  
onwreoh wordum þæt hit is wuldres beam,  
se ðe ælmihhtig god on þrowode  
for mancynnes manegum synnum
- 100 ond Adomes ealdgewyrhtum.  
Deað he þær byrigde, hwæðere eft dryhten aras  
mid his miclan mihte mannum to helpe.  
He ða on heofenas astag. Hider eft fundað  
on þysne middangeard mancynn secan
- 105 on domdæge dryhten sylfa,  
ælmihhtig god, ond his englas mid,  
þæt he þonne wile deman, se ah domes geweald,  
anra gehwylcum swa he him ærur her  
on þyssum lænum life gearnaþ.
- 110 Ne mæg þær ænig unforht wesan  
for þam worde þe se wealdend cwyð.  
Frineð he for þære mænige hwær se man sie,  
se ðe for dryhtnes naman deaðes wolde  
biteres onbyrgan, swa he ær on ðam beame dyde.
- 115 Ac hie þonne forhtiað, ond fea þencap  
hwæt hie to Criste cweðan onginnen.  
Ne þearf ðær þonne ænig anforht wesan  
þe him ær in breostum bereð beacna selest,  
ac ðurh ða rode sceal rice gesecan
- 120 of eorðwege æghwylc sawl,
- 113 wolde] wolde preceded by an erasure, probably of pro 117 anforht]  
unforht

seo þe mid wealdende wunian þenceð."

- Gebæd ic me þa to þan beame bliðe mode,  
 elne mycle, þær ic ana wæs  
 mæte werede. Wæs modsefa
- 125 afysed on forðwege, feala ealra gebad  
 langunghwila. Is me nu lifes hyht  
 þæt ic þone sigebeam secan mote  
 ana oftor þonne ealle men,  
 well weorþian. Me is willa to ðam
- 130 mycel on mode, ond min mundbyrd is  
 geriht to þære rode. Nah ic ricra feala  
 freonda on foldan, ac hie forð heonon  
 gewiton of worulde dreamum, sohton him wuldres cyn-  
 ing,
- lifaþ nu on heofenum mid heahfædere,
- 135 wuniaþ on wuldre, ond ic wene me  
 daga gehwylce hwænne me dryhtnes rod,  
 þe ic her on eorðan ær sceawode,  
 on þysson lænan life gefetige  
 ond me þonne gebringe þær is blis mycel,
- 140 dream on heofonum, þær is dryhtnes folc  
 geseted to symle, þær is singal blis,  
 ond me þonne asette þær ic syþþan mot  
 wunian on wuldre, well mid þam halgum  
 dreames brucan. Si me dryhten freond,
- 145 se ðe her on eorþan ær þrowode  
 on þam gealgtreowe for guman synnum.  
 He us onlysde ond us lif forgeaf,  
 heofonlicne ham. Hiht wæs geniwad  
 mid bledum ond mid blisse þam þe þær bryne þolodan.
- 150 Se sunu wæs sigorfæst on þam siðfate,  
 mihtig ond spedig, þa he mid manigeo com,  
 gasta weorode, on godes rice,  
 anwealda ælmihtig, englum to blisse  
 ond eallum ðam halgum þam þe on heofonum ær
- 155 wunedon on wuldre, þa heora wealdend cwom,  
 ælmihtig god, þær his eðel wæs.

127 ic] *Added above the line* 132 foldan] *Erasure of two letters after foldan*

142 me] *he* 152 on] *o erased before this word*



## ELENE

- Ða wæs agangen geara hwyrftum  
 tu hund ond þreo geteled rimes,  
 swylce XXX eac, þinggemearces,  
 wintra for worulde, þæs þe wealdend god  
 5 acenned wearð, cyninga wuldor,  
 in middangeard þurh mennisc heo,  
 soðfæstra leoht. Ða wæs syxte gear  
 Constantines caserdomes,  
 þæt he Romwara in rice wearð  
 10 ahæfen, hildfruma, to hereteman.  
 Wæs se leodhwata lindgeborga  
 eorlum arfæst. Æðelinges weox  
 rice under roderum. He wæs riht cyning,  
 guðweard gumena. Hine god trymede  
 15 mærdum ond mihtum, þæt he manegum wearð  
 geond middangeard mannum to hroðer,  
 werþeodum to wræce, syððan wæpen ahof  
 wið hetendum. Him wæs hild boden,  
 wiges woma. Werod samnodan  
 20 Huna leode ond Hreðgotan,  
 foron fyrdhwate Francan ond Hugas.  
 Wæron hwate was, gearwe to guðe. Garas lixtan,  
 wriðene wæhlencan. Wordum ond bordum  
 25 hofon herecombol. Ða wæron hearingas  
 sweotole gesamnod ond eal sib geador.  
 For folca gedryht. Fyrdleoð agol  
 wulf on wealde, wælrune ne mað.  
 Urigfeðera earn sang ahof,  
 30 laðum on laste. Lungre scynde  
 ofer burg enta beaduþreata mæst,  
 hergum to hilde, swylce Huna cyning  
 ymsittendra awer meahte

12 Æðelinges] æðelnges    14 guðweard] guð wearð    16 middangeard]  
 middan g̃    21 foron] foro *with n crowded in at end*    Hugas] hunas    26  
 ond] *The abbreviation crowded in*    sib] *Not in MS.*



- abannan to beadwe burgwigendra.  
 35 For fyrda mæst. Feðan trymedon  
 eoredcestum, þæt on ælfylce  
 deareðlacende on Danubie,  
 stærcedfyrhðe, stæðe wicedon  
 ymb þæs wæteres wylm. Werodes breahtme  
 40 woldon Romwara rice geþringan,  
 hergum ahyðan. Þær wearð Huna cyme  
 cuð ceasterwarum. Ða se casere heht  
 ongean gramum guðgelæcan  
 under earhfære ofstum myclum  
 45 bannan to beadwe, beran ut þræce  
 rincas under roderum. Wæron Romware,  
 secgas sigerofe, sona gegearwod  
 wæpnum to wigge, þeah hie werod læsse  
 hæfdon to hilde þonne Huna cining;  
 50 ridon ymb rofne, þonne rand dynede,  
 campwudu clynede, cyning þreate for,  
 herge to hilde. Hrefen uppe gol,  
 wan ond wælfel. Werod wæs on tyhte.  
 Hleoþon hornboran, hreopan friccan,  
 55 mearh moldan træd. Mægen samnode,  
 cafe to cease. Cyning wæs afyrhted,  
 egsan geaclad, siððan elpeodige,  
 Huna ond Hreða here sceawede,  
 ðæt he on Romwara rices ende  
 60 ymb þæs wæteres stæð werod samnode,  
 mægen unrime. Modsorge wæg  
 Romwara cyning, rices ne wende  
 for werodleste, hæfde wigena to lyt,  
 eaxlgestealna wið ofermægene,  
 65 hrora to hilde. Here wicode,  
 eorlas ymb æðeling, egstreame neah  
 on neaweste nihtlangne fyrst,  
 þæs þe hie feonda gefær fyrmest gesægon.  
 Ða wearð on slæpe sylfum ætywed  
 70 þam casere, þær he on corðre swæf,  
 49 þonne] þone 58 sceawede] sceawedon 68 hie] he

- sigerofum gesegen swefnes woma.  
 Þuhte him wlitescyne on weres hade  
 hwit ond hiwbeorht hæleða nathwylc  
 geywed ænlicra þonne he ær oððe sið  
 75 gesege under swegle. He of slæpe onbrægd,  
 eofurcumble beþcaht. Him se ar hraðe,  
 wlitig wuldres boda, wið þingode  
 ond be naman nemde, (nihthelm toglad):  
 "Constantinus, heht þe cyning engla,  
 80 wyrda wealdend, wære beodan,  
 duguða dryhten. Ne ondræd þu ðe,  
 ðeah þe elþeodige egesan hwopan,  
 heardre hilde. Þu to heofenum beseoh  
 on wuldres weard, þær ðu wraðe findest,  
 85 sigores tacen." He wæs sona gearu  
 þurh þæs halgan hæs, hreðerlocan onspeon,  
 up locade, swa him se ar abead,  
 fæle friðowebba. Geseah he frætsum beorht  
 wlitig wuldres treo ofer wolcna hrof,  
 90 golde geglenged, (gimmas lixtan);  
 wæs se blaca beam bocstafum awriten,  
 beorhte ond leohte: "Mid þys beacne ðu  
 on þam freccan fære feond oferswiðesð,  
 geletest lað werod." Þa þæt leoht gewat,  
 95 up siðode, ond se ar somed,  
 on clænra gemang. Cyning wæs þy bliðra  
 ond þe sorgleasra, secga aldor,  
 on fyrhðsefan, þurh þa fægeran gesyhð.  
 Heht þa onlice æðelinga hleo,  
 100 beorna beaggifa, swa he þæt beacen geseah,  
 heria hildfruma, þæt him on heofonum ær  
 geiewed wearð, ofstum myclum,  
 Constantinus, Cristes rode,  
 tireadig cyning, tacen gewyrcan.  
 105 Heht þa on uhtan mid ærdæge  
 wigend wreccan, ond wæpenþræce  
 hebban heorucumbul, ond þæt halige treo

90 geglenged] gelenged 91 awriten] *About two letters erased before this word*

- him beforan ferian on feonda gemang,  
 beran beacen godes. Byman sungon  
 110 hlude for hergum. Hrefn weorces gefeah,  
 urigfeðra, earn sið beheold,  
 wælhreowra wig. Wulf sang ahof,  
 holtas gehleða. Hildegesa stod.  
 Þær was borda gebrec ond beorna geþrec,  
 115 heard handgeswing ond herga gring,  
 syððan heo earhfære ærest metton.  
 On þæt fæge folc flana scuras,  
 garas ofer geolorand on gramra gemang,  
 hetend heorugrimme, hildenædran,  
 120 þurh fingra geweald forð onsendan.  
 Stopon stiðhidige, stundum wræcon,  
 bræcon bordhreðan, bil in dufan,  
 þrungon þræchearde. Þa was þuf hafan,  
 segn for sweotum, sigeleoð galen.  
 125 Gylden grima, garas lixtan  
 on herefelda. Hæðene grungon,  
 feollon friðelease. Flugon instæpes  
 Huna leode, swa þæt halige treo  
 aræran heht Romwara cyning,  
 130 heaðofremmende. Wurdon hearingas  
 wide towrecene. Sume wig fornam.  
 Sume unsofte aldor generedon  
 on þam heresiðe. Sume healfcwice  
 flugon on fæsten ond feore burgon  
 135 æfter stanclifum, stede weardedon  
 ymb Danubie. Sume drenc fornam  
 on lagostreame lifes æt ende.  
 Ða was modigra mægen on luste,  
 ehton elþeoda oð þæt æfen forð  
 140 fram dægæs orde. Daroðæsc flugon,  
 hildenædran. Heap was gescyrded,  
 laðra lindwered. Lythwon becwom  
 Huna herges ham eft þanon.

119 heorugrimme] heora grimme    124 sweotum] sweotolū    126 here-  
 felda] hera felda



- Ða wæs gesyne þæt sige forgeaf  
 145 Constantino cyning ælmihtig  
 æt þam dægweorce, domweorðunga,  
 rice under roderum, þurh his rode treo.  
 Gewat þa heriga helm ham eft þanon,  
 huðe hremig, (hild wæs gesceaden),  
 150 wigge geweorðod. Com þa wigena hleo  
 þegna þreate þryðbold secan,  
 beadurof cyning burga neosan.  
 Heht þa wigena weard þa wisestan  
 snude to sionoðe, þa þe snyttro cræft  
 155 þurh fyrngewrito gefrigen hæfdon,  
 heoldon higeþancum hæleða rædas.  
 Ða þæs fricggan ongan folces aldor,  
 sigerof cyning, ofer sid weorod,  
 wære þær ænig yldra oððe gingra  
 160 þe him to soðe secggan meahte,  
 galdrum cyðan, hwæt se god wære,  
 boldes brytta, "þe þis his beacen wæs  
 þe me swa leoht oðywde ond mine leode generede,  
 tacna torhtost, ond me tir forgeaf,  
 165 wigsped wið wraðum, þurh þæt wlitige treo."  
 Hio him ondsware ænige ne meahton  
 agifan togenes, ne ful geare cuðon  
 sweotole gesecggan be þam sigebeacne.  
 Ða þa wisestan wordum cwædon  
 170 for þam heremægene þæt hit heofoncyniges  
 tacen wære, ond þæs tweo nære.  
 Ða þæt gefrugnon þa þurh fulwihte  
 lærde wæron, (him wæs leoht sefa,  
 ferhð gefeonde, þeah hira fea wæron),  
 175 ðæt hie for þam casere cyðan moston  
 godspelles gife, hu se gasta helm,  
 in þrynesse þrymme geweorðad,  
 acenned wearð, cyninga wuldor,  
 ond hu on galgan wearð godes agen bearn  
 180 ahangen for hergum heardum witum.  
 151 þryðbold secan] þryð bord stenan



- Alysde leoda bearn of locan deofla,  
 geomre gastas, ond him gife sealde  
 þurh þa ilcan gesceaft þe him geywed wearð  
 sylfum on gesyhðe, sigores tacen,  
 185 wið þeoda þræce. Ond hu ðy þridan dæge  
 of byrgenne beorna wuldor  
 of deaðe aras, dryhten ealra  
 hælēða cynnes, ond to heofonum astah.  
 Ðus gleawlice gastgerynum  
 190 sægdon sigerofum, swa fram Siluestre  
 lærde wæron. Æt þam se leodfruma  
 fulwihte onfeng ond þæt forð geheold  
 on his dagana tid, dryhtne to willan.  
 Ða wæs on sælum sinces brytta,  
 195 niðheard cyning. Wæs him niwe gefea  
 befolen in fyrhðe, wæs him frofra mæst  
 ond hyhta nihst heofonrices weard.  
 Ongan þa dryhtnes æ dæges ond nihtes  
 þurh gastes gife georne cyðan,  
 200 ond hine soðlice sylfne getengde  
 goldwine gumena in godes þeowdom,  
 æscrof, unslaw. Ða se æðeling fand,  
 leodgebyrga, þurh larsmiðas,  
 guðheard, garþrist, on godes bocum  
 205 hwær ahangen wæs heriges beorhtme  
 on rode treo rodora waldend  
 æfstum þurh inwit, swa se ealda feond  
 forlærde ligesearwum, leode fortyhte,  
 Iudea cyn, þæt hie god sylfne  
 210 ahengon, herga fruman. Þæs hie in hynðum sculon  
 to widan feore wergðu dreogan!  
 Ða wæs Cristes lof þam casere  
 on firhðsefan, forð gemyndig  
 ymb þæt mære treo, ond þa his modor het  
 215 feran foldwege folca þreate  
 to Iudeum, georne secan  
 wigena þreate hwær se wuldres beam,

- halig under hrusan, hyded wære,  
æðelcyninges rod. Elene ne wolde  
220 þæs siðfates sæne weorðan,  
ne ðæs wilgifan word gehyrwan,  
hiere sylfre suna, ac wæs sona gearu,  
wif on willsið, swa hire weoruda helm,  
byrnwiggendra, beboden hæfde.  
225 Ongan þa ofstlice eorla mengu  
to flote fysan. Fearoðhengestas  
ymb geofenes stæð gearwe stodon,  
sælde sæmearas, sunde getenge.  
Ða wæs orcnæwe idese siðfæt,  
230 siððan wæges helm werode gesohte.  
þær wlanc manig æt Wendelsæ  
on stæðe stodon. Stundum wræcon  
ofer mearcpaðu, mægen æfter oðrum,  
ond þa gehlodon hildesercum,  
235 bordum ond ordum, byrnwigungum,  
werum ond wifum, wæghengestas.  
Leton þa ofer fifelwæg famige scriðan  
bronte brimþisan. Bord oft onfeng  
ofer earhgeblond yða swengas;  
240 sæ swinsade. Ne hyrde ic sið ne ær  
on egstreame idese lædan,  
on merestrate, mægen fægerre.  
þær meahte gesion, se ðone sið beheold,  
brecan ofer bæðweg, brimwudu snyrgan  
245 under swellingum, sæmearh plegean,  
wadan wægflotan. Wigan wæron bliðe,  
collenferhðe, cwen siðes gefeah,  
syþþan to hyðe hringedstefnan  
ofer lagofæsten geliden hæfdon  
250 on Creca land. Ceolas leton  
æt sæfearoðe, sande bewrecene,

221 gehyrwan] ge hyr<sup>w</sup>an 222 wæs] *First written æs, the beginning word of a line, with w added in the margin* 237 Leton] *ton on an erasure*  
famige] *altered from æ (Wülker)* 242 fægerre] *fægrre* 245 swellingum]  
*spellingum, or perhaps w altered from p*

ald yðhofu, oncrum fæste  
 on brime bidan beorna geþinges,  
 hwonne heo sio guðcwen gumena þreate  
 255 ofer eastwegas eft gesohte.

Ðær wæs on eorle eðgesyne  
 brogden byrne ond bill gecost,  
 geatolic guðscrud, grimhelm manig,  
 ænlic eoforcumbul. Wæron æscwigan,  
 260 secggas ymb sigecwen, siðes gefysde.  
 Fyrdrincas frome foron on luste  
 on Creca land, caseres bodan,  
 hilderincas, hyrstum gewerede.

Þær wæs gesyne sincgim locen  
 265 on þam hereþreate, hlafordes gifu.  
 Wæs seo eadhreðige Elene gemyndig,  
 þriste on geþance, þeodnes willan  
 georn on mode þæt hio Iudeas  
 ofer herefeldas heape gecoste

270 lindwigendra land gesohte,  
 secga þreate. Swa hit siððan gelamp  
 ymb lytel fæc þæt ðæt leodmægen,  
 guðrofe hæleþ to Hierusalem  
 cwomon in þa ceastre corðra mæste,

275 eorlas æscrofe, mid þa æðelan cwen.  
 Heht ða gebeodan bursittendum  
 þam snoterestum side ond wide  
 geond Iudeas, gumena gehwylcum,  
 meðelhegende, on gemot cuman,

280 þa ðe deoplicost dryhtnes geryno  
 þurh rihte æ reccan cuðon.  
 Ða wæs gesamnod of sidwegum  
 mægen unlytel, þa ðe Moyses æ  
 reccan cuðon. Þær on rime wæs

285 þreo M þæra leoda  
 alesen to lare. Ongan þa leoflic wif  
 weras Ebrea wordum negan:

252 yðhofu] yð lifofu    254 hwonne] hwone    279 meðelhegende] meðel  
 hengende    285 M] .m.



- "Ic þæt gearolice ongiten hæbbe  
 þurg witgena wordgeryno  
 290 on godes bocum þæt ge geardagum  
 wyrðe wæron wuldorcyninge,  
 dryhtne dyre ond dæðhwæte.  
 Hwæt, ge ealle snyttro unwislice,  
 wraðe wiðweorpon, þa ge wergdon þane  
 295 þe eow of wergðe þurh his wuldres miht,  
 fram ligcwale, lysan þohte,  
 of hæftneðe. Ge mid horu speowdon  
 on þæs ondwlitan þe eow eagna leoht,  
 fram blindnesse bote gefremede  
 300 edniowunga þurh þæt æðele spald,  
 ond fram unclænum oft generede  
 deofla gastum. Ge to deaþe þone  
 deman ongunnon, se ðe of deaðe sylf  
 woruld awehte on wera corþre  
 305 in þæt ærre lif eowres cynnes.  
 Swa ge modblinde mangan ongunnon  
 lige wið soðe, leoht wið þystrum,  
 æfst wið are, inwitþancum  
 wroht webbedan. Eow seo wergðu forðan  
 310 sceðþeð scyldfullum. Ge þa sciran miht  
 deman ongunnon, ond gedweolan lifdon,  
 þeostrum geþancum, oð þysne dæg.  
 Gangað nu snude, snyttro geþencaþ,  
 weras wisfæste, wordes cræftige,  
 315 þa ðe eowre æ æðelum cræftige  
 on ferhðsefan fyrrest hæbben,  
 þa me soðlice secgan cunnon,  
 ondsware cyðan for eowic forð  
 tacna gehwylces þe ic him to sece."  
 320 Eodan þa on geruman reonigmode  
 eorlas æcleawe, egesan geþreade,  
 gehðum geomre, georne sohton

293 ealle] þære    295 wuldres] wuldre *at the end of a line*    302 to] *Not*  
*in MS.*    310 sciran] scīran    318 eowic] eow    320 geruman] gerū  
 322 georne] eorne



- þa wisestan wordgeryno,  
 þæt hio þære cwene oncweðan meahton  
 325 swa tiles swa trages, swa hio him to sohte.  
 Hio þa on þreate M manna  
 fundon ferhðgleawra, þa þe fyrngemynd  
 mid Iudeum gearwast cuðon.  
 Þrungon þa on þreate þær on þrymme bad  
 330 in cynestole caseres mæg,  
 geatolic guðcwen golde gehyrsted.  
 Elene maþelode ond for eorlum spræc:  
 "Gehyrað, higegleawe, halige rune,  
 word ond wisdom. Hwæt, ge witgena  
 335 lare onfengon, hu se liffruma  
 in cildes had cenned wurde,  
 mihta wealdend. Be þam Moyses sang,  
 ond þæt word gecwæð weard Israhela:  
 'Eow acenned bið cniht on degle,  
 340 mihtum mære, swa þæs modor ne bið  
 wæstmum geeacnod þurh weres frige.'  
 Be ðam Dauid cyning dryhtleoð agol,  
 frod fyrnweota, fæder Salomones,  
 ond þæt word gecwæþ wigona baldor:  
 345 'Ic frumþa god fore sceawode,  
 sigora dryhten. He on gesyhðe wæs,  
 mægena wealdend, min on þa swiðran,  
 þrymmes hyrde. Þanon ic ne wende  
 æfre to aldre onsion mine.'  
 350 Swa hit eft be cow Essaias,  
 witga for weorodum, wordum mælde,  
 deophycggende þurh dryhtnes gast:  
 'Ic up ahof eaforan gingne  
 ond bearn cende, þam ic blæd forgeaf,  
 355 halige higefrofre, ac hie hyrwdon me,  
 feodon þurh feondscipe, nahton foreþances,  
 wisdomes gewitt; ond þa weregan neat,  
 þe man daga gehwam drifeð ond þirsceð,  
 ongitap hira goddend, nales gnyrnwracum  
 326 M] .m. 338 word] *Not in MS.* 348 wende] weno 355 me] þe

- 360 feogað frynd hiera þe him fodder gifað,  
 ond me Israhela æfre ne woldon  
 folc oncnawan, þeah ic feala for him  
 æfter woruldstundum wundra gefremede.’  
 Hwæt, we þæt gehyrdon þurh halige bec
- 365 þæt eow dryhten geaf dom unscyndne,  
 meotod mihta sped, Moyse sægde  
 hu ge heofoncynige hyran sceoldon,  
 lare læstan. Eow þæs lungre aþreat,  
 ond ge þam ryhte wiðroten hæfdon,
- 370 onscunedon þone sciran scippend eallra,  
 dryhtna dryhten, ond gedwolan fylgdon  
 ofer riht godes. Nu ge raþe gangað  
 ond findað gen þa þe fyrngewritu  
 þurh snyttro cræft selest cunnen,
- 375 æriht eower, þæt me ondsware  
 þurh sidne sefan secgan cunnen.”  
 Eodan ða mid mengo modcwanige,  
 collenferhðe, swa him sio cwen bead.  
 Fundon þa D forþsnottera
- 380 alesen leodmæga, þa ðe leornungcræft  
 þurh modgemynd mæste hæfdon,  
 on sefan snyttro. Heo to salore eft  
 ymb lytel fæc laðode wæron,  
 ceastre weardas. Hio sio cwen ongan
- 385 wordum genegan, (wlat ofer ealle):  
 “Oft ge dyslice dæd gefremedon,  
 werge wræcmæcgas, ond gewritu herwdon,  
 fædera lare, næfre furður þonne nu,  
 ða ge blindnesse bote forsegon,
- 390 ond ge wiðsocon soðe ond rihte,  
 þæt in Bethleme bearn wealdendes,  
 cuning anboren, cenned wære,  
 æðelinga ord. Þeah ge þa æ cuðon,  
 witgena word, ge ne woldon þa,

360 gifað] gifeð 371 dryhtna] *Not in MS.* 379 Fundon] funden  
 392 wære] *Written twice, at the end and at the beginning of a line* 394  
 witgena] witgēna

395 synwyrcente, soð oncnawan.”

Hie þa anmode ondsweredon:

“Hwæt, we Ebreisce æ leornedon,

þa on fyrndagum fæderas cuðon

æt godes earce, ne we geare cunnon

400 þurh hwæt ðu ðus hearde, hlæfdige, us

eorre wurde. We ðæt æbylgð nyton

þe we gefremedon on þysse folcscere,

þeodenbealwa, wið þec æfre.”

Elene maðelade ond for eorlum spræc,

405 undearninga ides reordode

hlude for herigum: “Ge nu hraðe gangað,

sundor asecaþ þa ðe snyttro mid eow,

mægn ond modcræft, mæste hæbben,

þæt me þinga gehwylc þriste gecyðan,

410 untraglice, þe ic him to sece.”

Eodon þa fram rune, swa him sio rice cwen,

bald in burgum, beboden hæfde,

geomormode, georne smeadon,

sohton searþancum, hwæt sio syn wære

415 þe hie on þam folce gefremed hæfdon

wið þam casere, þe him sio cwen wite.

Þa þær for eorlum an reordode,

gidda gearosnotor, (ðam wæs Iudas nama,

wordes cræftig): “Ic wat geare

420 þæt hio wile secan be ðam sigebeame

on ðam þrowode þeoda waldend,

eallra gnyrna leas, godes agen bearn,

þone orscyldne eofota gehwylces

þurh hete hengen on heanne beam

425 in fyrndagum fæderas usse.

Þæt wæs þrealic gehoht! Nu is þearf mycel

þæt we fæstlice ferhð staðelien,

þæt we ðæs morðres meldan ne weorðen

hwær þæt halige trio beheled wurde

430 æfter wigþræce, þy læs toworpen sien

396 ondsweredon] 7 swef 399 geare] eare 401 æbylgð] *A letter erased*  
*after y* 422 gnyrna] gnyrnra 423 orscyldne] scyldū



- frod fyrngewritu ond þa fæderlican  
 lare forleten. Ne bið lang ofer ðæt  
 þæt Israhela æðelu moten  
 ofer middangeard ma ricsian,  
 435 æcraft eorla, gif ðis yppe bið,  
 swa þa þæt ilce gio min yldra fæder  
 sigerof sægde, (þam wæs Sachius nama),  
 frod fyrnwiota, fæder minum,  
 \* \* \*  
 caferan,  
 440 wende hine of worulde ond þæt word gecwæð:  
 'Gif þe þæt gelimpe on lifdagum  
 þæt ðu gehyre ymb þæt halige treo  
 frode frignan, ond geflitu ræran  
 be ðam sigebeame on þam soðcýning  
 445 ahangen wæs, heofonrices weard,  
 eallre sybbe bearn, þonne þu snude gecyð,  
 min swæs sunu, ær þec swylt nime.  
 Ne mæg æfre ofer þæt Ebrea þeod  
 rædþeahtende rice healdan,  
 450 duguðum wealdan, ac þara dom leofað  
 ond hira dryhtscipe,  
 in woruld weorulda willum gefylled,  
 ðe þone ahangnan cýning heriaþ ond lofiað.'  
 þa ic fromlice fæder minum,  
 455 ealdum æwitan, ageaf ondsware:  
 'Hu wolde þæt geweorðan on woruldrice  
 þæt on þone halgan handa sendan  
 to feorhlege fæderas usse  
 þurh wrað gewitt, gif hie wiston ær  
 460 þæt he Crist wære, cýning on roderum,  
 soð sunu meotudes, sawla nergend?'  
 Ða me yldra min ageaf ondsware,  
 frod on fyrhðe fæder reordode:  
 'Ongit, guma ginga, godes heahmægen,  
 465 nergendes naman. Se is niða gehwam  
 unasecgendlic, þone sylf ne mæg  
 432 forleten] forleton 453 ðe] Above the line



- on moldwege man aspyrigean.  
 Næfre ic þa geþeahhte þe þeos þeod ongan  
 secan wolde, ac ic symle mec  
 470 ascod þara scylda, nales sceame worhte  
 gaste minum. Ic him georne oft  
 þæs unrihtes ondsæc fremede,  
 þonne uðweotan æht bisæton,  
 on sefan sohton hu hie sunu meotudes  
 475 ahengon, helm wera, hlaford eallra  
 engla ond elda, æðelust bearna.  
 Ne meahton hie swa disige deað oðfæstan,  
 weras wonsælige, swa hie wendon ær,  
 sarum settan, þeah he sume hwile  
 480 on galgan his gast onsende,  
 sigebearn godes. Þa siððan wæs  
 of rode ahæfen rodera wealdend,  
 eallra þrymma þrym, þreo niht siððan  
 in byrgenne bidende wæs  
 485 under þeosterlocan, ond þa þy þridan dæg  
 ealles leohtes leht lifgende aras,  
 ðeoden engla, ond his þegnum hine,  
 soð sigora frea, seolfne geywde,  
 beorht on blæde. Þonne broðor þin  
 490 onfeng æfter fyrste fulwihtes bæð,  
 lehtne geleafan. Þa for lufan dryhtnes  
 Stephanus wæs stanum worpod;  
 ne geald he yfel yfele, ac his ealdfeondum  
 þingode þrohtherd, bæd þrymcynning  
 495 þæt he him þa weadæd to wræce ne sette,  
 þæt hie for æfstum unscyldigne,  
 synna leasne, Sawles larum  
 feore beræddon, swa he þurh feondscipe  
 to cwale monige Cristes folces  
 500 demde to deaþe. Swa þeah him dryhten eft  
 miltse gefremede, þæt he manegum wearð  
 folca to frofre, syððan him frymða god,  
 niða nergend, naman oncyrde,

- ond he syððan wæs sanctus Paulus  
 505 be naman haten, ond him nænig wæs  
 ælærendra oðer betera  
 under swegles hleo syððan æfre,  
 þara þe wif oððe wer on woruld cendan,  
 þeah he Stephanus stanum hehte  
 510 abreotan on beorge, broðor þinne.  
 Nu ðu meahst gehyran, hæleð min se leofa,  
 hu arfæst is ealles wealdend,  
 þeah we æbylgð wið hine oft gewyrren,  
 synna wunde, gif we sona eft  
 515 þara bealudæda bote gefremmaþ  
 ond þæs unrihtes eft geswicaþ.  
 Forðan ic soðlice ond min swæs fæder  
 syððan gelyfdon  
 þæt geþrowade eallra þrymma god,  
 520 lifes lattiw, laðlic wite  
 for oferþearfe ilda cynnes.  
 Forðan ic þe lære þurh leoðorune,  
 hyse leofesta, þæt ðu hospcwide,  
 æfst ne eofulsæc æfre ne fremme,  
 525 grimne geagncwide, wið godes bearne.  
 Þonne ðu geearnast þæt þe bið ece lif,  
 selust sigeleana, seald in heofonum.  
 Ðus mec fæder min on fyrndagum  
 unweaxenne wordum lærde,  
 530 septe soðcwidum, (þam wæs Symon nama),  
 guma gehðum frod. Nu ge geara cunnon  
 hwæt eow þæs on sefan selest þince  
 to gecyðanne, gif ðeos cwen usic  
 frigneð ymb ðæt treo, nu ge fyrhðsefan  
 535 ond modgeþanc minne cunnon.”  
 Him þa togenes þa gleawestan  
 on wera þreate wordum mældon:  
 “Næfre we hyrdon hæleð ænigne

524 fremme] *A letter erased after this word* 526 ece] *Two letters (fa?)  
 erased before this word* 531 gehðum] gehdū frod] *A letter erased  
 after this word*

- on þysse þeode, butan þec nu ða,  
 540 þegn oðerne þyslic cyðan  
 ymb swa dygle wyrd. Do swa þe þynce,  
 fyrngidda frod, gif ðu frugnen sie  
 on wera corðre. Wisdomes beðearf,  
 worda wærlicra ond witan snyttro,  
 545 se ðære æðelan sceal ondwyrd e agifan  
 for þyslicne þreat on meþle.”

Weoxan word cwidum, weras þeahtedon  
 on healfa gehwær, sume hyder, sume þyder,  
 þrydedon ond þohton. Þa cwom þegna heap  
 550 to þam heremeðle. Hreopon friccan,  
 caseres bodan: “Eow þeos cwen laþaþ,  
 secgas to salore, þæt ge seonoðdomas  
 rihte reccen. Is eow rædes þearf  
 on meðelstede, modes snyttro.”

- 555 Heo wæron gearwe, geomormode  
 leodgebyrgean, þa hie laðod wæron  
 þurh heard gebann; to hofe eodon,  
 cyðdon cræftes miht. Þa sio cwen ongan  
 weras Ebresce wordum negan,  
 560 fricggan fyrhðwerige ymb fyrngewritu,  
 hu on worulde ær witgan sungon,  
 gasthalige guman, be godes bearne,  
 hwær se þeoden geþrowade,  
 soð sunu meotudes, for sawla lufan.  
 565 Heo wæron stearce, stane heardran,  
 noldon þæt geryne rihte cyðan,  
 ne hire andsware ænige secgan,  
 torngeniðlan, þæs hio him to sohte,  
 ac hio worda gehwæs wiðersæc fremedon,  
 570 fæste on fyrhðe, þæt heo frignan ongan,  
 cwædon þæt hio on aldre owiht swylces  
 ne ær ne sið æfre hyrdon.

Elene maþelade ond him yrre oncwæð:

- “Ic eow to soðe secgan wille,  
 575 ond þæs in life lige ne wyrðeð,

561 witgan] witga



- gif ge þissum lease leng gefylgað  
 mid fæcne gefice, þe me fore standað,  
 þæt eow in beorge bæl fornimeð,  
 hattost heaðowelma, ond eower hra bryttað,  
 580 lacende lig, þæt eow sceal þæt leas  
 apundrad weorðan to woruldgedale.  
 Ne magon ge ða word geseðan þe ge hwile nu on unriht  
 wrigon under womma sceatum, ne magon ge þa wyrd  
 bemiðan,  
 bedyrnan þa deopan mihte." Ða wurdon hie deaðes on  
 wenan,  
 585 ades ond endelifes, ond þær þa ænne betæhton  
 giddum gearusnottorne, (þam wæs Iudas nama  
 cenned for cneomagum), þone hie þære cwene agefon,  
 sægdon hine sundorwisne: "He þe mæg soð gecyðan,  
 onwreon wyrda geryno, swa ðu hine wordum frignest,  
 590 æriht from orde oð ende forð.  
 He is for eorðan æðeles cynnes,  
 wordcræftes wis ond witgan sunu,  
 bald on meðle; him gebyrde is  
 þæt he gencwidas gleawe hæbbe,  
 595 cræft in breostum. He gecyðeð þe  
 for wera mengo wisdomes gife  
 þurh þa myclan miht, swa þin mod lufaþ."  
 Hio on sybbe forlet secan gehwylcne  
 agenne eard, ond þone ænne genam,  
 600 Iudas to gisle, ond þa georne bæd  
 þæt he be ðære rode riht getæhte  
 þe ær in legere wæs lange bedyrned,  
 ond hine seolfne sundor acigde.  
 Elene mapelode to þam anhagan,  
 605 tireadig cwen: "þe synt tu gearu,  
 swa lif swa deað, swa þe leofre bið  
 to geceosanne. Cyð ricene nu  
 hwæt ðu þæs to þinge þafian wille."  
 Iudas hire ongen þingode (ne meahte he þa gehðu  
 bebugan,  
 590 orde| ord



610 oncyrran rex geniðlan; he was on þære cwene ge-  
wealdum):

“Hu mæg þam geweorðan þe on westenne  
meðe ond metealas morland trydeð,  
hungre gehæfted, ond him hlaf ond stan  
on gesihðe bu samod geweorðað,

615 streac ond hnesce, þæt he þone stan nime  
wið hungres hleo, hlafes ne gime,  
gewende to wædle, ond þa wiste wiðsæce,  
beteran wiðhycge, þonne he bega beneah?”

Him þa seo eadige ondwyrd egeaf

620 Elene for eorlum undearnunga:

“Gif ðu in heofonrice habban wille  
eard mid englum ond on eorðan lif,  
sigorlean in swegle, saga ricene me  
hwær seo rod wunige radorcyniges,

625 halig under hrusan, þe ge hwile nu  
þurh morðres man mannum dyrndun.”

Iudas maðelade, (him wæs geomor sefa,  
hat æt heortan, ond gehwæðres wa,  
ge he heofonrices hyht swa mode

630 ond þis ondwearde anforlete,  
rice under roderum, ge he ða rode ne tæhte):  
“Hu mæg ic þæt findan þæt swa fyrn gewearð  
wintra gangum? Is nu worn sceacen,  
CC oððe ma geteled rime.

635 Ic ne mæg areccan, nu ic þæt rim ne can.  
Is nu feala siðþan forðgewitenra  
frodra ond godra þe us fore wæron,  
gleawra gumena. Ic on geogoðe wearð  
on siðdagum syððan acenned,

640 cnihtgeong hæleð. Ic ne can þæt ic nat,  
findan on fyrhðe þæt swa fyrn gewearð.”

Elene maðelade him on ondsware:

“Hu is þæt geworden on þysse werþeode

614 samod] *Not in MS.* 629 hyht] *Not in MS.* 636 feala] feale  
637 us] *Followed by an erasure of two letters* 640 ic] *The second ic added  
above the line*

- þæt ge swa monigfeald on gemynd witon,  
 645 alra tacna gehwylc swa Troiana  
 þurh gefeoht fremedon? þæt wæs fyr mycle,  
 open caldgewin, þonne þeos æðele gewyrd,  
 geara gongum. Ge þæt geara cunnon  
 edre gereccan, hwæt þær eallra wæs  
 650 on manrime morðorslechtes,  
 dareðlacendra deadra gefeallen  
 under bordhagan. Ge þa byrgenna  
 under stanhleoðum, ond þa stowe swa some,  
 ond þa wintergerim on gewritu setton.”  
 655 Iudas maðelade, gnornsorge wæg:  
 “We þæs hereweorces, hlæfdige min,  
 for nydþearfe nean myndgiah,  
 ond þa wiggþræce on gewritu setton,  
 þeoda gebæru, ond þis næfre  
 660 þurh æniges mannes muð gehyrdon  
 hæleðum cyðan, butan her nu ða.”  
 Him seo æðele cwen ageaf ondsware:  
 “Wiðsæcest ðu to swiðe soðe ond rihte  
 ymb þæt lifes treow, ond nu lytle ær  
 665 sægdest soðlice be þam sigebeame  
 leodum þinum, ond nu on lige cyrrest.”  
 Iudas hire ongen þingode, cwæð þæt he þæt on gehðu  
 gespræce  
 ond on tweon swiðost, wende him trage hnagre.  
 Him oncwæð hraðe caseres mæg:  
 670 “Hwæt, we ðæt hyrdon þurh halige bec  
 hæleðum cyðan þæt ahangen wæs  
 on Caluarie cyninges freobearn,  
 godes gastsunu. Þu scealt geagninga  
 wisdom onwreon, swa gewritu secgaþ,  
 675 æfter stedewange hwær seo stow sie  
 Caluarie, ær þec cwealm nime,  
 swilt for synnum, þæt ic hie syððan mæge  
 geclænsian Criste to willan,

646 fyr mycle] fær mycel    661 hæleðum] hælcðu    668 on] *Not in MS.*  
 671 ahangen] aha<sup>n</sup>gen    676 Caluarie] caluare

- hæledum to helpe, þæt me halig god  
 680 gefylle, frea mihtig, feores ingeþanc,  
 weoruda wuldorgeofa, willan minne,  
 gasta geocend." Hire Iudas oncwæð  
 stiðhycgende: "Ic þa stowe ne can,  
 ne þæs wanges wiht ne þa wisan cann."  
 685 Elene maðelode þurh eorne hyge:  
 "Ic þæt geswerige þurh sunu meotodes,  
 þone ahangnan god, þæt ðu hungre scealt  
 for cneomagum cwylmed weorðan,  
 butan þu forlæte þa leasunga  
 690 ond me sweetollice soð gecyðe."  
 Heht þa swa cwicne corðre lædan,  
 scufan scyldigne (scealcas ne gældon)  
 in drygne seað, þær he duguða leas  
 siomode in sorgum VII nihta fyrst  
 695 under hearmlocan hungre geþreatod,  
 clommum beclungen, ond þa cleopigan ongan  
 sarum besylced on þone seofeðan dæg,  
 meðe ond meteleaf, (mægen wæs geswiðrod):  
 "Ic eow healsie þurh heofona god  
 700 þæt ge me of ðysson earfeðum up forlæten,  
 heanne fram hungres geniðlan. Ic þæt halige treo  
 lustum cyðe, nu ic hit leng ne mæg  
 helan for hungre. Is þes hæft to ðan strang,  
 þreanyd þæs þearl ond þes þroht to ðæs heard  
 705 dogorrimum. Ic adreogan ne mæg,  
 ne leng helan be ðam lifes treo,  
 þeah ic ær mid dysige þurhdrifen wære  
 ond ðæt soð to late seolf gecneowe."  
 Þa ðæt gehyrde sio þær hæledum scead,  
 710 beornes gebæro, hio bebead hraðe  
 þæt hine man of nearwe ond of nydcleofan,  
 fram þam engan hofe, up forlete.  
 Hie ðæt ofstlice efnedon sona,  
 ond hine mid arum up gelæddon  
 715 of carcerne, swa him seo cwen bebead.

715 bebead] *be inserted between cwen and bead*



- Stopon þa to þære stowe stiðhycgende  
 on þa dune up ðe dryhten ær  
 ahangen wæs, heofonrices weard,  
 godbearn on galgan, ond hwæðre geara nyste,  
 720 hungre gehyned, hwær sio halige rod,  
 þurh feondes searu foldan getyned,  
 lange legere fæst leodum dyrne  
 wunode wælreste. Word stunde ahof  
 elnes oncyðig, ond on Ebrisc spræc:  
 725 "Dryhten hælend, þu ðe ahst doma gewæld,  
 ond þu geworhtest þurh þines wuldres miht  
 heofon ond eorðan ond holmþræce,  
 sæs sidne fæðm, samod ealle gesceaft,  
 ond þu amæte mundum þinum  
 730 ealne ymbhwyrft ond uprador,  
 ond þu sylf sitest, sigora waldend,  
 ofer þam æðelestan engelcynne,  
 þe geond lyft farað leohte bewundene,  
 mycle mægenþrymme. Ne mæg þær manna gecynd  
 735 of eorðwegum up geferan  
 in lichoman mid þa leohtan gedryht,  
 wuldres aras. Þu geworhtest þa  
 ond to þegnunge þinre gesetteest,  
 halig ond heofonlic. Þara on hade sint  
 740 in sindreama syx genemned,  
 þa ymbsealde synt mid syxum eac  
 fiðrum gefrætwad, fægere scinaþ.  
 Þara sint IIII þe on flihte a  
 þa þegnunge þrymme beweotigaþ  
 745 fore onsyne eces deman,  
 singallice singaþ in wuldre  
 hædrum stefnum heofoncinges lof,  
 woða wlitegaste, ond þas word cweðaþ  
 clænum stefnum, (þam is ceruphin nama):

716 stowe stiðhycgende] *With stowe stið on an erasure* 718 wæs] *A second was erased after this word* 720 halige] *halig* 721 feondes] *Not in MS.* 731 sigora] *sig<sup>o</sup>ra preceded by on erased* 734 mægenþrymme] *mægen þryme, added above the line* 743 sint] *sit* 749 ceruphin] *With cer on an erasure*



- 750 'Halig is se halga heahengla god,  
 weoroda wealdend! Is ðæs wuldres ful  
 heofun ond eorðe ond call heahmægen,  
 tire getacnod.' Syndon tu on þam,  
 sigorcynn on swegle, þe man seraphin
- 755 be naman hateð. He sceal neorxnawang  
 ond lifes treo legene sweorde  
 halig healdan. Heardecg cwacaþ,  
 beofaþ brogdenmæl, ond bleom wrixleð  
 grapum gryrefæst. Þæs ðu, god dryhten,
- 760 wealdest widan fyrhð, ond þu womfulle  
 scyldwyrcente sceaðan of radorum  
 awurpe wonhydige. Þa sio werge sceolu  
 under heolstorhofu hreosan scolde  
 in wita forwyrd, þær hie in wylme nu
- 765 dreogaþ deaðcwale in dracan fæðme,  
 þeostrum forþylmed. He þinum wiðsoc  
 aldordome. Þæs he in ermðum sceal,  
 ealra fula ful, fah þrowian,  
 þeowned þolian. Þær he þin ne mæg
- 770 word aweorpan, is in witum fæst,  
 ealre synne fruma, susle gebunden.  
 Gif þin willa sie, wealdend engla,  
 þæt ricsie se ðe on rode wæs,  
 ond þurh Marian in middangeard
- 775 acenned wearð in cildes had,  
 þeoden engla, (gif he þin nære  
 sunu synna leas, næfre he soðra swa feala  
 in woruldrice wundra gefremede  
 dogorgerimum; no ðu of deaðe hine
- 780 swa þrymlice, þeoda wealdend,  
 aweahte for weorodum, gif he in wuldre þin  
 þurh ða beorhtan bearn ne wære),  
 gedo nu, fæder engla, forð beacen þin.  
 Swa ðu gehyrdest þone halgan wer

757 Heardecg] *With ecg added above the line* 765 deaðcwale] ð altered  
 from t 771 susle] *sule with a second s inserted between u and l* 774  
 middangeard] *middang* 784 gehyrdest] *A letter erased after this word*

- 785 Moyses on meðle, þa ðu, mihta god,  
 geywdest þam eorle on þa æðelan tid  
 under beorhhlīðe þan Iosephes,  
 swa ic þe, weroda wyn, gif hit sie willa þin,  
 þurg þæt beorhte gesceap biddan wille  
 790 þæt me þæt goldhord, gasta scyppend,  
 geopenie, þæt yldum wæs  
 lange behyded. Forlæt nu, lifes fruma,  
 of ðam wangstede wynsumne up  
 under radores ryne rec astigan  
 795 lyftlacende. Ic gelyfe þe sel  
 ond þy fæstlicor ferð staðelige,  
 hyht untweondne, on þone ahangnan Crist,  
 þæt he sie soðlice sawla nergend,  
 ece ælmihtig, Israhela cining,  
 800 walde widan ferð wuldres on heofenum,  
 a butan ende eca gestealda.”  
 Ða of ðære stowe steam up aras  
 swylce rec under radorum. Þær aræred wearð  
 beornes breostsefa. He mid bæm handum,  
 805 eadig ond ægleaw, upweard plegade.  
 Iudas mæpelode, gleaw in geþance:  
 “Nu ic þurh soð hafu seolf gecnawen  
 on heardum hige þæt ðu hælend eart  
 middangeardes. Sie ðe, mægena god,  
 810 þrymsittendum þanc butan ende,  
 þæs ðu me swa meðum ond swa manweorcum  
 þurh þin wuldor inwriga wyrda geryno.  
 Nu ic þe, bearn godes, biddan wille,  
 weoroda willgifa, nu ic wat þæt ðu eart  
 815 gecyðed ond acenned allra cyninga þrym,  
 þæt ðu ma ne sie minra gylta,  
 þara þe ic gefremede nalles feam siðum,  
 metud, gemyndig. Læt mec, mihta god,  
 on rimtale rices þines  
 820 mid haligra hlyte wunigan

786 geywdest] ge hywdest 788 wyn] .w. 810 þrymsittendum] þrym  
 sittendum *with another m erased after þrym*

- in þære beorhtan byrig, þær is broðor min  
geweorðod in wuldre, þæs he wære wið þec,  
Stephanus, heold, þeah he stangreopum  
worpod wære. He hafað wiggas lean,  
825 blæd butan blinne. Sint in bocum his  
wundor þa he worhte on gewritum cyðed.”  
Ongan þa wilfægen æfter þam wuldres treo,  
elnes anhydig, eorðan delfan  
under turfhagan, þæt he on XX  
830 fotmælum feor funde behelede,  
under neolum niðer næsse gehydde  
in þeostorcofan. He ðær III mette  
in þam reonian hofe roda ætsomne,  
greote begraue, swa hio geardagum  
835 arleasra sceolu eorðan beþeah-ton,  
Iudea cynn. Hie wið godes bearne  
nið ahofun, swa hie no sceoldon,  
þær hie leahtra fruman larum ne hyrdon.  
þa wæs modgemynd myclum geblissod,  
840 hige onhyrded, þurh þæt halige treo,  
inbryrded breostsefa, syððan beacen geseh,  
halig under hrusan. He mid handum befeng  
wuldres wynbeam, ond mid weorode ahof  
of foldgræfe. Feðgestas  
845 eodon, æðelingas, in on þa ceastre.  
Asetton þa on gesyhðe sigebeamas III  
eorlas anhydige fore Elenan cneo,  
collenferhðe. Cwen weorces gefeah  
on ferhðsefan, ond þa frignan ongan  
850 on hwylcum þara beama bearn wealdendes,  
hæleða hyhtgifa, hangen wære:  
“Hwæt, we þæt hyrdon þurh halige bec  
tacnum cyðan, þæt twegen mid him  
geþrowedon, ond he wæs þrida sylf  
855 on rode treo. Rodor eal geswearc  
on þa sliðan tid. Saga, gif ðu cunne,

836 cynn] *Not in MS.* 841 geseh] *g̅ with seh added above the line* 847  
cneo] *c<sup>h</sup>eo* 855 treo] *Erasure of four or five letters before this word*



on hwylcre þyssa þreora þeoden engla  
geþrowode, þrymmes hyrde."

- Ne meahte hire Iudas, ne ful gere wiste,  
860 sweotole gecyþan be ðam sigebeame,  
on hwylcne se hælend ahafen wære,  
sigebearn godes, ær he asettan heht  
on þone middel þære mæran byrig  
beamas mid bearhtme, ond gebidan þær  
865 oððæt him gecyðde cyning ælmihtig  
wundor for weorodum be ðam wuldres treo.  
Gesæton sigerofo, sang ahofon,  
rædþeahtende, ymb þa roda þreo  
oð þa nigoðan tid, hæfdon neowne gefean  
870 mærdum gemeted. Þa þær menigo cwom,  
folc unlytel, ond gefærenne man  
brohton on bære beorna þreate  
on neaweste, (wæs þa nigoðe tid),  
gingne gastleasne. Þa ðær Iudas wæs  
875 on modsefan miclum geblissod.  
Heht þa asettan sawlleasne,  
life belidenes lic on eorðan,  
unlifgendes, ond up ahof  
rihtes wemend þara roda twa  
880 fyrhðgleaw on fæðme ofer þæt fæge hus,  
deophycgende. Hit wæs dead swa ær,  
lic legere fæst. Leomu colodon  
þreanedum beþeaht. Þa sio þridde wæs  
ahafen halig. Hra wæs on anbide  
885 oððæt him uppan æðelinges wæs  
rod aræred, rodorcyninges beam,  
sigebeacen soð. He sona aras  
gaste gegearwod, geador bu samod  
lic ond sawl. Þær wæs lof hafan  
890 fæger mid þy folce. Fæder weorðodon,  
ond þone soðan sunu wealdendes  
wordum heredon. Sie him wuldor ond þanc  
a butan ende eallra gesceafta!

861 hwylcne] hwylcre 877 belidenes] *Four letters erased after this word*



Ða wæs þam folce on ferhðsefan,  
 895 ingemynde, swa him a scyle,  
 wundor þa þe worhte weoroda dryhten  
 to feorhnere fira cynne,  
 lifes lattiow. Ða þær ligesynnig  
 on lyft astah lacende feond.

900 Ongan þa hleoðrian helledeofol,  
 eatol æclæca, yfela gemyndig:  
 "Hwæt is þis, la, manna, þe minne eft  
 þurh fyrngeflit folgaþ wyrdeð,  
 iceð ealdne nið, æhta strudeð?

905 Þis is singal sacu. Sawla ne moton  
 manfremmende in minum leng  
 æhtum wunigan. Nu cwom elþeodig,  
 þone ic ær on firenum fæstne talde,  
 hafað mec bereafod rihta gehwylces,

910 feohgestreona. Nis ðæt fæger sið.  
 Feala me se hælend hearma gefremede,  
 niða nearolicra, se ðe in Nazareð  
 afeded wæs. Syððan furþum weox  
 of cildhade, symle cirde to him

915 æhte mine. Ne mot ænige nu  
 rihte spowan. Is his rice brad  
 ofer middangeard. Min is geswiðrod  
 ræd under roderum. Ic þa rode ne þearf  
 hleahtre herigean. Hwæt, se hælend me

920 in þam engan ham oft getynde,  
 geomrum to sorge! Ic þurh Iudas ær  
 hyhtful gewearð, ond nu gehyned com,  
 goda geasne, þurh Iudas eft,  
 fah ond freondleas. Gen ic findan can

925 þurh wrohtstafas wiðercyr siððan  
 of ðam wearhtreafum, ic awecce wið ðe  
 oðerne cyning, se ehteð þin,  
 ond he forlæteð lare þine  
 ond manþeawum minum folgaþ,

915 Ne] e altered from a?    916 spowan] w altered from n?    924 findan  
 can] findan ne can    925 siððan] wiððan    926 awecce] æwecce

- 930 ond þec þonne sendeð in þa sweartestan  
 ond þa wyrrestan witebrogan,  
 þæt ðu, sarum forsoht, wiðsæcest fæste  
 þone ahangnan cyning, þam ðu hyrdest ær.”  
 Him ða gleawhydig Iudas oncwæð,  
 935 hæleð hildedeor, (him wæs halig gast  
 befole fæste, fyrhat lufu,  
 weallende gewitt þurh witgan snyttro),  
 ond þæt word gecwæð, wisdomes ful:  
 “Ne þearft ðu swa swiðe, synna gemyndig,  
 940 sar niwigan ond sæce ræran,  
 morðres manfrea, þæt þe se mihtiga cyning  
 in neolnesse nyðer bescufed,  
 synwyrcente, in susla grund  
 domes leasne, se ðe deadra feala  
 945 worde awehte. Wite ðu þe gearwor  
 þæt ðu unsnytttrum anforlete  
 leohta beorhtost ond lufan dryhtnes,  
 þone fægran gefean, ond on fyrbæðe  
 suslum beþrunge syððan wunodest,  
 950 ade onæled, ond þær awa scealt,  
 wiðerhygcende, wergðu dreogan,  
 yrmðu butan ende.” Elene gehyrde  
 hu se feond ond se freond geflitu rærdon,  
 tireadig ond trag, on twa halfa,  
 955 synnig ond gesælig. Sefa wæs þe glædra  
 þæs þe heo gehyrde þone hellesceaþan  
 oferswiðedne, synna bryttan,  
 ond þa wundrade ymb þæs weres snyttro,  
 hu he swa geleafful on swa lytlum fæce  
 960 ond swa uncyðig æfre wurde,  
 gleawnesse þurhgoten. Gode þancode,  
 wuldorcyninge, þæs hire se willa gelamp  
 þurh bearn godes bega gehwæðres,  
 ge æt þære gesyhðe þæs sigebeames,  
 937 witgan] wigan 941 þe] *Not in MS.* 952 ende] *A letter erased*  
*before this word* 954 halfa] *halfa* 957 oferswiðedne] *ofer swiðende*  
 958 ymb þæs] *ymbþæs*

- 965 ge ðæs geleafan þe hio swa leohte oncneow,  
wuldorfæste gife in þæs weres breostum.  
    Ða wæs gefrege in þære folcsceare,  
    geond þa werþeode wide læded,  
    mære morgenspel manigum on andan
- 970 þara þe dryhtnes æ dyrnan woldon,  
    boden æfter burgum, swa brimo fæðmeð,  
    in cæstra gehwære, þæt Cristes rod,  
    fyrn foldan begræfen, funden wære,  
    selest sigebeacna þara þe sið oððe ær
- 975 halig under heofenum ahafen wurde,  
    ond wæs Iudeum gnornsorga mæst,  
    werum wansæligum, wyrda laðost,  
    þær hie hit for worulde wendan meah-ton,  
    cristenra gefean. Ða sio cwen bebead
- 980 ofer eorlmægen aras fysan  
    ricene to rade. Sceoldon Romwarena  
    ofer heanne holm hlaford secean  
    ond þam wiggende wilspella mæst  
    seolfum gesecgan, þæt ðæt sigorbeacen
- 985 þurh meotodes est meted wære,  
    funden in foldan, þæt ær feala mæla  
    behyded wæs halgum to teonan,  
    cristenum folce. Þa ðam cininge wearð  
    þurh þa mæran word mod geblissod,
- 990 ferhð gefeonde. Næs þa fricendra  
    under goldhoman gad in burgum,  
    feorran geferede. Wæs him frofra mæst  
    geworden in worlde æt ðam willspelle,  
    hlihende hyge, þe him hereræswan
- 995 ofer eastwegas, aras brohton,  
    hu gesundne sið ofer swonrade  
    secgas mid sigecwen aseted hæfdon  
    on Creca land. Hie se casere heht  
    ofstum myclum eft gearwian
- 1000 sylfe to siðe. Secgas ne gældon
- 971 boden] bodan    972 rod] *Not in MS.*    974 sigebeacna] sige be<sup>3</sup>cna  
984 þæt ðæt] þe ðæt    996 swonrade] spon rade    997 aseted] aseten



- syððan andsware edre gehyrdon,  
 æðelinges word. Heht he Elenan hæl  
 abeodan beadurofre, gif hie brim nesen  
 ond gesundne sið settan mosten,  
 1005 hæleð hwætmode, to þære halgan byrig.  
 Heht hire þa aras eac gebeodan  
 Constantinus þæt hio cirican þær  
 on þam beorhhliðe begra rædum  
 getimbrede, tempel dryhtnes  
 1010 on Caluarie Criste to willan,  
 hæleðum to helpe, þær sio halige rod  
 gemeted wæs, mærost beama  
 þara þe gefrugnen foldbuende  
 on eorðwege. Hio geefnde swa,  
 1015 siððan winemagas westan brohton  
 ofer lagufæsten leofspell manig.  
 Ða seo cwen bebead cræftum getyde  
 sundor asecean þa selestan,  
 þa þe wrætlicost wyrcan cuðon  
 1020 stangefogum, on þam stedewange  
 girwan godes tempel, swa hire gasta weard  
 reord of roderum. Heo þa rode heht  
 goldè beweorcean ond gimcynnum,  
 mid þam æðelestum eorcnanstanum  
 1025 besettan searocræftum ond þa in seolfren fæt  
 locum belucan. Þær þæt lifes treo,  
 selest sigebeama, siððan wunode  
 æðelum anbræce. Þær bið a gearu  
 wraðu wannhalum wita gehwylces,  
 1030 sæce ond sorge. Hie sona þær  
 þurh þa halgan gesceaft helpe findaþ,  
 godcunde gife. Swylce Iudas onfeng  
 æfter fyrstmearce fulwihthes bæð,  
 ond geclænsod wearð Criste getrywe,  
 1035 lifwearde leof. His geleafa wearð  
 fæst on ferhðe, siððan frofre gast

1019 cuðon] cuðo<sup>n</sup>  
*at end of a line*

1025 besettan] Be setton  
 anbræce] anbræce

1028 æðelum] æðelu



- wic gewunode in þæs weres breostum,  
 bylde to bote. He þæt betere geceas,  
 wuldres wynne, ond þam wýrsan wiðsoc,  
 1040 deofulgildum, ond gedwolan fylde,  
 unrihte æ. Him wearð ece rex,  
 meotud milde, god, mihta wealdend.  
 Ða wæs gefulwad se ðe ær feala tida  
 leoht gearu  
 \* \* \*
- 1045 inbryrded breostsefa on þæt betere lif,  
 gewended to wuldre. Huru, wyrd gescreaf  
 þæt he swa geleaffull ond swa leof gode  
 in worldrice weorðan sceolde,  
 Criste gecweme. Þæt gecyðed wearð,  
 1050 siððan Elene heht Eusebium  
 on rædgeþeaht, Rome bisceop,  
 gefetian on fultum, forðsnoterne,  
 hæleða gerædum to þære halgan byrig,  
 þæt he gesette on sacerdhad  
 1055 in Ierusalem Iudas þam folce  
 to bisceope burgum on innan,  
 þurh gastes gife to godes temple  
 cræftum gecorene, ond hine Cyriacus  
 þurh snyttro geþeaht syððan nemde  
 1060 niwan stefne. Nama wæs gecyrred  
 beornes in burgum on þæt betere forð,  
 æ hælendes. Ða gen Elenan wæs  
 mod gemynde ymb þa mæran wyrd,  
 geneahhe for þam næglum þe ðæs nergendes  
 1065 fet þurhwodon ond his folme swa some,  
 mid þam on rode wæs rodera wealdend  
 gefæstnod, frea mihtig. Be ðam frignan ongan  
 cristenra cwen, Cyriacus bæd  
 þæt hire þa gina gastes mihtum  
 1070 ymb wundorwyrd willan gefylde,  
 onwrige wuldorgifum, ond þæt word acwæð  
 to þam bisceope, bald reordode:  
 “Ðu me, eorla hleo, þone æðclan beam,

- rode rodera cininges ryhte getæhtesð,  
 1075 on þa ahangen wæs hæðenum folmum  
 gasta geocend, godes agen bearn,  
 nerigend fira. Mec þæra nægla gen  
 on fyrhðsefan fyrwet myngap.  
 Wolde ic þæt ðu funde þa ðe in foldan gen  
 1080 deope bedolfen dierne sindon,  
 heolstre behyded. A min hige sorgað,  
 reonig reoteð, ond geresteð no  
 ærþan me gefylle fæder ælmihtig,  
 wereda wealdend, willan minne,  
 1085 niða nergend, þurh þara nægla cyme,  
 halig of hiehða. Nu ðu hrædlice  
 eallum eaðmedum, ar selestā,  
 þine bene onsend in ða beorhtan gesceaft,  
 on wuldres wyn. Bide wigena þrym  
 1090 þæt þe gecyðe, cyning ælmihtig,  
 hord under hrusan þæt gehyded gen,  
 duguðum dyrne, deogol bideð.”  
 Ða se halga ongan hyge staðolian,  
 breostum onbryrded, bisceop þæs folces.  
 1095 Glædmod eode gumena þreate  
 god hergendra, ond þa geornlice  
 Cyriacus on Caluarie  
 hleor onhylde, hygerune ne mað,  
 gastes mihtum to gode cleopode  
 1100 eallum eaðmedum, bæd him engla weard  
 geopenigean uncuðe wyrd,  
 niwan on nearwe, hwær he þara nægla swiðost  
 on þam wangstede wenan þorite.  
 Leort ða tacen forð, þær hie to sægon,  
 1105 fæder, frofre gast, ðurh fyres bleo  
 up eðigean þær þa æðelestan  
 hæleða gerædum hydde wæron  
 þurh nearusearwe, næglas on eorðan.  
 Ða cwom semninga sunnan beorhtra

1074 cininges] cining at end of page      1089 wyn] .w.  
 1097 Caluarie] caluarie

- 1110 lacende lig. Leode gesawon  
 hira willgifan wundor cyðan,  
 ða ðær of heolstre, swylce heofonsteorran  
 oððe goldgimmas, grunde getenge,  
 næglas of nearwe neoðan scinende
- 1115 leohte lixton. Leode gefægon,  
 weorud willhredig, sægdon wuldor gode  
 ealle anmode, þeah hie ær wæron  
 þurh deofles spild in gedwolan lange,  
 acyrred fram Criste. Hie cwædon þus:
- 1120 "Nu we seolfe geseoð sigores tacen,  
 soðwundor godes, þeah we wiðsocun ær  
 mid leasingum. Nu is in leoht cymen,  
 onwrigen, wyrda bigang. Wuldor þæs age  
 on heannesse heofonrices god!"
- 1125 Ða wæs geblissod se ðe to bote gehwearf  
 þurh bearn godes, bisceop þara leoda,  
 niwan stefne. He þam næglum onfeng,  
 egesan geaclod, ond þære arwyrðan  
 cwene brohte. Hæfde Ciriacus
- 1130 eall gefylled, swa him seo æðele bebead,  
 wifes willan. Þa wæs wopes hring,  
 hat heafodwylm ofer hleor goten,  
 (nalles for torne tearas feollon  
 ofer wira gespon), wuldres gefylled
- 1135 cwene willa. Heo on cneow sette  
 leohte geleafan, lac weorðode,  
 blissum hremig, þe hire brungen wæs  
 gnyrna to geoce. Gode þancode,  
 sigora dryhtne, þæs þe hio soð gecneow
- 1140 ondwardlice þæt wæs oft bodod  
 feor ær beforan fram fruman worulde,  
 folcum to frofre. Heo gefylled wæs  
 wisdomes gife, ond þa wic beheold  
 halig heofonlic gast, hreðer weardode,
- 1145 æðelne innoð, swa hie ælmihtig  
 sigebearn godes sioððan freoðode.
- 1113 goldgimmas] god gimmas      1127 þam næglum] þan næglan



- Ongan þa geornlice gastgerynum  
 on sefan secean soðfæstnesse  
 weg to wuldre. Huru, weroda god  
 1150 gefullæste, fæder on roderum,  
 cining ælmihtig, þæt seo cwen begeat  
 willan in worulde. Wæs se witedom  
 þurh fyrnwitan beforan sungen  
 eall æfter orde, swa hit eft gelamp  
 1155 ðinga gehwylces. Þeodcwen ongan  
 þurh gastes gife georne secan  
 nearwe geneahhe, to hwan hio þa næglas selost  
 ond deorlicost gedon meahte,  
 dugoðum to hroðer, hwæt þæs wære dryhtnes willa.  
 1160 Heht ða gefetigean forðsnotterne  
 ricene to rune, þone þe rædgeþeaht  
 þurh gleawe miht georne cuðe,  
 frodne on ferhðe, ond hine frignan ongan  
 hwæt him þæs on sefan selost þuhte  
 1165 to gelæstene, ond his lare geceas  
 þurh þeodscipe. He hire þriste oncwæð:  
 "Þæt is gedafenlic þæt ðu dryhtnes word  
 on hyge healde, halige rune,  
 cwen seleste, ond þæs cininges bebod  
 1170 georne begange, nu þe god sealde  
 sawle sigesped ond snyttro cræft,  
 nerigend fira. Ðu ðas næglas hat  
 þam æðelestan eorðcyninga  
 burgagendra on his bridels don,  
 1175 meare to midlum. Þæt manigum sceall  
 geond middangeard mære weorðan,  
 þonne æt sæcce mid þy oferswiðan mæge  
 feonda gehwylcne, þonne fyrðhwate  
 on twa healfe tohtan secap,  
 1180 sweordgeniðlan, þær hie ymb sige winnað,  
 wrað wið wraðum. He ah æt wigge sped,  
 sigor æt sæcce, ond sybbe gehwær,
- 1149 weroda] weorda      1166 þriste] *Not in MS.*      1169 seleste] selest  
 1180 sige] *Not in MS.*      winnað] willað



- æt gefeohte frið, se ðe foran lædeð  
 bridels on blancan, þonne beadurofe  
 1185 æt garþræce, guman gecoste,  
 berað bord ond ord. Þis bið beorna gehwam  
 wið æglæce unoferswiðed  
 wæpen æt wigge. Be ðam se witga sang,  
 snottor searuþancum, (sefa deop gewod,  
 1190 wisdomes gewitt), he þæt word gecwæð:  
 'Cup þæt gewyrðeð þæt þæs cyninges sceal  
 mearh under modegum midlum geweorðod,  
 bridelshringum. Bið þæt beacen gode  
 halig nemned, ond se hwæteadig,  
 1195 wigge weorðod, se þæt wigc byrð.'"  
 Þa þæt ofstlice eall gelæste  
 Elene for eorlum. Æðelinges heht,  
 beorna beaggifan, bridels frætwan,  
 hire selfre suna sende to lace  
 1200 ofer geofenes stream gife unscynde.  
 Heht þa tosomne þa heo seleste  
 mid Iudeum gumena wiste,  
 hæleða cynnes, to þære halgan byrig  
 cuman in þa ceastre. Þa seo cwen ongan  
 1205 læran leofra heap þæt hie lufan dryhtnes,  
 ond sybbe swa same sylfra betweonum,  
 freondræddenne, fæste gelæston  
 leahtorlease in hira lifes tid,  
 ond þæs latteowes larum hyrdon,  
 1210 cristenum þeawum, þe him Cyriacus  
 bude, boca gleaw. Wæs se bissceophad  
 fægere befæsted. Oft him feorran to  
 laman, limseoce, lefe cwomon,  
 healte, heorudreorige, hreofe ond blinde,  
 1215 heane, hygegeomre, symle hælo þær  
 æt þam bisceope, bote fundon  
 ece to aldre. Ða gen him Elene forgeaf  
 sincweorðunga, þa hio wæs siðes fus  
 eft to eðle, ond þa eallum bebead

1183 foran] fonan    1189 deop] A letter erased after this word

- 1220 on þam gumrice god hergendum,  
 werum ond wifum, þæt hie weorðeden  
 mode ond mægene þone mæran dæg,  
 heortan gehigdum, in ðam sio halige rod  
 gemeted wæs, mærost beama
- 1225 þara þe of eorðan up aweoxe,  
 geloden under leafum. Wæs þa lencten agan  
 butan VI nihtum ær sumeres cyme  
 on Maias kalend. Sie þara manna gehwam  
 behliden helle duru, heofones ontyned,
- 1230 ece geopenad engla rice,  
 dream unhwilen, ond hira dæl scired  
 mid Marian, þe on gemynd nime  
 þære deorestan dægweorðunga  
 rode under roderum, þa se ricesta
- 1235 ealles oferwealdend earne beþeahhte. Finit.  
 Þus ic frod ond fus þurh þæt fæcne hus  
 wordcræftum wæf ond wundrum læs,  
 þragum þreodude ond geþanc reodode  
 nihtes nearwe. Nysse ic gearwe
- 1240 be ðære rode riht ær me rumran geþeahht  
 þurh ða mæran miht on modes þeahht  
 wisdom onwreah. Ic wæs weorcum fah,  
 synnum asæled, sorgum gewæled,  
 bitrum gebunden, bisgum beþrunge,
- 1245 ær me lare onlag þurh leohtne had  
 gamelum to geoce, gife unscynde  
 mægencyning amæt ond on gemynd begeat,  
 torht ontynde, tidum gerymde,  
 bancofan onband, breostlocan onwand,
- 1250 leoðucraft onleac. Þæs ic lustum breac,  
 willum in worlde. Ic þæs wuldres treowes  
 oft, nales æne, hæfde ingemynd  
 ær ic þæt wundor onwrigen hæfde  
 ymb þone beorhtan beam, swa ic on bocum fand,
- 1255 wyrda gangum, on gewritum cyðan

1228 kalend] .kl. 1234 ricesta] ricesða 1237 wordcræftum] word cræft  
 1240 rode] *Not in MS.* 1241 þeahht] eaht *with þ added before e* 1244  
 bisgum] bʳesgum

- be ðam sigbeacne. A wæs secg oð ðæt  
 cnyssed cearwelnum, h drusende,  
 þeah he in medohealle maðmas þege,  
 æplede gold. ƿ gnornode  
 1260 † gefera, nearusorge dreah,  
 enge rune, þær him M fore  
 milpaðas mæt, modig þrægde  
 wirum gewlenced. † is geswiðrad,  
 gomen æfter gearum, geogoð is gecyrred,  
 1265 ald onmedla. ƿ wæs geara  
 geogoðhades glæm. Nu synt geardagas  
 æfter fyrstmeorce forð gewitene,  
 lifwynne geliden, swa † toglideð,  
 flodas gefysde. † æghwam bið  
 1270 læne under lyfte; landes frætwe  
 gewitaþ under wolcnum winde geliccost,  
 þonne he for hæleðum hlud astigeð,  
 wæðeð be wolcnum, wedende færeð  
 ond eft semninga swige gewyrðeð,  
 1275 in nedcleofan nearwe geheaðrod,  
 þream forþrycced.  
 Swa a þeos world eall gewiteð,  
 ond eac swa some þe hire on wurdon  
 atydrede, tionleg nimeð,  
 1280 ðonne dryhten sylf dom geseceð  
 engla weorude. Sceall æghwylc ðær  
 reordberendra riht gehyran  
 dæda gehwylcra þurh þæs deman muð,  
 ond worda swa same wed gesyllan,  
 1285 eallra unsnyttro ær gespreccena,  
 þristra geþonca. þonne on þreo dæleð  
 in fyres feng folc anra gehwylc,  
 þara þe gewurdon on widan feore  
 ofer sidne grund. Soðfæste bioð  
 1290 yfemest in þam ade, eadigra gedryht,  
 duguð domgeorne, swa hie adreogan magon  
 1256 secg] sæcc      1263 †] Another † erased before this one  
 1268 †] Preceded by another † erased      1277 a] Not in MS.



- ond butan earfeðum eaðe geþolian,  
 modigra mægen. Him gemetgaþ eall  
 ældes leoma, swa him eðost bið,  
 1295 sylfum geseftost. Synfulle beoð,  
 mane gemengde, in ðam midle þread,  
 hæleð higegeomre, in hatne wylm,  
 þrosme beþehte. Bið se þridda dæl,  
 awyrgede womsceaðan, in þæs wylmes grund,  
 1300 lease leodhatan, lige befæsted  
 þurh ærgewyrht, arleasra sceolu,  
 in gleda gripe. Gode no syððan  
 of ðam morðorhofe in gemynd cumað,  
 wuldorcynige, ac hie worpene beoð  
 1305 of ðam heaðuwylme in hellegrund,  
 torngeniðlan. Bið þam twam dælum  
 ungelice. Moton engla frean  
 geseon, sigora god. Hie asodene beoð,  
 asundrod fram synnum, swa smæte gold  
 1310 þæt in wylme bið womma gehwylces  
 þurh ofnes fyr eall geclænsod,  
 amered ond gemylted. Swa bið þara manna ælc  
 ascyred ond asceaden scylda gehwylcre,  
 deopra firena, þurh þæs domes fyr.  
 1315 Moton þonne siðþan sybbe brucan,  
 eces eadwelan. Him bið engla weard  
 milde ond bliðe, þæs ðe hie mana gehwylc  
 forsawon, synna weorc, ond to suna metudes  
 wordum cleopodon. Forðan hie nu on wlite scinaþ  
 1320 englum gelice, yrfes brucaþ  
 wuldorcyninges to widan feore. Amen.

1294 ældes] eðles



NOTES

## ABBREVIATIONS IN THE NOTES

An. Andreas    Ap. Fates of the Apostles    Beow. Beowulf    Brun.  
 Battle of Brunanburh    Dan. Daniel    El. Elene    Ex. Exodus    Gen.  
 Genesis    Guth. Guthlac    Jud. Judith    Jul. Juliana    Rid. Riddles  
 Soul and Body II. Soul and Body (Exeter Book)

For Grein, Kemble, Thorpe, Wülker, see Bibliography, Part II. For Baskervill, Cook, Grimm, Holthausen, Kluge, Krapp, Stephens, Zupitza, see Bibliography, Part III. For Craigie, Etmüller, Körner, Sweet, see Bibliography, Part IV.

Anglia Beibl. Beiblatt zur Anglia.

Anz.f.d.A. 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.

Bonnet. Acta Andreae et Matthiae, in Part 2, Vol. I, of Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, ed. Lipsius et Bonnet.

Bos.-Tol. Bosworth-Toller, Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.

Eng. Stud. Englische Studien.

Grein, Dicht. Dichtungen der Angelsachsen, Vol. II.

Grein, Spr. Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter.

Grein-Köhler. Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter, revised ed. by Köhler.

JEGPh. Journal of English and Germanic Philology.

Kock, JJJ. Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings.

Kock, PPP. Plain Points and Puzzles.

Leo. Quæ de se ipso Cynewulfus poeta Anglosaxonicus tradiderit.

MLN. Modern Language Notes.

Records. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, ed. Krapp.

Sievers, Angels. Gram. Angelsächsische Grammatik, 3d ed., 1898.

Tijdschrift. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde.

Trautmann, BEV. Berichtigungen, Erklärungen und Vermutungen zu Cynewulfs Werken, in Bonner Beitr. XXIII, 85-146.

Von der Warth. Metrisch-sprachliches und Textkritisches zu Cynewulfs Werken.

ZfdA. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.

ZfdPh. Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.

## NOTES ON ANDREAS

1-100

Andreas] For the title, see *Introd.*, p. xviii. 1 gefrunan] Preterite plurals in *-an* are very frequent in the Vercelli Book and have not been altered.

18 gesceode] Grimm and Kemble alter to *gesceod*, but the meter requires *gesceode*. On *gesceode* as a weak variant of the more regular *gesceod*, see Bright, *MLN.* XVII, 426. 23 ah] The spelling *ah* occurs eight times in Andreas, the spelling *ac* five times, and *ach* only in l. 1592. 31 heafod-gimmas] Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 8, proposed this emendation, the word being a masculine noun. The spelling *-ginme* was obviously an echo of *-grimme* in the first half-line. 32 agetton] See l. 1143, and Brun. 18, *garum ageled*.

36 heortan on hreðre] The edd. retain the MS. reading *heortan hreðre*, except Krapp and Craigie, who supply *on* before *hreðre*. So also Kock, *Anglia* XLIII, 298. The preposition evidently was omitted by the scribe because of its similarity to the ending of *heortan*. 38-39] Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 108, would change *meðe*, l. 40, to *muðe*, and *gedrehte* to *geræhten*, "with their mouth they sought hay and grass." But *meðe* is an adj., agreeing with *hie*, "but hay and grass afflicted them, weary for lack of food." See l. 1157. 43 gedræg] The dictionaries assume one word of two forms, *gedræg* and *gedreag*, but Kock, *Anglia* XLVI, 64, would distinguish these, deriving *gedræg*, "bustle," from *dragan*, and *gedreag* from *dreogan*.

51 abreoton] Grimm and Kemble change to *abruton*, but the form *abreoton* seems to be by attraction to the reduplicating verbs, see Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 384, 2, and Bright, *MLN.* II, 160. 54 onmod] "Resolute," as in l. 1638, and not the same as *ānmōd*, "of one mind," as in ll. 1565, 1601.

64 seowað] Grimm reads *seowað*, "sew, weave," for the MS. *seoðað*, followed by Kemble, Grein, Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 8, and Krapp. But Grimm also suggested the possibility of retaining the MS. reading in the sense "coquunt" = "weld, fashion." Kock, *Anglia* XLVI, 64, would retain *seoðað* in the sense "torment," with *elpeodige inwitwasne* as subject, translating, "foreign chains torment me." Kock does not translate *searonet*. The parallel of *Beow.* 406, *searonet seowed*, strongly supports the reading *seowað*, with *inwitwasne* and *searonet* as objects. 66 geohða] Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 8, would read *geahða*, "foolishness," "mockery," anticipating *dumban*, l. 67, instead of *geohða*, "sorrow." 85 scyldhetum] See *nīðhetum*, l. 834.

82-83] Kock, *Anglia* XLV, 105, would have no punctuation after *stapolige* and a comma after *fæste*, taking *fæste* as an adverb modifying *stapolige*. But if one insists on taking *fæste* as adverb, "to confirm firmly," it is better to take it so only with the second of the two parallel objects *mod* and *fyrhð-lufan*.

89 segl] The spelling *segl* occurs in l. 50, the spelling *sægl* in l. 1456. Perhaps the MS. form *segl* was intended to indicate this second spelling.



## 101-200

106 willan] A genitive, parallel to *tyres*, as Kock, JJJ., p. 1, points out. 109 synnige] The MS. reading *synne* might be retained, as it is by all edd. except Krapp, as an instrumental noun, but one expects a parallel to *wærlagan*, l. 108, and see ll. 565, 710, 964. Trautmann, BEV., p. 109, reads *synge*. 115 of nede most] Von der Warth, p. 12, would alter to *of nedum est*, retaining *hweorfest*, l. 117. 117 hweorfan] All edd. retain *hweorfest* except Krapp, who reads *hweorfan*, following Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 8. So also Trautmann, BEV., p. 109. 120 on riht] All edd. read *on riht*, except Grein, who reads *owriht* as adj., and so also Trautmann, BEV., p. 109. See ll. 324, 700. 127-128] Monroe, MLN. XXXI, 374, would place l. 128 before l. 127. But Grein's arrangement of the lines is satisfactory with l. 127 in parentheses, and *hrysedon* as intransitive. 134 on rimcrafte] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 8, would omit *on*. 140 hira mod] Equivalent to "they"; see l. 454, *ure mod* = "we," l. 1242, *þæt wðele mod* = "he," and other examples in El. 597, Jul. 26, 209, Guth. 711. 142 eafeðum] The late MS. spelling *eaueðum* may well have been a customary spelling of the scribe's day, but that it was accidental here is sufficiently proved by the fact that among the innumerable opportunities the scribe had of writing *u* for voiced *f*, this is the only example that occurs in the whole text of Andreas. See El. 89, note. 145 þæs] The edd. read *hwæs* for the MS. *wæs*, except Krapp, who reads *þæs*, following Bright, MLN. II, 160, and so Craigie. The first letter of *þæs* was probably miswritten by the scribe as the usual runic symbol for *w*, the opposite to what apparently happened in *seoðað*, l. 64. But Lohmann, Anglia III, 126, Zupitza, Anglia III, 369, Klaeber, Archiv CXX, 153, defend *hwæs*, and Trautmann, BEV., p. 142, approves Bright's *þæs*. 157 symble] An adverb, "ever," as in ll. 659, 1384, 1581. But Trautmann, BEV., p. 109, thinks that *symble* violates sense and meter. He supposes an omission in the MS. and would print:

Swa hie symble . . . . .  
 . . . ymb þritig þing gehedon  
 nihtgerimes.

164 oft] The edd. retain *of*, except Krapp, *oft*, following Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 9, and so also Trautmann, BEV., p. 109. 167 sio] Equivalent to "his," i.e. Andrew's. See Sievers, Beitr. XII, 192. 171 circealdum] The only occurrence of this compound. Müller (see Wülker, Bibliothek II, 9), suggested *cynebaldum*. 174 frið] For *frihð*, a variant of *ferhð*, see Gen. 107, 1142, notes, in Records I, and also An. 282, 337, 430. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 9, Simons, Cynewulfs Wortschatz, p. 39, Trautmann, BEV., p. 109, change *frið* to *ferð*, but Kock, JJJ., p. 2, would retain *frið*. Trautmann also thinks l. 174a is too short metrically and would read *þu feran scealt* or *þu scealt geferan*. 185 fore] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 9, Simons, Cynewulfs Wortschatz, p. 107, would read *ofer* for *fore*. But take *fore* as adverb, "it is now three days before." Kock, Anglia XLVI, 66, confirms this reading. þære] Von der Warth, p. 13, would omit *þære* for metrical reasons.



195 halig of heofenum] The emendation was made by Von der Warth, p. 14, and Kock, *Anglia* XLVI, 66. Trautmann, *Kynewulf*, p. 117, had previously suggested *heah* before *of*. 198 wegas ofer widland] All edd., except Krapp, read *wid land*, "ways over the wide land," but Grein, *Germania* X, 423, changes to *widland* = the earth. Whether one should read *wegas*, "ways, paths," or *wēgas*, "waves," is debatable, see Krapp, *Andreas*, l. 198, note, and Klaeber, *Archiv* CXX, 154. winas] *Cosijn*, *Beitr.* XXI, 9, would change to *weras*, but Kock, *Anglia* XLII, 111, would retain *winas* as meaning "people," not "friends." But the meaning "friends" is better, "These stranger earls are not my familiar friends."

## 201-300

216a] Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 110, suggests omitting *þa fore* to shorten the line metrically. 224 mine] For similar word-order, see l. 479b. 234 gearo, guðe fram] Wülker has a comma after *guðe* and no punctuation after *fram*. The punctuation in the text was suggested by *Cosijn*, *Beitr.* XXI, 9, and approved by Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 110. 236 faruðe] For the confusion between *faruð* and *waruð*, see Krapp, *Modern Philology* II, 405-406. 243 blac] Kock, *Anglia* XLVI, 67, would take *blac* as adj., "resplendent," and therefore would place only a comma after *heolstre*. 245 gemette] Kemble supplied *gesceawode* for the obvious omission here, and Grimm, followed by Grein, Wülker and Baskervill, supplied *geseah*. Since neither of these words is adequate metrically, the reading *gemette* by Sievers, *Beitr.* X, 517, is to be preferred. Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 110, suggests *funde* or *mette*, or *gemette*, with Sievers. 255 fægn] The MS. reading *frægn* is retained by all edd. except Krapp, who reads *fægn* with *Cosijn*, *Beitr.* XXI, 9. The juxtaposition of two verbs would be doubtful in any case, but the reading *fægn* here is placed beyond question by the corresponding passage in the Greek text, see Bonnet, p. 70, *ἐχάρη χάραν μεγάλην σφόδρα*. The Anglo-Saxon prose *Legend of St. Andrew*, Bright, *Reader*, p. 116, has: *and he wæs gefeonde mid mycle gefean and him to cwæð*. 257 macraeftige] See l. 472. These are the only two occurrences of this compound, the first element of which seems to be *ma-*, comparative of *micel*. Grimm, note, suggests, however, that *ma-* may be a substantive, synonym of *mere*, "sea." Sweet, *Student's Dictionary*, p. 111, suggests *mægen-* for *ma-*. 258 ane æglotan] The phrase may be taken as appositive to *macraeftige men*, in which case *ane* is best translated as "solitary," or as appositive to *ceolum*, with *ane* in the sense "admirable," see *Beow.* 1885, *þæt wæs an cýning*. 261 swa þæt ne wiste] "As though he (God) did not know," and see l. 501 for this sense of *swa*. Kock, *Anglia* XLVI, 68, explains the passage as meaning "without Andrew knowing," but this does not accord with l. 262. 267 snude] *Cosijn*, *Beitr.* XXI, 9, followed by Simons, *Cynewulfs Wortschatz*, p. 130, Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 110, would change to *sunde*. 298 aras] All edd. retain *aras* here, but Grein, *Germania* X, 423, suggests *ara*, and Cook, *First Book*, p. 214, reads *ara* in his text, "honors," "respects,"

as gen. pl. object of *unnan*, and with a semicolon after *gescrifene*. But this emended reading does not give a very appropriate meaning. Klæber, Archiv CXX, 154, would take *swa*, l. 297, in the sense "then" (if you pay your fare, etc.), would place a comma after *aras* but none after *yðbord*, translating, "they [*scipweardas, aras*] will grant you [to go] up to the ship." Among the various difficulties of the passage, the least seems to be to take *unnan* in the sense "grant" = appoint, "as the ship-guardians, the attendants on the vessel shall appoint to you."

## 301-400

303 *landes ne locenra beaga*] Apparently taken over bodily from Beow. 2995, *landes ond locenra beaga*, and perhaps never completely assimilated to the context in Andreas. In Beowulf the genitives are dependent on *pusendra*, in the preceding line, but there is no word in Andreas governing the genitives. Monroe, MLN. XXXI, 375, takes the genitives as dependent on an implied noun, and cites Jud. 158, 330. Sievers, Beitr. XII, 461, gives this as a regular expanded line, but Trautmann, BEV., p. 110, regards *landes ne* as not by the poet. Omitting *landes ne*, the genitive *locenra beaga* would be coördinate with *wira*, l. 302. Schröer, Eng. Stud. X, 121, would also omit *landes ne*. 308 *woldes*] For other examples of this ending, see *hæfdes*, l. 530, *feredes*, l. 1363, *forhogedes*, l. 1381. 320 *sarcwide*] Object of *sece* and parallel to *ondsware*. 323 *his*] See l. 1664 for the opposite scribal error. 328 *hefon*] Grimm, Kemble and Grein alter to *heofon*, and as this is the only occurrence of the spelling *hefon* in Andreas among many examples of *heofon*, the spelling may be due to a scribal accident. 329 *selost*] Cook, First Book, p. 216, note, suggests *sellend* for *selost*, as in Jul. 668, 705 and Panther 64. The phrase *sigora selost*, "best" or "most eminent in victories," does not occur elsewhere. 334 *stedewangas*] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 9, reads *stedewanga*, a genitive plural. The use of *gelicgaf* as a transitive is unusual. 339 *est ahwette*] Trautmann, BEV., p. 110, takes *on eowerne* [*agenne dom* as one line, and *est ahwette* as half of a following line with the other half lost. So also Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXXI, 27. 359 *helmwearde*] The edd. all retain *holmwearde*, except Krapp, who reads *helmwearde*, following Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 9. The change is not necessary for meaning, but the parallel passages in the Greek text and the AS. prose legend make it extremely probable. The passage in the prose is as follows, Bright, Reader, p. 117, l. 2: *and he gesæt beforan þam steorreþran þæs scipes, þæt wæs Drihten Hælend Crist*. See l. 396 and note. 367 *feasceafte*] All edd. except Grein, Krapp and Craigie retain *-sceafne*. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 9, and Trautmann, BEV., p. 111, also prefer *-sceafte*. The corresponding passage in the Greek text, Bonnet, p. 72, l. 14, adds a detail not contained in the poem, that the angel gave three loaves, one for each of the strangers. The plurals in l. 368 also favor *-sceafte*. In favor of *-sceafne*, it should be noted, however, that in l. 386 ff., the poem speaks only of Andrew as having eaten. Perhaps we are to infer from ll. 391-395 that his attendants were too sea-



sick to eat. 375 wædo gewætte] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 9, would emend to read *wada gewéalce*, which fits the context but requires too great an alteration of the text. Kock, Anglia XLIV, 245, would read *wædo geweddon*, "the waves raged." Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXXII, 137, prefers *wædo gewæðdon*, citing Ex. 481, or as alternative, *wæde gewætte*, "wet with the wave," referring to *strengas*, l. 374. But it is better to take *wædo* as nom. pl., in the sense "sails, cordage," with Baskervill, Bos.-Tol., under *wæd*, Simons, Cynewulfs Wortschatz, p. 148, Trautmann, BEV., p. 111, parallel therefore to *strengas*. 382 holmwege] The word may be *holmweg*, "seaway," or *holmwæg*, "sea-wave," but probably the former, see the frequent Anglo-Saxon metaphors *bæð-*, *flöd-*, *flotweg* and *brimräd*. 383 argeblond] The first element is for *ear-*, "sea," as in El. 239, *earhgeblond*, and elsewhere. So also in *aryð*, l. 532, *arwela*, l. 853. 393 geofon] The MS. reading *heofon* is retained by Thorpe, Grimm and Wülker, but if it is retained, see also ll. 1508, 1585, it can be only as a variant spelling for *geofon*. Such a variant spelling is highly improbable, and the form is best explained as a scribal inadvertence. It is to be sure somewhat remarkable that the word *geofon* in the eight times it occurs in this poem should be spelled *heofon* three times. A triple repetition of the same mischance in spelling would be very doubtful in most cases, but *heofon* occurs so much more commonly, thirty-two times in Andreas, than *geofon*, that three misspellings seem quite credible. It should be noted also that the word *geofon* occurs an unusually large number of times in Andreas, eight times as against four times in Beowulf, a poem almost twice as long, and that consequently the chances of error would be increased. Finally one may note that other words with initial *g* are not written indifferently with *h*. 396 helman] See l. 359, note. The edd. all retain *holme* here, except Krapp. Grein, note, suggested *helme*, but the word is recorded only as a weak noun *helma*. Cook, First Book, p. 221, note, suggested *helman*, repeated by Trautmann, BEV., p. 111.

## 401-500

406 gode orfeorme] The phrase occurs again in l. 1617, and several times in other poems. Whether one should interpret as "destitute of God" or "destitute of good" cannot be determined from the text; Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 9, defends *göde*, Trautmann, BEV., p. 112, defends *göde*. The prose version, Bright, Reader, p. 117, ll. 11-13, reads: *þonne beo we fremde fram eallum þam godum þe þu us gearwodest*, and thus supports *göde*. 408 bioð laðe] Trautmann, BEV., p. 112, would read *laðe bioð*. 412 hlaforde] Trautmann, BEV., p. 112, would read *hlaford* for metrical reasons. The half-line is discussed by Sievers, Altgermanische Metrik, § 85, Anm. 2. It may well be that the *e* of *hlaforde* was added inadvertently, as the *e* of *fore-* in l. 413 certainly was. 414 nearu] The form of this word as an accusative feminine is discussed by Sievers, Beitr. I, 493, and by Klæber, Archiv CXX, 155. 424 sund] All edd. retain *sand*, except Grein, Krapp. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI,

10, and Trautmann, BEV., p. 112, also prefer *sund*. The word is obviously parallel to *grund*, "abyss," "ocean," in l. 425. See El. 251. 425 *grund*] Grein, note, suggests *grand* for *grund*, preterite of *grindan*, a reading which might justify *sand* in l. 424. But the change of *sand* to *sund* is more plausible. 432 *Ælmyrcna*] The first element of this compound is an intensive, *æl-* = *eal-*, and the second is the adj. *myrce*, "dark, black," the whole apparently meaning Africa or Ethiopia. For the probable situation of Mermedonia, see Krapp, p. lxvi. 442 *bordstæðu*] "The rigging of the ship." For *stæð*, see Ælfric's glossary, Wright-Wülker, Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies, I, 288, 26, where the word is glossed *safo* (= *funis in prora*, Du Cange). *brim*] Grein, Germania X, 423, and Simons, Cynewulfs Wortschatz, p. 18, would read *brün* for *brim*. *oft*] Kemble alters to *eft*. 452 *Windas þreade*] Thorpe and Grimm read *windes*, and Grimm, note, suggests *windes þreate*, but note to l. 453, *windas þreade*, as an emendation on the supposition that the MS. reading is *windes*. 458 *to*] Grimm, Kemble and Grein omit *to*. 483 *este*] The meter requires *este* as in Gen. 1509, Beow. 945. 485 *nu þe tir*, etc.] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 10, would reconstruct to read *nu þe tircyning | þa miht forgef*. 487 *bestemdon*] A past participle. Grimm and Kemble alter to *bestemdan*, but see *brucanne*, l. 23, for *brucanne*. 489 *gifeðe*] Grein, note, suggests *geofon*, "ocean," for this word, repeated by Kock, Anglia XLIII, 298, who would read *gifene*. So also Grein-Köhler, p. 261, Trautmann, BEV., p. 113. This suits the context better, but *on gifeðe*, "by chance," "as it happened," is also permissible and requires no change. The Greek text, however, supports *gifene*, see Bonnet, p. 75, l. 17, *ἐξκαίδέκατον γὰρ ἐπλευσα τὴν θάλασσαν*. *þa*] Without *þa* the line is too short metrically. Holthausen, Anglia XIII, 357, reads *iu ond nupa*, Bright, MLN. II, 161, reads *þa iu and nu*. Kock, Anglia XLIII, 298, would read *iu ond nuna*, "of yore and recently." Trautmann, BEV., p. 113, would read *iu ond nyhst*, "vor langer zeit und unlängst," citing Christ 535 for similar metrical structure. Von der Warth, p. 17, proposes *gifene | ginnum nupa* for the MS. *gifeðe iu ond nu*. 491 *mundum freorig*] "Cold as to my hands," modifying *te*, l. 489. Trautmann, BEV., p. 113, would alter *freorig* to *drefde*, a verb. 494 *hæleða*] All edd. retain *hæleð*, which would juxtapose two appositive nouns, except Krapp, following Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 10. The reading *hæleða* improves both sense and meter. 495 *steoran ofer stæfnan*] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 10, takes *steoran* as infinitive, and suggests omitting *ofer* to make *stæfnan* object of *steoran*. But *steoran* is better taken as noun, *steora*, "steersman," as in the comment of Sievers on Cosijn's note. 496 *beateþ*] The subject is *Streamwelm*, and *brimstæðo* is a plural object. *scrid*] "Swift," from *scriðan*. Trautmann, BEV., p. 114, would change to *snūd*. 499 *yðlade*] The MS. *yðlafe* would mean "shore," and so all edd. read except Krapp, who has *yðlade*, following Grein in his Nachträge, Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 11, and Cook, First Book, p. 226. Trautmann, BEV., p. 114, would alter to *yðhofe*, making *ofer yðhofe* parallel to *ofer stæfnan*, l. 495. Trautmann also reads *seah* in l. 499a for metrical reasons, and likewise in l. 493a. 500 *on sæleodan*] Grimm and Kemble read *on sæ lædan*.



## 501-600

501 landsceare] See l. 1229 and *folcsceare*, l. 684. Thorpe misreported the MS. as reading *lansceape*, and Grimm, Kemble, Grein, Wülker, Baskervill and Cook, First Book, p. 226, all read *landscape*. 504 brondstæfne] Grein reads *brontstæfne*, but Grein, Germania X, 423, and Spr. I, 136, have *brondstæfne*, an acc. sg. masc. adjective. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 11, would read *brontstæfnne*. 515 sið nesan] See El. 1003, *gif hie brim nesen*. In l. 516 *geferan* is a verb in the same syntax. But Grein, Spr. II, 446, and Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 11, would read *siðnesan* as a noun, object of *geferan*. 523 wuldras] A genitive in *-as*, as in l. 1501. 552 wis on gewitte] See ll. 316, 470. The MS. has *wis ongewitte*, though the spacing of words is not always of significance. Grein reads *wisan gewitte*, Wülker has *wison gewitte*, and so Trautmann, BEV., p. 115. This makes *wison gewitte* parallel to *geofum*, a possible but improbable interpretation. That the Lord should be described as wise in wit and in words is not strange. 556 fruma ond ende] Kemble and Baskervill read *fruman*, as object of the verb, and Kock, JJJ., p. 2, repeats. Taking *fruma ond ende*, the Alpha and the Omega, the words are appositive to *cyninga wuldor*. 561 ahof] Trautmann, BEV., p. 115, would read *ahofon*, because *arleasan* is plural and *cynn* is collective. But the singular verb can agree formally with the singular *cynn*. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 12, would change *ða arleasan* to *ðæt arlease*, to modify *cynn*, again a mechanical grammatical emendation. 569 ah] Grein reads *and* for *ah*. 570 dæl nænigne] The edd. retain *ænigne*, except Krapp. That a negative is needed here is shown by the Greek text, Bonnet, p. 76, ll. 17-18, and also by Andrew's answer, ll. 573 ff. Kock, JJJ., p. 3, proposes to read *ne* for *he* in l. 569, or *ne he*, retaining *ænigne*. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXI, 27, would read *na* for *a*, l. 569, and retain *ænigne*. 575 gif] Grein alters to *gife*, but in Germania X, 423, and in Spr. I, 505, he returns to *gif*, as an exceptional neuter singular noun. See Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 252. 579 ða] As Trautmann, BEV., p. 116, points out, one expects *ðam*, but *ða*, nom. pl., may stand as a new grammatical start. 582 grundwæge] For *grundwege*, "ocean way." On *æ = e*, see *-ræced*, l. 70), *sægl*, l. 1456. The opposite, *e* for *æ*, appears in *meðlan*, l. 1440. 584 Swylce he eac] Trautmann, BEV., p. 116, would omit either *Swylce* or *eac*. 587 win of wætere] Trautmann, BEV., p. 116, would alter to *wæter to wine*. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 12, would take *ond* as equivalent to *ðæt*, a relative with *wæter* as antecedent, "which he commanded to change." But neither proposal is necessary: "He consecrated wine out of water and commanded [the water] to change." The Greek text, Bonnet, p. 77, l. 2, reads: *ἕδωρ εἰς οἶνον μετέβαλεν*. 592 reonigmod] Sievers, Beitr. X, 506, Krapp read *reonig-*, but the earlier edd. retain *reomig-*. Grimm has *reomig-* in his text, but discusses *reonig-*, p. 112. The word *reonigmod* occurs twice elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon poetry, but there are no examples of *reomignod*.

## 601-700

601 weges weard] "The ruler of the wave," i.e. *wēges*, not *wēges*. So also in l. 632. 630 þe] Bright, *MLN*, II, 163, would read *þeh* = *þeah*, and so Krapp in his text. But the change is not necessary, since *þe* can be taken as a dative of reference, "for thyself." gehwære] Sievers, *Beitr.* X, 485, would change to *gehwæm*, Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 12, to *gehwæs*. See also Sievers, *Angels. Gram.* § 341, Anm. 4. 633 ne] Grein and Baskervill retain the MS. reading *nu*, but the sense requires *ne*. 636 ðæt] Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 117, would change *ðæt* to *glæd*. 640 hweorfon] See *hweorfan*, l. 1050, and l. 51, note. 658-667] A rectangular blot on the right hand side of fol. 38a of the MS. obscures some words of this passage. Most of the passage is legible in the reproductions, but in a few instances the readings of Napier's collation in *ZfdA.* XXXIII, 66-73, and of Wülker are followed. For *getimbred*, l. 667, Wülker gives *getimbred*, with the first *e* illegible in the MS. Napier gives it as legibly but not clearly *atimbred* (misprint for *atimbred*?). 659 Symb] The adverb, as in l. 651. 669 Husworde] Grein, *Spr.* II, 112, suggests *us worde* for *husworde*, and Simons, *Cynewulfs Wortschatz*, p. 82, citing Trautmann, suggests *usic worde*. Kock, *JJJ.*, p. 3, would read *Wordhusce*, thus regularizing the alliteration. But *Husworde* fits the context too well to permit changing it, even for metrical regularity. 682 dæghwæmlice] Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 117, would read *dæghwæm*, citing Guth. 357, *dæghwæm dreogeð*.

## 701-800

712 wundor agræfene] An accusative plural, parallel in syntax to *anlicnesse*, l. 713. All edd. take the two words together as an adjective compound, except Krapp. Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 12, would change *wundor* to *wundrum*. Kock, *JJJ.*, p. 3, repeats Krapp's reading. 717-719] The addition of *þe*, l. 718, was suggested by Holthausen, *Beitr.* XVI, 550. With this addition, translate, "This is a representation of the most illustrious of the tribes of angels which is in that city [i.e. Heaven] among the dwellers there." Kock, *Anglia* XLVI, 68, would change *is*, l. 719, to *his*, and would take *þæs bremestan* as meaning "God's." The meaning of *in þære ceastre [h]is*, he takes to be that the images were placed in the temple of Jerusalem, the city of the Lord. Kock translates, "This is, amongst the people of His city, a representing of angelic orders of the most Glorious one." For the unusual word-order and syntax of his emendation [*h]is*, he cites Gen. 1738, *On þam wicum his*, but the passages are not parallel, since *his* in Gen. 1738 modifies *feorh* in l. 1739. In the Greek text the two images are two sphinxes, Bonnet, p. 79, ll. 11-12, which are, however, said to be like the Cherubim and Seraphim. The phrase *ἐν οὐρανῷ* (Bonnet, p. 79, l. 15) apparently corresponds to the words *in þære ceastre*, l. 719. The corresponding passage does not appear in the Anglo-Saxon prose legend. The Greek text says nothing about the Cherubim and Seraphim as the highest of the orders of



angels, and it may be that this elaboration, of a kind not frequent in Andreas, is the work of some hand other than that of the poet. 726 [þegna] Holt-hausen, Beitr. XVI, 550, alters to þegna. 733-734 scege soðcwidum, etc.] Grein supposes a loss in the MS. here and to avoid the alliteration of *s* and *sc*, he supplies þæt ic eom sunu godes as l. 733b, taking þy sceolon gelyfan as l. 734a and supplying leoda raswan as l. 734b. Trautmann, BEV., p. 117, and Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXXI, 27, also think that a full line has disappeared from the MS. after l. 733a. On the alliteration of *s* and *sc*, see Sievers, Altgermanische Metrik, § 18, 3. Von der Warth, p. 20, supplies þæt ic eom sunu meotides as completing l. 733a, taking l. 733b as the first half of a following line and adding sceolu arleasra as completing this line. The MS. shows no indication of loss. 736 ahleop] The number changes from the plural, see syndon, l. 720 and the following lines, to the singular in this passage, reflecting the Greek text, in which only one of the sphinxes comes down and speaks. 743 werede] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 12, changes to wenede, as in l. 1682, but wordum werede, l. 1053, is a stronger argument in favor of the MS. reading. 746 Ge mon cigað] The emendation was proposed by Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 12, and it is supported by the Greek text, Bonnet, p. 80, l. 8, λέγοντες τὸν θεὸν εἶναι ἄνθρωπον. Kock, Anglia XLVI, 68, suggests ge mon e[h]tigað, "you take to be a man." 770 ælfæle] "Baleful," and see Rid. xxiv, 9, calfelo attor. On æl- = eal-, an intensive, see l. 432, note. For the second element, Kern, Taalkundige Bijdragen I, 206, Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 13, and Trautmann, BEV., p. 117, would read -fe(a)lo. þær orcnawe wearð] Von der Warth, p. 20, would read þær wæs orcnawe. 774 on] Needed both metrically and syntactically, and supplied by Kemble, Sievers, Beitr. X, 517, Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 13, Trautmann, BEV., p. 117. 780 ærest] Kemble and Grein read ærist, the more usual form of the word meaning "resurrection." 782 gaste onfon] Trautmann, Kynewulf, p. 29, would supply ond before gaste, and Sievers, Beitr. X, 476, would gain a metrical syllable by using the uncontracted form of onfon. 787 scyppend wera] Trautmann, BEV., p. 117, would read scyppend weroda to gain a metrical syllable. 794 to godes geþinge] Trautmann, BEV., p. 117, would read to godes þinge as a metrical improvement. 799 hwær se, etc.] Trautmann, BEV., p. 118, suggests adding ðē before se in l. 799a and sē before þē in l. 799b.

## 801-900

801 ða ða] Trautmann, BEV., p. 118, would omit one ða or both for metrical reasons. 808 to eadwelan] Monroe, MLN. XXXI, 375, suggests placing a comma after eadwelan and supplying a verb of motion with het, with secan as parallel to the verb supplied. Kock, Anglia XLIII, 300, assumes that secan goes both with to eadwelan and with dreamas. But to in to eadwelan may merely indicate the direction or limit of action, "seek in blessedness." 810 þæs] The edd. read þær, except Krapp, although the MS. plainly has bæz. The word is a genitive object of neotan. Kock, Anglia XLVI, 69,

takes its antecedent to be *eadwelan*, but it may as well be found in *swegles*, "of heaven." 816 *araefnan*] Trautmann, BEV., p. 118, proposes *areccan*, "explain," for *araefnan*, "endure." But there is apparently here a recollection of John xvi. 12. 819 *herede*] See ll. 873, 998. The MS. has *herede*, the first letter being a small capital *h*. The MS. was misread by the earlier edd. as *berede*, and so Baskervill and Wülker in their texts. The other edd. emend to *herede*. But Napier, ZfdA. XXXIII, 68, read *herede* correctly. 826 *sawerige*] This seems to refer to the attendants of the apostle, but they were already asleep, see l. 464. Trautmann, BEV., p. 118, suggests that some words have dropped out here which referred to the apostles again. Or should one read *sawerigne*, appositive to *leafne*? Note that l. 826 is almost a repetition of l. 820. Kock, Anglia XLVI, 69, says that the words *sawerige slæp afereode* crept into the text by mistake and he proposes to read *oððæt þurh lyftgelac*, etc., thus shortening the poem by one line. Von der Warth, p. 22, had previously maintained that l. 826 had got into the text by error and should be deleted. See l. 862. 828 *engla*] There is no interruption in the MS. following *engla*, but the break in the sense indicates that something has been lost. The corresponding passage of the Greek version indicates that nothing of importance has been lost. Grein supplies a full line after *engla*, reading *in Achaia ær getacnode*. For the following line he reads *Gewiton þa þa aras eft siðigean*. Trautmann, BEV., p. 118, approves, except that he would read *getæhte* instead of *getacnode* for metrical reasons. For the line following *engla*, Kock, Anglia XLIII, 300, reads *ær ætyrede*. *Gewiton ða þa aras siðigean*, which Holthausen, Anglia XLIV, 352, rejects as an "unmöglicher Schwellvers." Baskervill adds nothing but places *ða þa* after *engla* in l. 828, but in American Journal of Philology VIII, 95-97, he revises, reading *þa þær* for the MS. *ða þa*, and he takes *engla ða þær* as a first half-line following his l. 828b, *þe him civing*, the second half-line being *aras siðigean*. 843 *wisa*] All edd. follow the MS. reading *wis*, except Krapp, but Grimm, note, suggests *wisa*. 846 *þa*] Grein replaces the MS. *þā* by *and*. Monroe, MLN. XXXI, 375, suggests that the mark over *a* in *þā* may not have been intended as the mark of abbreviation. Grimm, Kemble, Baskervill and Wülker read *þam him* for *þa he him*. Cook, First Book, p. 229, reads *þa him*. fore] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 13, supplies the article *þa* before *fore*. 853 *arwelan*] See l. 383, note. Trautmann, BEV., p. 119, suggests that the second element of this compound may be corrupted from *wēlas* = *wālas*, the plural of *wāl*, "pool, gulf." 855 *werðeode*] Grimm, Kemble and Baskervill retain the MS. reading as a verb. Thorpe suggested *wer-ðeode*, and Grein reads *werþeoda*. Bright, MLN. II, 163, proposed *weoroda*. 864 *faran*] Supplied by Grein, Cook, First Book, p. 231, Krapp and Craigie. 869 *und swegles gong*] Cook, First Book, p. 231, suggests that the scribe mis-wrote *ond* for *geond*. But the MS. has the customary abbreviation for *ond*. Simons, Cynewulfs Wortschatz, p. 131, suggests *sweges* for *swegles*. For *swegles gong*, see ll. 208, 455. The phrase does not fit the context very well, but it may have been taken bodily from stock phraseology for the sake of the rime with



sang. 874 on hyhte] *Dream on hyhte* is pleonastic, and Simons, *Cynewulfs Wortschatz*, p. 85, suggests *hyhðe*, from *heah*. But see l. 873a. Trautmann, BEV., p. 119, would read *tyhte*, "die freude war im zuge (gange)." But see ll. 239, 637. Von der Warth, p. 23, would change *hyhte* to *lyfte*. If any change is made it should be in *dream*—perhaps *duguð*? 890 gefeana] Grimm, Kemble, Grein, Wülker, Krapp and Craigie supply *gefeana*. Bright, MLN. II, 163, would supply *frecan*, and Trautmann, BEV., p. 119, prefers *fremena*. 894 gchyrdon] Kemble changes to *gekyrde*, and Kock, Anglia XLIII, 301, repeats this suggestion, taking *gingran* as equivalent to *gingrena*, a genitive plural. But the reference may be to the disciples and the song they heard, see ll. 877 ff. 900 ðeh ic on yðfare] *ðeh ic þe on yðfare*, to supply an object for *ongitan*?

## 901-1000

914 Wes ðu, etc.] Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXXI, 27, regards the alliteration in this line as defective and supposes two half-lines have disappeared between *hal* and *mid*, or as alternative, would read *eorlgedryht* for *willgedryht*. Kock, Anglia XLIV, 245, puts a metrical stress on *Wes*, as in Beow. 1224, and places the caesura after *Andreas*. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXXII, 137, objects to this awkward caesura, and Kock, Anglia XLVI, 183, defends it by citing l. 1689, but l. 1689 is scarcely a parallel to the set phrase in l. 914. 915 ferðgefeonde] See l. 1584, and El. 174, 990, where the same elements are not compounded. 938 to widan aldre] Von der Warth, p. 23, would change *aldre* here and in l. 1721 to *feore*, in order to satisfy an extraordinary confidence in his metrical theories. 942 hrinan] The edd. all read *hrinan* with the MS., except Krapp (1906). The same emendation is made by Trautmann, BEV., p. 119 (1907), and by Kock, Anglia XLIII, 301 (1919). *heafodmagan*] Thorpe and Grimm read *-magum*, Baskervill and Wülker have *-magu*, and Trautmann, BEV., p. 119, defends *-magu* as a Northumbrian form surviving in the text. But the MS. has *magū* = *magum*. The ending in *magū* is probably an echo of the ending in *heorudolgun*, l. 942a, or in anticipation of *searonettum*, for which the MS. has *searo mettū*. The reading *heafodmagan*, of Grimm, note, Kemble, Grein and Krapp gives an appropriate accusative singular form apposite to *Matheus*. 952 daled] The edd. retain the MS. reading *dælan*, except Krapp, following Grein, Germania X, 423, and Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 13, who read *dæled*. 954 faran flode blod] "Thy blood shall go in flood likest to water." The syntax is awkward and the statement extravagant. Should one read *faran on foldan blod*? See Bonnet, p. 88, *ita sanguis tuus fluent in terra sicut aqua*. 960 læt] Trautmann, BEV., p. 120, suggests *lær* for this word, citing Beow. 1722. 986 him] Grein, note, suggests *hine* for *him*, as a direct object. Retaining *him*, one must take the word as a kind of dative of interest. 996 hæleð heorodreorige] *Hæleð* is a plural and the adjective must agree with it. The edd. read *-dreorig*, except Krapp, who has *-dreorige*. 998-999] The MS. reads here *heofoncyninges góð*

*dryhten dom* with no indication of omission. Grein, in his *Nachträge* and in *Germania X*, 423, suggested making a genitive *godes* of *god*, parallel to *heofoncyninges*. Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 13, reads *heofoncyninges þrym, dryhtendom godes*, or *heofonrices god, dryhtnes ecne dom*. Craigie follows Cosijn, except that he has *Godes dryhten-dom*. Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 120, proposes *herede on hēhðo | heofon-þrymmes god, || dryhten dōm-fæstne*. Von der Warth, p. 24, reads *heofoncyninges god* for l. 998b, and *dryhtendōm ecne*, or *dryhtnes dryhtendōm* for l. 999a. Kock *JJJ.*, p. 4, reads *herede on hēhðo | heofoncyninges || dugoð, dryhtendom*, taking *dugoð* (from *god + du*) and *dryhtendom* as juxtaposed nouns in the same syntax. Cosijn's first suggestion seems the most plausible. It should be noted that the accent over *gōd* is frequent in the MS. to indicate *gōd* as distinguished from *gōð*.

## 1001-1100

1003 dreore druncne] Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 13, compares with *beore druncne*, *Beow.* 480, and see *Jul.* 486. But the context here favors *dreore*. See also ll. 21-25. *deaðwang rudon*] "They stained [with blood] the death-place." Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 120, would change to *deaðwōman budon*, "boten ein bild des todes, d.i. schliessen einen wahren totenschlaf." 1013 geseon] An intransitive, see Krapp, p. 128. 1024] The matter on the folio lost after fol. 42 recounts in further detail the meeting of Matthew and Andrew, see Bright, *Reader*, p. 120, ll. 14 ff. 1036 feowertig] There is no indication of loss in the MS. after *feowertig*, nor after *fiftig* in l. 1040. It is extremely probable that these half-lines were never filled in by the poet. Grein adds *eac feorcundra* for l. 1036b, and Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 13, adds *eac feorran cumene*. Wülker reads *seofontig* for *feowertig*, making the number of men 270, and thus agreeing with the number in some of the MSS. of the Greek text, see Bonnet, p. 94. Von der Warth, p. 25, would supply *feorrcunde men* as completing l. 1036a. Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 121, thinks that more than a half-line has fallen out after *feowertig*. Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* XXXI, 28, supplies *fira togædre* for l. 1036b. For this defective half-line Kock, *Anglia XLVI*, 71, would read *ond fif ond feower eac*, his whole number being 249. The numbers given in the prose legend, Bright, *Reader*, p. 121, are 248 men and 49 women. In the Greek version some of the MSS., see Bonnet, p. 94, give 270 men and others give 249 men, though all of the Greek MSS. give 49 women. As the number stands in the present text, *tu ond hundteontig swylce feowertig* would mean 142, and probably *ond* is to be omitted, giving 242. Kock, *Anglia XLV*, 105, suggests that the MS. *tu 7* is an error for *luwa* or *lwa*. 1037 nænigne] Either *nænige* of the MS. must be changed to *nænigne*, or *fæstne*, l. 1038, to *fæste*. Reading *nænigne*, translate, "not a single man." For this acc. sg. form, Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* XXXI, 28, would read *nænne*. Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 121, prefers to change *fastne* to *fæste*. See ll. 1081-1082. 1040 fiftig] Grein omits *þe* in l. 1040 and completes the line by reading *anes wana ealra fiftig*, and so



Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 14, except *efne* instead of *eabra*. Von der Warth, p. 26, rewrites elaborately as follows:

[e]þēodigra efne] ānes wana  
þe fiftig [on rime for feorhlege]  
forhte gefreoðode.

Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXXI, 28, reads *anes wana þe | idesa fiftig*. Kock, Anglia XLVI, 71, places *anes wana þe fiftig* in the second half-line and supplies *earmra idesa* as a first half-line. Wülker indicates an omission between *wana* and *þe*, but supplies nothing. 1074 gelah] For *geleah*, see Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 14. 1082 cwicne ne gemetton] The MS. reading *cwicne gemette* does not fit the context. Trautmann, BEV., p. 121, suggests that *gemette* may be for *gemetten*; he would also change *ænigne* to *ænige*, l. 1081, and read *cwic nē* for *cwicne*. The addition of *ne* in l. 1082 might be avoided by reading *nænigne* for *ænigne*, l. 1081. See l. 1037. Von der Warth, p. 26, would read *ænne tō lafe*, and *cwicne nē mētte*, taking *mētte* as for a plural *mētten*. Wülker reads *ænig ne tō lafe*, taking *ænig* as subject of *gemette*, but as Sievers points out, Beitr. XVI, 551, note, *gemette* or *gemetton* requires an object. 1090 deade gefeormedon] The word *deade* is supplied by Etmüller, Grein, Wülker and Krapp, for alliteration. Sievers, Beitr. X, 517, criticizes this emended line as metrically irregular, but metrical parallels can be found, see Krapp, p. 131. Holthausen, Anglia XIII, 357, reads *dryht gefeormedon*. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 14, reads *hra gefeormedon* and changes *duruþegnum* to *huru þegnum*. But *duruþegnum* is too necessary to be given up. Von der Warth, p. 27, reconstructs to read *gefeormedon | [nū fromlice || ac dēadrēowum] | duruþegnum wearð*. 1092 hildbedd styred] "A battle-bed [i.e. death-bed] prepared," *styred* from *stýran*, *stieran*, see Grein, Spr. II, 491, Grein-Köhler, p. 643. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 15, would derive the verb from *strewian*, citing Beow. 2436 as parallel. Trautmann, BEV., p. 122, suggests *hild-bealu* for *hild-bedd*, or, p. 142, *hrif-bedd*, "das bauch- oder magenbett," translating, "ward ... auf ein mal das bauchbett (das grab im magen der menschenfresser) abgewehrt"—but see ll. 1089–1090. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXXI, 28, thinks that meter requires *hilde-*, and *strēd* for *styred*. 1099 ff.] The motivation is not clear here, but the Greek version, Bonnet, pp. 94–95, relates that as the hands of the Mermedonians were lifted in the act of mutilating the bodies of the dead watchmen, at the prayer of Andrew the knives fell from their hands and their hands were turned to stone. It thus became necessary to cast lots to determine which of their number should be offered as food for the rest. In the poem the one chosen offers, *lifes to lisse*, to save his own life, his young son instead, and the offer is gratefully accepted. See Krapp, p. 132, Kock, Anglia XLIII, 301, Holthausen, Anglia XLIV, 353.

## 1101–1200

1114 hordgestreonum] Trautmann, BEV., p. 123, suggests omitting *hord-* to shorten the line metrically. 1116 reow] All the edd. retain *hrewv*, except



Grein and Krapp, see Sievers, Beitr. IX, 257. For the opposite accident in spelling, see the MS. *reðre* for *hreðre*, Soul and Body I, 162. 1130 wolde] Ettmüller suggests *noide* for *wolde*, and so Trautmann, BEV., p. 123. But the clause beginning with *þe* is explanatory of what precedes. See Pogatscher, Anglia XXIII, 272. 1139 prist ond] See l. 1264 for the words supplied. 1147 sceððan] The edd. retain *sceaðan*, except Krapp, who reads *sceððan*, with Schubert, De Anglosaxonum arte metrica, p. 33, Sievers, Beitr. X, 517, and Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 15. So also Trautmann, BEV., p. 123, and Craigie. The scribe apparently mis-wrote *sceaðan* as an appositive to *scylðhatan*. Perhaps one should emend to *scyððan*, see ll. 1047, 1561. 1160 brucanne] Sievers, Beitr. X, 482, reads *brucan* as a metrical improvement, and so also in ll. 1481, 1659, 1689. 1171 hellechinca] "Hell-limper," i.e. the devil, though etymological parallels to *hinca*, "limper," are not available in Anglo-Saxon. Trautmann, BEV., p. 123, suggests that *hinca* is an error for *hýra* (*híra*), "hireling," or for *hýra* (*híera*, *hêra*), "the obedient one," "servant." But it is easier to accept "hell-limper" than these explanations. 1180 gewyrhtum] All edd. read *gewyrhtum*, but Holthausen, Beitr. XVI, 551, Simons, Cynewulfs Wortschatz, p. 66, Trautmann, BEV., p. 143, prefer *gewyrhtan*, a singular. But see Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 16. wæpnes] Grein supplies *wæpna*, Wülker has *wæpnes*. 1181 caldorgeard] All the edd. retain the MS. *ealdorgeard*, except Kemble, who has *ealdorgeard*, and so Krapp and Craigie. Napier, Anglia IV, 411, made the same suggestion independently of Kemble, and Trautmann, BEV., p. 143, approves. The first element of *ealdorgeard* is appositive to the first element of *feorhhord*, l. 1182. 1191 ond on heolstor] The preposition *on* is supplied, with Grein, Germania X, 423, and Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 16. Kock, Anglia XLIII, 302, takes  $\gamma = ond$  in the MS. to be for *on*, therefore reads merely *on heolstor besceaf*. 1194 a] For *æ*, as in l. 1403, Ap. 10. Kemble changes to *æ*, and perhaps *a* here is only an echo of *a* in l. 1193.

## 1201-1300

1218 manslaga] If *manslaga* is the object of *þolige*, it is an unusual form, and Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 16, would read *mānslægas*. Simons, Cynewulfs Wortschatz, p. 97, would read *mānslæge*. Bos.-Tol., p. 670, suggests *mānslagan*, appositive to the plural subject of *magon* and *moton*, l. 1215. Trautmann, BEV., p. 124, reads *mān-slagan*, the first element for *monn*, "man," instead of *mān*, "evil." if the text is not altered, *mānslaga* must be taken as an acc. pl. fem., though *slæge*, *slege* is otherwise masculine in its occurrences. 1219-1227] For the punctuation, see Kock, Anglia XLIII, 302. See ll. 1212-1214. 1224 hie] Grein, Spr. I, 6, reads *hi hine andweardne*. 1229 Heton þa lædan] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 16, supplies *hine* before *þa*. 1230 ðragmælum] Grein, Germania X, 423, reads *tragemælum* for the sake of the alliteration, and so also Spr. II, 550, Trautmann, BEV., p. 143. Kock, Anglia XLIV, 97, would transpose, reading *teon ðragmælum*. But *teon* is strong enough to carry the alliteration here, see Bright, MLN. II, 163.

1232 *deormodne*] Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 16, made the emendation *-modne*, and also *-ferhþne* for *-ferþþe* in l. 1233. Von der Warth, p. 29, would retain *deormode* as referring to the Mermedonians. 1235 *enta ærgeweorc*] Baskervill has no punctuation after *lagon*, l. 1234, therefore takes *enta ærgeweorc* as object. So also Klaeber, Archiv CXX, 155. 1241 *hatan heolfre*] Grein altered the MS. *hat of heolfre* to *hatan heolfre*, see l. 1277, but in Germania X, 423, he returned to the MS. reading. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 16, reads *hat of hreþre*, and Trautmann, BEV., p. 124, proposes *hat of heolstre*, hot from its hiding-place, i.e. from the veins, the body. Trautmann makes the same change in l. 1277. 1242 *untweonde*] So Grein, Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 16, Krapp, Trautmann, BEV., p. 125, and Craigie, but Grein, Germania X, 423, returns to the MS. reading. 1246 *sigetorht*] Ettmüller, Grein, Cosijn, Beitr. XX, 16, Krapp, Trautmann, BEV., p. 125, and Craigie read *sigetorht*. 1258 *hildstapan*] "Battle-stalkers," an epic figure, see Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 16. Grimm, p. xxxv, suggested changing to *hlid-* or *hæðstapan*, and Grein, note, suggests *hlið-* or *hæðstapan*. 1276 *þurh*] Trautmann, BEV., p. 125, would alter to *of* or *from*, and see l. 1241, note. 1277 *sann*] "Cease from," and see Sievers, Beitr. XI, 352-353 on the meaning of the word. Trautmann, BEV., p. 125, translates, "verlangte," had desire of. 1278 *hring*] Trautmann, Anglia XXXIII, 276 ff., would read *brim*, and BEV., p. 87, *bring*, and so also in El. 1131. But for *bring*, "sound," see Klaeber, Archiv CXX, 155. Kock, JJJ., p. 5, takes *wopes hring* as parallel to *waðuman stream*, l. 1280, defining as "'globe of wailing,' the 'round, clear pearl from man's or woman's eye,' i.e. tear. 1279 *blat*] A noun, "moan," but Klaeber, Archiv CXX, 155, suggests that *blat* is an adjective, "pale, livid," transferred in meaning to sound, "a low or hoarse quality of sound." Trautmann, BEV., p. 127, suggests *blāc*, "shining," as descriptive of tears, for *blat*.

## 1301-1400

1305 *niflan*] Trautmann, BEV., p. 128, would alter to *nīwlan* (*neowlan*). 1309 *sceal*] Trautmann, BEV., p. 128, thinks that *sceal þōn* of the MS. is a mis-writing for *sceolde*. Grein alters *sceal* to *sceolde* to agree with the tense of the verbs in ll. 1305-1308. 1313 *gescryrde*] "Shrouded or enveloped." Grein, Spr. I, 449, proposes *gescryded* or *gescryrte*, but Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 17, defends *gescryrde*, apparently in the sense "shrouded." 1316 *Andreas*] Sievers, Beitr. XII, 478, would omit, to normalize the scansion. *þinne*] Trautmann, BEV., p. 128, suggests *þine* as instrumental for *þinne*, translating, "Was beabsichtigtest du mit deinem hierherkommen?" But take *Hwæt* in the sense "why," as in ll. 629, 1413, and *hogodest* in the sense "contemplate, strive for," see l. 622, with *hidercyme þinne* as object. 1317 *Hwæt*] Grein, note, suggests *hwær* for *hwæt*. The Greek text favors the change to *hwær*, see Bonnet, p. 104, l. 10: *ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δὴναμις σου*, etc. 1319 *gild*] The context requires *gild*, as suggested by Grein, note; see also Bugge, Beitr. XII, 95, and the Greek text, Bonnet, p. 104, l. 13.



1330 *gingran*] May go either with *hie* or *ðe*, l. 1329, see Kock, Anglia XLIII, 302. 1345 *Him þa earmsceapen*] This reading was suggested by Sievers, Beitr. X, 517, and so also Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 17, Trautmann, BEV., p. 128. See l. 1375. Kock, Anglia XLIII, 303, proposes an alternative *Edre him earmsceapen*, see ll. 401, 643. 1353 *gelæran*] Kock, Anglia XLIII, 303, places a colon after *gelæran*. A full stop seems advisable here, and *weald*, l. 1355, is best taken as an imperative, "determine," not as conjunction, see Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 17. 1376-1377] As the text stands, it supposes a rhetorical anacoluthon of the verb. After *eaðe* Grein supplies *gescildeð*. Root, Andreas, p. 58, supplies *mæg* after *eaðe*, and reads *generian* for *nerengend*, l. 1377. Kock, JJJ., p. 6, reads *neregeð* for *nerengend*. 1380 *wræc*] Ettmüller suggested *wræce*, Grein *wræce*, and Trautmann, BEV., p. 129, reads *wræce*, see l. 1383. The change is necessary only if one refuses to take *wræc*, "exile, suffering," as a neuter accusative.

## 1401-1500

1404 *leoðu*] "Limbs," see Holthausen, Beitr. XVI, 551. All edd. except Krapp retain the MS. reading *leoð*, but this is not a proper plural form. 1406 *swatige*] Trautmann, BEV., p. 129, reads *swate*, "with blood." 1425 *toslopen*, *adropen*] All edd. except Krapp misread the MS. as *toslowen* and *aðrownen*, but Wülker, Nachträge, p. 565, reads as in the MS., and Grein, note, suggested *toslopen* and *aðropen*. Sievers, Beitr. X, 517, and Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 18, read *toslopen*, *adropen*. 1434 *ofer call*] Ettmüller fills out the line by reading *ofer eallne middangeard*, Grein supplies *geond middangeard* after *eall*. 1443 *lices lælan*] Take *lælan*, "bruise, wound," as object of *þurh* and parallel to *bangebrec*. The edd. retain the MS. reading as *liclælan*, except Krapp, who reads *lices lælan*, with Sievers, Beitr. X, 517, Bright, MLN. II, 164. Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 18, reads *lices læla*, taking *læla* as a genitive plural. See Guth. 670-671. Kock, JJJ., p. 6, would take *bangebrec*, *stige* and *lælan* as parallel objects of *þurh*. But the subject *swat* calls for an object for *aget*. See l. 1449. 1461 *magorædendes*] Trautmann, BEV., p. 130, suggests *mægen-rædend(e)* for this word. 1464 *synne*] For the spelling *y* for *i*, see *scyna*, l. 766, *tyres*, l. 105. 1467 *Ne scealt ðu*] Trautmann, BEV., p. 130, would remove *ðu* and *a* as a metrical improvement. 1474 *lice gelenge*] Grein, Wülker read *lice lenge* for the MS. *lice lenge*, and Grimm, note, Grein, Spr. I, 421, and Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 18, propose *lice gelenge*. Perhaps a complete transposition of parts has taken place and one should read *laðe gelenge ne lices dæl*, see Krapp, Modern Philology II, 408. 1477 *lof lædende*] Trautmann, BEV., p. 130, suggests a form of *lið* or *lim* for *lof*, and he regards *lædende* also as doubtful. 1478-1480] Kock, JJJ., p. 6, translates:

"Well, for a while I've now put forth in words  
the tale about the holy man, the praise,  
in songs, of what he did, unhidden facts."

Kock places a period after *undyrne*, l. 1480, and takes *ofer min gemet* |



*mycel*, "beyond my power great (to tell)," as synonymous with *langsum leornung*, l. 1482, see Anglia XLVI, 72. 1485 þæt] Not "who," but the subject of *cunne* is to be supplied, "that he knows from the beginning," etc., see Pogatscher, Anglia XXIII, 266, and also Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 14. 1487 grimra guða] A genitive plural phrase, dependent on *earfeðo*, or Kock, Anglia XLVI, 73, would take *guða* as accusative parallel to *earfeðo* and *grimra* as a noun, translating, "(a man) that knows from the beginning all the woes and the attacks of cruel foes which bravely he endured." 1493 under *sælwage*] "In the hall," the MS. reading *under sælwange* meaning "under the earth." The edd. read *sælwange*, except Grein, Krapp and Craigie, and Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 18, also follows Grein. Kock, Anglia XLVI, 73, objects that pillars in the prison could not be *storme bedrifene*, but this phrase is obviously a bit of emotional, not realistic, description. See also the Greek text, Bonnet, p. 109, l. 8, and the prose in Bright, Reader, p. 125, ll. 14-15.

## 1501-1600

1503 *stapole*] Trautmann, BEV., p. 130, alters to *stapole*. 1508 *geofon*] See l. 393, note. 1516 Tobias] Neither Joshua nor Tobias is mentioned in the Greek text or in the Anglo-Saxon prose legend. Perhaps Tobias is for Caleb, see Numbers xiv. 6, xxxii. 12. 1526 *Meoduscerwen*] The second element of this word was misread as *scerpen* by some of the earlier edd., but the MS. plainly reads *scerwen*. The general meaning of the word is "terror," but the precise figure involved is still debateable, see Krapp, pp. 151-152, and Kock, Anglia XLV, 105. See Beow. 767-769. 1532 *sealtne weg*] The MS. *sealtes sweg* gives no meaning. The *c* of *sealtes* apparently was an inadvertence, see l. 196. Grimm, note, suggests *sealles*, or *scealces*, "of terror," Ettmüller, note, suggests *swealthes*, "abyssi." Grein, Baskervill, Wülker and Craigie read *sealles sweg*, "tumult of the salt (ocean)." Cosijn, Beitr. XXI, 19, reads *sealtne sweg*, "salt tumult." Krapp reads *sealtne wæg*, "salt wave," and it seems probable that in the scribe's general confusion, an unnecessary *s* was prefixed to *weg*. See ll. 748-749, and for the spelling *weg*, see ll. 198, 601, 932. See also Dan. 322. Trautmann, BEV., p. 131, approves *sealtne wæg*. 1540 *ondwist*] The MS. has *7 wist*. Ettmüller, note, reads *onwist*, and so Kock, Anglia XLIII, 302. The spelling *onwist* occurs in Ex. 18, but these are the only two appearances of the word. 1541 *oferbrægd*] Trautmann, BEV., p. 131, changes to *ymbbrægd*. 1548-1549 *mændan, golan*] The edd. retain the MS. *mænan* and *galen*, except Krapp, who reads as in the text. Grimm, note, suggested *mæned*, and Ettmüller, note, proposed *wrecan* for *wrecen* and *galan* for *galen*. Trautmann, BEV., p. 131, thinks one or two lines may have dropped out between ll. 1548 and 1549. 1562 *her*] Supplied for alliteration, following Grein. Grimm, note, supplies *hæledum*, and Ettmüller reads *swa here-cuð*. Von der Warth, p. 30, supplies *huru* before *þæt*. Trautmann, BEV., p. 132, approves Grimm's reading *hæledum* but would omit *swa*.

1571 mægen] Thorpe, note, and edd., except Baskervill, supply *mægen*.  
 1577 ymbe] All edd. read *ymb*, except Wülker and Krapp, who give the correct MS. reading *ymbæ*. 1585 geofon] See l. 393, note. 1597 wifa] Supplied with Ettmüller, Grein and Wülker.

## 1601-1700

1604] The alliteration is defective. Ettmüller supplies *us*, Grein *este* before *onsende*. Grein, note, suggests *on sende*, which would make *on* adverbial and capable of bearing a metrical accent. Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* XXXI, 28, supplies *halgan* before *ar*. Perhaps one should read *hider* for *hider*. 1606 gumcystum] Monroe, *MLN.* XXXI, 376, proposes *gumcystgum*, "that we earnestly listen to (heed) the excellent man." Otherwise *gumcystum* seems best taken as adverbial. 1617 ðæt] Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 132, reads *ðætte* to lengthen the line metrically. 1622 ræswan] The context requires a singular. 1631 wedde] An instrumental singular. *aspedde*] Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 133, would change to *ahredde*. 1635 fulwiht] Grein, *Germania X*, 423, suggests *fullum* for *fulwiht*, and Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 133, proposes *fullēst (-læst)*, "aid." 1650 gehalgode] Perhaps *hine* should be supplied before this word. 1651 nemned] Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 133, would change to *nemde*, "appointed," with no punctuation following. 1659 weorc] The edd. follow the MS. *weor*, except Wülker, *weorce*, and Krapp, *weorc*. Kluge, *Anglia IV*, 106, Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 20, Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 134, read *weorc*. The word is object of *geþoligenne*. 1663] Comparison with the Greek text and with the prose legend, Bright, *Reader*, p. 127, ll. 19-27, shows that little has been lost here. 1667] As a second half-line after *mod*, Grein supplied *nu þu on merebate*, and for the following line he reads *wilt ofer flodas fore sneowan*. Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 20, supplies only *me* before *fore*, and Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* XXXI, 28, also supplies *me* but before *sneowan*, but neither reading makes a satisfactory alliterative pattern, and it is probable that more than a single word has dropped out. For the corresponding passage in the prose, see Bright, *Reader*, p. 127, l. 24. 1700 Achaie] Bright, *MLN.* II, 164, supplies *eft* before *Achaie* (*Achaia* by error?) to gain a metrical syllable.

## 1701-1722

1704 syððan] The form *syððan* occurs frequently in this text but *syð* only in the MS. reading of this passage. 1713 wunn] For *wynn*, and see Ap. 42, *wurd* for *wyrd*. 1714 seolhpæðu] The edd. except Krapp read *seolhwaðu*, but the MS. has plainly *seolh paðu*. Grein, note, suggests *paðu*, and Sievers, *Beitr.* I, 492, reads *seolhpæðu*. Cosijn, *Beitr.* XXI, 21, proposes *seolhwaðu*. 1719 breme] Kock, *Anglia XLVI*, 73, would take *breme* as an adjective and would therefore place a comma after it.



## NOTES ON FATES OF THE APOSTLES

1-100

Fates of the Apostles] For the title, see *Introd.*, p. xviii. 1 *þysne sang*] Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* XXI, 175, reads *sang þysne*. 4 *waron*] Grein, note, suggests *foron*. 30 *Efessia*] For the spelling with doubled *s*, see *Asseum*, l. 38, and *Essaias*, *El.* 350. Brown, *Eng. Stud.* XL, 7 ff., attributes these spellings to the influence of Irish-Latin texts. 32 *swegle*] Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* XXXI, 28, reads *swegles*, but *swegle* may be an adj., see *Beow.* 2749, *swegle searogimmas*. 36 *ealdre*] Kock, *Anglia XLIII*, 303, reads *ealdor* as an object parallel to *feorh*, l. 37. Note a similar spelling *aldre*, l. 43, which Kock, *JJJ.*, p. 7, would change to *aldor*. The word is accusative in both passages, but a double accident in spelling is scarcely probable. 43 *gelædde*] Grein, *Germania X*, 423, proposes *geneðde* for *gelædde*. See *An.* 1351. 47 *he ða*] Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 136, would omit one or both of these words for metrical reasons. *hyran*] A more appropriate word would be *herian*, "praise," parallel to *weorðian*, l. 48, as suggested by Klaeber, *Modern Philology II*, 146. 57 *þ ond him*] The MS. has the abbreviation for *ond*, which Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 136, thinks was miswritten for *þ = þe*. He would therefore read *þe him*, "to whom." But *þ* for anything but *þæt* is of extremely rare occurrence, see *Records I*, p. xxii. 62 *sawle*] A nominative, as in *Christ 1326*, *Soul and Body I*, 10. 84 *ealle*] Kock, *Anglia XLVI*, 74, retains the MS. *ealne* by taking *æhtwelan* as a singular and changing *idle* to *idelne*. 88 *þonne*] Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 136, would change to *þone*, "him, that one." 91 *Hu*] Kemble and Grein change to *nu*, and so Sievers, *Anglia XIII*, 22. 92 *sceal*] Wülker omits in order to retain the MS. reading *gesece*, l. 93. 94 *lætan*] Thorpe, Kemble, Grein and Wülker read *læt* with the MS., Sievers, *Anglia XIII*, 22, reads *læte*. The reading *gesecean* in l. 93 carries with it the reading *lætan* here, though less plausibly one might read *læte* as resuming the first person of *sceal*. 96 *foreþances*] The MS. has *for þances*, a form that does not occur elsewhere, but for *foreþanc*, see *El.* 356, *Jul.* 227, *Beow.* 1060. 96-122] This passage in the MS. has been much obscured by a large blot or stain. The readings given in the text, when they are not decipherable in the reproductions, are those of Napier, *ZfdA.* XXXIII, 70-72, unless otherwise specified. See also Wülker, *Bibliothek II*, 566-567, and *Codex Vercellensis*, p. viii. A copy is given below of all that Napier found visible in the MS. Italics indicate letters somewhat faded but still legible; italicized letters in parentheses are very much faded or only partly legible; therefore somewhat uncertain. Letters entirely illegible are represented by colons, the colons standing for the greatest number of letters that could have stood in the passages if the passages had been occupied by single words. If the passages were occupied by several words with the usual spacing between them, the number of letters would be less. Napier's transcript is as follows:



Her mag findan for þances gleaw. seðe hine lysteð leoð gid  
 dunga. Hwa þas fitte *iege* .ƿ. þær on ende standþ  
 eorlas þas oneorðan *b(r):cap*. Nemoton hie awa æt  
 somne woruld *wunigende* .(P). sccal gedreosan .Π.  
 on eðle after to (*h*) ::::: (*l*):ene lices frætewa efne  
 swa .f. to glideð.: (*swa*). (h) (h?). cræftes neotað. nihtes  
 nearowe on him.:::::minges þeo dóm. Nv ðu  
 cunnon miht.(*h*):::::(*r*)dum was werū on cyðig Sie  
 þæs ge myndig:::::(*lu*)fige þisses gal dres begang  
 þæt he geoce:::::re fricle ic sccall feor heo  
 nan án elles (*f*):::::rdes neosan . sið asettan. Nat  
 ic sylfa hwær .o: (*i*)sse worulde wíc sindon un cuð  
 eard 7 eðel . Swa (*b*):ð ælcū menn. nemþe he god cundes  
 gastes bruce . (A)h(*u*)tu we þe geornor togode cleopigan  
 sendan usse bene . on þa beorhtan gesceaft. þæt we  
 þæs botles brucan motan hames in hehðo þær is hihta  
 mæst þær cyning engla . clænum glideð. lean un hwilen  
 nu ahis lof standeð mycel 7 mære 7 his miht  
 seomaþ ece 7 ed giong . ofer ealle gesceaft. firit.

The chief commentators on this passage are Sievers, *Anglia* XIII, 1–25; Cosijn, *Cynewulfs Runenverzen*, pp. 54–64; Gollancz, *Cynewulf's Christ*, pp. 173–184; and Trautmann, *Kynewulf*, pp. 50–54. In the remainder of these notes on the Fates of the Apostles, these articles will be referred to only by the names of their authors. 98 ƿ] The rune for the letter F and also for its name, *feoh*, “money, wealth.” Translate: “F stands there at the end, earls enjoy it [wealth] on earth.” standeþ] The MS. has *standaþ*, but with the rune as subject, the verb must be singular. Napier ends l. 98 with *ende*, his l. 99 extending from *standeþ* to *brucað*. This is followed by a line from *Ne to ælsomme*, which is made a full line by the addition of *eardian* between *awa* and *ælsomme*. The arrangement in the text is by Sievers, p. 1. 99 brucaþ] One letter of this word is illegible and one only faintly visible, but there can be little doubt that the word is *brucaþ*, as Napier reads. 100 P] Napier and later commentators agree in supplying this rune, which is only faintly visible in the MS. It stands for the letter W, and for the word *wyn*, “joy,” according to Sievers, p. 3, Cosijn, p. 59, and Gollancz, p. 178, or *wela*, “riches,” according to Trautmann, p. 52.

## 101–122

101 N] Interpreted by Cosijn and Gollancz as standing for the letter U and for the word *ur*, “our,” referring to *wyn* in the preceding line. Sievers, p. 7, takes the word as a noun *ur* = *feoh*, but no example of *ur*, “wealth,” is known. Trautmann, p. 52, interprets the word as *unne*, a noun meaning “what is granted, grant,” extending this to the sense “possessions, property.” But this is also a doubtful and unrecorded meaning. tohreesan] Only the first three letters in the MS. are decipherable, followed by a blotted

space sufficient for seven more letters, or if space between this and a following word is allowed, for six more letters. Napier completes as *tohreoasāþ*, Sievers, p. 7, and Trautmann, p. 50, as *tohreoasan*. Sievers remarks that the rime with *gedreoasan*, l. 100, favors the reading *tohreoasan*, but since rime is not characteristic of this passage, the argument could be turned the other way. 102 ᚠ] The rune for the letter L, and for its name, *lagu*, "water, sea." 103 þonne h ond ᚱ] For the first word of this half-line, Napier read very dubiously *sua*, but Sievers, p. 9, thinks that the word was more probably *þon* = *þonne*, as in Christ 797 and Jul. 705. Gollancz, p. 176, and Trautmann, p. 50, also read *þonne*. After this first word Napier believed that he could distinguish the rune h, and after this, faintly visible remains of another rune. All commentators agree in restoring h and ᚱ, standing for the letters C and Y. But it is uncertain what words these letters stand for. Sievers, p. 10, thinks the runes here may stand only for letters and not for words. Gollancz, p. 178, interprets the runes as standing for *cēne* and *ȳfel*, "the bold warrior and the afflicted wretch." Trautmann, p. 53, takes the runes as standing for *cearu*, "sorge," and *ȳst*, "leidenschaft," but, BEV., p. 137, takes the second rune as standing for *ȳfel*, "krankheit." Kock, PPP., p. 25, would take the first rune as meaning *cēn*, "torch," and the second as meaning *ȳr*, something belonging to military equipment, not further defined. He would also take the rune in l. 104b as standing for *nyd*. "servitude." Retaining the MS. reading *neotað* in l. 103b, he translates:

"Then torch and ȳr exert their craft  
at night with anxious care:  
incumbent is on them the king's  
restraint and servitude!"

The most plausible suggestion is that which takes the runes as standing for *cene* and *ȳfel*, "the resolute and the wretched," but this is by no means certain. *neosað*] The MS. reads plainly *neotað* and Trautmann, p. 53, retains *neotað*, with doubtful justification, extending the meaning of *neotan*, "enjoy," to the sense "devour," "verzehren." Sievers, pp. 8-9, Gollancz, p. 176, alter to *neosað*, "seek for," and if the runes indicate a subject "the resolute and the wretched," the change is necessary. But it is perhaps a little perilous to make any change in consideration of the uncertainty of the first half-line. 104 on him † ligeð] After *him*, the MS. is illegible for a space sufficient for ten letters. The commentators agree in the insertion of the rune †, "N," which is needed for alliteration. Sievers, p. 8, proposed *ligeð* as the word following the rune, the rune word being the subject and appositive to *þeodom*, l. 105. Trautmann, p. 54, reads *legeð*, with the rune word, *nyd*, "distress," as subject and *þeodom*, "service," as object, translating, "auf sie [die menschen] legt die not den dienst des herren, d.i. die not führt die menschen zu gott." Napier, p. 72, suggests that possibly two runes are to be supplied in l. 104b, † = N, and M = E, but there seems scarcely space for two runes. For the two forms of the name, *Cynwulf* and *Cynnewulf*, see Sievers, p. 11. 105 cyninges] The final six letters of this word are legible and there can be little doubt that the



whole word was *cyninges*. cunnon] Napier, Sievers, and Trautmann, p. 51, change to *cunnan*. 106 hwa on þam wordum] So restored by Napier, and so also Sievers and Trautmann, except that Sievers reads þam for þam. 107 mann se ðe lufige] Obscure in the MS. but thus restored by Napier. 108-109 me ond frof-] Restored by Napier. 112 of þisse] So restored by Napier. Wülker reads on þisse. 115 Ah utu] So restored by Napier, who suggests *utun*. But see Sievers, Angels. Gram. § 360, 2 for the contracted form, and see Christ and Satan 216, note. 119 gildeð] The MS. has *glideð*, but the sense requires *gildeð*, and so all commentators.

## NOTES ON SOUL AND BODY I

## 1-100

Soul and Body I] For the title, see Introd., p. xxxviii. 5 lang] "For a long time," i.e. through eternity, not "long afterward," see Klæber, Archiv CXIII, 148. 10 sawle] See Ap. 62 for this form as a nominative. 11 hie] Soul and Body II has *heo*, and Grein changes *hie* to *heo*, but see Sievers, Angels. Gram. § 334, 1, on *hie* as a nom. sg. fem. 17 druh ðu] Grein suggests *hwæt druge þu?*, taking *druge* as a verb from *drēogan*. Though not otherwise recorded, it is best to take *druh* as a noun, "Lo! thou gory dust!", Bos.-Tol., p. 215, and so Grein, Dicht., p. 145, "Du kümmerlicher Staub!" 23 lustgryrum] Grein changes to *lustgrynum*, "snares of desire," and translates, Dicht., p. 145, "du willig folgst allen Lockungen der Lüste." But this is no improvement over *lustgryrum* "desire-horrors," i.e. horrible desires. A more natural compound would be *gryrelust*. 24 ful geodest] Grein places *eallum*, l. 23b, in l. 24, and reads *ful-eodest* for the MS. *ful geodest*. hu] Grein alters to *nu*, but Germania X, 421, returns to the MS. 27 þe la engel] Grein reads *þurh engel*, for *la engel*, following the reading of Soul and Body II. So also Wülker. As the text stands, *engel* is appositive to *meotod*, l. 29, which implies an unusual use of *engel*. But see Clubb, Christ and Satan, p. 124, Cook, Christ, p. 91, for *engel* meaning Christ. 40 þunedest] The MS. has *þune* at the end of a line, followed by *dest* at the beginning of the following line. Ettmüller, Grein read *þu neðdest*, but Grein, Germania X, 421, has *þunedest*, following Kemble. ic] Supplied by Grein and Wülker from Soul and Body II. 44 wære] Holthausen, Eng. Stud. XXXVII, 198, would place *wære* after *flæsc* as a metrical improvement. 45 gestryned] Grein reads *gestyred*, from Soul and Body II. 47 wið] Ettmüller alters the MS. *mid* to *wið*, and so Grein, Wülker. heardum helle wítum] Holthausen, Eng. Stud. XXXVII, 198, reads *heardra hellewita*, following Soul and Body II, and to govern this genitive, he reads *nearwe* for *ne*, l. 48, a noun, "hardship," from *nearo*. Corresponding to *ne generatedest*, Soul and Body II has *ne gearwode*. In Anglia Beibl. XXXI, 28, Holthausen suggests that *næfre*, l. 47, be transferred to the beginning of l. 48a to lengthen the line metrically. 49 minra gesynta] Soul and



Body II has *minra gescenta*. Grein in his text reads *minra gescenda*, but Spr. I, 446, has *gescenta*, gen. pl. of a noun, *gescentu*, otherwise not recorded, meaning "shame, overthrow." But *gesynta* may stand as a gen. pl. of *gesynto*, "health, welfare," a plural with a singular meaning, as often with this word, "Shalt thou on the great day of my prosperity suffer in shame," etc. The alliteration with *sceame* favors *gescenta* of Soul and Body II as the poet's original reading, but the variation must be allowed to stand. 50 eall] Grein omits *eall*. 57 magon] The context requires the plural, as it is in Soul and Body II. Grein and Wülker read *magon*. þa] Also from Soul and Body II, to agree with the plural subject, and so in Grein, Wülker. 59 boldwela] The alliteration requires *bold-*, and so Kemble, Ettmüller, Grein, Wülker. No corresponding line to l. 59 appears in Soul and Body II. 62 synum] Soul and Body II has *seonwum*, both forms of *seonu*, "sinew." 63 unwillum] Grein reads *unwillan*. 74 æhta] Soul and Body II reads *geahpe*, and see l. 9. This provides the proper alliteration, and Grein reads *geahðe awiht*. The scribe of Soul and Body I probably made a mistake, but his reading satisfies meaning if not meter. 79 þær] Both Soul and Body I and II have *þær*, "if," see Grein-Köhler, p. 693. 82 wildra] The form *wildra*, which is the reading of Soul and Body II, is required metrically. Grein reads *wildra deora*, but Wülker has *wilddeora*. 83 þær swa god wolde] The repetition of this half-line in l. 85, and the lack of alliteration in l. 83, indicate a disturbance in the text here. Soul and Body II, for the lines corresponding to ll. 83-84, reads:

þæt grimmete, þær swa god wolde,  
ge þeah þu wære wyrmcynna þæt wyrreste.

The text of Soul and Body II is thus one line shorter than the text of Soul and Body I. Grein replaces the reading of Soul and Body I by that of Soul and Body II, but Wülker retains the MS. reading. 84 wyrma] The genitive form is necessary to gain a metrical syllable. Soul and Body II also reads *wyrmcynna*, and this was probably the original form of the word, inadequately adapted by the scribe of Soul and Body I to his reconstruction of the passage. 88 unc bæm] Grein reads *unc bu* from Soul and Body II. 95 wunde wiðerlean] See l. 90 for the sense of *wunde*. Both Soul and Body I and II have *wunde* in l. 95. Grein changes to *wunda*, a gen. pl. dependent on *wiðerlean*, taken as a noun. Thorpe, *Codex Exoniensis*, suggests *wiðerleanian* with *wunde* as object. Ettmüller reads *wunda* and suggests that a verb *setlan* or *gifan* is to be supplied as governing *wiðerlean*. Wülker takes *wiðerlean* as a verb, "condemn, pass sentence on," with *wunde* as object. See Grein-Köhler, p. 409, for the verb *lēan*, *belēan*. Wülker's interpretation is the most satisfactory, though it still leaves a metrically awkward half-line. 97 nan na] Grein reads *nænig* for *nan na*, following the reading of Soul and Body II. 98 þæt ðu, etc.] The corresponding line in Soul and Body II reads *þæt þu ne scyle for æghwylc anra onsundran*, and Grein replaces the reading of Soul and Body I by this line. It is undoubtedly a better line, and the lack of alliteration in Soul and Body I, 98, shows that the scribe

has confused his text. An alliterative word in l. 98b might easily be supplied by changing *gehwyrcum* to *æghwylcum*, but perhaps a modern reader need not be more exacting than was the scribe in this matter. 100] After this line, Grein supplies *þonne he unc hafað geedbyrðed oðre siðe*, taken from Soul and Body II.

## 101-166

101 eft] Not in Soul and Body II and omitted by Grein. 103 Fyrnað] From *firnian*, *firenian*, "chide." Grein reads *Firenað*, following Soul and Body II. 106-107] Grein changes *gehatan* to *secan* from Soul and Body II, and adds from the same source a line following, *ne þær edringe ænge gehatan*. Wülker indicates a loss of two half-lines between *ondsware* and *ænige*, and remarks that *gehatan*, if placed in l. 106, would disturb the alliteration. But the alliteration is vocalic, and though it is probable that the scribe of Soul and Body I has omitted something, his text as it stands is adequate, taking *gehatan* in the sense "assure, give assurance of." 110 asocene] Soul and Body II has *asogene*. Grein reads *asolcene*, but in Spr. I, 43, he glosses *asocene*, from *asucan*, "absorb." 111 fingras tohrorene] Soul and Body II contains nothing corresponding to this half-line. Grein completes the line by supplying *fel toclofene*. 112] After this line Grein supplies *druncað hloðum hra heolfres þurstge* from Soul and Body II, *druncað* being a misreading of the MS. *drincað*. 113 hira tungan] Soul and Body II reads *seo tunge*. Grein reads *seo tunge*, and to maintain the singular, alters *hie* to *heo* and *magon* to *mæg* in l. 114. Wülker reads *seo tunge* in l. 113, but retains the plurals in l. 114. Note *þa tungan*, l. 119. 116 eaglas] For *geaglas*, as in l. 109. 117 to] In the MS. *to* is followed by *me*, probably as an unreflecting impulse on the part of the scribe to provide to with an object. But *to* is adverbial, as in the corresponding line in Soul and Body II, *se genepeð to*. The present tense of the verb is better than the preterite, but the Vercelli reading is permissible, "he hath brought it to this pass." Grein reads *se geneðeð to* from Soul and Body II, and Wülker reads *se genydeð to*, following Grein's suggestion in Spr. I, 439. 119 teð] Grein reads *toðas*, following Soul and Body II. 122 þonne þæt werie] Soul and Body II has *þonne biþ þæt werge*, and Grein reads *þonne þæt werge bið*, to the improvement of the alliteration, and for the first half of the following line he reads *lic acolod*. Perhaps *lic* should be transferred to the end of l. 122, though this change disturbs the alliteration in l. 123. For the form *werie*, see *cearie*, l. 160. 123 lic acolod bið] Soul and Body II has *acolad*, but Wülker suggests *lic bið alocen*, "when the body is separated (from the soul)." Ettmüller suggests *lic atol*, *lað* for *lic acolod*. But *acolod* seems to be the necessary word here. he] Supplied from Soul and Body II, to provide *werede* with a subject, and referring to "man" in general. 125 æt] Supplied by Kemble, Grein and Wülker from Soul and Body II. 126] Grein reads *men to gemyndum modsnottora*, from Soul and Body II, the last line of this poem. 127-166] This passage on the *halige sawl* is not con-



tained in Soul and Body II. 133 soðlice] Grein, Germania X, 421, proposes *sofllice* for *soðlice*. 134 gretaþ] Grein gives *gretæþ* as the MS. reading, but the letter is merely a slightly unusual form of *a*. 135 þeah ðe] So Kemble, Grein and Wülker. Klipstein, *Analecta*, p. 135, reads *agon* for *ah*, "the worms possess thee yet." 137 of] Grein alters to *on*, but in Germania X, 421, returns to *of*. 138 arum] The MS. spelling *earum* was probably an unconscious anticipation of *eala*. 139 þær] Wülker suggests *þæt* here, and so Thorpe, *Codex Exoniensis*, previously, and *þær* in l. 140. But see l. 79, note. 152 a langaþ] Grein, Germania X, 421, proposes a compound verb *alangað*, but *a* as adverb, "ever," is better. 158-159] Grein thinks a line may have dropped out between l. 158 and l. 159, and suggests *swylcra arna, swa þu unc her ær scrife*, see l. 102. 159 unc] Thorpe, *Codex Exoniensis*, proposes transferring *unc* to l. 158, after *ælsomme*. This gives a smoother reading syntactically, but it leaves l. 159a metrically too short. 165 þysses] The last word at the end of fol. 103b. The continuation of the poem is lacking because of the loss of one or more folios following fol. 103, see *Introd.*, p. xiv.

## NOTES ON HOMILETIC FRAGMENT I

## 1-47

Homiletic Fragment I] For the title, see *Introd.*, p. xxxix. 1 sorh cymeð] These are the first words on fol. 104a of the MS. and are evidently from the middle, not the beginning of a sentence. On the loss of one or more folios in the MS., see *Introd.*, p. xiv. 7-8] Grein supplies *sylfa* after *gewita* and ends l. 7 with this word. His l. 8 consists then of l. 7b and l. 8a. Wülker's l. 8 is the same as Grein's, but he supplies nothing after *gewita* and his l. 7 is consequently too short metrically. Thorpe thinks l. 7b is in the MS. by mistake and notes l. 10. Kemble omits l. 7b. This omission improves both the sense and the meter of the passage. 12 spræce] Grein reads *sib-spræce*, see l. 29. 21 hafað] Grein and Wülker change to *habbað*, and so also in l. 28, because the subject is plural. 23 stinge] There is no indication of loss in the MS., but something is needed to complete the sense. Kemble translates, "sore with (their sting)," and Wülker, note, approves *mid stinge*. Grein reads *mid swice*, "with treachery," see *beswicþ*, l. 27. But *swice* makes a short line metrically. 28 hunigsmæccas] Holthausen, *Eng. Stud.* XXXVII, 201, reads *huniges smæccas* as a metrical improvement. 32 weaxeð] Wülker, note, suggests *wealwað* as a possible substitute for *weaxeð*. 40 hyht] Holthausen, *Anglia Beibl.* XXXI, 28, would read *est* for *hyht* to provide alliteration. But see l. 43, note. 43 beteran] The noun idea to be supplied is probably "life." Thorpe suggests *ham*, but that is not an appropriate word here. bot] Grein supplied *bealu*, but *bot* suits the context better. Holthausen, *Eng. Stud.* XXXVII, 201, supplies *bu*, "both," before *cunnon*, "Let us think on the better, now that we know



both (the better and the worse)," but this reads too much in the text. The line might be allowed to stand without alliteration, see l. 40, except that *nu we cunnon* seems bald and incomplete in meaning.

## NOTES ON DREAM OF THE ROOD

## 1-100

Dream of the Rood] For the title, see *Introd.*, p. xviii. 3 *reste wunedon*] The verb can be taken as an intransitive, with *reste* as a dative, but Klaeber, *Anglia Beibl.* XVII, 102, prefers *reste*, "resting-place," as acc. sg., citing *An.* 131, 1310, 1697. 4 *sylicre*] Herzfeld, *Archiv CXVII*, 189, would supply *ne* before *sylicre*, following Dietrich, *Disputatio*, p. 12, note, but for the absolute use of the comparative, see Klaeber, *Anglia Beibl.* XVII, 102, and *Modern Philology* III, 251 f. Craigie indicates an omission after l. 4. 5 *lyft*] Grein alters to *lyfte*, but in *Germania X*, 425, he reads *on lyft*. 8 *fægere*] Bouterwek reads *feowere*, and so Stephens and Wülker. Grein, *Dicht.*, p. 140, translates, "vier," but in his text has *fægere*. But the presence of *fife* in the second half-line does not require a numeral in the first. 9 *eaxlegespanne*] A compound, and Sweet alters to *eaxlegespanne*. But for the spelling *eaxle-*, see Klaeber, *Anglia Beibl.* XVII, 102. *þær*] Grein, Sweet alter to *þæt*, and so also in l. 10. Cook reads *ðæt* in l. 10, but *þær* in l. 9. *ealle*] Omitted by Sievers, *Beitr.* XII, 478, with *englas* for *engel*. Retaining *ealle*, should one read *engla*? See Shipley, *Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, pp. 91-92, for examples of *eall* with genitives. As a nom. pl., *engel* is highly improbable, though Grein, *Dicht.*, p. 140, translates, "alle Engel Gottes." Cook alters *engel* to *englas*. But syntactically *ealle* may be subject and *engel* object, in the sense "Christ," see *Soul and Body I*, 27, note. In view of these conflicting possibilities, it seems best to let the text stand. 10 *fracodes*] Stephens, Kluge, Sweet and Wülker retain the MS. reading *fracodes*, as a permissible variant spelling of *fracod*, as in *Beow.* 1575. 15 *geweorðode*] Sweet, Sievers, *Beitr.* X, 518, Cook and Craigie alter to *geweorðod*. 17 *bewrigene*] Kemble, Sweet, Cook and Craigie alter to *bewrigen*. *wealdendes*] Dietrich, *Disputatio*, p. 12, note, suggests *wealdendes*, and so Sievers, *Beitr.* X, 518, Kluge, note, Cook and Craigie. The MS. reading *wealdes*, followed by the other edd., leaves the half-line too short metrically. 18 *gold*] Holthausen, *Eng. Stud.* XXXVII, 201, proposes *godweb* for *gold* as a metrical improvement. 19 *earnra ærgewin*] Bouterwek, p. clxviii, alters to *ealdora ærgewinn*, and in his note, he proposes (*þurh*) *ylda* or *ealdora* or *enta ærgeweorc* or *ærgewinn*. *þæt*] Grein, note, suggests *þær*. 20 *sorgum*] The edd. read either *sorgum* or *sargum*. 23 *beswyled*] "Washed," see *Bos.-Tol.*, p. 956, *swilian*, *swillan*. Bouterwek, Sweet, Cook and Craigie alter to *besyled*, and Cook, note, cites *El.* 697 in support of *besyled*. But the MS. reading in *El.* 697 is *besylced*, and the change to *besyled* is not justifiable, see Klaeber, *Anglia Beibl.* XVII, 102.

Kluge alters to *bessylwed*. 24 Hwæðre] On this use of *hwæðre* as a loose connective, see Klaeber, *Anglia Beibl.* XVII, 102, who cites Sievers, *Beitr.* IX, 138. See l. 57. 31 wergas] Sweet alters to *weargas*. 41 heanne] Grein alters to *heahne*. 47 ænigum] Thorpe, Kemble, Bouterwek and Wülker retain the MS. reading *nænigum*, but this leaves the line without alliteration. 54 forðeode] The MS. has *forð eode*. Thorpe, Bouterwek, Cook and Wülker take this as *forð-eode*, with *scirne sciman* therefore as object of *hæfdon bewrigen*. Grein takes the verb as preterite of *forþywan*, "overcome," see Grein-Köhler, p. 734, with *scirne sciman* as its object, and so also Sweet, see his glossary, p. 254. Cook, *MLN.* XXII, 207, suggests that *forð eode* in the MS. may be a scribal error for *sweðrode*. But there seems nothing improbable in making *scirne sciman* an amplification of *wealdendes hræw*, though *hræw* and *sciman* may both be objects of *hæfdon bewrigen* without necessarily being appositives. 58 to þam æðelinge] Sweet replaces this by *æðele to anum* from the Ruthwell Cross, *æþþilæ til anum*. 59 sorgum] The Ruthwell Cross has *miþ sorgum gidræfid*. 63 ðær] Sweet replaces by *hine*, from Ruthwell Cross, *hinæ*. 66 banan] Bouterwek, p. clxx, alters to a gen. pl. *banana*, and Cook and Craigie read *banena*. 70 gretende] So far as meaning goes, the MS. reading *reotende* might stand, and Thorpe, Grein, Wülker and Craigie do not alter. The lack of alliteration, however, favors a change. Kemble and Cook read *geotende*. Grein, *Germania X*, 425, Sweet and Kluge read *gretende*, Herzfeld, *Archiv CXVII*, 189, reads *gretende*, mis-quoting the MS. as *restende*. Retaining *reotende*, Grein alters *gode* to *rode*, "wir Kreuze," thus securing alliteration at the expense of a very improbable meaning. Stephens reads *Hwæðere we ðær reotende | [rode] gode hwile*, with *rode* appositive to *we*, as Grein had read. 71 stefn] A word for alliteration and to account for the gen. pl. *hilderinca*, l. 72, is required in l. 71b. Grein supplied *storm*, Kluge, Sweet, Cook and Craigie supply *stefn*, and Kluge, Sweet and Craigie omit *syððan*, or rather replace *syððan* by *stefn*. Wülker indicates an omission between *syððan* and *up* but supplies nothing. In the MS. *syððan* stands at the end of a line, and a word, *stefn* or some other, was probably dropped by the scribe in passing to the next line. 72 hilderinca] Kemble supplied *sum*, Stephens *eored* after *hilderinca*. 76 freondas gefrunon] Grein supplies *hie me þa of foldan ahofon* as a second half-line, and so also Cook and Craigie. Stephens supplies *fram me hofon*. The sense is adequate without an addition, and on incomplete lines, see Gen. 703, note. 77a ond] Supplied by Grein and justified as an additional metrical syllable. 79 bealuwara weorc] Grein, note, suggests *bealuwa weorn* (*worn*), but Grein, *Germania X*, 425, returns to the MS. reading, taking *bealuwara* as a gen. pl. adj. in the same syntax as *sarra*, l. 80. Cook and Craigie read *bealuwa weorc*, and Klaeber, *Anglia Beibl.* XVII, 102, approves *bealuwa*, a gen. pl. noun with *weorc*. 91 holmwudu] Kemble, Sweet, Cook and Craigie read *holtwudu*, and Grein, note, suggests *holtwudu*. A compound *holtwudu* occurs several times, but *holmwudu* only in this passage. But there seems



no convincing reason for thinking that the scribe miswrote *holm-* for *holt-* here. 100 ond Adomes] Kemble, Bouterwek, p. clxxi, Grein, Cook and Craigie alter to *Adames*, and Grein supplies *for* after *ond*.

## 101-156

117 ðær] Grein omits *ðær*. ænig anforht] Bouterwek, p. clxxi, alters to *ænigum fyrht*. Grein reads *onforht*, and Grein, Germania X, 425, Cook and Craigie read *anforht*. 125 forðwege] Klaeber, Anglia Beibl. XVII, 102, would read *forðweg*. 138 on] Grein, note, suggests *of*, and Stephens, Sweet, Cook and Craigie place *of* in the text. But *on* may stand, see Klaeber, Anglia Beibl. XVII, 102, "shall fetch me here in this transitory life." 142 me] Bouterwek, p. clxxii, Sweet, Cook and Craigie alter the MS. reading *he* to *me*. If this is not done, *me* must be understood as carried over from l. 139. 146 guman] Sweet, Cook and Craigie alter to *gumena*. But see *banan*, l. 66, and note. 149 þær] Grein, note, suggests *ær* for *þær*, or that two half-lines may have fallen out between l. 149a and l. 149b which referred to the descent into hell. Craigie places *ær* in his text.

## NOTES ON ELENE

## 1-100

Elene] For the title, see *Introd.*, p. xviii. 6 heo] Craigie alters to *heow*. 11 leodhwata lindgeborga] Thorpe, Grimm, Etmüller, Grein and Zupitza (1 ed.) follow the MS., and so also Kemble, except *leodhwate*. Grein, note, suggests *lindhwata leodgeborga*, and repeats this in Germania X, 424. Körner and Wülker follow Grein's suggestion, and ten Brink approves, *Anz.f.d.A.* V, 57, though he prefers *leodgebyrg(e)a*. Zupitza (2 and later ed.) reads *lindhwata leodgebyrga*, and so Holthausen (1 ed.) and Craigie, but Holthausen (2 ed.) changes to *lofhwata leodgebyrga*, and so Cook. In his 3 ed. Holthausen returns to the MS. reading, (except *-byrga* for *-borga*), citing Kock, *Eng. Stud.* XLIV, 393, who would retain the MS. reading. For *leodgebyrga*, see ll. 203, 556. The emendation of Grein and Zupitza is plausible but perhaps unnecessary in a poetic style that makes so much of verbal variation as Anglo-Saxon does. Retaining the MS. reading, Grein, *Dicht.*, p. 104, translates, "Der lindenschildkühne Leuteschirmer." Kock takes the first element of *leodhwata* as merely intensive. 16 hroðer] Grimm, Etmüller and Kemble change to *hroðre*, but for the dative without *-e*, see Sievers, *Angels. Gram.* § 289. 17 wræce] Ekwall, Anglia Beibl. XXXIII, 65, proposes *wraþe* or *wraþe* for *wræce*, (and Kock, Anglia XLVII, 264, and Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXXV, 276, approve), taking *wraþe* from *wraðu*, "support, aid," l. 17a being then parallel to l. 16b. But an antithesis between the two half-lines is just as plausible, see l. 18a. 18 hetendum] For *hettendum*; see l. 119, *Beow.* 1828 for the same spelling. 21 Hugas] The MS. *humas* is apparently an echo from l. 20a. Zupitza reads



*Hugas*, and so Holthausen, Cook, Craigie. For the *Hugas*, see Klaeber, *Beowulf*, p. xl. 22 *Wæron hwate weras*] These words stand at the beginning of a line in the MS., with no indication of loss. Ettmüller supplied *hildemeccas*, Grein, on *herebyrnan*, Körner, *herepreatas*, Holthausen (1 ed.), Craigie, *hilde gefysde*, following Sievers, *Götting. gel. Anzeiger* (Aug. 9, 1882). In his 2 ed. Holthausen reads as in his first, except *hearde* for *hwate*, but in his 3 ed. he reads *wæron wighwate weras ætsomme*. Klaeber, *Anglia* XXIX, 271, would supply *swylce Hetware* as a first half-line. Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 98, suggests *wæron hwate hæleþas, heapu-rofe weras* for the line. 25 herecombol] Zupitza, Holthausen (1 ed.), Craigie change to *herecumbol*, Cook to *heorucumbol*, see l. 107. Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) reads *herewoman*. Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 98, thinks the passage is corrupt, but does not emend. A strict logical interpretation of *wordum*, l. 24, is not possible, but the intent seems clear. 26 sib] Supplied by Sievers, *Götting. gel. Anzeiger* (Aug. 9, 1882), for alliteration, and so Holthausen, Cook (*syb*), see Ex. 214, *Beow.* 387, 729. Grimm supplied *sweot*, followed by Ettmüller and Kemble. Grein has *siðmægen*, and Körner supplies *siðwerod* between *ond* and *eal*. 31 *burgenta*] Grimm reads *burgenta*, "over the mountains," in his text, but suggests *burg enta*, or *Burgendas*, *Burgendan* in his notes. Ettmüller suggests *bürgeatu* or *bürggeatu*, and Craigie has *burg-geatu* in his text. Kemble, Körner read *burg enta*, and so Kock, *Anglia* XLV, 125, translating, "over the fastness of the giants," i.e. over the mountains, and so also Kock, *Eng. Stud.* XLIV, 393. Grein, Wülker read *Burgenta*, but in *Spr. I*, 148, Grein has *burgenta*, acc. pl. from *burgent*, "urbs?" Holthausen (1, 2 ed.) alters to *burglocan*, followed by Cook; see Holthausen's note, *Anglia* XXV, 386. In Grein-Köhler, p. 877, Holthausen reads *byrg enta*, "Burgen der Riesen," and so in his 3 ed., following Körner, p. 268. Zupitza retains *burgenta*, glossed "burg, stadt??" A noun *burgent* seems highly improbable, and unless the MS. is emended, it seems best to take as two words, though written as one in the MS. 32 *hergum*] "In troops," see Kock, *Eng. Stud.* XLIV, 394. 34 *burgwigendra*] Grein, note, suggests *byrnwigendra*, and so Holthausen and Cook in their text. 35 *Feðan trymedon*] Kern, *Eng. Stud.* LI, 10, would make a parenthesis of this half-line, and Cook adds l. 36a to the parenthesis. Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 98, proposes taking *trymedon* as a weak participial adjective, "die verstärkten fussvölker." It is possible to take *trymedon* as a pret. pl. intrans. verb, as perhaps in Ex. 158, but not necessary. An unexpressed personal subject may be understood, with *Feðan* as object. In any case, l. 35b is merely an amplification of l. 35a. 36 *þæt*] A result clause, or perhaps limit of motion, "until," see Klaeber, *Anglia* XXVII, 401 f. Holthausen (1 ed.) supplies *op-* before *þæt*, but cancels this in his notes. 49-50 *þonne Huna cining, etc.*] Zupitza, Holthausen construe to mean *þonne ridon ymb rofne cining*, and so Cook, in his text, but in his glossary *cining* is given as a nominative. But see Körner's text, also *Eng. Stud.* II, 253, and Kock's comment, *Anglia* XLVII, 265, for the reading in the text. 54 *Hleopon*] The MS. has *hleopon*, not *hleowon*, as in Wülker and some earlier edd. Ettmüller alters to *bleowon*,

and so Trautmann, BEV., p. 98. 58 *sceawede*] So ten Brink, Anz.f.d.A. V, 58, and Wülker, Holthausen, and Cook; but Ekwall, Anglia Beibl. XXXIII, 65, thinks *sceawedon* may be retained, citing Beow. 130 ff. But if *sceawedon* is retained, a subject *hie*, referring to Constantine and his army, must be understood. In the MS. *scea* stands at the end of a line, *wedon* at the beginning of the following line. 59 *ðæt he*] Grein altered to *þæt he*, and so Zupitza and Holthausen (1 ed.). But Grein, Germania X, 424, returns to the MS. reading, and so Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.). Ten Brink, Anz.f.d.A. V, 58, suggests that *he* is for *hie*, which would necessitate also a change to *sammodon* in l. 60. In the MS. *ðæt* has a small capital *ð*; the word may introduce a result clause, or perhaps stand for *oððæt*. See Records I, The Junius Manuscript, p. xx. Or read *ðæs* for *ðæt*, "after, when"? Kock, Eng. Stud. XLIV, 394, takes the antecedent of *he*, l. 59, to be *here*, l. 58. 65 *hrora*] Grimm, note, Grein, note, suggest *hrorra*, and Zupitza, Holthausen, Cook place *hrorra* in their text. But *hrora* may stand as a mere spelling variation of *hrorra*. See l. 379, note, l. 1058, note 86 *hreðerlocan onspeon*] Ekwall, Anglia Beibl. XXXIII, 65, suggests placing these words in parentheses, "he, i.e. the angel, had spoken." Otherwise the subject would be Constantine and the meaning more general. 89 *wliti*] The MS. spelling *wliti* may stand as a late scribal variant, though it may also have been accidental and unintentional, the very frequent ending *-ig* being regularly thus spelled in the MS. Thorpe, Zupitza, Körner and Wülker retain *wliti*, the other edd. emend to *wlitig*. See An. 142, note.

## 101-200

106 *wreccan*] Grimm, note, suggests *weccan*, and so Kemble in his text. *ond wæpenbræce*] Perhaps one should read *on wæpenbræce*, as Holthausen (1 ed.) does, following Swaen, Anglia XVII, 123. Reading *ond*, it is possible to take *wæpenbræce* as obj. of *hebban*, but it is better as an instrumental. Retaining *ond*, Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) supplies *to* after *ond*, following Von der Warth, p. 45, and so Cook, Craigie. 115 *gring*] For *cring*, and Ettmüller, Holthausen, Cook so emend, as they do *grungon*, l. 126. 119 *heorugrimme*] See ll. 25, note, 107, 1214. 122 *in dufan*] Trautmann, BEV., p. 99, would read *inne* or *ingedufan* for metrical reasons. But scan  $\angle | \angle \cup$ , *bi* in *dūfan*. 124 *sweotum*] So Thorpe, note, and all edd. 126 *grungon*] See l. 115, note. 140 *Daroðæsc*] In the MS. *daroð* stands at the end of a line, *æsc* at the beginning of the following line. A compound *daroðæsc* as subj. of *flugon* is questionable only because *æsc* is masc. and the pl. should be *æscas*. Grein, Spr. I, 182, suggests taking the word as a neuter here, and so Grein-Köhler, p. 112. Körner, p. 274, takes the word as singular, but with a plural verb as a collective or because of the following *hildenædran*, and so Klæber, Archiv CXIII, 147. Holthausen separates as two words, *daroð*, *æsc*, both subjects of the plural verb, and so in Anglia Beibl. XV, 73. Swaen, Anglia XVII, 124, reads *daroð ond æsc*. Zupitza (1 and 2 ed.), Cook emend to *daroðas*, but Zupitza (3 and 4 ed.) reads *daroð*



*æsc* as two words, with indication that the passage is corrupt. It seems necessary to retain *darodæsc* and to accept either Grein's or Körner's explanation of the plural. 141 *gescyrded*] "Cut to pieces," from *sceard*. Grimm altered to *gescyrted*, from *sceort*, and Kemble, Ettmüller and Grein follow. Zupitza (1 ed.) reads *gescynded*, but *gescyrded* in later editions. 151 *þryðbold secan*] Retaining the MS. reading, Grein, Spr. II, 478, interprets, "to adorn the shield with stones, i.e. gems," and so Zupitza and Wülker. Grimm altered *stenan* to *scenan*, "to make to shine, to show," and so Kemble, Ettmüller. Körner, p. 274, suggested *stunan* or *stunian*, "resound, quake," and so also Eng. Stud. II, 254. Trautmann, BEV., p. 99, would change *stenan* to *stellan*, lay down the shield, their warfare over. The emendation in the text is that of Sarrazin, ZfdPh. XXXII, 548, and is followed also by Holthausen, Cook, and Grein-Köhler, pp. 631, 726. For *þryðbold*, see l. 162, *boldes brytta*. 162 *boldes brytta*] Appositive to *sigerof cyning*, l. 158. Zupitza emends to *blædes brytta*, and so Holthausen (1 ed., *blædes*, 2 and 3 ed., *blædes*) and Cook. Körner alters to *goldes brytta*. See l. 151, note. 175 *ðæt*] The word begins with a capital *Ð* in the MS., perhaps for emphasis. See l. 181. 181 *Alysde*] The word begins with a capital in the MS., and the syntax also favors a new sentence here. 184 *tacen*] Appositive to *gesceaft*, l. 183. Zupitza emended the MS. *tacne* to *tacen*, and so Holthausen (1 ed.). Holthausen (2 ed.) reads *to tacne*, following Trautmann, BEV., p. 99, and so Cook. Wülker retains *tacne* as instrumental, and so Kock, Eng. Stud. XLIV, 394, who explains the word as an instrumental parallel to the prepositional phrase *þurh þa ilcan gesceaft*, as Körner, p. 275, had previously done. So also Holthausen (3 ed.). 197 *hyhta nihst*] The earlier edd. retained the MS. reading *hyht nihst*, but this is short metrically and awkward syntactically. Körner, p. 275, suggests *hyhta nihst*, and so Wülker. Zupitza reads *hyhta hihst*, and so Holthausen, Cook.

## 201-300

205 *beorhtme*] See ll. 39, 864. 207 *swa*] Holthausen, Cook supply *hie* after *swa*, following Sievers, Anglia I, 579. 213 *firhðsefan*] The MS. has *firhð*, not *fyrhð*, as Wülker, note, records. *forð gemyndig*] Zupitza (1 and 2 ed.) supposes a loss in the MS. before these words and suggests *fæste bewunden*, | *folces fruma* to be supplied, but in the 3 and 4 ed., *aldor* (or *hyrde*, *ræswe*) is suggested in place of *fruma*. Cook supplies *he wæs* before *forð*, citing Pogatscher, Anglia XXIII, 289. Pogatscher assumes that *wæs*, l. 212, is implied in l. 213*b*, and so previously Körner, Eng. Stud. II, 255. Kock, JJJ., p. 18, takes *gemyndig* as applying to *lof*, translating, "The praise of Christ then in the emperor's mind was ever bent on the illustrious tree." 215 *foldwege*] Grein, Germania X, 424, proposed *flodwege*, and so Holthausen, Cook in their text. 217 *þreate*] ten Brink, Anz.f.d.A. V, 59, suggests that *þreate* is an echo from l. 215 and that *werode* may have been the proper word. Holthausen replaces *þreate* by *heape*. 230 *helm*]



Grimm, note, alters to *holm*, Zupitza to *welm*, and Holthausen, Cook follow Zupitza. This is an obvious but not for that reason a convincing emendation, see Grein-Köhler, p. 325. 243 *meahte gesion*] Cook reads *gesion meahte*, following Von der Warth, p. 45. 245 *swellingum*] "Swelling sails," but an otherwise unrecorded word. Kock, JJJ., p. 19, proposes *snellingum*, citing O. Icel. *snillingr*, and *snellic*, Beow. 690, and translating, "beneath the spirited men." 251 *sæfearoðe*] Cook reads *sæwaroðe*, following Krapp, Modern Philology II, 407. But the confusion between *faroð* and *waroð* was probably present in the Anglo-Saxon mind and consistent emendation seems unnecessary. *sande*] Grein, note, suggests *sunde*, and so Zupitza, Holthausen and Cook. 268 *Iudeas*] Wülker, Holthausen, Cook read *Iudea*, a gen. pl., following Zupitza (2 and later ed.). But *Iudeas* is parallel to *lindwigendra land*, l. 270, nouns like this meaning either people or country, see Kock, Anglia XLIV, 105. See l. 278. 273 *Hierusalem*] ten Brink, Anz.f.d.A. V, 59, would read *Gerusalem* or *Jerusalem*, on the ground that the alliterating word in l. 273a is *guðrofe*, not *haleþ*. But see Dan. 2. 279 *meðelhegende*] Kock, JJJ., p. 19, would take this word as parallel to *gehwylicum*, therefore as an uninflected appositive, agreeing in number but not in case. But that *burgsittendum*, l. 276, *snoterestum*, l. 277, and *gehwylicum*, l. 278, should all be syntactical appositives and all have corresponding inflection, and that *meðelhegende* should be in the same syntax without ending, seems very improbable. 285 M] To be resolved as *pusendu*, Sievers, Beitr. X, 518. 293 *ealle snyttro*] The MS. reading *þære snyttro* provides no alliteration and no adequate syntax for a genitive or dative *þære snyttro*, unless the words are taken as a dative object of *wiðweorpon*. In his text Grimm indicates an omission after *unwislice*, and in his notes suggests *swicon* to be supplied. Sievers, Anglia I, 579, would supply *swicon* before *unwislice*. Kemble supplies *swicon* before *snyttro*. Grein supplies *soð* after *snyttro*, citing Dan. 28, but Grein, Germania X, 424, replaces *soð* by *swiðe*. Zupitza (1 ed.) reads *soð* with Grein, but in the second and later editions he removes *soð* and merely indicates an omission. Bos.-Tol., p. 1256, suggests *stan* after *snyttro*, citing Luke xx. 17. Cosijn, Tijdschrift I, 143, replaces *unwislice* by *samwislice*, and Kock, JJJ., p. 21, approves. ten Brink, Anz.f.d.A. V, 59, replaces *þære* by *ealre*. Holthausen (1 ed.) supplies *soðfæstne cwide* after *snyttro* as l. 293b and *ealne wisdom* as the first half of the next line. But Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) merely replaces *þære* by *ealle*, and so Cook. This seems the simplest way out of the difficulty, though it is not apparent why *ealle* should have been miswritten as *þære*. The Latin text of the life of Helena reads *repellentes omnem sapientiam*, see Holthausen, p. 11. 300 *spald*] The Latin life has *per sputum oculos vestros illuminavit*, see Holthausen, p. 11.

## 301-400

302 to *deape*] Zupitza and later edd. supply *to*. 304 *woruld*] Zupitza alters to *worn*, and so Holthausen, Cook. But *woruld* may stand, and see

Christ 718, where *woruld* and *eorðbuend* appear as appositives. 311 gedweolan] Sievers, Anglia I, 579, supplies *in* before *gedweolan*, and so Holthausen (1 ed.), Cook. But *gedweolan* may be instrumental, parallel to *geþancum*, l. 312, as Klæber, Anglia XXIX, 271, maintains. Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) omits *in*, as supplied in his first edition. Kock, Anglia XLIII, 302, reads *on* for *ond*, see An. 1191, note. 313 Gangaþ] Holthausen (2 ed.) suggests *secap* for this word. *geþencaþ*] "Find out by thinking," like *geascian*, "find out by asking," Kock, JJJ., p. 21. Holthausen (1 and 2 ed.) supplies a full line after this word, *ond findaþ gen ferhðgleawe men*. Von der Warth, p. 45, would read *gesecap* for *geþencaþ*, and ten Brink, Anz.f.d.A. V, 60, suggested *geccosað*, *alesað* or some similar word. 314 *cræftige*] Cook reads *gleawe* to avoid the repetition in the next line. 315 *æðelum cræftige*] Zupitza, note, suggests that *cræftige* was an accidental repetition from l. 314 for *gode*, and Holthausen places *gode* in his text. 318 *eowic*] Sievers, Beitr. X, 518, reads *eowic*, and so Zupitza (3 and 4 ed.), Holthausen, Cook. 320 *geruman*] Grein expanded the abbreviation as *gerun*, and this seems supported by l. 411, but in Germania X, 424, Grein reads *gerum*. Schwarz, Cynewulfs Anteil am Christ, p. 67, proposes *geryne*, *gerune*. Frucht, Metrisches und Sprachliches, p. 74, proposes *geruman*, and so Holthausen, Cook, Grein-Köhler, p. 558. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XVII, 177, Von der Warth, p. 46, would read *þa on gerum eodan*. The phrase *Eodan on geruman* merely means that they went out. 322 *georne*] The MS. *eorne* is a mere spelling variation, and perhaps accidental, see l. 399, *eare*, for *geare*. The edd. all emend to *georne*. 323 *wordgeryno*] Holthausen (1 ed.) reads *wordgeryna*, a gen. pl., following Shipley, The Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, p. 94, though in his 2 and 3 ed. Holthausen restores *wordgeryno*, still regarded as a genitive plural. But *wordgeryno* may be object of the verb and *þa wisestan* the subject. 326 M] To be resolved as *þusend*. 338 *word*] Supplied by Grein, Zupitza, Holthausen and Cook, and needed for alliteration. 348 *wende*] So Thorpe and all edd. 353 *gingne*] Zupitza alters to *ginge*, and so Wülker, Holthausen and Cook. See Isaiah i. 2, where the plural *filius* occurs. But *filius* would be adequately represented by *bearn*, and stylistically it is better to take *easoran* as a singular, "a young son I raised up, children I begat," etc. 356 *foreþancas*] Sievers, Anglia I, 580, suggests *foreþancas*, and so Zupitza (2 and later ed.), Holthausen and Cook. 357 *ond*] Coördinate with *ond*, l. 361, "although... nevertheless." 360 *gifað*] So Zupitza, Cook, Holthausen, but Wülker retains *gifeð* as in a relative clause beginning with *þe* even when the context is plural. 369] For this line Holthausen (1 ed.) reads *ond ge þam soðe ond ryhte | wiðsecen hæfdon*, but in his later editions he returns to the MS. reading. 370b-371a] Grein supplied *dryhtna* and placed *eallra* in l. 370 instead of l. 371, as earlier edd. had done. Later edd. follow Grein, except Zupitza (1 ed.), who supplies *eowerne* after *scippend* in l. 370, but Zupitza (2 and later ed.) follows Grein. 375 *þæt me*] Cook, note, would supply *hie* between these words, following Holthausen, note, and so also in l. 409. 377 *modcwanige*] Trautmann, Kynewulf, p. 82, proposes *modes cwange* or



*mode cwange*, and Holthausen, Anglia XXIII, 516, would read *modcwange guman*, but in his text Holthausen has *mode cwanige*, i.e. *cwange*, though he also suggests *mod-cwange men* in his notes to his first edition. Cook reads *mode cwanige*. A compound *modecwanige* is not impossible, see *modewæga*, Ex. 500. These changes are made to provide a metrical syllable, but see l. 379b for a similar metrical half-line. 378 bead] Sievers, Beitr. X, 518, changes to *bebead* to gain a metrical syllable, and so Holthausen, Cook. A change in the order of words to read *swa sio cwen him bead* would be another way of gaining the same result. 379 Fundon] Grimm and later edd. read *fundon*. Though pret. plurals in *-an* are frequent, the ending *-en* is not so and the form *funden* of the MS. was probably accidental. See l. 432 for the opposite error. D] To be resolved as *fif hund*. forþsnotta] Grimm and later edd. read *-snotta*, except Wülker, who retains the MS. spelling. See l. 65, note. 380 alesen] Cook alters to *alesenra*. But *alesen* modifies *fif hund*, and *forðsnotta* modifies *leodmæga*. See ll. 285-286. 399 gearc] See *georne*, l. 322, and note. Thorpe and later edd. read *geare*.

## 401-500

403 þeodenbealwa] The MS. reads *þeoden bealwa*, but Thorpe has *þeodon*, which the edd. before Wülker try to explain as a verb. Wülker reads correctly *þeodenbealwa* and takes this to be an accusative plural form. Holthausen (1 ed.) reads *þeodbealwa ænig* and supposes that a line between l. 402 and l. 403 has been lost. Von der Warth, p. 46, proposes *þeodenbealwa sum* (or *ān*), and so Cook, Holthausen (2 ed.). Holthausen (3 ed.) follows the MS. and supplies nothing. Kern, Eng. Stud. LI, 11, takes *þeodenbealwa* as a gen. pl., but supplies nothing, taking the word as a genitive modifier of *æbylgð* and citing parallel constructions in Anglo-Saxon prose. Kern's explanation is adequate and nothing need be supplied. Kock, Eng. Stud. XLIV, 395, supposes a shift of construction, *æbylgð* an accusative object and *þeodenbealwa* a genitive object of *nyton*. 422 gnyrna] So Bouterwek, Angelsächsisches Glossar, p. 136, and all later edd. 423 orscyldne] Thorpe suggested *unscylðigne* for the MS. *scyldū*, and so Grimm, Kemble, Grein, Zupitza (1 and 2 ed.) and Wülker. Zupitza (3 and 4 ed.) reads *scyldum*, and otherwise as the MS., but with indication that the passage is corrupt. Holthausen (1 ed.) reads *scyldum* with the MS. and supplies after this word *asceredne* | *sceaðan be ræde*, || *ealles orhlytne* Trautmann, BEV., p. 99, proposes *orscyldne* for the MS. *scyldū*, and so Cook, Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) and Craigie. Kern, Eng. Stud. LI, 11, approves Trautmann's emendation, but suggests *æscyldne* = *æscyldne*, citing *æfelle*, *æmenne*, etc., as also possible. 432 forleten] Kemble and later edd. change the MS. *forleton* to a past participle. See l. 379, note. 438 fæder] Cook, Holthausen change to *fædere*, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 483. So also in l. 454. minum] There is no indication of loss in the MS. after *minum*, and Thorpe and Grimm assume none, nor does Kemble, though he changes *minum* to *sinum*. But the speech that follows, ll. 441 ff., cannot



have been addressed to Zachaeus, as this alteration would make it be, see ll. 418, 454-455, 530. Grein supplies *þe hit siððan cyððe sylfa his* before *eaferan* and as completing that line. Zupitza indicates an omission but supplies nothing. Holthausen (1 and 2 ed.) supplies *þe wæs Symon haten,* | *swæsum* before *eaferan*, and so Cook. Holthausen (3 ed.) supplies *Symon wæs haten,* | *swæsum* before *eaferan*. Craigie supplies *þam wæs Simon nama,* | *swæsum*. This satisfies the sense, if we assume that the subject of *wende*, l. 440, is Simon, the words that follow being then addressed to Judas. The Latin text, Holthausen (3 ed.), p. 16, reads, *Zacheus autem, avus meus, praenuntiavit patri meo et pater meus, cum moreretur, adnuntiavit mihi dicens.* 451] For l. 451b Grimm, note, supplied *mid yldrum deah*; Grein has *bið gedýrsod æfre*, but Germania X, 424, he changes to *dreames bruceð*. Brenner, Eng. Stud. XIII, 481, would supply *dreosan ne sceal* or *na dreosan sceal*. Holthausen supplies *deorlice bið*. Zupitza and Cook indicate an omission but supply nothing. The sense is complete without assuming an omission. 454 fæder] See l. 438, note. 476 bearna] Grimm changes to *beorna*, and so also Grein, Germania X, 424, and ten Brink, Anz.f.d.A. V, 60. 477 hie] Zupitza, Holthausen, Cook alter to *him*. 479 sarum] Trautmann, BEV., p. 99, suggests *searwum* for *sarum*. 487 hine] Grein, Zupitza, Holthausen, Cook supply *hine*. 494 þrohtherd] Grimm and later edd. alter to *-heard*, except Zupitza and Wülker, and *-herd* may well stand as a spelling variation of *-heard*. 495 sette] Trautmann, BEV., p. 100, would change to *dyde* for metrical reasons. 496 hie] Kemble and later edd. read *hie*, except Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.), *hine*. 497 Sawles] Grein, Cook alter to *Saules*.

## 501-600

501 wearð] Supplied by Kemble and later edd., except Wülker, who assumes, however, that the word must be supplied in sense. 518] There is no indication of loss in the MS. Thorpe, Grimm and Kemble assume the loss of a half-line before *syðþan*, Zupitza after *gelyfdon*, but supply nothing. Grein supplies *in lifes fruman* after *gelyfdon*, Holthausen (1 ed.) supplies *leohtum geþoncum*. Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) supplies *þissum leafspelle*, following Von der Warth, p. 46, see l. 1016, and so Cook, Craigie. 522 leoðorune] The MS. reads clearly *leoðo* at the end of a line, followed by *rune* in the next line, not *leoða* as given by Cook. Sievers, Beitr. X, 504, emends to *leoðrüne* (or *leoðurüne*), and so Zupitza (3 and 4 ed.), Cook, Holthausen and Craigie read *leoðrüne*. In his 1 and 2 ed. Zupitza had read as in the MS. Grein-Köhler, p. 415, also emends to *leoðrüne*. Sweet, Student's Dictionary, p. 107, glosses as *leoþo-rün*, [or \**leoþr-*], "advice(?)." In form *leoðrüne*, "advice in song," "secret advice," would be beyond question, but the evidence of the MS. does not permit lightly setting aside the form *leoðorune*, nor is the meaning *leoð-*, "song," particularly appropriate here. What one expects as the first element of the compound is some meaning like "kindly," "friendly," "gentle," as in *leafspell*, l. 1016. See Grein-Köhler, under *leoðu*, and Bos.-Tol., under *leoðu*, *geliðewæcan*, *geliðian*

for possible cognates. Trautmann, BEV., p. 100, proposes *leornunge* for the MS. *leoðorune*. See l. 1250, note. 530 septē] See An. 742. Thorpe and other edd. before Zupitza (2 ed.) misread as *sewde*. 531 gehðum] Thorpe corrected the obvious error of the MS. to *gehðum*, and so the earlier edd. and Wülker, who cites *geomorfrod*, Gen. 2226. Zupitza alters to *giddum*, and so Cook. Holthausen (1 ed.) reads *gidda*, but in his 2 and 3 ed., he returns to the MS. Trautmann, BEV., p. 100, proposes *gearum* for *gehðum*. cunnon] Cook changes to *cunniað*, glossed, "think out, decide." Holthausen (1 ed.) indicates the loss of a line after *cunnon*. In Anglia Beibl. XVIII, 77, Holthausen reconstructs this passage to read:

Nu ge eal geare cunnon!

Hwæt eow þæs on sefan selest þinceð  
to gecyðanne, gif ðeos cwen usic  
frigneð ymb ðæt foldgræf, nu ge fyrhðsefan  
ond modgeþanc minne cunnon?

In Anglia Beibl. XVIII, 204, Holthausen proposes for l. 532, as a metrical improvement, *hwæt eow þæs selest | on sefan þinceð*, and he doctors l. 1164 in the same way, and so also in 2 ed. Trautmann, BEV., p. 100, proposes other metrical variations. But Holthausen (3 ed.) reads as in the text, except *fregnum*, "questions," for *treo*, l. 534. Kock, Eng. Stud. XLIV, 395, would read as in the text. 534 frigneð ymb ðæt treo] Zupitza (3 and 4 ed.) proposes *ða rode* for *ðæt treo*. Holthausen (1 ed.) has *foldgræf* for *treo*, but changes in his 2 ed. to *freetreo* and in his third to *fregnum*. In Anglia XXIII, 516, he proposes *fyrntreo*, "altes Holz," and in Eng. Stud. LI, 183, he reads *beacen* or *becen* for *treo* and *breostsefan* for *fyrhðsefan* in l. 534b. Trautmann, BEV., p. 100, proposes *ymb ðæt fortreow*, or simply *ymb forcan*, "gallows," for *ymb ðæt treo*. Cook reads *freetreo* with Holthausen's 2 ed. These changes are all made to satisfy theories of metrical propriety. 547 Weoxan] Zupitza (2 ed.) reads *Wrixledan*, following Cosijn, Tijdschrift I, 144, but in the 3 and 4 ed. he returns to *weoxan*, as in his first edition. 548 gehwær] Zupitza, Holthausen, Cook alter to *gehwæne*. 558 cyðdon] Zupitza, Holthausen, Cook change to *cyðan*. 561 witgan] So Thorpe and later edd. 571a] Trautmann, BEV., p. 100, would omit *þæt* or *hio* for metrical reasons. 578 bælfyr] Frucht, Metrisches und Sprachliches, p. 30, proposed *bælfyr* for *bælför*, Trautmann, BEV., p. 101, approves, and Holthausen places this in his text. 580b] Grimm and Kemble read incorrectly *þæs leas* for *þæt leas*. Grein reads *þæt leas-spell*, but Grein, Germania X, 424, reads *þæt eow þæt leas sceal*, a reading which is rejected by Sievers, Anglia I, 580, on metrical grounds. Zupitza (2 ed.) follow's Grein's second reading; in his 3 and 4 ed. Zupitza reads *þæt eow seo leasung sceal*, and so Cook. Holthausen (1 ed.) reads *þæt eow sceal þæt lease spel*; in his 2 and 3 ed. Holthausen reads as in the MS., but places *apundrad*, l. 581, at the end of l. 580. The alliteration might be regularized by reading *þæt þæt leas eow sceal*. 581 apundrad] Although the distinction between *W*, written with the runic symbol, and *P* is not always clear in the MS., in this instance there can be no question that the scribe wrote a *pundrad*, which



may of course have been intended for a compound *apundrad*. The reading is so clear that it should be retained if at all possible. Thorpe prints *awundrad*, and all edd. before Zupitza (2 ed.) take this as the MS. reading. Grimm has *awundrad* (see Bos.-Tol., p. 63, "the falsehood shall be made a wonder of for you"), but in his notes he suggests *awended*. Grein reads *awundrad*, and so Wülker as an emendation. Zupitza, Holthausen (1 ed.), Cook read *awended*. Strunk, MLN. XVII, 372, emends to *asundrad*, "falsehood shall be separated from you," a meaning which does not fit the context. Retaining *apundrad*, the word must be taken as from *pund*, "a weight," in the sense "weigh out, apportion," see Bos.-Tol., Supplement, p. 45, *apyndrian*, "to weigh," p. 682, *pundar*, "a balance or weight," *pundern*, "a plumb line," and possibly a verb *pundernian*, "to weigh." Trautmann, BEV., p. 101, Grein-Köhler, p. 539, and Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) accept the word in this way. Placing *apundrad* at the end of l. 580, Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) takes the remainder of l. 581 as his l. 581*a* and l. 582*a* as his l. 581*b*, followed by indications for a first half-line lost, the second half-line as in the text. So also Trautmann, BEV., p. 101, except that he takes *þe ge hwile nu* of l. 582*b* as a first half-line, and for the second half-line reads *hyddon on unriht*, with no omissions and nothing supplied except *hyddon*. In his notes (3 ed.), p. 91, Holthausen suggests *hydan þa halgan geryno* for his missing half-line. In his first edition Holthausen, following Zupitza (1 ed.), had taken l. 582*a* as in the text, with a second half-line and the first half of the following line lost, followed by *þe ge hwile nu on unriht hyddon* for the second half-line. 590 orde] So Thorpe and all later edd. except Wülker.

## 601-700

608 þæs to þinge] Holthausen (1 ed.) alters to *þissa þinga*, but Anglia Beibl. XXI, 174, reads *þæs to þance*, and so in his 2 and 3 ed. Cook reads *þæra þinga*. Trautmann, BEV., p. 102, would read *þæs to þinum*, "zu dem deinen, als das deine," i.e. as your fate. But *þæs* may stand as a genitive of specification, and *þinge* in the sense "consideration, deliberation," see *þingode*, l. 609, "what you about this on deliberation." 610 rex] This Latin word appears again in l. 1041, where it fits into the context more easily. As it seems scarcely credible that the word is a scribal innovation, it seems best to let it stand as perhaps a bit of learned pleasantry on the part of the poet. The simplest explanation of the word is that which takes it for *cyning*, as part of an intensive compound *cyninggeniðlan*, appositive to *gehðu*. This is Holthausen's reading in his 2 and 3 ed., and so also Craigie. In his 1 ed. Holthausen had taken the word as for *cræfte*, an instrumental. Sievers, Anglia I, 580, proposed *cyninges*, and Wülker approves, though he retains *rex* in his text. Cosijn, Tijdschrift I, 144, proposes *cyningan*, "reginae." Trautmann, BEV., p. 102, suggests *carena*, from *cearu*, which he thinks was misread as *cyning* and the misreading then turned into Latin *rex*. Cook reads *cwealmgeniðlan*, taking *rex* as a scribal mistake for Latin *nex*, and translating *nex* as *cwealm*. The earlier edd. retained *rex* in their text without



adequate explanation. 614 samod] The addition of *samod* was made by Zupitza, and so Holthausen, Cook. Grimm, note, supplied *beorne*, a dative singular, after *gesihðe*, Grein supplied *gebrot* before *on*, and ten Brink, Anz. f.d.A. V, 60, suggested *gesette weorðað* or *geweorðað* after *bu*. Wülker indicates an omission after *gesihðe*, but though he approves ten Brink's reading, he supplies nothing in his text. 615 streac] Holthausen, Cook alter to *stearc*. 624 radorcyninges] Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.), Cook, Craigie supply *beam* after this word, following Von der Warth, p. 47. 629 hyht swa mode] The MS. has *heofon rices swamode* with no indication of omission. The lack of alliteration and of a word to account for the genitive *heofonrices* indicates a loss here. Grimm reads *heofonrices...swa mode*, but in a foot-note, he suggests *hwurfe* to be supplied, retracted on p. 153 in favor of *hygde*, "cogitaret." Kemble supposes a loss after *heofonrices*. Grein reads *heofonrices hyhte swa mode*, but in Germania X, 424, he proposes *niode* for *mode*, and so Spr. II, 289. Zupitza (1 ed.), note, suggests *ge him heofonrices hyht swamode*, but in later editions he reads *ge he heofonrices hyht swa mode*. Wülker indicates an omission after *heofonrices*, but supplies nothing, though he approves Grimm's *hygde*, or better *hogde*, and he reads *swa mode*. For Zupitza's *hyht*, Klæber, Anglia XXIX, 272, suggests *hyhtwynne* to fill out the line, for the MS. *swamode* or *swa mode*, reading *samod*, with Cosijn, Tijdschrift I, 145. Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) follows Klæber. In his 1 ed. Holthausen had read *hyht swa meðe*. Cook reads *hyht swa mærne*. Trautmann, BEV., p. 102, thinks the MS. reading should be retained as a verb, "verlustig ginge," as Zupitza (1 ed.) had done, and so Craigie. Kock, JJJ., p. 21, would also retain *swamode*, with *hyhtes* for Zupitza's *hyht* to be supplied, meaning "moved or strayed from the joy of heaven." Kock renders the passage as follows: "he regretted that he should both forego the joy of heaven and leave this present realm beneath the skies, if he did not reveal the Holy Rood." But a verb *swamode* at this place is very doubtful. If the scribe miswrote *niode* as *mode* (see Grein-Köhler, p. 500, for other examples), and supplying *hyht*, the sense of the passage would be, "to him was a sad spirit, hot at heart, and sorrow for both, that (or if) he should thus of necessity (i.e. that he should thus be compelled) give up the joy of heaven and this present kingdom under the skies (i.e. life on earth), if he should not reveal the cross." Retaining *mode*, on would replace "of necessity" by "in his mind or heart." See ll. 963-966. 630 ond] Trautmann, BEV., p. 102, replaces *ond* by *ge*, and in l. 631 reads *gif* for *ge*. Cook follows Trautmann's reading in l. 631, but not in l. 630. 631 ða rode ne tæhte] Zupitza omits *ne*, thus taking the thought expressed in l. 631b as the second half of a dilemma indicated by *gehwæðres wa*. Holthausen (1 and 2 ed.) follows Zupitza, but in his 3 ed. Holthausen reads *ðæt reht* for *ða rode ne*, citing l. 601. Klæber, Anglia XXIX, 272, also omits *ne*, translating, "dass er sowohl das irdische als das himmlische leben preisgäbe, oder dass er das kreuz zeigte." But *gehwæðres wa* more probably refers to the heavenly and the earthly life. 634 CC] Resolved as *twa hund* by Grimm, Kemble and Grein, as *tu hund* by Cook. 636 feala] The edd.

retain the MS. reading *feale*, except Grein and Cook, who have *feala*, and Holthausen, who reads *fealo*. 639 *siðdagum*] Cook has *siddagum*, a misprint. 645 Troiana] Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.), Cook alter to *Troianas*. 646 *fyr mycle*] For the MS. *fær mycel*, Grimm, note, suggested *fyr mycle*, "much more remote," and so Kemble, Cook, Craigie. Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) has *fior mycle*. Klaeber, *Anglia* XXIX, 272, Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 103, Kock, *PPP.*, p. 5, accept Grimm's *fyr mycle*. Imelmann, *Anglia Beibl.* XVII, 226, endeavors to retain the *fær mycel* by taking *þonne*, l. 647, in the sense "then," i.e. this *æðele gewyrd* took place after the Trojan war. Retaining *fær mycel*, Holthausen (1 ed.) supplies *ær geworden* || *Israhela folce*, after *ealdgewin*. Von der Warth, p. 48, supplies *þæt þe ær cuð wearð* || *eowrum æglearum*. Klaeber, l.c., points out, as Grein had previously done, that a positive might stand before *þonne*, i.e. that one might take *fær micel* . . . *þonne* in the sense "a great conflict, greater than," but this meaning obviously does not fit the context. 647 open] Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) reads *opene*, and in *Anglia Beibl.* XXI, 174, he proposes also to add *þæt* before *opene*. For *open ealdgewin*, Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 103, proposes *ofer eall gemynd*, "beyond all recollection." Kock, *PPP.*, p. 5, takes *þæt*, l. 646, and *open ealdgewin* as parallel, translating, "yet that, the open ancient conflict, was much older than this notable event." 657 *nean*] Kemble altered to *near*, Zupitza to *neah*. 658 *ond þa*] A kind of loose parataxis, Klaeber, *Anglia* XXIX, 271, i.e. "because we have set those conflicts in writing." 668 *on tweon*] For the MS. *ond tweon*, Grimm, note, suggests *ond on tweon* or *ond tweonde*. Sievers, *Anglia* I, 580, would read *ond on tweon*, and so Holthausen, Cook. Without *on*, *tweon* would be taken as instrumental. Kock, *JJJ.*, p. 22, reads *on tweon*, omitting *ond* as written in the MS. with the abbreviation for *ond* by mistake for *on*. *wende him trage hnagre*] Literally, "had expectation to himself of a worse evil." Kemble altered *trage* to *þrage*, "humbled himself for a while." 676 *Caluarie*] All edd. read *Caluarie* for the MS. *caluare*, and Cook, Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) also add *on* before this word, following Von der Warth, p. 49. The Latin text has here, Holthausen (3 ed.), p. 25, *tantum ostende mihi, qui vocatur Calvariae locus*. 683 *can*] Holthausen (1 ed.) alters to *wat*, but in 2 and 3 ed. returns to the MS. reading. 691 *swa*] Grein omits without comment. 697 *besylced*] Thorpe misreports the MS. as *besyleed*, which he emends to *besyled*, and so the earlier edd. before Zupitza (2 ed.). 699 *healsie*] Thorpe misreports the MS. as *halsie*, and so later edd. before Zupitza (2 ed.). Holthausen reads *halsie* as an emendation.

## 701-800

704 *þreanyd*] Cook supplies *to* after this word. 709 *sccad*] See l. 149. Grimm, Kemble, Grein alter to *sceod*. Zupitza (1 ed.) merely indicates some disturbance in the text between *hæleðum* and *scead*, though he makes no change. In later editions he accepts the MS. reading. ten Brink, *Anz.f.d.A.* V, 60, would change to *scraf*, Trautmann, *BEV.*, p. 104, would read *weold*,



and so Holthausen (1 ed.). In his later editions Holthausen returns to the MS. reading. 720 halige] Zupitza and later edd. read *halige*, except Wülker, who retains *halig*. 721 feondes] The earlier edd. assume an extensive omission here, and Grein supplies to read *þurh searucraft besenced læg || on fyrndagum foldan*, etc. But Grein, *Germania X*, 424, thinks only *feonda* is to be supplied before *searu*. Zupitza supplies *feondes*, and so later edd. Wülker indicates an omission in his text and in his note approves Grein's *feonda* as the word to be supplied. 724 elnes oncyðig] Trautmann, BEV., p. 104, would alter to *ēþles uncýðig*, "der des ortes unkundige." See ll. 828, note, 960, note. Grimm, note, had discussed *uncyðig* but rejected it. 755 He sceal] Grein alters the MS. *he* to *þe*, taking *sigorcynn* as the antecedent of *þe*. Zupitza reads *hie sceolon*, and so Holthausen (1 ed.), *hie sculon*, (2 and 3 ed.), *hie sceolon*. The change to the singular may have been occasioned by the fact that in Genesis iii. 24 only one sword is mentioned, *Cherubim, et flammeum gladium*. The poet does not make the hierarchical values of the Cherubim and Seraphim quite clear. 768 ful] Sievers, *Anglia I*, 580, takes *ful* as a noun object of *þrowian*. The simpler interpretation takes *ful* as adj., parallel to *fah*, "the foulest of the foul," Kock, PPP., p. 5, with *þeowned* object of both *þrowian* and *þolian*. 779 no] Zupitza suggests *ne* for *no*, with only a comma before, and so Holthausen in his text. 781 þin] Grimm, Kemble alter to *þinum*. 782 þurh ða beorhtan] "Through the glorious one." Trautmann, BEV., p. 104, supplies *bryd* after *beorhtan*, Cook supplies *mægð*. 787 geywdest] The spelling *gehywdest* of the MS. was apparently accidental, the alliteration being vocalic. The earlier edd. and Wülker retain the spelling *gehywdest*, but Grein and other later edd. read *geywdest*. 788 wyn] The MS. has here merely the usual runic symbol for *w*, with a dot before and after. Thorpe, Grimm, Kemble, Grein and Zupitza (1 and 2 ed.) resolve this as *waldend*, *wealdend*. Zupitza (3 and 4 ed.) resolves as *ward*. Sievers, *Beitr. X*, 518, resolves as *wen*, but *Anglia XIII*, 3, as *wyn* (though here not in reference to this passage but to the runic passages giving Cyn(e)wulf's name). Holthausen and Cook have *wyn*. See l. 1089. 790 þæt me] Cook supplies *ðu* between these words. 800 walde] "that he rules."

## 801-900

803 swylce rec] Schwarz, *Cynewulfs Anteil am Christ*, p. 59, would omit *swylce*, and so Trautmann, BEV., p. 104. Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) and Cook omit *swylce* from their texts. 812 inwrigel] Thorpe suggests *onwrigel*, and so Holthausen, Cook. 821 broðor] Judas could be the brother of Stephen only in spiritual sense. The Latin life, Holthausen (3 ed.), p. 31, reads *et adnumera me [in caelo] cum fratre meo Stephano, qui scriptus est in Actibus... apostolorum*. 823 stangreopum] Grimm, Kemble alter to *stangreotum*. 827 þam] Trautmann, BEV., p. 104, omits for metrical reasons. 828 elnes anhydig] Trautmann, BEV., p. 104, would change to *ēðles ancýðig*, see l. 724, note, "zuerst also *ēþles uncýðig*, so lange er den



ort nicht kennt; dann aber, nachdem er ihn erfahren hat, *ēþles ancýðig*." But Trautmann also thinks that perhaps *anhydig* may be retained, and only *elnes* changed to *ēþles*. 829 XX] To be resolved as *tweontigum*, *twentigum*. Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) reverses the order of the two half-lines, but Kock, Anglia XLVII, 265, points out that other examples are found of similar alliteration as in the text. 833 reonian] Zupitza (3 and 4 ed.), Holthausen change to *reongan*, Cook to *reonigan*. 836 cynn] Supplied by Grein and later edd., except Zupitza in his first edition. 838 Leahtra fruman] "the devil," see Kock, Anglia XLVII, 265, Grein-Köhler, p. 229. 851 hangen] Cook alters to *ahangen*. 859 gere] For *geare*, and so Grein, Holthausen and Cook in their texts. 861 hwylcne] So Grein and later edd. 862 ær] Zupitza suggests *ac* for *ær*, and Holthausen (1 and 2 ed.) and Cook place *ac* in the text. But Holthausen (3 ed.) returns to the MS. 876 sawlleasne] Cook alters to *sawolleasne*. 884 on anbide] Holthausen, Cook read *on bide*, following Frucht, *Metrisches und Sprachliches*, p. 30. 889 sawl] Cook alters to *sawol*. hafen] Trautmann, BEV., p. 105, would read *ahafen* to gain a metrical syllable. 895 ingemynde] Regarded by Grein and most commentators as an adj. modifying *wundor*, subj. of *wæs*. But Kock, Anglia XLIV, 105, takes the word as a noun, parallel to *ferhðsefan*, citing Gen. 2340-2341 for a similar instance. Kock's interpretation seems the more probable, but in that case, there is nothing to prevent separating into *in gemynde*, which would be parallel in form as well as meaning to *on ferhðsefan*, except that *in*, prep., would be an unusually light syllable to bear a metrical stress.

## 901-1000

920 oft] Altered to *eft* by Grein, Zupitza, Wülker, and Holthausen. 923 gæasne] Grimm, Kemble alter to *gæsen*, Holthausen to *gæsne*. 924 findan can] Grein, Germania X, 424, and later edd. omit *ne*, except Zupitza in his first edition. 925 siððan] The earlier edd. retain the MS. *wiððan*, but Grein changes to *siððan*, and so Zupitza, Holthausen and Cook. Kemble, Grein, Germania X, 424, read *wiððan*, and Wülker retains *wiððan*, taking *wiðercyr* in the sense "opposition, apostacy," instead of "return," the sense of the word if one reads *siððan*. Wülker's interpretation would therefore be "an opposition or apostacy thereagainst," an implied reference to Julian the apostate—ingenious but remote. Brown, Eng. Stud. XL, 20, would read *wiððe*, as in l. 926. But the probability that *wiððan* is a mere scribal echo after *wiðer-* is so great that other explanations are scarcely needed. 937 witgan] Grein alters to *witan*, see l. 544, but in Germania X, 424, to *witgan*, and so later edd. except Zupitza, Wülker, who retain *wigan*. 941 þæt þe] Zupitza supplies *þe* to provide *bescufeð* with an object, and so Holthausen (1 ed.). Cosijn, *Aanteekeningen*, p. 32, would replace *þæt* by *þec*, and so Trautmann, BEV., p. 105, Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.), Cook. 943 synwyrcende] Trautmann, BEV., p. 105, would alter to *synwyrceðne*. 957 oferswiðedne] So Zupitza and later edd. 960 uncyðig] Grein retains

*uncyðig* in his text, and translates, "ignorus?", Spr. II, 617, "er der zuvor so unwissend war?" But in a note he suggests *uncyðig*, and so Holthausen, Trautmann, BEV., p. 105, and Cook. But Holthausen glosses the word as "erfahren," p. 93, and Cook as "ignorant." Grein-Köhler, p. 533, glosses as "bewusst." The meaning of *uncyðig* here is undoubtedly "wise," "how he in so short time ever became so full of faith and so wise, he filled with discretion." See Kock, Anglia XLVII, 266. Grein, Dicht., p. 130, translated, "wie er in so kurzer Frist so glaubensvoll und so einsichtsvoll und mutig irgend wurde durchgossen mit Klugheit." See l. 724. 971 boden] So Grimm, note, and later edd. fæðmeð] Grimm, note, suggests fæðmiað, and Zupitza, Holthausen, Cook read fæðmað. 972 gehwære] Zupitza (3 and 4 ed.), Holthausen, Cook alter to *gehwæm*, following Sievers, Beitr. X, 485. rod] Thorpe and later edd. supply *rod*. 978 þær] Grein, note, suggests *þæt*, and with this change would also supply *ne* before *meahton*. So also Zupitza (2 and later ed.). ten Brink, Anz.f.d.A. V, 60, accepts Grein's suggestion, and so also Trautmann, BEV., p. 105, but Cosijn, Aanteekeningen, p. 32, rejects it. Kemble had supplied *ne* before *meahton* previous to Grein's suggestion. Klaeber, Anglia XXIX, 271, discusses the construction with *þær*. 984 þæt] Sievers, Anglia I, 580, suggests *þæt* for the MS. *þe*, and so Holthausen, Cook. 992 gefereðe] Sievers, Anglia I, 580, suggests *gefereðra*, and so Holthausen, Trautmann, BEV., p. 106, and Cook. Undoubtedly the word goes as an appositive with *fricgendra*, but it may stand as an uninflected appositive, see Kock, JJJ., p. 20, and l. 279, note. 996 swonrade] So Thorpe and later edd. 997 aseted] So Dietrich, Kynewulfu poetæ aetas, p. 2, followed by Grein, Spr. I, 41, Germania X, 424, and later edd. 999 gearwian] ten Brink, Anz.f.d.A. V, 60, would read *gegearwian*.

## 1001-1100

1003 brim nesen] Thorpe, Grimm, Kemble, Grein combine as a noun compound, and so Wülker. Zupitza (1 ed.) reads *brim nesan*, and so Cook, taking *nesan* as infinitive, and in the same syntax as *settan*, l. 1004. This is grammatically possible, but as Sievers points out, Anglia I, 580, "sprachwidrig." In his later editions, Zupitza restores *nesen*, but indicates a corruption in the MS. It is better to take *nesen* as optative pret. pl., with Cosijn, Tijdschrift I, 146, Trautmann, BEV., p. 106, Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.), and Craigie. In his first edition, Holthausen had read *hæfden brim nesen*. 1004 gesundne] Trautmann, BEV., p. 106, suggests *gesunde*. 1025 besettan] So Grimm, Grein, Cook, the other edd. retaining *besetton* as infinitive. 1028 æðelum anbræce] The earlier edd. retain *æðelu* as an adj., taking the following word as a noun, and so Wülker. Zupitza (2 ed.) alters to *æðelum*, and so Holthausen, Cook. Kock, JJJ., p. 23, would change to *æðele, unbræce*, "noble and unbreakable," as asyndetic adjectives. Thorpe, Grimm, Kemble, Grein, Zupitza (1 ed.) read *anbroce*, "material, wood." Körner, Eng. Stud. II, 261, proposes *onbræce = unbræce*, and



Zupitza (2 and later ed.), Cook read *unbræce*. Holthausen reads *unbr̥ce*, but glosses under *unbræce*, and so in Grein-Köhler, p. 874. The word is undoubtedly an adj., and the meaning is "imperishable," but it is unnecessary to normalize the scribal variations of *un-*, *on-*, *an-*, see ll. 724, 828, 960, and notes. 1041 rex] See l. 610, note. 1042 meotud milde, god] The word *god* may be taken as adj. *gōd* or as the noun *gōd*. As the text stands it is best to take it as adj., with Kock, Anglia XLVII, 266, but it is possible that the text was disturbed here by the strange word *rex*, and *meotud* or *gōd* may have crept in as a gloss on *rex*. 1043 leoht gearu] The imperfect syntax and alliteration indicate a loss here. Grein supplies *lange forhogode*. Holthausen reads *gearolice leahre forhogode*. 1046 gescreaf] Grimm, Zupitza (1 and 2 ed.), Holthausen, Cook alter to *gescraf*. 1050 Eusebium] Eusebius, the pope, is confused with Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, who baptized Constantine, see Cook, p. 95. 1058 gecorene] For *gecorenne*, and so Grimm and later edd., except Kemble and Wülker, normalize the spelling. See l. 65, note. 1062 æ hælandes] Cook, p. 95, takes these words to be a translation or gloss on the name *Cyriacus*, Gr. *Κυριακός*, but if this is so, Ekwall, Anglia Beibl. XXXIII, 65, suggests that it would be better to enclose *Nama...forð* within parentheses. 1074 rode rodera cininges] Grein suggested *cininges* for the MS. *cinig*, and so later edd. Sievers, Beitr. X, 518, would omit *rode*, and so Zupitza (3 and 4 ed.), Holthausen, Cook. Kock, JJJ., p. 23, would retain *rode*, citing ll. 624, 886, etc., reading *rode rodercininges*. Similar verbal echoes are found in ll. 294-295, 648, 953, and see Gen. 23, note. 1075 þa] Zupitza (3 and 4 ed.), Holthausen, Cook change to *þam*, following Kemble. This change was made necessary by their omission of *rode*, in order to make the word agree with *beam*. 1089 wyn] See l. 788, note.

## 1101-1200

1106 eðigean] Sievers, Anglia I, 578, would change to *siðigean*, and so Holthausen. Cosijn, Tijdschrift I, 147, suggests *ēwigean*, as a form of *ŷwan*. But there is a figure here—the fire comes forth like an exhalation. 1113 goldgimmas] Zupitza, Holthausen (3 ed.), Cook alter to *goldgimmas*. Holthausen (1 and 2 ed.) had *gold ond gimmas*. Grein, Spr. I, 518, reading *godgimmas*, explains the first element as like *god-* in *godweb*. This might be possible, and one would hesitate to change, except that the Latin life reads, Holthausen (3 ed.), p. 41, *clarior solis lumine...tamquam aurum*. 1127 þam næglum] The MS. *þan næglan* represents the English of the time at which the MS. was copied, not the English of the poet. But such late forms are not characteristic of this text, and a stray instance like this should be corrected as a scribal inadvertence. Thorpe suggested *þam næglum*, and so later edd. except Kemble, Wülker. 1131 ff.] Kock, Anglia XLIV, 106, translates:

"the globe of weeping then,  
the head's hot stream, was shed upon the cheek,



but not from grief— the tears did fall  
 upon the wire's joints— with praise was filled  
 the empress' mind."

Cosijn, Aanteekeningen, p. 32, also places only l. 1133*b* and l. 1134*a* within parentheses. Zupitza has a full stop after *gespon*, and for l. 1134*b* he reads *wuldre wæs gefylled*, and so also Holthausen (1 ed.). In his 2 and 3 ed. Holthausen reads *wuldre gefylled*, and so Cook. Cosijn, l.c., also prefers *wuldre*. Trautmann, BEV., p. 106, proposes *wyrð wæs gefylled*. It may be that *wuldres* is not the right word here, and perhaps the original word was *wifes*, parallel to *cwene*, l. 1135*a*, see ll. 1130*a*, 1131*a*. But *wuldres gefylled*, with *wæs* to be supplied as with *goten*, is also permissible, see An. 523. 1136 Heo on cneow sette] Zupitza, Holthausen (1 ed.), and Cook supply *hie* after *Heo* as reflexive object of *sette*. Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) removes *hie*, taking *Heo* as acc. sing. fem., "sie kniete nieder." Unless *hie* is supplied, *Heo* must be taken as object, with *leohte geleafan* as an instrumental phrase. But Trautmann, BEV., p. 106, would take *Heo* as subject and *leohte geleafan* as containing in an obscured form a noun object of *sette*, referring to the nails, she set them on her knee, "wol in einem kästchen," though just what the noun in *geleafan* should be, he is unable to discover. 1164] See l. 531, note. 1166 [priste] Supplied by Grein, Zupitza (2 ed.), and later edd. except Wülker. 1169 seleste] So Sievers, Beitr. X, 518, and later edd. except Wülker. 1180 ymb sige winnað] Lack of alliteration and logical continuity indicate a disturbance in the text here. Grein reads *ymb sacan willað*, (also *ymb sige (segen?) wigað(?)*, see Wülker, El. 1180, note). Zupitza (1 and 2 ed.) emends to *ymb sige winnað*. In his 3 and 4 ed. Zupitza reads *ymb sigor winnað*, and so Holthausen, Cook. 1194 hwæteadig] Holthausen, Cook alter to *hreðeadig*, but as Kock, JJJ., p. 24, points out, *hwæteadig* is a legitimate compound. 1195 wigge weorðod] Cosijn, Beitr. VIII, 571, alters to *wigge geweorðod*, and so Cook. Holthausen reads *wige geweorðod*. byrð] Zupitza (3 and 4 ed.), Holthausen, Cook alter to *byreð*. Metrically the word is a dissyllable, but the spelling *byrð* does not prevent taking it so. The object of the verb is not expressed, "he whom that steed beareth."

## 1201-1321

1228 on Maias kalend] "In the month of May," see Grein, Germania X, 424. Imelmann, Anglia Beibl. XVII, 226, giving the same interpretation of *kalend*, suggests *maius* for the MS. *maias*. 1236 fæcne] Cook alters to *fæge*, following Rieger, ZfdPh. I, 315. 1237 wordcraeftum] To gain a metrical syllable, Sievers, Beitr. X, 518, reads *-craeftum* for the MS. *craeft*, and so Zupitza (3 and 4 ed.), Holthausen. Trautmann, Kynewulf, p. 97, proposed *wordcraeft gewæf*, but later, BEV., p. 140, returned to the MS. reading. Cook reads *wordcraefte*, and so Kock, Anglia XLIV, 106. Sedgefield, Verse Book, has *wordcraeftig wæs*. 1238 reodode] Grimm, notes, alters to *reordode*, "mentem cibo refeci, i.e. abunde cogitavi." Kemble

also has *reordode*, "spoke out my thought." Leo reads *hreedode*, "der gedanke erzitterte." Cook also has *hreedode*, "sifted," following a suggestion of Grein, Spr. II, 374, although Grein reads *reodode* in his text and in the Sprachschatz. But see Grein-Köhler, p. 550, for Cook's reading. Holthausen, citing l. 1146, reads *freoðode*, "cherished," suggested also in Grein-Köhler, l.c. Holthausen, Eng. Stud. LI (1917), 183, thinks *reodode* may be the same verb as appears in the compound *aredian*, see Gen. 1498, note, but that the meaning here is doubtful, "ausführen" or "finden?" In Anglia Beibl. XXXII (1921), 136, Holthausen regards this explanation as "vollkommen genügend," and Kock previously, Anglia XLIV (1920), 106, had cited parallels from O.N. in support of *reodode*, translating, "my thought was wandering anxiously at night." But Kock, PPP. (1922), p. 18, later changes the MS. *ond gepanc*, with the usual abbreviation for *ond*, to *on gepanc*, in which case the subject of the verb would be *ic*, l. 1236. This is plausible, but in the uncertainty which attaches to the meaning of *reodode*, the change seems inadvisable. Translate, "I arranged or pursued my thought," and see *aredian*, Grein-Köhler, p. 548. Sedgefield, Verse Book, alters to *neodode*. 1239 nihtes nearwe] A noun, according to Grein, Spr. II, 287, "in the anxiety of the night," or both words may be adverbs, "anxiously by night," Trautmann, BEV., p. 140. See Ap. 104. 1240 be ðære rode riht] The MS. reads *be ðære riht ærme*, etc., with no indication of loss, and no metrical pointing at this place in the MS. Grimm reads *be þære riht earmē*, but with insuperable difficulties of interpretation. Ettmüller, note, reads *be þære rihtæ areaht*, "per rectam fidem explanatam." Leo reads merely *be ðære riht*, taking *ðære* to refer to the art of song, l. 1237, and *riht* as obj. of *Nyssa*, "ich wusste gar nicht in ihr das rechte," followed by *ær me* as two words. Grein supplies *rode* after *ðære*, with *ær me* as two words. So also Rieger, ZfdPh. I, 316, Zupitza, Holthausen, Cook, though Holthausen reads *reht* for the MS. *riht*, following Sievers, Beitr. IX, 236, note, and also *geþæht*, l. 1240b, following Sievers. Wülker, note, would read *be ðære rihtan æ, ær me*, etc., which is close to Ettmüller's reading. Wülker objects to Grein's *rode* that there is no reason why the cross should be mentioned just at this point. It is true that there is not necessity for mentioning the cross just here, but certainly if *rode* had stood in the MS., no one would have thought it strange. Kock, Anglia XLIV, 107, would read *be ðære rehtan ræhð*, taking *ræhð*, unrecorded in Anglo-Saxon, in the sense "exposition." Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. XXXII, 136, suggests *rune*, "Geheimnis," for Grein's *rode*. Sedgefield, Verse Book, reads *be ðære rihtan eaht*, with *eaht* as a noun, "deliberating." 1241 miht] Holthausen reads *mæht*, following Sievers, Beitr. IX, 236, note, and also *æht*, l. 1241b. Sedgefield, Verse Book, reads *meaht*. 1242 onwreah] Grimm altered to *onwrah*, and so Ettmüller, Leo, Zupitza, Holthausen, Cook and Sedgefield. 1244 bitrum] Sievers, Anglia I, 578, emended to *bitre*, and so Holthausen, Cook. Kock, Anglia XLIV, 108, takes *bitrum* as an adj. qualifying *sorgum*. Ekwall, Anglia Beibl. XXXIII, 65, would retain *bitrum* as a plural noun, implying a substantive *bitru*. 1246 onscynde] Ett-



müller proposes *unseoce* for this word, and Holthausen places *unseoce* (2 and 3 ed., *unsēce*) in his text. 1247 begeat] Holthausen, *begeæt*, following Sievers, Beitr. IX, 236, note. Trautmann, BEV., p. 140, would alter to *begæf* = *begeaf*. 1250 leoðucraeft] Holthausen (2 and 3 ed.) suggests *leoðcræft*, and so Cook in his text. But in his text Holthausen retains *leoðucraeft*, "Gliederkraft." The context requires this meaning, and the first element of the word is therefore probably not the same as in *leoðorune*, l. 522. 1251 willum] Rieger, *ZfdPh.* I, 317, would alter to *hwilum*. 1256 sigbeacne] Ettmüller alters to *sigebeame*. secg] Leo altered the MS. *sæcc* to *secg*, "the man, i.e. I," and so Zupitza and later edd., except Wülker, who retains *sæcc* as for *secg*. Grein reads *sæc*, "conflict," and so Brown, Eng. Stud. XXXVIII, 203 ff. 1257 ff. h etc.] The runes in this passage are all perfectly clear in the MS., though there is considerable variation among scholars in the interpretation of them. Each rune is preceded and followed by a dot in the MS., except the first, which has a dot following and a comma preceding. The edd. for the most part reproduce the runes, but Ettmüller and Grein replace them by the ordinary Roman capitals for the name CYNEWULF. Zupitza replaces the runes by what he takes to be their corresponding words, i.e. *cæn*, "kien," *ȝr*, "nach der gewöhnlichen erklärung 'bogen,' nach Rieger 'geld,'" *nyd(gefera)*, "not-gefaherte," *eh*, "pferd," *wæn*, "hoffnung," *ār*, "auerochse," *lago*, "see, meer," *feoh*, "vich, habe." Sedgfield also replaces the runes by words, as follows: *C(æn)*, translating *cæn drusende*, notes, "(like) a drooping pine torch," *Y(r)*, "may stand for yrming, 'poor wretch,' " or may be only a letter, *N(ȝd)gefera*, "companion in distress or distressed companion," *E(oh)*, "horse," *W(ȝn)*, "joy, delight," *Ū(r)*, possibly inserted "merely to preserve the alliteration," *L(agu)*, "sea, waters," *F(eoh)*, "possessions, money." The passage is translated as follows by Gollancz, *Cynewulf's Christ*, p. 183:

Till then was nought but discontent,—

- C. a bold warrior, drooping with age, buffeted by waves of care,—  
yea, though in the mead-hall he received precious gifts,  
Y. N. apple-shaped gold. In his affliction, sorrow's comrade  
murmured; grief, the narrowing rune,  
E. constrained him, when he beheld the horse  
measuring the mile-paths, rushing proudly on,  
W. decked with ornaments. Joy is now lessened,  
and delight, after many a year; youth is gone,  
U. the pride of old. Ours was once  
youth's glorious radiance; now, at appointed time,  
those days of yore have passed away,  
L. life's joy hath departed, as the waters ebb,  
the rushing floods. Transitory 'neath heaven  
F. is the wealth of every man.

Holt, *The Elene of Cynewulf*, pp. 40-41, translates the passage as follows: "Ever until that time was the man buffeted in the surge of sorrow, was he a weakly flaring torch (C), although he had received treasures and applied



gold in the mead-hall; wroth in heart (Y), he mourned; a companion to need (N), he suffered crushing grief and anxious care, although before him his horse (E) measured the miles and proudly ran, decked with gold. Hope (W) is waned, and joy through the course of years; youth is fled, and the pride of old. Once (U) was the splendor of youth (?); now after that allotted time are the days departed, are the pleasures of life dwindled away, as water (L) glideth, or the rushing floods. Wealth (F) is but a loan to each beneath the heavens," etc. For other translations and interpretative comment, see Ap. 96 ff., notes, and the titles listed in the Bibliography. 1259 æplede] The phrase *æplede gold* occurs in Phoenix 506, Jul. 688, "embossed" or "apple-shaped"? See Cook, pp. 99-100. Grimm, notes, suggested changing to *æfledede*, from *æflian*, "comparare." ñ | Trautmann, BEV., p. 138, takes ñ as standing for *ÿfel*, "der üble, untaugliche," and †*gefera* as for *nēod-gefēra*, the first element meaning "desire," and he translates, "Der üble genosse der lust war traurig, litt bange sorge, beklemmendes geheimnis." gnornode] Etmüller reads *geornode*, probably an oversight. 1261 fore] An adverb, "before," see Klæber, JEGPh. VI, 197, "the horse which bears the rider (cf. El. 1195) may be considered as taking the lead and, in running onward, making the man, as it were, follow him." But it may mean simply "in the van." Trautmann, BEV., p. 139, takes the word as *fōre* = *fōr*, "wo ihm das ross die meilenpfade der fahrt mass." Or *fore* may be a preposition governing *him*, see Gollancz, Cynewulf's Christ, p. 180, "the poet, I take it, was filled with grief when he watched the hunt, but could not join in it." 1276 þream forþrycced] The edd. all take l. 1277 as the second half-line of l. 1276, except Holthausen, though Grein, Germania X, 425, regards such a line as dubious, and Sievers, Beitr. X, 518, says it is impossible. Holthausen, Anglia XIII, 358, proposed to remove *swa* and *world* in l. 1277, and to replace *þeos* by *þeod*, thus reading *þeod eall gewiteð*, as completing l. 1276. In his 1 ed. he reads *þream forþrycced* | [*in þeosterlocan.*] for l. 1276, and *Swa þeos wor[u]ld[gesceaf]* | *gewiteð eall* for l. 1277. In Anglia Beibl. XVIII, 205, he reads for l. 1277, *swa þeos [xðele] world* | *eall gewiteð*, and so in his 2 and 3 ed., retaining l. 1276 as in his 1 ed. For l. 1277b Von der Warth, p. 50, reads *swa (þeos) world eall [þonan] gewiteð* as a long line. It is quite probable that *þream forþrycced* should stand as an incomplete line. Note that the logical continuity of the narrative is interrupted here. In l. 1277 *world* may of course be metrically dissyllabic, and the addition of *a* after *Swa* regularizes the alliteration. 1294 ældes] Leo proposed changing *eðles* of the MS. to *æledes* or *eledes*, from *æled*, "fire," and Zupitza reads *eldes*, Holthausen, Cook, *ældes*. Wülker, note, approves *eldes leoma*, or with metathesis, *edles leoma*. The phrase *ældes leoma* occurs in Christ 1005, and it is possible that *eðost* in l. 1294b may have influenced the scribe in writing *eðles*. Retaining *eðles*, Grein, Dicht., p. 139, translates, "die Leuchtglut des Aufenthaltes," but such an interpretation seems remote. 1296 þread] From *þreagan*, *þrean*, and for the meaning, see An. 1687, where *þreade* is used parallel to *toðraf*. Grimm, note, suggested changing *þread* to *dreogað*, and Trautmann,

BEV., p. 107, would read *þryd* or *þyd*, "gedrückt, gedrängt." This is undoubtedly the meaning, but there is no necessity for changing the word. 1297 in *hatne wylm*] "Into the hot flame." Parallel to, or rather in amplification of *in ðam middle*. Ettmüller proposed *in hatum wylme*, and so Cook. Holthausen (1 ed.) reads *in hatne wylm* and supposes the loss of a full line after l. 1297. In his 2 and 3 ed. Holthausen emends to *hate wylme*, parallel to *þrosme*, with no loss indicated. 1308 Hic] Cook alters to *þe*, thus making l. 1308b and the following a relative clause, in support of which he cites l. 1278b.

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