GLOSSARIES

for

LIFE and HOMILY
This glossary attempts to be a full record of the forms of the Vespasian life of St Guthlac but, as the English is so often a transposed rendering or the result of a later revision from the original translation made of the Vita, putative Latin equivalents are not included. To present a few obvious equivalences would do no more than illustrate the Old English translations often found for certain Latin words and such things, if examined, are better reserved to some other place than a formal list of the words of the text. Headwords are usually determined by the form in which a word first appears within the Life and cross references are given for the more unusual alternative forms. The verbal prefix ge- is disregarded, words containing it being listed under the simplex verb. The graphs b and a follow t, but otherwise the arrangement of items is alphabetical; g thus appears between ad and af-. Both the proper names and the Latin words which occur within the text are listed separately at the end of this glossary.

A separate glossary is provided for the Vercelli homily on St Guthlac because it is in many ways so different from the relevant sections of the Vespasian life for it to require individual investigation.
ā adv always; ā 148, 214, 302, 744, 899, 900, 902; ēa 949;

A WORLDa world 'world without end' 1

A 865, see ao

ā vb prefix, see -beran, -bidden, -blendan, -brédan, -bysgian,
-cean, -owellan, -dreogan, -drifan,
-fleón, -flyman, -fyllan, -fyrhtan, -fyrren,
-geotan, -gifan, -hebben, -hôn, -hwyrfan,
-ídian, -lédan, -lifian, -lutan, -lyfan,
-niman, -sian, -scian, -seogan, -slýwan,
-séttan, -stellan, -streccan, -swellian,
-ðennan, -bolian, -heawian, -wasan, -wasian,
-wéndan, -weorcan, -writan, -wúrian

āberan stv 4 endure; inf - 648; 3s pt āber 476 (N)

abbod m abbot; ns - 575, 579, 580, 593; ge abbodas 37; ds abbode
574; npl abbodes 617

abbodysse f abbess; ns - 707; ds - 141, 706 (N)

ābidden stv 1 wait; inf abidan 333

ābidden stv 5 ask; 2s pt ābide (at) 28

āblendan wkv 1 blind; pp āblend 20

ābrédan stv 3 withdraw, draw back; pp ābrédan 221; 3s pt ābréd
919

ābysgian wkv 2 employ, occupy; pp ābysgod 896

ac conj but; - 11, 13, 101, 133, 180, 234, 263, 269, 295, 335, 367,
385, 472, 717, 738, 803, 887, 899, 924, Ac
25, 99, 182, 306, 428, 464; ac ǣc 532,
929; ac ǣc swā 478; ac ǣc swylos 433,
619; Ac ǣc swiloe 590; ac swiloe 136;
ac ... ǣc 281

ac adv., interr. particle however; - 260, 583, 598, 698, 796, 926,
Ac 10, 12, 13, 598, 737, 765; ā 865 (N)

ǣcennan wkv 1 bring forth, be born; pp ēcenned 59, 66, 69, 71, 428

ǣcennednyssse f birth; a/de st his - 73

aosc f ash; npl aoasen 359

aossian wkv 2 ask, inquire about; inf tō arianne 811; 3s pt ahsode
382, ahsode 507, 762, axode 596; 3pl
pt acesdon 546 (N)

gearian: inf - 712; pp geaxod 715; 3s pt geaxode 904

æwellan wkv l kill, slay; 1s pr æwelle 414; 3s pt æwealde 413;
3pl pt æwealdon 287

édl f disease, illness; ns s é dl 757 (N), édle 562, 571, 761,
767; gé édle 768; ds édle 756; a/ds mid édle 756

édréogan stv 2 endure; inf - 181; 3s pt édreh 83

éfæstnysse f religion; gs - 672

éfen m evening; as éfen 820; ds éfenne 812

éfre adv ever; - 252

after adv after, afterwards; - 928

after prep after, following; - + d 103, 155, 228, 304, 386, 414,
508, 713, 715, 814; - post + d him
after 465; - + a/d - cnihtwisan 94,
- his forôfere 710, - endebyrdnesse
854, - his forôfere 869

in adv phrases afterwards; after bon 261, 329, 339, 397, 398,
453, 486, 749, 793, 842; after bon 337;
after bám 370, 860; after bissum 748;
after byssum 904

in prep formulae after; after bon pe 931; after bon bet
139; after bon be ... ßa 91/2; after
bon be ... bonne 797/8

after adj following, next; ism ban afteran 632, 820; ism ßan
afteran 819

afterfylgende ptc adj following, next; def hêre afterfylgandan 256,
832

afhano m offence; apl afhansæ 108

afweard adj absent; apl afweardan 824 (N) apl hêra afweardæ 658
(N)

ágwonom, see ágwonen

ágder hêra ge ... ge conj both ... and; - 616/7
äht f property, booty; apl ähta 110

älší n ale; a/ds mid - 606

älo adj each, every; nsm - 10, 182; asf älose 315; ges äloes 617; dem älce 236, äloe 295

almhtig adj almighty; nsm - 218

änig adj any; asn - 508; ges änges 652


är prep before; + a/d är sancte bartholōmeus messan 704

in adv phrases before; är hwilom 121, är hwilom 396; är bon 219, 906

in prep formulae before; är bon be 75; är bon be 794

är conj before; - 189, är 927, 944

är(en)morgen m early morning, dawn; a/ds on ärenmergen 814, on ärenmergen 820

ärgefremed pto adj previous, already done; apl pä ärgefremeden 288

ärre opv adj previous, earlier; apl pä ärren 250

ät adv at; är... är 879

ät prep at; - + d 503, 527, 598, 752, 848, 914; + a/d - mô 28, är his äcennednyse 73, är mô 585

in adv phrases next; är næxtan 538, 541, 543, 918

ätgeniman stv 4 take from; 3pl pt ätgenämnon 372

äbele adj noble; gen äbeles 525; nsm summ äbele 47, sä äbele 217; gen bsp åbeles 48, 52

ätwyen wkv 1 show, lay open; inf - 866; pp ätowew 58, ätowod 64, ätowyed 70, 74, ätowyd 73; 2s pr ind ätwyée 449; 3s pt ätwyde 263

ätwynesse f manifestation; npl - 453
afleon stv 2 fly, fly away; 3s pr ind aflígeóð 465; 3s pt aflíðah 649
aflyman wkv 1 put to flight; 3s pt aflíðeþ 726
afyllan wkv 1 fill, fill up; pp afyllled 397
afyllan wkv 1 cause to fall down, fall; 3pl pt afyllbon 398
afyrnan wkv 1 make distant, take from; 3s pr ind afýrreð 740
afyrht pto adj afraid; nsm - 352
egen pt prs vb own, have; inf égan 414; 3s pt éhte 523; 3pl pt éhton 121; 2pl pt - 359
egen pto adj own; asm by, égene 530, asn his égen 122; def his égenra 480 (N)
egéotan stv 2 pour out; 3s pt ej agute 419
agifan stv 5 give; inf - 112; 3s pt agesf 522
ahebban stv 6 heave up, raise; pp áheafea 293; 2s pr sj áhebbe 295; 2s pt áhöfe 449; 3s pt áhöf 795, 842, áhöf 836; 3pl pt áhöfna 486, 488
ahön stv 7 hang up, suspend; 3pl pt ahéngon 399; 3s pt sj ahéngoe 470
ahsode, see aosian
ahót adv at all; - 39
ahwyrfan wkv 1 turn aside; imper s ahwyrf 428
aídian wkv 2 vanish; 3s pt aídłode 305
alódan wkv 1 take from, lead; inf álódan 475; pp álöde 772
álifian wkv 3 live, spend; inf - 235
álútan stv 2 bow, bow down; 3pl pt áluton 132
álýfan wkv 1 + d to be permitted; 3pl pr ind álýfáð 822 (N)
ambrösie f ambrosia; gs ambrösie 862
án odl num one; asf ánæ 56, 57, 520, ánæ hwile 332, ánæ (N) 51; gem ánæs 520, gam - 512; dém bánúnum 187, déf ánre 607, dé[f] ánæ 612 (N)
\[\text{ana wk num one, alone; - 192, 249, 906}\]

in prep form not only; \[\text{ne ... het an ... obbe ... obbe ... het ... ao 294; nales het an het ... ao swloe 135, ... Ac ... ao 280, ... ao ao swloe 477, ... Ac ao ao swloe 590, ... ao ao ao swloe 618, ... ao ao ao 531, 929}\]

\[\text{nales het an het ... ao ao swloe 432}\]

\[\text{anora m anchorite, hermit; ns - 545, 885; da anoran 827; dpl ancerum 161}\]

\[\text{ancersetl n hermitage; as bet ancersetle 233}\]

andbidian wkv 1 await, wait for; 1s pr and andbidige 361 (n)

andettan wkv 1 confess, acknowledge; 3s pt andette 124, 129, 431, 701; 3pl pt andetton 601

andlyfen f/a food; as andlyfene 479; ge bæs andlyfenes 239 (mS
andlyfene, n); da andlyfene 592

andswarian wkv 2 answer; 3s pt andswarode 492, 509, 594, 586, 716, 762, 766, 770, 816; 3pl pt andswaroden 393, 595

andswarian wkv 2 answer; 3s ot andswarode 357

andweard adj present; nem - 360; geu bises andweardan 115; gsf
bises andweardan 43; den bism andweardan 291; npl bæ andweardan 421, 587;
apl bæ andweardan 573, bæ andweardum 325; gpl bæra andwearda 669 (n)
andwlite n face; ds mid blásum andwlite 518
angin n attempt; as Þre 14
ániman stv 4 take away; pp of ánmane 744
ányse f loneliness; a/ds for ányse 181
ánreð adj resolute; nm ánreð 269, ánreðe 924
ánsýn f countenance, face; a/ds - 100, 147, 305, 316, 404, 558,
a/né 146, ansýne 800; apl ansýne 317
ansund adj whole, sound; asm bone lichaman ealne ansundan 875
anweald m power; as - 734
ánwynysse f obstinacy, self-will; a/ds on ánwynysse 11
apostol m apostle; ns - 218, 364, 370; as - 263; ge apostoles 141, 194, 205; ds apostolum 85 (N)
áð f benefit, help; as Þre 548
aráfæstlice adj gracious; nsf árafæstlice 865 (N)
aráfæstlice adj autumn; asf on árafæstlice tide 704 (N)
aráfæstnyse f faithfulness, piety; ns árafæstnyse 897; a/ds mid árafæstnyse 526
aráfisán stv 1 rise; 3s pt áras 127, 701, árás 301
aráfleæs adj wretched; gpl bæra árfleæra 350
aráwurð adj honourable; nm sum árwurpe 482, se árwurða 942; nsf sæo árwyrða 707; ge árwyrðan gemynge 713; ge[n] árwyrða 712 (N); ge[n] árwyrðan gemynge 222, bære árwyrðan 713; ge[n] árwyrða, 712 (N); dem bæ árwyrðan gemynge 708, def árwyrþa 887
aráwurðian wkv 2 revere; 3pl pr ind árwurðian 415
aráwurðlice adv nobly; - 889
aráwurðnyse f honour, dignity; ds - 865, 884
**Ésoifan** stv 2 push away; 3s pt Ésoeaf 402

**Éseogean** wkv 3 tell, relate; inf - 40, 217

**Ésettan** wkv 1 set down; 3pl pt Ésetton 379

**aspIwan** wkv 1 spit out; inf - 425

**éstellan** wkv 1 leave, go out; 3s pr ind Êstellek 649

**éstroccan** wkv 1 stretch out, prostrate oneself; 3s pt Êstrehte 691; 3pl pt Êstrehton 63

**éswellan** stv 3 swell out; 3s pt Ésweoll 638 (N)

**Éhennan** wkv 1 stretch, stretch out; 3s pt Éhenede 840, 843

**aber obbe .. odda .. obbe** conj either ... or .. or; 621/2

**Éholian** wkv 2 endure; 3s pt Éholode 349

**Éhwean** stv 6 wash; inf Éhwean 288; pp Éwegan 91

**Éttor** p poison; as - 242, 243; gÉ Êttres 425; ds Êttre 411

**Éwacan** stv 6 waken, awake; 3s pt Éwé 119; 3s pt sj Éwóce 560

**Éwacian** wkv 2 awake, waken up; 3s pt Éwécode 624 (N)

**Éwendan** wkv 1 turn; inf - 444

**Éweringed** wto adj accursed; ns as Éwyrigeda 304, so Éwyrgeda 410, 412, 528, 529; asm Êwyrgedan 424; gs Êwyrigedan 247, Êwyrgedan 400, 420, 429, 559, Êwyrokedan 541, 622; dem Êwyrgedan 426, 430, 566; np Éwyrigedan 308, Êwyrigedan 336, Êwyrgedan 349, 353, 357, 362, 366, Êwyrgedan 387; gpl Êwryigedra 189, 343; Êwryigedra 191, 381, 401, 453, Êwryigedra 314, Êwryigedra 395, 447; dpl Êwryigedum 214, Êwrygedum 348, Êwrygédum 405

**Éweorpan** stv 3 throw out; 3s pt Éwearp 452

**Éwritan** stv 1 write; pp Éwritten 457; 3s pt Éwrät 457

**Éwunian** wkv 2 remain; 3s pt Éwunode 313; Éwunode 557, 514

geaxian, see asosian
bernan wkv 1 burn; 3s pt bernde 109

bebian wkv 2 bathe; 3s pt bebode 558

be prep about, by, of; - + d 29, 74, 74, 161, 178, 248, 273, 282, 410, 500, 574, 590, 665, 667, 679, 711, 762, 810, 816, 916; Be 6, 225, 407, 603, 655, 706, 722, 903, BE 226; + a/d be endebyrdnyse 592, be his forðfære
747, Be ..., gefere 563, 628, Be ..., lenge 747

be vb pref see -béoden, -byrgan, -olysan, -guman, -díglían, -feal-1án, -féolan, -fleón, -gán, -gangan, gitan, -gyrdan, -healdan, -hydan, -limpan -sensan, -telán, -swican, -tynan, -windan, wyrlan

béag m ring, crown; ds beage 90

beard m beard; dpl beardum 318

bearn n child; ns - 71, 796, 817, 825, bárn 778, 836; as bear 55, 56 (N); ds bearne 54; npl bárn 358

bebóden stv 2 command; 1s pr ind bebóde 450; 3s pt bebóad 371, 641, 853, 864

commend; 3s pt bebóad 863

bebod n command; ds bebode 860; apl bebodu 797; dpl bebdum 6, 42

bebyrgan wkv 1 bury; pp bebyrged 867, 869, 932; 3pl pt bebyrgad 865

beolysan wkv 1 enclose; 3s pt beolysde 56 (N)

becuman stv 4 come; 1s pr becum 27; 3s pt becm 637, 678; 3pl pt becomon 861; 3s pt sj becm 644

bediglian wkv 2 conceal, hide; pp bedigled 423

befálan stv 3, + d apply oneself to; inf - 498; 3s pt befeal 241, 392, 436, befeall 833

beflón stv 2 flee; 3s + t sj befluge 182

beforan prep before, from; -+ d 674, 867, postp + d 923; -+ a/d 304, 800

begán anom v practise, use; 3s pr ind begáð 99
begangen stv 7 commit, imitate; pr ptc begangende 96, 114, 159
bēgen pl pron both; mpl - 184
begitan stv 5 ask, receive, recover; pp begiten 454; 2s or ind begiteat 757, begytest 739; 3s pt beget 503
begyrdan wkv 1 begird, girdle; pp begyrd 570; 3s pt begyrdes 568
behealdan stv 7 behold, observe; imp s behaelt bu 7/6; 3s pt behōld 490
behydian wkv 1 hide; 2pl pt behyddes git 612
behīdig adj anxious; asm behīdigne 814
belimpan stv 3 belong; 3pl pt belumpen 199
bēa f entreaty, prayer; as bēne 734, bēne 571 (W), 925; dpl bēnum 690
bēoden stv 2 command, order; 3s pt bēad 128
bēon and forms, see under wesan
beorg m hill; mpl beorgas 171
beorhtnys f light, radiance; ns - 681, 834, 847; gs beorhtnysse 101; ds byrhtnysse 365, beorhtnesse 834
bēotian wkv 2 boast, threaten; 3s pt bēotode 440; 3pl pt bēotodon 357
bēoting f threat; dpl bēotingum 362
bera m bear; gs beran 441
beran stv 4 carry; inf - 461; 3pl pt bēron 374, bēron 499
beren adj made of barley; asm berene 237; dsn berenan 307
berhtan wkv 1 shine; 3s pt berhte 868
begencan wkv 1 sink, immerse; 3pl pt berenoton 329
beslēan stv 6 strike, penetrate; 3s pt beslēht 634
beswīcan stv 1 + fram deceive; pp beswīcen 426, beswīcen 430 + d pers fail; 3s pt beswōc 728
betūtan wkv 1 make better; inf - 252
betūnan wkv 1 close; pp betūned 919
bewygan prep between; postp + a betwēonum 581, 679; postp + d betwēonan 606, 670, betwēonum 610
bewyxn prep between, among; + a - 192, 582, betwux 330, 339, 349, betwux 365; + d betweox 114, 324; postp + d betwux 686
bewyndan stv 3 wrap; 3s pt sj bewinde 802, 806; 3s pt bewand 885
bewyrpan stv 3 cast down; 3pl pt bewurpon 329
bidden stv 5 ask, request, command; 1s pr ind bidde 8, 813; 1s pt bed 733; 3s pt bed 165, 183, 409, 687, 793, bed 693; 3pl pt bêdon 63, 132, 580, 584, 614, bêdon 577, 601; imper s bidde 801
gebidden : 3s pt gebed 302
bigengca m inhabitant; ns - 364, 671; apl bigengean 176
bigleofa m food; ge bigleofan 236; a/d - 306
biglēofian wkv 2 sustain, nourish; 3s pt biglēofode 239, bîlēofode 307
bigyse f bend, joint; dpl bigynseum 171, 876
bilwit adj mild; nsm bilwite 101
gebīndan stv 3 bind; inf - 534; 3pl pt gebundon 327 (N)
bīsceop m bishop; ns - 660, 662, 678, 685, 693; ge bīsceopes 663, bīsceopes 692, 697; ds bīscope 655; mpl bīsceopes 539, 617
biter adj bitter; gen bīs bitocran 425
bīsco f paleness; a/ds on - 848
bīlwæn stv 7 blow; 3s pt bīlow 558
gebleasian wkv 2 bless; 3s pt gebletsode 615
bletsung f blessing; as bletsunge 522; ds - 614; a/ds - 573
blind adj blind; gpl blændra 20
blis f joy, gladness; ds blisse 271, 369, 883; a/ds - 843
blissian wkv 2 exult, rejoice; pr pt blissiende 485
blīte adj glad, joyful; nsm - 264, 370, 470; dem blītum 611; den blītum 518, blītum 651
blōd n blood; as - 419, 842; gbl blōdes 785
blōdgian wkv 2 to make bloody; 3s pt blōdgode 530
blōdig adj bloody, blood-covered; dpl blōdigum tuxum 440
blōstam m flower; gpl blōstman 831 (n)
bōn f book; as - 6, 16, bēo 33
bodian wkv 2 proclaim; pp gebodod 13; 3s pt bodode 682, 683
boga m bow; ds bogan 245; a/ds of bogan 649
brecan stv 4 break; 3pl pt brēcon 230
gebrecen : pp gebrogen 384; 3s pt gebrau 559
brēmel m bramble; gpl brēmela 331
brenjan wkv 1 bring; pp brōht 642; 3s pt brōhte 77, 471; 3pl pt brōhton 520, 939
gebrenjan : 3pl pt gebrohton 345, 372
brōost n breast, mind; ds brōoste 424; npl brōost 151; apl brōost 488; dpl brōostum 763, 816, 829, 858, 901
gebrīgan stv 3 bring; inf - 547
brōga m fear; dpl brōgum 180
brōbor m brother; ns - 464, 698, 851, brōbor 482, d93, 759, 775, 785, 807, 832, 845, 855; as brōbor 463, 855, brōbor 697; ds brōbor 712, brōber 786; npl brōbra 144, brōbra 594, BRODRA 604; gpl brōbra 588; dpl brō-
Drum 603
brōðowlife adj brotherly; asam bone brōðowlīcan 871
brōcan stv 2 + g use; inf - 234
brytise adj British; asn - 388, bryttise 395

burh f town; ds byrig 220; apl burh 109

būton prep without, except for; + d - 187; + a/d būtan 652, 34)

būton conj except, but that; - 21, 237, 826; būton ..., būtan ...

byrgen f grave, tomb; as byrgene 874; ds - 910, 914; a/as - 871

byrhto f brightness, light; ds - 845

byrnan stv 3 burn; pr pto byrnende 149; 3s pt barn 134

byrnende pto adj burning; apl pä byrnenda læga 346 (d)

byrne f coat of mail; ds byrnan 212

bysen f example; as bysene 477; ds - 30

bysmorian wkv 2 revile, mock; inf - 280; op geysmroð 385

bysmer n taunt, disgrace; dpl bysmerum 334

bysmornyse f mockery, taunt; as/pl ba bysmornyssse 311
kālend m calends, beginning of the month; ge kālendes 204

campōnē m warfare; ds campēna 223

camppian wkv 2 fight; 3s pt campēpod 215, 405

cantēc m canticle, song; apl canticas 155

carte f piece of parchment, leaf of paper; ns - 469; as cartan 458, 460; ds cartan 471; as/pl cartan 457

cesald adj cold, icy; apl ðā cesaldan 340

cempan m champion, warrior; ns - 209, 400; ge cempan 246

cennan wkv 1 give birth to; inf - 55

gesōsan stv 2 choose, select; pp gesōren 893; 3s pt gesōsa 51

ceren n? must, sweet wine; dpl ceremum 679

cester f fort, castle; ds centre 168

gescīgan wkv 1 call, name; po gescīged 22

cild n child; ns - 59, 66; as - 77

cléane adj clean, pure; nsm cláene 100, 147; gpl clánera 213

clānnyse f purity; as clānnyssa 145

clānnian wkv 2 cleanse, purify; inf - 540, tō clānnienan 296

cleopian wkv 2 call, cry out; 1s pr ind olympige 260; 3s pt olypo-
dode 67, olypode 258, 301; 3pl pt olypodon 353

cleopunge f clamouring; ds cleopunge 353

cnēo n knee; apl cnēoun 322, 489

cniht m boy, youth; ns - 731; dpl cnihtum 204

tōnihtlice adj boyish, childish; naf cnihtlicou 99; naf cnihtliche 96

tōnihtwīse f boy's way; a/ds after tōnihtwaesan 94 (Vita 221 pueriliter)
costēre m tempter; ns - 427

costēnan wkv 2 tempt; pp geostōd 89; 1pl pt costodon 278
costung f temptation; gs costunge 245; apl - 190, 446; gpl

costunga 242, 311

torscöstung f cawing; as - 442

craft m power, skill; as - 657, craft 669; apl/is mid manigfealde
crafta 279

cuma m guest, visitor; ns - 267, 460; gs cuman 265, 367

cuman stv 4 come; inf - 343, 384, 503, 585; pr ptc cuman 57;
3s or ind cuman 23; 1s pt cuman 925; 3s
pt cuman 54, 55, 65, 93, 116, 176, 189, 194,
206, 262, 364, 418, 416, 455, 458, 460,
468, 482, 568, 575, 580, 630, 719, 725,
727, 730, 761, 783, 788, 788, 830, 853,
910, 915; 3pl pt cuman 185, 275, 314,
326, 375, 376, 485, 496, 505, 517, 549,
551, 594, 603, 608, 630; cuman 604; 3s
pt aj cuman 34, cuman 717 (N)

cuman pt pre vb know; 2s pr ind cuman 91; 1pl pr ind cuman 277;
3pl pr ind cuman 31, 35, cuman 34, 227

cunnan wkv 2 discern, judge; inf - 671, geucchini 700

cuid ptc adj known; nsn - 76; apln cuid 41, 587; apln cuid 509

cupa m (thing) known; ns e cupa 781; apln pum cuid 902

cudlice adv manifestly; - 276; swâ - swâ 573

cweahan stv 5 say, proclaim; pr ptc cweahan 85; 2s pt
cwean 67, 88, 258, 302, 336, 358,
422, 464, 477, 492, 510, 584, 588,
671, 691, 698, 716, 733, 765, 767, 770,
778, 795, 816, 836, 911, 923, cwean 611,
670; 3pl pt cwean 71, 377, 595, cwean
276, 354, 383, 668

geweahan : inf - 857; pp geeworthy 140; 3s pt geeworthy 133

cyme m approach, advance; a/ds - 315

kynekyne n royal family; gs kynekyne 501

kyning m king; ns - 3, 726; gs kyninges 46, 383, 710, kyninges
708; ds kyning 722, 888, kyninges 903;
apl kyninges 2, 119

cynn m kind, tribe; ns - 623 (NS cynnes); gs cynnes 48, 78, 427,
525, kyne 52
**oyriol** adj. ecclesiastical; dsf oyriolere 155; gpl oyriolice 872 (n)

cyriec f. oratory, church; as cyres 942; ge - 220, 791; a/ds ut of his - 462, into his cyriecan 556, on his cyroan 752, on cyroan 865

cyrran wkv l turn; inf - 913; 3s pt cyrde 250; 3pl pt cyrdon 584

gecyrran : inf - 255; pp gecyrred 849; 3s pt cyrde 303

cyte f. cabin, cell; as cytta 920; ds - 328

cydan wkv l make known, make manifest; 3s pt cydane 573, 657, 724, 824

gecydan : inf - 819; pp gecydan 421, gecybed 448
dead f deed; apl dāda 105; dpl dādum 782, 894
dag m day; ns - 126, 201, 204, 551, 788, 835; as - 834; ds
dage 240, 416, 557, 632, 756, 758, 761, 864, 873, dāge 236, 256, 295, 848, 860,
dag 300, 772; ge dāgus 789; npl dagas
926; apl dagas 164, 196, 198, 235, 254,
312, 456, 556, 756; apl dāga 294, 299,
863; dpl dagum 46, 297, 389, 704
daghwæmlic e adv daily; - 123, 479, 526
dāl m part, portion; as dāl 112
gedafenian wkv 2 to be seemly, to be fitting; impers + d 3s pr
ind gedafenæ 298; impers + clause with
sj vb 3s pr ind - 773
dagian wkv 2 to dawn, to be day; inf - 379
dēdō m death; ns - 746; as - 120; ge dēhōs 542; ds dēdō 536
dēphērendē pto adj deadly; apl bā dēphērendan
425
delfan stv 3 dig, dig out; pp gedolfen 231; 3pl pt gedulfeon 230
dēfol m/n? devil; ge dēfola 669, 677; npl dēfolu 275, dēfola
388, 435
dēfollicē adj diabolical; nsf gēo dēfollicē 253; asf bā dēfol-
licēan 305
dēfollicēē adj possessed with a devil; nsm nēnig - 626
dēfollicē adv deeply; swā swēbe dēfollicē 786
dēpnyss f depth, abyss; ge dēpnyssē 347, 355
dōr n animal; npl wilde dōr 478, 494
dōrwyrbe adj precious; apl bā dōrwyrban 785
dīgol adj secret, hidden; asm dīgles 187, 179; npl bā dīglan 216;
apl bā dīglan 509
dīgelmyss f solitude; as dīgelmyssē 196
dihtere m informant; npl dihterast 31; apl - 39
dīmnyss f dimness, obscurity; ge dīmnyssē 365, dynnyssē 19; a/ds
mid dīmnesse 934
dōhtor f daughter; ns - 708

dōm m ordinance; npl dōmas 216

dōn anom vb (1) do; pp gedōn 80; 3s pr ind dōd 677; 3pl pr ind dōd 415; 3s pt dyde 184, 252, 695;
   3 pl pt dydon 373
   + prep (2) put; pp gedōn 879; 3s pt dyde 213, 945; 3pl pt dydon 887
   + a (3) make; inf dōn 535; 3s pt gedyde 509
   fig. (4) to put to (use); inf tō pon dōn 805

dreccan wkv 1 torment, afflict; + d 3s pt drehte 543; + a drehte 566

gedrōfan wkv 1 trouble, disturb; pp gedrōfed 248

drōman wkv 1 rejoice, carouse; 3pl pt drāndon 581 (M)

drōgan stv 2 endure, suffer; 2s pr ind drīganast 291; 3s pr ind drēged 89; 3s pt drēah 348

drihten m Lord; ns - 7:6, 739, 740, ëre - 218, Mìn - 259, Mìn - god 302, Dryhten 336; gō drihtnes
   216, 361, 681, 689, 738, 870; ñs tō drihtne Mīsum gode 779, ñrum drihtne 948

drohtnung f manner, ordering; ñs drohtnunge 29, 273

drops m drop; ñs drōpan 945

druncennysse f drunkenness; ns - 143

drōpan wkv 1 drop; 3s pt drīpte 944

duru f door; a/ðs tōforan bes hūesse duru 59

düst n dust, powder; ns - 358

dwelian wkv 2 go astray; 3pl pr aj dwelion 21; 3s pt dwelode 115
   (NS weole 7 welode)

dymnysse, see dimmys

dysig adj foolish; ñan bōm dysigan 424
ea f river; a/ds frām grante ęs 168

ęa adv also, as well; - 277, 530, 534, 579, 683, 703, ęa 571; ęa swā 'moreover' 718, FAC SWYLOE 604; Swyloes ęa 37, 564; swyloes ęa 170, 878; Swyloes ęa 273, 311, 500, 653, 707; Swyloes nes ęa 516, Swyloes nys ęa 656, 723

in formulae: (nales bet ən bet) ... əc ... ęa 281 'not only ... but also', ... əc ęa swā 478, ... əc ęa swyloes 433, 619, ... əc ęa 532, 929, ... əc ęa swyloes ... ge ęa swyloes 590/l; swyloes ęa ... nales bet ...... əc 886 (E Est) ... 7 swyloes ęa ... 7 ęa swyloes 283/5, ...... Swyloes ęa ...... swyloes ęa 440/l

ęa prep besides; in phrase ęa bon 'moreover' 571 (N)

geşoniam wkv 2 become pregnant; pp geşacnod 54

şadig adj blessed; nsm şadig 88, ş şadige 114, 189, 190, 206, 231, 246, 254, 264, 300, 310, 335, 351, 368, 392, 404, 472, 507, 610, 637, 783, 794, 867, 893, [s şadige 572 (N)]; aam bone şadigan 922, bisme şadigan 620; gem bex şadigan 33, 40, 151, 248, 419, 580, 704, 761, 860, 874; gem bexre şadigan 173; dem bex şadigan 38, 363, 416, 680, 948

şadigysse f blessedness; as şadigysse 84; de - 72

şadmöd adj humble; nsm - 148

şadmödllice adj humbly; - 409, 491, 686

şadnys f cheerfulness; ge şadnysse 157 (N)

şage n eye; as - 945; mpl şagan 918, 934; apl - 319, 842, 944; dpl şagun 39, 293, 675, 868

eagospind n cheek; apl - 776 (N)

eahta odl num eight; ymb eahte nikt 77

eahtoda ord num eighth; nsm ęs - 204; dem bęm eahtopan 756, ism ban - 772
ealh interj adv o, alas; ealh 423, 447, 731

ealhend n island; ns - 170; ae - 179; ds ealand 194, 197, 228

ealce, see ealh

eald adj old, ancient, senior; nsm - 138, 745, e ealde 241;
spl pā ealdan 119; opv dpl yldran 95;
spv gam bes yldstan 48; nplm yldest 165

ealdor m elder, parent; dpl ealdorin 526

ealdorman m leader, nobleman; ae - 128; npl ealdormen 617

eall pron., adj all; nsm - 331, 650, 848; nes eal 570; nsm eall
265, 324, 386, 559, 650, 843, 850; nsm
ealle 139, ealne 341, 398, 875; nes
ealde 920; nsm eall 75, 137, 315, 397,
833, 845, 930; gam ealles 22, 284, 297;
def eallra 373; a/dan ? mid ealle his
megne 891 (?); npl ealle 59, 62, 62,
102, 132, 146, 344, 377, 619, 653, 735;
spl n/f ealle 2, 196, 235, 286, 306,
308, 476, 730, 746, 824, 861; spln ealle
112, 122, 121, 420, 586, 743, eall 40,
592, 854; gpl ealra 158, 217, 347, 438,
894, 949; dpl eallum 4, 90, 195, 207,
270, 282, 327, 385, 434, 847, 876

ealle adv wholely, entirely; - 479, 781; perhaps also - 122
where glossed spln

eard m native land; ae - 136

eardian wkv 2 inhabit, live in; inf - 180, 188, 193, eardigan 237,
239, 249; pr ptc eardende 672; ls pt
eardede 812, 820; 3ps pt eardode 225,
637; 3pl pt eardedon 282

eardung f habitation; ds for þere eardunga 189

eardungstow f dwelling-place; as eardungstowe 177

ear e n ear; spl earan 318

earfoð n hardship, suffering; ns - 644; spl earfoða 730; gpl
- 291, 731; dpl earfoðum 261, 270,
434, earfoðum 733

earfoðnyse f hardship, difficulty; spl earfoðnyse 83, 89
tēarīp m stream; npl tēarīpnu 170

earm m arm; apl earma 488, 842

earm adj poor, wretched; npl pē earma 447; bē mē earma 448;

nplm ðow earman 359 (f)

earmlicp adj wretched; asm earmlicone 120

eart, see wean

easternag m Easter Sunday; as - 783

easternwea f Easter week; ds ðasternwea 759

eastre f Easter; a/ds nēast ðastron 758

ēce adj eternal; gem bās ēcean 451; gef ēcore 5, bāre ēcean 84;

gen ēces 84, bās ēcean 224; dsm ēcum 90, bām ēcum 843, bām ēcean 450; dsf

bāre ēce (N) 72, bāre ēcean 751

ēonya f eternity; a/ds on ēonya 290, 949

† efenhāfdling m equal, comrade; apl efenhāfdlingas 107

efne adv (1) interjection 'lo'; - 56

(2) intensive particle 'even'; - ēr bon 75; - blissiende 485

(3) + swā 'even as', 'just as'; efne swā 242, 470; efne

swā 257, 304, 387; efne swā swā 660;

efne swā swā .... swā 648/9

efstan wkv l hasten, draw near; inf - 123; 3s pr ind efsted 744;

3pl pt efston 60, efston 620

eft adv again, afterwards, then; - 25, 32, 92, 199, 201, 203, 290,

292, 371, 379, 414, 476, 486, 522, 522,

542, 561, 593, 594, 608, 615, 626, 627,

652, 719, 758, 767, 770, 800, 800, 830,

835, 857, 870, 886, 888

ege m fear, dread; as - 347; ds- 324; a/ds mid godes ege 118

eggas m terror, dread; ds bām godcundan egea 124, for bāra egea

(N) 352; npl egea 400; dpl geaum 180

egealîc adj horrible, terrible; nplm egealîce 316; dpl bām egealîcum

325

ōghwonea adv everywhere, on all sides; - 316, ōghwonea 620
ëgland n island; ns ëgland 850, ëgland 468; ds ëglande 473, 504, 549, ëglande 544, 549, 636, 861, bare foresprecenan - 552 (n)

eglion wkv 2 trouble, ail; + d 3s pt eglode 562, 571

egsían wkv 2 frighten; inf - 362

œhtere m persecutor; ns - 219

œhtnys f persecution; apl œhtnysse 113, as/pl - 726

elles adv else; nāfre elles 896

ende m end; ns - 772, 949; as - 45; ds - 32, 45, 123, 744, 769

endebyrdürnyse f order, rank; ds endebyrdürnyse 156, 228; a/ds be - 592, after - 854; spl - 872 (n)

engel m angel; as engel 821; apl englas 496

engellíc adj angelic; asf ë engellícian 497; def engellícere 263, 682, 922; aplm engellícise 849; dpl engellícium 823

englícse adj English; as on - 87, 259, 378

êode, see ān

eordð f earth, ground; ds eordan 325, eordan 846; a/ds on eordan 62, 856, 887, ofer - 229, to - 691, geond eordan 110, to - 701

eordlik adj earthly; aplm eordlíce 2

æower poss adj your; dpl æowerum 361
space, time; as - 720; ds face 863; apl face 340, face 849

father; ns min 768, min se llofeder 808, min feder 911; ga feder 527

adj paternal; ds bare federlicoan 92

adj fair, beautiful; dpl fagerum 15; spv naf fagerost 52;
den bain fagerestan 57

adv fairly, beautifully; - 15; opv fageror 375

fagernys f fairness; as fagernysse 297; ds - 263, fagernysse 367;
a/ds for his fagernysse 847

femme f virgin, woman; ns - 707; ga femman 714, 804

adv suddenly; - 117, b - 919; faringa 342

adv suddenly; farlige 64

adj firm; asm fastne 941

wkv 1 fast; 3s pt faste 284; 3pl pt feston 283

adv firmly; - 272

n fast, fasting; as - 294; as - 292, 299; ds festene 296

adv firmly; - 257; opv swa ... festilcor 290

wkv 2 secure; 3s pt festnode 272

gefestnian s; 3s pt gefestnode 245

wkv 2 test, tempt; + g 1pl pt fandedon 278

go, journey; inf - 519, 578; imper s far bu 798; 1s

pr ind fare 779; 3pl pt foron 323

pte adj journeying; dsf farendum 116

stv 7 fall; 3s pt fool 430, fool 856; 3pl pt foolon 350,
600; 3s pt sj foolle 521

m bull: ga feared 440

pl adj few, several; nplm - 187 (n); dpl fawum 81

wkv 1 feed, nourish, bring up; pp gefed 93; 3pl pt feddon 95
féla indeol adj + g man; - 664, 665
fellan wkv 1 fell, throw down; 3s pt felde 110
fellen adj made of skin; dem fellenum 234
fenn m/n fen, marsh; ns sum - 167; as on bone sweartan - 328,
bone - 459; ge fennas 187; ds fenne 544; apl fennas 185, 465
fenland n fenland, marsh land; apl - 467
fenice adj marshy; apl pæ fenlican 192
feoh n wealth, riches; ge fæos 229
geféon stv 5 rejoice; 2s pr ind geféhat 292
férond m enemy; ns - 241, 390, 427, 529; as - 424; apl fýnd 302;
dpl férondum 108
feor adv far; - 168
feorland n distant land; dpl fæorlandum 905
fěower odl num four; - 7 twentig 137; fěowor gær 536; ymb
fěower niht 782
fěran wkv 1 go journey, set out; inf - 199, fěram 165; imper s
fére 837 (N); 3s pr sj fóre 798; 3s
pt férde 139, 201, 220, 561, 576, 593,
626, 627, 652, 660, 661, 853, 907, 947;
3pl pt fárdom 184, 504, 522, 542, 548,
588, 605, 607, 615, 664, fáredom 374,
fáredom 435
gefėran wkv 1 journey, carry; inf - 839; pp gefėred 375;
3s pt gefėrde 175, 636
ferian wkv 1 convey, send; 3s pt ferde 844 (N)
fera n verse; as - 403
ffe odl num five; - dagum 704
fifyne odl num fifteen; - gēar 749
fillan wkv 1 follow, serve; + d inf - 774
fundan stv 3 find; inf - 177, 548; 3pl pt fundon 128
fisco m fish; apl fisca 478
fiscere m fisher; dpl fiscerum 13
fisere n wing; dpl fisereum 339, 374
fixas, see fisco
flaxe f flask; mpl flaxan 606, 612
flæo n white spot in the eye; a/ds mid - 7 mid dimnesse 934
flæogan stv 2 fly, flee from; inf - 485; 3pl pr ind flæod 735
1s pt flæah 799; 3s pt - 514, 727
folo n people; ds folce 219, 716; dpl folcum 4; as/pl folo 672
fololec adj common; mpl fololecre 97
fæn stv 7 take, receive; usually + ṭō : inf fana 694; 3s pt fæng
108, 142, 470, 521, 561, him tægæænæ
fæng 'clutched at him' 702; + d fæng
306 (N)
for prep for, on account of, before; + d - 23, 32, 49, 131, 143,
180, 189, 229, 352, 355, 366, 545, 629,
732, 921; + a/d - 162, 180, 514, 803;
'compared with' (?) 847 (N)
in prep formulae because, accordingly; for þæm 396, for þæm
be 305, for þæg be 880
in formulae why; for hwan 361, 424, 490, 612, For hwan 612,
for hwan 382
fær f journey; ds fore 633
foran prep before; postp + d - 659
forebæcon n sign; ns bæt - 64
foregenga m predecessor; mpl foregengena 44
foremære adj illustrious; nam sum foremære man 501
foreoaawian wkv 2 appoint; 3s pt foreoaawode 53
foreoaegan wkv 3 foretell; 3s pt foresæde 721, 724, 743
foreoaød ptc adj nam sé foresæda 460; gsm/n þæs foresædan fennæ
186
foreoaecen ptc adj aforesaid; nam sé foresæcena 177, 678, 724,
forestihtian wkv 2 ordained; pp forestihtod 72; 3s pt forestihtode 218

forgifan stv 5 grant; 3s pt forgæaf 433
forgifenys f forgiveness; as forgifenysse 601
forgitan stv 5 forget; + g pr pto forgitende 347
forgripæn stv l seize, assail; 3s pr ind forgripæd 746
forhabban wkv 3 abstain; pr pto forhabbende 144
forhæfndyns f abstinence; as forhæfndynsse 158, 295; a/ds hurh heora
forhæfndynsse 286, hurh 289
forht adj frightened, afraid; nplm forhte 131, swide 880
forhtlice adj fearful, afraid; nsm 919, 921
forhyogan wkv 3 disdain, shun; 3s pt forhogode 190, 311, forhogode 308

forlætan stv 7 let go, forsake; inf forlætan 810, 838, t ð forlæt-
- enne, 656, t ð forlætænne 723; pp
forlætæn 506; 2s pr ind forlætæt 913;
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forma ord num first; nsm så forma 783
fornymæn stv 4 destroy; 3s or ind fornymæd 736
forsæmon stv 5 despise; 3s pt forsæmah 136, 305, 446
ford adv forth, out; - 520

forban adv accordingly, therefore, on this account; - 8, 182,
Forban 17, forban 30, 30, 42, 732,
799, 925, Forban 28, 813

forbon conj because; - 22, 80, 82, 89, 207, 289, 294, 337, 496,
657, 672, 719, 737, 739, 772, 773, 778,
792, 837, 905, 908, 924, 926, 927,
forban 68, 195, 200, 625
in prep formulae because; forbon be 70, 303, 383, 867

forðfereð pte adj dead; nsam forðfereð (was) 931; sam bone brōbor
forðfereðne 855; sam forðfereðum 877

forðför f death; ns forðför 873; as forðför 760; da forðför 815; a/d after his forðför 710, be
his forðför 747, after his forðför 869, geasode e.. forðför 905

forðlæstan wkv 1 follow out, fulfill; inf - 134

forðgelæstan wkv 1 fulfill; pr pte forðgelæstende 235

forwyrd f perdition; gs forwyre 358

föt m foot; as - 634, 635; apl föt 639; dpl fötum 431, 601

gefrætvian wkv 2 adorn; inf - 299; 3s pt gefrætwode 298

fram prep from, by; + d - 12, 13, 24, 37, 168, 200, 348, 426, 429,
430, 495, 538, 565, 570, 622, 625, 638,
651, 740, 795, 888, postp + d - 402,
627; + a/d - 167, 232, 337, 387, 404,
584

frēfrian wkv 2 comfort, console; 3s pr ind frēfre 913; 3s pt
frēfred 267, 463, 777

gefrēfrian 3s pt gefrēfrede 729

fremde adj strange; ns fremde 25; apl på fremdan 24; gpl þæra
fremdra 26

fremman wkv 1 advance; 3s pt fremade 572, 936

gefremman wkv 1 do; 3s pr ind gefremed 692; 3s pt
gefremede 251; 3pl pt gefremedon 548

frōond m friend; as - 368; gs frōondes 271; npl frōand 939

frignan stv 5 ask, inquire; 3s pt frea 176, 490, frea 594,
fræga 767

frōfor f help, comfort; ns - 906; as frōfre 909; gs frōfre 821

fruma m beginning, origin; ns - 22, 32; as fruman 45; da - 45

fugel m bird; npl fugelas 477, 490, 494; apl fugelas 489; gpl
fugela 98 (MS fugelas), 443, 449
ful adj filthy, foul; nplm fulle 170; aplm - 319
füllc adj foul, filthy; nplm füllce 318
gefullian wkv 2 baptize; pp gefullod 717; 3s pt gefullode 720
fulluht m/a 7 baptism; gs fulluhtes 92
fulluhtbas, see fulwihtes
fülnys filth; as füllysse 346
fullum m aid, help; ns - 728, 729; as - 195, 207; ds fullume 174, 190, 269, 434, 737, 738, 912, 924
fuluht ge full an wkv 2 baptize; pp gefullod 717; 3s pt gefullode 720
fulluhtbas, see fulwihtbas
fülnys filth; as füllysse 346
fuluht m aid, helper; ns - 261 represents an extension of above; bartholomew is described as see getrhoa fullum of Guthlac. Cf Hly 31
gefultumian wkv 2 help; imper s gefultum 260; 3s pt gefultomode 733
fulwihtbas m baptism; gs fulwihtbas 78, fulluhtbas 718
fyllan wkv 1 fill; 3pl pt fyldon 315
gefyllan wkv 1 fill, fulfill, perform; inf - 381; pp gefylled 43, 65, 118, 272, 555, 692, 851, 856, 883, gefylled 152, gefylde 38, 320, 606, 862, 920; 1pl pt gefylde 17
gefylstan wkv 1 help; pp gefylst 174
fyr m fire; ns - 355; ds fyre 397
fyren adj composed of fire; asm fyrene 846
fyrhto f fear, terror; ds fyrrhe 852, 881
*fyrlu f distance; as on ba fyrla 649 (N)
fyrmeste adv first; - 403
fyrst m space of time, time; ns - 294; as - 53; gs fyrestes 296; ds fyreste 748
**gegaderian** wkv 2 gather together; pp *gegaderod* 533; 3pl pt *gegaderodon* 344

**gāl** adj wicked, evil: nsm *gāl* 700

**gālnys** f wantonness, evilness; as *gālnysse* 92

**gān** anom v go; 3s pt *ōde* 75, 394, 458, 462, 466, 517, 528, 553, 557, 633, 635, *ōde* 184, *ōde* 852; 3pl pt *ōdon* 504, ui ... *ōdon* 511

**gangan** stv 7 go; 3pl pr ind *gangað* 378

**gāst** m spirit, soul; ns - 304, 411, 412, 447, 528, 772, 773, *gāst* 838; as *gāst* 299, 843; *ge gāstes* 211, 247, 401, 420, 429, 541, 559; da *gāste* 426, 430, 566, 572, 622; mpl *gāstes* 308, 338, 349, 353, 357, 366, *gāstes* 362, 387; gpl *gāsta* 190, 191, 210, 314, 343, 376, 381, 395, 401, 447, 453; dpl *gāstum* 215, 248, 405

**gāstlīc** adj spiritual; as *heora* - 484; *gaf gāstlīcere* 101; df - 118, 271, 369, *gāstlīcere* 883; da[f] on *gāstlīcere hōftscipe* 483 (n), 576; dpl *gāstlīcum* 211

**gāstlice** adv spiritually, in blessedness; - 890 (*Vita 1214 feliciiter*)

**gāstlīpnnes** f hospitality; a/ds on *gāstlīpnnesse* 916

**gē** pron you; mpl - 67, 358, 359, 361, 613; dpl *ēow* 358, 359

**ge** conj and; *ge ēac* 530; *ge ēac swīlice* 591; *mēger pāra ge ... ge* 618f

**gēar** m/a year; da *gēare* 819; apl *gēar* 154, 537, 749

**gēara** adv formerly, once; - 161, 483, 576; *ā - 229; ā - 282

**gēara** adv well, clearly; *swā gēaða ..... swā* 658

**gēarlīce** adv fully; *gēarlīce* 946

**gēarmung** f merit, labour; ns - 472; a/ds *hūrh ... gēarmunga* 931

**gēaru** adj ready nsm - 360

**gēstred** pte adj poisoned; def *pēre gēstredan* 246

**gēarwa, gēearwod, gēearwode**, see *gyrwea*
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<td>pte adj enraged, angry</td>
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<td>- 274</td>
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<td>f/a nature</td>
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<td>pte adj consecrated</td>
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<td>adj certain, several</td>
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<td>adj obedient</td>
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<td>pte adj learned</td>
<td>nsm só gelēreda 745; asm bone gelēredan 8</td>
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gelēaful adj believing;asm bone gelēafullum 8; dpl callum gelēa-
fullum 4
gelīc adj + d like; nsm - 450; nplm gelīc 320; opv nsm gelīcera 
877
gelīce adv likewise, also; - 746, 782, 902; swā gelīce 532; hē 
gelīce 299 (N)
gelīcusse f likeness; as gelīcusse 440
gelōmīce adv frequently, often; - 250, 405, 497, 777
gemmece f wife; as gemmecean 51

gemetfemt adj moderate, gentle; nsm - 148
gemynad f/n memory; as nāsīg gemynad 567; swē härā ādīgan gemynad 
gūtlāc 173; hērē ãrwurdān gemynad gūtlāc 
222; gæn ãs ãrwurdān gemynad GUBLACES 
7 (N); dpl tō gemynandum 34

gemynadalce adj memorable, commemorative; daf gemynadalce 887
gemynadig adj mindful of; nsm - 817 (N)
genēchhor opv adv more frequently; hīg - 34

genēkliice adv usually; - 645

gegođe f youth; a/d a on his geogođe 104

gēomerian wkv 2 sigh, mourn, bewail; inf - 775, gēomerian 382

geon prop through, throughout; + a 41, 849; + a/d geond eorban 
109

geonscōawian wkv 2 survey; inf - 422; 3s pt geondscoawode 198

geonscōton atv 2 cover, suffuse; pp geondscōten 845

geonsprengan wkv 1 scatter through; 3s pt geonsprengde 412

gеong adv young; nsm - 745; opv dpl giaphrag 96

gemnfullice adv diligently, eagerly; swā - 895

gemnliice adv earnestly; - 687

gemnost spv adv best, most fully; - 31
gerād adj constituted; nsn swā gerād 186, hū gerād 676
gerāde adj prepared, easy; asm gerādne 36
gereord f food, sustenance; ds gereorde 236, 694, 696
gereord n speech, language; a/ds of bes cynnnes gereorde 79; gpl gereorda 396
†gerisen n seizing, seizure; a/ds on gerisne 738 (N)
gerisene pln honourable behaviour, dignity; dpl gerisenum 3
geryne n mystery, sacrament; apl gerynum 718, geryne 821
gerynelic adj mystical; asf ba gerynelican 140
gesegem f saying, narrative; dpl gesegenum 26, 37
gesigefastod pp crowned with victory; - 310 (N)
gesihb f sight, vision; ds gesihbe 922; a/ds - onfēngoe 938
gesnyttrō f wisdom; gpl ealra gesnyttra 894
gesprēc n speech, conversation; ds gesprēce 611; dpl gesprēcum 484
gestūbbig adj grave; nsn - 894
gestrēon n wealth, riches; as/pl - 49, 50, 136
gestund n noise, din; dpl gestumdom 323 (N)
gesund adj whole, sound; nsn - 947
gesundfulnys f prosperity; gs gesundfulnyse 5
geswine n toil; ds mid woruldflicre geswine 83 (N)
geswinonyse f tribulation, trial; ds geswinonyse 260; apl - 89
gesynē adj evident, visible; nsn - 448
getimbre n / getimbru plf building(s); dpl getimbrum 889
getrēow adj faithful; nsn gē getrēowa 261; asm þone getrēowan 368; gsm þone getrēowan 271
gebanc n/a mind, thought; ns - 265; as - 411; gpl gebanca 213
†geboht n? howling; as/(pl) - 442
gebofta m comrade, follower; gpl geboftena 107
geboht m/n thought; ge gebõhtes 428; apl gebõhtas 266; dpl gebõhtum 257
gebyld n patience; as - 157, 277; gs gebyldes 477
gebyldig adj patient; ns - 148, 737
geunrõtsian wkv 2 become sorrowful, be troubled; gs geunrõtsod 778, geunrõtsod 926
geweald m/n power; as - 359
gewinn n toil, hardship; as - 636; gs gewinnes 823, 909; ds gewinne 750; gpl gewinna 731; dpl gewinnum 390
gewisse adj + g cognizant of; nplm gewisse 276
†gewitfast adj sane; ns - 626
gewitt n mind, wits; ds gewitte 528
†gewrid n thicket (?); apl gewrido 192, 330 (Cf. Hly 101 gewridu)
gewrit n text, document; pl = scriptures; ns - 454; as - 43, 457, 457, 466, 467; apl gewritu 582, gewrita 685; gpl gewrita 582; dpl gewritum 21, gewritum 81, 493
gewuna m wont, custom; ns - 417
gewunod pp adj resident; nplm gewunode 474 (N)
gewunelíc adj customary, usual; ism ban gewunelícum 240, 552
gewylde adj subject; asm gewylde 535 (N)
gif conj if; - + ind 287, 413, 713; - + sj 9, 13, 17, 547, 827; - prob. + sj 125, 334, 937
gifan stv 5 give; 3s pt geaf 702
gifernys f greed; as gifernysse 476
gifre adj greedy; ns - 474
gifu f gift, grace; ns - 72; as gife 84, 804; ge - 681; ds
ginan wkv l + g heed, pay attention to; 3s ot ginde 133, 335

girnde, see gyrnan

git adv still; hā gīt 717; hā gīt 875

git dual prom you two; nā 598; a/d mid āne 613

glād adj joyful; nsm - 100

glañysse f joy; ns glañysse 901

glæwlice adv skilfully, clearly; - 15

glēf f glove; as glēfe 512, 516, 520, 523; apl glēfan 499, 506, 510

god m God; as - 53, 59, 218, 297, 586, 750, 820, 869, 909, 924, 925, 930, min drihten - 302; as - 63, 272, 654, 733, 742; ge godes 4, 11, 117, 135, 152, 152, 162, 163, 209, 293, 410, 420, 451, 471, 473, 493, 503, 547, 550, 553, 568, 641, 657, 662, 668, 673, 674, 676, 687, 691, 720, 730, 748, 754, 777, 781, 800, 815, 835, 853, 864, 872, 908, godes 678 (N); ds gode 125, 197, 258, 274, 301, 380, 450, 545, 673, 749, 774, 794, 863, tō drihtne mīnum - 779

gōd adj good; nsm gōd 700; den gode 518; apl hā gōdan 156, gode 673; gpl hāra gōdra 156, 158; dpl gōdum 872

godcund adj divine, heavenly; nsm gā godcunda 72; nef sā godcunde 149; asf godcunde 72; dsf godcundre 174 (N), dsf hāre godcundan 193, 671; ism pan godcundan 124; apl hā godeundan 685; dpl godcundum 893

godcundlīo adj divine, heavenly; nsm godcundlīe 70; dsf godcundlīere 79; dam godcundlīeam 153

godcundlīowe adv divinely; - 111, 937

godcundnyse f the Divine Being; ns - 865 (N)
godspellian wkv 2 + d declare the Gospel to, evangelise; inf - 786, tō godspellianne 219
godspelllic adj evangelical; gaf bare godspelllican 680

goldhord m/a treasury; ns - 894

græt adj large, thick; aplf græste 322

grætan wkv 1 salute, take leave of; inf - 200; 3s pt grætte 203

græting f greeting, salutation; as grætingae 5, grætinge 711, grætinge 714

grimlic adj cruel, terrible; apl på grimlicam 349

gegripa stv 1 grasp, seize; inf - 474

græmetigende pte adj roaring, raging; ns græmetigende 242; apl græmetigende 437 (N)

græmetung f grunting, roaring; as græmetunga 442

græmys f cruelty; ge græmysse 243

gegyldean wkv 1 gild; pp gegylde 15

gylden adj golden; asf Æne gyldene 58

gylt m crime, sin; dpl gyltum 356

gyrd f rod; a/ds mid gyrd 515

gyrdel m girdle; ds gyrdel 569, 570

gyran wkv 1 desire; 3s pt gyrende 50, girade 150

gyrstandeg m yesterday; ds gyrestande 699

gyrwan wkv 1 prepare, make ready, dress; inf - 755; imper s gearwa be 837

gegyrwan : pp gegyred 647, 803, gegaryred 774; 3s pt gegearwode 212

gyt, see git
habban wkv 3 have; inf - 385; 3s pt hafde 49, 50, 57, 567, 645, 662, hafde 208, hafde 781; 3pl pt hafdom 317, 319, 605, 607, hafdom 321

auxiliary use: 1s pr ind habbe 43; 2s pr ind hafst 385, hafast 423; 3s pr ind hafð 740, hafð 426; 2s pt hafdest 281; 3s pt hafde 154, 251, 457, 506, 593, hafde 253; 3pl pt hafdom 692, hafdom 65; 3s pr sj habbe 928

hæd m rank; ge hædes 616, 617

gehædigan wkv 2 ordain; inf gehædigan 689

hæland m Saviour; ns - 284

gehælan wkv 1 cure; pp gehæled 627

hælo f health, safety, salvation; ns - 12 (M); ns - 5 (N), hæla 524; a/ds hælo ..., onfængce 938, to his - 561, to hælo 936

hæs f command, behest; ds hæse 17

hæben adj heathen; dsn hæbenum 716

hæl adj whole, sound; ns - 947

gehælgian wkv 2 ordain, consecrate; pp gehælgod 693; 3s pt gehælgode 944

gehælgod pto adj consecrated; gsm bes gehælgoden 943

hælungen f consecration; ns - 703

hælh m corner; ds hæle 790

hælig adj holy, blessed; nsn æ hæls 182, 270, 364, 370, 432, 436, 444, 462, 491, 505, 513, 518, 521, 553, 702, 724, 743, 770; nsn hæne hælge 326, 344, 507, 546, 631, 694, 764, 863, 883, 909; gsm bes hælgan 11, 211, 214, 225, 367, 431, 444, 446, 455, 487, 502, 614, 727, 747, 780, 890, 892, 905, 910, 931; gsm hære hælge 219; gsm bes hælge 92; bes hælges tæmes 73 (M); dsn hægem hælge 500, hæm hælge 505, 652, 655, 665, 709; dsn hælgum 538; dsn/a hæm hælge 77; nplm Hælge 378; apl ð hælgan 582; gpl hælgja 376, 582; dpl hælgum 20, 313, 493, 863; apl ð god- cundan hælgera 685 (N)
hälsian wkv 2 implore, beseech; 1s pt hälsige 8, 808, 813; 3s pt hälsade 887, 709

häm m home; ds häme 527, 599; hän 542, 561, 589, 607, 615, 947
(all following fórran)

hanored m cockcrow; ns - 392

hand f hand; ns - 470, 754, hand 61; as hand 56; ds handa 480; spl - 840

handbega m servant; npl handbegan 577

handian wkv 2 hang; 3s pt hangade 469

härünigende ptc adj hoarse muttering, raucous; dpl härünigendum 323 (N)

hät adj hot; nsf - 149

hätan stv 7 command, order; 3s pt hät 112, 268, 370, 712, 755, 855; 3pl pt hätten 333; 3s pfj hätete 112

gehäten stv 7 command; promise, vow; 1s pt gehäfen 837; 3s pfj gehät 90, 196, 409, 433

hätan stv 7 to be named; pp hätten 47, gehäten 52, 178; 3s pr ind hätad 185; 3s pfj hätade 545

hatian wkv 2 hate, treat as an enemy; 3pl pf ind hatied 735, 740; 3pl pfj hatedon 144

hatung f hatred; as/pl hatunge 727

hæwian wkv 2 look, gaze; 3s pfj hæwode 394

är, hæo, hit pers pron he, she, it; nam hä 9, 9, 16, 32, 48, 50, 50,
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head

equal, fellow; npl mycel heafoda

high; gm bme hæna

hold, keep; pr pte healdend

imper a. geheald 53; ds healle

half; nsm ge lichema ofer healf

hall, residence; ds healle

noble, excellent; ism hælfne

low, poor; nsm ge hæna

f height, loftiness; ge heannysse

head: n/a head; as - 213, 828; apl mycel heafoda

equal, fellow; apl hæfodgemæa

high; gm bme hæna

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hall, residence; ds healle

noble, excellent; ism hælfne

low, poor; nsm ge hæna

f height, loftiness; ge heannysse
heap m/f band, host; ns - 376 (N); def on bërë mëdana hëape 52

heardlicyns f severity; as heardlicynsse 666

heardys f rigour; as heardysse 823

hefig adj heavy, troublesome; ns - 94; dam hefegum 560

hefigian wkv 2 make heavy, weary; 1s pr hefige 26

hefigyns f dullness; de hefigynsse 856

hëhpëod f noble people; ds hëhpëode 47 (N)

heldan wkv l bend, incline; 3s pt helde 58

hell f hell; gs helle 366

helleduru f gate of hell, hell door; ds helleduru 345; mpl - 356

heofon m heaven; gs heofones 341, 364, 451, 654, 846; ds heofone 324; gpl heofones 839; dpl heofonum 55, heofonum 57, 61, 842, heofonum 800

heofonound adj heavenly; gen hes heofonoundan 751

heofonlice adj heavenly; ns gë heofonlicas 267; gen beim heofonicas 212, 265; [g]sf heofonlice 683 (N); gen beim heofonicas 755, 844; dam heofonlicum 191, him heofonlicum 841; dsf heofonicore 209, heofonicore 364, 661, 845; ism heofonlice 369; ism heofonicas 920; gsf heofonicore 222; apl hë heofonlicam 821; dpl heofonlidan 823

heolm m helmet; as - 213

heononford asv henceforth; - 279

heorte f heart, breast, mind; ns - 118, 163, 265; as heortan 244, 411; ga - 427; a/ds on his - 149, on his - 413, 897; apl - 609

hër adv here; - 9, 68, 88, 289, 293, 360, 799, hër on 36

behold! - 355

heroniam wkv 2 listen; 3s pt heronode 394

herian wkv l praise; 3pl pt heredon 654
hider adv hither, to here; - 585; -7 hider 726; -7 byder 249, 918

hiht m hope; ns - 624; as - 139, 742; ge hihtes 213
gehihtan wkv 1 to make joyous; 3s pt gehihte 824 (N)

hindan adv behind; - 322

hinder adv behind; on - 302

hiw n form, colour; as hiw 441; ds hīwe 57; spl hīw 439, 449
gehihtan wkv 2 form, fashion; 3s pt gehihtes 297

hiwecepe m family; ge hiwecepes 933 (MS hisiscipes)

hiwung f pretence, imitation; a/ds/pl mid heora hīwunges 443

hlæf m loaf, bread; as - 238; ds hlæfe 307

hlæford m lord; ds hlæfordes 2

hlæw m mound; ns - 229; ge hes hlæwes 230

bleshtor m laughter; ge bleshtor 19 (N)

bleshterful adj scornful, derisive; spl bleshterfulra 10

bleshterful adj ridiculous; as - 9 (N)

bleshtorwān wkv 2 deride; 2s pr aj bleshtorwe 17

blesonian wkv 2 lease; inf - 790

blesopian wkv 2 sound, resound; 3s pt hlōbrode 325

blesihende pte adj laughing; is[f] blesihende 611 (N)

blesa m fame; ns - 544

blesiþor adj clear, pure, sincere; as - 100; spl hlöttrum 7

blesiþorlysse f purity, sincerity; as hlöttrlysse 145

hors n horse; ge horses 320

hrædlīoe adv quickly, at once; - 266

hrædlīyne f haste, speediness; as hrædlīynesse 66; a/ds on hrædlīynesse 122
hrafn, see hrafen

hrafn  m garment, clothing; ge hrafnes 233; ds hrafle 647, 803, 806; apl hrafnl 878

hrafen  m raven; as - 458, 464; as - 460, hrafn 512, hrafna 513; ge hrafnes 520; mpl hrafnae 474, 499; sgl hrafena 442

hraod  m reed; ds hraode 469; mpl hraod 170

hraodbed  m reed bed; as - 469

hringe  m cycle, circle; as - 927

hrof  m roef; ds hrofe 765

hréber  m horned cattle, ox; spl hrybera 437

hré adv how, in what way; - 388, W 435, 454, 481, 524; qual. adj m 666; qual. adv m 676; + indir q m 225, 274, 282, 388

hundnegontig  odl mun ninety; - nihts 202

húsa  n house; as - 232, 313, 326, 397, 833, 845; ge húses 59, 512, 515; ds hússe 66, 915, 917; apl hús 861

hwó  prom who, what; + dir q nam - 359, 913; nam hwát 765; + indir q nam hwó 216, 713; nam hwát 63, 215, 947

prom nam swá hwát swá 474, 681, 684

[rel]prom hurh hwát 643 (antecedent is asm); asm mid hwáne 813 (û)

hwóer  adv where; + dir q - 176; + indir q - 595

hwát  prom, see hwó

hwát  interj adv le; - 142, 360, 911

hwáthwego  adv for a little while, somewhat; - 795, 835

hwadur  conj whether, if; - 508; hwaðer 597, 671; òr þe, òr obbe 'whether .. or'; hwaðer ... be 676, hwaðer ... be 668, hwaðer ... obbe 700

hwaðere  adv however, nevertheless; - 133, 540, 791; þeah - 475, 717, 729, 793
hweorcfan  stv 3  proceed, return;  3s pt hwarft  203

hwider  adv  whither, to what place;  + dir q  -  912, hwyder  583;
+ indir q  hwider  255

hwil  f  while, space of time;  ns  -  438, 446, 511, 516, 569, 646,
939;  as  hwile  332;  a/ds  hwile  after  928

in prep  formulae, while;  bę  hwile  bo  562, 818;  bę
hwile  bo  802

hwilon  adv  sometimes;  ḍr  -  371, ḍr  -  396;  hwilum  916;  correl.
hwilum  .  hwilum  169/70

hwistlung  f  whistling, hissing;  as/pl  hwistlunge  443

hwon, hwan  is. of  hwä  in  formulae;  why;  + dir q  for  hwon  361,
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mænful adj evil, vile; gen hes mænfullan 120; apl hā mænfullan 426
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mislice adj various; aplm mistlice 98 (N); aplf mislice 443; gpl mislice 437
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morgengebedtida f morning prayer, matins; aol morgengebedtida 380
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munuchēd m monastic life; ds munuchēde 160

munuilif n monastic life; ds munuiilife 142

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mycel adv much; by far; - 877; swā - swā ... swā 290, swā - swā yanto

mycelnyss e f size, quantity; as micelnyss e 351; ge mycelnyss e 167

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näfre adv never; - 132, näfre 188, 814, 896, näfre sybban 561, sybban näfre 571; näfre är ne sybban 787; näfre är 810
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næn adj not any, none; nsm - 898; nsf - 438; aas næne 385
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næwht adv not, not at all; - 94, 936, næht 168, 881
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näah adv near; spv 'then next', 'at length' þë... at næxtan 538,
541, þë... at næxtan 543, þë at næxtan 918

nebb a beak, nose; face; ds nebbe 512; as/pl nebb 319 (N)

†näfréond m relation; gpl näfréonda 534

næbéod f neighbouring people; de næbéode 619 (NB nøbeode)
nëmnan wkv l name, call; pp gennëmmede 49, gennëmned 80; nëmhed 168

nëod f/a necessity; as - 578; de nëode 16
genëosian wkv 2 visit, seek; inf - 632, 790

nëosan adv beneath; - 316

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niht f night; as - 115, 312, 550, 633, 638; ge nihta 126, 313;
ds nihta 256, 391, 455, 766, 767, 832, 436; gpl niht 77, 782, nihta 202, 296, 417

nihtlíc adj evening; asf gëo nihtlíc 915; dpl nihtlícum 832

nîvæse f newness; de nîvæsse 878

norðdal m northern part; as norððal 341

norðsæ f northern sea; as on norðsæ 174

nú adv now; - 27, 279, 281, 384, 415, 448, 699, 796, 803, 819, 837,
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be ... on 'on which' 36, 550; on hinder
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ol prep until, to; + a - 53, 639, 834
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ðær adj other, another; nsm þær 585; nsm þærne 128, 578;
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407
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rade adv quickly, soon; rade syðhan 144
*raesan wkv 1 stretch oneself, yawn, sigh; pr pto raënde 560 (N)
råed adj red; dan hæm råedan 57
ræaf n garment; as - 645 (N)
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ræbe adj cruel, dread; dpl hæm ræbæm 330
rædelle adj cruel, deadly; apla rævellæs ægæan 319
ræbæynsse f fierceness; a/ds for his ræbæynsse 514
rice adj mighty, rich; nsm s a rice 745; apla rice 618
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riht n right, justice; ds rihte 3
riht adj true, direct; as bone rihtæm 4; spv dam hæn rihtestan 175
rihtgelæynfænct pte adj orthodox, believing rightly, faithful; dam RIHTGELÆYNFÆNCT 1 (N)
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rūm adj rough, shaggy; apla rūgæ ðaran 318; apl hæ rūgan fennæ 185
rum adj roomy, open; asm rūme 35

rūmes f breadth, abundance; ns - 780
aecdilie adj priestly; asf aecdilico 688
sā f sea; ns sā 27 (N)
sēl n time, occasion; as 273, 564, 604, 752, sēl 312
semminga, see semminga
samed adv together; 53, 879
sang n song, singing; as 486, 487; apl sangas 98, 849
sēr n pain, suffering; ns sēr 650; as het sēr 648; ge sēres 653; ds 'sēre 639; dpl sērum 623
gesārian wkv 2 wound; 3s pt gesāreda 536
sērig adj sorrowful; nm 464; asm 463 (N)
sērlíc adj sad, grievous; asm sērlícone 120
sērlíc adv painfully; swā 639
sēul f soul; ns 797, séul 805; apl sēula 350
sceil, scealt, see sculan
sceanca n shank; apl sceancan 321
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scearpynn f sharpness; a/ds on his scearpynsesse 99
sceara f tonsure; as sceare 140; ds sceare 142
sceāwean wkv 2 behold; 3s pt sceāwode 264
sceōfan stv 2 shove, thrust; inf 363, to sceōfanne 354
sceotian wkv 2 shoot, hurl; 3s pt sceotode 215
sceedys f hurt, injury; a/ds būtan soedysse 652
sceina n splendour, light; ns 101, 848
sceinam stv 1 shine; pr pte sceinemde 102, 365, 681; 3s pt scean 868; 3pl pt scinon 675
scif n ship, boat; as 184, 852; ds scipe 374, 466, 503, 506, 508, 510
scolu f troop, host; as sedie 107
sectung f missile; dpl sectungum 210
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souldor m shoulder; spl souldra 487
scuman wkv 2 shum; 3s pt gendro 727
scoyl m shield; as - 211; ds scoyle 445
gescoyledan wkv 1 shield, protect; 3s pt gescoyle 211
scyndan wkv 1 hurry; inf - 123; 3pl pt scydon 621
scyppan stv 6 form, make; pp seepen 78
scyppend a creator; as - 303
scyrman stv 4 cut hair, shave, tonsure; inf - 417
scytle f sheet; as scytan 709; ds scytan 802; a/ds on ðbre seytan 884 (N)
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am hæ 218, 760; asf hæ 885; nam bet
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(4) rel + bæ: sem sē be 88, 493, 496, 719, 891; gen bæ be 579, 691; dem bæ be 299, 523; apl bæ be 140, 227, 619, 621, 735; dpl bæ be 91, 95

(5) rel + yloam: sem bone yloam 230 (N honna); ism bē yloam 168 (N)

(6) adv use of gen bæ: 'then': 77, 201, 719, 782, 787, 873; intens adv bæ: 474; use in prep formulae bæ be 'by the time which, when' 77, 113, 159, 232, 632, 859 and in correl. Sōna bæ be ... bē 239, bē sōna bæ be ... bē 568

(7) adv use of ism ñe: intens adv ñe 34, bē 299, 494, 496; conj use of ñe 'because' 144; conj ñe læ 'in case' 25; see also for big be, mid ñe, mid bē be

(8) use of den bēm and ism bæn in adverbs and prep formulae: tō bæn 'thereupon' 511, 569, 646 and den tō bēm 516; bæn bæn 'moreover' 571 (N); after bæn 'then' 337, after bæn 261, 329, 339, 397, 398, 453, 466, 749; 793, 842, after bēm 379, 860; for prep formulae see under after, be, for mid, sē, tō

(9) other parts used in prep formulae: asf bē; see under hwil; gr pl bēra; see under æder, ædor; n/asn bēt; see under nās

sealf f salve, ointment; dpl sealfum 935

sealm n psalm, song; as 241, 402; apl sealmes 150, 154; gs sealmes 403

sealmsang n psalmody; gs sealmsangas 214 (N)

sealt n salt; gs sealtes 943

searu n wile, art; gs searves 411

sēd n hole, well; ds sēde 231

sēcan wkv 1 seek, look for; 3s pt söhte 195, 208; 3pl pt söhtom 616, 618

gesēcan : 3s pr ind gesōd 891
segeaan wkv 3 say, tell, relate; inf - 161, 227, 282, 538, 818, to
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sællan wkv 1 give; pp sæald 658, gesæald 354; 3s pr ind sylehem
734; 3s pt sæald 359, 476, 480, 522,
703, 909

semninga adv suddenly; - 19, 314; hæ - 244, 685, hæ - 363; hæ ...
- 111, 753, 906, hæ - 275; hæ sem-
inga 55; hæ ..., semninga 393, 485, hæ ...
semninga 123

sendan wkv 1 send, lay; inf tæ sendanæ 360; pp sentæld 754; 3s
pt senda 708, 759, 804, 821, 886; 1pl
pt sendon 279

gesendæ : 3s pr gesend 5; 3s pt gesænde 413, 711

sæcc adj ill; 1am pan sæcoæa 550

sefotæ edl num seven; + apl - 756; + gpl - nihta 296

sefofaæ ord num seventh; nam þæ sefofaæ dag 788 (N); dam þæ
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920, 922; 3pl pt gesæwon 56, 60, 62,
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september m September; ge septembres 204

setl n seat, sitting place; (describing sunset) as on setl 75;
ds on setle 238

settan wkv 1 set down, compose, place; inf - 16; 1s pt sette 33;
3pl pt setton 486, 488

gesettan set down, ordain, place; inf - 871; 1s pt ges-
sette 6, 44, 45; 3s pt gesette 4, 139
sibbe 900, see syb
side f side; ds sidam 230
sige n victory, triumph; a/ds mid sige 84
sigofest adj triumphant; nsm se sigofeste 890
singallleye adv constantly; - 556, 4 - 214
singan stv 3 sing; 3s pt sang 241, 258, 402, 403, sing 784; 3pl pt sungon 377, 481
sidm m journey; as - 588, 635, 837, sib 590
sib m time; d(i)a sibe 482, 500, 527, 575, 659, 707, side 533
sifmeta n time; ds slöfate 103
sittan stv 5 sit, sit down, continue; 3pl pt sittan 481, 491, 696
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twenty 208
sixta ord num sixth; def hère sixten 789
slöp m sleep; ds slöpe 106, 262, 393, 394, 919, slöpe 560
slöpende ptc adj sleeping; dsn slöpendum 877
slöan stv 6 slay, strike; pp geslaken 852, geslakenes 881; 3s pt slöb 110; 3pl pt slögen 517, 552
*slöfan wkv 1 slip on; 3s pt slöfe 645 (N)
slodan stv 1 glide; inf - 275
smöan wkv 2 consider, discuss; 3s pt + g smöade 274; 3pl pt smöandon 484, 686
smöaug f thought, meditation; apl smöauge 427
smecian wkv 2 smile; inf tå smeciendo 521
smok m smoke; ns - 304, 387; ge smüce 346
smylte adj calm, quiet; spv def hære smyltestan 28

smyltysse f tranquillity, peace; ds smyltnysse 373; a/de mid- 372

smyttro f wisdom, prudence; ns - 901; ge - 684 (n)
gesommen wkv 2 gather together; 3s pt gesommenode 106

sōna adv soon, at once; - 183, 190, 265, 301, 353, 459, 521, 651, 753, 852, 883, hā - 174, 184, 210, 264, 304, 326, 343, 344, 347, 349, 362, 394, 401, 419, 431, 432, 504, 513, 517, 553, 555, 644, 648, 650, 690, 700, 702, 717, 741, 856; - hā 470; hā ... - 399, 461, 555, hā ... - 164; på sōna after hon 397, hā sōna after hon 452, på vas sōna after hon hāt 261; in sorrel. hā ... sōna ... sōna 429/30; på sōna bes he ... hā 568, sōna bes he ... hā 239; sōna fram fruman ... hā 232; sōna svā ... hā 459/60, sōna svā ... ... hā 403/4, 458/9; eenj hā sōna hā 'as soon as' 546; tē bes sōna svā 'without delay' 511, 569, tē bes sōna svā 646, tē hā sōna 516

sorg f care, grief; dpl sorgum 623

sorfhful adj sorrowful; asu sorfhfulne 814

sorfhian wkv 2 grieve; 3pl pt sorfhgodon 309

spее 519, see sperean

spее 727, see speree

spellung f tale, conversation; apl spellunge 97

spere a spear; gpl spere 398; dpl spereum 399

speree f speech, conversation; as speree 385, 497; ge speree 497; de speree 580, 661, 686, speree 678, 682, speree 727 (n); a/de té, speree 456, 502; dpl spereum 823

speree stv 5 speak, talk, discuss; inf - 93, 792, 812, 881; pr pto spereende 395, 808; 3s pt speree 652, 820, 840, spere 914, spere 519 (n); 3pl pt spereen 69, 386, 307, 383, 592, 600, 610, spereen 276, 668, 670
gesphereen : 3pl pt gesphereen 940; 2s pr sj gesphere 827
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standen stv 6 stand, remain, stop; inf - 381, 640, 923; 3s pr
ind standalone 81
gestanden : inf - 333; pp gestanden 753; 3s pt gestáð
757, 762
stabilfast adj stationary; aplu stabolfasta 67
stefn f voice, sound; gu stefta 222; ds stefta 309; dpl steft-
um 323, 325; a/de ou stefta 321
stennc n smell, scent; ns - 831; gu stences 851
gestÍm stv 1 descend, lower oneself; 2s pr ind gestÝf 293
stíhmann f dispensation, providence; ns - 547; gu stíhmann 72;
ds stíhmann 80, 193
gestíllen wkv 1 cease; 2s pr Aj gestúll 452
stílnussen f stillness, silence; a/de stílnussen 313
stíng n stab, prick; ns - 634
gestíldum wkv 2 become hard, strengthen; 3s pt gestíldode 104
stírm f place; ns - 888; gu stírm 174, 183, 414, 719, 861, 891;
gu stírmar 196, stírmar 713, 715; ds stírm 183, 196, 203, 206,
372, 853, 887, 907, stírm 225, 937; dpl stírmum 330
strul n/f arrow, shaft; ns gu strul 253, strul 648; gu
strule 245; ds hre gu strule 247;
apu strule 401; dpl strule 214
strang adj strong, mighty; nnn - 634, gu strang 399, 746; naf
søe strang 27 (I); apl gu strangen 105
strancian wkv 2 strengthen, comfort; pp gestraped 191; 3s pt
strapped 268
styrson wkv 1 move, stir up; pp gestraped 907; 3s pt styrse 835
sunn adj some, a certain; nnn - 46, 178, 228, 408, 455, 458, 482,
501, 585, 545, 575, 660, 759, 933; naf
- 766; nnn - 65, 469, 539; nnn/a
- forga 167; asm summa 273, 312, 564,
604, 633, 663, 752; naf suma 115; asm
sunn 179, 456; guf suma 589; dem sumun
sundorsetl n solitude, hermitage; ds sundorsetle 207; dpl sundorsetlum 162; sundorsetle 160 (N)

sunne f sun; ns - 75, 238, 557, 848, 927

svä adv so, thus, in such a way; - 99, 112, 132, 159, 514, 531, 548, 597, 695, svä 85, 184, 228, 235, 249, 332, 373, 373, 537, 597, 695, áae svä 478, see svä 718; intens adv 'so' svä 80, 499, 491, 573, 634, 643, 646, 658, 780, 780, 895, svä 64, 144, 186, 295, 310, 323, 324, 532, 587, 764, 868, 901, see svä 25; svä sväpe 215, svä sväpe 529, 681, 786, svä sväpe 881, svä sväpe 102, svä sväpe 124, 135

(2) conj so, thus; svä 79, 105, 420, 480, 508, 560, 573, 586, 587, 602, 658, 696, 854, 864, 875, svä 43, 80, 99, 242, 417, 422, 693, 720, 824, 831, svä svä 27, 226, 404, 415, svä svä 35; ofne svä 242, 470, ofne svä 257, 304, 387, ofne svä svä 660, ofne svä svä even as .... so' 68/9; sóna svä .... þæ 'as soon as .... then' 403/4, 458/9, sóna svä .... þæ 459/60; Svä .... Svä bonne 'as ... so then' 296/8, Svä .... Svä bonne 217/22, svä .... svä bonne 464/5; svä mycel swë .... svä 'so much as ... so' 289/90, svä mycel swë .... svä mycel 291/2

(3) gen rel who, which; svä 714, 16, 30, 133; svä hwæt svä 'whatsoever' 474, 684, swä hwylong svä 532, swä hwæt svä .... svä 'whatsoever .... so' 681/2; þæ þæn sóna swë 'when' 511, 569, þæ þæn sóna swë 646

swalewe f swallow; npl swalawan 481; apl swalawan 485

sweart adj black, dark; asa sweart 169; asa bone sweartan 328; gea þære sweartan 347, 366; isa þære sweartan 512; dpl þære sweartum 345; spv dpl þære sweartestan 341

swebban wkv 1 send to sleep, lull; pp swefed 393
svág n sound; ds svága 222
sválitas stv 3 die; 3s pt sj sválita 794
svenesan wkv 1 harass, afflict; inf - 280, 334; 3s pt svonest 529, 793; 3pl pt sveneron 332
gevanesan pp gevanesed 90, 537, 639, 756, gevaneso 596, 662; 3pl pt geveneraton 391
svóora n neck; as svóraon 317
swoord n sword; ns - 735
svorien stv 6 swear; 2pl pr ind svoried 598; 3pl pt svörora 597
svétinya f fragrance, sweetness; ns - 830, 900; ge svétinyos 680; ds svetinyo 850; a/ds mid ... svetinyos 862
swingen stv 3 flog, scourge; 2s pr ind swineat 290 (H); 3pl pt swineaton 338
swipa/swipe a/f lash, whip; dpl swipum 338
swíde adv very, greatly; - 597; swíde 613, swíde 382, 775, 792; swíde svíde 215, svíde svíde 135, 566; intense use svíde 41, 248, 370, 537, 683, 880; svíde svíde 74, 130, 264, 796, svíde 187, 352, 418, 461, 596, 754, svíde - 681, svíde - 102; swíde 131, 187, svíde - 592, 681, 786, svíde - 124; opv adv svíder 290, svíder 342
svíddlé ad/adj very great; ge svíddléora bóstra 342
svíretnung f deep breath, gasping; as svíretnung 858; ds - 763, 815, 829
svívaror f sister; ds - 798, 826
svívarolien wkv 2 make clear, manifest; inf - 63
svívarolíor opv adv more clearly; - 60
svyle pron such; aan - 236, 787
adv likewise; - 188
svylee adv likewise; - 895; Šee 285, 421, Šee SVYLEE 604; svylee see 170, 283, 877, Šeele see 37.
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564, Swylee eoe 311, 500, 653, 707, 273, Swylee .. eoe 516, 656, 723, Swylee eoe 440, 441

In prep formulae: (nales bet án bet) .... ac eoe
Swylee 433, 619, (nales bet án bet) ...
Ac eoe swylee ..... ge eoe swylee 590/1;
Swylee eoe nales bet .... ac 886

swyle m tumour, swelling; ns - 650

swýn n pig; ge swýnna 442

swytelfoce adv clearly; - 56

swýde, swýbor, swýbor, see swýde

swýbra opv adj stronger, right; asf pë swýbra 336

syl f peace; ns - 898; as sibbe 900

sylf pron self; nam hë sylf 255, hì sylf 355, god sylf 820, hì sylf 252; guðlae ... sylf 944;
nsf ñëo sunne sylf 848; asm hë sylfne 18, hìne sylfne 114, 127, 531, 644, 690, on god sylfne 272, 742; asf pë sylfan
tid 615, 650, 651; ge his sylfes 567;
sf hì sylf 107; mpl hìg ... sylf 16,
hìg sylf 21, hì sylf 367; apl pë sylf 581, 679, pë sylfan 136, 591

symlbe adv always; - 912

syn f sin, crime; apl synna 250, 288, synne 431, 432, 701; dpl
synnum 356

synderlice adv especially, extremely; intens use - 179

sybbaa adv afterwards, since; - 141, 326, 784, pë - 202, näfre - 561, - näfre 571, näfre ër ne - 787;
conj - 867
### 602

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tē</td>
<td>f toe; apl tān</td>
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<tr>
<td>tān</td>
<td>n sign, prodigy; ns - 55, 64, 70; as tācen 60, 62; gu tānes 73; ds tāna 74; apl bās tāna 930; dpl tānum 7, 674</td>
</tr>
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(2) bell; as tān 773, tācen 552 (N)

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<tr>
<th>Word</th>
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<tr>
<td>getēnian</td>
<td>wkv 2 sign, mark; 3s pt getēnode 127</td>
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<tr>
<td>tācen</td>
<td>wkv 1 show, present; 2s pr ind tāhtest 6 (NS ahhtest); 1s pt tāhte 36, 188</td>
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getēcan: 3s pt getēhte 183

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<th>Word</th>
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<tr>
<td>tālan</td>
<td>wkv 1 blame, reprove, censure; pp getēled 25; 2s pr aj tāle 24; 3s pr aj tāle 14</td>
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<tr>
<td>tālend</td>
<td>m slanderer, backbiter; apl tālendra 10, 18</td>
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<tr>
<td>tālnye</td>
<td>f blame, censure; gu tālnysse 26</td>
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<tr>
<td>tāar</td>
<td>m tear; dpl tāarum 431, 776, 910</td>
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<tr>
<td>tēla</td>
<td>intens adv very; - 295</td>
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getechhian wkv 2 consider; pp getechhod 741

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<tr>
<td>teclian</td>
<td>wkv 2 attend to, treat; 3pl pt tēolodon 936</td>
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<tr>
<td>tēon</td>
<td>stv 2 draw, lead; pp getēgen 150; 3s pt tēah 764, 815, 829, 859; 3pl pt tēugon 327</td>
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getēon wkv 2 appoint, assign; pp getēd 153

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<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>tēran</td>
<td>stv 4 tear; inf - 512; 3s pt tēr 533</td>
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<tr>
<td>tīd</td>
<td>f time, hour; ns - 915, tīd 838; as tīd 194, 205, 615, tīd 650, tīde 704; ds tīde 236, 724, 789, 796, 811</td>
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<tr>
<td>tīma</td>
<td>m time, hour; ns tīma 54; ds tīman 462</td>
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getimbrian wkv 2 construct, build; 3s pt getimbrode 232

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<tr>
<td>tintrega/tintreg</td>
<td>n/a torture; apl tintrega 348</td>
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getintregian wkv 2 torture; 3pl pt getintregodon 351

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<tr>
<th>Word</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tī prep to, towards; + d - 27, 34, 61, 77, 92, 108, 123, 132, 139, 142, 185, 194, 198, 199, 201, 203, tintrehstōw</td>
<td>f place of torment; dpl tintrehstōwum 345</td>
</tr>
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in prep formulae: tō hwan 'why' 423, tō hwan 598, tō bān bēt 'until, so that' 466, tō bān bēt 539, 939, tō hām bēt 425, 438, tō bān sōna swā 'until, immediately as' 511, 569, 646, tō hām sōna 516, tō bān 'to that use' 804 (N)

+ d inf - nymanne 51, - leornianne 150, - wundri-anne 215, - godspellenne 218, - eliensi-anne 296, - sōfanne 354, - sendanne 360, - forlātanne 656, - forlātanne 723, - xianne 811, - seccanne 822

+ pr pte tō smerciende 521

tō adv (1) intense use 'so'; tō pes gīfre 474
(2) 'also'; - 709

tōdēlan wkv 1 separate, scatter; 3s pr ind tōdēled 243; 3pl pr ind tōdēled 805

tōforan prep before; + a/d tōward tōforan pes hūsas gīru 59 (183 ante)

tōgēanes prep towards; postp + d - 376, hīm tōgēanes fānge 'clutched at him' 702

tōgesomian wkv 2 assemble, gather together; 3s pt tōgesownode 872
torr m tower; as torr 846 (MS topp, Vita 1165 turram)
tōsornne adv together; - 344
tōh m tooth; npl tōhes 319; dpl tōhurn 530, 532
tōward adj future, coming; gan bēs tōwardan 68; npl bē tōwardan 420; apl bē tōwardan 573, 586, tōward

tōward adv forwards; intens tōward tōforan 58 (Vita 183 ante)
tōwardseogan wkv 3 prophesy; 3s pt tōwardseode 929 (Vita 1263 prophesavit)
tōwardnyg f future; a/ds on tōwardnyssse 292

†trōgewrid n thicket of trees; npl trōgewrido 171

trymman wkv 1 strengthen, establish; 3s pt trymde 268, 608, 684, 742

getrymman: pp getrymed 290; 3s pt getrymede 272, 841

trum adj firm; asm trumme 941

trumnes f strength; as trumnesse 277

getrywian wkv 2 trust, believe; 3s pt getrywode 741

tuddor m breed, race; ns tuddre 358

tūn m estate; apl tūnes 109

turf f sod, piece of earth; ds tyxe 607, 612 (H)

tūrum, see twīx

twēgen edl num two; ns - 275, 473, 577, 583, TŪGEN 604; am twē- gen 381; an twē 154, 159; af twē 485, 510, 606; e twēgra 294; dē twē 204
twēlf edl num twelve; + a - 869, 873, 935; + g - 927

twenti g edl num twenty; + a/g - nihta 417; tōwer 7 twenti 138;
+ a six / twenti 208

twēgen wkv 1 doubt; pr pte dpl bēm twēgendum 256; 1s pr ind

twēge 39; 3s pt twēode 269
twâl n. two-edged axe; - 535

twândîfeg adv doubtfully; - 667.

twâx n. tooth, tusk; dpl twâxen 320, tûxen 440

twûfcald adj bace; splm/a på twûfcaldan 266

tyrf, see turf
then; - 51, 53, 59, 62, 62, 108, 111, 112, 133, 139, 143,
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253; 646

in correl. 'when . . . . then': 646

adv 'then' following formulae containing after: 646

containing mid : 646

150, 156, 174, 178, 179, 198, 244, 332, 383,
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adv 'then' following formulae containing soon: 646
bæc n thatch, roof; ds bæc 513

bær adv there; — 19, 52, 70, 71, 74, 93, 131, 140, 169, 174, 188, 197, 198, 202, 228, 230, 279, 343, 346, 350, 367, 381, 455, 456, 468, 470, 482, 487, 517, 533, 546, 548, 550, 556, 575, 580, 589, 591, 599, 600, 638, 675, 683, 720, 834, 843, 861, 880, bær 165, 285; bær 'to there' 65, 314, 517, 547, 588, 630; bær... to 709; bær... in 363; bær... inn 455; bær... in 485, bær... inne 947

(2) rel adv where; bær 18, 380, 889, bær... inn 59, 942; bær... on 504, 637, 907

bæs, see see


(2) 'that, so that'; — 15, 54, 60, 93, 111, 124, 146, 152, 164, 237, 254, 324, 331, 374, 417, 418, 449, 476, 528, 529, 532, 549, 585, 587, 606, 607, 620, 635, 640, 658, 661, 681, 733, 774, 779, 781, 787, 789, 800, 806, 857, 873, 876, 881, 896, 902; with pleonastic anticipatory bet: 33/4, 135/1, 474/5, 684/684

(3) 'But', almost bet hē 'who': bet hē 625, 626, 627

(4) pleonastic bet either at head or within clause: 99, 134, 160, 192, 210, 220, 242, 244 (n), 278, 443, 475, 494, 496, 534, 633, 820, 848
(5) *bat* occurs also in prepositional formulae where the
more usual relative particle *be* might be expected: *mid ban bet* 629, *tō bēam bat* 326, *tō bon bet* 539, 939. It occurs
also in the phrase *ob bet* 185.

gēbafian wkv 2 consent to; + d 3s pt gebafode 690

ban *m* thought; thanks; as - 25; as - 859; dpl banum 13

banon, see bonan

be rel particle who, which: - 6, 31, 35, 36, 38, 48, 52, 59, 62,
64, 70, 73, 74, 102, 103, 112, 119, 120,
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645, 653, 659, 667, 675, 686, 723, 739,
743, 749, 761, 802, 804, 805, 810, 811,
817, 819, 824, 837, 853, 873, 878, 879,
915, 928, 943, be... inne 66; for pron
+ be see sē, be with adverbs and conjunc-
tions see after, dr, be, for, hwæder,
hwil, mid, bea

be conj, adv or; - 669, 677

bē, see bē; also for possible bē 299, 678, 788 see under sē

bēah conj although; - + ind 83; - + aj 695

adv yet, however; - 84; bēah hwæhere 475, 717, 729, 793

beahht f counsel; ds beahhte 661

beart f need; ns - 579

bēaw m custom, manner, way; ns - 20; ds bēawe 18, 240, 552; apl
bēawas 156; dpl bēawum 101, 895

bēgen m retainer, servant; apl bēgenas 664; dpl bēgnum 697

bēnecan wkv 1 think, contemplate; pr pto nam bēnecende 918; 3s pt
bēhte 117, 199; 3pl pt bēhton 546

gēbēnecan : pp gebēhht 13, 281; 3s pt gebēhte 119, 134,
233; imper s gebēnce 10, 12

bēnnean wkv 1 stretch; 3s pr ind bēned 172 (N)
bämung f service, ministry; as bämung 688; ds - 886; spl - 692; a/ds - 689

bèod f people; ns - 389; ge bèode 735; ds - 79; spl bèoda 217

bèoden wkv 1 join; pp gebèoded 483, 576

bèodescipe n service; as bèat - 544; ds - 153; a/ds on godes - 673

bèostry, see bëstro

bèow a servant; ns - 126, 130, 748; as - 750; spl bèowa 872; dpl bèowum 165

bèowa f servant; ns - 882; ge bèowan 870, 940

bèowdôm m service; ds bèowdôme 410, 899, bèowdôme 895

bèowian wkv 2 serve; + d inf - 197

bëa dem pron this; ns - 723; nns - 770 (M); asm bëene 620; asf bëa 16, 33, 121, 135, 809; asm bëe 819; gen bëese 40, 114, 676; gaf bëisse 43, 355, 599, 750, bissete 223; gen bëese 928; dem þësum 68, 500, 771; dsf bëisse 766, 767, 814; den þësum 291; dem/n þësum westene 811; spl þëa 130, 138, 301, 354, 360, 653, 669, 741, 774, 807, 817, 828, 839, 879, 914, þës 930, þëa 36, dpl þësum 23, 32, 357, 452, 599; dpl in adverbial phrase 'afterwards' after þësum 748, After þëssum 904

bicce adj thick; spl bë biccan 330

biçegan wkv 1 take, eat; inf - 300; 3s pt bigedo 238 (M), 307

biderweard adv thither, towards that place; - 60; byderweard 605

bëa, see ge

bën poss adj your; nns - 448; ns - 448, 735; asm þëne 288; asf þëne 809, 925; asm þën 42, 277, 294, 448, 739; gen þënes 277; gaf þënare 427, 734, 768, 815; gen þënes 276; aplm þëne 736; spl þënare 731, 927; dpl þësum 5, 42, 356, 732

bïnc, see byncan

bïng n thing, cause; as - 508; spl - 420; spl - 117, 132, 177,
bingung f intercession; as bingunge 892, 925
poftscipe [m] fellowship; as on gaftifere poftscipe 483, 576 (N)
bolemōdyse f endurance, longanimity; as bolemōdnyse 157
gebolian wkv 2 endure; 3a pt gebolode 476
bonne adv thence; - 23; bonon 652
bonne adv then, when; - 71, 299, 414, 415, 465, Svā - 222, Svā bonne 298; with weakened temporal sense 'therefore' bonne 16, 23, 34, 227, M bonne 450 (Vita 648 Ideireo)
bonne conj then, when; - 20, 441, 607, 805, 891; correl. bonne **** bonne 238, 287/8, 292/3, 666/7; for bonne in formulae see after, fer, mid
bonne adv than; gelfere mycole bonne + d 877
cconj rather than; bonne 543
born m thorn; ns - 634, bôra 648; as bôra 633; ge bornes 635
brōstan wkv 1 torment; pp gebrōst 643
brēan wkv 2 reprove, rebuke; 3a pt brēade 514
bři edl num three; nm bři 517; am bři 254, bři 535, 556; ge břôra 294, 863
bridda ord num third; asm briddan 112; as hēa briddan 557, 864; ism by bryddan 296
brote f throat; mpl brotan 320
brūh f coffin; as - 709, 806, 886, brūh 801
M pers pron you; ns by 6, 17, 18, 19, 19, 24, 24, 28, 260, 281, 287, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 295, 303, 355, 385, 423, 424, 426, 448, 449, 450, 452, 464, 465, 466, 492, 699, 699, 737, 737, 739, 768, 769, 778, 796, 798, 809, 810, 814, 817, 825, 826, 827,

burh prep through; - + a 71, 119, 120, 184, 299, 465, 467, 577, 635, 636, 643, 656, 669, 688, 709, 760, 891, 908, 925; + a/d - ... gif 163, 420, - ... gif 657, - ... förhæftnyss 286, 289, - bō 384, - ... mihte 674

burheuman stv 4 stem from; 3s pt aj burheume 143

burhtēon stv 2 carry through, achieve; 3s pr inð burhtēp 892

būg adv thus, in this way; - 67, 302, 336, 353, 357, 377, 383, 413, 422, 447, 599, 600, 669, 698, 731, 795, 808, 836, 911

bydeal n cleansing, bath; de bydeal 78, bydeal 91

byðan stv 6 wash; inf - 418, 539

byder adv thither, (to) there; - 176, 549, 576, 633, 664, 871, byder tō 175, byder 907; byder 7 byder 'hither and thither' 250, byder 7 byder 726, byder 7 byder 918

byderweard; see byderweard

bynean wkv l, impers + d appear; 3s pr aj bīne be 698 (H); 3s pt him būhte 324

bystrē adj dark; dpl hēm bystrum 221

bystro f/a darkness; a/ds mīd dyneæs bystro 20, on bēostra 367; npl bystro 126; apl bēostra 366; a/pl bēostra 342, 358; dpl bēostrum 21

bystrum f gloom, darkness; de bystrunge 332
ufan adv above; - 231, 316

ühtgebed n matins; dpl ühtgebedum 392

†unablinn n persistence; apl þæ unablinnu 428 (II)

unblife adj sorrowful, sad; nsm - 461

uncer dual poss adj our; nsm - 383

unelānysse f uncleanness, impurity; ns - 570

ungūp pte adj unknown; nsm þæ ungcūpa 781; dpl þæm ungcūpum 902

unyst f fault, vice; apl unyste 286

under prep under; - + d 141, 160, 423, 607, under þne tyrf 612 (II)

underbōoden wkv 1 subject, subjunctive; pp underbōode 371, 478, underbōoded 526

unānde adv with difficulty, laboriously; - 635

unēdnysse f difficulty, grief; ns unēdnysse 779; ds unēdnysse 776; dpl unēdnysse 912

tunfūgitendence pte adj unforgetting, mindful; nsm tunfūgitendence 732

unferhtlice adv fearlessly; adv - 401, 486

ungearu adj unprepared, uncultivated; asf þæ ungearawan 173

ungēendod pte adj endless, eternal; ds þæm ungēendodum 839

tungērēt pte adj ungreeted, unsaluted; nsm - 200

ungēlānod pte adj unsoured; nsm - 625

ungēlāred pte adj ignorant, unlearned; nsm þæ ungēlārde 745

ungēlāsfulynysse f unbelief, error; sg ungēlāsfulynysse 221

ungelīf adj unlike, different; asf ungelīfe + d 847

ungelīfē adj unseemly, improper; aplf ungelīfē 97

ungēmēltīfē adj immense, very great; [dpl] ungēmēltīfēste 323 (II)

ungecornful adj remiss, negligent; nsm ungecornfulne 899
ungebäowe adj not customary; nsn - 693

ungebärnse f discord; ds frem bisum ungebärnse 452 (N)

ungewunelte adj unwonted, unusual; ds høre ungewunelte 921

ungywan wkw l strip, dispel; 3s pt ungyrede 644

tunhyleum adj disobedient; nsn - 94

ummitte adj immense; gsn ummätte 167; nplm ummätte 169 (N); apl ummätte 342, på ummätte 252 (N)

unmanig adj few, not many; aplm unmanige 196, /unmanige 164, 312

unmëtille adj excessive; ds m] unmëtille ege 324 (N)

unnan pt prs v + g grant; 3pl pt übon 543

gunnan : inf - 125; 3s pt geibe 579

unoferswybe pto adj invincible; asn unoferswybe 278

unröt adj sad, troubled; gsn /unrötse 764; dan bäm /unróten 917; nplm /unrötse 542

unrötnysse f sadness, grief; a/ds mid unrötnysse 907

unstille adj troubled; nsn - 566

untrum adj weak, ill; nsn nänig - 625; asn bönne untrumen 555

untrumyssse f illness, infirmity; ns - 766, 792; as - 809; gs - 771; ds - 627; a/ds on lítlesse 621

untýnan wkw l reveal, display; 3pl pt untýndon 874 (N)

unvisdom m ignorance, stupidity; ns - 22

unýðynys, see unðýns

up adv up, upwards; modifying prep up * d 61, up of * d 846, up on + a 485, quasi-inseparable - ødé 557; - ahöfen 487, - ahof 836, up ahofen 488; upp kliged 465

uppe adv up, on high; uppe on knes hüsse broe 512

uppika adj heavenly; gsn bäm uppikaen 710
stron adj our; nun – 218; nef – 376; ren – 14; gestān 349
216; dam VHN 1, ērnum 947; gel ēr
979

str adv out, outside; – 458, 394, 518; ēr of + d 327, 462,
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sten adv around, without; – 422, 623, 833, 927

strong n exit, death; as – 120
wā interj adv weel; wi + d 358
wēsecan wkv l affliet, oppress; inf - 289
wēsecan wkv l watch, wake; pr pte wēsecende 263, 312
wēl n slaughter, carnage; apl - 110
wēlhrōw adj cruel, bloodthirsty; dpl þām wēlhrōwum 531
wēpen n weapon, arms; ds wēpna 445; apl wēpna 279; dpl wēpnum 108, 211
gewēpniæn wkv 2 arm; 3s pt gewēpniæde 445
westmberende pto adj fruitful; npl þā westmberendan 151
wētan wkv l moisten; 3s pt wētte 944
wēte f liquid, moisture; gs wētan 142
wēter n water; as - 238; ds wētre 558; apl water 329, 425
wētersēad m water-pit, cistern; as wētersēad 231
wēterstēal m standing water, pool; as - 169 (n)
wēg m wall; ds wēge 795, 628
wērniæn wkv 2 take heed of, beware; imper s. warna be gylfe 18
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wēaldað stv 7 rule; 2s pr ind + g wealdest 928
wēaldend m controller, ruler; ds WĒALDENDE 1, wēaldende 859
wēxan stv 7 grow; 3s pt wēxor 99, 104, 572; 3s pt aj wēchos 546
wēg m way; as - 35, 578, on wēg 453, 475; ds wege 116, 175
wēl adv well, very; - 673; int ens - 468, 549, 626
wēla m wealth; apl wēlan 121
wēliæ adj rich, prosperous; nsm - 49; spv nsm wēligost 50
wênan wkv l + g suppose, expect; 2s pr ind wēnest 769; 3s pt
wende 252; 2s pr aj wende 19

gewenden whv l tur, go; 3s pt gewende 61

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weorc n labour, work; ns - 406; as - 14

weordan stv 3 become; 3s pt weord 100, 106, 191, 310, 528, 857; 2s pt aj wurd 19

geweordan : pp geworden 921; impers + d 'agree', 3s pt gewordi 606


werig adj accursed; apl hāre werigre 210

werig adj weary; apl pār werigan 116, 795, pār werigan 836, 838

werod n host, troop; as - 395, wered 107; apl werod 343

wesan def stv 5 be; 1s pt wes 247; 2s pt wēra 911; 3s pt wēs 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 54, 58, 59, 64, 66, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 81, 91, 92, 94, 101, 103, 111, 113, 114, 117, 123, 127, 137, 144, 147, 148, 149, 153, 154, 158, 163, 164, 174, 175, 178, 185, 198, 201, 202, 204, 219, 220, 223, 228, 230, 235, 236, 238, 247, 254, 255, 261, 264, 266, 271, 307, 331, 340, 347, 352, 369, 392, 393, 396, 406, 408, 417, 418, 430, 454, 461, 461, 468, 468, 480, 483, 483, 501,
west adv westward, west; — 515

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wide adv widely, on all sides; width 41, 109, 242, 726
widdell adj vast, wide-spread; gen bes widdillan 173, pre widdillan 181, 192, 491
widdillan adv widely, wide; no: 171
widdillun f vastness; de widdilluca 178
wif n woman; ns - 65; as - 54
wight f/a creature; gpl wights 438
wildcr n wild animal, beast; gpl wildcloa 437, 438, 449
wilde adj wild; mpl b. wilden 490; mpln wilde 478, 494
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wise adj wise; mpl b. wisan 80
wisdom n knowledge, wisdom; ns wisdom 683; ds wisdom 44
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witan stv 1 blame; + a charge and d person: 3s pr sj wite 10, 16
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wite n torment, punishment, pain; apl wita 400; apl - 354; apl wite 346, 352; dpl witen 351
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wítedlá = prophecy; ge wítedóm 657
twítedómle adj prophetic; nan wítedómle 500 (N); ism - 257, 572; compare hly 26 -
wítage n wise man, prophet; ns - 670
wítgian wkv 2 prophesy; pr pte ism wítgíanede 336
wíl prep against, to, with; - a 506, 539, 791, 827; - + d d 210, 214, 405, 519, 791; - + a/d wíl be 279
widerwéard adj hostile, adverse; nan pê earma widerweard 447; apl pê widerweardan 736
wíþgesperean stv 5 speak with; inf - 632
wíþstanden stv 6 stand against, resist; + d 3s pt wíþstand 257
wílitig adj fair; nsrm - 147
wóndnesdag n Wednesday; ds - 758
wóndys f madness; as wóndysse 539; ds - 529, 537
wóh adj twisted, crooked; as/pln wóh nebb 319; apln wóge 321
woleen m/n cloud; dpl woolen 115 (MS wole 7 velode), woolum 342

word n word, command; as - 9, 17, 42, 69; ds wondæ 11 (E), 148, 513, wonds 514; apl word 111, 130, 183, 270, 301, 591, 658, 682, 741, 774, 793, 829, 826, 857; gpl wondsæ 133, 335, 613; dpl worderm 5, 7, 95, 131, 133, 268, 304, 357, 386, 600

woruld f world; as - 1, 121, 135, 809, 949; ge worylde 223, 751; ds worulde 49, 88, 289, 923; gpl A WORULDA woruld 1, on ealre worulda woruld 949 (N)

tworuldrurna m (church) father, patriarch; gpl woryldefrumase 105

worulglenæ m worldly pomp; apl worylglenæ 138

woruldliwe adj of the world, earthly; ds[f] worydlilæ geswineæ 83 (N); gpl worydlilæ 496, 738

woruldman m man upon earth, man; ds worylde 818; npl woruldman 45; dpl worylmanæ 495

wrae n exile; ds on wraæ 397

wroconæ m exile; as - 725, 904; ge wroconæ 564, 630, 933

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writæn stv 1 write; 1s pr ind wriþæ 30, 36; 3s pt wriþæ 467; 1s pt ej wriþæ 29

wuldor n glory, wonder; ns - 948; ge wuldæra 68; ds wuldæra 365, 866

wuldrian wkr 2 glorify, admire; + on 3pl pt wuldrædon 654

wulf n wolf; gpl wulfa 442

wundian wkr 2 wound; pp gowundod 247, 254, 331; asm gowundodæ 253; 3s pt wundode 244, 531, 532

wundor n wonder, miracle; ns - 500; as - 656, 723; apl wundre 40, wundor 667, 677; dpl wundrum 665, 674, 868

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**wurnuyt** f glory; ns - 948

**wurdigan** wkv 2 venerate, celebrate; inf - 156; pp **gewerdod** 209, **gewerod** 889; 3s pr ind **wurdeod** 205; 3s pt **wurhode** 98

**wydewa** f widow; ge **wydewan** 589, 599

**wylmen** adj of wool, woollen; ge **wylmenes** 233

**wynnum** adj pleasant; nsu - 147; mpl **wyneumesta** 831 (N)

**wyran** wkv 1 work, do, make; 3s pr ind **wyrred** 677; 3s pt **worhte** 451, 667, 669

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ynnær dual poss adj your; asn – 599
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acceptat 'he shall receive' 86; bipennis 'two-edged sword' over
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sum 'when' 86; coronam 'crown' 86; de 'from' 377;
diligentibus 'to diligent men' 87; deus 'God' 87, 402;
dissipentur 'may they be dispelled' 402; dominum 'God' 259;
et 'and' 259, 377, 402, 403; Exurget 'Let (God) arise' 402;
fuerit 'he will be' 86; ibunt 'they shall go' 377; in
	+ d 'in' 258; + a 'to' 377; imposui 'I have called' 258;
men def 'my' 258; unus 'one' 258; probatus 'tested'
	86; qui 'who' 85, quam 'which' 87; quia 'because'
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folio 40: är 927, utan ymbgan 927, rice 928, wode 929, worn 934 ofergan 935, heale 936, swote 937, manig 939, gespræcon 940, fære 940, är 943, är 944, dræpa 945, gescon 946, gearlice 946;

folio 40: woruldæ woruld æ buton ende 949
A separate register of the forms of the Guthlac Homily has been drawn up, for the Homily, though derived ultimately from the same original as the Vespasian Life, differs from the corresponding portion of the Life (lines 228–370) sufficiently both in vocabulary and syntax to make its own glossary necessary. It must indeed be remembered that, within the Vercelli Book, this homily is treated as a complete unit, and that it is rounded off in four final lines which are unparallelled in the Vespasian Life.
always; & on hinder 72; & butan ende 145

a 64, see on

& conj but, and; - 29, 36, 49, 66, 106, nales bet ....... as 32, nayer dera ne .... ne .... as 7; As 76, 139, nales bet än bet ....... As 50

waffelen wkv 1 kill; 3pl pt waffelden 56

adv ever; - 23

after prep + d along; - 100

in adv phrases: after bán 'then' 100, 109, 142, after bán 108; senna after bán 30

afterfallende pte adj following; def börre afterfallendan 26

adv everywhere; - 87

adv adj each, either; asf åloe 86; dem åloe 9, 65

adv before; - 52, 54, 119; spv årest 10, 67

advv spv adj earlier, previous; as dä årran 57; apl pâ årran 23

stfallan stv 3 apply oneself to; 3s pt stfalla 12

stfwan wkv 1 show, display; 3s pt stfwde 32

styllan wkv 1 fill up, fill; pp styllad 91, 113

ogen pt pres v have; 2pl pt åton 132

Hidian wkv 2 disappear, vanish; 3s pr Hidide 73

Shebben stv 6 heave up, raise; pp Shebben 63; 2s pr sj Shebbe 65

Sheffigan wkv 3 live, spend; inf - 8

An odl num one; in prep formulas: nales bet än bet ....... As 'not only' 50, nales bet än bet ....... 7 åse 120 (III)

Ana wk num one, alone; - 21, 104

ancerteI n hermitage; as - 5

I conj and; - 2, 4, 8, 11, 14, 16, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 28, 29, 29, 31, 33, 33, 35, 35, 35, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 52, 52, 53, 54 (not
andswaran  wkv 2  answer;  3s pt  andswaran  129

andweard  adj  present;  nsm -  132;  ds  hyssan  andweardan  61

æryðe  adj  adamant;  nsm -  36

apostol  n  apostle;  ns -  136;  as -  32;  ds  apostole  143

érłsan  stv 1  rise;  3s pt  ërīs  71

érīsan  adj  wretched;  gpl  ërīsana  mana  123

asse  f  ash,  cinder;  mpl  assan  131

æstreocan  wkv 1  stretch  out,  prostrate;  pp  ëstreahht  63

ætor  n  poison;  as -  13,  14;  ns  by  ëtra  15

eawrgeda  ptc  adj  accursed;  nsm  ëawrgeda  74

bernan  wkv 1  inflame,  burn;  2s pt  ind  bernest  127

be  prep  +  d  about;  -  20,  51

beard  n  beard;  ds  beard  89

bearn  n  child;  dpl  bearmum  130

þbigferian  wkv 1  encompass,  nourish;  3s pt  bigferede  78 (W)

beorstan  prep  before,  in  front  of;  +  a/d  -  his  onysne  74

beginnan  stv 3  undertake,  begin;  3s  pt  began  10

bemurnan  stv 3  mourn  for,  wail;  3pl  pt  bemurnon  79

bend  m/f  bond,  fetter;  dpl  bendum  16
beorhtnes f brightness, radiance; de beorhtnesse 137
bohtian wkv 2 boast; 3pl pt beotodon 128
bohting f boast, threat; dpl bohtingum 134
eran stv 4 carry; 3pl pt êreron 100
eran adj made of barley, barley; dem þan beren 77
geskêan wkv 1 make better; inf - 23
gesenean wkv 1 immerse; 3pl pt gesenoton 100
betweoh prep between, from; betuah 'between' + a = 101, 110, 122;
betweoh 'from' + a = 95
biden stv 1 remain, endure; inf = 103; 1s pr ind bide 133
gesiden stv 5 request, command; 3s pt gebed 72
biggena n inhabitant; ns - 136
blisse f joy; deif blisse 142, 38
brêgen wkv 1 frighten; inf = 134 (N)
brymael n bramble; spl brymela 101
brêga n fear, terror; a/dpl of brêgen 16; mid brêgen 49, mid
mâran brêgan 105
brêgan stv 2 use, enjoy; + g inf - 7
bresan stv 4 break, breach; 3pl pt bresan 2
bûtan prep + d without; ò bûtan ende 145
byrnende pto adj burning; spl bêra byrnenda 117
bysormes f taunt, mockery; spl bysormese 81
bysurian wkv 2 revile, taunt; inf = 49, bysurigan 104
gespa n champion, warrior; gu gespan 18
cold adj cold; spl dê galdan 110
clgan wkr 1 cry upon, call; ls pr ind  olge 29
elgandian wkv 2 cleanse, purify; inf tō clāmsigeanne 66
elypian wkv 2 cry upon, call; ls pr ind elypige 29; 3s pt elopedode 28, 71; 3pl pt elypedon 125
elypunge f call, clamour; ds elypunge 125; a/ds on heora oleopunge 94
onēc n knee; apl onēcwo 92
oostung f temptation; ns oostunge 16 (N); apl oostunga 13
oostian wkv 2 test; lpl pt oostedon 47
oyrnan wkv 1 turn; inf - 26; pp geoyrred 73; 3s pt cyrde 22
craft n skill; ds crafta 47
ouma n guest, visitor; ge ouman 34, 139
ouman stv 4 come; inf - 114; 3s pt oōm 31, 85, 136; 3pl pt oōman 43, oōmon 96
oumanan pt prs v know; lpl pr ind oumanon 46; 1pl pt gunedon 47
ouīllīc adj knowledgeable, friendly; dp pl oūllīcum 44
ouwēan stv 5 speak, say; 3s pt ouwē 28, 72, 107, 130; 3pl pt ouwēdon 44, 126
ouwra f noise, clamour; ds ouwrane 86
ouyrte f cell; ds ouyrane 98
dag n day; ds dag 9, 10, 26, 65, 70; apl dagam 8, 82; apl daga 64, 69; dpl dagum 67
gedafenian wkv 2 to be seemly, befit; impers + a 3s pr ind gedafenah 68 (465 hominem deset) N
delfan stv 3 dig, delve; pp gedolfen 3; 3pl pt dulfo 3
dōsful n devil; ns bat - 41; mpl tū dōsflu 44
dōsfollice adj diabolical; apl hē dōsfollichean 75
dim adj dim, obscure; apl hē dimman hystro 138
dēn adv also; 3s pt him for naht dyde 882 (476 contempst) f
drēfam wkv 1 suffer; pp gedrēfēd 20, 25; 3s pt drēfēd 119
drēgan atv 2 endure; 2s pr ind dresogest 61; 3s pt drēbā 119,
drihten n Lord; ns - 28, drihten 72, 107; ge drihtnes 133
drohtung f manner, ordering; apl drohtunge 42
dust n dust; ge düster 131

ēgo adv also; - 46, 50; anglos ēgo 'so also, likewise' 42, 53,
54; nlas bet ēn bet ...... 7 ēgo 120

ēdig adj blessed; nam sē ēdige 4, 18, 24, 33, 70, 106, 123, 140,
pe gedige 80 (n)

ēgo n eye; apl ēgān 63, 90
goald adj old; nam sē goald 12
goal pron., adj all; nam oal 102; an oall 95; an oalne 112,
oan oal 85; an oalle 53, 67; apln oalle 8; aplf oalle 76; aplf oallne
hēra tinstreg 116; dpl be bēn oallum 51; dpl oallum 37, 96

goall adv completely; - 81
goallum adv completely; - 55
tearhwinende pte adj cowardly conquering; asf bē earhwinndan 17
(n)

ēora n ear; apl ēora 89

ēnes n eternity; dpl ēnesum 60; a/hs on ēnesse 145
eogleo adj horrible, terrible; asf oglelēo 67; apln oglelēo
90; dpl hīm oglelēum 96
eardigan wkv 2 inhabit, dwell; inf - 10, eardigan 20; 3pl pt
eardadan 55, geardadan 51
eardungstēn f dwelling-place; as eardungstēne 4
earfed n hardship; apl earfedas 61; dpl earfesum 30, 37
earro adj ready; nsm - 133
efnæ adv even; efnæ svæ 'even as' 74
eft adv again; - 41, 60, 62, 82, eft svæ 27
ege m fear, dread; as - 117; is bë - 124
egesæ m terror, dread; dpl egesum 95
ende m end; ds ì bûtan - 145
engellæ adj angel; daf engellore 32, MS geliore (N)
sord f earth; a/ds of sorban  l, betweoh heofone 7 sorðan 96
sower poss adj your; dpl sowrum 133

fæo n space; apl fæo 110
fægernes f fairness, beauty; as fægernesæ 67; ds - 32, 139
fæstan wkv 1 fast; 3s pt fæste 53; 3pl pt fæston 52
fæste adv firmly; - 27, 39
fæstæn n fast, fasting; ns - 64, 66; as - 62, 69
fæstlicer epv adv more firmly; - 60
fæstnian wkv 2 secure; 3s pt fæstnode 40
gefæstnian s 3s pt gefæstnode 17
faran stv 6 travel, journey; 3pl pt færan 94
feallan stv 7 fall; 3pl pt feallon 122
fellæn adj made of skin, skin; dsm fellænum 7
fænn n fen; as - 99
feoh n wealth, riches; gs fœos 2
feon stv 5 rejoice; pr pto feonde 33, gefæonde 39 (MS gefæode), 142; 2s pr ind gefist (MS forgifist N)
fulnum n aid, helper; ns - 31; de fulnum 36
gefulnumian wkv 2 help, aid; imper s gefultum 30
furcor spv adv further, more; - 48
gefuldan wkv 1 fill; 3pl pt gefuldon 86
fire n fire; ns - 127; as fyres 120
fyren f crime, sin; spl fyrena 23
fyret n space of time, time; ns - 64; de fyrate 66

gast n spirit, soul; ns - 69; as gestan 19; spl gastan 78, 108, 125, 128, 134, 138; spl gesta 81, 85, 114; dpl gestum 119

gastifle adj spiritual, divine; def gestilfore 38, 141

gæ perspron you; spl gæ 130, 131; dpl gæw 130, 130
gædige, see Ædig

gæra adv formerly, once; ili gæra 2, 91
gæearwan wkv 1/2 prepare; 3pl pt gæearwodon 135
gætread pte adv adj poisoned; def hære gætredan 18
gebed n prayer; dpl gebæum 12, 84
gebunden pte adj bound; dpl gebundenum 98
gæwælifcort spv adv so as most to please; - 43
tæfeænce f bliss, rejoicing; de geæfænnesse 142
gægylæ n raiment, clothing; de on follemum gægylæn 7
gælæfe n belief; as gælæfan 39; ge gælæfan 43
gælla adj like, similar; npln gelike 91
gelike adv likewise; - 69

gelgellice adv frequently; - 21
genip n cloud; gp. genipa 113

gemegung f moderation, temperance; ns - 9

gengan wkv 1 go; 3s pt gengde 12

good prep through, throughout; + a - 12, 80

goodstredgan wkv 1 scatter over; 3s pt goodstredge 14

gesigefestan wkv 1 crown with victory; pp gesigefested 80

gespensefnes f toil, tribulation; ds gespenenesse 29

gesöht m/a thought; dpl gesöhtum 27

gesbyld n patience; as - 46

gestryw adj true, faithful; nam so gestrywa 31; as bone gestrywan
141; ge bone gestrywan 38

geweald n power; as - 132

gewisse adj + d cognizant of; nplm gewisse 45

tgewrid n thicket; apl gewridu 101 (ef Life 192, 330 gewrido)
gewunelie adj customary, usual; ism by gewuneliean 11, 83

gif conj if; - 56, 105

gifan stv 5 give; 3s pt geaf 131

gifu f grace, gift; ds gifa 39

god n God; ns - 67, 72; as - 39; ge godes 63; ds gode 28, 71

göme n jaw, mouth; dpl gömmum 116 (H)
gresvang n as het gresvang 13 (H)
grot adj large, great; aplf gröate 93

grimlig adj cruel, terrible; aplm dä grimliasan 122

grimnes f cruelty; ge grimenesse 14

grymetende pto adj nem grymetende 13

gyl k crime, sin; apl gylte 59

gyman wkv 1 heed; + s 3s pt gynde 106
habban wkv 3 have; 3pl pt hefdon 87, 89, 92

auxiliary + pp: 2s pt hefdest 50; 3s pt hefde 23

hælend a Saviour; ns - 53, 144

hælig adj holy; nsm gæ hæliga 136, 143; bone hæligan 97, 116; gem bes hæligan 139; dpl hælegum 83

hæs adj hoarse; nplm - 93

hætan stv 7 command; 3s pt hæt 35; 3pl pt hæton 104


heafod m/n head; apl heafdu 88

healf f side; as healfe 86, 108

hæanes f height, loftiness; de hæannesse 111

hell f hell; gs helle 138

helleduru f gate of hell, hell-door; npl helledurum 128; gem/n ? helledures 116 (F)

heofon m heaven; gs heofones 112, 136; de heofone 95; spl heofona 143, 145

heofonund adj heavenly; de heofonundre 39, 142

heofonlfe adj heavenly; gem bes heofonlfean 34; de heofonlfore 137
heolster n darkness; de heolstre 140
heort a heart, breast, mind; apl heortan 15
hër adv here; hër on worulde 59, 63; behold!, hër 127
hider adv hither; hider 7 hyder 21
hindan adv behind; on 72
hindir adv behind; on 72
gehiwan wkv 2 form, fashion; 3s pt gehiwode 67
blæw m mound; as - 1; as - 2; gs hlæwen 3
hlæf m loaf, bread; de hlæfe 77
hlæodrian wkv 2 sound, resound; 3s pt hlæodræde 96
hors n horse; gs horses 91
horwiht adj foul, filthy; apl þa horwihtan 99
hreca n throat; npl hrecaan 91
hrecl n garment, clothing; gs hregles 7
hryman wkv 1 clamour; 3pl pt hrymedon 93, hrymedon 94
hũ adv how, in what way; + indir q - 43, 51
hũs n house; as - 4, 85, 97
hýdan wkv 1 hide; 3pl pt hýddon 140
gehýran wkv 1 listen, hear; impers gehýr ðu 29; 3s pt gehýrde 37, 71
hwâ pron who, what; + dir q nsm - 131
hwât interj adv le; Hwât 132
hwân is. of hwâ in formulae; for hwân 'why' 133
hwyder adv whither, to what place; + indir q - 25
hýd f wave; apl hýde 120 (N)
in pers pron I; n to 29, 48, 73, 108, 132; a me 29, 29, 134; g min 131; d me 107

Idle adj useless, vain; aplf Idle 76

Iceland n island; de Iceland 1

in prep in, into; + a - 39, 97, 132; + d - 1, 30, 37, 53, 54, 55, 60, 83, 110, 140, 145; + a/d - tō-
wyrdnesse 42, - bœ 127

in adv in; hér in 135

ingōtan stv 2 pour in; 3pl pt inguton 86

inhōnan stv 2 fall into; 3pl pt inhruron 122

Isen adj made of iron, iron; dpl Isenum 109

īf adv once, formerly; ĭf gēera 2, 51

lēdan wkv 1 lead, carry, conduct; 3pl pt lēddon 98, 99, 100, 103, 110

gelēdan wkv 1 lead, conduct, carry; pp gelēded 111; 3pl pt gelēddon 116

lētan stv 7 allow, forsake; inf - 50 (w); 3pl pt lēton 103

land n land, country; as - 80

lēr f teaching, counsel; apl lēre 75, 79

lang adj long; aplm langa 88

lange adv for a long time; - 102

leahter n crime; apl leahteras 23; spl leahtra 57

lēas adj lying, false; dpl lōrum lēasum 133

lēglfe adj burning; apl ūlēglfean 120

lang ovp adv longer; - 49

lēo m/f lion; as - 13
libban whv 3 live; inf supplied at 43 (N); 3s pr ind leofæð 144;
3pl pt lifdom 52

lif n life; as - 52; gs lifes 8, 43, 45; ds lifa 60
lifhæma m body; ns - 102; as lifhæma 58, lifhoman 70
gelimpan stv 3 befall, happen; 3s pt gelamp 10, 42, 82, 84
lig m flame; ds lige 91; apl ligeas 122; gpl liga 117
linen adj made of linen, linen; gan linenes 7
lim n limb; dpl limus 98
lyft f air, sky; gs lyfte 110, 111; ds - 44

mæ + g more; apl mæ earfedæ 61
mægen n might, power; as - 14
menago f many, multitude; ns - 85
menig adj many; def menigre 88 (N)
mære adj famous, illustrious; npl ðæ mærean 54
mægen pt pra v may; 3s pt meahte 24, nihte 43; 3pl pt meahton 138
man m man; as æ man 66, þæ man 68; npl men 2; gpl manna 123
(2) ns as indef pron 'one' man 135
manøyran n mankind; ge mançonnes 12
manigfeald adj manifold, various; dan manigfealdum 47; dpl manig-
fealdum tintregum 123
mennige adj human; apl þæ mennissean 15
meta m food; as - 70
micel adj, see mycel
micelnes f size, quantity; as micelnesse 124
micle adv much; swæ micle swilcor swæ ...., swæ micle 61/2
mid prep with; + d - 18, 24, 25, 29, 35, 44, 47, 54, 79, 86, 96, 105, 109, 133, 137, 143, + i 15, 107; + a/d mid brægan 49;

in prep. formulae 'when' mid by be 11
correl. 'when ..... then' Mid by ... be 14, mid by...ði...

middangeard n world, earth; gs middangeardes 53, 67

nächt f power, might; ns - 126

mín poss adj my, mine; ns - 28, 73, mín 72; gsm mínes 133;

def mínne 29; npl mínne 72; dpl mínum 30

misshere adj withered; apls misshere 93 (n)

mød n mind; ns - 19; dø mōde 17, 22, 25
gemunan pt pres v remember; 3s pt gemunde 22

munne m monk; npl munnes 54

mīd n mouth; dō mūde 28, 107; apl mūdas 90

mycel adj much, great; nsm mycel 3; nsf micel 85; nsu mycel 1;

def micelre 65, 125; bēre teles mycolan 77; apl micel 92; opv dpl mēcen 105

nāfre adv never; - 40

nānig adj not any, none; nsf - 96

nag, see under wegan

nāht n naught, nothing; a for nāht dyde 'regarded as valueless' 81

nāles adv not, not at all; nāles bet .... so 31, nāles bet án bet ...


násan adj neither; násan bāra ne .... ne .... so 6

ne adv not; - 23, 35, 48, 64, 106, 108, 138

ne conj neither, not; - 49; nāsor ne .... ne .... so 6
nebb n beak, nose; as/pl - 89
nella, see willan
neoban adv beneath; - 87
neowolnesse, see nywylnes
nihf f night; as - 83; gs nihfe 84, 103; ds nihfe 26; spl nihfe 66
geniman stv 4 take, seize, carry; 3pl pt genämon 109
nö adv not, never; - 36
nolde, see willan
norõdæl n northern part; as - 112
nö adv now; - 50
nywylnes f gulf, abyss; gs nywylnesse 118, neowolnesse 127
nyste, see witan

ef prep from, out of; + d - 9, 16, 16, 44; + a/d of eoræan 1;
  + d ùt of 98
ofæwæn stv 6 cleanse of, purify; 2s pr sj ofæwæa 57
ofergeteol adj forgetful of; + g nam - 118
ofælæn stv 6 slay; 3pl pt ofælægon 56
on prep on, into; + a 41, 42, 62, 86, 99, 99, 126, a 64 (w); + d
  3, 4, 7, 17, 20, 22, 32, 32, 38, 59, 60,
  63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 82, 89, 92, 102, 107,
  111, 142; postp + d - 36; + a/d on
  fruman 5, on ..., stilnesse 84, on onsyne
  87, on .., cleopunge 94, on ðonesse 145;
  + adv on hinder 72
oncyrrran wkv 1 turn away; pp oncyrrred 108
ondleofen n food; gs ondleofenes 9; gsf ðære ... 7leofene 77 (w)
ondrysealig adj horrible, vile; mpl ondrysealige 92; aplm - 90;
  apl ðæ ondrysealigan 114; dpl þæm an-
  drysenliceum 110
onfæn v receive, take; 3s pt + a onfæng 144
ongen prep against, towards; + a/d ongen þæ 128
ongen adv again, back; - 114
ongian n undertaking; ds onginne 20
ongiance stv 3 undertake, begin; 3s pt ongan 20
ongiant stv 5 perceive, realise; 1s pr ind ongite 73; 3s pt ongast 76; 3pl pt ongætan 78
ongyn f face, countenance; a/ds beraon his ongyn 75, om - 87; ds manigre ongyn 88 (f)
ombriogan stv 5 grow frightened; 3s pt onbrec 125 (529 horrescolet)
openian wkv 2 open, disease; 3pl pr ind openað 128
orfyrme adj foul, filthy; mplm - 89
ormöndnes f despair; ge ormöndnesse 41; ds - 24
öder adj other; dsf ödre 3
öde conj or; - 105; öde ..., öde 'either ... or' 64
ræa n smoke; ns - 74
resætunge f concussion; apl resætunge 121 (f)
restan wkv 1 rest; inf - 70; 3s pt restæ 68
ræde adj cruel, dread; dpl ræðum 101
ræce n kingdom; ge ræces 144, 145
réstan wkv 2 reign, rule; 3s pr ind ráxæh 145
ræð adj rough, shaggy; aplm raugæ 89
sēl m time, occasion; as - 42; de sēle 82
sēul f soul; apl sēula 122
sēanace m shank; apl sēanacan 92
sēctian wkv 2 shoot, hurl; 3s pt sēctode 41
sēfnan stv 1 shine; pr pto sēfnande 137
sōfån stv 2 shove, thrust; inf - 135, tō sōfanne 126
sōulan pt pr v shall, be obliged to; auxiliary use 2s pr ind
sēalit 57; 3s pr ind sēal 64
soyppend m creator; ns - 74

ā, sēe, bēt def art., dem pron the, that; (1) attrib nsm sē 4, 12, 18, 24, 30, 32, 37, 53, 70, 75, 80, 102, 123, 136, 140, 143, 144; nsm
sē 40; nsm bēt 40, 127; nsm bōne 32, 69, 97, 115, 117, 140, bōne 68, sē 66; asf bō 56, 83, 120, 124, bō 107, bō 17; nsm bēt 5, 10, 12, 21, 80, 85, 97, 99; gan bō 17, 19, 20, 34, 38, 139, gaf bōre 41, 84, 110, 111, 117, 138, gan bōce 101, bō 3, 120; dem bō 4, 68, 77, 143; dar bōre 9, 18, 24, 26, 44, 76, 98, 102, 139; dem bān 1, 17, 20, bān 104; ism bō 11, 69, 83, 124, bō 26; ism bō 15; npl bō 78, 91, 105, 125, 134, 138, bō 54, 128; apl bō 15, 23, 75, 76, 81, 99, 101, 117, 120, 121, 122, 137, bō 42, 110, 113, 122; apl bōre 81, 85, 101, 114, 117, 124, bōre 118; dpl bō 27, 51, 116, bō 96, 110, 112, 119
(2) subat nsm bōne 77; nsm bōte 79, 105; gan bōse 56; npl bō 54
(3) rel nsm bōte 127; gan bōse (MS bār) 50;
(4) rel + bē npl bō 3e 55;
(5) rel + yloa : nsm bone yloan bōne 2;
(6) adv use of gan bōse : correol 'when ... then' bōse be .... bō 6, 84
(7) adv use of ism bō : see under aid
(8) use of dar and ism in formulae containing after
(9) other parts used in formulae: bāra, see nēðer

sealm n psalm; apl sealma 11
sēogan wkv 3 say, tell; inf - sīl
sellan wkv 1 give; pp sealda 126
sēmninga adv immediately; - 43, 84, 113, bā - 16, 135
sēndan wkv 1 send; inf tō sendanra 132; lpl pt sendan 48
sēofon edl num seven; on - nihta fyrste 66
sēofōda ord num seventh; dem bām sēofōdan 68, iem bē sēofōdan 69
sēab m hole, well; ns - 4; ds sēabe 4
sēson stv 5 behold, see; 3s pt gesēah 33, 111, 113, 117, 121, 124, 141
sǐde f side; ds sīdan 3
singan stv 3 sing; 3s pt sang 11, 28
sēsittan stv 5 sit down, inhabit; 3s pt gesēt 6
sēlp m sleep; ds sēlēpe 32
sēldan stv 1 glide; inf - 44
sēmēn wkv 1 consider, discuss; 3s pt sēmēde 42
sēmēndande pte adj smoking; apl bā sēmēndande 117
sēna adv at once, soon; - 5, 71, 115, 125; bā - 97, 115, 118, bā - 33, 75, 76, 120, bā, sēna 30;
sprećan stv 5 speak; 3pl pt sprećon 129
sprećan pte adj sēoresaid; dem bām sprećan Inglande 1
gestēndande stv 6 remain, stand; inf - 104
stefen f voice, sound; ds stefne 79, 92; dpl stefnum 96
stilnes f stillness, silence; a/ds on bāre nihta stilnesse 84
stōw f place; dpl stōwum 101
strēl m/f arrow; asm hām earhwinndaen strēle 17; def hēre sēt-
tredan strēle 18; spl strēla 48
strangian skv 2 strengthen, comfort; 3s pt strangode 35
sum adj a certain, some; nsm - l; asm sumne 42; dem sumum 82,
ism sume 10
svä adv so, thus, in such a way; - 8, 21, 103, 129, eft - 27;
intens adv 'so' - 24, 65, 80, 94
svä conj so, as; - 13, 16, sève = 74; svā........svā 66/8;
svādor svā ...... svā 58/60; svā niels
svādor svā ...... svā micle 61/2
svæart adj black, dark; asm hēt svæarte 99; gaf hēre svæartum
116, 138; spl hēm svæartum 116; spv
dpl hēm svæartestum 112
svæfel m sulphur, brimstone; ge svæles 121
svæcana skv 1 toil, labour; inf - 49; 3pl pt svæton 103
svæora m neck; apl svæoran 88
svægana stv 3 flag, scourge; 3pl pt svægon 109
svipu m/f lash, whip; spl svipum 109
sviló adj strong, harsh; spl svilóra 113; opv asf hā svilóran 107
'sright'
svilóde adv very; intens use ; - 20, 33, 39, 142; opv svilóder 'the
more strongly' : svilóder svā ...... svā 58, svā micle svilóder svā .... svā micle 61
svilólice adv severely; - 123
svylo adj such; nsf - 9
svylóce adj likewise; svylóce eāc 42, 52, 53, Svylóce eāc 82 'so like-
wise'
svyloe conj as if; - 3, 112, 135
sylf pron self; nsm sylfa 25, 127; asm god sylfne 40; aplm hīe
sylfa 140
syne f sin, crime; spl synum 128
syddan adv afterwards, since; - 40; conj tō hēm - 97
syx odl num six; on syx dagum 67; syx daga 69
tē f toe; apl tēn 93

tēala adv such, so; intense use - 65, 76

tēaldan wkv 2 spread; 3s pr ind tēaldan 15 (N)

tēson stv 2 draw, lead; 3pl pt tugon 98

fīr f time; ns - 40; de tīdn 9

gētrimbriān wkv 2 build; 3 pt gētrimbrode 5

tīntræg a / tīntræg n torture; gs tīntræges 116; apl tīntræga
118; dpl tīntrægum 123

tīntrægian wkv 2 torture; 3pl pt tīntrægudon 123 (NS tīntrægud)

tō prep to, towards; + d - 28, 71, 76, 77, 116, 143; postp + d - 31, 129, 130; + a/d tō forgifenesse 59;
in adv phrases tō bēn sybben 'to then when' 96, tō bēn 135; + d inf - elēn-

ēgænnen 66, - scūfænn 126, - sædanæn 132

tōgēnes adv towards, forward; bēr . . . tōgēnes 115

tōgæmna adv together; - 115

tōr m tooth; apl tōr 90

trumæs f strength; gs trumæsesse 45

trumæn wkv 1 strengthen, establish; 3s pt trymede 35

gētryman; pp gētrymed 60; 3s pt gētrymede 40

tōwyrdnes f future; a/ds in tōwyrdnesse 62

tū, see tūgæn

tuddor n breed, race; ns - 130

tūx m tusk, tooth; dpl tūxum 91


tūgæn edl num two; an tū dōfaly 44; ga tūgæn daga 64

tūgægan wkv 1 doubt; 3s pt tūgædæ 36
bē adv then; - 24, 26, 33, 34, 44, 76, 96, 104, 109, 113, 121, 142;
ēa 3, 21, 30, 78, 102, 106, 115, 138;
in correl. "when .... then"; bē .... bē 10/2, 74/5, bē ....ēa 42/3, 123/5,ēa ....ēa 37/8; bē ....ēa ....ēa 18/9, 111,ēa ....ēa ....ēa 16/7/8,ēa ....ēa ....ēa 70/1
adv 'then' following formulae: Mā bē .... bē 15; mid bē .... bē 103; mid bē bē .... bē 129; tō bām syddan ....ēa 97; bē bē .... bē 6, 84; bā bēēa ....ēa 140/1
bēr adv there; - 1, 3, 46, 113, 120, 121, 122, 139, 144, 144, bēr 50; 'to there' bēr 43, 85, 115; bēr...
tēgēnes 114; bēr in 135
bas, bes be, see pā
bet conj that, so that; - 6, 7, 13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 30, 31, 35, 36, 40, 46, 48, 56, 63, 64, 78, 84, 95, 95, 102, 104, 105, bet dat 131; bet was 77 'that was'
in phrase nāles bet ēn bet 'not only that' 49, nāles
bet ēn bet 120
bē rel particle; who, which; - 9, 20, 22, 51, 54, 119; for pron + bē see sē; be with adverbs and conjunctions, see mid, bē and bes (under sē).
bencan wkv l think, contemplate; 3s pt bōnte 6
gebencan : pp gedōht 50; 1s pr ind gebence 73
bēowdēm m custom (N); dā bē gewunelliceōn bēowdēme 11, bē gewunelliceōn bēowdēm 83
bēs dem pron this; asn bīs 78; gaf byssē 126; dån byssan 61;
apl bēs 37, 71, 126, 132; dpl byssum 129
biese adj thick; apl bē biesean 101
bīn poss adj your; nān - 104; asn bīnne 58; asn bīn 46; gsm
biese 45; gsm bīnne 45; gpl bīnna 59; dpl bīnnum 127
bing n thing, affair; ge for fēos bingum 2 (N) (391 erga oausam lucri)
bonne adv them; - 60, 68, 69; correl. 'when .... then' bonne .... bonne 55/6, bonne .... bonne 63/3

pró odn num three; gm bróora daga 64

bridda ord num third; ism af briddan 25

broom n cloud; so1 broomæ 117 (NS bismæ)

brô pers pron you; ns dê 29, 50, 56, 58, 60, 61, 63, 66, 127, dê 57, 62, 62, 73; as bê 48, dê 48, 49, 50, 66, bê 59, 73, 126; gm bê 47; dê dê 50, 56; a/ds in bê 127; ongên bê 128

burn prep through; + a/d - heora forhsednesse 55, - forhsednesse 58

bus adv thus, in this way; - 28, 72, 107, 126, ðus 44

by, see sê

byogan wkv l take, receive; inf - 70

gębyogan : 3s pt gebyde 77

gebýdan wkv l join; 3pl pt gebýddan 115

byder adv thither; hider 7 - 21

bynoan wkv l seem, appear; impers + d 3s pt him þuhte 95

bystro adj dark; daf bêre bystran 103

bystro f/a darkness, cloud; apl - 138; gn bystro 130

ufan adv above; - 4, 87

uncyst f fault, vice; apl uncysta 55

ungemellic adv greatly, hugely; swâ - 94

ungetvarnes f discord; dpl ungetvarnessum 95

umste adj immense; apln - 114

unmanig adj not many, few; aplm unmanega 82
unnyt adj useless; aplf unnytte 76
unoferswîlde pto adj unvanquished; an unoferswîlde 46 (MS nu ofer-
swîlde)
up adv up, upwards; up geleþed 111
upgeestan stv 2 pour upwards; inf - 121
uphyddan wkv 1 press up; inf - 120
ússa poss adj our; gpl ússa 48
út adv out, outside; út of dære cytan 98 (499 extra)

vå interj adv woe!; vå + d 130
wåcan wkv 1 make weak, weaken; inf wåcan 106
wåcan wkv 1 wake, watch; pr pto wåcende 32, 83
wåpen n weapon, arms; gpl wåpna 48; dpl wåpnum 41
water n water; apl - 99
wåcan wkv 1 hunt, (wander); 3pl pt wåddon 80 (N)
wå perso pron ws; n - 45, 46, 46, 47, 47, 48, 49, 50; d up 126
wågåan wkv 1 afflict, oppress; inf - 58; 2s or ind wågast 7 weag-
cest 59 (N)
wånan wkv 1 suppose, expect; 1s pr ind wåne 48; 3s pt wånda 23
weord n host, troop; mpl - 114
weorpan stv 3 throw; 3pl pt wuþpon 100
wåpande pto adj weeping; def wåpendre 79
wor m man; ns - 4, 18, 24, 33, 70, 80, 106, 124, 140; as - 97,
116
werig adj accursed; gsm Þu werigan 19; mpl Þa werigan 78, 106,
125, 134, 138, Þa werigea 128; gpl Þa ra
weriga 81, 85, 114; dpl Þam werigum
119
wesan def stv 5 be; 3s pt wæa 3, 9, 16, 19, 19, 24, 26, 30, 33, 38,
60, 77, 102, wis 1; 3pl pt wæron 54, 87, 88, 90, 91, 91; 3s pt sj wære 36, 112; negated form 3s pt wæs 96; com anon v 1s pr ind com 132; 2s pr ind eart 73; 3s pr ind as 106, 126; 1pl pr ind syndon 45; 2pl pr ind syndon 131; imper pl syn 72;

bæon forms: inf - 36, 64; 1s pr ind bæo 108; 2s pr ind histó 60, 62, byst 63; 3s pr ind bid

westen n waste, wilderness; as - 10, 21, 51; ds westene 53, 104; ge westenes 101; dpl westenum 54

wýde adv widely, on all sides; - 13, 80

willa n will, command; a/g/ds (bide) .... willan 133

wýte n torment, punishment; apl wýtu 126, 132; gpl wýta 124 (N)

gewitan stv l go, depart; 3s pr sj gewite 104

witan pt prs v know; 1s pr ind witen 46; negated form 3s pt nyste 25

witigende pte adj knowing, prophesying; ism witigende 107

twitœðólîc adj prophetical; ism witœðólîco 28

wid prep against; + a wid nine 41, wip bêo 48

widœstædan stv 6 stand against, resist; 3s pt + d widœstæd 27

wêh adj twisted, crooked; as/pl - 89; aplm wâ 92

wêlberendiþ pte adj pestilential, deadly; dpl hâm wêlberendan 27

wolesan f cloud; dpl wolomum 112

word n word, command; apl - 37, 71; gpl worda 106; dpl wordum 35, 44, 129

woruld f world; ds worulde 59, 63

wuldor n glory, wonder; ds wuldre 137, 143, 145

wundian wkv 2 wound; pp gewundod 19, 25; 3s pr ind wunad 15

wunian wkv 2 remain stay; 3s pt wunode 84

gewunigeæan: inf - 139
wyllan adj. of wool, woollen; gen wyllenes 7
wyroan wkv 1 make, work; pp geworht 1, 23

yfel adj evil, bad; gpl yfelra 57
yfelines f evil, ill; ge yfelines 14
yloa adj same; asm bono yloan blæw 2 (rel use: 391 ques)
ylding f delay; - 96
yum prep + a after (time); - 82
about; - 42
yrming n poor thing, wretched creature; dpl ðow yrmingum 131

bartholomeus: n - 31, 34, 136; d bartholomei 143
eorist: g oristes 17
egipti m Egyptians; dpl egyptum 54
elias: n - 52
ghbelæ: n - 4, 24, 37, 83, 124, 143
Moysees: n - 52

amen 'Amen' 145; fæst 'let it be done' 146; sanctus nsm 'saint' 31, 34, 136, sanote dem 143
III

THE

GUTHLAC

POEMS
Account of the Cuthlac material of the Exeter Book and of earlier editions of these poems

Earlier editions of the Cuthlac poems

The Exeter Book which Leofric gave among other donations to the cathedral at Exeter sometime in the middle of the eleventh century is the only one of all his books still in Exeter. It is described in the catalogue of his donations:

\[ i.e. \text{mycel English boe be gehwilcum pingum} \]
\[ on leodwisam geworht] \]

For years it lay neglected, occasionally used as a store for gold-leaf or as a stand for a drinker's mug. It must have seemed of little value to an age which, unable even to translate its description in this Old English list, labelled it:

\[ a mochel englyse boke of meny thynge \]

Apparently the book was not recognised as a collection of verse in Middle English times. In the sixteenth century too it attracted little attention. Laurence Nowell must have looked through it when he visited the cathedral, for he is thought responsible for the brief interlinear glossing on folio 9r; he did not however use any poetic texts for his lexicographical work. It is likely also that John Jocelyn, Archbishop Parker's secretary, consulted the manuscript in

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1. Cottney p. 28, line 38
2. Cottney p. 31, line 35
3. Cottney p. 91
4. Marsden p. 70
5. Marsden p. 35
Exeter, for he uses some of the preliminary matter in his preface to Parker's *A testimonie of antiquitie* (1566). However, Josselyn and his contemporaries were interested in finding and examining books and charters concerned with law, customs, the church and English history, and the book remains virtually unknown outside catalogues of the cathedral's possessions until 1705.

From Wanley's *Catalogue* we learn that the Exeter Book was already bound and foliated as it was to remain until its rebinding in 1930 when the beautiful facsimile edition was put in hand. Wanley gives a fairly full account of the preliminary pages which had interested Josselyn, but his description of the following material is less clear. He divides this material into ten major parts, according to the large capitals which run right across the manuscript page. For the first ten or so folios he notes also the beginning and end of each section of the manuscript, a laborious process which would have taken many pages if followed through. Some running passages from the Exeter Book were reproduced by Hicks in the third part of the *Thesaurus* and the pencil marks he made to mark these out for reproduction are still visible in the manuscript. Evidently the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral had lent him the book.

In 1812 J.J. Conybeare who held both the chairs of Poetry and of Angle-Saxon at Oxford read three papers on:

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1CFF p. 91; Ker 1957, number 116  
2Wanley 1705, pp. 279–81  
3CFF 1933, p. 34
... a Saxon Manuscript preserved in the Cathedral Library at Exeter

before the Society of Antiquaries. With the publication of these in *Archaeologia*¹ a considerable amount of the verse contained in the *Exeter Book* was for the first time obtainable in print, for Conybeare was not interested only in runic curiosities but also in 'our early Poetry'. He presented approximately one hundred lines of Old English verse in these papers, from *Christ, The Phoenix and Soul and Body II.* together with literal Latin translations and free renderings into English. J.J. Conybeare died in 1824 and the only other memorial to his interest in Old English is an edition of some of the more important minor poems of the *Exeter Book*, made from his manuscripts and lecture notes by his brother and published two years after his death.²

N.F.S. Grundtvig, sent to England by the Danish government to study Old English manuscripts, visited Exeter in 1830. A year earlier he had made enquiries in London about the *Exeter Book*, so that by the time he reached Exeter the manuscript had been requested by the British Museum for a copy to be made of it. The book was, however, still in the cathedral and Grundtvig, to his great amusement, was locked into a room daily with the manuscript for as long as he wished to use it. His many interests prevented him from ever completing his proposed edition of the manuscript and only a little of his transcript

¹Conybeare 1812, pp. 160–97 ²Conybeare 1826
was eventually published: two riddles and the opening lines of Christ appeared in Miller's Collectanea Anglo-Saxonica and Grundtvig himself put out an edition of The Phoenix. \(^2\)

With Benjamin Thorpe's arrival in Exeter in 1832 the textual history of the Guthlac materials in the Exeter Book begins. He found the codex had at last been sent to the British Museum for transcription there by Robert Chambers. It was hurriedly returned to Exeter for Thorpe who set about preparing his edition of it. His Codex Exoniensis appeared in 1842 and was not superseded until the last decade of the century. Thorpe tried to present a close and exact transliteration of the manuscript forms, giving even its accent marks and abbreviations. The main fault of his work lies in his treatment of mutilated passages where he made no attempt to decipher what remains or to describe the space occupied by missing letters. Where the manuscript has suffered little his work is still worth attention.

Thorpe divides the 1379 lines of verse now generally accepted as relating to Guthlac into three different poems. He marks out the first twenty-nine lines as the second part of a poem he entitles 'Of Souls after Death etc.' Lines 30 to 92 are identified as a separate complete poem, 'Poem Moral and Religious', of which he says:

This poem is highly unintelligible. It is probably, like many other, a translation from a Latin original.

\(^{1}\) Miller 1835 \(^{2}\) Grundtvig 1840
by one ill-qualified for the task; and this I suspect to be a chief cause of the numerous obscurities attending similar productions in Anglo-Saxon.

Thorpe's third poem, 'The Legend of Saint Guthlac', begins with line 93. He recognises that something, he suggests a leaf, has been lost after *sebome* 368, the last word on folio 36v. However, he makes no further division of the material from line 93 to 1379, for the heavy capitals of line 81 which had caused Wanley to label the material from folio 45 a new book, do not stop Thorpe from treating it as the continuation of a single poem. The first section of *Guthlac B*, which Wanley describes as *de Creatione Hominis 7 lapsus ejus*, elicits this explanation from Thorpe:

> This digression, though in appearance a clumsy interpolation, is, nevertheless, a portion of the poem, as is evident from lines 29 and 30, page 154 [= line 878], where it is connected with the rest by the alliterating words *sigerleoa* *achtun*, and *seega*.

At the end of the Guthlac material he notes:

> Here the upper part of the leaf of the MS. is cut off.

In his commentary he adds:

> The rest of the legend, which is void of interest, may be seen in *Felix*.

It may perhaps seem that too much attention is here given to an early editor, but it must be remembered that Thorpe's *Codex Frankianus*.

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1Thorp 1842, p. 503  
2Thorp 1842, p. 124, fn. 14  
3Wan-  
ley 1705, p. 281  
4Thorp 1842, p. 505  
5Thorp 1842, p. 184  
6Thorp 1842, p. 507
was Grein's chief source for the material of the *Exeter Book* when in 1857 and 1858 he included it in his *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*. It is ironic that Grein, working from Thorpe's earlier edition, should have provided the first definitive edition of the *Exeter Book* poems. The opening twenty-nine lines of *Guthlac A*, which Thorpe had taken as the second part of his 'Of Souls after Death etc.', Grein attaches to Christ and the following sixty-three lines, Thorpe's 'Poem Moral and Religious', he regards as the beginning of the first of two poems about Guthlac. The loss of text after *gæpone* 368 is noted, but no comment is made on the seemingly 'clumsy interpolation' (at line 819) which Thorpe had felt constrained to explain; for Grein this passage was the opening section of a second poem about the saint.

The *Bibliothek* has had a long-lasting effect upon the critical history of the *Guthlac* poems. Grein's division of the material, although already disputed by Gollanes as early as 1892\(^1\), is responsible both for the consecutive numbering of both poems and for the instigation of an unnecessarily protracted consideration of the unity of *Guthlac A*. His lineation of the texts is followed in the two most important Old English dictionaries: *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*\(^2\) and *Sprachschätze der angelsächsischen Dichter*\(^3\). In the former the references for both the Thorpe and Grein editions of the *Exeter Book* poems are given. Indeed, it can be seen from Bosworth's working copy of Thorpe's *Codex Exoniensis*, now in the Bodleian, that he im-

\(^1\)Gollanes 1892, p. xix  
\(^2\)Bosworth and Toller 1898 and 1921  
\(^3\)Rößler 1912
posed on this text the divisions and numbering made in the Bibliothek. The latter dictionary is Köhler's revision of an earlier dictionary issued under Grein's direction in 1861 and 1864.

It is interesting to note that some of the emendations Grein suggested for readings given by Thorpe were later to prove the manuscript readings, although where he attempted to fill in lacunae he was less successful. For some time German scholars followed his lead in trying to fill up inductively the gaps in the damaged parts of the Exeter Book. With the publication of Schipper's notes from his collection of the manuscript and the two printed editions of its contents, a fairly detailed account of the manuscript, together with corrections for many things misreported by Thorpe, became available. So far as other parts of the Exeter Book are concerned, it is unfortunate that Schipper did not use Chambers's transcript which could have provided a few readings that had since his day been obscured by binding strips; for the 1379 lines of Othlac material, however, Schipper notes only a few incorrect readings, a few misplaced accents and occasional emendations made within the manuscript itself. To note these he did not need the help of the British Museum transcript.

The first part of a new edition of the Exeter Book, edited by Sir Israel Gollancz for the Early English Text Society, appeared in 1895. In this volume Gollancz, following his own earlier suggestion, prints the twenty-nine lines taken by both Thorpe and Grein with preceding

1 Schipper 1874
materials in the manuscript as the opening of the first of two Guthlac poems. He justified this departure from earlier editorial practice from a consideration of the scribe's presentation of the poems in the earlier part of the manuscript, noting the importance of the row of capitals at the top of folio 32v. His identification of the opening of the first Guthlac poem did not gain immediate acceptance and is not followed three years later in the third volume of the revision of Grein's Bibliothek. In this volume, largely devoted to the Exeter Book poems, new readings drawn from Bruno Assmann's examination of the relevant manuscripts are to be found, but the 1379 lines of the Guthlac poems are distributed as in Grein's edition, the opening twenty-nine lines being still attached to Christ III.

Gollancz, in his edition of poems from the Exeter Book, gives both his own new consecutive numbering for the Guthlac poems and references to Grein's numbering, a practice followed also in the 1933 facsimile of the manuscript. Both systems are widely used today, generally inconsistently. The long-standing state of indecision as to where Guthlac A begins (or where Christ III ends) is well illustrated in a general history of Old English literature published as recently as 1949 in which the older lineation is followed within the text and the newer in the notes. It is noteworthy that such confusion has continued despite the appearance of The Exeter Book (as the third volume of The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records series in 1936) in which only the newer line references are given. The results of this confusion

1 G.K. Anderson 1949, p. 126 and p. 151
are apparent not only in the great bulk of critical writing upon these poems but also in translations, in the identification of extracts and in citations. The question of the unity of Guthlac A will be surveyed in a later chapter of this introduction, but it must be noted here that the often discussed opening twenty-nine lines are not included in the edition of *The Old English Poem of St Guthlac* presented by B. Thompson for a Leeds University doctorate in 1931 and that this editor does not recognize the existence of two separate and very different poems about Guthlac.

Although the two Guthlac poems have been printed five times and are available also in the 1933 facsimile of the *Exeter Book*, no critical edition of them has ever been published. Close attention has therefore previously been given mostly to those passages which have proved popular in anthologies and often to some of the more notorious of the orasses in the poems. Here an attempt will be made to draw together and sift the widely scattered writings upon Guthlac A and Guthlac B.
The manuscript

A full description of the Exeter Book is to be found in the 1933 facsimile edition. Useful supplementary material is available in W.R. Ker's review of the facsimile edition and in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*. K. Sisam's review of the facsimile is also important, as are his later writings on the Exeter Book in his *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*. A detailed account of the manuscript and its contents is given by Krapp and Dobbie in the third volume of *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* series.

The manuscript is generally ascribed to the latter half of the tenth century, as are the other great codices which contain the bulk of surviving Old English poetry. It now consists of 131 folios, of which the first 8 are later than the 123 folios (numbered 8 to 130) which remain from the original collection of Old English verse. The 8 additional folios, the first containing a title given the book in post-medieval times and the number 3501 and the other seven containing eleventh and twelfth century materials in both English and Latin from Cambridge University MS I.11.11, are reproduced in the facsimile edition of the manuscript, together with a discussion of them by W. Förster. Only the 123 leaves numbered 8 to 130 therefore constitute the Anglo-Saxon poetic manuscript.

These leaves were apparently written by one scribe who was perhaps responsible also for two other manuscripts at one time in Exeter, MS Lambeth 149 (which left Exeter in 1018) and MS Bodley 319 (given
by the cathedral Chapter to Oxford in 1602). The folios are on an average 12.5" by 8.6", with 21 to 23 long lines of writing per page (approximately 36 verse lines). The manuscript is imperfect at the beginning, single leaves have been lost after folios 37, 69, 73, 97, 103 and 111, and the top part of folio 53 has been cut away, with loss of four lines of script (that is, about six verse lines). The seventeen gatherings of the manuscript now vary in size from five to eight folios and are not provided with signatures as are the gatherings of the Vergelli Book. The Outhlac material, filling folios 32 to 52, appears in the gatherings numbered IV, V and VI by Fürster. Gatherings IV and VI are among those gatherings of the manuscript still made up of eight folios; VI, containing three full sheets and two half sheets folded in, is the only complete gathering of the manuscript not made up of the usual four folded sheets. Gathering V, once complete, is now without its first folio. It has often been suggested that a whole gathering has fallen out between folios 52 and 53, that is between gatherings VI and VII, as in this part of the manuscript the beginning of a new poem is normally marked by one or two free lines and a line filled with capitals. The excised portion of folio 53 is therefore insufficient for the ending of Outhlac D and the opening of Asarius, a conclusion supported by the appearance of the lower tips of two letters from what must have been the fourth line of script on folio 53. It is impossible to estimate how much may have been lost from the end of the second Outhlac poem.

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1 See Ker 1933, p. 228.
in these circumstances. For Outhlae A it is a fair guess that some seventy lines have been lost between lines 368 and 369 where a folio is missing from the manuscript.

The longer poems of the Exeter Book, if it is accepted that some considerable material has been lost from the beginning of Asarice, are all in the first part of the manuscript on folios 8\textsuperscript{r} to 76\textsuperscript{r}. Their openings are distinguished by a line almost entirely filled with bold capitals and their endings by heavy punctuation followed by one or two lines free of script. (It is probable that the collection of Advent hymns which make up Christ I and the Asarice were given introductory capitals in the same way.) In the latter part of the manuscript such lines of capitals are used erratically, appearing only at the beginning of The Gifts of Man, Widsith and Soul and Body II, and spacing between poems is frequently lacking. Sections within the longer poems, like the shorter poems, the riddles and fragments, open with one or two large introductory capitals and end with heavy punctuation; a free part-line, line or lines may follow. Such sections are not numbered, unlike the sections within Beowulf which show that at some times divisions within that poem were numbered. Within the section or short poem the only punctuation is a low dot (sometimes with an accompanying small capital) used sparingly and usually coincident with the end of a verse. M.R. Ker has pointed out\textsuperscript{1} that it is difficult to be sure of the scribe's dots on certain folios where post-medieval stops have been added (folios

\textsuperscript{1}Ker 1933, p. 226
14\textsuperscript{v} - 15\textsuperscript{v}, 16\textsuperscript{v} - 20\textsuperscript{v}, 32\textsuperscript{v} and 33\textsuperscript{v}). 'Accent' marks occur throughout the manuscript, for the most part placed over vowels etymologically long. Abbreviations are sparingly used and are those generally found in Old English manuscripts; a few Latin contractions, such as \textit{sic} for \textit{sancius}, also appear. The post-mediaeval interlinear English gloss to seven lines on folio 9\textsuperscript{r} has been identified as in Newell's hand\textsuperscript{1}, but whether or not he is responsible for the finer script which appears on folios 10\textsuperscript{r}, 20\textsuperscript{v}, 32\textsuperscript{v} and 44\textsuperscript{v} is uncertain.

A brief note on the presentation of the Guthlac poems in this edition appears immediately before the texts, but I should like to explain why palaeographical detail has both here and at that place been kept to a minimum. It would be difficult to present a text which would incorporate even the major manuscript features, for example agreement on word-division or on the interpretation of small capitals would not easily be reached among modern readers. The punctuation system of the manuscript, unless presented in a diplomatic text, could serve no useful purpose and it has in any case been supplemented on certain pages by additions which are not always simple to distinguish from the earlier marks. A diplomatic text of the Guthlac poems is moreover unnecessary, for the 1933 facsimile of the Exeter Book is readily available. Where less detail is needed, the straightforward edition of the earlier part of the manuscript by Collantes\textsuperscript{2} can be used, for although the texts are given modern lineation and word-division, many of the manuscript minutiae are reflected.

\textsuperscript{1}Flower 1935, p. 70 \textsuperscript{2}Collantes 1895
The present edition of the Guthlac poems is conservative. In it the forms of the manuscript are retained so far as is possible: 'ascents' are marked, foliation is noted, the sectional divisions are given and attention is drawn both to the expansion of abbreviations and to textual emendations. Below are listed a few details which particularly affect the modern interpretation of the Guthlac poems.

SUMMARY

sectional divisions within the Guthlac poems

Guthlac A — lines 1-92 (introduced by a line filled for the most part with large bold capitals), 93-169, 170-261, 262-368 (with some loss at the end as a folio is missing), 369-403 (with loss at the beginning because of the missing folio), 404-529, 530-617, 618-721 and 722-818.

Guthlac B — lines 819-93 (introduced by a line for the most part filled with large bold capitals), 894-973, 976-1059, 1060-1133, 1134-1223, 1234-1304 and 1305-79 (with loss of the end of this poem).

The sections are not numbered and are indicated only by capitalisation of the first word or of part of the first word, by punctuation and by spacing.

small capitals

The small capitals, because they often differ only very slightly in size from other letters, cannot be distinguished with any certainty.
Gollanes attempts a careful distinction, using a small clarendon type to indicate that in the manuscript certain letters are 'intermediate between ordinary small and capital letters'. A more ambitious list of all the small capitals of the Exeter Book is given by Krapp and Dobbie who include, among the eight hundred instances cited, words which begin with the tall ȝ so often used by the scribe, such words accounting for approximately half the examples given by them. They themselves point out that this graph is not an unequivocal capital and that it serves to give the letter a readily distinguishable appearance.

There is considerable disagreement between Gollanes and Krapp and Dobbie in the recognition of small capitals. For example, Gollanes indicates that he recognises six on folio 34r (Gene 104, Hwst 108, Tid 114, Naless 117, Ozer 119 and Ozer 127), whereas the American editors list twelve (Sibben 99, Inlyhte 99, Gene 104, In 107, Hwst 108, In 109, In 111, Tid 114, Naless 117, In 118, Ozer 119 and Ozer 127), a list differing not only in their inclusion of the long ȝ. On the following folio 34r Gollanes lists seven small capitals (Swa 133, Obbet 134, Sond 136, Obbet 147, Naless 150, Jeps 155 and Jep 130), whereas Krapp and Dobbie note only five (Swa 133, In 137, Obbet 147, Naless 150 and In 154). For the recto of this folio I would follow the Krapp and Dobbie listing except in their inclusion of the long ȝ, but for the verso I should prefer Gollanes's interpretation of the letter forms; it must be noted that I was undecided as to the inter-

1 Gollanes 1895, preface
2 Krapp and Dobbie 1936, pp. lxxxvi ff.
3 ibid., p. xviii
pretation of $f$ in frown 136 until I had seen that Collanoe had also taken it as a small capital.

The gradation in size of initial letters is often so little that it cannot easily be represented in typescript or print. It is worth noting however that most of the more obvious small capitals follow a low dot and appear in connective words. Although Förster concludes that 'any kind of logical or purely syntactical punctuation is unknown to our scribe', it is likely therefore that the dot is not merely a 'metrical point'. The verse units are for the most part sentence units at the level of word, phrase or clause and sometimes the stops seem to serve to mark off larger units than those contained within a verse or series of verses. The pointing is perhaps better described as more rhetorical than syntactical.

'accents'

The 'accents' of the manuscript, in form a very thin acute, are placed over vowels and occur rather less frequently in the Exeter Book than in many other Old English manuscripts. Lists of the accents of the Exeter Book have been drawn up by Assmann and Krapp and Dobbie. The latter list is rather fuller than Assmann's, except that in it the low dots which generally accompany a 'law' when it is marked off by an accent are not recorded.

There are nearly six hundred accents in the Exeter Book, five—

1OFF 1933, p. 62  2Assmann 1897, pp. 239-43  3Krapp and Dobbie 1936, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv
sixths of these occurring over etymologically long vowels. Often where the accent is placed over a short vowel, it falls on a syllable obviously stressed, but sometimes a preposition, either free or the first element of a verb, may carry an accent and be unstressed. In such cases the accent may have served to indicate syllabic division, facilitating reading in the same way as the presence of small capitals, low dots and variations in letter forms like the long ä and ë must have done. Little can be added to the discussion of the accent in Old English manuscripts by Keller, or to the account given of the accents of the Exeter Book by Krapp and Dobbie. It should be noted indeed that Thorley in his examination of the accents of Junius 11 does not find any new evidence to show that this practice can be better explained from an investigation of the customs of the church in representing the inflexions of Gregorian chant than in the traditional ways.

contractions

The abbreviations are those commonly found in Old English manuscripts. Most used is the tilde or macron. Its chief use is to indicate the omission of a nasal consonant from the script, very often at the end of a line where a suitable division of material is sought. Although editors generally expand the tilde in this position to ë, it must be remembered that the dative inflexion -um appears also as -un

in this manuscript and that silent expansion of m in such pieces
would conceal the true proportions of these alternative forms of the
inflexion to be found in the texts. The tilde is sometimes used to
indicate the omission of g (for example above the g of Glo 368 ge-
bona) or of -(a)s (as in the various abbreviations for bona). The
usual contraction for but, whether on its own or with the enclitic
-is, appears throughout the manuscript, as does I for both conjunc-
tion and prefix (found only as ond where written out) and once for
the first element of BL 5.8 hondweorc (7werc). A few common Latin
abbreviations are to be found in the manuscript but are not represent-
ed in the Guthlac poems.
The extent of the two Guthlac poems

The division of the Guthlac material of the Exeter Book into two poems, with 818 lines of the first extent and 561 of the second, is now generally accepted and the close relationship of the second of these poems to Felix's life of the saint recognised but, as no separate critical edition of these poems has been published, it is necessary here to review briefly the many and varied opinions that have been advanced on the extent and unity of the Guthlac poems of the Exeter Book. It is impossible to give such a review without also touching upon the problems of authorship and sources of the poems, but the main purpose of this chapter will be to show how this Guthlac material has been divided by different critics and why they arrived at such divisions.

The views of the nineteenth century critics are usefully summarised by Karl Jansen in his Die Cynwulf-Forschung which, although published in 1908, is understandably less full for the first years of this century. There is no comparable summary of standpoints taken up in the last half-century on the Cynwulf question, probably because few would dispute Jansen's definition of the Cynwulf canon (Juliana, Christ II, Elene and Andreas), except to remove Andreas from among the signed poems. (The statistical work of S.K. Das is, however, important, for its results limit the Cynwulf canon definitely)

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1 Jansen 1908. The list is incomplete even for the nineteenth century (e.g. omitted is Liebermann's article in Neues Archiv 1892), as well as for the early years of this century (e.g. Adams 1906). Most who deal with this question refer the reader back to Jansen's work: e.g. Tupper 1911, Sisan 1933, Dubois 1942, Schaar 1949.
to this group of signed poems.  

For Jansen the *Pater of the Apostle* seemed to be *der schluss des Andreas* and consequently *Andreas* was indisputably by Cynwulf. Otherwise, general assumptions about the extent of the Cynwulf canon have altered little since the publication of Jansen’s monograph. Opinions have, however, varied as to the number of Cynwulfian poems contained in the Erceter and Versecelli books, although here again Jansen’s conclusions provide a useful introduction to assumptions general in recent notes upon this question. He thinks that *Cuthlac B* should be placed in the canon of signed poems:

Für ein wahrscheinliches werk Cynwulfs muss ich mit den meisten forschern das gedicht Cudlac Tod halten. Der schluss desselben fehlt: wäre er nicht verloren, so würden wir wohl seine fünten runenstelle mit des dichters namen haben.

He is not prepared to admit into the canon *The Phoenix*, finding in it too great differences in *sprachlich-metrischen dingen* and he points out that other poems often attributed to Cynwulf, like the *Physiologus*, are too short for any conclusions about their authorship to be drawn.

Even so straightforward a summary of Jansen’s conclusions indicates how tangled and confusing earlier discussions of the Cynwulf question had been. The complications are due more to an accretion of imaginative scholarship than to the essential complexity of the

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1 Janssen 1942  
2 Janssen 1908, p. 122  
3 Janssen 1908, p. 123
subject itself. No attempt will be made to re-examine the growth and disintegration of Cynewulf legends (after all this is done admirably by Jansen), except in so far as these affect judgments of the Guthlac poems. The matter of this section will, indeed, be restricted so far as possible to a consideration of writings in which the Guthlac poems are allowed more than a brief note.

Wansley, the first man to describe the contents of the Exeter Book in modern times, apparently views the matter of folios 32\textsuperscript{v} to 44\textsuperscript{v} as a connected whole:

Liber IV, octo constans Capitibus, agit de Gaudiis que paravit Deus pro iis qui amaverunt eum a mandata ejus impleverunt: cujus narratione Poetica eorum quae in spiritu viderit in coelos raptus Guthlacus. (Vid. visiones Guthlacii Anachoretus.)


Expl. Liber Waldor-feat ealdne widan forh on lifigendra. londes wynne.

His description of the following part of the manuscript may indicate that he does not regard the introductory creation passage as the beginning of the second Guthlac poem:

Liber V. novem constans Cap. Agit autem de Creatione Hominis & lapsu ejus; de supra memorato Guthlacii; de tribus puere Amania, Asaria & Missael, iisdem fere verbis ac in impresso Codmone pag. 81. de Cantico coronenden; & de Nabuchodonassore Rege Chaldæorum. Ab istis etiam verbis 1

\footnote{Wansley 1705, p. 281}
These extracts from Wunley's account of the Exeter Book comprise the fullest account of the Guthlac portion of the manuscript available until the publication of Schipper's collations of Thorpe's Codex Exoniensis with the manuscript in 1874.

The notion that the Exeter Book contains one Guthlac poem by Cynswulf appears first in an early paper on runes by Kemble¹ who must at this time have been helping Thorpe with the preparation of his edition of the Exeter Book poems for press, for many of his opinions are to be found also in Thorpe's Codex Exoniensis. This volume appeared shortly after Kemble's paper. In it Thorpe prints as The Legend of Saint Guthlac continuously from the second section of Guthlac A (line 93) to the end of Guthlac B (line 1379). He recognises no break in this material, observing only in a note on line 819 that there here occurs a digression which:

... though in appearance a clumsy interpolation, is, nevertheless, a portion of the poem, as is evident from lines 29 & 30 [= 878], p. 154, where it is connected with the rest by the alliterating words sigor-lean sohtun, and seagad.²

Thorpe does not notice that there is no comparable reason for regarding line 819 as if it follows straight on from line 818 and, although he especially admires 'the latter part of the legend'³, he does not think to separate it from the earlier part. In his commentary he agrees with Kemble in assigning to Cynswulf 'the paraphrase of the Life of Juliana and perhaps all the Verselli poetry'⁴: two years later he

suggests that Cynewulf may have been responsible for the verse of both the Verwelli and Exeter codices.¹

What is now recognised as the first section of Guthlac A is presented by Thorpe in two parts, lines 1 to 29 as the second half of a poem entitled 'Of Souls after Death etc.' and lines 30-92 as a separate and complete poem to which he gives the title 'Poem Moral and Religious'. This division of the Guthlac material of the manuscript is followed by Klipstein who prints in his reader Thorpe's 'Poem Moral and Religious'². It is first questioned by Dietrich who, in his discussion of the Christ poems which appear immediately before the Guthlac poems, suggests that the third of these ends with Thorpe's 'Of Souls after Death etc.' (i.e. a Christ trilogy of 1693 lines) or with the first half of this poem if the second part is taken as an introduction to the Guthlac material (i.e. a Christ trilogy of 1664 lines)³.

Grein, when including the Exeter Book poems available to him through Thorpe's Codex Exoniensis, falls in with the former of the alternative endings proposed by Dietrich for the third Christ poem. So the opening twenty-nine lines of Guthlac A appear at the end of the Christ poems in the first volume of his Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie⁴ and the rest of the first section of this poem in the second volume of the Bibliothek. He recognises that Thorpe's 'Poem Moral and Religious' belongs properly to the following Guthlac material and prints it as the opening⁵ of a poem 1353 lines long about this saint.

¹Thorse 1844, II. p. 622, note for 108.13 ²Klipstein 1849, II. p. 203 ³Dietrich 1853, pp. 193-214 ⁴Grein 1857 I, pp. 190-91 ⁵Ibid. 1858, II. p. 71
This arrangement of the first section of Guthlac A is to be found reflected also in Grein's translations from Old English poetry of the same decade.\(^1\)

Grein's decision to print the second section of Thorpe's 'Of Soule after Death etc.' with the Christ material from the opening of the Exeter Book has had a great effect on the subsequent history of the Guthlac poems. The unity of Guthlac A cannot easily be recognised if the first twenty-nine lines are detached from it and the fact of their being printed by Grein both separated from the beginning of his Guthlac poem and in a different volume of his Bibliothek is a major factor in the moulding of critical opinions of the Guthlac poems for at least the next decade. His presentation of only one poem about Guthlac introduces the consecutive numbering of the texts. The poems are still numbered continuously, now from 1 to 1379 instead of Grein's 1 to 1353, but it is possible even today to find both systems employed unconsciously within one writer's work.

Two poems within the 1353 lines of the Guthlac presented by Grein are first distinguished by Rieger\(^2\) who describes the first one in this way:

Das erste handelt von den anfechtungen des heiligen, feiert seinen sieg über die feinde, berichtet 753 den eingang seines geistes in den himmel und kommt nach einer betrachtung über das leben der heiligen im allgemeinen 790 zum schlusse.

\(^1\)Grein 1857 (D), p. 194 and 1859, pp. 67 ff. \(^2\)Rieger 1869, p. 325 fn. 1
Rieger suggests that the two poems are independent of one another and notes, moreover, that whereas the first poem seems in no way dependent on the *Vita* by Felix, the second is obviously based on it. He does not, however, wish to remove either poem from those at that time attributed to Cynewulf, but cites verbal parallels from both poems and other poems then attributed to Cynewulf as an indication of his authorship of them. The concluding sentence of his note on the Guthlac poems deserves emphasis in this discussion:

> Es liegt sonach auf flacher hand, dass er [Cynewulf] suerst nach mündlicher überlieferung ein gedicht über St. Guthlac einsiedlerleben und sodann, als ihm die vita des Felix bekannt geworden war, ein zweites über seinen tod machte.

Similar distinctions are often to be found in later notes upon these poems. The contrast in source material for the two poems is discussed elsewhere in this introduction. Important here is the suggestion that Cynewulf first made a poem from oral traditions about Guthlac and that he later, having come to know the *Vita* by Felix, made another on the death of the saint. This second distinction enables later critics to contrast these two poems in discussion of the development of Cynewulf's art. The first instance of this I have found is in the first edition of Ten Brink's *Geschichte der englischen Literatur* where the second Guthlac poem is treated as a later continuation of the first and where both are attributed to Cynewulf. Remarks made by Sweet and Wülker in the 1870s suggest that both

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1. *See III. 2/a.*
3. *Sweet 1871, p. 16.*
still accept Grein's poem of 1353 lines. They are, however, no more
guarded than Rieger and Ten Brink in their attribution of this ma-
terial to Cynewulf. Sweet argues that there are in the Exeter Book
certain poems (other than those which contain signatures):

... which from evidence of style are seen also to be
Cynewulf's. These are the Life of St. Gudlac, and
the descriptive poem of the Phoenix, and several
smaller lyric pieces, the most important of which
are the Wanderer and the Seafarer.

Wilcock identifies as works certainly composed by Cynewulf the riddles
Juliana, Elene and Christ, presents his own version of the events
(imaginary) of that poet's life and tells us that in his later days
the singer turned his muse to the service of God. In those times:

Er dichtete Juliane, wahrscheinlich auch Gudlac,
dann Crist und suletst Elene. So wartete er, der
welt gans entfremdet, auf die zeit, da er das ird-
ische leben mit dem ewigen vertauschen könne.

Charitus's Über die angelsächsischen Gedichte vom Hl. Gudlac
is the first paper to appear concerned only with the Guthlac poems.
Like Rieger he recognises that what had hitherto been thought one
poem is in reality two (the first for him is still 790 lines long,
i.e. Gls 90-318). He compares these two poems with one another and
with what is for him the undisputed Cynewulf canon, Juliana, Elene
and Christ (for him a poem of 1694 lines), showing the uselessness as
evidence of authorship of the verbal parallels cited by Rieger. Al-
though many of Charitus's findings in this article are invalidated

1Charitus 1879, pp. 265-308
by his misunderstanding of the Cynwulf canon, the evidence amassed
by him was at the time convincing. One of his generalisations is
still widely accepted:

Guthlac B ist durchaus streng in seinen Versbau und
steht den Cynwulfischen Dichtungen in dieser bezeich-
nung viel näher als der metrisch viel freier und nach-
lässiger gebaute Guthlac A.¹

He ascribes the composition of Guthlac B to Cynwulf who he suggests
knew and was influenced by the earlier author of Guthlac A². In
this way he attempts to explain the striking parallels between the
two poems without being forced to admit Guthlac A to the Cynwulf can-
on on their evidence.

Some further observations on the Guthlac poems appear in an art-
cle by Fritzsche³ published in the same year as Charitius's discus-
sion of them. This article contains a thorough examination of Andreas
which leads Fritzsche to conclude that that poem is not by Cynwulf
but:

.. ist von einem schüler oder nachahmer Cynwulfs, der
neben den werken desselben auch andere erzeugnisse der
Ags. lit. kannte.⁴

His plan necessitated that some comparison of Andreas and the Guthlac
poems should be made and, as well as noting verbal parallels, he looks
briefly at the source(s) available to the Guthlac poets⁵. This ques-
tion is not discussed in Charitius's article, and Fritzsche's observa-
tion that ignorance of the Vita cannot be argued beyond Glo 529 is

¹Charitius 1879, p. 273  ²ibid. p. 306  ³Fritzsche 1879,
po. 441-500  ⁴ibid. p. 500  ⁵ibid. p. 496
therefore to be set against Rieger’s assumption that the A poem is independent of Felix. Unfortunately Fritsche postpones giving an explanation (which never appeared) of why he has reached this conclusion.

In the second edition of his history of English literature Ten Brink no longer argues that both Guthlac poems are by Cynewulf but now holds the same opinion as Charitius, that only Guthlac B may be ascribed to Cynewulf and that Guthlac A is to be regarded as the work of an earlier poet. This simple contrasting of the poems might well have become a commonplace of literary histories and of writings on Cynewulf for some time, had not Fritsche’s suggestion given rise to new examinations of the poem and to attempts to show how one man (usually Cynewulf) knitted together oral tales and material from the Vita into a poem of 1353 lines. The material is now divided into three chunks (lines 30–529, 530–818 and 819–1379) in some discussions. Although D’Hem is unable to find any evidence to support Fritsche’s observation that independence of the Vita cannot be argued beyond the first of these divisions, he apparently accepts this interpretation of the relationship of the poems to the Vita and ascribes all 1353 lines as printed by Orein to Cynewulf. A fuller examination of Fritsche’s argument is made by Lefèvre who can find close parallels between the Vita and the poetic material only in the third section examined by him (i.e., Guthlac B). Yet, he too follows Fritsche in arguing that behind both second and third sections lies the Vita. 

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1Ten Brink 1879, p. 62  
2D’Hem 1883, p. 25  
3Lefèvre 1883, pp. 181–240
presents quite a detailed examination of the poem, concluding:

Die Übereinstimmung in den Wort und formelschatze
und in charakteristischen stellen zeigten uns auf
der einen seite, dass Guthlac I, Guthlac II und
Guthlac III von einem dichter verfasst sein müssen,
und dass wir in demselben Cynewulf zu erkennen haben.¹

His Guthlac III is distinguished also from the earlier I and II by
the way rhyme is used, but this Lefèvre regards as further evidence
that this part of the poem was written at a different period from
the rest². Lefèvre's views seem at first to have been favourably
received and we find Kirkland is prepared to accept that he has prov­
ed the existence of only one Guthlac poem 'by his application of
Fritzsche's "set of laws" to the poem'³.

For the next dozen or so years opinions swing back and forwards
and no observations of any note are made on the problems now present­
ed by the Guthlac poems. Seen Holtbuer denies on syntactical grounds
the authorship of any part of Guthlac A or Guthlac B to Cynewulf and
as well the Andreas, The Phoenix, the Dream of the Rood and The Descent
into Hell⁴; but Wilker's suggestion that a runic signature may have
disappeared with the lost ending of Guthlac B⁵ means the reopening of
the whole discussion. His hypothesis proves popular and thereafter
appears in the theories of all who argue that Cynewulf was responsible
either for Guthlac B alone⁶ or for both Guthlac poems⁷. Still others

¹Lefèvre 1883, p. 231 ²Ibid. pp. 233 ff. ³Kirkland 1885, p. 20 ⁴Holtbuer 1884, p. 40 ⁵Wilker 1885, p. 183; he
restates this hypothesis in his Geschichte der englischen Literatur
1896, p. 43 ⁶e.g. Ebert 1887, p. 63; Cremer 1888, p. 50; ⁷e.g. Sarrason 1886, p. 191.
³Prioe 1896, p. 50; Trautmann 1896, p. 388; Sassen 1906, p. 123
continue to accept Cynewulfian authorship for one Guthlac poem, without discussion of any of these points.  

The results of his new investigation of the Cynewulf question from a metrical point of view are presented by Mather in 1892. He reconsidered the evidence sifted by Cremer in his discussion on whether or not Andreas, The Phoenix and the Guthlac poems belong to the Cynewulf canon and, like Cremer, excludes Andreas, The Phoenix and Guthlac A from it. Although Cremer accepts Guthlac B as by the same author as Christ II, Juliana and Elena, Mather is unable to find sufficient proof either for or against such a conclusion. He shows that Guthlac A and Guthlac B are unlikely to have been written by the same man, noting:

Aesthetically the first part of the 'Guthlac' has been judged inferior to the second. The metrical differences will show that they cannot be by the same author.

He suggests that Guthlac A is the earlier of the two, citing the internal evidence (pointed out first by Rieger) as a straight contrast between statement of dependence on oral sources by the A poet and on bee by the B poet. Guthlac B he admits provisionally to the Cynewulf canon, adding the curious speculation:

It is a tempting hypothesis, that the Verseelli fragment may be the epilogue to the unfinished poem Guthlac B.

However, he would not press the suggestion that the Homiletic Fragment I is the end of the second Guthlac poem. He points out that the Verseelli compiler was at any rate interested in the Guthlac legend.

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1 e.g. Hessfeld 1890, p. 13 et passim.
2 Mather 1892, pp. 97-107
3 ibid. p. 103
4 ibid. p. 103
The methods of amassing and examining detail used by Wither are interesting and some differences noted by him significant, but unfortunately his division of the Christ poems and the placing of the first twenty-nine lines of Guthlac A with Christ III throw out the figures in his comparative tables.

From 1892 discussion of the extent and relationship of the two Guthlac poems is further complicated by the need to consider Gollancz's suggestion that the twenty-nine lines usually treated as the final section of Christ III by earlier scholars are in reality the opening of Guthlac A. Gollancz relegates these lines to an appendix in his edition of Christ, stating:

"... there is absolutely no break in the manuscript between the lines and the passage usually printed as the first section of the latter poem. [Christ] I make bold to suggest that the whole section is a prelude to 'St. Guthlac', with motives derived from the concluding portions of the 'Christ'. Thorpe, the first editor of the Exeter manuscript, is no doubt answerable for this error, which even the ingenuity of Dietrich and Grein did not detect."

The suggestion was not at first popular. One of the first to oppose it, Stopford Brooks, added it neatly to his fantasy of the composition of Guthlac A and Guthlac B. Cynwulf, he imagines,

"... at the beginning of his Christian life, while his imagination was yet hampered by his natural avoidance of all profane poetry, wrote the first part of Guthlac"

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1 Gollancz 1892, p. xix
2 Ibid. p. 103
from oral tradition, and then, much later in life, when his imagination was delivered by the peace in his soul, took up his old work again, after the production of the Life of Guthlac, and added to it an end, with a special account of the anchorite's death.\footnote{Brook 1892, p. 242}

His major objection to Collanes's theory is that 'the quality of this new introduction, as poetry, is of a much higher value than the rest of the first part of the poem.' Yet, he is able to find a way of attributing them also to Cynewulf's authorship:

It is more than probable that Mr. Collanes is right in tagging on these twenty-nine lines to the Guthlac, but I think he will have to say that they were placed there many years after the first part was written, when Guthlac B was added - about the time, that is, when Cynewulf wrote the Christ.\footnote{Ibid. p. 243}

These quotations from Brook show also his belief that Guthlac A is dependent upon oral traditions; as yet evidence to support Fritzsmöhe's conclusions has not been recognised. However, Liebersmann in that same year questions the still widely held opinion that the poem is not related to Felix's \textit{Vita}, starting from the arguments of Charitius. He points out the parallels between \textit{Vita} 391 : Gla 151, \textit{Vita} 553 : Gla 699, \textit{Vita} 558 : Gla 732 and suggests that the poet's account of Guthlac's home on \textit{einem Bergen} recalls Felix's \textit{tumulis}.\footnote{Liebersmann 1892, p. 247}

As well he notes less striking similarities, for example the often cited resemblance between St. Guthlac's swallows in Felix's \textit{Vita} and the birds in the triumphant scene of the poem (lines 733-6), but...
confines these to a footnote as of less importance. The next full examination of this problem does not appear until 1902 and in the interval both Brooke and Wilscher accept that both poems are based upon the Vita. Brooke observing that the second follows its source 'closely', and that the attribution to Cynweulf strengthens "the supposition that he was a Northumbrian of the sea-coast" (because the fen-land voyage is turned into a sea-voyage). In 1902 Forstmann is apparently unaware of Liebermann's observations and, for the most part piling up negative evidence by detailing the Felix material not used by the A-poet, he asserts:

Das Ergebnis unserer Untersuchungen ist also, 1, dass 'Guthlac der Einsiedler' unabhängig von der Vita des Felix ist, und dass 2, die wenigen verkommenen Ähnlichkeiten sich aus der Behandlung desselben Stoffes ergeben oder eine Folge der gleichartigen Quellen ist, aus denen Felix und der Dichter schöpften.

One reviewer finds the evidence he collects for the independence of Guthlac A 'weighty'.

In his edition of the first part of the Exeter Book for the Early English Text Society in 1895 Gollancz attached to the opening of a poem Saint Guthlac A, of 818 lines length the lines which a few years earlier he had relegated to an appendix in his edition of Christ. This arrangement entails a new numbering of the poems and for the convenience of readers Gollancz gives Grein's numbering as well as his own. He continues also the practice of numbering the poems conse-
utively. His placing of the disputed twenty-nine lines within Guth-
lac A is approved by Blackburn in his examination of Gollanec's div-
isions of Christ, but it does not gain the support of most German
scholars. In the third volume of the revised Bibliothek Assmann
prints the Guthlac material with Monge sindon 30 as the opening words,
just as Grein had done. He does, however, add a new footnote at the
break between the two poems (for the word wynne 818):

... auf einer seite allein, dann 2 seilen frei.

He recognizes that the manuscript contains two Guthlac poems, but he
does not agree with Gollancz about where the first of these poems be-
gins. Cosijn too is unwilling to accept Gollancz's suggestion. To
him the twenty-nine lines appear rather:

... ein selbständiges stück über das schicksal der
frommen seele. ... licherlich scheint es mir, ein
umfangreiches gedicht Cynswulfe v. 1694 mit frage-
seichen endigen zu lassen; ganz verwerflich ist
Gollancz' meinung dass der Guthlac v. 1666 anfängt,
statt mit dem feierlichen manige sinden, wie der
Heland mit manega waren und der Panther mit denselben verse.

It is not surprising to find A.S. Cook observing a few years later
in his edition of Christ that Mr. Gollancz's placing of these twenty-
lines at the beginning of Guthlac A 'is likely to meet with scant
approval'. A certain amount of hindsight may have inspired both
this remark and his decision to print the lines at the end of Christ.
His remarks on the composition of the poem are inconclusive:

1 Blackburn 1897, pp. 89-98 2 An exception is Olde 1894, p. 260
3 Assmann 1898, p. 78
4 Cosijn 1898, pp. 114-15
5 Cook 1900, p. lxii
If either Guthlac B or the whole was written by Cynewulf, a good deal of it must be "restitio-work, touched up when he had attained the fulness of his power and art.

He goes on to argue against Cynewulf's authorship of Guthlac A because of the references within it to hearsay, contrasting these with the appeal to the testimony of books that appears in Guthlac B. Certain passages he identifies as 'most nearly Cynewulfian in thought and tone' (819-871, 1094-1104 and 1278-1283), adding that although these contain non-Cynewulfian phraseology

... my designation of them as Cynewulfian signifies scarcely more than that I consider them the finest passages in this Part. 1

Collamore's treatment of the disputed twenty-nine lines finds support in a note by Adams 2 who points out that the parallels often noted within the poems are for the most part from Guthlac A. (A fuller note on these will be found in the section on the unity of Guthlac A. Here it should be sufficient to add that the correspondences point to a similarity in subject matter in these lines and the concluding section of the poem.) Literary historians and critics continue to refer to Guthlac A as a poem of 790 lines, despite the factual evidence against this cited by Adams, or to one long Guthlac poem of some 1350 lines, except for Grau who argues a continuity of source material behind Chr 1549 to Gec 18 and takes together Christ III and both Guthlac poems 3. Adams's views are opposed in an article by

1 Collamore 1900, p. liiiii
2 Adams 1906, p. 240
3 Grau 1906, pp. 84 ff.
E. J. Howard who tries to establish, again by quoting parallels, that the twenty-nine lines are more closely linked to Christ III than to Guthlac A:

That some of the verbal reminiscences quoted may be objected to on the ground that they are of slight value as tests of authorship must be admitted; they do, however, indicate a noteworthy similarity of vocabulary, and are significant in that they indicate a close relationship between Christ III and Christ IV.¹

This article, vitiated because it does not contain any attempt to relate the content of the disputed lines (here called Christ IV) to either Christ III or Guthlac A, provides a useful summary of the many arguments used to prove them the final section of Christ III. Howard places particular emphasis upon the occurrence of forms of tydrian in both these twenty-nine lines and Guthlac B and, with Cynewulf as an added complication in his discussion, decides:

If the prevailing view that Cynewulf was the author of Guthlac B has any foundation, this circumstance would seem to indicate a relationship between Christ IV and Cynewulf, rather than between Christ IV and the supposedly non Cynewulfian Guthlac A. It therefore appears that Christ IV bears a closer verbal resemblance to Christ III than to Guthlac A.²

Such a long quotation is necessary to explain how Howard has arrived at his rather involved conclusion on the authorship of the disputed lines:

It would seem therefore that the reasons for believing that Christ III is by Cynewulf are better than those

¹Howard 1930, p. 360  
²Ibid, p. 360
for believing that it is not. And as the reasons for believing that Christ IV is the conclusion of Christ III are better than those for believing that it is not, there seems to be no valid reason why Christ IV should not be ascribed to Cynewulf.

The continuing uncertainty as to the place of these twenty-nine lines is evident in the brief remarks made by the editors of the Exeter Book for the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records series who argue:

These lines might be added to the end of CHRIST without too great violence to logical continuity, though they would form somewhat of an anticlimax for that poem; they are certainly only very remotely connected with the narrative of the life of Guthlac which begins with *Monge gindon*, GUTHLAC 30. In subject matter, therefore, they do not clearly attach themselves either to CHRIST or to GUTHLAC, and it is not impossible that, as Cosijn suggested, they formed originally an independent poem or fragment.

In these circumstances, the editors choose to follow the intent of the compiler of the Exeter Book. Not until the last few years, with the publication of LK. Shook's articles in which he examines the subject-matter and unity of *Guthlac A* and demonstrates that these lines belong to that poem, has there appeared any discussion on the content of the passage and of *Guthlac A* fuller than the brief note by Adams on verbal parallels between the two.

Although most critics writing in the twentieth century distinguish

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1Howard 1930, p. 367  
2Krepp & Dobbie 1936, p. xxx  
3Shook 1960, 1961
two Guthlac poems\(^1\), attributing the earlier Guthlac A to some poet other than Cynewulf and regarding the later Guthlac B as written by Cynewulf or some one of his near contemporaries, some have argued that the material in lines 30–1379 are one poem. This notion perhaps derives ultimately from the many attempts made to explain Cynewulf's authorship of both poems, but it owes much to explanations which show Cynewulf as the last shaper of both poems and author of the second. For example, Brandl, after describing Guthlac A, begins his account of the later poems:

Später fügte vermutlich Cynewulf dieser Dichtung ein Gegenstück hinzu, (791–1353) in der er an der Hand einer lateinischen Vita sancti Guthlacii aus der Feder des Mönches Felix von Croyland nochmals die Beruchsungen und den Tod des Heiligen, seinen lesten Auftrag an einen treuen Gefährten und die Ausrichtung desselben darstellt.\(^2\)

For Legouis and Casamian Guthlac is made up of two badly joined parts of which the first is confused and mediocre . . . \(^3\)

In 1931 Dr. Thompson, in her unpublished thesis now in the Leeds University library, presents one Guthlac poem (lines 30–1379) which she regards as one poet's welding together of traditional stories and written accounts \(^4\). Lines 781 to 784\(^5\) represent, she argues, an anticipation of the true end of the poem and both serve to link the two halves of the poem and to signal the return in the second part to the

\(^1\)Tupper 1911, Gerould 1916, 1917, Sievers 1925, Kurtz 1926, Hotchomer 1934, Dubois 1942, Schaar 1949, Young 1950, Anderson 1950, etc.
\(^2\)Brandl 1899, p. 67
\(^3\)Legouis & Casamian 1926, p. 28
\(^4\)Thompson, [1931] p. 10
\(^5\)Ibid, p. 39
theme of the first. For her this poem is a 'psychological study' and very different in purpose from the Vita which she describes as 'practical, an historical narrative'. Such arguments must underlie E.V. Gordon's remarks on the structure of Guthlac:

There can be no doubt of the essential unity of Beowulf: the whole poem is carefully planned to show the tragedy and importance of its elegiac theme. A very similar structure is used to present an ecclesiastical hero in the poem on Saint Guthlac. It is, however, impossible to say if Gordon considers the significance of lines 1 to 29 in arriving at such a judgment.

In recent years, two Guthlac poems, appearing side by side in the manuscript and numbered consecutively, are generally recognised. A sentence from G.V. Anderson's description of them illustrates how they are often regarded:

Guthlac A has little to recommend it to anyone other than the antiquarian and student of Old English language and poetry; but Guthlac B shows marked resemblances to the four signed poems of Cynewulf, and may well be from the hand of that author.

Anderson's own references to these poems reveal his indecision as to the disputed 29 lines, for at one time he describes Guthlac A as having 790 lines and at another 818 lines. Such inconsistencies are likely to mark essays upon Old English literature for some time to come. Until the production of a definitive edition of these poems the two systems of numbering will probably continue side by side.

1 Thompson [1931] p. 45
2 Gordon 1937, p. 24, fn. 1
3 Anderson 1949, p. 136
4 ibid., p. 126
5 ibid., p. 151
Introduction to the poems

The sources of Guthlac A

VITA

The relationship of Guthlac A to Felix's life of St. Guthlac has often been discussed and, though this is a question on which no agreement has been reached, the view generally held to-day is perhaps well summarised in these words:

Der Verfasser hat Felix' Vita offenbar gekannt, wenn er auch sehr frei auswählte oder möglichweise sich nur ungenau an sie erinnert.

T. Volpers' statement is supported by references to a few of the writings in which this problem has most recently been treated, but he does not examine the arguments for himself, noting only:

Aus dem ganzen Leben wird im Grunde nur der Dämonenkampf behandelt, und davon wiederum nur die Entführung Guthlac's an die Pforten der Hölle. Seine Wundertaten werden nicht berichtet; sie klingen an in der Freude der Tiere über Guthlac's Triumph. Auch der Tod des Heiligen wird nur kurz berührt. Dagegen wird stark herausgestellt, dass er in die friedliche Szene nach dem Sieg eine Vorstellung gibt.¹

This is a good account of the ways in which the greater part of the poem (lines 33-748) resembles Felix's Vita. Unfortunately it does not obviate the need to sift and examine the more considered attempts that

¹Volpers 1964, p. 112
have been made to decide whether or not the poem is based on the *Vita*.

It is often difficult to discover the opinions of the earlier critics of the Guthlac poems on this problem, for interrelated is their discussion of the extent of the poems and of their authorship. Of those who give to the question more than a cursory glance only Rieger argues with much detail for the poem's independence of the *Vita*:

Das gedicht ist so viel in der that ganz unabhängig von der *Vita* den Felix; während ihm sehr vieles von diesem erzählte fehlt, hat es 383-484 [i.e. 412-512] eine erzählung, von der Felix nichts weiss, und ist die Übereinstimmung in den gemeinsamen partien von der art, dass sie nichts beweist.¹

His suggestion that instead the poet owed much to *mundliche überlieferung* is to be found in many later notes on the sources of *Guthlac A*.² Rieger's statement that *Guthlac A* is independent of the *Vita* was not seriously opposed for some time. Fritzsché first points out that the poet's ignorance of the *Vita* cannot be argued much beyond line 529 of the poem, but he postpones giving an account (which never did appear) of his reasons for this conclusion.³ Following Fritzsché's observation that the poet may draw on the *Vita* from line 529 onwards, both D'Ham and Lefèvre examine and contrast two parts of *Guthlac A*. D'Ham⁴ is unable to identify any of the parallels between the latter part of the poem and the *Vita* inferred by Fritzsché and Lefèvre⁵ can find close

¹Rieger 1869, p. 325 fn. 1 ²-discussed later in this chapter
³Fritzsché 1879, p. 496 ⁴D'Ham 1883, p. 25 and p. 45
⁵Lefèvre 1883, pp. 227 ff.
parallels only between the *Vita* and *Guthlac B*. He does note that the descriptions of the arrival of Bartholomew (lines 685–89) and of the terror of the demons (lines 692–95) may owe something to the *Vita*, without pointing to passages in the life from which these may stem.

Three further possible parallels between *Guthlac A* and Felix's *Vita* are noted by Liebermann\(^1\). These, unlike the passages isolated by Lefèvre, are given as close verbal similarities. They are still widely quoted in summaries of this problem, though generally without sufficient examination. The first is the poet's description of the place where Guthlac built his home:

\[\text{nalea by he giemde burh gitsunga} \]
\[\text{lænes lifwelæan} \quad 151\]

The hermitage is built on *beorchæ* 140. Guthlac has chosen to become an anchorite and to struggle with the devil. He will strive to keep his chosen dwelling-place for God's glory, but he does not look for *lænes lifwelæan*. Yet Liebermann compares with this passage Felix's reference to the mound where Guthlac lived as a place:

\[\text{quem olis saari solitudinis frequentatores, erga causam} \]
\[\text{lueri illic defodientes acquirendi scindebat.} \quad 391\]

The poet makes no allusion to others' having sought worldly wealth in that place and there is no detail in his account of Guthlac's *grene beorgæ* (232) to justify the location of them in the low-lying water-logged fens of the Croftland area. The other two similarities noted by Liebermann are closer. One is the words of caution addressed by Bartholomew to the demons:

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\(^1\)Liebermann 1892, p. 247
Liebermann here compares with the phrase ne labes viht a phrase in the Vita's report of the instructions given by Bartholomew to the demons:

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.. ut illum in locum suum cum magna quietudine sine uile
offensionis molestia reducerent.
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The third of Liebermann's parallels occurs in the poet's account of how Guthlac was returned to his dwelling-place. The demons carry him carefully, guarding him from falling:

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Weron hyre gongas under gode esegan
same 7 gesafe.
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The wording here is at once simpler and more dramatic than in the passage of the Vita compared:

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Nam illum resubentes cum nimia suscitatis, usui
quietissimo alarum remigio, ita ut nec in currui,
nece in naui modestius duui potuissent subuolabant; 558
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It is evident that the poet echoes neither the structure nor imagery of the Vita in this place.

The next examination of the relationship between Guthlac A and the Vita to contain any detail is found in Forstmann's dissertation upon this problem. Forstmann begins by summarising both Guthlac A (for him a poem of 790 lines) and the Vita, detailing in a running commentary what Felix material is not used by the poet and then adding notes on five features of the poem not present in the Latin life.

These five features are Guthlac's home auf einem einsamen Berge, the

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1Forstmann 1901; this is printed again as the first section of Forstmann 1902.  
2Forstmann 1902, pp. 15-16
intent of the demons to drive Guthlac away from their territory, the
saint's erection of a cross, the different temptations undergone by
him in the poem and the statement of Guthlac's unworthiness made by
the demons (lines 579-89 and the preceding lines of reported speech
are evidently to be noted here). Forstmann also draws attention to
the different ways in which the birds and fish motifs are treated in
the poem and the Vita. From his negative evidence he concludes:

Das Ergebnis unserer Untersuchungen ist also, 1. dass
'Guthlac der Einsiedler' unabhängig von der Vita des
Felix ist, und dass 2. die wenigen verkmommenen Ähnlich-
heiten sich aus der Behandlung desselben Stoffes ergeben
oder eine Folge der gleichartigen Quellen ist, aus denen
Felix und der Dichter schöpfen. 1

In a review of Forstmann's discussion of the relationship between these
texts Gerould finds his arguments convincing and decides that the:

... evidence for the independence of Guthlac A, when col-
lected, is weighty; and it is reinforced by the close
imitation of the Vita found in Guthlac B. 2

Gerould later changes his mind about the dependence of the Guthlac
A poet upon Felix and comes to believe that 'Guthlac the Hermit' (for
him also a poem of 790 lines) is:

... throughout dependent on a literary source. Not only
does it contain nothing, save part of the prologue and
one expository passage, for which parallel is not fur-
nished by Felix, but in phrase it frequently recalls the
Latin. 3
So far his arguments are straightforward, though advanced without any supporting evidence, for presumably his 'part of the prologue' refers to some if not all of lines 30-92 and his 'one expository passage' unparalleled in Felix is the account of monastic life which is without parallel indeed in any other Old English poem. Gerould's following conclusions about the poet's debt to the Vita are less easy to understand:

Since Felix, as we have seen, was not wholly without literary forbears, it is manifestly impossible that the poet of 'Cuthlac the Hermit' could have taken all the incidents of the saint's destiny with angels and fiends from reports of his personal friends. He did not follow his source straight on; yet, despite his references to the evidence of men still living, he showed no independent knowledge — only the poet's power of moulding and organisation.\(^1\)

The proposition contained in the first of these sentences cannot be sustained logically and does not therefore provide sufficient grounds for the assumption of the poet's dependence on the Vita found in the second sentence. The statements of this second sentence can only be considered after a reading of Gerould's own fuller comparison of Cuthlac A and the Vita\(^2\), published a year later than his Saints' Legends.

His paper on the sources of the Cuthlac poems deals for the most part with the relationship of Cuthlac A to Felix's life of the saint. At the outset of his comparison of the two he observes that Forstmann had not allowed sufficient 'latitude of imagination and of phrasing'\

\(^1\)Gerould 1916, p. 80  
\(^2\)Gerould 1917, pp. 77-89
to the poet\textsuperscript{1}, a judgment which contrasts curiously with his own earlier suggestion that the poem 'is phrase... frequently recalls the Latin'\textsuperscript{2}. The comparison itself reveals more dissimilarities than similarities between these two accounts of Cuthlac's life. Most of the parallels noted by Gerould seem no more than coincidental correspondences of phrasing. An example of the close resemblances seen by him between the two should explain this criticism of his method. He compares\textsuperscript{3}:

\begin{verbatim}
bonne mungu eoum
feonda ferscytum faheo reran
\end{verbatim}

and

\begin{verbatim}
tunc nuluti ab extenso erou uenasifluam desparationis sagittam totis urribus iasuluit.
\end{verbatim}

Certainly arrows occur in both passages, but the contexts are very different. Thus, step by step, Gerould relates the poem to the \textit{Vita}, seizing upon casual, non-related similarities, minimizing differences. He brushes aside the great discrepancy in length between the poet's short account of Cuthlac's death and heavenly reward (lines 773-89) and Felix's emphasis on just this part of the saint's life, noting that the poem's 'brevity' here is:

\begin{quote}
.. consistent with the purpose of the poem, of course, for it deals with the life of the saint in the Fens rather than with the glories of his transit to eternity.
\end{quote}

He then equates lines 790-818 of the poem (a passage he describes as 'a lyrical epilogue in praise of holy men') with the conventional eulogistic part of chapter 51 of the \textit{Vita} (lines 1216-31), pointing out

\textsuperscript{1}Gerould 1917, p. 78 \textsuperscript{2}quoted more fully above from Gerould 1916, p. 80 \textsuperscript{3}Gerould 1917, p. 81 \textsuperscript{4}ibid, p. 82
that, although Felix is concerned only with Guthlac, the spirit is in both Vita and poem similar. It must be concluded that Gernould is apparently prepared to allow the poet enormous powers of 'moulding and organisation' in his use of the Vita.

Nothing in Gernould's comparison of lines 93-818 of Guthlac A with the Vita either proves or disproves that the poet based his poem upon the Vita. He does not indeed note the verbal parallels adduced by Liebermann and, ironically, these are more convincing than the similarities he himself finds between the two texts. It is worth noting at this point that Liebermann's discussion of this question does not seem to have been consulted by Forstmann and that it is not (more understandably) listed in Jansen's bibliography of writings on the Cynowulf question. Although Greu also does not mention the parallels put forward by Liebermann, he may well have considered both these and the examination of the problem made by Forstmann before deciding that lines 30-818 are 'unabhängig von Felix von Croylands Erzählung'.

A new and independent examination of the relationship of Guthlac A to the Vita is made by Kurtz. He, again without referring to Liebermann's notes on the subject, surveys as well the earlier arguments advanced for and against the poet's dependence upon Felix and concludes:

'no proof has been adduced to show that A could not have been derived in part, at least, from Felix, or that any part of it must have been derived from him.'
He adds a note on Gerould's lengthy attempt to relate the poem to the
Vita text:

The present writer believes, however, that the parallel passages cited by Gerould in his article are not sufficiently similar to prove derivation.¹

As Kurtz's main concern is with the sources of the Vita, his observation that Guthlac A is not in the Antonian tradition which informs the life of the saint written by Felix is interesting. It is indeed significant that Kurtz sees the poem rather as:

... a poetic vision, new and northern, of the saintly anchorite as a greatly performing, never hesitating champion of the Almighty Overlord.²

He cannot find in the poem any indication that the poet was trying to recast the material presented by Felix and points out that many important features of the life are 'either exceedingly reduced or altogether omitted', emphasising particularly the disproportionate difference in attention given to Guthlac's death. It is not surprising that his recognition of the originality of the poet's strikingly different treatment of the demonic attacks on Guthlac and of the setting of the hermitage, both important themes in Guthlac A, should lead him to conclude:

... the difference between the biography and the poem appears so great as indeed to cast serious doubt upon the assumption of literary indebtedness.³

The next detailed survey of this problem is to be found in Schaar's book on the Cynewulfian group of poems. In his review of the opinions held by earlier critics on the relationship of Guthlac A (for Schaar

a poem of 818 lines) and the Vita the parallels put forward by Liebermann must have been considered, for reference is made to Liebermann. In any case Schaar, after giving a brief account of the poem, concludes that the poet's treatment of themes common to both Guthlac A and the Vita is 'wholly different' from Felix's. He can find a resemblance between the two only in the St. Bartholomew passage of the poem and in the arrival of Bartholomew in the Vita and in recognising this agrees rather with the impressions of Fritzsche and Lefèvre than with the more forcefully presented evidence of Liebermann. He does not appear to have read Kurts's interpretation of the problem and his opinion that the source for Guthlac A is 'some other biography than Felix's' may perhaps be an independent conclusion.

The question of the dependence of this poem upon the Vita is only briefly considered in the definitive edition of the Vita made by B. Colgrave. It is curious that Colgrave should devote much of his summary of the problem to a consideration of the points advanced by Liebermann and refer the reader in a footnote to Forstmann's work for 'a summary of the conflicting opinions' on this subject. Elsewhere in his edition of the Vita Colgrave refers to Kurts's article on the source material of the Vita, but no attention is directed to Kurts's view of this question. However, this omission of references (it is obvious the introductory material of this edition has been much curtailed and

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1 He may have found this reference in Krapp and Dobbie 1936, p. xxxii
2 It may be significant that Kurts's article is not listed in the Krapp and Dobbie bibliography for the Exeter Book and that it is not mentioned in their discussion of this question in the introduction to the poems (on p. xxxii; contrast the preceding note).
3 Colgrave 1956, p. 20 and fn. 3
condensed) cannot be emphasised, for Colgrave is impartial in omitting both those who agree with his conclusions and those who disagree. He finds that 'several of the main facts' from Felix's account of the saint appear in the poem:

.. such as his period of ungodliness during his youth, his conversion, his dwelling on a barrow, the attendance of an angel upon him, and particularly the story of his being carried to hell and his rescue by St. Bartholomew.

Next he notes with approval the 'one or two verbal echoes' recognised between the two texts by Liebermann and from the evidence drawn together by him concludes:

Much of the rest of the poem deals in a vague and verbose way with his temptation by devils and how he overcame them. But no real additional information is given beyond what could have been derived from the Life. It is therefore pretty clear that the poet had a vague knowledge of Felix's work and that for the rest he depended on his own invention.

Of the 'main facts' cited by Colgrave, perhaps only in the gates of hell episode can more than a very vague relationship be recognised. It cannot be assumed that the poet visualised Guthlac's dwelling-place as 'on a barrow' and Colgrave's observation of other similarities reminds one of the parallels found between Vita and poem by Gerould. The poet knows, or chooses to reveal, much less about the saint's earlier life than is related by Felix, for he tells us only that Guthlac had once loved freonessa fela 110. There is nothing in the poem about

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1 e.g. against him Gerould 1904 as well as Kurtz and Schaar and agreeing with him Gerould 1916 and 1917
2 See further commentary 140.
Guthlac's nine successful years as the leader of a warband and the poet must indeed be given the credit of having developed his own account of the saint's conversion, unless this whole section of the poem be regarded as an elaboration of the *spiritus flammae* 251 which, according to Felix, pierced Guthlac's breast as he thought over the transitory nature of all upon earth and the shameful deaths of his heroic predecessors. Colgrave singles out also as common to both 'the attention of an angel'; presumably he here thinks of the visitant explained in the *Vita* by Guthlac in his dying conversation with Boccel (chapter 51) and considers this the source for the poet's account of two spirits in his treatment of Guthlac's conversion. We are told how two guardians watched over the young Guthlac, an angel of the lord and an angel of the devil, by no means giving him the same advice, until God adjudged victory to the angel and the devil was put to flight; and thereafter the *frofra gast* remained in *guœlæs geœcœ* (lines 116 ff.). It is difficult to see behind the poet's treatment of this theme even 'a vague knowledge of Felix's work'.

Recently some new observations have been made about the relationship of *Guthlac A* and Felix's *Vita* by L.Z. Shook who begins from the assumption that the poem is:

... the work of a poet who knew Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlacæ* and consequently could not be assigned a relatively early date of composition.

The statement is made, but the evidence on which he has based this

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1For a note on the poet's indebtedness to the doctrine of the two spirits see commentary 114.

2Shook 1960, pp. 3-4
assumption is not examined for Shook's main concern is with presenting an interpretation of the poem itself. He observes that Felix's account of the saint's life is matter of fact in its approach, whereas the poet, uninterested in supporting detail, produces a poem 'basically and essentially abstract' and in the debate tradition, its theme the possession of the barrow on which Guthlac has his home. In this paper Shook emphasises the struggle for the preservation of this barrow as the central theme of the poem and it is possible that this interpretation of the poem owes something to Colgrave's suggestion that Guthlac in the poem has 'his dwelling on a barrow'. The identification of the hermitage in the poem with the barrow of the Vita is by no means new in discussion of this poem, but two verbal similarities not advanced elsewhere are put forward in this article. In both cases Shook interprets some phrase in the poem by linking it with something in the Vita. He suggests that the manuscript form huge 384 may be retained without emendation, translating it by 'bows' or 'makes stooped' and arguing that Guthlac's sleeping quarters would have been the miserable and low-roofed shelter of the barrow. This explanation of huge 384 is dependent upon the recognition of a barrow in the poem; as well it produces a sentence curious syntactically. Shook's other new verbal parallel is his tentative translation of the oblique form more 274 by 'in the marsh'. This ingenious suggestion might be used as a detail of setting taken by the poet from Felix, if the generally accepted translation 'with food' were unsatisfactory. Instead the new reading produces a

1 Shook 1960, p. 9  2 Ibid., p. 7  3 See commentary 384
verse unsatisfactory metrically, for *poet 'bag' cannot provide the long syllable and dip demanded in this A-type verse\textsuperscript{1}. In a second paper\textsuperscript{2} Shook deals with the important part played by angels in Guthlac A and has therefore no need to retrace and examine his assumption that the poem is based upon the \textit{Vita} by Felix.

For the moment it will be noted only that, despite the mass of commentary that has gathered about this question, it remains unanswered. Our earliest knowledge of Guthlac stems from the \textit{Vita} and from the Exeter Book poems, and, because the second of these is obviously based upon the \textit{Vita}, probability favours the argument that the first may also show in some way the influence of Felix. It is however surprising that the proof of such a relationship is so difficult to find.

\textbf{ORAL SOURCES}

It is often pointed out in discussions of the Guthlac poems that the A-poet refers specifically to oral sources, whereas the B-poet observes:

\begin{quote}
Us seocad bee 878
\end{quote}

and is allowed literary sources\textsuperscript{3}. The observation has become so much of a truism in writings on these poems that it must be re-examined, first to see if it is an accurate reading of the internal evidence and secondly to find out if it has any value in a consideration of the

\textsuperscript{1} See commentary 274 \textsuperscript{2} Shook 1961, pp. 294-304 \textsuperscript{3} Rieger 1869, p. 325 fn. 1; \textsuperscript{4} Kurtz 1926, p. 144; \textsuperscript{5} Hothner 1939, p. 97; these have given more space to a discussion of this argument than most who mention it
sources available to the A-poet.

The saint is described four times in Guthlac A as a hero ussum tidum (401) or as a man whose history was widely known and often told. It is possible to emphasise these allusions too strongly, for they may be no more than conventional formulae. The first occurs in line 108 where the a-verse:

_Hwæt we byrden_

is reminiscent of many other verses in Old English poetry. In such verses _hwæt_ may sometimes be regarded as extra-metrical (as, for example, in the first line of Beowulf where it apparently acted as a signal to draw the listeners' attention), but sometimes it is necessary to the stressed parts of the verse if it is to be placed within the Sievers system of scansion. At any rate, this word seems to have been linked with verbs of hearing and asking in an Anglo-Saxon verse-maker's mind and the phrase is therefore by itself hardly sufficient proof that the poet drew on oral traditions rather than written materials. Two further passages generally cited as evidence that the Guthlac A poet was 'a Norsian, who knew Crowland well' is also formulaic in quality, for both turn upon a b-verse whose second measure is filled by _tidum_:

An oretta ussum tidum

ampa geseyled 402

and

Be geocsted ceaw3

in gesyndigra monna tidum 153.

The fourth passage recalls these in wording:

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1Tupper 1911, p. 262  2cf. _X<7_ 45, Clo 110, FiL 39.2, 58.6 and Hsc 957, all b-verses.
However, the verse-base here is *timan* and the verse is therefore better compared with one *a*-verse\(^1\) which ends similarly than with frequent examples of the genitive plural form *tida* in the first measure of a *b*-verse.\(^2\)

Critics who use this contrast in their writings on these two poems tend to give little attention to another passage in Guthlac A:

Forpon is nu arlic but ve afestra
dade deman, seagen dryhtne lof
calra pære bisena be us beo fore
burh his wundra geweore wisdom cynded 329

The lines are noted by Rieg\(\text{er}^3\) who points out that they handle *gans allgemein von den thaten der heiligen* and argues that they cannot therefore be allowed to imply that the poet knew of Guthlac's life from books. Yet, if we are to emphasise the A-poet's dependence upon literary sources, it is only fair to point out that the A-poet also places great trust in the teaching of books, at least when he is dealing with subjects other than Guthlac. References to the teaching of the holy scriptures or of books are numerous in Old English religious poetry, except in the earliest poems, and it is therefore possible to place too much reliance on a few widely used formulaic phrases which appear in such poems. These passages in Guthlac A are insufficient as evidence that the A-poet learned about the saint's struggles with

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\(^1\)Phr 246 on *type sa timan*
\(^2\)Gen 2307, Chr 107, 235, Ola 877
\(^3\)Rieg\(\text{er} 1869, p. 325 fn. 1\)
B. P. Kurts makes an important point about the composition of the *Vita* which may have some bearing on the question as to whether or not the poet followed popular traditions. This point, that the attack of the demons on Guthlac's constancy and the following journey to hell gates are without parallel in the life of St. Anthony as told by Evagrius and Athanasius, has for the most part been overlooked in writings upon St. Guthlac. He compares these chapters in the *Vita* rather with accounts of Fursey's otherworld visions than with the Athanasian life of Anthony, but pursues the suggestion no further as a discussion of such relationships lies outside the scope of his paper. In an interesting footnote he draws attention to a discrepancy between the *Vita* tradition and pictorial representations of these episodes of the life. In the *Vita* the demons are given whips and they scourge the saint (after all, St. Anthony's demon-attackers beat him into insensibility), but in the Harley Roll drawings, on the Henry Lenghamp seal and on Thurketyl's cross Guthlac himself holds — or is handed — a three-lash scourge. May not such figures, asks Kurts, represent an older tradition modified by Felix?

Such a hypothesis cannot of course be substantiated, unless some hitherto unknown material should by chance turn up. There may indeed have been available to the poet different stories of Guthlac than those presented by Felix in his highly literary definitive life of the saint, but we can only guess at these. It would be improper to

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1 Kurts 1926, p. 113
2 Kurts 1926, p. 113 fn. 19; it should be noted that a fuller discussion of all these things will be found in I.1/c
do so however, until we have considered what other sources may have been used by the poet, either consciously or unconsciously, in his composition of Guthlac A.

OPENING SECTION

More agreement is found among the critics on the sources for the first section of Guthlac A than for the rest of the poem, because parallels between the poet's words and the suggested sources are more easily recognised than are most of the correspondences noted between the poem and the Vita. Discussion of the sources for the opening section is however complicated by the need to remember where, for each scholar who deals with this problem, the poem begins.

This need is particularly to be remembered when Gram's work on the sources for the Guthlac poems is considered\(^1\). For him the Guthlac poems have no separate identity from Christ III: indeed, the latter by his way of thought ends with a question which is answered in the following Guthlac material. He suggests that the author found the question in his source:

\[
\text{Et quis est, qui hase bona parare et acquirere sibi velit?}^2
\]

This question is regarded as the basis for:

Envider secol pes monone mod antigan, or opper after, ponne he his amme her

---

\(^1\) Gram 1908, pp. 81-99
\(^2\) Wignes, Pl vi, 820; and see Gram 1908, p.85
The correspondence is by no means close, and becomes less convincing when Grau’s explanation of it within its context is explained:

Er antwortet sie mit der Gültigkeitsaussage, während Lactanz einen kuren, positiven, ermahnden Schlussabschnitt folgen lässt.\(^1\)

His theory that all the verse in the Exeter Book from Chr 1549 to Ola 92 is based on two shared sources (the more important being from book 7 chapter xxvii of Lactantius’s De divina institutione and the secondary a penitential sermon of Ephraem of Syria) is based not on verbal similarities but on his interpretation of the content of the English texts and of the sources to which he relates them. The parallels he finds are by no means close enough to suggest that the opening section of Guthlac A stems directly from the poet’s knowledge of this portion of Lactantius’s writing. As Grau himself points out:

It is interesting to note that the firmest piece of evidence adduced by Grau for regarding Chr 1549 to Ola 92 as linked is the similarity he finds through relating both to the sources he selects for them. More important even is his observation that similar themes to those of the opening section of Guthlac A appear again towards the end of the poem (in lines 790 ff.).\(^2\)

\(^1\)Grau 1906, p. 84 \(^2\)Ibid, p. 87 \(^3\)Ibid, p. 92
Possible source material for the opening of the first Guthlac poem of the Exeter Book is next considered by Gerould. He, it must be remembered, was convinced that this poem is based on the Vita and his conviction explains his method of approaching the opening of the poem:

There is even the possibility that he used a copy of Felix's Vita with a prologue unlike the one extant, but resembling in content the prologue of the Old English poem. We know very little about the textual history of Felix, but we do know that double prologues were not unusual in such works. For Gerould an alternative prologue must provide the source material for Öla 30-92 and he does not discuss the twenty-nine lines now generally regarded as the true beginning of the poem, obviously treating them as an integral part of the Christ III.

Gerould suggests that this second prologue might have been derived either from the tenth chapter of the Vitae Patrum of Gregory of Tours or from the second book of Lactantius's De ira dei. Both open in such the same way as Öla 30 ff.:

Monge sindon geond middangeard
hadas under heofonom pa pe in haligra
rim arised ...

Multi variique sunt gradus per quoes ad coelorum
regna conscenditur ...

[Gregory]

Nam omi sint gradus multi per quoes ad domicilium
veritatis ascendentur ...

[Lactantius]

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1Gerould 1917, p. 79  
2Migne, PL lxxi, columns 1054-55 and see commentary 30  
3Brandt and Ladvamm 1893, II. p. 69
Either Latin passage, or similar phraseology in another writer, could have prompted the poet. He continues:

we pos ryht magum
st aghylocum ana gehyran
gif we halig bebodu healdan willad 34

but he no longer follows either Gregory or Lactantius closely. Lactantius continues:

.. non est facile cuilibet eundi ad summam, caligantibus anima veritatis fulgore luminibus qui stabilimgressum tenere non possunt, reuolumtur in planum. primus autem gradu est intelligere false religiones et abire impios cultus humana manu fabricatorum, secundus...

Gregory however goes on to give a description of the different ways in which men may seek God's help, saying:

Non si ad martyrium mens accensa est, haec adjuviorii opem posseit martyr ut vinceret; si jejuni observantiam adhibere studiit, ut ab eo confortaretur afflictus est; si castitati artus reservare voluit impellutos, ut ab ille nunavetur oravit; si post ignorantium poenitendo converti desideravit, ut ab eo nihilimimus sublevaretur cum lacrymis flagiavit, et si quid operis boni exercere sors quisquam meditatus est, ut ab huc adjuviorie juvaretur expectit.

This is in tune with the poet's view of Guthlac as a man who *martyred* mode gehufede (472) and as a *martyre* who was from monoyece synnum asundad (514-15). His Guthlac does not endure passively the persecutions which come upon him, but he fights to continue in his chosen dwelling-place as a champion of God.
The similarities between the true beginning of Guthlac A and its ending have long been recognised. Adams seems first to have noted the similarities in phraseology which are to be found in the opening twenty-nine lines and in the rest, particularly the closing section, of the poem. Although some of these are no more than the coincidental parallels to be expected in a formulaic tradition of verse-making, certain of the phrases compared by Adams indicate the Gla 1-29 and 30-818 touch upon the same themes (lines 1:228, 2:500, 3:160, 4:487, 5:790 and 9:159 for example). Grau, as noted above, also recognises the presence of similar themes at the beginning and end of the poem, though attributing them rather to the general influence of Lactantius which he thinks lies behind such passages. Tentative observations of this sort have for the most part, despite the appearance of two editions of the Exeter Book with Guthlac A a poem of 818 lines, remained unexplored. Indeed no separate attention is directed to this problem until recently, when two articles by L.K. Shook have appeared.

In the earlier of these articles Shook notes a resemblance in tone and content between Guthlac A and the De divina institutione of Lactantius (book II, chapter xv) so far as the figure of the angel at the beginning of the poem is concerned, but he makes no firm identification of the sources used by the poet (other than Felix's Vita) and suggests only that he had access to such hagiographic materials as the Visio sancti Paulii, the tales of St. Patrick's purgatory or the legends of St. Brendan's voyages. These writings are compared rather for their

1Adams 1906, p. 240 2Shook 1960, pp. 1-10; the similarity of his views at this time to Grau's should be noted.
general similarity in approach and content than for any closer parallels. In his later paper Shook identifies as the dominant theological themes of Guthlac A 'the function of angels in the salvation of man's soul'\(^1\) and he looks at the poem against patristic traditions of the psychopomps\(^2\). He develops the suggestion earlier put forward by Gram\(^3\) and his examination deserves a closer reading.

Shook sees in the opening twenty-nine lines of Guthlac A 'many of the elements of the dramatic scene' of the soul's departure from the body in the Vita sancti Pauli:

There is the joyful meeting of the angel and the soul (11.1-2). Words are addressed to the soul by an angel, with the soul remaining silent. There is reference to the soul's striving for salvation (11.6-7), and to its having done God's will on earth (11.14-15), and probably also to its successful conflict with the wicked powers which beset it as it begins the journey to heaven (1.25). One has to wait until the end of the poem - which thus becomes a long flashback on Guthlac's life - for the final carrying of the soul to heaven by psychopomps.\(^4\)

As the distinction between anima and spiritus is important in the Visio sancti Pauli texts used by him, Shook suggests that this distinction is to be found also in the opening lines of Guthlac A which he prints:

\textit{Bonae vidē se angel: "Hafad yldran hēd!"
Grētē gēst Sperne, hēcōdē hīm godee ērēndē:
"Nī pa ... etc."
\(^5\)

and translates:

\(^1\)Shook 1961, p. 295 \(^2\)\textit{Ibid.} p. 297 \(^3\)Gram 1906, p. 87

\(^4\)Shook 1961, p. 300
Then the soul says: "Receive ye higher rank! The spirit greets the other (i.e., the soul), declares to it God's message: "Now thou ... etc."

However, Shook himself admits that this interpretation of the Old English text is unlikely, as it entails a curious use of the imperative plural for singular address as well as the transfer of the psychopomp's function from the angel to the spirits. Despite this awkwardness of the poem in fitting the source provided for it he suggests that 'occasional coincidences of arrangement and expression' can be noted when the two important long Latin texts of the Visio sancti Pauli and the opening of Guthlac A are compared.

He tries to isolate and tabulate the themes which he thinks are shared by these texts. It is unnecessary here to present the extracts from the two major Visio Pauli traditions examined by Shook, for these are to be found both in his article and in the works from which he drew them. Instead a short summary will be given of the similarities he finds between these passages and Guthlac A. In all he finds five 'general correspondences':

1. He tries to show that all contain 'a joyful meeting of soul, angel, spirits'; certainly the Latin texts do, but he has himself already cast doubt on the manipulation of the Old English syntax necessary to obtain both angel and spirit in the poem. However, at this point he compares only the first two lines of the poem with the Visio, so he is safe in his remarks about the joyful meeting.

2. Next he demonstrates that the 'angel and spirit speak to

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1 Shook 1961, p. 300; see also commentary 1 2 Ibid., pp. 301-32 and M.R. James 1893, pp. 16-17, Silverstein 1935, p. xiv 3 Ibid., pp. 300-302
the soul', comparing Gla 4-5 with the Visio account on which he has remedial the Old English.

3. He notes that 'The soul has observed God's will on Earth'. In both versions of the Visio this is announced to the departing soul, but Shook suggests that these speech- en lie behind the statement of Gla 14-15.

4. He points out that in all three texts it is made clear that 'The soul will be assisted on its journey', citing Gla 7 and 9-10.

5. Finally he tries to demonstrate that 'The soul's freedom from sin overcomes challengers', citing from the poem Gla 23 and 813. Again he draws comparisons with the Visio texts, but he is here dissatisfied with the correspondence, adding in a footnote "The 'witnesses' become vaguely an angel, and the form of the challenge itself is highly con- densed."

Four of Shook's five general correspondences do not stand up to close examination and he is wise in concluding (rather less firmly than his preceding manner of argument might have led one to expect): This episode of the departure of a just soul from its body exhausts the indebtedness of the Prelogue to the tradition represented by the Visio Saneti Pauli. 1

Shook does not examine any further the tradition in which he places both the Visio saneti Pauli and Guthlac A, nor does he indicate what he considers this tradition to be, except in his statement:

A dominant theological theme running through Guthlac A is the function of angels in the salvation of men's soul. 2

1 Shook 1961, p. 302 2 ibid. p. 295
Yet, the fourteenth chapter of the *Visio sancti Pauli* has long been recognized as a manifestation of the 'soul journey' motif (itself part of the larger eschatological conception, the Otherworld journey) in Christian writings. It should be noted that the theme is treated elsewhere in Old English, both in verse\(^1\) and prose\(^2\). The concept was of course well-known to Anglo-Saxon and Irish Latinists in such forms as the otherworld visions related by Gregory in his *Dialogues*\(^3\) and it became widely used by hagiographers in the composition of saints' lives for death scenes\(^4\). The theme was also familiar to the artist of the Harley Roll for, in his picture of Guthlac's death, he draws one angel who receives the saint's soul as it leaves his mouth and another who hovers nearby with an outstretched cloth; but this is well outside the period in which Guthlac A is likely to have been composed and is mentioned here only for the coincidence of the theme's being elsewhere connected with the legend of Guthlac.\(^5\)

The division of the soul, the feature most against Shook's assumption of parallels between *Glg* 1-29 and the fourteenth chapter of the *Visio sancti Pauli*, is not a constant feature of stories within the soul journey convention\(^6\). It is not found in the Old English *Soul and Body* poems, nor in the sermons\(^7\) based on the exemplum of the three utterances. It seems all the more unlikely therefore that we should find the distinction hesitantly distinguished by Shook in Guthlac A.

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1. The *Soul and Body* poems of the Exeter and Verselli books are, as Bloomfield 1952, p. 20 points out, within this tradition, see the homilies discussed by Willard 1935.
2. Bloomfield 1952, p. 14
3. See *Harley Roll* xiv and Dudley 1911, p. 64.
4. Dudley 1911, p. 44.
in another Old English work. It is probable that the words _soul_ and _body_ are used here as so often in Old English verse in variation.

There are few resemblances between _Guthlac A_ and the two _Soul and Body_ poems beyond those to be expected among any Old English poems in imagery and phrasing, for in the former the soul journey traditions have given the poet his prologue in which the angel greets the soul of a just man, whereas in the _Soul and Body_ poems a debate is waged, as the title indicates, between the soul and body. In the late Old English homilies which draw upon the exemplum of the three utterances the general theme is again of the separation of soul and body. An angel (or angels in some versions) arrives to collect the soul which, if a good man’s soul, exclaims that it sees light, joy and a pleasant way before it, but if a bad man’s soul, it sees shadows, sorrow and a hard way. The soul is then escorted, either by an archangel or with the support of choirs of angels before and behind it, to God for judgment; the wicked depart into eternal fire and the good are taken to Paradise where they will remain until Judgment Day. It is possible to glimpse in this summary some of the themes which appear in the opening twenty-nine lines of _Guthlac A_ and again at the end of that poem. These homilies may therefore give us a clearer idea than does the _Visio sanctorum Pauli_ of the themes which the poet may have drawn from the soul journey tradition.

Willard brings together five homilies, in Latin, Irish and late Old English, and he suggests that these share features which presuppose a brief and well known narrative of the events which occur between the
soul's separation from the body and its judgment by God. All the texts assembled by him contain utterances which obviously stem from one source ultimately, although they differ from version to version in order and form:

Certainly there has been much freedom, not only in the order of the utterances, but in the wording, as well, and in the association of response to utterance. In each of our texts the story of the Three Utterances is inserted as an exemplum; it is there to make a point. It is not used twice in the same way or under the same circumstances. It is a short, easily apprehended piece, which is not hard to remember in its main outline.

In one of the manuscripts edited by him the utterances are:

Magna est lumen! ... Magna est leticia!

... Suave est iter.

These are typical of the short exclamations generally made by the soul of a good man in these homilies, and the angel (or angels) replies with longer affirmative and joyful answers. Light, joy and a pleasant path seem to have been the archetypal utterances made by the just soul, but the wicked soul exclaims at angustiae, asperium and tanagryne.

At the beginning of Guthlac A we are told:

Se bid geofæna fragrant bonne he at frymæ gëntæd,
engel 7 sec eadge swæl; ofgæfæb hic pas sorpan wynne,
forlistæ pas luman dremanæ 7 hic wip pas lice gëntæd;
bonæ eobæ ne engel - bææd yldren hæd -
gœted gest opinæ, absedæd hic godes ærandæ:

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1 Willard 1935, p. 129
3 Willard 1935, pp. 113 ff., summarises the utterances as they appear in the five texts.
A good man is dying, his soul leaves his body, and so it comes about that soul and angel first meet. The angel speaks, as befits his more senior rank, and gives God's message to the blessed soul. (Does the poet perhaps know some version of the three utterances and wish therefore to explain why the angel speaks first?) The angel tells the soul

\[\text{Wagas pe siodin wepe 7 wuldrer leocht toxt entyned. Bart mu tidfars to pan halgan ham per naire brow oyned, 10 edengong fore yrpmum, so per bip engla dream, sib 7 geseignes ...}\]

The angel makes three observations: that the soul will travel on pleasant ways, that it will see glory's bright light and that it will arrive at a home where there is no sorrow. It seems possible that the poet knew some source in which the utterances of the good soul appeared and that this may have furnished him with the material for his angel's speech. At any rate, he returns to these same themes towards the end of the poem, assuring all those who love truth that God will make life's ways pleasant for them (760 ff., and 790 ff.) and that they will have no sorrow after death (811 ff.). All we can say is that such themes were important to the poet who is, like the later homilists who draw upon the exemplum of the three utterances, concerned with the departure of a soul from its body.

It would be impracticable to quote the relevant passages from all the homilies edited by R. Willard, but the good soul part from one text is given here in illustration of the type:

\[\text{A discussion of where this speech ends appears in the commentary.}\]

1Dudley 1911, p. 165
In this account the psychopomp does not appear, but in the same version's narrative of the exitus of a wicked soul Michael takes it to God for judgment. In some of the English versions, however, Michael leads the just soul before God and in the rest there is no psychopomp. Willard observes:

It is not clear when the archangel appears, or at what moment the soul passes into his custody. Certainly his introduction mars the effect of the escort of the soul, with the dual choir and the chanting of the psalm. The psychopomp is not, it seems, a fundamental part of the exemplum, but his appearance in the *Visio sancti Pauli*, the most influential of the Christian otherworld journeys, must have made him an obvious optional feature in such writings. It must be noted that the angel who takes the soul into the presence of God is not named in the earliest versions of the *Visio sancti Pauli*; he is only later identified with Michael and in other apocrypha with Gabriel.

Shock points out that elsewhere in the poem than the opening section there are indications of the poet's knowledge of apocryphal materials, citing lines 577-68 as 'strong evidence' that there were available to him sources which 'Felix either did not know or preferred not to employ'. Although he singles out as particularly noteworthy lines 560-63, the following passage is perhaps more interesting:

Ἐν χιλιάδες δραγον, υδωρ ορληγον,
αγγελὸν έν υπνοιά, πλευράληγοι,
φροντία ψυχά, εις βίον ηθελαν προον
πονομας ἐν σοφίας αεταίρας εἰλέλαθη
synnum besiweran 7 searoncraetum 568

1 Willard 1935, p. 134
2 ibid. p. 72 fn. 53
3 James 1892, p. 57
4 Shock 1961, p. 302
Outhlæc's journey to hell door is surely to be contrasted with the poet's opening account of the greeting given to the blessed soul, an impression reinforced by the content of the speech of accusation made by the demons to Outhlæc (lines 579-89). This account of the further journey offered him by the demons may owe something to the utterances of the wicked soul in the soul journey tradition. It can at least be said that both Crew and Shook are right in placing this poem within the otherworld tradition.

OTHER SOURCES

It is obvious that the poet was familiar with the writings of the church fathers and with much hagiographical literature, for his poem often reveals such knowledge. Specific sources for passages within the poem cannot easily be found. Occasionally well known phrases spring to mind when one is reading the poem, for example from the Evagrian life of St. Anthony. The demons in Outhlæc A, like the demons whom Anthony strove against, think the lonely dwelling place chosen by the saint their own and advise him:

Gesuic pisces setles 278

just as Anthony is advised:

abcede a finibus alienis, non potes nostras insidias sustinere.

Again, when Outhlæc has undergone many temptations from these demons and has withstood them all, the poet tells us:
The words are reminiscent of Evagrius's account of Anthony's first victory:

\[ \text{Hec autem Antonii contra diabolum fuit prorsa victoria.} \]

(Chapter VII)

Even the poet's description of Guthlac's hermitage recalls Evagrius's picture of Anthony's dwelling place - at the foot of a mountain, by a clear running spring, in a plain which held a few uncared for trees (chapter xlix) - rather than the marshy Crowland countryside of Felix's *Vita*.

Wolpers finds resemblances between *Guthlac A* and other hagiographic writings, but they are of much the same sort as these, the coincidental parallels due to the similarity of subject matter and the repetitions of the writers of saints' lives. Towards the end of the poem he finds the tone reminiscent of the *Psalmist* and the *'Vita Pauli* des Hieronymus but, though he suggests that Gig 748b-751 is reminiscent of the final chapter of the *Vita Pauli*, he is unwilling to press this similarity any farther: *ein direkter Einfluss wäre denkbar*. He notes also that the poet might have looked to chapter xxii of the Sulpicius Severus *Vita sancti Martini* for inspiration for the section of his poem on monastic corruption, but he could as easily have found hints for this from St. Anthony's sermon to his monks. According to Evagrius Anthony warned his followers that demons attack all Christians and especially monks (chapter xxiii),

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1 Wolpers 1964, pp. 114-15
sometimes indeed taking on the appearance and speech of holy men so
that they may deceive and drag their victims where they will (chapter
xxv). Bepers suggests:

Ein ähnlicher Gedanke erscheint bei Felix, wenn er
Verständnis für die kriegerischen Gewalttaten des heran-
wachsenden Guthlac aufbringt.

However, although no satisfactory source for this episode has been
found, it need not be regarded as inspired by some phrases in the
Vita for it looks back to lines 60-61 in the introductory section of
the poem itself.

No single source has been found for Guthlac A as a whole and it
is probable that it never had one. Resemblances of the sort summar-
ised in the last few paragraphs could be multiplied considerably, but
observation of themes and materials common to many religious writings
of the age does little to illuminate either the poet or the composit-
ion of this poem. Such similarities cannot be given any great
weight in a discussion of the sources for the poem, but are occasion-
ally noted in the commentary. For example, it is there pointed out
that the shaping of Guthlac's two unalike guardians in his early life
(114 ff.) may owe something to the doctrine of the two angels, but we
do not know in what form the author knew this doctrine. Indeed, we
do not know if he knew this patristic doctrine at all, for he might
just as well be remembering something like Evagrius's account of how
the devil attacked the young St. Anthony when he first dwelt as a her-
mit outside his own village:

nam et ille cogitationes cordidas consabatur inserere:
et hic eas cratu submovebat assiduo: illas titillat
abat sensus naturali carne armore: hic fide,
jejuniis corpus omne vallabat: (chapter v)

Further investigation of the materials common to this poem and to other religious early medieval writings, whether in Latin or some vernacular, is therefore not made in this chapter.

FINAL NOTES

Both the Exeter Book and the Vercelli Book are most likely of western provenance, and the mention of a miscellany in a medieval catalogue from Glastonbury with contents rather similar to the material of the Exeter Book has made Glastonbury a popular candidate for the original composition of all these miscellanies, for parallels between the contents of the Exeter and Vercelli collections are widely recognised. Certainly each contains signed poems of Cynewulf as well as differing versions of the Soul and Body poem preserved only in these manuscripts and there are more similarities between them than these most obvious ones. Behind the tenth homily in the Vercelli Book and The Wanderer may lie a common source, if these texts are not more closely related to one another, and the relationship of the eighth homily with Christ III has also been pointed out. In view of these correspondences it may well be significant that these codices share accounts of Guthlac's journey to the gates of hell. Of course an identity of origin for

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1 Hothoheuer 1939, p. 69; Gradon 1958, p. 4
2 Hearne 1726, p. 436
3 See CHECKLIST under CALENDARS and RELICS for Glastonbury interest in Guthlac
4 Gradon 1958, p. 4
5 Willard 1927, pp. 314-30
the Exeter Book and the Vergelli Book cannot be assumed on the grounds of their similar contents — after all the Asarias appears both in the Exeter Book and Junius II — but a common interest in the life of Guthlac must be granted their compilers. It is perhaps more than a curious coincidence that neither the Guthlac A poet nor the Vergelli homilist draws any detail from Felix's account of the saint's death. So far as the poet is concerned, this is not surprising, for this work shows few if any signs of his knowledge of the Vita, but the homilist has taken his material from a fuller translation of the Vita. Apparently the stylized death scene presented by Felix held few attractions for him.

Felix may, in putting together his Vita of the saint, have modified earlier traditions which told, as the chief episode in the life, how demons took Guthlac to hell gates and how someone was sent by God to rescue him — that is, essentially the story narrated and explained in Guthlac A. This hypothesis cannot be substantiated, but it is interesting to note that the Vergelli homily which opens after Felix's reiteration of his authorities concludes with Bartholomew's arrival, as if, for the homilist, the full tale of St. Guthlac were complete. In his tale Bartholomew arrives just in time to carry Guthlac away from hell to everlasting glory. The poet has chosen to fit his account of the saint's struggles against his persecutors into a frame which deals with the voyage of good souls to heaven, so his story's ending is more elaborate. Both writers, however, treat the same context episodes, the tempting of Guthlac and his being trailed to the
yet it cannot be argued that the poet need know nothing else of the Vita than those chapters which appear in the Vercelli Book, for the homily lacks the most striking similarities to be found between poem and Vita. Bartholomew's instructions to the demons. It would indeed be easier to argue that the homilist knew that the poem Guthlac A had been included in one great collection of popular vernacular pieces and that he wished to preserve also the received Felix-based account of the saint's temptation; but this is idle speculation.

It cannot be concluded that the Guthlac A poet did not know Felix's life of St. Guthlac, any more than it can be shown that he used some other source, and it must be remembered that he could have drawn from elsewhere those features often identified as common to the poem and the Vita. This can be demonstrated simply without swelling this chapter any further, for the exemplum of the three utterances also contains instructions that an animam iustam should be handled smoothly and gently, description of the armour of a champion of God, and bands of escorting angels. The arma pauli figure common to this exemplum and the Vita is a commonplace of hagiographic writing, for the biographers of the saints often used Paul's words to the Ephesians (vi. 11-13) in their accounts of how the insidiae diaboli (vi.11) were combated. The poet could easily have used the imagery of Guthlac as a champion of God without any knowledge of the Vita and there is no need to assume that, because Guthlac's arming of himself is described in the Vita, he

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1 e.g. the Evagrian Anthony or Jerome's life of Paul as well as Felix's Guthlac
necessarily follows that account. On the contrary, both Forstmann\(^1\) and Sheek\(^2\) have pointed out that the poem lacks the detail given by Felix and incorporates, in the cross set up him to stelle (179), a striking original feature. Bartholomeus's instructions to the demons (\textit{Vita} 553 and 556) are no nearer to \textit{Glo} 699 and \textit{Glo} 731 than the words sung by one choir of angels in the exemplum of the three utterances:

\begin{verbatim}
Suscitate eam leniter de suo corpore, et ut nihil timoris, nihil doloris videat. 23
\end{verbatim}

The poet, unlike the homilist, allows Guthlac a scene of triumphant return to his hermitage\(^3\) but he too has nothing of significance to tell us of the saint's life after his journey to hell-gates. We learn that Guthlac was steadfast in his worship of God, giving him thanks:

\begin{verbatim}
pac pe he in browingum
bidan moste become his betre lif
purh godes willan agyfen words. 780
\end{verbatim}

The following lines recall to us again the opening section of the poem:

\begin{verbatim}
Swa vas guilaces gest geladed
engla sedum in upredor
fore oayne seeu deang 783
\end{verbatim}

It is the turn of angelic hosts, who appear in the \textit{Vita} or in the life of almost any saint or in some homilies which use the exemplum of the three utterances, to lead Guthlac before the Creator\(^4\). It cannot be proved that the Guthlac A poet depended on Felix's \textit{Vita} any more than it can be proved he knew some version of the three utterances exemplum,

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\(^1\)Forstmann 1902, p. 15 \(^2\)Sheek 1960, p. 6 \(^3\)See commentary 744
\(^4\)Angelic song greets Guthlac while the demons are returning him to his hermitage (\textit{Vita} 558-60) and later fills the air when he is dying (\textit{Vita} 1168-70). In the Vercelli homily Guthlac fleas ... mid pas apostole sancte bartholomel to heofuna rige wuldræ (143-44). The account in Guthlac A need not be regarded as stemming from either of these.
but it is likely that the poem, like lines 365–364 of the Vita and
the Vercelli homily, is within the otherworld tradition and that the
poem contains traits of the soul journey manifestation of that larger
conception. We can only say that this poet, just as much as the
biographer Felix who put together an account of Guthlac's life for
Aelfward of East Anglia, found his knowledge of many religious works
useful to him. If he had any close sources, as had the poet of Guth-
lac B, these have disappeared. It is however more likely that he
was a man of much greater originality than the B-poet and that he
worked without some one source by his elbow.
The Unity of Guthlac A

The poet's main concern is the soul of just men and he chooses Guthlac as illustration of one of the many ways in which a man may aspire to the kingdom of heaven. Although the greater part of the poem describes Guthlac's encounters with demons, he never loses sight of his theme. His purpose is didactic and Guthlac is his \textit{byrcht}. There is little element of suspense and the outcome of the struggles is never in doubt. Various temptations are described, Guthlac answers them and the poet reflects at length upon each episode. The poem is so filled with the poet's discursive reflections that these slow the narrative, for the poet wishes to make it clear that he is dealing with the temptations and trials that beset all men. His poem cannot be regarded as truly in the mediaeval debate tradition; if it were, better arguments could have been given the devils and Guthlac's replies shortened with advantage. The demons attack and are repulsed, and there is no need to identify the demons as Guthlac's 'negative thoughts', for the conflicts are not portrayed as solely with the saint's mind, as one writer has interestingly suggested:

Here the adversary is not fate in the shape of the outward circumstances of a man's life but the saint's own divided mind. Like the Icelandic hero Gisli he is at the mercy of two opposite forces. The demons that come to plague him are his own negative thoughts tempting him to self-indulgence and despair. When he has achieved integration through entire surrender to \textit{dynten} Christ, "blessed and single-hearted", he
enjoys his dwelling-place.  

This interpretation misinterprets the nature of demonic attacks in early lives of the saints and compares the poem with a saga far out of the period in which Outhlao A was written. Outhlao's devils are not depicted as the product of one part of the 'saint's own divided mind' nor as the result of agues and malaria that beset all fen-dwellers, but as creatures possessed by the devil.

The opening twenty-nine lines of Outhlao A have only grudgingly been recognised as part of the poem. They are not 'an unnecessary prelude to a prelude', nor do they bear 'a closer verbal resemblance to Christ III than to Outhlao A', for they introduce themes which pervade the whole poem. The parallels noted between these lines and other parts of the poem are many of them stock phraseology of a religious poet, but some important correspondences in matter are often overlooked. These occur not only between the opening twenty-nine lines and the closing lines 742-818 (5, 761, 8, 768, 10, 611, 12, 616, 22, 790), but within the rest of the poem too (18, 485, 24, 130, 22, 567, 6 ff., 579 ff.). Yet, whether or not these lines form part of Outhlao A has so dominated discussion of them that a smaller and curious point of interpretation within them has gone unnoticed. The editors and translators mostly agree that the angel's speech opens at line 6, but there is considerable and tacit disagreement as to where this speech ends. The favourite ending-places are mid-line in 10 or

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1Young 1950, p. 287, but Outhlao is master of his mind from 136 onwards.  
2Hillier and Skelton 1878, p. 72  
3Howard 1930, p. 154  
4ibid. p. 362  
5they are noted by Adams 1906, p. 240, only Shook 1961 disagrees, giving the angel 4th also.  
6as in Grein, Asmussen or Krapp & Dobbie
mid-line in 11\(^1\), but neither of these is entirely satisfactory.
Perhaps as a result of dissatisfaction with these solutions we find
one translator closing his inverted commas twice, both in the middle
of line 11 and at the end of line 17\(^2\). The inference to be drawn
from this editorial confusion is that as the poet expands on the
great happiness the soul will have, he loses sight of the angel. The
excursus, and very likely the speech also\(^3\), ends at line 25, for in
lines 25-9 the poet asks a question which is answered in the follow-
ing sentences:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hwider moeal } & \text{por monnes mot astigan} \\
\text{ar oppe after porne he his enue her} \\
\text{gret bigonge bet so gode nure} \\
\text{wonnae elne in geweald suman?}
\end{align*}
\]

In sixty or 60 lines, probably with Gregory's account of the
\textit{Multa veritique ... gradus per quos ad celorum regna conscendiur}\(^4\) in
his mind, the poet discusses many ways of serving God upon earth,
answering this question and at the same time preparing for his intro-
duction of \textit{Outlaw}. Lines 35-58 contain many of the conventional
ideas of Old English 'elegiac' verse (the passing and failing of \textit{orpa}-
\textit{ban blod} 43, the unrest of the world and a falling off in God's wor-
ship 38 and the impossibility of improvement before the end of creation
50) and comparable passages occur, for example, in \textit{The Wanderer}:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Swa peo midangeard} \\
\text{ealra dogra gehwan dreosde ond feallec}, \\
\text{forbon ne mag woerpan wiw wex, ar he age} \\
\text{wirtra del in woruldrise.}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\)Collanes 1895, but see note 8 \(^2\)Collanes 1895 \(^3\)See
commentary 10 \(^4\)Migne, PL lxii column 1054
Ongiætan seol gleaw hele hu gestlic bid,
ponne salra pisce worulde wala veota stondea,
swa nu missenlice geœnd pisne middangear
vinde bewaune weallas stondea. 76

Eall is cancerlic corpan rice,
ouwened wyra gesœcaft wœorulde under heofonum 107

But the lines are not inapposite, for they lead naturally into:

he fela finded, for beod gescrene. 59

with which the poet returns to his consideration of the ways in which
the chosen few serve God. After this long passage on that familiar Old English theme, the transience of all things upon earth, men who
place eorðwæla above but eorð lif 62 are unfavourably contrasted with
those who yearn for pa maran god 71, whether in daily life or as ana-
chorites. Such men, the poet declares, are God’s chosen warriors, a
statement he is to use effectively again in his final section (lines
790 ff.).

At line 93 the poet points out:

Mægas we mænman hit us neah gewead
purch halegine hæd gescyaphed, 94

Cuthlæas’s struggles with demons will now serve to illustrate one way
in which a man

.. his meine her
geat bigage hit se gode mote
wermse clome in geweald cuman? 29

At first, after Cuthlæas settled in his beorægel 102, he listened to
both his good and evil guardians (114), and his mind was torn between
his desire for pa longan god 120 and love of worldly possessions (129)
until

Feond was geflyned; sippam frofre gest
in guðlaesce geose gewunade,
lufade bine 7 larde, længe hu geornor,
bet him leofedan leandes wynne,
beld on beorhage. 140

He is not, however, left at peace in his lonely life of prayer, for although his chosen dwelling-place was benehe monnum 147:

Oft þær brogan œwom,
ecelsic 7 uncud ealdfeonda niþ,
searcraeftum swiþ, by him ælft hyra
onæn wyrdom 7 þær ær fela
setla gesæten þone æþ tugom
væde wæde wuldræ byscyrede
lyftlaecade. 146

These creatures could not

æoste anforistæna
ac to guðlaesce geste geleðdom
fræsunga fela: 189

but Guthlac had with him a frofre gest 136 (and compare 190, 252, 315, 317, 356 etc.) whenever they came to tempt him.

They tried in many ways to regain the eorðlic eþel 261 which Guthlac claimed. They crowded around him, threatening that he would burn upon that hill and that his kinsmen should suffer on his account, unless he returned to a life among men (192–9), but they were unable to injure his spirit, to part his soul from his body and Guthlac answered their threats, resolutely declaring the disputed land his and theirs no longer (239–61). They accused him of arrogance, asked how he
thought he should deal with hunger and thirst and offered not to wound and kill him, not to level his home and tear him to bits, if he would give up to them that place (266-91). In reply (296-322) Guthlac observed that, no matter how bitterly they attacked him, they could not gain victory, for he would not fight against them with weapons as he had no desire for *corvelan* 319 or indeed anything much other than

.. degra gehwam dryhtan sended
burh mones ond mine pearfe. 322

Guthlac remained steadfast in his devotion to God and his solitary home and often, in discussion with his guardian angel, described the behaviour he thought befitted a man hopeful of a place in the kingdom of heaven:

An ascal min eunan

gest to geoce nenne is gode cylls
hyresume hige hast his heortan gepone .. 368

Although the text breaks off here, these few verses are sufficient to show that the poet recalls his question of lines 26-9.

About seventy lines of text have been lost, if as seems likely only one folio has been removed from the manuscript, and after this gap, at the next line (the numbering carries on without interruption in most editions of the poem) we return to words of Guthlac, now addressed to demons. There is little in this incomplete speech (..- 369) beyond the themes which have already been tossed about in the speeches between Guthlac and his tempters, and whether or not it is in reply to actual torture by fire and weapons we can only guess. Whatever was its occasion, Guthlac was resolute, maintaining that at worst hi
oppressors could help his soul to a better world (378). His enemies became enraged (390) and wished to rush upon him with *gifrum grapum* 407, but God would allow them only to lay hold on him with their hands, not to injure him so that he would suffer greatly. They lifted him up into the air in the little time that was given to them to touch his body and revealed to him the unworthy life led by many in monasteries (412–26). After that they had to take him back to his dwelling-place and they knew themselves defeated, unless

\[\text{by him ne meahte maran sarum gyldan gyrruwnce.}\] 434

Guthlac had escaped their grasp and had overcome the first temptation with which they assailed him. He thought himself blessed, because he had so protected his life that fiends would not be able to harm him on the day of his death (440–5).

His attackers were resentful and, though beaten, tried subtler arguments, telling him that he had gained their enmity because he had not listened to their friendly advice but had instead declared himself safe from afflictions *for ham myrcelse* 458. Many men with that same sign upon them, *se werga gæst* (451) reminded Guthlac, betray it in their lives (and the poet suddenly for a few lines directs his accusations outside the poem), and they, wishing that Guthlac should recognise the truth in their accusations, had therefore raised him into the air, withdrawing from him *londes wynna* 467. However, God gave Guthlac the strength and wisdom to answer these words and, declaring that they must renounce *bone grena wynna* 477, he described to them their guilt and defeat and explained why he had remained unmoved by the lax behaviour
shown him of men in God's service (478-512).

Outhlac had cut himself off from the sins of men, but he had still to endure his share of suffering,

deah be dryhten his
witum wolde. 517

It seemed incredible that God should allow him to suffer any more the attacks of these fiends - 7 bet hwebræ gelomp 520. But then, God's own death which he endured upon earth was by far a greater action. Although his attackers now knew that God had Outhlac in His care, they took him to hell's door, that place where the journey of doomed souls begins, and they offered to him

.. orlege,
egsan 7 ondan arleaslice,
freone fore : 566

They showed him the horrors of hell and with words tried to betray him into orwennysse 575 (aoppidia), accusing him of being an unworthy follower of God:

nu þu in helle scealt
deope gedufan, nales dryhtnes leocht
habban in heoforum, heahgetimbru,
seld on swégle, forpon ... 585

(The poet surely recalls and contrasts here the message brought by the angel to a departing soul at the beginning of the poem.) Outhlac was not moved by these accusations, but in his answer revealed his true submission to God. His long speech (lines 592 - 684a, with only a short interruption from the poet 620b - 622), a profession of faith, is filled with his love of God and hatred of His rebellious
angels.

At the end of his final answer to the attacks of Christ's enemies Guthlac told them that they must give up hope of ensnaring him into hell; whereas they will suffer torments and agonies there, he will possess dræmawyn 680 in the kingdom of heaven. He did not fall into despair, and God sent a messenger who saw Guthlac safely out of ham wreocside 688.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bæt se leofesta} \\
gest gegeardwad in gode was \text{on gefean ferde.}
\end{align*}
\]

Bartholomew had Guthlac in his protection. He bound those heostra begnas 696 in evil torments, instructed them to return, unscathed, Guthlac to that place from which they had taken him and announced his intention to visit and help Guthlac there often. This message rejoiced Guthlac, and his enemies (now called by the poet hæftæ hæruma 725) carefully carried him back to ham onwilian eordan dæle 728. His arrival there is a triumphal scene, and Guthlac's victory is emphasised in æsthetic allusory:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Smolte wes se sigewong } 7 \text{ sele niwe,} \\
\text{fæger fugla recrod, folde geblowed;} \\
\text{geasco gear budon; gypus moste,} \\
\text{edig 7 osmod, ærdes brucan.}
\end{align*}
\]

The grene wong 746 was now in God's protection and His messenger, Bartholomew, had banished from it the fiends.

The rest of the poem is explanatory. The poet asks if his audience have heard of any nobler accomplishments.
These things, he reminds them, happened in their own time and cannot be doubted. They reveal God's love for ealle gesceafte 760. Guthlac abode thereafter in God's service, until a better life was granted him, and he was led on ealle fæðum 782 into His presence and a seat in heaven was given him, awo to ealdre 786. And in the same way just souls will earn their places in heaven because they follow God's teachings here on earth (790-818).

The careful construction of the poem has, I hope, been made clear in this interpretation of it. What its occasion was will never now be known, but it is unique among Old English poems for the great emphasis it places upon the religious life. The passages on monastic life are unparalleled in contemporary verse. The poet criticises laxity in discipline, but he is sympathetic in his criticisms, explaining youth as the cause of the offences he describes, and he forecasts that time will bring greater wisdom to erring monks. In one place he addresses such offenders directly and for once it can be asserted that we have proof that an Old English poem was directed at a monastic audience.
A note on the date of Guthlac A

Recently attempts to construct chronologies of Old English verse use literary discussion as the chief means of arriving at satisfactory groupings of texts and the tests suggested by nineteenth century scholars have for the most part been discarded. The great bulk of what is generally considered important Old English poetry is regarded as having been written in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries and, as our most valuable criteria for the study of Old English dialects derive from late ninth and tenth century prose texts, the long accepted indications of dialect origins are given less weight in the discussion of verse texts than formerly. The mainstays of today's groupings are a few vague phrases and overworked names. The period of Cædmon's active verse-making is dated to c. 658-80. 'Cædmonian' verse to the end of the seventh century and Exodus and Beowulf to the 'age of Bede' (or, more guardedly, to somewhere between the so-called Cædmonian and Cynewulfian schools). The poetry of Cynewulf and his school are placed at the latest in the ninth century (generally earlier rather than later in that century) and at any rate sometime between the 'age of Bede' poets and the composers of the dated chronicle poems. This scale, though never stated so bluntly, can be glimpsed behind most recent writings in which the problems of dating Anglo-Saxon verse are discussed.

Although the old dating tests have mostly been discredited, even

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1 See particularly the papers by Wrenn 1933 and 1943 and Sisam 1953, pp. 119-39 (published originally in 1944). Wrenn 1946, p. 268
2 E.g. Lawrence 1930, pp. 264 ff.; Whitelock 1951, pp. 22 ff
the skeleton scale for the composition of Old English verse outlined above depends greatly upon the recognition of one of them. Professor Whitelock has pointed out that the loss of the intervocalic -h- is scarcely safe for dating purposes because Guthlac A, one of a small group of poems distinguished by this metrical test, is derived from Felix's Vita which she considers not earlier than 730 A.D.\(^1\) The loss of intervocalic -h- is thought to have occurred not much before 700 A.D. and those poems in which the metre requires decontracted forms are therefore generally placed to either side of that date. Her assumptions about the date of Guthlac A enable Professor Whitelock to disrupt the small group of poems recognised as earlier than the other extant long Old English poems and to plead that 750 A.D. is too early an estimate as the final date for the composition of Beowulf: she suggests that the poem might have been written anywhere in England sometime before 835 A.D. Although Professor Whitelock continues to rely on the evidence of the intervocalic -h- to some extent (for she still assumes that Beowulf was written before the Cynewulfian canon, largely on its evidence), her suggestions have been effective in re-opening the whole matter of the dating of Anglo-Saxon verse.

More recently F.P. Magoun, in restating the possibility that Anglo-Saxon makers of verse were conservative, appears to reinforce Professor Whitelock's arguments:

A poet held onto a phrase as long as possible, down, in fact, to the time when the contraction process had long since been completed. This would suggest

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\(^1\) Whitelock 1951, p. 27
that later day singers and their audiences had be-
come habituated to such metrical irregularities and
accepted these deficient verses as traditional.\footnote{Magoun 1933, p. 462}

A more considered view of this problem is taken by Professor Wrenn in
the introduction to his edition of Beowulf. He agrees that the exam-
ination of contracted forms does not provide sufficient evidence for
the exact dating of Old English verse, but points out:

But we may at least think that the presence of im-
licit uncontracted forms like dæan for the MS. don
in Beowulf, as shown by the metrical patterns, does
point to a relatively early date. As explained earli-
er, however, the use by the poet of both the fuller
and the contracted forms suggests that he had a choice
between the more archaic and the more colloquial, ac-
cording to the needs of his metre; and it seems also
likely that the older forms would continue to be trad-
tionally in use a considerable time after they had
ceased to be a part of the living language.\footnote{Wrenn 1957, pp. 35-36}

It should be noted that the particular problems presented by Guth-
lac\footnote{Colgrave 1056, p. 17} have been quietly overlooked in discussions of the dating of Old
English verse which have appeared since the publication of Professor
Whitelock's \textit{The Audience of Beowulf}. Because her arguments about
the date of this poem may have contributed to the reasons for the pres-
ent general distrust of the value of contracted forms in dating Anglo-
Saxon poetry, it is necessary to point out two things:

1. the \textit{terminus a quo} for Felix's Vita is not so def-
inite as 730 (the date given by B. Colgrave\footnote{Colgrave 1056, p. 17} who may
have communicated it to Professor Whitelock) and can be
pushed back to 721 A.D.
2. It still cannot be proved that the author of Guthlac A was dependent upon the Vita — it is at least possible that he may have known some different, maybe earlier, account of the saint than the extant Vita.

When these doubtful inconclusions, achieved earlier in this introductory material, are considered, it becomes obvious that the loss of the intervocalic -e- can no longer be thought unsafe for dating purposes on the grounds that it marks Guthlac A which derives from Felix who wrote not earlier than 730 A.D.

1 See particularly I.1 and III.2/a
The second of the Guthlac poems in the Exeter Book, an account of
the saint's death, is incomplete. At the end of folio 52⁷, which
is also the final leaf in a gathering, a manuscript break occurs and
the text is abruptly interrupted¹. It is often assumed that only a
few lines of script, the amount which might have filled the excised
top portion of folio 53⁹, have been lost from Guthlac B. For the
earlier critics these lines contained the end of Becce's message to
Page, or the poem was considered unfinished or fragmentary, but from
1885 Wilcock's suggestion that the 'lost lines' held a Cynewulf sig-
nature is an important factor in all discussions of the Cynewulf
question, with the result that Guthlac B is still today the poem most
likely to be placed in the Cynewulf canon with Eleana, Juliana, Christ
II and the Fates of the Apostles². The general acceptance of such
views has meant that Guthlac B is usually discussed as if the poem
were virtually complete. Yet, a gathering (or more) may well have
dropped out of the manuscript between folios 52 and 53, for in this
part of the Exeter Book a long line of capitals marks the appearance
of new material, whereas the first section of Asariau is presented on
folio 53⁹ only as a new section within a poem. It is likely there-
fore that the four lines of script missing from folio 53⁹ (i.e. prob-
ably six verse lines, in any case short for a Cynewulf signature)
belonged to some earlier part of the Asariau.

¹For a fuller account of the relevant manuscript details see the final
note in the commentary and III.1/6. ²See III.2/6 passim.
How much of Guthlac B has disappeared is impossible to say. We can, however, guess from the poet's use of the fiftieth chapter of Felix's *Vita* that after such a treatment of Beocel's grief he would not have spared us an account of Pegc's swoon, of his return to Crowland with Pegc, of the ambrosial odours they found there in all the buildings and of Guthlac's burial, after prayer and praise, on the third day after his death. Indeed, the poet's use of the *sight more in Adam data est* (1069) theme from the opening of this chapter of the *Vita* might have made the following chapter, which tells of the discovery a year later of Guthlac's incorrupt body, attractive to him, but to speculate on this is idle when we are without proof that he followed the *Vita* even to the end of chapter 50.

There is, in contrast with the great amount of dispute as to whether or not Guthlac A is dependent or not on the *Vita*, general agreement that Guthlac B is:

... eine treue Bearbeitung des V. Kapitels [i.e. chapter 50] von Felix.  

The themes of the creation and fall, dominating the opening sections of the poem, have long been recognised as prompted by the first sentences of this chapter (*Vita* 1064–72). The development of these themes accounts for about a sixth of the extant poem and the remaining five sixths stem mostly from the poet's working of chapter 50 of the *Vita*. In his summary of Guthlac's life (Glo 894–932a) the poet draws upon some episodes related by Felix in earlier chapters of the *Vita*, but

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1 Grau 1908, p. 93  
2 Rieger 1869, p. 325 fn. 1
from line 932 he keeps closely to Vita 1073 ff. for details of the last days of the saint's life, sometimes imitating his original quite slavishly, sometimes adapting his source material freely.

The poem has rarely been examined closely, but those who describe it generally agree with its first editor that it is:

... expressed with great beauty of diction, and is highly poetic.  

Admiring reference is often made to the elegiac strain of Beocel's speech to Pega or to the poet's presentation of the relationship between Guthlac and his servant (too often accompanied by a comparison of Beocel's sorrow with the sorrow expressed by Wiglaf at the death of Beowulf). Most critics, perhaps because the shadow of Cynewulf lies over the poem, give Guthlac much praise. Gerould, for example, declares that the poet treated his sources:

... with a directness that befitted the theme, making no attempt to deck it out with borrowed verbiage or to romance about serious things. Although the subject matter was expanded with the utmost freedom, there is almost nothing superfluous throughout the poem. The impression that it gives is one of compactness.  

The passage is indeed typical of the sort of indulgence this poem has so often received. Yet recently lines 1330-35, from a much anthologised part of the poem, have been singled out as 'representative of any
pedestrian passage of Old English poetry and have been censured because:

There is nothing here beyond a number of kennings
strung together - kennings of the most ordinary kind
for, or about, ships.\(^1\)

Once a full account of the poem has been given, and examination made
of the poet's use of his sources, it may be possible to judge which
of these extreme attitudes gives a fair picture of Guthlac B.

As translation, the poem is diffuse. The poet does not try to
reproduce the straightforward and concise narrative of Felix's biogra-
phy, but instead explains, elaborates and dramatises his source
material. His intention may have been other than biographical, for
it is possible that his long expansion of the opening phrases from
chapter 50 of the *Vita* played a much greater part in the structure of
his presentation of Guthlac's death than is evidenced by the truncated
form of the extant poem. Already in the opening lines of the poem
the simple platitudes of Felix have been transmuted and become an ef-
f ective account of the reason for death in this world. Certain of
Felix's words may have inspired the poet's use of the *pocus mortis*
figure:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Nan sicut more in adae data est: ita et in omn's domin-} \\
\text{abitur: quisquis enim huius uitis saporem gustuerit,} \\
\text{amaritudinem mortis suitera ne quit;}
\end{align*}\]

The collocation of the verb *gustuerit* with the phrase *amaritudinem*
mortis perhaps called to the poet's mind:

\(^1\) Collins 1959, p. 15
and the clause *ita et in omnes dominabitur* allowed him to move smoothly into a brief account of the life of Guthlac, over whom death inevitably prevailed, although he was among *sala ... gesthalicra* (873).

Although he places the poet's development of the *posulum mortis* image beside other examples of this figure in mediaeval Latin writings, in Old English and in Old High German verses, C. Brown ¹ does not note that one other instance given by him is in many ways similar to the Guthlac B passages which deal with this theme. He quotes from the Durham Chapter Library version of the *Rex aeternae domine*, together with its eleventh century English gloss, this stanza:

1 Brown 1940, pp. 389-99  ²Stevenson 1851, p. 311, the first third of the hymn is given in the commentary  ³Sweet 1885, p. 419

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Per pomum ligui vetiti
Mortis propinaca posulum,
Quique clausis in tenebris
Gemebat in suppliciis.
```

This stanza appears also in versions of the *Rex aeternae domine* found in an eighth century St Gall manuscript. It could therefore, Brown points out, have been present in versions of the hymn current in England in the Guthlac B poet's day, although it does not occur in the

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Vespasian Psalter version:

Rex aeternae Domine rerum creator omnium qui eras ante saecula semper cum Patre Filius Qui mundi in orimorio Adam plasmasti hominem qui tuae imaginis voltum dedisti similem Quem diabolus deceperat hostis humani generis cujus tu formam corporis adsumere dignatus es.
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---

¹Brown 1940, pp. 389-99  ²Stevenson 1851, p. 311, the first third of the hymn is given in the commentary  ³Sweet 1885, p. 419
The extra stanza of the Durham and St. Gall versions should occur between generic and enjus. If a text containing it is read, it becomes readily apparent that the Guthlac E poet is working with the themes present in the opening stanzas of the hymn.

It is at any rate possible to set against phrases from this hymn passages from the Old English poem and to find between them more verbal resemblances than can be found in a comparison of Guthlac E with the Carmen de resurrectione mortuorum, the source identified by Conn. If Felix's words called into the poet's mind the figure of the soculium mortis and with it this hymn, he would then have had available to him the main features of the creation and fall theme used in the opening sections of the poem:

\begin{align*}
\text{Domine rerum creator omnium} & \quad \text{frymga god 820} \\
\text{Exe aeterne} & \quad \text{cyning amhtig 822} \\
\text{Cui mundi in primordio Adam} & \quad \text{boue aresten alda cynnes/} \\
\text{plasmesti homines} & \quad \text{of pare olmeseten .. /feland} \\
\text{diabolus desperat hostis} & \quad \text{geworhte} \\
\text{humani} & \quad \text{823} \\
\text{Per parrum ligni vetiti} & \quad \text{se was fruma niwe, /} \\
\text{wyrmes larum} & \quad \text{alda tudres, etc.} \\
\text{Feder was acenned/adam arest} & \quad \text{wyrmes larum 846} \\
\text{blode forbodene 7 of benne ahneop} & \quad \text{848} \\
\text{westm biwerdine} & \quad \text{848}
\end{align*}

\footnote{Conn 1908, pp. 94-98; the versions in PL iv, 1033-60 (see especially e.LXXI), ii, 1147-56, and lix, 1004-6 have been consulted, as have elxxi, 1715-16 and lxxix 297-300.
Mortis propinans poculum  

Geread berende cyfl/ bet da sinhiwan  
to swyhte geteah  
pone bitran dryns  

Quique clausis in tenebris  
Gemebat in suppliciis.  

Siphen se epel udgange weard/  
seardwica cyst/ beorht odbroden  
pa he on uncydde,  
soupende, soefene wurdon/ on  
gewinworulde.  

When the poet later takes up the theme of the bitter taste of death  
(lines 969 ff.), he once more relates the effect on humanity of the poc-  
ulum mortis  

patte adama ecu gebyrnde  
at fruman worulde.  

982  

Again correspondences can be traced between the wording of the Rex  

aeterna domine and Guthlac E, although this time the poet draws most  

from the stanzas printed by Brown. Guthlac's death is near:  

Mortis propinans poculum  

bryphen wes ongunnen  
bitter bodawag  
pone blissan dryne  

deopen deadawes  

980  
984  
990  
991  

Here, as in the poet's earlier use of this image, Eve's part in bring-  
ing death into the world is described. In the first passage the actual  

plucking of the fruit at the devil's instigation (lines 846 ff.) is nar-  
rated, but in the second figurative terms only are used. The theme has  
been sufficiently developed for it to be used in this more striking  
fashion.  

Often compared with these two passages in Guthlac E is the account  
of the fall in The Phoenix (lines 393-424) and attempts have been made
to show the derivation of one from the other. Shearin suggests that the account in The Phoenix could have been written from a knowledge of the Guthlac B passages:

If they convince anyone that the passages are independent, he would probably make the further inference that the author of the Phoenix had before him the more detailed and expanded statement in the Guthlac. Yet, the treatment of the fall and redemption is differently slanted in The Phoenix. The tree and its fruit are described and, as a tree is important in the structure of this poem, its poet may identify with the tree of knowledge the phoenix's home. Certainly the fruits of the phoenix's tree symbolise the good deeds by which man can achieve salvation. The forbidden fruit is emphasised, but the figurative extension common to the Guthlac B poem and the Rex aeternae domine does not follow. The poet is concerned more with redemption than death and he moves on to consider the significance of Christ's coming. The Guthlac B poet, however, develops metaphorically the forbidden fruit theme, in the way prompted by phrases which occur in the opening sentences of chapter 50 of the Vita, in the way illustrated in the Rex aeternae domine, and then emphasises death, the warrior who is coming to claim Guthlac. Both poets, it seems, are using and adapting to contextual needs, themes which must have been drawn on again and again by mediaeval religious writers.

The poem opens with an account of the beauty of creation, the bliss of paradise, the deception of Eve, the plucking of the fruit and

1Shearin 1907, p. 263  
2Blake 1964, p. 80
loss of Eden. Death now ruled over men—death, the bitter drink poured by Eve—and over even the blessed who:

some war, some aid, some in urra
after telmenuce tida gemundum
sigerlessa nehtun.  

These phrases provide a suitable pretext for introducing one such man:

Us seorgæ beæ
hu guðlæc waerð þurh gode wille
æðig on engle.  

The poet moves easily into his life of Guthlac material. Yet, before taking up the matter of chapter 30 of the Vita again he gives a brief account of the reasons for Guthlac’s fame geond hryten innan (883). Lines 878 to 893 are eulogistic in tone and contain little specific detail of Guthlac’s life. They tell how Guthlac helped and comforted and healed all who came to him, and could be interpreted as referring to almost any or indeed all of the miracles in the Vita. If a close parallel is sought for them, Vita 906–20 might be advanced as their source, but it is however more likely that the poet here uses no particular source, depending instead on his memory and invention. If he were working from this passage of the Vita for lines 878–93 of the poem, his powers of summary must have been greater than any other part of Guthlac E suggests.

In lines 894–915 the poet deals with the material of chapter 36 (Vita 625–30), following the Latin quite closely in some places:

\[\text{The linkage of these passages by the two halves of line 878 is first noted by Thorpe 1842, p. 903}\]
The correlative construction of the first clauses in this sentence may owe something to the wording of lines 631-35 in the *Vita*:

Deinde parui temporis interralllo succedente, eoce subito
uelat concurrentium armentorum crepitum cum magno terry
triiore domui succedere exaudiebat; Nee mora domum ab
undique inrumpentes, mariorum monstrorum diversae figuras
intioire prospicit;

However, the poet does not describe the particular shapes which the demons took (the same in the *Vita* as in the Evagrian life of Anthony), but recalls how they at times assumed human shape, at times serpent form, and he emphasises Guthlac's patience through all such attacks, even when threatened with death. It seems that here too the poet is not so much dependent upon one particular part of the life as on his knowledge of all its contents. Lines 916-19a also recall many episodes in the *Vita* chapters which centre upon birds, but more specifically the two swallows of chapter 39 (*Vita* 713-41) who obeyed Guthlac's commands as to where they should build their nest. Lines 919b-32a contain more praise for the help and comfort given by the saint to all who visited him and, through their similarity to lines 878-93, clearly round off this passage (cols 878-932) in which the saint is introduced.

It is possible that the Guthlac B poet knew the Guthlac A poem and was providing a companion piece for it from Felix's life of the saint.¹

¹Suggested first by Nather 1892, p. 103
In Guthlac A the description of Guthlac’s death is brief:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{swe wæs gudlæces & gest gelædæd} \\
\text{enaeg ðæmm in updrod} \\
\text{fær onsayne & ges deman} \\
\text{lædden leoflice. Hæm wæs lean gesælæd,} \\
\text{setl on swegle, þær he symsæ mot} \\
\text{swa to ealdræs & særdfæst weæn,} \\
\text{bliðe biden: is him heam godeæ,} \\
\text{milde mundbreæ ...}
\end{align*}
\]

These lines must have seemed woefully inadequate to anyone familiar with the Vita in which the striking death scene occupies eleven percent of the entire text. Those parts of the first two sections of Guthlac B which deal with events of the saint’s life show similarities in phrasing and content with Guthlac A. Although such resemblances are to be expected between any two Old English poems, we cannot rule out the possibility that the B-poet had heard or read Guthlac A. The most interesting of the verbal similarities traced between the two poems is the B-poet’s use of sigewong in line 921:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hwilum mennisse} \\
\text{aræs edædæm uft nooseædon} \\
7 \text{þær sidfræmæ on þæs sigewongæ} \\
\text{atl þæs halægan þæowon heææ geæton} \\
\text{færæpes frefre.}
\end{align*}
\]

The use of this kennling for Guthlac’s dwelling-place apparently derives not from the Vita but from the Guthlac A account of the saint’s return to his hermitage after his journey to the door of hell (Glo 732 ff.). The A-poet, in his description of the sigewong, tells first of the

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1Kurtz 1926, p. 172 fn. 42 gives this figure, pointing out that Felix has developed this aspect of his subject further than the hints given by his models (Pygærius 3%, Bede’s Cuthbert 9%) and notes also that this chapter continues in its appeal to mediaeval readers of the life (Middle English verse life 12% and Tynemouth epitome 8%).
welcome given Guthlac by birds and then states that he could now live
undisturbed in his chosen home:

Smolt wes se sigewong 7 sele niwe,
feger fugle reord, folde geblowen;
geasas gear budon; guthlac moas,
esdig 7 onmod, eardes brucan. 745

Yet, if the earlier poem suggested to the E-poet the themes by which
he should illustrate Guthlac’s life, these were supplemented from and
shaped by his knowledge of the Vita. The hosts of devils who crowd
in upon the saint are described as fallen angels, hives binotene (900),
and resemble those of Guthlac A, but their taking on of different
shapes is in the Antonian tradition and is based on Felix. The mir-
acles performed by Guthlac after his victory over the hosts of devils,
entirely neglected in Guthlac A, are brought in in two rather general
passages of eulogy in these introductory sections of Guthlac B. Occas-
ionally the E-poet echoes words and phrases from the Vita, but never
with the exactness with which he reproduces Felix’s narrative from line
932b onwards.

Lines 932b-1370, that is all that remain of the poem, correspond
to lines 1072-1173 of the Vita, except for the poet’s return in Cle
969-96a to the themes developed from the sigut mora in adam data eat
passage of the Vita (lines 1070 ff.). At times the poet follows Felix
closely, even on occasion reproducing the structures of his Latin
source, but often he changes and elaborates the account given in the
Vita. His expansions occur most of all in speeches and in the descrip-
tion of Beocel’s journey to Pegen with the news of her brother’s death.
Sources outside the Vita have not been found for such passages, but there is nothing in them which might not have been suggested by some phrase or clause in the Latin narrative. These 'original' passages are those in which the poet draws most freely upon formulaic phrases and ornamental kennings. Indeed, it is the journey scene and Beoccel's speech to Pega in particular which have led critics to assert that Guthlac B is clearly in the vernacular tradition of Anglo-Saxon verse.

C. Schaar, for example, states:

Anyhow, it seems clear that in Guthlac B the vernacular tradition is a much stronger element than in Guthlac A. This also appears from an analysis of parallels in the poem.\(^1\)

He recognises that the final lines are in 'an elegiac strain' and sees reminiscences of Beowulf and The Seafarer in this speech\(^2\). However, the 'Anglo-Saxonisms independent of the Latin original' and 'in the Anglo-Saxon poetic tradition' identified by him (lines 1096 ff., 1278b ff., 1330b ff., 1271b ff. and 1308b ff., all descriptions of natural phenomena) seem rather more literary and in the spirit of Felix. It should be added that the tables of parallels between Anglo-Saxon poems presented by Schaar scarcely support the conclusions he bases on them, for he plays down the evidence of stock formulae in Guthlac A.

As the poet's dependence upon the Vita has not been examined in any article upon the poem I have seen, a brief comparison of Vita 1072-1175 with those parts of Guthlac B which derive from it will now be presented. A table is given first:

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\(^1\)Schaar 1949, p. 42

\(^2\)A comparison of the final section of the poem with The Wanderer is made by Rieger 1969, pp. 376-27.
This skeleton of correspondences is useful for two reasons: it shows how fully the poet uses the words of the *Vita* and it reveals also that he follows closely the order of events given by Felix. An examination of the poet's use of these passages of the *Vita* will be found in the commentary for the poem under the line references given in the first column of this table.
Certain important changes are made by the poet in his use of this source material. His method is narrative, and he does not think to mention Bede as the authority from which his account of Guthlac's death is derived:

\[\text{cuius relatione hoc de obitu uiri dei guthlesi} \]
\[\text{descriptissvra,} \]

In some ways he simplifies the account given in the *Vita*. The references to Egbert (Vita 1127) and Egbert (Vita 1146) are, for example, omitted and, though it could be argued that these omissions are made because of a self-contradiction implicit within his source\(^1\), this argument may misinterpret the poet's intention. For him there is only one important person in the story he tells, Guthlac, and only he is named. Bede is reduced to a faithful servant and messenger, and the absence of his name is surely indicative of this change. His words and feelings are retained and developed, because they are relevant to the fact of Guthlac's death, but his identity is not made clear. Egbert and Egbert disappear as persons, together with substantial winding-sheets and descriptions, and Guthlac's message to his sister becomes simple and direct:

\[\text{Du hyre saca saga} \]
\[\text{bæt heo hæs bænæt beorge bifaste} \]
\[\text{læm bælice læc cæsel} \]
\[\text{in peostrescafan þær hit þræg meæl} \]
\[\text{in seoðhefæ sibban wunian}. \]

Even Pega remains anonymous, alluded to as Guthlac's sister or in poetic paraphrases such as *wulferu wyrtsc* (1345) or *leofæt numga*.

\(^1\) See commentary for *Life* 889.
(1376), and the saint's instructions to Becoel, to keep secret from all nisi pegg, mut saecularia anchoritae (1146) that God had sent him every morning and evening an angelum consolationis, are omitted.

Beside the central matter of Guthlac's death the poet does, however, develop one theme, the inevitability of death. He personifies death and skilfully weaves this figure into the structure of his poem. Just as Felix's use of a well known phrase from Corinthians¹ may have inspired him to introduce and elaborate the peculum mortis figure of the first two sections of the poem, so the context in which Felix has placed these words may have prompted his personification of death². The poet describes how death achieves dominion over Guthlac, as over all men. Death is an enemy (feond 864) who rules mankind, he presses in upon men (863) and prevails over them (871):

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ne mag anig þam
flæsc bifongen feore wiðstorden
ricra ne heanra ac hine reseđ on
gifrum grasum ;
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996

The character of death as Guthlac's protagonist is well established. The poet makes him an enge anhoga (997), a wiga walgifre (999) and Guthlac himself refers to him in these terms:

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Wiga nealaced,
unlet laces ;
```

Yet, the speech in the Vita on which this speech of Guthlac's is based contains no mention of the warrior death:

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filı mi. langorıs mei causa est ut ab his membris spiritus reputetur; Finis autem infirmatis meq erit octauus dies.
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¹I Corinthians xv. 22 ²See also commentary, note for 1154
The poet has already told us that four days of Guthlac's illness have passed by and he now reminds us that death is drawing nearer to the saint:

**Dead Nealmote,**

stop stalgoncum, strong 7 hrede
sotle sawelhus.

The seventh day of Guthlac's illness comes and, in the poet's narrative, death now attacks:

**Com as sceofeda day**

elcum 7weard  bæa be him in gesono
hat heortan neah  hildescuron
flacer flanprasæ  feorhord orlac
seaccongam gesocht.

Behind this passage lies one clause:

Denique cum septimus dies infirmitatis ipsius deuener-
isset:

Except for the *intimorum stimulatio* (1078) which signalled the onset of the saint's death, there is nothing in this chapter of the *Vita* from which the poet might have derived inspiration for his use of the figure of the darts of death. Yet, the image occurs three times in *Guthlac B* (v. 1144-45, 1154 and 1286) and continues the battle theme introduced by the poet. The shafts of illness and the arrows of death perhaps derive ultimately from another verse in the same chapter of *Corinthians*:

Novissima autem inimica destructur more; omnia anima
subject sub pedibus ejus.

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1 I *Corinthians* xv. 26
The personification of death appears only twice elsewhere in Old English poetry, in *The Phoenix* and in the *Meters of Boethius*, and only in *Cuthlac B* is it sufficiently developed to include the darts of death.

Other innovations made by the poet have less effect upon the structure of his poem, for they are not carried beyond the passages in which they are first developed. We cannot, of course, know if the poet introduced new themes in Beoccel's speech to Peco, but the thirty or so remaining lines contain little that could not have been suggested by Felix's narrative and the poet's own working of this source.

Too much emphasis is sometimes placed on the 'elegiac' traits of this speech, particularly in the first nine or ten lines of it, for, as one recent writer has pointed out, it is 'not an elegy, but a messenger's report'. Sometimes the passage which describes Beoccel's journey to Peco is singled out for admiration by commentators as illustrative of the poet's facility in formulaic composition. However, it must be remembered that in such passages, as everywhere else in the poem, the *Cuthlac B* poet adapts and elaborates his source freely.

*Cuthlac B* is by no means the simple straightforward translation it is sometimes assumed to be, but is instead diffuse and repetitive. The poet is at his best in narrative and in speeches. His descriptions

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1 See further commentary, note for 1154. 2 E.g. Kennedy 1912, p. 298 and Schaar 1949, p. 42. See also commentary for 1348 ff., and especially note for according 1352. 3 E.g. Price 1896, pp. 51-52 suggests that five passages relating 'to the sorrow and grief of Beoccel' incorporate much material that is the poet's own: 1008 ff., 1047 ff., 1197 ff., 1335 ff., and 1345 ff. 4 Pilch 1964, p. 213. 5 Celli 1959, p. 15.
of natural phenomena, so widely admired, are by no means independent of the *Vita* as Schaaf has suggested, but the poet has elaborated and decorated his source material so lavishly that we have difficulty in disentangling and understanding the long rambling sentences of these passages. In them the poet seems determined to please an audience which loved ornament, both in imagery and in sound. He has a facile command of the poetical vocabulary typical of Cynewulfian poems and *Andream* and *The Phoenix*, of the longer Old English religious poems, most closely resemble * Guthlac B* in these respects. These three poems may indeed have come from the same literary background, for they share with one another and with the signed poems of Cynewulf certain motifs and descriptive passages not found in any great concentration outside the verse of the Exeter and Veresseli books. For some readers today, this period of Old English verse-making has great attractions. For others the expressions used by Cynewulf and his followers seem to have:

for the most part, in the translation from one poetical tradition to another lost almost all their intrinsic effectiveness.

The relative simplicity of the earlier Anglo-Saxon poets whose work is preserved has disappeared and these later writers have evolved their own 'fixed apparatus of stylistic devices'. Yet, without its passages of metaphor and decoration and without its rhyme and assonance, * Guthlac B* would indeed be 'flat' and 'pedestrian' (the disparaging

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1Schaaf 1949, p. 41  
2See further L.3; as can be seen from the commentary these three poems share in particular similar accounts of the creation and fall - cf. *Beow* 392-423 and And 1566 ff.  
3Schaaf 1939, p. 17  
4The Words Are Barriers* in 1951, p. 73
adjectives levelled at the poem by Collins). It is by his ornamentation of his source, whether in vocabulary, in matter or in feeling, that the maker of Guthlac D has managed to create a poem which still commands respect even in handbooks of English literature.
Previous investigation of the metre of these two poems has done little to display differences between them, for the differences occur often in those verses which can be accommodated within a two-stress system scansion of Old English poetry but can as well be differentiated from the basic two stress patterns of Old English verse. S.K. Das has gone furthest in distinguishing significant variations whilst following the traditional method of scanning Old English poetry. Using Sievers's five types as the basis of his work on the metre of the Cynewulf canon, he subdivides these classes according to the structure of the verse. He thus finds four main varieties of each type: verses containing a single word, verses made up of two words, verses where the two arses are joined by a preposition or the copula and verses where there is some other connecting link. As well he indicates the part played by alliteration within each verse. His factual coding of the many poems attributed to Cynewulf provides much evidence from which can be drawn rough and ready inferences, but it is a summary rather than a detailed work and falls down especially where the Guthlac poems are concerned. Like those critics who before him attempted to examine the evidence for authorship within the metre of the poems, he does not recognise the true beginning of Guthlac A.

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1 Lefevre 1883; Cremer 1888; Mather 1892; Das 1942
The criteria put forward by A.J. Bliss¹ do much to eliminate
the great part played by subjective decision in the scansion of
Old English verse. In The Metre of Beowulf he sets out the find­
ings of a new statistical approach to Old English metre and, using
them, supplies a full guide to his idea of the metre of Beowulf.
This new interpretation is, as A.J. Bliss himself points out, a
vindication of Sievers's work and for that reason alone it deserves
close attention. Yet, because he does not use Sievers's five
types as the starting-point for his examination, Bliss is able to
identify certain features of this verse which should be noted in
any detailed scansion of Old English poetry. A few paragraphs on
early and late verse (112 to 121) show how much can be learned
about the construction of a poem through a detailed approach to
its metre and suggest how valuable such an examination of the two
Guthlac poems might prove.

Among the features of Old English verse which A.J. Bliss em­
phasises, he places prime importance on alliteration as a guide
to the first full stress in every verse. This, and his insis­
tance that the position of the stress within each verse must be
noted, force him into providing within his system of scansion ter­
m inology for one-stress verses. These light verses are of two
kinds, either one word fills a verse (Bee's first category) or
there is only one word in a verse of sufficient strength to bear

¹Bliss 1938
a full stress. Among the second group of light verses is Sievers's A3, where now there is no need to choose at random an earlier stress to make this pattern conform to the base Al. For the normal two-stress verses Bliss uses the five letters made familiar by Sievers, prefixing to them large Arabic numerals to indicate the position of the cæsura. Small numerals, letters and asterisks after these capitals provide information about the distribution and number of dip syllables. Although a clear method of classifying hypermetric verses is offered, the premises on which he bases his interpretation of three stress hypermetric verses are complicated and do not convince. The system is disappointing also in its failure to present any new evidence about the nature of the short three stress verses which are arbitrarily distributed among types A, D and F.

Before presenting this interpretation of the scansion of the two Guthlac poems it is necessary to note a few departures from Bliss's suggested terminology. These are:

(1) anacrusis is indicated by prefixing a small letter to his symbol:

\[ \text{st pam halgan peowon} \quad 922 \quad \text{b2Aia} \]

(2) similarly the number of lead-in syllables preceding the first stress in two stress hypermetric verses is indicated by a small letter:

\[ \text{bad hine purh mihta soyppend} \quad 1158 \quad \text{d2Aia} \]

This amounts only to a simplification of Bliss's aid
(2Aia), but it indicates how very little these hypermetrical verses differ from normal verses with anacrusis, except in distribution.

(iii) three stress hypermetrical verses are represented as having two caesuras and as ending in a normal two stress verse. The syllables before the first caesura are for convenience scanned in the same terminology as light verses:

\[ \text{oferwinnad pa awyrgdan gecestas} \quad 25 \quad \text{aib(b2Aia)} \]
\[ \text{enwige worder gongun} \quad 1161 \quad \text{eia(2Aia)} \]

(iv) heavy verses are distinguished from normal verses, for the B-poet uses a far greater proportion than does the A-poet. Because of the nature of types D and E, it has seemed preferable to find some other way of describing the heavy verses which are usually accommodated within these patterns by lessening the strength on one of the three stresses. As these verses resemble three stress hypermetrical verses in having two caesuras, it is possible to mark the pattern in similar terminology:

\[ \text{olap oristes lufu} \quad 38 \quad \text{ai(3Bi)} \]
\[ \text{lecht lade fus} \quad 1332 \quad \text{eia(3Bi)} \]

But because verses of type D usually end with a trisyllabic thesis and those of type E begin with a trisyllabic thesis, it is difficult to believe that a poet composing for recitation would equate with them short three stress verses composed for the most part of monosyllables and disyllables. It is also gratifying to find that all the three stress D and E verses can be described in terms of B verse with an extra stress prefixed.

The rest of the heavy verses are generally related to Sievers types A2, again with little consideration of
their essentially different structure. These verses fall into two main groups, the first ending always with a dip syllable, the second with a stress. It is simple enough to find alternative symbols for expressing the pattern of verses of the first group - Sievers's A21 can be described as a heavy verse ending with (201) and his A2k as a heavy verse ending with (202):

wiste wine leofne 1339 ai(201)
geosea gear budon 744 ai(202)

Unfortunately the second group which Sievers describes in terms of A2 cannot be explained in the same way as are those which he places in classes A21, A2k, D and E. They may in fact represent a conversion of final secondary stress to a full stress or the wedging of stresses into either thesis of a normal type A verse. However, rather than create more terminology when the only two verses ending in two stresses which occur in the Guthlac poems in any case appear odd, these are here treated as remainders:

byreledae byyd geeng 870

gledmed gode leof 1062

(v) 2E provides a useful label for verses with the sequence \( x | (x) x \), but this measure is most likely a sixth basic type. Alternatively it can be presented as a variety of Bliss's 3E4 without its initial dip syllables, in which case the frequency of secondary stress can be viewed as compensating for the initial loss.

(vi) for the sake of consistency certain rather arbitrary rules are laid down by Bliss for the selection of those verses which contain a finite verb unpreceded by a stressed element and seemingly sharing in the alliteration. Although to follow him here would serve to
increase the great disproportion of ai-verses between the two poems, it seems better to reconsider this question on the evidence within these two poems.

Tables following this chapter present a full scansion of the two poems, a summary of the distribution of different verse types and a separate analysis of the distribution of anacrusis. These present a key to the evidence on which are based the conclusions of this discussion and the following examination of verse patterns is therefore divided into sections following the numerical order of the summary of distribution.

1 - ai/Sievers A3

The A-poet makes far greater use of this verse type than does the B-poet. In Guthlac A one in every six ai-verses will be of this kind, whereas in Guthlac B the proportion will be so low as one in thirty-one. It should also be noted that the average number of initial dip syllables for Guthlac A is 3.7 and for Guthlac B 3.5.

The whole question of accidental alliteration in those verses which contain a finite verb unpreceded by a stressed element and sharing in the alliteration has been reopened by Bliss, who believes that many of these verses may be light. It is difficult to agree with all the conclusions he draws from his examination of such clauses in Beowulf, but the nine categories he establishes provide
an excellent basis for examining this question in relation to the
two Outhlaw poems. The auxiliary and semi-auxiliary verbs will
be dealt with separately.

(1) the verb is preceded by a stressed element:

In both poems the finite verb invariably shares in the allitera-
tion in these circumstances, except for 1163b, 1224b and the two
stress hypermetric verses 5b, 25b, 363b, 1196b, 1294b and 1302b.
The normal verses are in Outhlaw A all a-verses: 2, 5, 15, 16, 24,
38, 70, 73, 76, 79, 82, 88, 90, 121, 129, 160, 229, 234, 249, 260,
329, 330, 362, 395, 396, 397, 398, 413, 476, 492, 493, 499, 502,
508, 603, 611, 647, 681, 761, 767, 778, 784, 795, 798, 800, 802,
804, 806, 808, 814; and in the B poem normal verses are found in
both halves of the line: 585a, 903a, 908a, 927b, 928b, 964a, 1015a,
1060a, 1082a, 1141a, 1206a, 1220a, 1245a, 1265a, 1274a, 1281b,
1288a, 1339a, 1368a. In two of these b-verses, the verb carries
the alliteration even though the verse also contains a noun, e.g.
927, 1281, but such licences are sporadic in most long poems.1

(II) the verb is in opposition to a verb in group (1)
which immediately precedes it:

As in group (1) the finite verb shares in the alliteration, except
for the two stress hypermetric verses 239b and 467b. The normal
verses of the A-poem all occur in the first half of the line: 25,
77, 138, 257, 288, 289, 363, 430, 473, 527, 730, 809, 810; and in

1Campbell 1962, p. 18
the B-poem normal verses are found in both halves of the line: 870a, 906a, 980a, 1140a, 1161a, 1270b.

(iii) the verb is the only particle before the first stressed element

In Guthlac A the verb in this position shares in the alliteration at 43a, 278a, 577a, 763a and 264b. In Guthlac B the verb does not share in the alliteration:

Aras se wuldormage 1293b

but in 1178b and 1325b the verb alliterates.

(iv) the verb is the last particle before the first stressed element:

In both poems the verb generally alliterates: 6b, 42a, 50a, 51a, 130a, 133a, 58a, 65a, 81a, 113a, 139a, 150a, 266a, 276a, 300a, 301a, 404a, 409b, 481b, 497b, 513a, 543a, 557a, 592a, 608a, 631a, 637a, 645a, 733b, 792b, 811a, 812a, 878b, 908b, 910b, 989b, 999b. The only exceptions are:

Swa dod wrrcomegas 129b

(v) the verb is the last particle but one before the first stressed element

In Guthlac A there are four verses of this sort in which the verb seems to join in the alliteration:

Gyrede hine georne 177a
Of these only 177a does not offend against Kuhn's *Satzpartikelgesetze*. In the A-poet's four verses of this sort (102lb, 1108b, 1147b, 1352b) the verb does not join in the alliteration. In the A-poem it does not share in the alliteration in 56a, 440a, 479a, 488a, 673a, nor in the extended 741a.

Three instances of the verb in this position in Guthlac A are all two stress hypermetric verses: 2b, 90b, 191b. In Guthlac B one verse presents a problem:

*Lest ealle well 1171b*

but as *ealle* is used substantively this verse properly belongs to group (iii).

**(vi) the verb is the last particle but two before the first stressed element**

Two verses in Guthlac A have their verb in this position without offending against Kuhn's *Satzpartikelgesetze*:

*Wendun ge 7 woldum 663*

*leddon hine pa of lyfte 427*

but in Guthlac B two verses which seem to have alliteration offend against this law:

---

1Kuhn 1933
Ahof pa his hona 1300a
Hu gewoard pa bus 1011a

and in a third the verb does not share in the alliteration:
fonde pa his mondryhten 1007b

as would be expected in a b-verse. In 1011a it is essential for
the verb to take part in the alliteration.

(vii) the verb forms a whole clause in itself

The verb shares in the alliteration in:
far per 3u freonda wene 291a
Bad se be seeolde 1284b;

291a also falls into group (i).

There are in Guthlac A six light verses where the verb opens
a line without sharing in the alliteration: all can also be re­
garded as belonging to other groups:

(i) oswadan pat he on ham beorge 192a
    oswadan pat him guðlac 206a

(ii) witon pat se opes 67a
    willen pat him dryhten 224a
    gesæah pat ge on eordan 712a

(vi) Woldun pat him to mode 353a

(viii) the verb is the last particle in a clause which

contains no stressed elements

In all the examples of this group the finite verb alliterates:
(ix) the verb in the last particle but one in a clause which contains no stressed elements.

In the only example in the two poems the verse cannot be scanned unless the verb is stressed:

Hweet we hyrom oft 108

Of the exceptions in groups (i) and (ii) where alliteration is general, nine verses are b-halves of hypermetric lines which normally have extended anacrusis; the verb's lack of alliteration shows that it was here regarded as unstressed. Two verses in Guthlac fall into group (i), but their verb does not share in the alliteration:

Him se eadge wer ageaf ondsware 1163
Sa se eadge wer ageaf ondsware 1224

D. Slay¹ points out that this formula occurs frequently in Andreas and Juliana and is found also in Elenen and in The Battle of Maldon. He suggests that the instance in Maldon 'could be rectified by re-punctuation'. In E.V. Gordon's edition the relevant passage runs:

Byrhtnoð mabelode, bord hafenoðe,
wan ðæse wæce, wordum melde,
yrre 7 swæd ageaf him andsware 44

¹Slay 1952, p. 13
Repunctuation would place 44b in group (v) of the categories identified by Bliss and in this way the difficulty is overcome; if the flow of short co-ordinate clauses is not thus interrupted, this verse would seem to indicate that ageaf ondswaef had become a stock second half line formula for late Old English poets.

The verb generally alliterates in group (iv), but there are two exceptions in Guthlac A. The first (4a) should be discounted, for the verb creban is never stressed in its simplex form. In line 129b død is not essential to the syntax and may have crept in, either at any stage of transmission or, because of its unimportance, even in composition. Groups (viii) and (ix) have regular alliteration.

In group (iii) the verb stands in the normal position for a particle and, although it usually shares in the alliteration, need not do so (v. Bliss 15) as in 1293b.

The verses which fall into groups (v) and (vi) bear out Bliss's observation that in these positions it is not necessary for the verb to share in the alliteration, although it is difficult to agree with him that the alliteration in these verses is ornamental and non-functional. Kuhn himself allows as exceptions from his law alliteration in these verse-clauses where the first stress falls on a particle. Slay, in his re-examination of this
problem, suggests that where the first lift is preceded by a dip, a sentence particle may also occur between the two stresses when it '... is a word which is a sentence particle when not stressed'.

It may give greater satisfaction to follow a system of scansion which involves no breaches of Kuhn's law, but in view of Kuhn's own doubts it seems preferable to look again at the verses where alliteration does occur. In all of them the sentence particle is either the very common adverb ba or else a pronoun; where ba occurs, the dip preceding the first lift is an unstressed prefix, but where pronouns occur it may be either an unstressed prefix or some other particle. In the Guthlac poems 255a (with the common adverb nu dipped) and 1300a can be placed in the first of these divisions, 294a, 399a and 1011a in the second.

Of the thirteen instances of group (vii) which Bliss cites for Beowulf, ten are b-verses similar to Olc 1284b and the verb must be stressed. One verse (161a) which he includes only tentatively in this group is better viewed as falling into the first group where similarly constructed verses are found. One b-verse (Nah, hwa swerd wege 2252b) in which the finite verb does not alliterate has for its finite verb a verb very often unstressed in Old English metre. There remains one a-verse:

\[
\text{mynte bæt he gedælde 731a 1}
\]

in which the first finite verb does not alliterate. With it can

\[1\] Bliss does not note that Dwf 3096a is similar.
be compared seven verses in Guthlac A. The hypermetric context of 291a may be responsible for the alliteration of its first particle, but the other six instances are light verses. Editors of Beowulf give heavy punctuation at the end of line 730, but light punctuation seems preferable (and is preferred by Olivero in his translation). With heavy punctuation the verse can be regarded as alternatively falling into group (vi) where alliteration is not general; with light punctuation it falls into group (ii). Whichever way it is viewed, the Guthlac evidence suggests that in the second half of a line the finite verb is normally stressed, but that in the first half it is more likely to be unstressed.

The common auxiliary verbs wesan, aculan, weordan, mahan, willan, habban and metan have for the most part been left out of the above discussion, together with onginnan, litan, cuman and hatan. In Guthlac A the finite verb joins in the alliteration in:

(i) sceoldan gelice 664b
    wille wideferh 603a

(iii) hafde se heorde 747a
    Ongunnan gromheorte 569a

(iv) pet hine ne meahte 358a
    gif by him ne meahte 433a
    hit ne meahte swa 576b
    We þe nu willeð 587a

(v) beod þa gebolgne 607a
    Eom io caðmod 599a
In only four places does the finite verb not alliterate while in the first two groups:

(i) hafað yldran hæd 4b
    hafað haga cræft 87b
    habbað wæsne gepæhte 87b

where, although the word is fully meaningful, the light stress of the auxiliary use may have been transferred. Of these, 4b is an aside and can therefore be better regarded as belonging to class (iii); for 87b Slaney suggests repunctuation to preserve parallelism, producing very awkward syntax; 800b he does not note. One verse shows the auxiliary unstressed when in group (ii):

hafde feonda fæng 436a

It should be noted that the infinitive lætan, dependent upon the same auxiliary as the verb which precedes it, is allowed to fill the initial dip of 199b:

lætan wærce stille 199b.

The E-poet seems to have taken more care to avoid using these verbs in the alliterative patterns. Only magan forms share in the alliteration:

(iv) hette meahte him 983b
    hett me no meahte 1251a

and only once is any of these verbs used in either positions (i) or (ii):

(i) leht his hond cuman 951.
One line in this poem is without alliteration:

\[ bi me lifgendum. Huru io nolde sylf 1?34 \]

although in the tables it is scanned as if some liquid assonance were felt. It should therefore be mentioned as a possible example of a b-verse in group (iv).

2 - a2/Sievers a3b

There are not enough examples of this verse type in either poem to make any judgment as to their distribution. However, as should be expected, the A-poet uses it more than does the B-poet and the average number of dip syllables is considerably higher in Guthlac A than in Guthlac B.

3 - d1/Sievers C 1 and C 2 where both stresses are in one word, the second being supplied by tertiary stress

The A-poet makes far more use of this pattern than does the B-poet. Rough equivalences show that in Guthlac A one in eleven a-verses and one in fourteen b-verses will be of this type, whereas in Guthlac B the proportions are one in fifteen a-verses and one in thirty-three b-verses. The great difference in the distribution of b-verses is probably consequent upon the A-poet’s far greater use of light ai/A3 verses.
Among the di verses four in particular are noteworthy:

- asanian 1175a
- asundriem 1177a
- bideaglian 1252a
- sceannedne 1361a

They occur only in Cuthlac B and are unparallelled in Beowulf.

4 - d2/Sievers C1 and C2 where both stresses are in one word, the second being supplied by secondary stress.

Proportionately more a-verses of this type are used by the B-poet than the A-poet, but in the second half line there is no appreciable difference in their distribution.

5 - d3/Sievers C3 where both stresses are in one word, the second being supplied by a short open syllable with secondary stress.

Again the B-poet uses more a-verses of this type than does the A-poet. On the other hand, the type is more frequent in the second part of the line in Cuthlac A than in Cuthlac B.

6 and 7 - d4 and d5/Sievers B when both stresses in one word.

The B-poet makes considerably greater use of these patterns in
the first half of the line than does the B-poet, whereas he uses it rather less often to fill his b-verses than does the A-poet.

8  -  ei/Sievers B3, and A3 with exceptional stressed open short syllable

Only four verses which can be labelled thus occur, all in Guthlac A:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>301a</td>
<td>301a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>549a</td>
<td>549a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>574a</td>
<td>574a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700a</td>
<td>700a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At 549a an emendation deade, although not dictated by syntax, presents no difficulty. 301a and 574a seem to indicate that the A-poet is familiar at least with the poetic use of uncontracted forms in contracted verbs. 700a can be described as an example of ai/A3 where a short open syllable is exceptionally stressed. If these explanations are accepted, these four verses will further increase the great disproportion in use of ai verses between the two poets, but 700a suggests that 549a can be allowed to stand unchanged.

9  -  1A1/Sievers A filled by one word
10 -  1D1/Sievers D filled by one word
11 -  2A1/Sievers A filled by one word

As the four one word examples of dia quoted above suggest, the
tables here show that the B-poet is fonder of filling his measures with one word than is the A-poet. This is particularly marked in the a-verses where the ratio between Guthlac A and Guthlac B is 1:5, but in the b-verses the difference is not so marked.

12 - 1A1a/Sievers A1

A greater proportion of these verses is used in the A-poem than in the B-poem (roughly 3:1) in the a-verses with double alliteration. There are insufficient a-verses with single alliteration for any inferences to be drawn. In the b-verse the distribution of this verse type does not differ much between the two poems.

13 - 1A2/Sievers A2b

In both poems these are all a-verses with double alliteration; the B-poem has proportionately more but the total number involved is very small.

14 - 1A2A/Sievers A1

Significant variation between Guthlac A and Guthlac B in the distribution of this pattern is to be found only in a-verses with
single alliteration, of which there are far more in the B-poem than in the A-poem.

15 - 1A*2/Sievers A2b

The distribution is much as in §13; it should be noted that two of these verses occur in the second part of the line in Guthlac B:

- tydred his banfet 1265
- Beofode but salond 1325.

16 - 1A*3/Sievers A*1

These are all a-verses with double alliteration; Guthlac B has proportionately far more than Guthlac A.

17 - 1A*4/Sievers A*

Guthlac A has one a-verse of this type:

- omsyn 7 stvist 500

18 - 1D1/Sievers Di
19 - 1D2/Sievers Di

The variety with tertiary stress occurs with single alliterna—
tion in the a-verse in both poems. The B-poet uses these verses twice as frequently as does the A-poet. One verse in Guthlac A lacks double alliteration in the first part of the line, and it seems likely that the second element of the compound onsyn was no longer fully meaningful:

  godes onsyna 815a

If this is so there are no examples of 1A*4 (§.17) in either poem.

20   -   1D3/Sievers D2 and D3

The figures here are small, but again it may be inferred that the B-poet uses this verse type more frequently than the A-poet.

21   -   1D4/Sievers D4
22   -   1D5/Sievers D4

The first of these varieties is found only in four a-verses and one b-verse of Guthlac B (1046, 1200, 1220 and 1350). The second occurs in both poems, twice in Guthlac A and four times in Guthlac B.

23   -   1D*1/Sievers D*1
24   -   1D*2/Sievers D*1

Each poem has an example of single alliteration in the variety
with tertiary stress. All the instances of these types occur in
the first half of the line except for *sans crumen* 627b. The
B-poet uses them more often than the A-poet (roughly 3:2).

25 - 1D#3/Sievers D#2

Again the proportion used by the B-poet is slightly higher
than for the A-poet. All the instances are a-verses with double
alliteration.

26 - 1D#5/Sievers D#4

The total number of verses here is very small and all are a-
verses with double alliteration: in Guthlac A two verses, in
Guthlac B five verses.

27 - 2Aia/Sievers A

There is no significant difference between the two poems in
the frequency of these verses in the first half of the line, al-
though the B-poet uses considerably less double alliteration than
does the A-poet (this tendency also to be seen in §14). In the
second half-line there are in Guthlac A proportionately twice as
many verses of this kind as in Guthlac B.
The very small number of these verses shows the same tendencies as are observed in §.13 and §.15.

Here three significant differences in distribution can be noted. These verses are roughly twice as frequent in the B-poet's first verse, ten times as frequent in his b-verse and occur twice without double alliteration in his a-verse (1078, 1378).

There is no significant difference between the two poems in the distribution of these verses. One verse in Guthlac B is regarded as having elision:

noht lenge ofer pis 1171a

These verses occur more often in Guthlac A than in Guthlac B; in the a-verse there are proportionately over twice as many and in the b-verse a rough ratio is 3 : 2. It is worth noting that in
Guthlac A two thirds of the a-verses have double alliteration, whereas in Guthlac B only one third of the a-verses has double alliteration.

There is no significant difference between the two poems in the distribution of these verses.

The first of these 'catalectic' types occurs in Guthlac A:

leofce gelonc 313a
egna ne styre3 420b
blade geberan 497a
wyrpe gebiden 509b

However, of these the last three could be regarded as exceptional forms of 1A* verses, and there is only one example of 2E2 in this poem:

mearelond geset 174a

In Guthlac B two a-verses and six b-verses occur, all with secondary stress:

lichord onleac 1029a
foldwong onmprong 1326a
Two verses in Guthlac A represent this variety. One has long been singled out for comment:

\[ \text{genom him to wildeorum wynne} \quad 741a \]

and is the only hypermetric verse in Old English poetry to end with this particular sequence. For this reason Cosijn\(^1\) suggests reading *wilddum*. However, this hypermetric verse reading is supported by:

\[ \text{gastlione goddreme} \quad 630a \]

a verse which parallels *The Battle of Maldon*

\[ \text{greodigne gudafoe} \quad 64a. \]

A few more verses at first sight display a similar opening, but all can be resolved more normal varieties of A:

\[ \begin{align*}
2Aia & \quad \text{eagena wynne} \quad 166b \\
& \quad \text{poncede beodne} \quad 778b \\
& \quad \text{woordiau waldend} \quad 800a
\end{align*} \]

\(^1\)Cosijn 1898, p. 119
la*ia  easigra gehwone  555b
pewniald in peawum  502a
earniald on eorpan  705a
la*ib  wilniad bi gewyrhum  70

37 - 3B/Severs B1 and B2

In the first half of the line the B-poet uses these verses twice as frequently as the A-poet, with a markedly lower amount of double alliteration. There is no significant difference in the distribution of b-verses of this variety.

38 - 3B*/Sievers E with anaerusis

There is no significant variation in the distribution of these verses between the two poems. Three verses from Guthlac A require comment:

ber se cempa oferwon  180b
pa hi swidra oferstæg  230b
hwylce wæs mara bonne se  400b.

With elision the first two can be regarded as falling into group 2B2. 400b, if the less usual þon were used for the adverb, would fall into group 3B1b; for further discussion of this verse, see the commentary; in the tables the symbol 3B1b is used.
In Guthlac B these verses occur over twice as often in the second half of the line as in Guthlac A, and for the first half-line rough proportions are 3 : 2. It is worth noting that the A-poet uses double alliteration in a-verses to a very much greater extent than does the B-poet.

The sub-type of 3E with a short second syllable does not occur, unless

Swa se nartæəde was 1317a

can be taken as an example of this with two syllable anacrusis. The inclusion of was in the b-verse would make it equally unsatisfactory. It seems better to regard this verse as anomalous, noting that the finite verb may have become displaced from among the opening particles.

The classification of these verses as three stress verses ending in either a C or B pattern eliminates the ambiguities present in deciding whether a verse is either a D4 or E pattern or other such alternations in interpretation, but it cannot account for the heavy varieties corresponding to Sievers's A2b and A2ab. Thus rather than depart here from traditional methods of scansion, all
the heavy verses are indicated in terms of normal verses which may have secondary stress, and in the tables they can be spotted quickly as their descriptions are enclosed in brackets. Fliss points out that for Beowulf:

"... there is no real need to distinguish heavy verses from normal verses, since their distribution does not differ substantially from that of normal verses."

However, within the two Guthlac poems there seem to be decided differences in the use of sporadic heavy verses. Most striking is the ratio Guthlac A to Guthlac B, 1 : 5. Of the ten Guthlac A verses, the six a-verses all fall into D patterns except for

fela in briced 285b

which is regarded as 2A3b. The B verses all open stress dip except perhaps

fager fugla reord 743a

where fager can be interpreted either as one or two syllables. In Guthlac B there are two a-verses corresponding to Sievers's A2b and A2Ab:

byrelade bryd gong 870a (with syncope)

and gladmod gode leof 1062a

Two heavy b-verses have an extra dip syllable:

woruld miste ofertah 1280b (and elision)

prong miht ofer tiht 1281b

and one a-verse:

godes willan pes georn 876a

Three a-verses (1080a, 1206a and 1365a) have anacrusis.
42 - hypermetric verses

These verses can be divided into two groups, the first of normal verses introduced by a long anacrusis, the second of normal verses introduced by an extra stress or stress plus some unstress ed syllable(s). The second group may of course have initial anacrusis. In Guthlac A verses from either group may appear in the first half-line, where the B-poet uses only three stress hypermetric verses. In the b-verse both poets use the two stress variety. The A-poet uses hypermetric verse well over twice as often as does the B-poet.

43 - remainders

Guthlac A

widor sceo 300b scanned as 2Aia with short unresolved second stress. This pattern well attested as a sporadic feature of Old English verse.¹

Mf ohbe sid 369a regarded as 1E1. For discussion on whether or not this verse is complete see note for this line in commentary.

Do8 afne swa 592a scanned 1E1. This highly problematical verse type represented also by 1178b.


¹Schabram 1960, pp. 220-41
The MS _hes mundboran_ is classified as dia but should perhaps be counted a remainder. The amended verse would be 1D*3 with anacrusis.

Be *cow in mod astag* 661b. Also unclassified, with R in tables. If this is a heavy verse, it shows anacrusis unparalleled in a b-verse of this type, as well as most unusual placing of stress upon an attributive dative pronoun in normal syntactical position. This verse might be better regarded as having defective alliteration.

Four verses:

- in orwennyss 575b
- his oubiehthera 599b
- sippun bartholomeus 723a
- to hierusales 813b

Can be regarded as light one-word verses with anacrusis. Thus 575b can be described as 2Aia and 599b as 2Aia. 723a and 813b are unclassified, as the secondary or tertiary stressing within these words is uncertain.

Guthlac B

The line

_ bi me lifgendum. Huru, is nolde aylf_ 1234
is apparently without alliteration, but is scanned as if assonance between the initial consonant in *lifgendum* and the medial consonant group in *nolde* were felt.

Swa se burgetedede wæs 1317a : unclassified.

**Four verses**

ponne seofon niht 1035b
pet wit uno eft 1186a
ær þu me, frea min 1222a
Hwæt, þu me, wine min 1227a

all seem to present the pattern (x x) x x / /, which for the a-verses could be termed (a4). As light A type verses do not occur in the second half-line, 1035b can only be regarded as an example of 3Bib with a short open syllable occupying the first stressed position.

44 — anacrusis

In *Outhlæc A* anacrusis occurs in:

1Aia - 258a, 473b, 508a, 774a, 804a; 1Aib - 147a, 255a, 278a, 294a, 499a; 1Aiæ - 389a; 1D1 - 232a, 324a; 1D2 - 375a; 1Dæ2 - 229a, 335a; 2Aia - 71b, 305b; a1D1 - 575b; a2Ai - 599b; and in two unclassified verses 723a and 813b (disyllable).

In *Outhlæc B* anacrusis occurs in:

1Aib - 1300, 1308, 1313; 1A*ia - 1015, 1333; 1A*ib - 990,
The B-poet uses more anacruses than does the A-poet, but the difference is not so great that much emphasis can be laid on it.

Two things are worth noting:

(i) All the a-verses with anacrusis have double alliteration in Guthlac A, but in Guthlac B there are two without double alliteration:

   st pen halgan peowun 922a
   forse meotudes onewun 1041a.

(ii) There are no b-verses with anacrusis in Guthlac B, whereas in Guthlac A there are certainly three and probably five.

45 - contraction and syncopation

(i) In a few places uncontracted forms are required, instead of contractions (§88 should also be consulted):

   dib ber se hyhtna 16b
   ber he fagran 382b
   fore mftum 712b
   dic sume in urra 876b
Three of these contractions are in forms of the adjective *heah*, and could either be late analogical formations or due to the knowledge of how this word was used in earlier poetry. 382b and 712b are contractions of words otherwise copied by the scribe as disyllables where a disyllable form is necessary. Line 504b *affihd* suggests disyllable pronunciation is necessary in this contracted third person singular; again this need not be an indication of earliness, for the poet rarely uses a syncopated form for the 3rd person singular of verbs. The common poetic compound *saldfeonda* is the only other word in this poem to suggest a preservation of morphological suture, and for this reason emendations have often been suggested for this verse (see commentary). It is worth noting, however, that the two other verses of this type in *Guthlac A* are:

- *foldbuendra* 64a
- *lyftlacende* 146a,

a pattern found elsewhere in Old English poetry, and that the analogical reformation *seogendra* occurs at *PPa* cv. 10.

In *Guthlac B* the *g* alliteration in 876 is ornamental and the line should be stressed:

- *sume <dr, sume <sdr, sume in <rra*
with the alliteration on the vowels. The possessive adjective
should be expanded to the general poetic ussara (compare line 735).

(ii) The syllabic consonants or svarabhakti vowels present an insoluble problem for all who try to scan English poetry. In the
scansion of these poems the following principles are observed:

(a) A short syllable followed by a syllabic consonant
is resolved.
excep bonne seofon niht 1035b

(b) A long syllable and following syllabic consonant
are normally scanned as two syllables, except in
those verses where there is confusion between 2C2
and 3B1 varieties.
except when a compound word of more than three
syllables may be reduced to suit a normal verse
pattern

  e.g.  æpelrigthe for 216a = 3E2

One verse in Guthlac A could be scanned with mono-
syllabic tudtor as 3E2 but should rather be taken
as another example of 3A2
treofugla tuddor 735a

(iii) Medial vowels in open syllables are throughout the poem
synecapped after short root syllables.

(iv) There can be no certainty as to whether or not a medial
vowel is synecapped after a long syllable in Guthlac A, but save
where its retention is necessary metrically (as for the inflected
forms of *orfoð* in lines 267, 457, 556 and 1065) it is syncopated. When the medial vowel is in a closed syllable, there is metrically no syncopation and this explains the apparently anomalous *pær be fragran* 382, *fære segaða* 707 and *in uasera* 753. (See Camp-bell 457 (2)).

(v) The formative element -ι- in weak verbs of class II is treated as a syllable following long or disyllabic stems and is resolved after a short stem; the medial vowel of the preterite is similarly treated. In five Guthlac A verses there is syncopation following a long stem - 70a, 502a, 778b, 795a and 800a (see §.36). In Guthlac B the heavy verse

*byrelade bryð geong* 870a

may require similar syncopation.

46 - alliteration

(i) For possible examples of ei/Sievers B3 in Guthlac A see §.8.

(ii) In a few places *h* seems to alliterate with vowels:

*elne umslawes. Æa se hælmæhtiga* 950

*on hæfentig, opinne mid peo* 1215.

This intrusion of *h* before an initial vowel which is doubtless merely scribal (compare note for 271), is paralleled in:
(iii) At line 813 the A-text uses $\partial$ to represent the semi-vowel i:

\textit{gongad gegmunga} to hierusalem 813

This is, however, a common Vulgate spelling.

(iv) One line seems to lack alliteration:

\textit{bi me lifgandum. Huru ic nolde sylf} 1234

In another the heavy b-verse has unusual anacrusis and may be defective:

\textit{for ham oferhygdum be cow in mod astag} 661

For a discussion of these lines see §6 and relevant notes in the commentary.

(v) Double alliteration in the b-verse is regarded as non-functional in

\textit{gemette puus medne. Neaht pu medelowidum} 1015

and as accidental in

\textit{peagne on peode, butan pe mu da} 1231.

(vi) Verbal prefixes do not join in the alliteration, except in such verbs as anforlston, nealsean and ondswarian. Before nouns and adjectives prefixes are usually stressed. With un- two exceptions occur in Guthlac E, in the participial adjective ungeblyred 941a and in the adjective unlep 1034a.
The lists prepared by R. TroiK make no distinction between lines with the pattern ab/ab and those with ab/ba. Of the 25 lines listed for Guthlae A 5 (421, 426, 573, 648 and 729) have the ab/ba pattern, a number which could be greatly magnified by including the many lines in this poem where unstressed particles could be regarded as echoing the initial letter of the second stressed element in the b-verse. From the 19 examples of ab/ab patterns listed, one should be subtracted as: *Eom in eadmod his ombiethera 599* with his in the second half-line, rather than in the first, eliminates the crossed alliteration. The remaining 18 lines can be divided into:

(i) lines where both verses consist of two full stresses - 29, 126, 326, 408, 422, 520, 524, 598, 746, 780 (and with these the hypermetric lines 3, 5 and 239 should be compared)

(ii) lines where one verse is light - 33, 188, 198, 385, 389, 449, 453 and 781 (to which should be added 257 and 817).

Of the 18 lines cited for Guthlae B one requires a special note:

*sume sr, sume rid, sume in uzza 876*

It would be an example of ab/ab alliteration if the consonant were felt to dominate in scansion, but is the only instance of ab/ba.

\(^1\)v. Lehmann and Bailey 1960
alliteration cited by Trolke for this poem if, as the sense clearly suggests, the vowel dominates and therefore carries the alliteration. This ab/ab crossing is very much rarer in Guthlac B (examples occur at 934, 995).

The remaining 17 lines can again be divided into:

(i) lines where both verses have two full stresses - 819, 842, 879, 896, 936, 992, 1061, 1093, 1136, 1264, 1267 (with which should be compared the hypermetric line 1164).

(ii) lines where one verse is light - 827, 907, 987, 1090, 1151, 1305, to which can be added 903, 956, 1014, 1029, 1193, 1239, 1315 and 1327.

Another form of crossed alliteration, when the second stress of a b-verse foreshadows the alliteration of the following line, is found in both poems. In most cases the second stress of a b-verse is echoed: 33, 60, 105, 236, 247, 275, 450, 451, 454, 477, 508, 515, 614, 624, 626, 628, 664, 676, 697, 704, 716, 720, 722, 738, 784, 809, 816, 821, 827, 832, 856, 861, 862, 881, 891, 899, 905, 973, 990, 991, 1024, 1034, 1039, 1073, 1125, 1224, 1226, 1228, 144, 1338, 1344 and in the hypermetric verse 1109. In a few cases the secondary or tertiary stress of a b-verse is echoed: 129, 233, 652, 1033, 1087, 1292. Though this variety of crossed alliteration is less often noted than the ab/ab and ab/ba types, it occurs very much more frequently.
48 - successive alliteration

Successive alliteration is much rarer in Guthlac A than in Guthlac B. It occurs in Guthlac A 232/3, 616/7, 782/3 and 811/2 and Guthlac B 845/6, 849/50, 852/3, 941/2, 960/1, 965/6, 1052/3, 1064/5, 1078/9, 1095/6, 1118/9, 1170/1, 1207/8, 1220/31, 1277/8, 1296/7, 1307/8, 1319/20, 1364/5 (rough proportions 1 : 9).

49 - rhyme

Lefèvre's work¹ is still the best description of rhyme in these two poems, but is unfortunately marred by his division of the Guthlac material into four parts - 1-29 he puts at the end of Christ and the remaining material is broken into three separate poems (I = 30-529, II = 530-818 and III = 819-1379) and by his conclusion that all three were by Cynwulf, the third being of a later period than the other two.

In Guthlac A rhyme is found within verses in such formulaic phrases as:

- ealre cynings cyning 17a
- swa is lar 7 ar 620b

but in

- 7 per ar fela 143b

¹Lefèvre 1883, pp. 181-240
is doubtless accidental, as bar does not carry any metrical stress.

The half verses 106\(b\) and 107\(a\) and respectively in mod and god, but
otherwise only inflexional tail-rhyme is found in this poem. The
verses of line 92 end in alleged and adveoged, but Thorpe's suggest-
ed emendation of the first of these to alleged is not generally
accepted (see commentary). They may however rhyme on Æ instead
of Thorpe's Æ.

Rhyme within the verse is found in Outhlac B:

wide 7 side 882\(b\)
eard weardade 897\(b\)
sela Pryme Prym 1103\(a\)
leof mon leofum 1164\(a\)
spele ymb spelne 1287\(a\)
breahten after breahten. Beofode þat salond,
faldwong ompruend, 1326\(a\)
afre sundplegem, sondlend gespearn,
grond wic greote. 1339\(a\)

In line 876

sume er, sume eð, sume in urra

the rhyme-words are all within dip portions of the line. Lines
1235 and 1236 are linked together, both ending in mines. The a-
verses of 1079 and 1080 rhyme together in gefeæn and frem, and
in one place three verses are linked by end-rhyme:

ne lifes lyre  ne lices hryre,
ne dreams dreyre 830\(a\)

(Compare Phx 15 and And 857.)
Sporadic inflexional rhyme is found throughout Old English poetry, but it is worth examining how certain groups of verses are bound together by it. Both poets make verses composed of dative followed by passive participle:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lege biscaete,} \\
\text{awarte besvicene, sveagle hemmenene,} \\
\text{dreamm bidrocene, deade bifolene,} \\
\text{firenum bifongne} \\
627
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hives binotene,} \\
\text{dreamm bidrocene.} \\
901
\end{align*}
\]

The A-poet uses one pattern not found in Guthlac B, joining two finite verbs by the simple connective and in the a-verse and more often than not following this up with a series of clauses containing co-ordinate verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lufade hine} & \text{ 7 lasse} & \text{7 his lof} & \text{rerael} & \text{ofcrwinnaed pa.swyrigd an gaesta,} \\
& & & & \text{bigytap him wuldraes nwaete 25} \\
\text{wyscaed} & \text{7 wanaed, wuldraes byrgad,} \\
\text{seliaed almessen, earnse frefrad,} \\
\text{beod rummode ryhtra gestreona... 78} \\
\text{secaed} & \text{7 gesittad 82a} \\
\text{lufade hine} & \text{7 leorde 138a} \\
\text{rechte} & \text{7 merde 160a} \\
\text{wunad} & \text{7 wunade so me wape healded. 249} \\
\text{tredad} & \text{poe 7 tergaed 7 hyra torn wread,} \\
\text{tobredad} & \text{poe blodgum lastum;} & \text{289} \\
\text{worx} & \text{7 wunade 7 hine weoroda god} \\
& \text{freodade on foldum;} & \text{396} \\
\text{Wendun ge 7 woldum 663a} \\
\text{ayled 7 seaded, sawlum rymed 767}
\end{align*}
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| 43     | 1E1              | .         | 2         |
|        | B                | .         | 2         |

| 443    | 375              | 618       | 307       |
|        | 254              | 561       |

**Crossed alliteration**

This table summarises the contents of §47.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cuthlac A</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ab/ab (i) full</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) light</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>introductory (i)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23 + 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>successive pairs</td>
<td>4</td>
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A Introductory remarks on some general tendencies of the Exeter Book present in the verse texts.

The dialect of both Guthlac A and Guthlac B is predominantly late West Saxon, but a few Anglianisms and early West Saxon features are found in them. The whole Exeter Book is marked by a strong tendency to linguistic conformity. Dr. Sisam (1953, pp. 100-3) notes some distinctive characteristics found in all parts of this manuscript and those which appear in these poems are summarised here:

i The appearance of the past tense forms *gwom, *gwomon, etc. throughout the manuscript is noted by Sisam. He states that forms with -£- are found without exception, but cannot have noticed *glo 1141 com.

ii For *a*/o before a nasal consonant in stressed syllables *a* is general, e.g. bond 696, bona 87, bonan 429, bonana 523, brondhat 964. In the Guthlac poems the exceptions are banooba 1025, campground 643, gemanode 1208, lands 831, manna 1173, ongan 101, 1001, 1010 and wana 1354. By the later part of the tenth century *a* was usual in this position in the dialects of southern England, except in the South-West
Midlands. The forms may therefore reflect the variation found in early West Saxon or Kentish, but they are more probably a sign of Anglian colouring in the manuscript. See Campbell 130 and fn.2.

iii a The pronoun form *hie* which occurs sporadically throughout the manuscript does not appear in these texts. The form *by* is general, *by* occurring six times.

iii b The *ie* digraph considered distinctive of early West Saxon is found frequently in these poems as throughout the manuscript. The digraph is found most often in the group *gie*-, e.g. *agiefan* 660, *foehhiefa* 1239, *forgiefan* 327, *forgiefan* 1133. Forms containing *ie* not the result of initial palatalisation are represented in these poems by:

*eheliehte* 216 and *seox* 51 which show West Saxon or Kentish palatal umlaut of *ee* (see Campbell 304 ff.);

*ombiehtere* 599 which reflects the West Saxon *i*-umlaut of *ee* (see Campbell 200 (3));

and *breamedlum* 696, *sebreamedlum* (compare *Jin* 126 *breamedlig* and see Sisam 1953, p. 102), reflecting early West Saxon *i*-umlaut and discussed at more length in section F below.

Many other features found throughout the manuscript could be added to those discussed by Dr. Sisam, for example the many late West Saxon traits and a large number of the non-West Saxon features
which appear in these texts, but here will be mentioned only two scribal features because they seem peculiar to this of the four major verse codices: the apparent confusion of o and u (see further note for line 18) and the use of se for enclitic swa (see D and note for line 409).

In the following sections attention will be directed to features of particular importance under the main headings Vowels of Accented Syllables, Vowels of Unaccented Syllables, Consonants and Vocabulary. A further section summarises in alphabetical order unusual forms not covered in the preceding sections. These sections are labelled B, C, D, E and F; in section G some syntactic notes are made and a few remarks of a summary nature will be found under the letter H. Cross references made within this chapter will not usually have the prefix II.4, but will begin with the appropriate sectional letter.

B : Vowels of Accented Syllables.

I early West Saxon features

(a) The early West Saxon digraph ie is described in A, iii.b.

(b) The spelling ã for ie after palatal consonants may be an early West Saxon feature (see Campbell 300), e.g. ãræ 264,
393, heroire 900, nydgieta 1150, and similarly й for йо, e.g. gifran 375, gife 738, gifram 407, 996 and gitunca 150. The й in gife 771, the only occurrence of й among the forms of both the noun gife and the verb giefan in these texts, most likely also represents йо, but it should be noted that the verb may have had an alternative root *gif-* which may appear also in the noun (see Campbell 300 fn.1). The comparative form gijinga 1042 could appear already in early West Saxon texts which have й as the usual vowel of the comparative and superlative forms of geong (Campbell 178).

(c) The other main phonological types in which й is found already in early West Saxon are less well represented in the poems. The West Saxon й—umlaut of йо is reflected in lig 193, lige 1072, and of the diphthong ію in hiw 710, 909, hiwe 900, niwe 742, 823, niwra 833, geniwa 953, ginihwa 891, 968.

(d) The forms mehta (occurring 10 times) and mehten 187 are either early West Saxon or ventish in character.

(e) The digraph йо appears four times in all, in biorg 175 (described by Sisam 1953, p. 105 fn.1 as 'the only clear example of йо for го after Chr й'), in biro 2, 3 and in spowdon 912. This digraph is found mostly in the pronouns био and gио in the Exeter Book, otherwise appearing sparsely and unevenly. The forms are
unsatisfactory as evidence for dialect origin. Their absence is a peculiarity of late West Saxon, but they are found in Kentish and in 'Saxon patois' so need not be restricted to non-West Saxon (see Balbring 253, 298 n.2 and Campbell 296). The appearance of io for etymological co in biorg 173 is not restricted to Kent, but occurs to a greater or lesser degree in early West Saxon and also in Mercian. The poetical preterite sspilowdon 912 is non-West Saxon (see Campbell 120 (2) and fn.6). The forms bio 2 and 3 are found frequently in early West Saxon (see Campbell 704).

(f) The loss of g after a front vowel with compensatory lengthening, a common feature of late West Saxon, is already not infrequent in early West Saxon (see Campbell 243 and fn.2, 267). Examples are anhydig 897, 978, gebredan 1165, depphydig 1001, feresstan 836, gromhydge 375, ongeen 231, 302, unhydig 1326 and by analogy gefyruna 1360 and odbreden 854.

2 Late West Saxon Features

Late West Saxon features are dominant in these texts as throughout the miscellany. Other evidence precludes the poems from having been written at so late a date and these traits are unlikely therefore to have appeared in the dialect in which these poems were originally written. No attempt is made to list all the late West Saxon features of the texts, but a few of the more important of them are listed.
(a) In adjectives where a is the root vowel a is restored not only before back vowels in the inflexional syllables, but generally before -g: late 1164, 1225, brace 422, 667. This is a West Saxon development (see Campbell 643 (1)).

(b) In the sel- group the late West Saxon change to syn- is general, except in selfe 751 where y is placed below the first e in the manuscript. This change is found only sporadically outside the West Saxon dialect of Old English (see Campbell 325, 326).

(c) The ny- resulting in all dialects from the contraction of the negative adverb na with a following accented y- is not represented in these poems. The only negated form of willam in which this spelling might appear is nelle 1259 which shows the vowel developed in low sentence stress. Such forms appear frequently in late West Saxon texts, but are already a feature of early West Saxon and appear also in Kentish (see Campbell 265).

(d) Late West Saxon unrounding of y is found in indriec 285 and ligescarum 228 and of ï in wigsc 223 (in these examples ï < mutated i).

(e) Late West Saxon rounding of ą in the neighbourhood of labials and before y is well represented in these texts, e.g. bryten 883, brytene 175, bysec 175, dryne 868, 990, fyrme 1071, fyrest 110, 326. The rounding seems to occur sporadically in other
positions, e.g. *gyanwised 867, hyne 127, 552, synd 91, but in such forms the \( y \) may only be a late spelling variant used to escape the similarity or confusion likely among a succession of minims strokes; in this case the graph may reflect continental influences apparent in Old English manuscripts from the late tenth century. Rounding of \( i \) in conditions similar to those described for the rounding of \( ï \) is also found, e.g. *fyra 988. In *nygista 540, where the rounding is less to be expected, it is interesting that an original \( i \) has been changed to \( y \) in the manuscript. In both this word and in *brynnesse 646 (see Campbell 282 for lengthened vowels in composition forms of numerals) where the vowel of the accented syllable may alternatively be interpreted as the reflection of the early West Saxon contraction of \( ã + ï \) (see Campbell 237 (3)), the \( y \) graph may again be due to continental scribal influences.

(f) The retraction of primitive Germanic \( ã \) before \( ù \) is a characteristic of West Saxon and is represented in *geasa 486. Its breaking is shown in *neak- forms (11 times) and its mutation in *nyhstan 1018, 445, 1168 (Campbell 151).

(g) The West Saxon restoration of \( ã ( < ã ) \) before all single consonants followed by a back vowel except dentals is found in dalum 54 and *gentalum 510 (see Campbell 162); a glide is developed before it in *geasa 40 and *geasa 630 (see Campbell 172).

(h) The dative form *gehwan 321, 1242 is a peculiarity of
West Saxon (see Campbell 716).

(i) The preterite gerhhte 171 shows the levelling of Æ from the present system found already in early West Saxon texts. In Anglian dialects the etymologically correct Æ is retained (see Campbell 753 (9) b.2).

(j) Late West Saxon smoothing of ee (broken from e) appears in gerhhte 96.

(k) West Saxon or Kentish palatal umlaut of ee is reflected in sihte 1150 and strehte 997, 1152, ryht- (6 times) and womul-ryht 57. The early West Saxon ie appears in sbelrisme 216 and siex 51 (see A.iii.b and Campbell 304).

3 non-West Saxon features

(a) Before l + consonant the Anglian failure of the breaking of e and its retraction to a appears in galdrum 1207, onwald 482, 1102, waldend 594, 666, 763, 800, waldendes 845 and halsig 1203. In both places where onwald occurs the scribe first wrote onweald, afterwards subpuncting the e. This could be taken as an indication that a before l + consonant is a scribal feature, but it is likely that the e was subpuncted because retraction is normal in Old English in unaccented syllables (as in nales 117 and the 6 examples of nales where the retraction arises because these words often stand in low sentence stress). See Campbell 338.
(b) The i-uulaut of the a restored in Anglian dialects before the velar group l + consonant is found in aldum 109, allda 755, 821, 835, 926, 975, aldum 1142 and sorgvalmus 1262 (see Campbell 193 (a)). Before r + consonant a is sometimes found in Northumbrian for a when i stood originally in the next syllable. The only example in these texts, weru 1028, is in a noun which penetrates West Saxon texts in this form (see Campbell 193 (a) fn.4).

(c) The non-West Saxon i-uulaut of ea (broken from a before r) is represented in ercafru 447, tergaed 288, werca 541. The ea developed by breaking of a before r shows non-West Saxon uumlaut in behlehban 1357, onbehtbygga 1146, -a 1294, onbehtbygga 1000 and -e 67. See Campbell 200 (3). Such forms are not however restricted to non-West Saxon texts, for they are found in Aelfric writings.

The uumlaut may also appear in sinnehte 678, but the e of this word may reflect the levelling of such a mutation rather than the mutation itself (see Campbell 628 (3)).

(d) The hooked e occurs twice for a short vowel in accented syllables, in elda 824 and reste 363, and may represent the scribe's emendation of the forms of his exemplar. If so, elda 824 may point to the presence of a Kentish colouring in the exemplar (see Campbell 200 (3) for e, the Kentish i-uulaut of ea before l + consonant). The form reste 363 is without dialect significance (see Campbell 194). (The change from e to e in metry is discussed in C).
(e) Forms with Æ for West Saxon ǣ are bedeæwæg 985, blæde 847 (but possibly ā-umlaut of ā), dearægæsta 393 (see note in commentary), deæwægæs 991, æfæsæna 1242, foræsegæn 630, gefegæn 213, 718, leææ 364, leæton 520, 948, negæn 1063, ofæsægæn 266, spresæ 254, per 421 and in the first element of wærgægan 594, 713. In foræsegæn 377 the Æ may be a back-spelling for ā. The hooked æ in wægan 370 may represent a conscious scribal emendation from ā to Æ.

(f) Irregular front mutation is found in wægasæ 1219, wægasæ 861, wægewægasæ 129, 231, 264, 558 (see Campbell 193 (c)). Such mutation, although frequent in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth gospels, is not uncommon in West Saxon texts.

(g) Second fronting occurs in mebeloweæ 1219, mebeloweæ 1007, mebelowidææ 1015 and may be either a Mercian or Kentish feature (see Campbell 164, 288). The vowel of þæg 1176, even if regarded as the genitive singular of the definite article (and for an alternative explanation see note for this line in the commentary), cannot be regarded as an example of raising for the word stands normally in low sentence stress (see Campbell 166).

(h) The Anglian smoothing of ea appears in gæmæhte 142 and wærnææse 671 (see Campbell 222, 223). Smoothing is absent from teæægær 1340.

(i) The forms scobæhæan 226 and scødæþænæra 404 reflect mutation
of an $g$ which has not undergone initial palatalisation and may therefore be regarded as either Kentish or Mercian. They are however without much dialect significance as these forms invade West Saxon prose (see Campbell 188 and fn.3).

(j) The Anglian smoothing of $eo$ (broken from $g$) appears in gehba 1208 (see Campbell 227). The vowel of widefern 603, 671 cannot be regarded as much smoothing, for -fern shows half stress in the second element of a compound. Smoothing appears also in began 169 and biged 441.

(k) The imperative singular $fyr$ 1178 may reflect the Anglian second fronting of $g$ and Kentish back spelling of $g$. Contrast the West Saxon $fær$ 291 and see further note in commentary.

(l) A back mutation of $g$ possible only in dialects with second fronting appears in saferum 855 and heafelan 1270 (Campbell 206). In sceadena 127 (and probably also in manœceahan 650, 909) $aa$ may be regarded as the back umlaut of $g$ (see Campbell 207) or as the development of a glide vowel between palatal $ge$- and a following back vowel (Campbell 179). Back umlaut of $g$ is seen also in the Mercian genitive plural pronoun $beāre$ 708 (see Campbell 706 fn. 5). Although examples of this back umlaut are extremely rare in West Saxon texts, they are widespread in the West Saxon transcripts of old English verse.
(m) The non-West Saxon ą-umlaut of ēo (broken from ā) is reflected in heorde 747 (see Campbell 154 (1) fn. 4, 201).

(n) The non-West Saxon ā-umlaut of ēa (from au) appears in geoba 1206 (see Campbell 200 (5)). If ē is regarded as a mistake for ē in breaniedlua 696 (MS breameldum) the word may be cited as showing this mutation. Compare A.iii.b.

(o) The Anglian smoothing of ēa (from au) appears in lega 375, gege 375, 624, dagle 952 (see Campbell 204 (8)).

(p) The back umlaut of ē is general in Anglian except before ē and ā (Campbell 210 (2)). Non-West Saxon are heolstrum 83, meotud- forms (9 times), meodumre 384, etc. and, with analogical extension of this umlaut, breodweard 287. The back umlaut of ē is found before all consonants in Kentish (see Campbell 210 (3)) and occurs in wiberbreocum 294. Similar forms may be found in the Vespasian Psalter dialect of Anglian where widespread analogical extension of ēo to all positions before back consonants may be found.

(q) The non-West Saxon back umlaut of ē appears in freoheald 243, freohade 376, gefreohade 152, gefreohade 422, gefreohade 411, freoduweard 173, leobade 392, heoran 1036, hleorad 73 (see Campbell 212). Such forms can appear in Saxon patois (Bulbring 235 note).

(r) The vowel of geofu 530 and geofone 1-03 is generally
described as due to Anglian back umlaut of \( \texttt{æ} \). It is also possible to see reflected in these forms the West Saxon back umlaut of \( \texttt{iæ} \) to \( \texttt{iō} \) (see Campbell 220). The second element of the dipthong has been lowered in \texttt{geafena} 1042. The appearance of \( \texttt{æa} \) for \( \texttt{iō} \) is particularly frequent in ninth century Kentish texts, but is sporadic also in West Saxon and Mercian (Campbell 280, 281).

(a) The Anglian i-umlaut of \( \texttt{iæ} \) (from \( \texttt{iæ} \)) is reflected in \texttt{steor} 510, \texttt{heostoreofan} 1195, \texttt{heostre} 696 (see Campbell 201 (3)). This Anglian feature is seen most clearly in the \textit{Vespasian Psalter Gloss}. The verb \texttt{neocan} (forms occur 8 times in the texts) may also be explained in this way (see Campbell 416 and fn.2).

4 Late Old English features

(a) \( \texttt{æ} \) in \texttt{soon} 675 appears to lack the effects of initial palatalisation and could therefore be regarded as a Mercian form (see Campbell 185 and \$7 271). As the \textit{Exeter Book} has, however, many forms demonstrably late, the \( \texttt{æ} \) in this word may represent late Old English monophthongisation of \( \texttt{æa} \) (see Campbell 329 (2)). This interpretation is supported by the otherwise uniform development in the poems of initial palatalisation of \( \texttt{æ} \). Compare Weightman 1907, II, 19-21

The \( \texttt{æ} \) in the second syllables of \texttt{estalle} 179 and \texttt{onstal} 824 is best explained as late Old English monophthongisation also.
(b) The effects of late Old English monophthongisation are perhaps again to be seen in *wolde 517* where however this form for the normal *weolde* may show only scribal omission of a letter. Comparable are JIu 562 *wolde*, Hnm I 85 *lof*, Hnm I 139 *lofes* and, with *o* for *e*, Sfr 71 *feorh* where *e* is a manuscript insertion. See also the note for *wolde 517* in the commentary. As the rounding of these sounds to [ə] is not reflected graphically until the early Middle English period, for example in the earlier lines particularly of the *Owl and the Nightingale* in the Cotton manuscript, it is probably better to regard such sporadic forms as these as due to scribal error. A few possible examples of this spelling are cited from manuscripts of the late eleventh to the early thirteenth centuries by C. Sisam (1959, p. 30).

C Vowels of Unaccented Syllables

Because these are poetic texts this section is presented in two parts for convenience. Those features of metrical significance are treated in the first and in the second are given notes on other unaccented syllables.

1 Unaccented Syllables and Scansion

Certain grammatical features, in which Old English scribes show little consistency, are important for the scansion of Old English verse. It is, therefore, necessary to describe the treatment of such features in an attempt to discover if any principles were
strictly observed. In the following paragraphs three aspects of the problem will be examined: contraction, the syncopation of medial vowels and the behaviour of vocalic consonants. The customary 'five types' of Sievers will be used in this discussion and the principles observed in III. 3. 45 will be examined.

(a) The metre demands that in 23 out of 35 instances of the second and third person present indicative forms of strong verbs the forms be uncontracted and in the remaining 12 the metrical evidence points neither to short nor long form. Syncope is found only in owdi 4, a form found often in Anglian texts (see Campbell 733 (a)). It is not significant that only 2 of the 23 forms shown by the metre to be uncontracted occur in Guthlac B, for while the A-poet uses the present tense frequently, it is seldom required by the B-poet's narrative. The forms are for the most part unaffected by -umlaut (e.g. aspringed 20, bided 67, bruced 383, droged 386, etc.) but in one example the mutated vowel appears (gymed 1350). The use of long forms cannot be considered evidence of the Anglian origin of early poems, but shows only that they were unlikely to have been written by the 'late composers of prosaic verse' (see Sisam 1953, p. 125 and fn. 3).

It should be noted that the second and third person singular present indicative forms of class III weak verbs are represented only by hafad 4, 87 and 647; all these instances are without metrical importance.
(b) Morphological suture is active in the present tense forms of the contracted strong verbs *twæh* 252, *stood* 301 and *sliht* 504. Uncontracted forms are also necessary metrically in *sælfeonda* 475, *hæna* 412 and *hæpat* 63. For the syncopated forms *hæpat* 16, *fangran* 382 and *afstum* 712 see C.1.4. below. In line 877 the metre demands the form of the possessive adjective found usually in verse, *ussera* (compare 753) for *urræ*. An uncontracted form should perhaps be restored in *frea* 1222, but see III.3.4.3 for other verses in Guthlac B with similar patterns.

It has long been accepted that 'decontraction' cannot be used as a valid dating test for Old English verse (e.g. Norman 1933, pp. 6-7, Girvan 1935, p. 17) for original hiatus can be restored sporadically in Old as in Modern English (Quirk 1950, p. 5). More recently the persistence of metrical formulae has been shown to be the source for many metrically deficient phrases (Magon 1953, pp. 461 ff.). The forms cited above seem to indicate that the author of Guthlac A worked within the elder narrative traditions, but that the Æ-poet was either unaccustomed to the accepted 'deficient' verses or writing at a time uncontracted forms were less used. See further III.2.6.

(c) The principles observed as to the treatment of medial vowels in the scansion of these poems are to be found in III.3.4.5 (iv), but a few observations are necessary here.
Medial vowels in open syllables may throughout the poems be
syncopated after short root syllables. The metre for the most
part neither demands nor rules out syncope (e.g. whela 1287, whelc
1146, whela 1276, etc.), but syncopated forms can sometimes be esta-
blished (e.g. aesisne 39, beswicene 625, bifone 627, biheledne
1353, etc.). The scribe is by no means a consistent guide in these
things.

There is again little positive proof either way for the treat-
ment of medial vowels in open syllables after long root syllables.
Even where syncope is necessary the scribe often writes an unsyn-
copated form (e.g. elmihtiga 760, 950, magum 1229, 1249, gebundne
886, blodum 289, etc., illustrate his inconsistency). Non-syncop-
pated inflected forms of earfed are necessary in lines 207, 457,
556 and 1065.

Metrical evidence appears to indicate inconsistency in the
treatment of a medial vowel in a closed syllable after a short root
syllable. The restoration of the medial syllable is demanded in
mefatum 712 and fegran 382. Syncopation may appear in these cir-
cumstances in deadberenda 850.

The metre nowhere demands syncope where a medial vowel in a
closed syllable follows a long root syllable. Only in later Old
English verse, for example the Alfredian Metres, can such half
stress be neglected (see Campbell 457, fn.2). A medial syllable
should be given to the scribe’s 
hythes 16 when reading the verse aloud. The apparently anomalous verses 
forr 707 and in 
ussera 753 retain this half stress and it is to be posited for 
orra 877 (which in reading should be replaced by the form ussera, 
see C.1.b above).

(d) The principles observed as to the treatment of evra-
bhakti vowels in the scansion of these texts are to be found in III.
3.45 (ii).

Following a short root syllable two syllables are necessary 
in secon 1035, an exceptional verse form considered in III.3.43.
It is often undemonstrable metrically whether one or two syllables 
are to be sounded (e.g. beorgsbeal 102, bryben 980, deadmagen 895,
egle 962, fijod 825 etc.). Words for which the metre indicates 
one syllable are gufl 850, sheltungla 1314, firenfulra 560, firen-
lustes 803, rafulresdeone 986, etc.

Following a long root syllable two syllables are necessary 
in adl 978, 1064, adle 1022, afen 1277, beacon 1309, bealdor 1358,
bredhtn 262, etc. In tuddor 735 a two syllable form is preferable 
metrically, but a one syllable form can be defended (see III.3.45
(ii)). Either one or two syllables may be read in adl 940, bitto
985, 1025, brehten 1325, etc. When such words form the first ele-
ment in a compound the vocalic consonant may either be regarded as 
a syllable (e.g. bolgenmode 557, eastordid 1102, ellenheard 1165,
1155» elXenyeore
(641)
or be completely ignored (e.g. mfenolwea 1291, dryhtanbealu 1349, seldorzwimnum 954, seldorlege 1260). From these examples it is readily apparent that the traditional monosyllabic value of forms with syllabic \( \text{-} \), \( \text{l} \), \( \text{m} \) and \( \text{n} \) is used by both poets at will.

2 Other Augmented Syllables
(a) Inflextional Syllables of Nouns, Adjectives and Adverbs

- nouns: ge. dreonea 830 shows late -ng for -eg; dog 1038 and hang 10, 654 and 834 are endingless locatives; gaste 1060 may be dative singular but see commentary; apl. burnalg 1284, 1331 show -n for -n; facena 949 is the weak genitive plural form found in many Old English texts (see commentary and compare the poetical gpl. winica 1365); dpl. wyrdstafun 1351, hildescourun 1143 may show the early West Saxon inflexion (see Campbell 378) but can otherwise be cited as examples of the inflexional levelling found throughout the Exeter Book; in dpl. songenfarm 405 the ending has been corrected from -on (the inflexion found frequently for the dative plural in late West Saxon texts) in the manuscript; gpl. serefa 225, 1355 has -o for -u; -o appears for -u in the first element of the compound bealonih 809.

- nouns: ge. alda 835 with -a for -a (see note in commentary); ds. broweowe 471 has -a for -a (an extension of -a found already in early West Saxon texts according to Campbell 589 (8)); ds. gasynte
332 with -a for -u (the levelling of -u through singular cases and
into nominative and accusative plural already found in early texts,
see Campbell 589 (6)); similar levelling is reflected in as. healu
171, 435, hele 890, a/ds. hele 397, as. pytro 635, as. snytnu
163, 473, as. sgebrum 416, etc. The nominative singular -u is
generally retained in the first element of compounds and it is in-
teresting to note that the scribe has written y above his medial o,
line 1128 (in text snytrnmack given).

i-nouns: spl. winige 1365 (see commentary for note on this read-
ing of manuscript form) is a form found only in poetical texts (see
Campbell 600). Accusative singular forms of feminine nouns of
this declension appear 9 times: in 8 places without an inflexion;
and somwiste 968. This accusative ending is formed within the Old
English period by analogy with i-nouns and is already fairly fre-
cuent in early West Saxon texts and the dialect of the Vespasian
Psalter (see Campbell 604).

u-nouns: The nominative singular forms wuldormago 1293 and wul-
dormago 1094 may be interpreted either as u-nouns (with -o and -a for
-u) or as weak nouns (with -o for -u); ge. deapa 235 may be a u-
stem remainder.

weak nouns: ds. bavan 922 has -on for -on.

-aa/-æa declension: ds. endedogor 1167 has inflexion typical of
the declension; the poetical form lumber 1042 may also be dative singular (but see further commentary).

adjectives: def. calra 68 has -a for -e; dem. giftan 375 may have -an for -um, but see note for that line for alternative explanation; comparative nsm. mare 384, 521, galloa 1320, wynsumra 1321 show levelling of -a and -e (in all these examples the adjective is used predicatively); similar levelling is seen in comparative nsm. sopra 1123 used adverbially.

adverbs: In forbin forms -on appears 8 times and -an only in forbin 378. Final -an is general in giban forms, except in giban 136. At line 1066 final -a has been corrected to -o in the manuscript in helen. The adverb geara 630 has -o for -e.

(b) Inflexional Syllables of Verbs

forms ending in a nasal consonant: Final -on appears 5 times in infinitive forms: bragdon 676, laton 520, 948, ongylden 861 and semon 511. In finite forms -on appears often as -an, e.g. binomn 342, brugan 417, cwoan 212, 350, deoden 493 and even in weak verb class II forms leofedan 139 and wundredan 1232. Forms with -an also occur frequently, e.g. agun 79, abofun 227, 905, burgun 730, gswun 894, feredan 1306. It should be noted that in feredun 1306 -o- is a correction made within the manuscript from -g. A few forms in -um are found, mostum 210, motum 13, widhodum 631, woldum 663 and wurdum 181. The plural subjunctive ending -en is often retained
(e.g. gebiden 509, guban 751, genan 527, sardian 55) beside the
rarer -a (e.g. gome 237, gahete 456, gelimpe 194, gemaunde 750,
were 194 and the emendation gedalde 969). Although such forms oc­
cur sporadically in late manuscripts, they may point either to
transmission from early West Saxon or to affinities with the dia­
lect of Bushworth (see Campbell 473, 735 (g)). It is of course
difficult to decide in many places whether a verb form is indica­
tive or subjunctive. Therefore it seems worth noting that in per­
haps 5 places an inflexion with back vowel may represent the plural
subjunctive: workedon 238, ongetaldun 468, autan 1233, secoldan 664
and, with a weak medial syllable, wundredan 1232.

other forms: In the preterite forms of second class weak verbs
the medial -ed- and participial -ed- forms are prevalent. These
are a feature particularly of Anglian and Kentish texts but are found
often in late West Saxon and can be described as Saxon patois traits.
Medial -o- occurs some 12 times, e.g. leofode 1325, sampode 643,
oolode 1307. Late weakening of e/o to a appears in leofedan 139,
wundredan 1232 and perhaps gynuisied 867 (see also note for this form
in commentary). The pp. holiffd 1306 reflects a more radical weak­
en (see note in commentary).

Singular present tense forms of habban common in Anglian and
poetical texts are hafu 1067 and hafad 4, 87 and 647 (SB 416 note 1).
The form hafad occurs also occasionally in West Saxon prose texts
(see Campbell 762). Twice -ed appears for more usual -est in mæhte
469 and gefremede 586.

(e) Note on Vowels found in Affixes

be- prefix: This generally appears as bi- in both poems and, although be- occurs occasionally, bi is the only form in which the preposition itself is found. In two places by- appears: by-
-
sayreda 145, 895 (to be explained either as the rounding influence of the labial consonant or as anticipation of the vowel of the following accented syllable or as the late Old English tendency o > y in unaccented syllables). The 10 examples of be- are to be found in lines 34, 199, 568, 615, 625, 843, 1308, 1349 and 1357. Because different stressing is usual in nouns and verbs the form be-
(the usual unaccented form) should appear in verbs and bi- in nouns (see Campbell 73, 74). The prevalent use of bi- in these texts both in nouns and verbs would seem to indicate the use of bi- for both stressed and unstressed forms, a surmise supported by metrical evidence. Only bigesse 217 is therefore marked with a long vowel in the glossary.

-nes suffix: The usual West Saxon -nes forms appear 8 times.
The -nis forms typical of Anglian texts are represented by here-
nisse 616 and perhaps by orweynysse 575, warynysse 671, grimynysse 578 (but these forms may show a late Old English tendency found particularly in late West Saxon, the transition of e in unaccented syllables to y; see Milbring 360 note).
-ing/ing suffix: The -ing forms are preferred (11 times to 8
-ung). The change of -ung- to -ing- before back vowels (costinga
38, browinca 471 etc.) obscures the systematic interchange common
in Old English between -ing for derivatives of weak verbs of the
first class and -ung for class II weak verbs.

winescope 1172: late Old English transition of ɨ to ɨ in unaccent-
ed syllables (Birdring 360 note).

D 1 Consonants

1 Treatment of ɣ

(a) initial ɣ: In Old English verse of the latest period
velar ʒ has become a stop initially and no longer alliterates with ɨ
(see Campbell 1938, p. 33). These sounds alliterate together in
both poems: for example see lines 21, 40, 72, 155, etc. in Guthlac
A and 889, 913, 976, etc. in Guthlac B. The prosthetic ɣ-, sub-
puncted in the manuscript, of asdwelan 1091 is a feature sometimes
thought indicative of Kentish colouring (SB 212 note 2, Birdring 492
note 1), but it reflects the late southern levelling of initial ge-
and ges- (see Campbell 303).

(b) Final unvoicing, a fairly common trait of both Anglian
and late West Saxon texts, appears in gestah 175. Examples of in-
Verted spellings with a for ä are feorg 243, 1058, feorgedal 1178, 1200 (see Campbell 446). The compromise consonant symbol of besorge 140 appears in late West Saxon, late Northumbrian and Rushworth¹ (see Campbell 58 and SB 214 note 6).

(e) For the West Saxon loss of palatal a between a front vowel and following consonant see B.1.f above.

(d) The appearance of medial –ār– in besitigian 199 and hyroqgan 1006 is due to the early West Saxon interchange of –æ– and –i– in weak verbs of the second class (see Campbell 267). The change is not however restricted to West Saxon texts but is also a feature of Rushworth¹ (Campbell 757).

(e) The poetical present participles of class II weak verbs gnornende 232, 679, 1209, druesende 1061, 1379 and perhaps neosenden 1217 (but see Sievers 1885, p. 233) show loss of a between main and secondary stress after a long syllable. Such forms are not a feature of West Saxon texts where –ende is generally levelled and they are rare also in West Mercian (see Campbell 757).

(f) In class I weak verbs of the herian type a often appears for i, e.g. herge 611, nergan 553, nergende 598, genergun 241, nergund 640 and nergende 658. These forms are of no dialect significance.
(g) The medial consonant in teagor 1340 may be regarded either as an unusual retention of $g$ for $\lambda$ (see Campbell 57 '3) for this use of the symbol $g$ in early texts) or as the late West Saxon confusion of $h$ and $g$. The latter explanation is perhaps to be accepted, as the opposite substitution of $h$ for $g$ is a recognised feature of this manuscript (see Blake 1962, pp. 45-47). A note on this form will be found in section F.

(h) Lack of $w$ and reversion of $\alpha$ to $\beta$ before a back vowel is reflected in begen 169 and bigad 461. These forms of the Old English verb 'to serve' are more fully discussed in the commentary.

2 Treatment of initial $h$

(a) Initial $h$ is lost before $r$ in rebe 489 (contrast hrobe 1140). The fall of initial $h$ before a liquid is found frequently in later Northumbrian texts and in all texts of the transition period (see SB 217 note 2).

(b) Scribal insertion of initial $h$ before a vowel is found in accented syllables in bus 271, hmfentid 1215 and halmhtiga 950. In the first of these instances the syllable is withoutmetrical stress (compare jln 545 his), but in the others the alliteration is on vowels. See further note for line 271.
3 The nasal consonants.

Considerable levelling of inflexions ending in a nasal consonant is illustrated in C.2 above.

The spellings *onbehtbogm* 1146 and *onbehtbogme* 1294 may show substitution of *on-* for less usual prefix *on-* (which is however retained twice in the texts).

A mistaken *n* for *m* occurs in *hean* 454 and may also occur in the manuscript form *breamedum* 696 which is however generally regarded as mistaken *n* for *ni*.

4 The confusion of *h/θ* and *ṭ* is widely considered a Mercian feature. Wrenn (1943, p. 13) suggests that the confusion points to an archetype of the early eighth century as the symbol *ṭ* was used first in the latter part of that century. Many signs of this confusion are to be found throughout the Exeter Book (see note for *biminitad* 71) and in the Guthlac poems *ṭ* appears for *θ* in lines 71, 105, 153, 296, 867, 887, *θ* for *ṭ* in 265, 1040 and an emendation has been made within the manuscript in line 285. It should however be noted that the confusion of these letters, common in the other poetic codices, is found also in other late Old English texts.

5 Loss of *w*

(a) The consonant is retained in the preterite tense forms
of oman except in com 1141, a form missed by Sisam who points out
that the -y- forms are general throughout the manuscript (1953, p.
103). Forms of oman showing this loss outnumber those retaining
the consonant in West Saxon texts, whereas the consonant is retain-
ed in Anglian (SB 390 note 3).

(b) In stanza 563 -y- has been lost between back vowels which
have contracted.

(e) Proclitic swa appears twice in the form se 409, 961 and
again in other Exeter Book poems (Chr 211, Fom 22, Reg 29, 49, 52,
Wit 35.11, 39.27, 69.1 and 87.7). Fulbring (562) recognises this
reduction of swa as a Kentish feature, because he finds five examples
of enclitic se in Kentish charters. His examples are here quoted
from Sweet 1886: Chr 39.9 swælæ man se, 39.13 swælæ man se, 41.28
swælæ man se, 31 swælæ man se and 40 swælæm se. It is however
possible to regard these five instances of se as introducing a normal
relative clause (see Campbell 720), and the forms must therefore be
considered ambiguous, despite the appearance of other examples of this
phrase where the form swa is indisputable (e.g. Chr 39.14 swilæ man
swa). The other Old English instances of se for swa are sporadic.
Examples are recorded from Vsp 124.1 swæ se, Ppa 82.10 swæ se and
Bil 1. 235.32 swæ se; of these only the third is an unambiguous
example of the reduced swa, for in context the first two instances
may be regarded as the definite article. The form appears only as
a proclitic or enclitic use in Old English and in this use is greatly
extended in Middle English (also, burn etc., etc.); in Middle English texts it is used also on its own in correlativees (saw muche
be...se, cause to mare...se, etc.). As the reduction is so rarely found in Old English it cannot confidently be ascribed to the tenth century scribe of the miscellany, but should perhaps be considered a reflection of the transmission of the collection.
In this case the form se may point to the poems' having been already collected together in some ninth century Kentish scriptorium.

6 Metathesis

(a) The forms foldarme 1031 and burnflecta 1333 are to be explained by the movement of r from before to behind after the period of breaking (see Campbell 459 (1)). This, the commoner metathesis of r, happens also in low stress (e.g. tinterqu 649, tingersum 21).

(b) The metathesis of bl through [hl] with voiced spirant to id (predominantly Anglian according to B1lbring 522 and SB 196 (2) and common in poetical texts, see Campbell 423) is found in un-
sold 1240, bold 140, boldes 84, melda 1230 and sold 585. The re-
tention of bl with voicing of the spirant after a short vowel occurs in Anglian (see Campbell 420) and is found in beorhtbeal 102, med-
lan 1202, mebelowide 1219, mebelowida 1007, mebelowidum 1019, sta-
pelum 1274, stabelian 1110 and stabelad 66. Examples of West Saxon bl after a short vowel (see Campbell 419) also occur, e.g. botle.
7 Assimilation, simplification, etc.

(a) Assimilation in groups consisting of a consonant followed or preceded by a liquid or nasal is found sporadically. This assimilation is very often without dialect significance, e.g., larsow 1004, larsowe 359, usso 750, 973, ussum 401. The genitive and dative singular feminine forms bisse 6 times and the genitive plural bisse 752 are found mostly in West Saxon, Mercian and Kentish texts. The comparative forms sellan 278, 492 and 1268 are typical of late West Saxon and appear also in late northern texts (see Campbell 484). Other common assimilations are be > se (bliss- and liez- forms) and dh > th (latsweo 364).

(b) Simplification in a consonant cluster with loss of the second of three successive consonants is seen in fleshmenan 374, goodhena 404, wernysse 671 and in both simplex and compounded forms of fer< (the simplification has no dialect significance; see Milbring 547 ff., Campbell 477).

8 Consonant doubling and simplification of double consonants.

The doubling of ś before g usual in early West Saxon appears in attma 668, 912, uttor 126 (Milbring 344, Campbell 453). The doubling of ś in tuddor 735 is a late West Saxon change (Campbell 453). The doubling after a short vowel of final ś occurs in well
1171 (Bdbring 547). A curious doubling of post tonic ą appears in ferbhe 923.

Medial ā is simplified in comparatives, e.g. afteran 1240, feagram 48, 383, ussara 753 (see Campbell 457). A similar simplification of medial un is also frequent.

9 The treatment of ge before a back vowel

A glide vowel has developed only in the preterite forms of seulan (there are 12 examples of seold- forms) and in the present indicative (4 instances of seolon) where seoo- appears for seu-. Otherwise there are no examples of the glide vowel which develops in early West Saxon and appears also in northern texts (see Campbell 179-181). The digraph ae of seapen 677, seandena 127 and mungscean 650, 907 and may be attributed to other influences (seap- en may show initial palatalisation of the alternative vowel ą possible in this passive participle and for the other forms see B.3. 1). A list of the forms without a glide vowel before a following back vowel is given: geen 1288, scan 693, 1288, 1330, ascan 1308, forsceadene 478; soome 204, 633, soomum 856, soonde 675, sculu 204, seofene 633, 856, seodun 544, soode 443, gesood 425, 870, gosop 495, 943, gesopo 606; seofan 675 and scutende 856. The lack of glide vowel in such forms is a feature of Heroian and Kentish texts (Campbell 183 and fn. 4).
NOTE

In the preceding sections many phonological features of the texts have been noted, but these tell us little about the place of origin of the poems. They do indicate an earlier rather than later time of composition within the Anglo-Saxon period, particularly for the A poem which contains features believed old on metrical grounds (see particularly the uncontracted forms listed in C.1 (b)). For the most part however the metrical evidence points only to the common origin of both poems in the earlier Old English period. A few things suggest that the B poem is later than Cuthlac A: As well as the apparent lack of 'decontracted forms' this poet's use of dagena 949 (see commentary) suggests that he worked within Cynegeld's generation rather than in the age of Bede.

The other phonological features indicate a long shared transmission history for these poems. Both show many of the traits typical of the poetic koiné in which the great bulk of Old English verse was written. The Anglian characteristics in the development of vowels of accented syllables (B.3 passim) are reinforced by the appearance of present participles of second class weak verbs with loss of -a- (B.1 (c)) and of uncontracted second and third person singular present indicative forms of strong verbs (C.1 (a)). Yet, such details tend only to strengthen the metrical evidence, confirming that the poems are unlikely to have been written much beyond
the Alfredian period. Indeed, from the linguistic conformity of
the Exeter Book, this statement is probably true of most of the
verse which it contains. Early West Saxon features, such as the
pervasive and distinctive \textit{je} digraph, just as much as the 'Anglian'
forms of language, suggest that the miscellany was first put to­
gether by Alfred's time. Late West Saxon forms (B.2) predominate
and indicate that the manuscript we have is from a West Saxon
scriptorium. A few very late tendencies of Old English (B.4) do
not belie this assumption.

A simple history from the drawing together of the collection
by the Alfredian period cannot however be assumed. The collection
contains traits common to early West Saxon and Kentish texts (there­
fore called features of the 'Saxon patois' by Milbring). Such
features need not, for the most part, be restricted to non-West
Saxon dialects and some could at any rate have entered the manu­
script together with the Mercian forms to be found in it (for ex­
ample B.3 (g) and B.3 (p). More interesting are the Kentish back­
spelling found in FPX 1176 (B.3 (k)) and the form \textit{se} 409, 961 for
proclitic \textit{swa} (D.5 (c)): these suggest that a ninth century Kent­
ish scriptorium played an important part in the transmission of the
miscellany. Weightmann (1907, pp. 61 ff.) shows that Kentish traces
are to be found throughout the manuscript and it is likely therefore
that the collection was at some time in the hands of Kentish scribes.
Whether this was before or after its accretion of early West Saxon
forms must be left an open question.
E - Vocabulary

In this section the forms from each poem are listed separately, except in the first paragraph which summarises features (held by some to have dialect significance) of the 'general Old English poetic dialect' (the phrase is from Sisam 1953, p. 138). For fuller accounts of individual words the commentary should be consulted.

1 Conservative forms which in prose texts indicate Anglian provenance.

Jordan (1901, p. 63) summarises the Anglian elements of vocabulary he finds in the Othlæa poems: gen 515, 521, 538; gena 135, 233, 446 and 1270; nemme 367; oferleordun 726; were 1028; welan 425; wiperbrecum 294 and wi6 1154. (It should be noted that he records only 6 instances of gen(a) forms.) To these must be added wehe 8 (which he gives as one of two instances of the word in Christ because Glo 1-29 were still regarded as part of the earlier material). Two of these words (welan 425 and wi6 1154) belong to Jordan's small group of words found otherwise only in North Germanic dialects (see Jordan 1901, pp. 118-19). Sisam (1953, pp. 119-39) re-examines the use of such forms in determining the dialect origins of the earlier Old English verse, concluding:

... vocabulary remains unsatisfactory or inconclusive as evidence of the original dialect of poems presumed to be early; and too many favourable hypotheses are used to produce the result that all the earlier poetry
is Anglian. No doubt some of it is, if only because more than half the country and perhaps more than half the population were under Anglian rule for most of the early period. Still, it is safer to work with no prepossession against West Saxon or Kentish origin. (p. 131)

Jordan does not however argue that the appearance of such forms in poetic texts is proof of their provenance, suggesting only that sufficient of them indicate the composition of a poem to be earlier rather than late. Of the fourteen forms abstracted from his summary for these poems, eleven occur in Guthlac A and three in Guthlac B, but the amount of material involved and the greater length of the A poem preclude using this difference on its own as an indication of the greater age of the A poem. The difference loses significance when it is remembered that many other 'Anglian' features of Old English are found indifferently in both poems (e.g. the prepositions in and on beside one another in roughly equal proportions; the use of mid with the accusative; the older accusative -g forms of personal pronouns weoc, beoc, usio and twice levelled into the dative beoc 278, 458; lack of syncope in present indicative forms of the second and third person in strong verbs; a few forms like heht 703, meorde 1086, meord 1041).

2 The hapax legomena of the poems, listed alphabetically.

Guthlac A  
afterylc 496 (cf. afterylc), anhuenéra 88, beorg-
sesel 102 (cf. beorges sēl 383), bismut 71, bisme 217, ceargesa
Great many of these are poetic compounds, with their elements recorded in other similar compounds; compounds of unclear etymology and meaning are discussed in the commentary. The noun *gradum* 738 is not elsewhere recorded in Old English and has for that reason often been emended out of the text. In both *bleonad* 251 and *trumape* 757 we may see that *-nob* was still a living suffix for the poet. Notes are to be found also for the loan-word *bimutad* 71 and the verb *leofesan* 139.
megenbega 1126, modgledne 1158, nihtrim 1097 (cf. nihtgerim forms),
nihtglose 943, noerdor 1279, onbanu 1054, ondewis 1026, sarwylum
1150, savelhæ 1030 and savelhun 1141, scoudede 856(?), searosegam
1149, geoslige 927, sigetudre 866, sigertacon 1116 (cf. sigetaon
forms), sondhafa 1196, sondlund 1335, sorgosearu 966 (cf. sorgoosearig
forms), stalgonges 1140, swglsbearht 1213, swgelwuldro 1187, swgel-
vundrum 1318, talmeares 877, beodengedal 1350, byrnywe 1256, up-
geart 1078, wydronen 1057, wapnilum 1154, walsrelum 1286, weder-
taen 1293, wicemeti 935, wilboda 1246, wuldormaco 1094 and wuldor-
mage 1293, wyncondel 1213, wynge 1345 and wyrdstafum 1351.

The list for a shorter piece of verse, is considerably longer
than the Guthlac A list, and the proportion of poetic forms is con-
siderably higher. Most of the poetic compounds present little
difficulty, but where the sense is not immediately apparent or where
the form needs discussion notes will be found in the commentary.
Perhaps laces 1034 should be added to this list as a poetical usage
because the simplex with the sense 'struggle' is not otherwise found
in Old English. A few of these words may not have been specific-
ally literary in character (gebihrum 874, onbanu 1054, scouende 856
and geoslige).

3 In Guthlac A two groups of specialised vocabulary not general
in Old English verse may be distinguished:

   (a) legal:  bissæ 217, shelrichte 216, sdergong 11, feelig
246, gestalum 510, on his sylfe 706, gibbe ryt 197, scene 716,
wergengan 594, 713 and wyrædriht 57. It is possible that words containing the element wyræ- should also be included here.

This small group of technical words may be advanced only tentatively. Two of the forms (ædængon 11 and feælcg 246) are not recorded elsewhere in Old English but are used in legal texts in other Germanic languages. They may point to the conservative nature of the poet. The interpretation of scene advanced in the commentary can be paralleled from Beowulf. The phrase on his sylfes dom 706 is paralleled by Chron 755 hiera agenne dom, DOW 38 on byra sylfæ dom and the Old Norse sjálfdómen. A comparison with words found in Old English laws and charters shows how bisweo 217 may be interpreted, making emendation unnecessary. The compound wergengan 594, 713 can be paralleled in the laws of other Germanic peoples and occurs otherwise in Old English only in Dnl 663. Similarly ebele- rihte 216 is otherwise recorded for Old English only from the earliest verse, Exo 211 and Dwl 2198. The compound wyrædriht appears again in Ælfgar's laws and in a homily (not from the Wulfstan canon, but included in Napier's edition). More examples could be given, but these words are the most striking and for further discussion of them and other possible specialised legal words see the commentary.

(b) religious: almanecon 77, anbuendra 88, beorggebeal 102, ealdres 420, hádes 60, hyrde 413, husulbear 558, husulweras 796, martyr 514, martyrheaf 472, bynaterum 416, embischthra 599, regular 489, spelboden 40, bceow in phrases in lines 314, 368, 579, 600 and
Keiser (1919, p. 36) is unwilling to recognise any monastic terms in this poem other than *smytherum* 416 which he suggests (1919, p. 41) retains the original meaning 'dwelling-place of monks' whereas the word in its two other poetic occurrences (Bln 106 and Dym 17) may be glossed 'church'. He excludes 'the clergy proper' from the *rune regulæ* 489 allusion, interprets *in godes templum* 490 with the sense 'building' and concludes that save for the general statements found in lines 60-61 and 790-811 no other monastic terms occur in the poem.

Among the words listed here are a few poetic coinages, found only in this poem, but transparent in meaning: *anbuen dra* 88, *beorgasebel* 102, *husulbear* 558, *husulverge* 796, *omblithere* 599. Poetic also is *spelboden* 492, a word quite widely recorded. The learned word *martyre* 514 does not have much currency in verse texts and *martyrhed*, though found in prose writings, penetrates the extant poetry only here (see further note for line 472). Native words and phrases showing extension in meaning due to Christian influence are numerous in the poem (e.g. *had* 4, 31, 52, 94, 500, *begn* 708, *beow* 3, 4, 368, 579, 600, 693, *browinge* 471, *browingum* 385, 778), but such words can for the most part be interpreted without knowledge of the specialised application involved. Sometimes the extension is less simple and the presence of religious termi-
ology must be recognised, e.g. *husul* 558, 796, *here* 599, *hirde* 415, *browere* 161, 182 and perhaps *selder* 420 and *hades* 60. Restricted meaning must also be recognised for the continental period borrowings *synasterum* 415 and *regulae* 489. These examples show that the A poet throughout uses unselfconsciously religious terminology of a sort not often found in Old English verse.

...One of the forms found in these poems have been much discussed and disagreement has arisen over their interpretation. The more important of such words are here listed in alphabetical order, together with brief remarks on the explanation accepted in the glossary and commentary. These remarks are for the most part summary and reference should be made to the appropriate notes in the commentary wherever further elucidation is necessary. *Hapax legomena* are not included as these are to be found in F.2.

*abone* 299, MS *abun-g* 'summon': The emendation is necessary for the sense and may have some graphical support.

*mesto* 342 'resurrection': The form shows levelling to *a* in the vowel of a medial unsacented syllable.

*mystalle* 179 'station': Meanings generally given to this word are more closely restricted than the contexts allow.

*alegad* 92 'withhold': Thorpe's *alegad* is difficult to justify
syntactically and is indeed unnecessary even to obtain rhyme.

*aehoga* 997 'solitary': The base word is regarded as *haga*.

*heugumán* 1352 'grieve': This interpretation is preferred but 'wander' is also possible.

*biggenote* 624 'served': The manuscript reading is retained, as the presence of 'a rather violent metaphor' is insufficient grounds for emendation.

*breadwíða* 287 'strike, strike down': This sense seems most suited to the contexts in which this rare verb appears.

*gadalde* 969, MS *gædælæd*: Scribal transposition of two letters is argued and the form described as a plural preterite subjunctive.

*æðleænæ*, MS *æðleænæ*: Dittography of *a* is assumed and emendation to the genitive plural *æðleænæ* made.

*fonde* 1007 'find': The manuscript form, though unparalleled in Old English, is retained because it may have some graphical support.

*fyer* 1178 'go': The manuscript form is retained as a non-West Saxon imperative singular from *færæn*.

*cestum* 510 'charge, accusation': This word was not otherwise
known to the earliest editors who therefore found interpretation of the passage difficult.

**hwearfum** 263: The adverbial dative must stand in the introductory dip of this verse.

**leoden** 390 'relax, unloose': The ghost word lēohian 'resound, sing' (built on lēod 'song' and compared with cognate verbs in other Germanic languages) necessitates much ingenuity and emendation for an interpretation of the passage.

**míne** 650 'mean, vile': It is suggested that this line draws upon a formula otherwise seen only in Guthlac B 909.

**oncyðig** 1226 'devoid of': The prefix is regarded as privative and the adjective related to onfan 'make known'.

**onsonrocn** 1326, MS onbrong 'spring asunder, quake': The emendation suggested in BT is accepted because the manuscript form is difficult to explain in this context.

**sealdun** 317 'seldom': Scribal substitution of ea for a due to anticipation of a verb rather than the adverb of the exemplar is argued.

**secocan** 1068, MS seconan: Dittography of a is assumed as an -e-stem is not found in this adjective in Germanic languages.

**sleapa** 343: The manuscript reading is retained, the noun being
interpreted in the genitive plural with the sense 'periods of sleep'.

*spiewdon* 912: An infinitive *spīowan* with *ē* from West Germanic
lu lies behind this non-West Saxon form. Sievers (1895, p. 486) points out that similar forms appear in Chry 1127
spīowdon, Ele 297 spīowdun and JLF 476 spīowdan.

*swamode* 1096 'move, wander': The form is compared with Gew 376
awona3.

*syneorcie* 260 'punishment for sins': The compound appears three
times in the Exeter Book and the interpretation 'crime'
is preferred to 'everlasting' in each example.

tesgor 1340: This form without smoothing is unparalleled, but the
breaking can be shown to have taken place by Anglian use
of *tī naw.

tesghed 288 'insult, torment': This form is regarded as part of
the weak verb tirwan; compare And 963 tīrgdon.

eart de 272: *de* is regarded as a reduction of *dō* because the pro-
noun is used enclitically.

began 169 and *bigeald* 461 'serve, devote oneself to': The lack of
*y* (*beowian*) and appearance of *i* as *g* is paralleled in
the form *beogende* cited from the Old English Bede by
Campbell 764.
per 421 'there': No emendation is necessary as the form may re-
               flect Kentish ǣ for Primitive Germanic ǣ.

unhyðig 1328 'hapless': The manuscript form is retained as the
               adjective occurs also in ANd 1078.

unwenna 1148 'without hope': The adjective is satisfactory in its
               context and emendation to unwenna is therefore unneces-
               sary.

wærnsæ 671 'evil, damnation': The form shows Anglian smoothing
               and the loss of g due to simplification in a consonant
               cluster.

wergengan 584 and 713 'stranger': The limiting element is wær-
               and the noun, used also to describe Nebuchadnessar in
               Dan 663, may well be an old legal term.

weredon 351 'hold, defend': There is no need to accept the in-
               genious suggestion put forward by Coeijn that we have
               here a verb otherwise unrecorded in Old English.

wæginga 1365, MS wunga or wiinga: Minor confusion obscures the
               poetic genitive plural. The emendation sometimes made
               to wonga is unnecessary.

wib bon 474: The adverbial phrase is found frequently in Old Eng-
               lish and there is no need to suppose that here it is a
               scribal error for the adverb gibbon.
1154 'indeed': Adverbial use is accepted.

worulddryhte 57 'worldly law': Although loss of d could easily arise in the consonant cluster found between the elements of this compound, Grein's suggestion that we should here read worulddriht is not followed.

Syntactically there is little that is unusual in these poems. A few features are however worth attention and, although dealt with in rather more detail in the relevant parts of the commentary, are here drawn together.

Cuthlac A

Most noteworthy is the relative se meg 702, paralleled only three times in Old English verse. It may be a pointer towards early rather than late dating for the poem. A few other relative forms deserve comment. The relative is completed by a dative pronoun in se be him 72 and he be him 361. A discontinuous relative, rare in Old English verse texts, completed by the genitive pronoun appears in he ... his 716. Some translators treat meg 213 as a relative pronoun, although by position it is to be regarded as a pronoun in a contact clause. In lines 48 and 51 the pronoun he anticipates the first specific mention of the subject.
dryhten 54, but in contexts that should present little difficulty
to the understanding.

A marked feature of the A poem absent from the B poem is the
use of alliterating finite verbs in an a-verse, often with follow­
ing co-ordinate verbs in following verses, as in lines 24, 76, 82,
138, 160, 249, 269, 395, 633 and 767 (as well as the com­mentary,
see also III.3/49). In lines 155-56 two parallel transitive verbs
apparently share the same subject, despite the formal clause bound­
daries customarily respected: ... yr¿d¿ad 7 his widsomes / hligan
healdan. The verb h¿gy¿d 76 is most likely to be explained as
followed by a partitive genitive. The graphically simpler emenda­
tion from ñæ to ñe is accepted in line 18. Although this adverb
does not appear before the finite verb in Old English prose, ten
instances occur in verse texts, others in these poems being 492,
506 and 833.

The two examples of the phrase gean lifas in lines 172 and
795 may indicate that the poet was familiar with the use of weak
adjectives unpreceded by a demonstrative. However, the fact that
this construction appears only in one phrase repeated twice, apart
from the stereotyped phrases which mean 'forever' and which contain
the form widan in lines 636 and 817, suggests that little weight
can be placed upon it as an indication of the age of this poem. In
any case, the value of this dating test for Old English poetry is
nowadays generally given less authority than it once held.
In three places the article agrees not with the dependent genitive before which it stands but with the following noun: see londes stow 146, as dryhtnes howe 386 and as dryhtnes com 444. The construction is by no means unusual in verse texts (for example compare Bev 2059 as sçoman begun). It is worth noting that in the third of these instances the phrase supplies both alliterative elements which join line 444.

Involved commentary has gathered around a few words and phrases unnecessarily. No one now doubts the phrase lengage ha sal 20, paralleled in lenge by geornor 138, despite the unusual appearance of hy with a comparative adverb. This construction is to be found also in the Vespasian Psalter Gloss. In line 26 the problem presented by Hewit is resolved by treating this word as the opening of a question; the preceding lines are regarded as the continuation and end of the angel's speech which begins in line 6. The numeral auna 441 modifies fore rather than the possessive pronoun his, but it is unnecessary to extend the form as the passage is clearly intelligible without change. The adverbial phrase wih hnon 494 was for a long time unrecognised and afterwards disputed, probably because most nineteenth century editors report sibbon as the manuscript reading. Metrical reasons have sometimes been advanced to explain the emendation from to deað 549 to to deade (see further III.3/8).

Some passages remain confusing syntactically and the comments
on lines 311, 397, 541, 663, 693 and 737 should particularly be noted. In a few places the poet seems however to have used poetic ambiguity to heighten his narrative, for examples see lines 36, 69 and 444, and it is probable therefore that in clauses and sentences which are now obscure the modern reader is less adept in such matters than a contemporary of the poet.

Cuthlac B

Few specific notes need be made here about the syntax of this poem. Difficulties of word and sentence division will generally be discussed in the commentary, but it is worth drawing attention to the ambiguities found in lines 1308 and 1352. In both these places an alternative word division can be justified syntactically. With the long sentences used by the poet it is sometimes difficult to judge exactly where one sense block ends and another begins; see especially the notes for lines 873, 942b-44a and 1320. The interruption of a phrase in lines 1037-38 and in lines 1239b-42a has led to considerable editorial confusion, particularly among English scholars. Interpretation of lines 860-68a is difficult.

Two examples of a weak adjective without a preceding article occur in the poem. The first of these is in the conventional poetic formula found in poems of all periods, to widan feor 840. In the other instance the adjective appears qualifying a dependent genitive in a phrase headed by the definite article, bone bleatan.
drync / deoapan deaweges 990-1. In at least three and probably four places an article agrees not with the dependent genitive before which it stands but with the following noun, lines 1135, 1176, 1366 and 1368. The inconsistency of the relative bara be 1360, noted by Andrew (1940, p. 122), is in part explained by Mitchell (1965, p. 183) as common poetic usage.

Often the syntactical problems isolated by a modern editor in an Old English poem coincide with unusual examples of variation. The poet's use of parallel phrases has been examined at some length by Stock (1920, pp. 253 ff.) and see the notes for lines 1032, 1155, 1195 and 1350. Parallel phraseology need not however imply similarity of content, as the note for line 1158 shows. Though parallels need not be similar syntactically, the variation of the phrase freæn feorhgedal 1200 by a clause is unusual. One example of an uninflected adjective in variation occurs in the poem, gesæht in line 1019, but sporadic instances can be found in verse from all periods. A second participle, sodan in line 1150, is perhaps another instance of this usage but see the note for this line.

In a poem so clearly dependent upon a Latin source one might expect to find traces of the original upon its syntax. It is worth noting that the succession of prepositions in line 1291 is paralleled only three times in the corpus of Old English poetry and may indeed reflect the a segue phrase of the Vita. Otherwise the source cannot be held responsible for syntactical peculiarities of
the poem. The phrase *burh ældæ tīd 835* is often explained as a calque upon the familiar Latin *per sæcula sæculorum* (not in any case present in the relevant sections of the *Vita*), but is better suited in its context if *ælda* is regarded as the genitive singular of *æld* 'life'.

From what has gone before it is obvious that the dialect of these two poems is remarkable not for interesting philological phenomena but for features characteristic of the literary language of the other codices of Old English verse. An important distinction is to be drawn between the poems on grounds of metre, the continuance of 'uncontracted' forms in *Cuthlac A* but not in *Cuthlac B*. Other metrical differences between the poems show them to have been written most likely by different poets and, although these are discussed in a separate chapter, it should be noted here certain verses in the *B* poem may be described as later than the period of the early Junius Biblical poems and *Beowulf* (e.g. the pattern *(xx)xx*// found in 1035b, 1186a, 1222a, 1227a, the pattern *x / xx* in 1175a, 1177a, 1252a, 1361a or the lack of alliteration in 1234).

In both poems however late West Saxon forms of language predominate. The presence of a great many indications of early West
Saxon within these poems as throughout the manuscript suggests that the collection had by the ninth century found its way into some scriptorium where West Saxon forms were in use. Many forms can be described as Anglian, some as Kentish and, although until recently it has been customary to regard such forms as evidence of originally Anglian texts, the recognition of a poetic koine has shown that such forms are taken by themselves inconclusive. Dr. Sisam (1953, p. 134) concludes that none of the extant Old English verse is proved Mercian by linguistic evidence but adds of these Guthlac poems:

... the two long poems on Guthlac, the hermit of Crowland in the Lincolnshire fens, are presumptively Mercian, probably from East Mercia like Felix's Latin Life (circa 740) on which they depend. Such compositions are signs of an active cult, and there is no evidence that Guthlac was popular outside Mercia before the late ninth century. These poems, especially Guthlac B, are remarkably like the signed poems of Cynethulf in language and style. It may be inferred either that the Anglian dialect of Cynethulf was Mercian, which fits the available data very well; or that in his time Northumbrian poetry and the poetry of Guthlac's country, cut off by the Humber and the fens, were uniform: in which case little is to be hoped for from stylistic and linguistic studies.

Two observations must be made. First, it is by no means certain that both poems are based upon the Felix Vita (whose composition anyway can be placed a little earlier than c. 740). Secondly,
the lack of evidence for an active Guthlac cult outside Mercia before the late ninth century is scarcely surprising, when it is remembered how little material there is on which such negative conclusions can be based. Absence from Bede cannot be allowed sufficient grounds for these inferences. Indeed it should be added that Guthlac and his sister Page are both included in the Old English martyrology drawn up in the mid-ninth century and retained in the late ninth century West Saxon recensions of this Mercian document.

Because both poems deal with the life of a Crowland saint it is indeed likely that they were composed in that area: for the Guthlac A poem it can be added that sources and stories other than the Vita are used, perhaps an indication of a local interest in the life. With Guthlac B, as the source for the saint's death is the Vita which became known outside the Mercian area certainly at a period later than the composition of these poems, the probability of local composition is diminished. In these circumstances it would be churlish to neglect the few linguistic pointers found within the manuscript as to the transmission of the poems. The Exeter miscellany has many features which show its contents to have been assembled together at least in one scriptorium if not in the same manuscript by the Alfredian period. A few traits suggest that ninth century Kentish features of language are present. Beyond this, nothing definite can be advanced: for the provenance of the transmitted texts is not known, except that they, like so much other Old English literature, are in late West Saxon manuscripts.
TEXTS

Guthlac A

and

Guthlac B
The text is presented with as few departures from the manuscript as seemed possible. These, and words whose manuscript form is doubtful, are marked with a dagger. Expansions are underlined. The footnotes present the readings and emendations of those who have printed full versions of the two poems, though the spellings normalised by these earlier editors are not generally treated as variants. The opinions of other collators and annotators are to be found either in the section upon textual history or in relevant parts of the commentary.

The scribe's punctuation seems to lack consistency and is thin. It has as well been supplemented occasionally by a sixteenth century hand. I have therefore given the text a modern punctuation. The sectional divisions are retained and the capital letters at the beginning of each section stand for the large capitals of the manuscript. Otherwise capitals are used only to mark the opening of sentences. No attempt is made to reflect the small capitals of the manuscript as it is often impossible to decide if these are really no more than overlarge miniscules. The sporadic accents are printed as it is easiest to judge their value when reading aloud from the text. A note on the scribe's punctuation may be found in the introductory material. Foliation is marked by an asterisk.
At the top of f. 32v a sixteenth century hand has written: Of the Ioyse prepared for them that serve God & keep his commandements. v. III. l. b 1 SE BIB GEFEANA FeGrest the first line on f. 32v, it is all in capitals except for α (written within F) and 3 wib ham: Goll. wip ham 17 motum: Th., Goll., Ass., KD em. motum 17 salra y Th., Gr., Goll., Ass. place at end of line 16 18 be: Goll. L. ηβ. no: MS no, Th. em. no, Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. no 20 lenge hu sel: Th. em. lengpu, sin-gegube brucal: Gr., Ass. lenge husel
gaoga brucad 7 godes miltea;
dider sodastea soala motum
cuman after cwealme pa be her cristes 
lead 7 loata 7 his lof rered,
ofwinnad pa awyedan gestas, bigytal him wuldes reste.“25

Wider soeal he monnes mod astigan
mr obpe after ponna he his amme her
gest bigone be se gode mote
wonna olme * in cweald cuman?

Wonge sindon geond middengeard
hadas under heofonum pa be in halierna
rim arisad; we hee right magun
at eghyelcum anra gyren

gif we halig bebodu healdan willad.

Mag on snotter guna sole brucan

godra tida 7 his geste foed
wages willian; woruld is umhrered,
colap cristes lufu; sindan eotingsa

geond middengeard mon e arisene
swa bret gearea in godes spelbedan

wordum saydon 7 purh witedom

cal Anemadon swa hit nu ganeb. 34

---

25 gestas : MG gestas 27 anne : Th. fotsn. ?acanne 31 in
haligra : Th. unhalierna which Cr. em. on halierna 32 rim :Th. fotsn. rixe 40 gearea : Th. gasea

---
Baldah corop bled whole gehwylyn

45 Bid : Th. Coll. Bib. 46<52> metry i Th. metry which Cr. metry 51 da : Th. Gr. 56, 63 be gehwylyn

33 y 60 55 50 45

385

Baldad 04"r>fan blsd m£ela golnrylftro
7 of wltto wond«d w»»a gooyndttf
seo 0if>r0 tid ofda gobwylces
la 0j»gao» Fors»on 00 mon no £oarf
to fioo0o woraldo wyrpo ffebyogan
fMt bo uo fagran eofoaa brin^o
of or |>a nifras f»o w0 06
ondioo oallo
bo goootto on sioi dajiuit
nu under heofonum hadae oenn d
oiolo 7 anto. 10 Jo« odddaa^oard
dalua godiilodi drybto ooawa)
btir |>a oardion ^o bio 6 boaldoai 55
g«0ibi bo f>a domas dogra gobwyleo
wonian 7 wand an of voruldrybto
da bo ffoootto fAtrb bia sylfes w6rd i
bo fola fiododf foa toood gecorcsne.
Sutoo bin IMM hades bli(a villoa 60
wogan on word urn 7 laa wooro ne dodt
bid bo f>o0dodo of or tait eoe lif
hybta bybta se gehwylyn * seel
fouldbuedra frenda gewoorga.

45 bid : Th. Coll. Bib. 46<52> metry i Th. metry which Cr. metry 51 da : Th. Gr. 56, 63 be gehwylyn
7 of wltto wond«d w»»a gooyndttf
seo 0if>r0 tid ofda gobwylces
la 0j»gao» Fors»on 00 mon no £oarf
to fioo0o woraldo wyrpo ffebyogan
fMt bo uo fagran eofoaa brin^o
of or |>a nifras f»o w0 06
ondioo oallo
bo goootto on sioi dajiuit
nu under heofonum hadae oenn d
oiolo 7 anto. 10 Jo« odddaa^oard
dalua godiilodi drybto ooawa)
Forpon hy na hyread haligra mod

da be him to heoforun hyge stefania;

witun pat se edel † eoe bided

salra hære mengu be geond middenaerd

dryhtnæ peowiaæ 7 pas deoran ham

wilniaæ bi gewyrhtum : sva pas woruldgestreon

on pa mæræ god bimutæ † wæoræd

donne pat gegeynæ pa be him godæ egæ

hleonaæ ofer heafdon. Hy by hyrfætan beæd

bryme gepreade, pisses lifes

burh bicedu brucæd 7 pas betran fordæ

wysæd æ wenæp, wuldræs bygaæd,

sellæd elmæsan, earæ frefæd,

beæd ræmsode ræthra gestreona,

lufiaæ mid lacum pa be læs ægæn,

daghwan dryhtæ peowiaæ : he hyra dæde soeswæd.

Sune pa wuniaæ on westennæm

secædæ gesiætæ æylfra willæm

hamæs on heolstræm, hy Ææs heofoncundæn

boldæs bidæd. Oft him brogan tæ

laæne gelæædæ se be him lifæs onæn,
eawed him aegan, hwilum idel wulder -

bregaevis bona hafad bea cræft -

sahted anbuendra; fore him englas stondad

gearwe mid gesta wæpnum, beop hyra geoca gemynge,

healdad haligra feorh, witan hyra hyht mid dryhten ;

pat synd pa geostan cæmpa pa Pam cyninge peowad

se neare pa lean aleged pam pa his lufan adreoged.

WAgun we nu nemnan pat us neah geweard

purh haligne " had geopened,

hu guedlaec his in gode willan

mod geræhte, min saal forseah,

cordlic w pelu upp gemunde,

ham in heofonum; him wes hyht to pam

sippan hine inlyhte se pe lifes wæg

gestum gearwad 7 him gifea sealde

angelcunda pat he ana ongan

beorgaspel bagan 7 his blead gode

purheadmedu ealand gesalde

done pe on geogude bigan scoalde

worulde wynnum; hine weard\(^\dagger\) biheold,

halig of heononum, se pat hluttre mod

86 aegan : Th. read æsan which he and Gr. em. aegan 89 geoca : Th. footn. geoca? 91 heowad : Th. footn. x heowad; synd : Ass. ind

92 WS, a line empty except for adreoged at end; aleged : Th., Gr., em. aleged; adreoged : Th. footn. x adreoged 93 WAgun ; in MS WA are large capitals 96 man ; beside this, the last word of first line on 34\(^\dagger\) a sixteenth century hand has written Gudlaeg 105 weard ; MS weard, Th., Gr., Coll., Ass., KD em. weard
in pas gestes gôd georne trymêde.

Hæt we byrdon oft þæt se halgæ wer
in þa ærestan aldun gelufade
freonessa fela; fyrst wes swa þeone
in gode dome hwone guðlæce
on his omdgietan engel sealde
het him swedoðen synna lustas.
Tid was toward; his twégæn yst
weardas wæcædon þæ gewin drægan –
engel dryhtnes 7 se ðæla gast;
nales by him gelice lære beron
in his modæ gemynd mungum tidum:
þær him þæ særpan ealle sagde
lane under lyfte 7 þæ longæn gôd
herede on heofonum þær haligra
sælæ gesittæ in sigorwîdlre
dryhtnes dreæmas – he him dæda lean
georne gieldeð þæm pe his geife willad
þiœgan to þonc 7 þim þæs worulæd
utter istæn þonne þæt eoe lif;
þær hyne scyhte þæt he sesædane gemot
nihtæs sohte 7 þurh nehinge
wunne æfter worulde swa dôð wæmœgæs
þæ pe ne bimœð æ monnes feore

r. nibinge
hie pe him to hondes buge gelede
butan by by reafe raden andan.
Swa by hire trymedon on twa healfa
obpat heu gewianoses seorode dryhten
on heu engles dom ende gereahite.
Feond was geflymed; eippam frofre gast
in guilaces geucce gwunade,
lufade hine 7 larde, lenge hu geornor,
but him leofadan lomes wynne,
bold on beorchge. Oft byr broga owom,
egeselic 7 uncud ealdfeonda aid,
searocraftum swip; by him ylf hyra
onsyn ywdon 7 par er fela
setla gesston bonan aid tugon
wida wade wuldre byscyrede
lyflasende. Wes seo londes stow
bimpen fore monnum obpat meotud onwrah
beorg on bearwe ha se bytla owom
se par halige him arerde;
nalas by he giemde burh gitsunga
lenes lifwelan so pat lond gode
segre gefreepode siippam feond oferwon
oristes caem. He gecostad veard
in gemynigre monna tidum

hara pe nu gena þurh gestlicu 155
wundor weordiað 7 his wisdomes
hlišan healdað þæt se halga þeow
eleine geesode þæ he ana gesst
dygle stowe þær he dryhtnes lof
reahte 7 raerde. Oft þurh recorde abread 160
þam þe þrowera þeawes lufedon,
godes ærendu þæ him gest onwrah,
lifeæ sýttære, þæt he his lichoman
wynna swyræðe 7 woruldblissa,
seftra setla 7 symbeldaga,
sylææ eac idelra eægæna wynna,
gierelan gielplices þæ him wes godes ægæa 35
mara in gemyndum þonne he menniscum
prymse after ponce þegan wolde.

God was Guðlac! He in geste þær 170
heofoncundne hyht, halu geræhte
ecan lifes; him wes engel neah,
fæle freoduweard, þam þe feara sum
meærcloade ges-t þær he mongum weard
bysen on brytene sippan biorg gestah.

Endig oretta ondwiges heard

frede hine georne mid gastlicium

wepnum [7 wendum], wong bletsade,
him to stetalle arest arerde
cristes rode; per se campa oferwon
fresnessa fela. Frome wurdum monge
godes prowera: we pes guðlaces* deorwyrðne dat dryhte oennad.

He him sige realde 7 snyttuercraft,

mundbyrd meahta, bonne mengu cwom
feonda sarceytum fahle ruran;
ne meahten by æfeste anforlutan
sc to guðlaces gaste geladdun
fresuna fela; him wes fultum neah,

engel hine elne trymede. bonne by him yrre hweopan

fresne fyres wylme, stodan him on fæðhwærfum,

owdun pat he on pam beorge byrnan scoolde

7 his lichoman lig forewelgan

pat his earfeþu eal gelumpe

modcearu rægum gif he monne dream

175 brytene : Th. read bryhtene which he em. to brytene
176 ondwiges : Th. 7 wiges heard “bold in war”; Coll. and-wiges
177/8 no break in MS; older editors place wepnum at end of 177 and suppose loss of half line or more; KD wepnum * * * wong bletsade
178 Frome wurdum : Th. “by his bold words”; footn. from-wordum; Gr., Coll., Ass., KD em. wurdun
182 prowera : Th. footn. browera;
guðlaces, MS guðlace : KD em. Guðlaces
188 gaste : Th., Gr., gaste
190 hweopan : MS hwoopan, first o altered to e
of pam orlæg  eft ne wolde
sylfa gesecan 7 his sybbe ryht
  _id moncyne  * maran cræfte
  willum bewitigan,  letan wrecce stille.
Swa him yreade  se for oalle sprec
feconda mengu;  no hy forhtra wes
guðlases gast  ac him god sealde
ellen wip pam agsan  þet pam caldefeondes
soylfigra scolu  scome bryedon;
weron toosmidas  tornes fulle,
swdon þet him guðlas  eac gode sylfus
eæfepa most  ana gefremede
sippen he for wience  on westerne
beorgas brace;  þer hy þ bidinge
earme ondsacon  æor mostum
after tintergum  tidum brucan
Donne hy of wapum  werge cwozan
restan rynebragum;  rowe gefegon;
was him seo gelyfed  þurh lytel fæo.
Stod seo dygle stow  dryhtne in gesyndum
  idel 7 æmen  eþplrihtæ feor,
bad bisse  betran hyrdæ.
To bona ealdfeondas ondan noman
swa hi singales sorge dreogad;
ne motun hi on sarpan eardes brucan
ne hy lyft swefed in leoma restum
ac hy hleoolese hama polisad,
in oearum cwipad, cwalmes wisad,
willen pet him dryhten purh deades cwalm
to hyra earfedan ende geryme;
ne mostun hy guolaces gente seepban
ne purh earselega sawle gedalan
wil lieboman ac by ligosearwum
ahofun barmetafas, bleaktor alagdon,
sorge seofedon pa hi swila oferstag
weard on wonge; seolc don wremewgas
ofgiefan gnornende grene beorgas.
Hwepre by pa * gana goda eondascan
sagdon sarstafum, swipe geheton
pet he deapa gedal dreogam sceolde
gif he leng bide lapran gemotes
hwonne by mid mengu waran owome
ba pe for his life lyt sorgedon.

Guilme him ongean pingode, owp pet hy gielpan ne porftan

221 in leoma restum : Th. in leoma-festum "its embraces", footn.
leoma?: Gr. in leoma festum, footn. leomae-functum? festum? 224
wilten: Th. footn. willan) 225 sarfedan: Gr. em. sarfesum
233 ondascan: Goll. andescan; by: Gr. em. hym 239 owp: Th. owp
dēdom wīd dryhtnes meahthum: "heah be ge me dead gehaten 240
mec wīlde wīd þam nihtum geneargan se be covrum nydum wealde.
An is almihtig god se mec mag eāde gescyldan,
he min seorg freoþad. In eow fea wilde
sona gescyogan mag in þis setl on eow
butan earfēðum ana gedrīngan‡;
ne ean in swa fealāg, swa in eow fore stonde,
monna weorcudes as me mara del
in godeundum gesgeormum
wunad 7 weaxed se me wrape healedd.
Ine me aman hær eāde getimbere
huse 7 hloencad; me on heofonum sined
hre gelenge: mec þes lyt tsegb
but me engel to ealle gelæded
spowende sped sprea 7 deda.
Gewītað nu swyrge. warigmode,
from þissum earde be ge har on stondad,
pleop on fæorg. Ine me frið wilde
st gode gegerman; ne seal min gæst mid eow
gedwulan dreggan so mec dryhtnes hond
mundad mid magne. Her seal min wesan
cordlic ehel, mæles covrer leng."

241 se be covrum : Gr. se covrum
242 An : Th. An
245 gedrīngan : Th. gedrīngan, second & altered from or. Th. gedrīngan
"pres"; footnote. gedrīngan?; Gr. em. gedrīngan; Coll., fac., BD em.
gedrīngan 252 tsegb : NS b em. from w 261 lee covrere leng
alone at right hand side of line dividing sections
Ofte we ofersegon bi sem tweonum
peoda peawas prece modigra
hara pe in gelimpe life weoldon,
no we oferhygdun anes monnes
geond middangeard maran fundon.

Se pat gehastest pat du ham on bus
gegan wilde: eart de godes yrming.
Bi hwon seealt tu lifgan peah tu lond age?
Ne peo mon hider mose feded;
beod pe hungor 7 purst heards gewinnan

gif tu gewitset sva wilde deor
ana from eple: nis pat onginn wiht.

Geswic pisse setles. Ne mag peo sellan red
mon gelaran bonne peo mangu eall.

We pe beod holde gif du us hyran wilt
oppe peo ungearo oft gesceal

moran magne pat pe mon ne pearn

hondum hrinan ne pin hra feallan

262 6A: large capital 6 and smaller capital A mark section opening.
264 cleopedon: MS has pedon below ruled lines 266 bi: Th., Gr.,
Coll. de 269 we: MS de; Th. read MS de, footn. we for def, Gr.
em. we: Coll., Ass., &D em. we 269 anes: Th. footn. unigees?
271 bus: Th., Gr., Coll., Ass., &D em. us 272 de: Th. footn.
ku?: Gr. eart de; KD em. de eart 281 ungearo: Gr. footn. ungeara
we have neglected to be her sheath in the tommesse.

7 owe see every vidoor sawe

aid gebolge boryd ohuban peace,

and gebolge boryd ohuban peace,

aid gebolge boryd ohuban peace,

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aid gebolge boryd ohuban peace,

aid gebolge boryd ohuban peace,
so io minum oriste oweman hence
leofran lace nu io his lond gestag.
Fela ge me earda burh idel word
aboden habbad; nis min breosteefa
forht ne fage so me fride healed
ofer monna cun se be magna gehwas
woorcum wealde; nis me wiht et eow
leofes gelong ne ge me lapec wiht
gedon motun in eom dryhtnes beow,
he mec burh engel oft arefred.
Fordon mec longepas l冶 gyretad
sorge sealdun; nu mec sawelound
byrde bihealde is min hyht mid god
ne is me eordwelan wiht sinne
ne me mid mode micles gyrne
so me dogra gehwas dryhten senden
burh monnes hond mine pearfe."
Swa modgade se wiä monnum stod
awreded weordlice wuldres coma
engla magne. Gewat eal poman
feonda mengu: ne wæs se fyret micel
he hi gudlace forgiefan pohtan.
He wæs on elne 7 on ealdmedum,
bad on george - was him botles need -
forlet longepes laura dreama;
no he hine wid monna milteo gedalde
as gesynsa bed sawla ghekylare
bonhe he to sordan on pam anade
blesor onhylde: him of heofoman weard
onbrynded brestsaef blide geste.
Oft sahtade - was him angel neah -
hu pisae woruldewynna porfte
mid his lichoman læerset brucan;
no his fore egan earura gesta
trew weode ne he tid forest
pes he he for his dryhtne drogen secolde
pat hine ereste elne binoman
elsa elman opp he sane mod.
Sva secal oratta in his mode
gode oompian 7 his gest baran
oft on ondan pam be sahtan wile
sawla ghekylare þær he geslan mag.
Syale by gudlac in godes willan
froms fundon bonne flygereowe
þurh nihta genipu neasan swoman
pe þe onhale earas wereden,
he swopre him pse vonges wyn swedrde.
Woldun paet him to mode fore monulfan
sorg gescone paet he eit ture
of to eple : he was bat origin styl
Donne hine angel on sam enade
gest meet grete 7 him giefe sealde
paet hine mehta meetudes willan
lengad gelettan so he on pse lareowes
were gewunade. Oft worde biowad :
"Haru pse bihofad se pse him halig gest
wisa on willan 7 his weorc trymed,
lapad hine lipum wortun, gebaeted him lifu rest
paet he pse lutterowes larum hyre
ne lete him salfedom eft oncyrran
mod from his meetude. Su secal min ouman
gest to gese neme ic gode sylle
hyreumme hige paet him heortan geponge *
or uppe eil onde geworcde
paet ge mea to wundre wegan motun.
He mag min lichoom wid has laman gesceaf
dead gedalan ac he gedroesan secel

352 he swopre : Coll. he sbere
355 paet : Th., Coll. paet
362 trymed : Gr. en. trymed
363 reste : Th., Gr. print reste without comment; Ass., KD print reste and give footn. reste
368 gehone : Th. gehone; here all editors recognise that part of text is missing
swa peose sorde sall be in her on stonde.

beash ge wisse flashoman fyres wylme
forsipen grombygye givran lage
nafre ge mac of bissum wordum onwendid
benden mac min gewit gelasted
beash be ge hine scars femesman : ne motan ge mine sawle gretan
ne ge en betran gebringad. fordan ic gebidan villes
beas be min dryhtnes demed ; nis ne pes despee sorg.
beash min tan 7 bled butu geworpec

corpsen te easan, min se esa dal
in gefesen fared per he sagran
botlees bruced. min pisnes beorges setil
medumare ne mara bonge hit mern duge
se be in proesngus pecknes willan
daghves droged; ne seosal ne dryhtnes peow
in his nodsefan mara gelufian
corpsen dchtwelan ponse his men genet

dan be his lihoman lade hebbe,"

da was oft swa er ealdfeonda mid

wroht onyllled, wod oborne
lythweon leodode ponne in lyft astag

benden : Gr. benden 377 foresman : Tho. foota. K-foresten?
364 medumare : Tho. e. medumare; mare : Gr. em. mare; duce : bs
buca, Gr., Coll., Ass., KD em. duce; Tho. "when it a man inhabits",
be 391 onyllled : bs onyllled; Tho. em. onusced; Gr., Coll.,
Ass., KD em. onyllled, wod ; bs god. Tho. Gr., Coll., Ass., KD em. wod;
oberne ; Gr., Coll., Ass., KD trist ne as at beginning of 392, Coll. in-
serting her at end of 391
oeawgeeta oirn. Symle orietes lorf
in gudlaces godum mode
weox 7 wunade 7 hine weorwada god
freolade on foldan; swa he feora gehwylc
healded in hale ser se hyra gast
phih in pemum. He was þeora sum;
ne won he after worulde as he in wuldre ðohof
modes wynne. Hwylc was mara bonne se?
An oretta ussum tidum,
compa, geocyded þat him crist fore
woruldlicra mæ wundra geocyde.

HE hine scilde wid sceadpenra
eglum onfengum earara gesta;
weron hy recow to remanne
gifra grapum. No god wolde
þat sceo sael þes ser browade
in lichoman; lyfte se þeana
þat hy him mid hondum hrinan mosten
7 þat frid wid hy gefræopeð ware.
My hine þa hofun on þa hean lyft,
sealdon him meahdte ofer monna cynn
pat he forth eageum eall socswode
under halygra hyra gewesaldum
in mynterum monna gebaru
bara be hyra lifes burh luct brucan
idlum ahtum 7 oferwloncum,
gierulum gielplicum: swa bid geogude sceaw
per pes ealdres egza ne styred.
No per pa feondas gefeon porfton
as pes blodes hrade gebrocan hafdon
be him alyfed waes lytle hwile
pat hy his lichoman leng ne mostan
witum wulan; ne him wiht gesceod
pes be hy him to teonan burhtogen hafdon.
Leddun hine pa of lyfte to pes leofestan
eardse on eordan pat he eft gestag
beorg on bearwe; bonan gmornedon,
mendon murnende pêt† by monnes bearn
preneur oferpunge 7 swa bearfendlic
him to earfedum † ana swome
gif hy him ne meahete maran sarum
gyldean cyneworce. Guólas sette
hyht in heofonas, helu getrewode,
helfde beonda feng feore gedygde;
was see areste earma gusta
costung ofexuman; ceopa wunede
blipes on beorge; was his blad mid god.
ouhte him on mode but se moyncynes 440
eadig ware se pe his anum her
feore gefroedade but him feondes hond
st pam yttestan ende ne seode
bonne him se dryhtnes dom wisade
to pam nyhstan nydgedale.
445
Hwempe him pe gena gyrna gezyndge
edvitsprecan ermpu geheton
tornum tesnewidum. Treow was gezybed
bette guilace god leanode
allen mid arum but he ana gewon.
450
Him se verge gast wordum sagde:
"Ne we pe jus swide swenocan porftan
her pe fromlice beonda larum
byran wolde; pa pe hean + 7 earn
on his orlege arest owome
455
sa pe geheto but pec halig gast
wid earoezum eade gescilde

446 gyme: Th. "earnestly", footn. gyrna? gyrna? of snares"?–x
447 edvitsprecan: Th. "They spake reproach", footn. F.sposcen
448 treow: Th. treowed? 493 bpe: Th. footn. an error for gif?
454 hean: MS heam; Th., Gr., Coll., Ass., KD em. hean
for bas myrcelse  be bee monnes hond
from pinre onyne  "pelum ahwyrde."
(In bäm magwlite  mone lifgâb
syltum forgiefene,  nales gode biga),
ac by lichoman  fore lufan owesad
viista wynnum:  swa ge wœrdmyndu
in dolum dreame  dryhtne gielded.
Fela ge fore monnum midâd  bes pe ge in mode gehygað,
ne beod eowre*  dade dysne
(weah pe ge by in dygle geframm.)
"We pec in lyft geliddun,  oftugon pe londes wynna,
woldun þu be sylfa gesawe  þet we pec sod onstaldun;
alles þu þes wite awunne
forþon þu hit onwendan ne meahen."  
ða was agongen  þet him god wolde
after browinge  bone geýldan
þet he martyrhæd  mode gelufade;
sealdæ him asytru  on sefan gehygdum,
mogenfaste gesynd.  He wíð mongum stód
faldfeonda  elne gebylded,
sædde him to sorge  þet by sigeðase
bone grene wonn  ofgiefan sceoldan;
"Ge sind forseadene!  On sow socld sited!"
Ne cunnan ge dryhten  dugabe biddan

458 bee : omitted by Gr. and Coll. as em.; Th. thinks a "couplet" missing
460 magwlite : Gr. footn. = bihe
461 bigâb : Gr. footn.
ne mid cadmedum are sean
beah pe cov alyfde lytle wile
but ge min onwald agan mosten;
ne ge but gebylcum biogan woldan
so me yrringa up gelsiden
but ie of lyfte lenda getiabru
geesom mehte. Wes me svecis leocht
torht ontyned beah is torn druge.
Setton me in edvit but is cade forbar
rune regulas 7 repe mod
gendo media in godec templum;
woldan by gebyrwan haligra lof,
sochtun pa emara 7 pa sellen til
demdan after dedum. He beoh pe dyrne swa beah.
le cow sod wip bon seogan wills:
god soop geogude 7 gumena dreem;
ne magun pa afterylc in pam creestan
blide geberrar so hy blissed
woralde wynum oddet wintre rim
gesed in pa geogude pat se gese lufed
onsyn 7 etwist yldran hedes
De genet se monige geond middeangeard

481 beah bo: Gr. foota. beah bo 482 onwald: MS onwald with a
subpuncted; Th., Gr. onwald 483 sotton: Th. "ye said", foota.
484 bok bo: Th. "ya se", foota. 491 on: Th., Coll. sibben,
492 sibben: Ass., KD om. sibben 494 afteryl: Gr. foota, after
496 ateryl: Gr. foota, after
beowiel in beawum; beodum ywah
wisdom weeras, wlenou forlessad,
sibben geoguda gead gest aflib.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>509</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>set ge ne scirad ac ge scealdigra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>synne sceged, sopimentra nö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mod 7 monpea wearan willad,
gefèdd in firenum, frofre ne venad

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>510</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>set ge wresclada wyro gebiden.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Oft ge in gestalum stondad; pas cymed steor of heofonum;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>511</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me bonne sended se usio secon mag,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se pe life gehwes lengu wealled.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Swa hleoðrade halig cempa;

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>was se martyrhe from moncyndnes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

synnum asundrad; seceldhe he saries þa gen
dal adreogan þeæh þe dryhten his

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>513</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>witum wolde, monht þet wundra sum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

monnum puhte þet he se wolde
afrum ofengum earmes gastas

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<tr>
<th>514</th>
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<tr>
<td>brinan leton 7 þet heimpere gelomp.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wes þet gen sara þet he middangeard
sylfa gescohte 7 his swat ageat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>520</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on bonæna hond; ahfe bega geweald,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

504 geah : Th. "goeth", footn. geah 507 wæran : Th. "ye will magnify", em. marian 511 se bonne sended : Cr. em. adds mund after bonne; se usio secon mag : Th. read weg, tr. "he who's to us man's way", footn. usio or us is? non-weg-lif-weg; Cr. se us is se monweg; Coll., Ass. se usio se mon weg; KD as above 517 wolde : Th. footn. wæolde? ; Cr., Ass., XD em. wæolde 520 leton : Cr., Ass. em. letan 521 wæolde : Cr. em. mare
lifam 7 deades, pa he lustum dreas
saemo on coraun ichtendra mid.
Forpon is nu aulic pat we afresta
dade demme, segen dryhte leof
ealra para bisena pa us bee fore
purn his sundrum geweorc wipdom cybald.

Geofa wes mid guhlem in godoundum
wagm genued. Miscel is to seegan,
sall after ore, pat he on alne adresta;
beene foregengen fader almheitig
vild ohalum ealdorwiniiniun
sylsa gesette pur his sau wellness
clame 7 geosted, Cad is wide
gemon middangeard pat his mod geopah
in goden willan; In pes gen fela
to seagennu pes pe he sylda adresta
under nyglissta cleanum.
Ne pe sær forseah, a pare sauwe wel
[gesamde] pes sundborna pe pat mod gehoold,
purt him na getweode treow in breostum

529 cybald is last word of its line in MS; following line free 533
foregengen: Th. "a forth geor", footn. ford-georn? 540 nyglissta: MS x altered from j; Th., Or. midryhta 541/2 mod: MS mend; Th. em. wel to brila, he had to be be and tr. "he the pain despis'd of the soul ever while in the Protecter, who held him in his care..."; Or. inserts a line and em. med; Goll. notes a line omission; Ass., KD em. med and leave a free line 542 [gesamde]: not in MS 543 but: Th. 191
ne him gnornunga  gnate acscodun,
as se hearda hige  halig wunade
obbat he ha hysgu  oferbidin hefd.
þrea waron þearle,  þegnas grimme,
ealle by þam fære  fyl gehehton;
no by hine to dead  deman moston
synna hyrdas  ao seo sawul bad
in lychoman  leofran tide.
Georne by ongeston  þet hyme god wolde
norgan wiþ nijum  7 hyra nydrwece
doce deaman,  Swa dryhten mæg,
am almhtig,  sceadigre gewone
wiþ earfeæum  eade gescildan.
Hwaðre hine gebrohton  bolgenmode
wraðe wræcemogas  wuldres cempân
halig husulbearn  at heldore
þær firenfulra  fege gestas
æfter swylcswæl  secan onginnad
ìngong æres  in þet atule his
niper under nessas  neole grundas.
By hine bregdon,  budon oxlege,
æsæn 7 ondan  ærleslice,
freonæ ford  swa bið seonda þæw
ponne hy seofesta sawle willad
sunnus beswican 7 seorocraeftum.
Ongunnon gromheorte godes orettan
in sefan swenoan, swipe geheton
het he in bone grimmen gryre gongan sceolde,
heorfan gehyned to helwarum
7 þer in bendum bryne prowian.
Woldum hy geteon mid tornowidum
earme aglæcan in orwennyese
meotudes ceoman - hit ne meahite swa;
cweodon ceorflæle oristea lade
to gudlac mid grimenysse:
"Ne eart þu gedeo ne dryhtnes þecw
clyne geostas þe compa god
wordum 7 weorcum wel geceyped,
halig in heortan: nu þu in helle scealt
deppe gedufan, naes dryhtnes leocht
habban in heofonum, heahgetimbru,
seld on swagle, forpon þu synna to fela
fæna gefremesæ in flæscohnan.
We þe nu willad womma gehwylces
lean forgieldan þer þe lapast bid,
in þam grimmestan gestgewinne."
Him se eadga ver  undswarde

gudlaec in gewste  mid godes magne : 590

"Dode efne swa  gif eow dryhten eyst

lifes lechtfruma  lyfan wylle

vcoruda waldend  pset ge his wergengan

in bone ladan leg   ladan motan.

pset is in gewealdum  wulderoyninges

se eow gebynde  7 in haft bedraf

under nearone clam  nergende eyst.

Eom ic ea[mod]  his ombieuthera,

peow gebyldig.  Io gepafian scoal

aghwar salles  his anne dom

7 him geornlice  gewtgeomyndum

vylle * wideferh  wesan underyded;

hyran holdlice  minum halende

beawum 7 gebynodum  7 him boacian

salra para giefena  pe god gescop

englum arest  7 sor[ð]warum

7 io blestige  blide mode

lifes lechtfruma  7 him lof singe

burh gedefne dom,  dages 7 nihtes

herge in heortan  heofonrices weard.

592 efne : Th., Gr. ofen  600 scoal : Th. read scoal  605 ge-

bynodum : Th. em. gebealhtum, Gr. gebynodum  606 giefena : Th.,

Gr. gisena  610 heortan : Th. reads heortum, foctn. r. heortan; Gr.

heortum
het eow afer ne bid ufan alyfes
lechtes lissum het ge lof moten
dryhtne seogan ac ge deade sceolon
weallendne wean wope bisingan,
heaf in helle, naele herenisse
halge habban heofonseynings.

IC pone deman in dagum minum
wille wocpian wordum 7 dadum,
lufian in life." (Swa is lar 7 ar
to apowandre sprece gelæded
bam be in his weorcum willan ræfnæ.)
"Sindon ge wælogan : swa ge in wreside
longe lifdon, lege bisenete†,
eaweartes beseowene, sawege bencumene,
dreame bidroene, deade bifolene,
firenum bifongne feores orwenan
het ge blindnesse bote fundon.
Ge pa fuegran gesceafte in fyndagum
gestlione godscrafe geaco foresagone 630
pa ge wiðhodum halgrum dryhtne.
Ne mustun ge a wunian in wyndagum

614 deade : Gr. footn. deade? 615 weallendne : Th., Gr. weallende
616 heaf : Th. footn. heafe? 618 IC : large capital I followed by
smaller C; one line empty marks opening of a new section. 622 in his :
Gr. em. his in 624 bisenete, ME bissenete : Gr., KD em. bissenete
630 gestlione : Th., Gr. gestlione 631 wiðhodum : Th., Gr., Coll.,
Ass., KD em. wiðhodun
no mid some scyldum scofene wurdon
fore oferhygdem in oce fyr
ær ge scoelón drengan deade 7 hystro,
wæp to widen salde — nefre ge þæs wyrpe gebiðad —
7 in þet gelynfe in liffruman,
cone onwealdan scaled gesesafta,
þat he meo for militem 7 magenspædem
nibbe nergend nefre wilde
þurh ellenweorc anforistæn
þam ic lænce in lichoman
7 in minum geste gode campode
þurh monigfealdra magna gerymu.
Forðon ic getryve in þone torhtestæn
brynesse Prym se geþæhtingum
hafæð in honum heofon 7 eordan
þat ge meo mid niþum nefre motan
tormode teon in tintergu
mine wyrðran 7 sæsceðan,
swearte, nigelese. Eon ic ædlice
leóhte geleafan 7 mid lufan dryhtnes
fægre gefyllæd in minum fecrhlocan,
brestum inbryæd to þam betran ðam;

633 some scyldum / Th. "shameful crimes", footn. some-scyldum?
636 widan / Th. wigan
lecraura lalyhted to þæn leofestan
ecan earde þær is ebollond
ferger 7 geæfâlic in fæder wuldre,
þær eow nefre fore nergende
lehtes leoma ne lîfeas hyht
in godes rice aegifan weorpe
for þæm oferhygdum be eow in mod astag
purh idel gylp ealles to swide.
Wandun ge 7 woldum wiperhygeande
þat ge scyppende sceolden gelice
wesan in wuldre. Fow þær wyrs gelomp
ða eow as waldend wraðe bisenote
in þat swearte seisal þær eow siðian was
ad inæled attre geblonden
purh decone dom dream afyarred
engla gemana. Swa nu awa sceal
wesan wideferh þat ge wernysse
brynswylm hebban, nales blestunga;
ne þurfon ge wesan wuldre biscyraðe
þat ge moc synfulle mid searocraeftum
under scead sceonde scufen moten
ne in babblæsan brægdon on hinder
in helle huse þer eow is hæm sceapan,
sweart sinnhe, secu butan ende,
grim gostowalu, þær ge geornende
dead sceolox dreogan 7 iu drafts cyn
agam mid englum in þam uplican
rodéra rice þær is ryht cyning,
help 7 helu helpe cynne,
dugul 7 drohtad." ða sum dryhtnes ðyr,
halog of heofonum, se þurh heofor aþeald
ufansundne æge earmum gæstum,
het eft hræð umseyligæ
of þam wæscide wuldres cœpæn
ledan limbalæ þat se leofæsta
gæst gegeardæ in godæs wreæ
on gæfeæ ferde. ða weard fœunda þræt
sool for þam ægæan. Ofermæga sormæ,
dyre dryhtnes þegn, daghluttræ sceæn,
hede guælæces gæst in gesældæ,
modæg mundæora moæhtæ spædig,
þæofæra pegænas þæranælæ þæofæ
nyd onættæ 7 genæshæ bibæad:
"Ne æy him bænes bryce ne blædig wænd,

692 Ofermæga: Th. ofer moega "proudly", footn. ofermetum?; Gr.
footn. ofermetum, ofermaegæ 696 þæranælæ: MS þæranælæ;
Th. reads þæranælæ which Gr. pr. without comment; Goll., Ass., KN
em. þæranælæ
lies lala ne lapes wiht

hes pe ge him to dare gedon motan

ac ge hine gesundne Æsettæp þær ge hine sylfne genoman:

he sceal þy wonge wealdan,

ne magon ge him pa wic forstondan.

Io eom se dema se mec dryhten heht

anude geseegæn þæt ge him sara gehwylce

hondum gehalde 7 him hearsume

on his sylfes dom sibban waren;

ne sceal ic mine onsyn fore eowere

mengu miban: ic eom metudes þegn.

Eom ic þara twelfa sum þæt he getreoweste

under monnes hiw mode gelufade.

He mec of heofonum hider onsende:

geseah þæt ge on eordan fore afstum†

on his wergengan wite legdon.

Is þæt min bropor, mec his bysag gehrearw.

Io þæt gefremme, þær se freond wunað

on þære socne þæt ic pa sibbe wið hine

healdan wille nu ic his helpan mot,

þæt ge min onsynn oft sceawiað;

nu ic his geseahhe neosan wille,

sceal ic his word 7 weorc in gewitnesse

dryhtne ladan: he his duode conn."
gsbliee &d
r-Voden hwfda
lyt oferleordun. Ongan pæ leofne sit
dragen domeadig dryhtnes céopa
to pam onwillan eordan dele.
By hine bæron 7 hime bryce healdon,
hofon hine bondum 7 him hyre burgum;
weron hyre gongas under godes ægan
mæpe 7 gesætfe. Sigeheardig ægan
bylæ to pam bæorge; hine bleotsædon
mæge magelites meaglum reordum,
treofugla tuddor tænum cyldon
eadges eftootæ; oft he him ste heold
ponne by him hungrige ymb hond flugon,
gradum gifre geoce * gefagen.
Swa bat wilde mod wil moncynnaes
dreaman gedalde, dryhtne pecode,
genom him to wildeororum wynnæ
sipan he pas woruld forhogde.
Smolt was se sigeswong 7 sele niwe,
fæger fugla reord, folde geblowen;
geæcas gear budon; gudlæc moate,

722 RA : large & followed by smaller A
725 reordum : Th. wordum for which Gr. footn. reordum?
730 reordum : Th. wordum
735 gradum : Th. footn. gudlæc
744 gudlæc : Th. gudlæc
eadig 7 onmod, eartes brucan.

Stōd ae grena wong in godes wære,

hæfde se heorde se he of heofonum owom
fæondas afyrde. Wylc was fægerra

wills geworden in were life

hær pe yldran usse gesundes

oppe we selfe† sippan cypen?

Hwet we pissa wundra gevitan seldon;

call þæs geesodan in ussera

tida tisan. Forpon þes twesgan ne þearf

æng ofer eordan ælda cynnes

as wilce god wyrcæ gæsta lifes
to trummaþ þy las þæ tydran mod
pa gewitnesse wendan purfe

bonne þy in gesihpe sopes brucæ.

Swa se ealmhtiga calle gesceafte

lufæd under lyfte in liohoman
monna ægde geond middangeard.

Wile† se waldend þæt we widsom a
snyttreum swelgen þæt his sod fore us

on his giefena gyld gege weorde

+hæ he us to ære 7 to ondgiete

750 gemunde: Th. footn. 750*gemunden (gemunden) 751 selfe: in
MS y placed below first e, Th., Gr. sylfe 756 wilce: MS has y
below i 759 bruced: Coll. bruced 763 Wile: in MS an i
erased before i 765 Coll. Wille
syled 7 sende, sawlum ryme
like lifwegas leonete gesythe.
Vis pet huri levot pet sec lifu cype
bonne heo in monnes mode gentriried
geotcundc gife; swa he gudblaces
770
dagas 7 dede burh his dom eho.
Wes se fruma festlic feondum on bodan
geseted wi3 synnum; þer he sijinan lyt
were gewonade; oft his word gode
775
burh saegedu upe onsende,
let his ten cuman in þa þeorhtan gescaeft,
poneade þecnde þes þe he in browngum
bidan moste hwonne his betre lif
burh gode willan agyfen worde.
780
Swa wes gudblaces 7ast geladded
engla fædum in uprodor
fore onsynae eoes deman:
læddon leoflice. him wes lean gesaeald,
sett on swege, þer he symle mot
785
awo to seldre eardfeste wesan,
blide bidan; is him bearn gode,
milde mundbore, meetig dryhten,
halig byrde, heofonrico weard.
Weode scealnot saels motun in eone geard up westege.
\( \text{rodere rice to pe refræd her} \)
\( \text{wordum 7 weorcum wulbrocyninges} \)
lare longeume on hyra lifes tid,
\( \text{earmiad on eordan ecgan lifes} \)
\( \text{hames in heahpu ; biht beod huselweras,} \)
\( \text{acpan gesorcene oriste leofe;} \)
\( \text{berað in treostum beorhtne geleafan,} \)
halige hyht, heorten clane;
\( \text{weordieð waldend; habbað wiuæ gesceot} \)
\( \text{fuæne on forðweæ to fæder ædle;} \)
\( \text{gearweæ geætes bus 7 mid gleawnesse} \)
\( \text{feond oferfeæctæd 7 furenlastæ;} \)
\( \text{forberað in treostum breorhorsibbe;} \)
\( \text{georne bisongæð in godes willan;} \)
\( \text{swescað bi sylfe; sawle fretwæð} \)
\( \text{hælgum gehygduæ; heofoncyninges bibod} \)
\( \text{fremmað on folian; fæsten lufiæ;} \)
\( \text{beorgæð him bealomæp 7 gebedu scead;} \)
\( \text{swescað wid synnum; healdæð sob 7 ryht.} \)
\( \text{Him pet ne hrewæd after hingæne} \)

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796 heahpu : Gr. heshrum; huselweras : Gr., Coll. huselweras
802 gearæð : Th. gearæð which Gr. on, gearæð, Coll. gearæð;
806 hi : Gr. hy (on p. 416 mistake noted and heo given).
done by hwoerfae in ha halgan burg,
sonad segununga to hierusalem
fer bi to sorulie wynus motum
godes onsyne seorne bibealdor,
sibbe 7 gesibbe, per heo sod wunan
witig wuldorfmet salne† widan ferh
on lifgendra londes wynne.
Guthlac E

PART IS WIDE GOD 
WERA ONCORISSUM, 
folcum gefrage,  þatte frymga god  
bone ærestan ælde cynnes 
of þere clamestan ðynge ælmhhtig 
foldan geworhte. ða wæs fruma niwe 
ælde tudres,  onstal wynlic, 
seger 7 gefealig. Fader wæs assennæd  
ædam ærest þurh est godes 
on neorxnawong þer him nanges wæs 
willan onsyna ne welan brosnung 
ne lifes lyre ne lices hryre 
ne dreames dryre,  ne deades cyme 
sæ he on þam lande lifgan moeste 
ealra leahtra leas,  longe neotan 
niwa gefeana;  þer he ne þorftæ 
lifes ne lissa in þam lechtan ham 
þurh ælde tid ende gebidæm  
so æfter fyristæ to þam ærestan 
heofonricæs gefeæn hweorfan moestæn 
leomu líc somud 7 lifes gæst 

After wunne 818 at end of otherwise empty line there are two free lines; within this space a sixteenth century hand has written Of the creasion of man & of his falle 819 PART IS WIDE GOD WE: large capitals, the first 2 very large 821 ælda: Goll., Ass. ælda 824 ælda: Th., Gr., Ass. ælda, Goll., KD ælda, footn. MS ælda 827 þer: Th. mar 835 ælda tid: Th. footn. ðælde tida 836 ærestæn: Th., Gr., Goll., Ass. em. fægrestæn
to widad feore wunian mostum 840
dryhtne on gesihæ butan deade ford
gif hy halges word healdan weldun,
beorht in brestum, 7 his bebodu lastan,
sfana on edle; hy to ær æprect
þæt hy waldendes willan lasten;
æc his wif genom wyrmes larum
blade forbodene 7 of beame ahneop
wæstæ biweredne ofer word godeæ,
wulderoyninges, 7 hyre were sealde
þurh deofles searo deadberendes gyfl
þæt þa sinhiwan to swylte geteæh.
Sippan se epel udgeæge weard
adame 7 euan eardwica cyst
beorht odbroden 7 hyra bearnum swa
esferum after þa hy on ungylæu 855
 scoomum scudende scoffene wurdon
 on gewiæwœld; weorces onguldon
despre firena þurh deædes eæææa
þæ þy unsnyþrum er gefremædon;
þære synwrecsc sippan sceoldon 860
megd 7 meges morpres ongyldon
godesyllege gym burh gestgedal
decora firena. Dead in gebrong
fira cynne, seond rixade
geond middangeard. Hanig monna wes
of pam sigetudre sippan sefr
godes willan pes georn ne gynwised†
pet he bibugan mæge ponæ bitran dryne
bone sue fynm adame geaf,
byrelade bryd geong; pet him bæm gesæd
in pam deoran ham. Dead ricsade
ofor foldbuend peah pe fela ware
gasthaligestra; per hi godes willan
on mislicum monna gebihpum
after stedewongar stowum† fremedon,
sume er, sume sï, sume in urra
after talmeareo tida gesyndum,
sigorlean sichtun. Us seagæd bec
hu gælæc wear burh godes willan
sadig on ængle - he him ece gecæas
mesht 7 mundbyrd, mere wurdon
his wundra geweor wide 7 side

861 ongyldon: Gr., Ass. em. ongyldan 862 gestgedal: Th., Gr.
gestgedal 867 gynwised: Th. em. gen wised, Gr. em.
gyn-wised, footn. gen wised Th? sin-wised?. Goll., Ass., KD em. gynn-
wised 874 gebihpum: Th. foottn. gesihhûm K 875 stedewonga:
Th. em. sted-wongar stowum: MS stopum, Th. stopum "journeying";
Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. stowum
breme after burgum geond bryten innan,
bi he monge oft purh meahht godes
gedalde hygegeocare hofigra vita
pe hine unsofte adle gebundne
sarge geschtum of sidwegum†
freorgmode. Symle frofre per
at pæm godes cæmpæ gearwe fundon
helpe 7 hallo. Henig hælepa is
pe aræccan mage oppe rin wite
ealra para wundra pe he in worulde her
purh dryhtnes giefe dugepæm gefremæde.

OFF to pæm wicenc weorude owomæ
deofla deadæægen dugupa byseyrede
holæm pringan per æ se halga peow
elnes anhydig eard weardæ;
pær by mislice mongum reorðum
on pæm westene wode hofun
hludæ herociræ hiwea hënoetæ,
dreamæ* bidoreæ. Dryhtnes cæmpæ,
from folotoga fæonda preætæ
wæstæd stronglæce. Nes seæ stænd ðætæ

887 sidwegum : MS sidwegum ; em. proposed by Thoppe but not incorpo-
rated into any text 892 gefremæde : at end of line and next line
free 894 OFF : in capitals 895 byseyrede : Th., Gr. bescyrede
earmra gæsta ne þat onbid long
pet þa wrohtemidæ wop ahofun,
hréopun hredlesæ, hleoprum brugdon.

Hwilum wedge swa wilde deor
cirædon on cœðre, hwilum cyrdon eft
minne manseæpan on mennisc hiw
breahætæ mastæ, hwilum brugdon eft
awyrgde waerlogan on wyrmes bleo
earme adloman: attre spíowdon.
Sylæ by gudlan gearene fundon
poneæ gleawæ; he geþyldum bad
peah him feonda hlod feorhowælum bude.

Hwilum him to honda hungre gepreatæd
fleag fugla cyn þer by feorhære
witudæ fundon 7 hine weordædon
meaglum stefnum, hwilum mennisæ
aras ealæmadæ eft neosædon
7 þer sidæfroæ on þam sigewonge
æt þam halgan peowon helpe gemetton
fæðæs fætre. Neðig forþæm was
þæt he æwiscæd eft siðæde
heæan byhtæ less ac se halga wer

909 minne: Th. footn. mene? 912 adloman: Th. em. andloman?
913 gearene: Th., Gr. em. gearene 922 peowæ: Th., Gr., Coll.,
Ass., Ke em. peowæ 923 forþæm: Gr. em. færdæm? 924 þæt: Th., Gr. þæt
931 [moste] Th., Gr., Coll., Ass., KD supply moste 938 heahpu Th. heahpu, Gr. heahum
942 baneofan: after baneofan Gr. inserts one line untrynnne edle-congum. Ass. numbers as for something missing
944 pe: omitted by Gr. but among errata page 416
wunian leton  þe his on weorcum here
on his dagena tid  þæt geawende
elne unslæwe. Ŝa se hælmhtiga
950
let his hand ounsan  þer se halga þeow
deormod on degle  domædig bæ,
heard 7 hygene. Hyht was geniwad,
blis in breostum;  wasn se bancosfa
adle oneled,  inbendum fast
955
lichorð onlocen;  leœum hefegedon,
særum gesæhte. He þæt sœd geœneow
þæt hine ȝelmhtig  ufan neææade
meotud fora miltsæm;  he his modœfan
wid þan ferhagað  fastæ træmæde
960
feonig gewinna. Was he forht se þeah
ne seœ adlpraçe  egle† on mode
ne ðealdædal  ac his dryhtnes lof
born in breostum,  brestæt lufu
sigorfeœt in sefan,  seœ him saræ gehwyle
965
syme forswiððe†;  wes his sorgœearu
on þæs lænan tid  þeah his lic 7 geœt
hyra só meltdown sinhiwan tu
deore gedædal†. Dagæs ford scridyn,
nihthelma genipu. Wæs neah seo tid 970

bæt he fyngewyrht fyllan sceolde

þurh deades cyne, domes hlæctan,

efne þæs ilcan þæs usse yldran fyrm

frecne onfengen swa him biforan worhton

þæ aræstan ælda cynnes.

975

ðæ was gudlæce on þæ geocran tid

mægen gemægad, mod swipe heard,

elnes anhydigs wæs seo adl þeþl, 980

hat 7 heorogrim, hreþer innæn weol,

born banloca; bryþen wæs onggunæn

þæte adamæ eæe gebyræde

at fruman worulde. Feond byrlæde

eræst þære idesæ 7 heo adame

hyre swæsum wære sippæn sceæote

bittor badæweg þæs þæs byre sippæn

grimme onguldon gæulfædænæn 985

þurh ærgewyrht þæte ænig æne wes

fyra cynnes from fruman sidæn

mæm on moldæn þæte meæhte him

gæbæorgan 7 bæbugæn þæne bleætan drync

990

973 usse : Gr. ussa 974 onfengon : Gr. onfægæn 975 cynnes : last word in line, half of which is empty 976 ðæ in capitals marks new section; Coll. þæ 980 bryþen : Th. æm. brywen
deopan deadwages  ac him duru sylfa
on pa sliðnan tid  sona ontyned,
ingong geopenad;  ne mag enig pam
flesce bifongen  feore widstondan
ricra ne heanra  ac hine resec on
gifrum grapum:  swa wes guilace
enge anhoga  stryhte pa
after nihtscuan  neah gebyded
wiga walgifre.  Hine wunade mid
an ombehtpagn  se hine methwylce
daga neosade.  Ongan ða deophydig
glewwood gongan  to godes temple
þer he epelboden*  inne wiste
bone leofestan  lareow gecorenne
7 þa in eode  eadgum to spræce -
wolde hysemigan  halges lara,
mildes mepowilda:  fonde þa his mondryhten
adwerigne;  him ðest in gefeol
befig æt heortan,  hygesorge weog,
micle modoeare.  Ongan ða his magu frigman:
"Hú gewaerd þe pus, winedryhten min,
fader freonda hleo,  ferð gebygard,
nearwe genaged.  In maffre þe

991 sylfa : Th. r-sylf  1003 inne : Gr. innan  1007 fonde :
Gr. en. fond, footn. funde ?  1010 ða : Th., Goll. pa  1013 :
genaged : Th., Gr. genaged, Goll., Ass. KD genaged, footn. MS genaged
boden leofesta  byslione er
gemette þus medne.  Neaht þu meðelowidum
wónda gewaelldan?  Is me on wene gefüht
þat þu untrynnest adle gongum
on þisse nyhstan niht bysgade,
sarbennum gesohte:  þat me sorgna is
hastost on hrepere  yr þu hyge minne
ferð aferfre.  Wast þu, freodryhten,
þu þeos adle soyle ende gesettan ?
Him þa sid onowad,  sone ne meahte
orod up geteon:  was him in bogen
bittor bancope.  Beald reordade,
sadig on ealne  ondowis ageaf:
"Ic willa seogan  þet me sar gehran,
were in gewod  in þisse wonnan niht,
lichord onleac;  leomu befegid,
sarum gesohte.  Sceal þis seowelhó,
fæg fæscowma  folderne bipeah,
leomu, lames geþcan,  lægerbedde fast
wunian welresta.  Wiga nealmod,
unlet læces:  ne bid þus længra swisc
seowelgedalæ  þonna seøfon niht

1017  þet : Goll. as expansion  1019  þet : Goll. as expansion;
sorgns: MS n altered from  a  1026  ondowis: WS Jovis, Goll. and-
ouis  1032  leomu, læces: Th. leomu-læces  1033  welresta: Gr. welresta
fyrstgemearces þæt min feorn heman
on þisse eageþpan ende gescead,
dæg scripende. þonna dogor* beód
on moldweage min ford scripen,
sorg geswedrad†, 7 iep sibban mot
fore accudes oneowum acorda hlætan,
ingra geafena, 7 godes lomber
in sindreamum sibban awo
ford folgian. Is nu fus dider

geaep sipes georn, nu þu gearwe const
leona lifgedal : long is þis onbid
worulde lifes." ða was wop 7 heaf,
geongum geocor sefa, geocrande hyge
sibban he gehyrde þat se halga wes
fordisipes fæs; he þes farespelles
fore his mondryhtne moodsorge wag
hæfige at heortan - hæoner innan aewa,
hye hrowwearcig, þas þe his hlaford gesæah
eollorfusæ; þæs þes onberu
hæbbæ ne meahte so he hate leæ

torn poliende teaæs geotan,
weallæn wægdropan. Wyrd ne meahte
in fagam læng feoræ geahaldæn

1040 geswedrad : MS geswedrad, Th., Gr. geswedrad, Coll., Ass., WD em.
geswedrad 1053 be his : Th., Gr., Coll., Ass. em. be (he) his;
gesæah : Coll. places in following verse
deore frætus  bonne him Gedemod wæs.

Om gast geat halig  geosærmodes
dræsendir + hyss.  Ongan þa dugupa hleo
glæmmod gode leof  geongran retan,
wine leofestan wordum nagan:
"We beo þu unrot  ðeah þeos adl me
innan æle.  Wþu ma earfeðe

to gepeelianne  þeodnes willan
dryhtnes mines  ne þæs deade hafu
on þæs seocean† tid  sorge on mode
ne is me herhelode  hellepæna
swýde onsitte  ne mag synne on me
fæones fræmbearn  fyrene geætalkan
lices leantor*  se in lige scealgon
sorgwylsum soden  sar wanian,
wraosiz wepan  wilton biscirede
in þæs deadele  duguda gehwylcere
lufena 7 licea.  Min þut leafe bearn,
ne beo þu on sefan to seoc.  In eom sipes fus
upseard niman,  ædeæna* georn

in þæs seocean gefeæa  ærgwyrhtum

1059 wæs : last word of line, a free line follows  1060 ON : capi-
tals for new section; geata : Th. ðeæte  1061 dræsendir : WS
dræsendir, Th. þræsendir, Gr., Coll., Ass., ND em. dræsendir  1062
retan : Th. retun which Gr. em. retan  1068 seocean : WS seoconan,
Th. føota, seoconæ  1078 ædeæna : WS ædæana/nan as Th., Gr., Coll.,
Ass.; ND em. ædeæna
geseon sigora frean. Min ðæt swæse bearn,
nis me wraecu ne gewin ðæt ic wuldres geol
sece swægesleyning ðær is sib 7 blis,
domfestra dream, dryhten ondweard
ðæm ic georne gastgerzymum
in ðæm dreorgan tid ðædum owamde
mode 7 magne. Íæ ða meorde wat
leah扭orsease lean unhwilen
halig on heahence þær min hyht myned
to geseocence; sawul fundað
of licfate to ðæm longan gefean
in endvelan. Íæ þæs epel me
ne sar ne sorg. Íæ me sylfum wat
after līces hryre lean unhwilen." ða se wuldormaða worda gestilde
reö ðæwita: wea him reste neod
reönigmódum. Rodor swamode
ofor nīða bearn, nihtrim soridon
dore or for dugeðum. ðæt se dag biswom
on ðæm se lifgenda in lieboman
ee ælmhtig ærist gefranse
dryhten mid dreame, ða he of deade aræ,

1088 heahence: Gr. heahþum 1091 endvelan: MS endvelan, a super-
and subpuncted; heae epel: Gr. footea, heæs adl? 1094 ðæ: Goll.
a 1098 dugeðum: Th. dugeðum; pa: MS æ changed into a
onwald of eordan in pa eastordig,
sela byrma bym - breata mestne
to heofum ahof, da he from helve astag.
Swa ne eadga wer in pa speulan tid
on bene beordtan dag blissum hremig
milde 7 gemetfast magen unsofte 49f
elne geafude; aras pa sorla wyn
heard bygesnotter swa he hrepost meahte
mede for dan mielan bygum; ongon pa his mod staepelian
lechte geleafan, lac ensagde
deophyeogende dryhtne to willan
gastgeynum in godes temple
7 his pegue ongon swa pam peodne geras
purch gestes gife. godspel bodian,
seogan sigortaconum 7 his sefan tryman
wundrum to wuldræ in pa wlitigan gesceaf

to eadwelant swa he er ne sið
mfre to ealdre odre swyloc
on pas leman tid lare gehyrde
ne swa deoplec dryhtnes geryne
purh mennise ne mid areccan
on sidum sefan. Him was sopra gepuht

1102 onwald : MS onweald, e subpuncted 1110 mielan : Gr. mielum
ongon : Gr. ongan 1117 wlitigan : Th., Gr. wlitegan 1120
bas : Coll. bas 1123 sobre : Th. em. sopor 'more truely', Gr. em.
sobre, foetn. MS sobre
but hit ufancundes  engles were
of swagldreamum  swipor micle
magenpagnes word  bonne enimiges monnes lar
wex ofer sordan;  him þat wundra mast
geseven þuhte  þat swyle smuttrucraft
anges haleda her  þroper weardade
dryhta bearna,  wes þes depollic eall
word 7 wisdom  7 þes weres stitung,
mod 7 magencraft,  þe him metud angla
gesta geocceend  forgiefen befde.

Wælon feowera þa  ford gewitene
dagas on rim  þes se dryhtnes [pægnum]†
on elne bad  ædle gebygad,
sarum geswenced;  ne he sorge wag
gecoorne sefan  gæstcgedales
dreorigne hyge.  Dead nealeste,
stop stælgeoam,  strong 7 hræde
scohte sawelhus.  Com se seofedæ dag
meldum oneward  þæs þe him in gescon
hat heortan neah  hildescorun,
flæcor flæmpræcu,  feohhord onleac,

1126 *eniges  :  Th., Gr.  *anges  1128  smuttrucraft  :  hs  smuttrucraft,
o em. to y;  Th., Gr.  smuttrucraft  1129  haleda  :  Th.  haleba
1133  forgiefen  hæfde  :  only words in line  1134  WÆR  :  WÆR  carets
mark new section          1135  *se  :  Gr.  þe;  [pægnum]  :  inserted by Th., Gr.,
Coll., Ass., KD  1137  sarum  :  Th.  sarum  1143  hildescorun  :  Th.,
Gr., Coll., Ass., KD em.  hildescorun
earcsgum gesocht. Ongon da snottor hale
ər onbehtbœgn ępeles neoman
to pam halgan hofe; fond pa hlingendne
fusne on fordæp frean unwenne
gæsthaligne in godes temple
soden sarwylum : wes pa sihste tid
on midne dang, wes his mondryhtne
endedogor stryhte ba;
nearwum genæged nydeostingum,
awrecon welpilum, wle ne meahte
orod up geteon, elensprœce,
hleopor ahebban. Ongon da bygegeomer
fæorig 7 ferðwærig fusne Gretan
madne modglædne; bad hine þurh mhta sceoppend
gif he his wordowida wealdan meahte,
sprœce ahebban, þet him on spellum geôyde,
onwige wora gongum hu he his wiæa truwea
drohtes on þære dimman adle ærðon hine dead onsægde.
Him se sadga wer aseaf ondware,
leof mon leofum, þeah he late meahte
særl elmenheard oræpe gebredan :
"Min þet swse bearn, his nu swipe seor
pam ytemeætan endedogor

1146 onbehtbœgn : Gr. onbehtbœgn 1148 unwenne : Th., Goll. em.
unwenne 1154 wle ne : Th. em. wilne ne 1156 ongon : Gr. ongan
nyggealas  þat þu þa nyhstan scealt
in woruldlife  worda minre
mæfre leana biloren  lare gehyran
noht lenga ofer þis.  Last ealle well
were 7 winecscype  worda  þa wit spræcon
leofast manna.  "Mæfre ic lufan sibbe
þeoden et þearfe  þine foirste
asanian.  "Beo þu on sid gearu
sibban lio 7 leomu  7 þes lifes geast
asundriea  somswist hyra
purh feorggedal.  Fyr after þon
þet þu gesæge  sweostor minre
þære leofestan  on lengne weg
1170
to þam fagran gefean  fordæð minne
on eone eard  7 hyre eac gecyð
wordum minum  þet ic me warnade
hyre onsayne  ealle þrage
in woruldlife,  for þy ic wilnode
1175
þet wit unc eft  in þam ecan gefean
on sveglwuldræ  gecæon mostun
fore onsayne  eces deman
leahtra lease  þer seald lufu uncer
warfæst wunan,  þer wit wilnað
1180

1174 þeoden et þearfe  Th. em. þeoden ne þearfe  1175 asanian  Th. em. aisanian, Gr. footn. a sanian?  1178 Fyr  Th. em. fyr, Gr., Ass., D em. fyr; feorggedal  Gr. em. feorggedal
in hære beorhtan byrig  brucan motun
eades mid englum. ſu hyre eal saga
but heo his banest  beorge bifaste,
læsæ biluce  lic orswæle
in peasterroofan  per hit brage seal
in sondhøfe  sippan wunian."
Da weard modgeæsæ miculum gebiægd,
þream forþryoced  þurh þæs pæodnes word
ombeþþyngæ  þa he ædre onconæow
þream feorhægel,  þat hit feor ne wæs
endadogor, ongon þa ofostlice
to his wynedryhtne  wordum medlan:
"Ic þæs halsige  healþa leofost
gumena cynnæ  þurh gæsta weard
þat þa hygesorge  heortan minre
gæþe sorlæ wyn.  His þæ ende feor
þæs þæ is on galdrum  ongiæsæ hambe.
Oft meo gæmor sefa  gehþa gemanadæ
hat æt heortan  hygiene gornænde
nihtes nearwe  7 is næfre þe
fæder frofor min  frigæn doræte,
þymæ ic gehyræ  þonne heofones gum
wynseondel wæra  west onhyldæ

1194 orswælæ : Th. on sawle which Th., Or. em. orswælæ  1207 on-
giæten : Or. ongiæten  1208 gehæ : Th. footn. gehæ?
sweoglbeorht sunne  setlgonges fus  
on hafentid oberne mid pec  
bege at gebeahnte. Ic pas beendes word 
aires unoupes oft neosendes  
dagwoman bitwen 7 bare deorcan niht  
mepeloeaide nceges 7 on morgne awa  
ongeat geomeordd gestes sprwe  
gleawes in geardum. Huru ic giet ne set  
ur pu me frea min furpor cyde  
burh eawe pinne kwonan his eyme sindon."

"A se eadga wer ageaf ondeware  
leofum after longre hwile, sva he late meahete  
elses oneydis orpe gewealdan:  
":iwet, pu me wine min wordum néjast,  
frisne frignest pes be in furpun er  
fre on seldre angum ne wolde  
monna ofer moldan melda weordan  
pengne on peode butan be nem da  
by les bet wundredan wersa 7 ideas  
7 on gea8 gutan, gieddum menden,  
bi me lifgendum. Huru ic nolde sylf.

\[\text{1215} \text{ hafentid.: Th., Gr., Coll., Ass., KD em. \textit{efentid}} \; \text{1223} \text{ sindon: Th. em. \textit{sy}; sindon is at end of line and next line free} \; \text{1224} \text{DA:} \; \text{1226} \text{ oneydis: Th., Gr. uncudig}} \; \text{1229} \text{ on: Gr. in} \; \text{1233} \text{ geal: Th. em. gebnum} \; \text{1234} \text{Gr. makes up two b-verses, Ass. leaves two empty b-verses} \]
burh geipowide  guestes mines  1235
frofr gelettan  ne fader mines
spre geaffan  ubylg godes.
Symle me onsende sigedryhten min,
folca feorcgiefn  sippan is furpum ongon
on bone afteran  anseld bugan
geargemearees  gasthaligne
engel ufansundne  se moe efna gehwan
mehtig meetudes pagn  7 on morgne eft
* sigorfast geschte  7 me sara gehwyle
gehalde hygesorge  7 me in hrebre bileas
wulderes wilboda  wisdomes giefe -
micle monigfealdran  bonne snig mon wite
in life† her - be me alyfed nis
to gecopenne  owicra angum
on foldwage  fira cynnes
hat me me meahte  monna snig
bideaglian  hwst he dearninga
on hyge hogde  heortan gepesum
sippan he me fore sagem  onsyne weard.
* io on mode mad  monna gehwylene
beednes Prymcyne  od piene dag,
leofast monna. Hu io for lufan pinre

1248 life : MS lifes, Th., Cr., Goll., Ass., KD em. life 1252
bideaglian : Cr. bedeaglian
7 geferscope    pat wit fyrn mid une
longe lastan    nelle ic latan pe
efre unrotne    efter ealdorlege
medne modseone     minre gewordan
soden sarwelsum,  á ic sibbe wid pe
healdan wilde.  Nu of harberlocas
to þam sopen geœan    sawel fundaþ.
His see tid latu;    tydrað þis banfæt,
ereothord gnornæd,    gast hine fyxed
on ecne geard,    utsipes georn
on sellan gesetu.  Nu ic swide eom
weorcæ gewergad, ßa to þam wage gesæg,
heafelan onhyldæ,    hyrde þa gena
ellen on innan;    orð stundum teah
mægne modig.  Him of mæde owom
swecca swetæst    swyleæ on sumeres tid
stincæd on stowum  staþelum fæste
wynum æfter wiþnum   wiþta geblowæne
hunigfloðæde.  Swa þæs halgan was
ondlongne dag    op æfen forð
orð uphlædan. ßa se æpela glæm
setlængæ scotæ;    sweare norðerdoræ
won under wolænum,  worulð mistæ ofæteæh,
pystrum bipeahte; prong niht ofer tiht
londes fratwa; da owm lechta mest
halig of heofonum heudre scinan
beorhte ofer burgaealu. Bod se be socolde
eadig on elne endedogor
awrecon walstram. Wuldas scina
aepela ymbeoeln ne ondlonge niht
sean sciwried; seadu swepradon
tolysed under lyfte: wes se lechta glm
ymbe pot halge huu heofonlic oomdel
from afenglome oppot eastan owm
ofer deep gelad dagreweom,
weedertacen wearm, Aras se wuldormago,
eadig elnes gesyndig, sprac to his onbehtbegne,
torht to his treowum gesipe: "Tid is pot pu fere
7 pa awrendu eal bipence,
ofestum lode, swa ic pa ar bibead
lac to leofre. Nu of lice is
goddreama georn gest swide fus."
Ahof pa his honda husle gereorded
eadmod by aepelan gyfle; swyloce he his eagan ontynde,
halge heafdes gimmas, bissah pa to heofona rice

1281 tiht: Th. takes with first word of next verse tiht-londes; Gr. em. tihte and places in next verse, alternatively suggesting liht
1284 beorhte: Th., Gr. beorht
1287 ondlonge: Goll. andlonge
1290 halge: Gr. halige
1294 onbehtbegne: Gr. onbehtbegne
to geofona leamum  7 ba his gest oneende
weoroum wiltigne  in wuldres dream.

943

AA was gudlases  gest gelæded
endig on upweg;  eaglas feredun
to ðam longan gesean;  lie colode,
belifd under lyfte.  ða þær leoch ðæcan,
beama beorhtast;  eal þæt beacen ws
ymb þæt halge bus  heofonlic* leoma
from foldan up  swyleo fyren for
ryht armred  ðod rodera hrof,
geswen under swagle  sunnan beorhtra
speltungla elite.  Engla prestas
sigeleod sungon,  swag was on lyfte,
gehyred under heofonum  haligra dream.
Swa se burgstede was  blissum gefyllæd,
swetum stancum  7 sweglwundrum,
esdges yrfeetol  engla bleodres;
ereal innanweard  þær was thanïora
7 wynsunra  þonne hit in worulde mage
stefn ærecan  hu se steno 7 se swag
heofonlic bleoþor  7 se halga song

1304 dream : at end of line, next line free  1305 WA : capitals mark
new section  1306 endig on upweg : Th., Gr. omit endig, Th. em. on
upwegs, Gr. em. a on upweg;  feredun : WS o changed to u, Th.; Gr.
feredun  1308 belif :  Th., em. belifon:  leocht ðæcan : Th. leohts
aean 'shone of lights'  1310 halge : Gr. helige  1320 thanïora :  Gr. em. thanïora
Gr. em. thanïora  1321 wynsunra : Gr. em. wynsunra
gehyred was, heahbryn gode
breahthe after breahthe. Beofode þat ealond, 1325
foldwong onesprong†. ðæ afyrhted weard
ar elnes biloren; gewat þa ofestlice
beorn unhyðig þet he bat gestag;
wæghengest þæo; waterpise for
snel under sorgum. Swegl hate scean 1330
blas ofer burgesalo; briswæd scynde
lecht lade fæs; lagumæreg eynrede
gæhlasted to hyde þet se hurnflota
after sundplegan sondland geaspærn
grond wæd greote. Gorne sorge ðæ 1335
hate et heortan hygegeuxnume,
medne modæfan, se þæ his mondryhten
life bilidene last weardian
wistæ wine leofne. Him þæ wopes hring
torne gemonede, teagor þæm weol 1340
hate hleordropan, 7 on hrepæ wæg
micle modeære : he þære enged sceolde
læse gelædan læspæl þæ to sód.
Gwæð þæ freorigferð þær seo fæmne was,
swuldræ wynnæg; he þæ wyrd ne mæd 1345

1326 onesprong, MS onsprong : Gr. en. embrong 1326 unhyðig : Th.,
Gr. unhyðig 1329 wæterhæsa : MS wæterhæsa, w subpuncted; Th. em.
wæterhæse, Gr. waterheswa 1330 sorgum : Gr. em. sargum 1338
bilidænæ : Th., Gr., Gall., Ass., KD em. bilidenæ 1344 þæ : Gr.
þær, þær : Th. þæ which Th., Gr. em. þær
wiges forteof usleoc agol
wine pearsende 7 wet word awad:
"Ellen biw selast pam be oftost soael
dreogan dryhtenbealu, deope behygan
broht peodangad, bonne sec prag cymsd
wefen wyrdstafun. vat wat se be soael
sweman sarigferd, wat his singiefan
holdne biheledne; he soael hean bonan
gemonor hweorfan pam biis gomenes wana
de pa earfeda oftost dreoged
on aргum sefolan. Huru io swide ne пеarf
hinsip behlehhan, Is hlaford min,
beoria bealdor 7 brobor pin,
se selesta bi smm twoonum
para he we on angle wfrre gefrunen
acenedne þurh cildes had
gumena cynnes to godes dowe,
werigra wrapu worulddreamum of,
vinemaga wyn in wuldes bym,
goiten winiga† hleo wica neosan
eardes on upweg. Nu se eordan dal,
banhus abrozeu, burgum in innan

1351 wyrdstafun : Th., Gr., Coll. wyrdstafum; Ass., KD em. wyrdstafum
1357 hinsip : Th., Gr. hinsid; behlehhan : Gr. bhilibham
1365 winiga, ws wunga(?): Th., Gr. em. wongae, Coll., Ass., KD em. winiga
1367 in : Gr. on
wunæ wælrestæ 7 se wuldræs del
of lieofate in leocht godes
sigorlean sohte 7 þe secan hit
þæt git Æ mosten in þam ecgan gefæan
mid þa sigedryht ðomud eard niman,
weorða wuldorlean willum neotan,
blædes 7 blissa. Eac þe absedan hit
sigedryhten mɪn þa he was† sipes fus
þæt þu his lichoman leofast meða
eordan bideahete. Nu þu ðære const
siðfæt minne. In socel sarigferð
heanmod hweorfan hyge drusendne
...

1375 was : MS Bas, Th., Gr. was, Coll., Ass., KD em. was
end of 52v