Within the commentary the textual forms and notes of previous editions are quoted without further reference than the name of the editor. Page references are given only where their views occur outside footnotes and commentary.

On folio 32v of the manuscript the script ends three quarters way along the nineteenth line and the last three lines are empty. Folio 32v opens with a line filled chiefly with capitals: SE BIB GEFEANA FmCrast. The large initial S is approximately four times the height of the other capitals which stand on the second ruled line of the folio, touching the first line. At the top of the folio a (?) sixteenth century hand has scrawled:

Of the Joyes prepared for them that servue god
& keepe his commaundementes.

These words correspond closely to the description of the following material given by Wanley (1705, p. 280):

Liber IV. octo constans Capitibus, agit de Gaudiiis que paravit Deus pro iis qui amaverunt eum & mandata ejus impleverunt: cum...

The heading scrawled by the same hand midway down folio 44v, over the opening of Guthlac E, runs:

Of the creacion of man & of his falle

and is paralleled in Wanley's:

Liber V. novem constans Capp. Agit autem de Creatione Hominis & lapsus ejus; de supra ...

A few glosses on folio 10v are in the same hand, as is the heading Diei Judiciaj descriptio.
which corresponds to Wanley's:

Liber III in quo habentur

1. Descriptio Poetica diei Judicii

The interlinear glossing of folio 9r has been attributed to Nowell (Flower 1935, p. 70), but whether or not he is responsible for the finer script which appears in the headings quoted and in the glossing of folio 10r is uncertain.

1 at frýmdē: Shook (1961, p. 297) translates this phrase 'at the going out from the body', but there is no evidence to bear out giving this meaning (suggested by the source Shook adduces for this part of the poem) to the Old English noun frýmdē. The equivalent usually accepted is some such adverbial phrase as 'at first'.

4ff. Shook (1961, p. 296) presents these lines:

 Dönne owld se engel: "Hafað yldræn hēd."
 Grēteð gæst ēperne, ēbēoden him gode ërende:
 "Nu pu mōst fēran pider ..."

with the translation:

Then the angel says: "Receive ye higher rank".
The spirit greets the other (i.e. the soul) and declares to it God's message: "Now mayest thou go whither ..."

Because a distinction between anima and spiritus is important in the Visio sancti Pauli (which he puts forward as the source for the opening lines of Guthlac A), Shook tries to establish such a dis-
tion in the Old English poem. His ingenious interpretation of these lines unfortunately entails a unique use of the imperative plural for the imperative singular and the transference of the psychopomp's function from angel to spiritus. He himself notes these difficulties, finding them (p. 300):

... sufficiently cogent to make one slow to insist upon the emended punctuation; yet it is far from unlikely that we have here to do with a version of the going out of the soul which retains, however faintly, some trace of the account found in the Visio.

Discussion of similarities between the opening lines of this poem and other writings which, like the Visio sancti Pauli, are within the soul journey tradition can be found in III.2a. The resemblances seen between these lines and the Visio sancti Pauli by Shook are due to their common background and no closer relationship can be argued convincingly.

9 tidfara: The compound is not otherwise recorded. Its second element occurs as the base element in two other poetic words, Ewf 502 merefara 'seafarer' and Exo 208 nydfara 'one forced to journey'. Two interpretations are suggested for tidfara in BT:

1. a traveller the time of whose journey is come
2. one who journeys for a (short) time.

Either meaning can be supported from among the interpretations possible for the adjective tidlio and the related adverb tidlice, as well as by analogy with other poetic compounds whose limiting
element is *tid*; both meanings are suitable within the context. Therefore it seems best to translate the word loosely by some general term such as *traveller*.

If the relationship of this section of the poem to writings in the otherworld journey tradition is accepted, it is possible to narrow the meaning of *traveller* in either way suggested in BT. Shook (1961, p. 297) apparently prefers the first alternative for he translates this passage by *'thou art now travelling under summons to that heavenly home'* but we cannot be sure that the author did not visualise for the soul of the dying man a journey which would have taken some period of time.

Two possible emendations for the verse have been suggested by Cosijn (1898, p. 115) and, although unnecessary for sense, they have nowhere been examined and are therefore noted here. These are:

1. *sart nu tiða fara(n)* with *tiða* 'granted', an adjective followed by the infinitive *faran* 'travel';

2. *sart nu ti(g)ða fare* with *tiða* governing the genitive of the noun *faru* 'passage'.

Cosijn prefers the first of his suggestions and considers an infinitive more suitable contextually but cites no parallel constructions with this adjective governing an infinitive. Metrically these verses are possible Sievers B types and graphically the changes can be explained plausibly on grounds of levelling among unaccented syllables etc., but the proposed emendations are not capable of interpretation any stricter than the first of the BT alternatives.
11 edergong fore yrmbum: Thorpe's translation of this nonce-word as a compound with the sense 'refuge' foreshadows the BT 'a home-seeking' which KD favour. In BTs 'a going into an enclosed place (?), a taking refuge' is advanced by Toller to supersede Bosworth's entry; the explanation returns to Thorpe's interpretation of the word, adapting it to its context. Toller's 'a taking refuge' requires no manipulation of the syntax of the Old English, whereas simple 'refuge' makes necessary the insertions of an affirmative verb, e.g. Shook (1961, p. 277) 'there is shelter from miseries'.

Toller puts forward a second, tentative emendation for edergong. He notes that the word parallels hreow 10 and suggests that some connection between it and the Gothic words idreigon 'to repent' and idreiga 'repentance' should be sought. The interpretation implied is by no means so unsuitable as Bradley (1916, p. 212) would have us believe, but his observation that there is trace neither of verb *edergian nor noun *edergun in Old English casts doubt upon Toller's suggestion. Bradley in his turn puts forward the emendation *aergung which he bases on the verb aergian 'to grow timid', noting that this verb is often followed by the preposition for. He suggests as a translation for the passage:

Thou are now a traveller to that holy home where never sorrow comes, [nor] failing of heart for afflictions; but there is joy of angels, peace and blessedness, and rest of souls.

He assumes, in explanation of the manuscript edergong, that ear-
was misread as edr- with subsequent respelling of the word as a compound. Perhaps this interpretation prompted Toller's further suggestion, in his additions and corrections to BTs, ed-eargung 'renewed discouragement' which entails reading edergung fore yrmbum and explaining the vowel of the second syllable as due to Anglian smoothing. This verse form would be comparable with those discussed in III.3/36.

The elements eder 'fence, enclosure, house' and gon$ 'going' recognised by Thorpe and the many commentators who have followed his explanation are recognised also by GK who, however, give to the compound the interpretation das Umhergehen der Bettler von Haus zu Haus, comparing it with the Old Norse legal term husgangr 'mendicatio'. This explanation of the word is very attractive for two reasons. First, there are in this poem quite a few words which may well have had a technical use in law; some of these are indeed otherwise unrepresented in Old English and others appear only in the earliest recorded verse (see III.4/E.3(a)). It is not therefore improbable that an unusual word in this text should have a restricted technical meaning. Secondly, poverty, hardship, the giving of alms, etc. are dominating images in the presentation of the poem and support interpreting the compound as 'beggary, penury'.

13 motum : Such instances of inflexional levelling are found throughout the Exeter Book and are retained in this text as they do not present the reader with any great difficulty. For an
examination of the falling together of inflexions seen in this text
see III.4/C.2(b).

16 **hydsta** : A form without syncopation is necessary here metrical. See III.4/C.2(c).

17 **ealra** : The word is not necessary to the metre of 16b where it is placed by all editors before KD. In the manuscript a dot separates 16b and 17a, showing that ealra is to be grouped with **cyninge cynning**. (This stop is not recorded by Gollancz who, printing ealra in his line 16, translates 'the most high, the King of Kings'). Forms of eall often appear in the introductory dip of a verse in this way and the same pattern may be seen in *Ele* 483a **eallra pryamma pryym**. A short note on the verse-forms is to be found in Sievers 1885, p. 479.

18 **n6** , MS no : The manuscript no can be defended only if bar 19 is regarded as contrasting with **pa getimbru** 18 and such defense breaks down with the succession of *bider* 22 and *liwider* 26.

The manuscript no is generally altered to a negative which is required by the sense. The earlier editors refer ne, the negative particle usual before a finite verb. In both Assmann and KD emendation to no is found. This adverb negates a finite verb only in verse texts and then infrequently, instances being found in *Chr* 1639, *Gle* 492, 506, 833, *Phx* 72, *Ele* 836, *Bwf* 2585, *Wen* 96 and *Sns* 203 (and no more, according to Mitchell 1958, I. 868).
In this manuscript two things point to the reading no rather than ne. Of nearly six hundred accent marks in the Exeter Book more than five-sixths are over etymologically long vowels (e.g. no appears in Chr 1097, Glo 492, 506, 833, Phx 72, 157, 254, etc.), but the particle ne is never marked in this way. Further support is given the emendation by occasional indications within the manuscript of confusion of the letters o and u.

This peculiarity of the Exeter Book does not appear to have been remarked, perhaps because within each context it is easy to explain an apparent mistake as the result of scribal carelessness. The symbol o is found for u in Chr 1448 gotun, Rim 63 borgesorg, Rdl 22.17 me onder, JgDI 70 fol, Rdl 73.1 wonode and perhaps in Glo 1007 fonde. Correction has been made by what may be a later hand than the scribe's from o to u in Phx 407 wordun, DHL 6 fondon and in Rdl 60.1 sonde the o is upon an erasure. Instances of u for o may also be found, Glo 299 abunne, Rdl 58.15 furum and perhaps Glo 18 nu. In the group w + short vowel + r three examples of o for u occur, in Chr 1496 worde, Glo 780 worde, Jln 508 ge-wordun, and, with correction to u, in Phx 407 wordon; these forms give some probability to the emendation wuldre put forward by Klaeber (1906-7, p. 198) for Phx 386 woruldræ, described by the latest editor of that poem as "tempting" but without "sufficient justification for departing from the MS here" (Blake 1964, p. 79). It is unlikely that all these readings are due to dittography, transposition of letters, anticipation and the other excuses generally
made for Anglo-Saxon scribes.

18 **tydriæd**: This verb appears only twice in the corpus of Old English verse, here and Glo 1265 *tydriæd*. It is however to be found in prose writings, e.g. the leechdoms and the translation of Gregory’s *Dialogues*, and its restriction in verse to the two Guthlac poems can only be regarded as accidental.

20 **lengæ hu sel**: This phrase is misdivided in Thorpe’s edition:

  ac him bid lenge, but shall to them be length,
  husel geoguæ brucæd ... youth they shall enjoy

and to support his translation he puts forward (p. 503) the emendation ... lengæ, sin-geoguæ brucæd. Dietrich (1855, p. 207) suggests reading as a compound *husel-geoguæ* ‘Abendsmahljugend’, but his suggestion is rightly criticised by Grein as against metrical probability. Grein, followed by Assmann in his revision of the *Bibliothek*, equates lenge with the adjective *relenge* ‘ready, attainable’ and takes as one word *husel* ‘Eucharist’.

The word division now generally accepted appears first in Gollancz’s edition of *Christ* (1892, p. 146) where 20b is printed *ac him bid lenge hu sel*, but was first put forward by Cosijn (1881, p. 150). The construction is paralleled within the poem by *lengæ hu geornor 138* (see note for this verse).

24 **lraæ 7 lastæ 7 his lœf reraæ**: This pattern, where two
finite verbs are joined by the simple connective in the a-verse and very often followed up by a string of short clauses containing coordinate verbs, is a feature distinctive of the A-poet (compare 78, 82, 138, 160, 249, 289, 395, 633 and 767) as against Guthlac B where it does not occur. See III.3/49.

26  **Hwider** : Here two problems, to some extent inter-related, must be discussed. The first, the extent of the angel’s address to the soul, is usually decided silently, whereas the second, the interpretation of **Hwider**, is widely discussed.

The length of the angel’s speech varies greatly both in editions and translations. Those who regard the opening twenty-nine lines of Guthlac A either as the end of Christ III or as a separate complete poem for the most part end the speech with the twenty-ninth line. Of the earlier editors of the poem, both Grein and Assmann close the speech in the middle of line 10 and their division is followed in the KD text. Both this division of the material and Goldlancz’s punctuation at the end of line 11 interrupt what is apparently an account of heaven, complete only at the end of line 25. This picture of the heavenly kingdom is treated as a whole in all editions and translations where the angel’s words are regarded as ending with line 29, but only in the translation of R.W. Gordon (1956, p. 164) is the speech ended with the twenty-fifth line. His placing of the end of the angel’s speech entails treating lines 25–29 (the end of his Christ) as a question. The poet himself sets about answering
this question in the following lines of Guthlac A (see further III.
2(b).

Hwider is therefore to be regarded as an interrogative adverb
and presents no syntactical problem. Divisions within these open­
ing twenty-nine lines of the poem other than this require an unusual
interpretation of hwider either as a relative 'to which' (e.g. the
KD explanation) or as correlative with hider 22 (Schaar 1949, pp.
98-99). Yet the word does not in Old English verse introduce any
clause which cannot be taken as a dependent question rather than an
adjectival or adverbial clause of place and it is thus unlikely that
we have here an isolated usage of hwider along the lines suggested
by KD or Schaar. Mitchell (1858, I. 258) suggests that 'from a
formal grammatical point of view hwider introduces a dependent ques­
tion parallel to mesta', but this opinion is difficult to reconcile
with his decision that in translation into Modern English the KD
interpretation 'seems the best way out'. It seems therefore that
ending the angel's speech at line 25 removes from the text an un­
paralleled syntactical construction.

30 Monge sindon geond middangeard: For an account of the early
editorial practice of beginning the Guthlac poem(s) here see
III.1(a). The preceding twenty-nine lines are first printed as the
beginning of the Guthlac material by Gollancz (1895), following his
own observation that there is 'absolutely no break in the manuscript'
to justify placing these lines at the end of Christ III (1892, p.103).
Coesijn's comparison of line 30 with the opening line of *The Panther* (1898, p. 155) is often advanced as an argument for regarding this line as the beginning of Guthlac A. Against it should be set the many lines in which the formula *gaund middangeard* answers to a verse with one of its main lifts supplied by the pronoun/adjetive *monig* (compare for example Exeter Book instances in Chr 644, Glo 39, 501 and Phr 4). For a discussion of the relationship of lines 30 ff. to the preface to the tenth chapter of Gregory's *Vita Patrum* see III.2(c). The relevant paragraph from Gregory will be found in the note for line 59.

31 **hadeg** : A translation such as 'ranks, grades' is supported by the comparisons drawn between this passage and passages in Gregory and Lactantius (see III.2(a)) where the word *gradus* occurs in similar contexts. Only at line 60 does *had* refer definitely to those in holy orders. See also the note for line 94. It should be noted that the texts show no form of *had* distinctive of the u declension of nouns.

31 **inhalgri** : Thorpe's emendation to *unhalgri* 'unholy' and his footnote suggestion that the prefix is echoed in the following line are unnecessary and make little sense.

33 **magun** : For the inflexion see III.4/C.2(b).

35-38 : These lines contain many of the ideas evocative in Old
English 'elegiac' verse and parallels can be adduced both from Old English homilies and from other poems (e.g. Wfr 58ff. and Sfr 64ff.). Such passages show the influence of the belief 'that the world was to come to an end in the sixth age of its history, and that that age was already in progress and indeed far gone' (Smithers 1957, p. 144) and cannot be regarded as other than Christian. See further III.2(b).

36  forð: The metre indicates that this word must supply the second lift of 36b and to regard it as the first element of a compound forðweges would in any case disturb the alliterative pattern of line 37. It is however curious that the poet should have chosen it to fill the second stress of a b-verse when the first word of the following line is one often compounded with it in verse, but heavy primary stresses would serve to keep them apart and obviate any ambiguity. Compare line 75 where no such anomaly arises.

40  godes spelboden: The basic meaning of the compound spelboda is 'proclaimer of message' and therefore 'prophet, messenger'. The phrase godes spelboda occurs in Dan 532, 742 (for Daniel), Phx 571 (for Job) and godes spelboden in Chr 336 (for Gabriel), Dan 230 and 464 (for the three youths in the furnace) and Gen 2494 (for angels). MacGillivray (1902, § 37 and § 46) notes that the compound is used only in Glo 240 for 'apostle', giving as an explanation of this instance of spelboden 'the Apostles as prophets'. There is however no need to restrict the meaning of spelboden 40 and some
general translation such as 'prophets, witnesses' is indeed more suited to the context (compare Keiser 1919, p. 25 'prophets'). It should be noted that this compound always collocates with godes.

46 **metre**: The scribe's hook is unnecessary here for, no matter whether he thought this form a comparative nominative singular feminine or, by attraction of magne, a comparative nominative singular neuter, the form usually to be expected is metre. The hooked o is used by him in inflexional syllables only two other times, in Chr 91 solime and Phx 673 letitiæ. In both these Latin words, as in the accented syllables of many Old English words, the hooked o form of o must be recognised as intended for o. Inflexional o as inferred by the manuscript form here is curious in a manuscript of this period and one can only suggest that the scribe was misled into dittographing o because this was the symbol represented in the vowels of the two metrical stresses of the verse.

48 **he**: Cosijn (1898, p. 115) suggests that he 48 stands for heo, without explaining which of worulde and wyrpe in line 47 it is connected with. The notes in KD relate he 48 to worulde, but no change in the manuscript he is made within the text (because it is suggested in MT that worulde was used in late Old English as a masculine noun? because he appears sporadically for heo in some late texts? No explanation is advanced.) It is more likely that he 48 should, as he 51, be regarded as referring to God and that both pronouns anticipate dryhten 54.
48 *fagran*: The context here shows this to be a comparative form of the adverb, not a weak adjective without preceding definite article. Compare line 383 and see III.4 C.1(c) for a note on this form.

51 *he*: Cosijn (1898, p. 115) explains this *he* as in anticipation of *dryhten* 54, but see note for *he* 48.

54 *dalum*: The formula *dalum gedaled* occurs again in Vgl 22. In both places *dalum* shows West Saxon restoration of *a* before a single non-dental consonant followed by a back vowel. Compare *gestalum* 510 and see III.4 B.2(g).

57 *woruldryhte*: Grein makes a footnote suggestion that *woruld-dryhte* should be read here, but his proposal is unnecessary. Two other instances of the compound *woruldriht* occur, in Edgar's laws ii.5 and in a homily (Napier 1883, 274.20, but not a homily of the Wulfstan canon identified by D. Bethurum). In both these places the word contrasts with *godes riht*, reflecting the growing recognition of the separate functions of *woruld bote* and *godesund bote* characteristic of the later Anglo-Saxon period (see Bethurum 1957, p. 73), but there is no need to give to the word so limited a sense in the Guthlac A passage. The context makes it clear that the poet means the compound to denote 'the law that should govern the world' (the interpretation given in BT) which God himself established. The word may represent a common early legal usage (see further III.4 E.3(a))
which should be contrasted with what may be a later more limited application of the term.

The line recalls words from Matthew xx.16 ... _multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi_ and as well the opening of this passage _Monge siondom... 30_. If it is accepted that lines 30ff. show similarities in contents to Gregory's famous words of introduction to his life of Friardus (PL lxxi, 1054-55), line 50 may indicate that the poet has returned to some such source material.

Certainly the rest of this section, lines 60-92 which describe two ways men may choose to serve God on earth, answers the question of lines 26-29. The distinction between monastic and anchoritic life is often drawn in early mediaeval religious writings, but the resemblances between G16 30-92 and this famous paragraph from the _Vita Patrum_ are so striking as to merit consideration of the possibility of a close relationship between the two. This question is considered in rather more detail in III.2(a) and as there excerpts only are quoted from the text in question, it seems advisable to give here in full the text printed in _Patrologia Latina_:

_Multi variique sunt gradus per quos ad colorum regna consequi-
itur, de quibus, ut opinor, et David dicit, quia ascensus in
gorde depositum (Psalm. Ixxxiii.6). Accipiantur ergo hi gradus
diversorum operum ad cultum divinum prophetus, et nullus in
his gressum figere potest, nisi fuerit, sicut aevi testati sumus
Dei adjutorio provocatus. Sic enim Psalmographus in illo media
profectionis gradu locuitur, dicens: Nisi Dominus edificaverit
domum, in vacuo laborant qui edificant eam (Ps. cxviii.1).
Quod adjutorium, non modo martyres, verum etiam et illi cuos
saecre vita roboravit auctoritas [Ed., celebravit], jugiter inquirentes, ad hoc quod sitis disiderii spiritualis promebat alacres pervenerunt. Nam si ad martyrium mens accensa est, hujus adjutorii opeo poposcit martyr ut vinceret; si jejunii observantiam adhibere studuit, ut ab eo confortaretur afflic-tus est; si castitati artus reservare voluit impollutos, ut ab illo muniretur oravit; si post ignorantium pœnitendo conver-verti desideravit, ut ab eo nihilominus sublevaretur cum lac-rumis flagitavit; et si quid operis boni exercere eorum quispiam meditatus est, ut ab hoc adjutorio juvaretur expetiit. Per hos ergo scelae hujus ascensus tam difficiles, tamque excelsos, tam arduos, cum sint diversi, ad unum tamen Dominum per hujus adjutorii opeo consciatur. Idcirco semper ille poscendus, ille quærendus, ille invocandus exit, ut quod de bino mens concipit, adjutorio suo ipse perficiat, de quo et nobis sine fine oportet dicere: Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini, quo fecit cœlum et terram (Ps. cxxxii,8). Sicut et ille beatissimus, de quo nunc nobis futurus est sermo, qui inter diversas vel tentationes, vel cruces sæculi, semper hujus adjutorii munimen expetiit.

Lines 60–80 describe the behaviour suited to those who non modo mar-tyres serve God among their fellow men; lines 81–92 describe briefly the perils that beset those who have minds ad martyrium, accensa. The division between fæla and fæo in line 59 is carefully developed and the poet is now ready to tell of the struggles of one of God’s chosen champions. The careful structure of lines 26–92 cannot be overemphasised.

60 fes hades: It is possible to give to this instance of had the general sense ‘rank, station’ suitable in the other ex-

samples of the word in Guthlac A, but the contrast implicit between
lines 60–80 and 81–92 suggests the specialised Christian connotation 'Holy Order'. The interpretation is borne out both by the high proportion of specialised religious words in this poem and by its passages of censure directed at slackness in monasteries in obeying the rules of the religious life. (See also III.4 E.3(b)).

hyhet: The metre demands a form without contraction. For a note on this form see III.4 C.1(c).

se gehwylcum sceal: Thorpe's suggested emendation of this verse to hi gehwylcum sceolon reveals a misunderstanding of the function of se in this sentence. The suggestion is elaborated by Klipstein who prints the verse as pa gehwylcum sceolon, providing a semicolon after hyhet. As the antecedent of se is eordwela 62 emendation to procure its agreement with Sume 60 and him 62 is unnecessary.

edel, MS elæ): Thorpe translates 61a 'they know that man' and in a footnote suggests that the manuscript form elæ appears 'for hæled for sake of alliteration'. Klipstein prints hæled in his reader without any further comment, following Thorpe's suggestion. Later editors follow Grein's emendation from elæ to edel. Thorpe's hæled is metrically improbable in an Old English poem.

Transposition of letters occurs quite frequently in the Exeter
Book, instances appearing in Chr 1100, Phr 64, Vgl 3, Mxml 100, Rim 70, Rdl 15.9, JgDI 9, Rdl 37.7, Rdl 73.2 and perhaps Phr 386, beside other more puzzling errors due to mechanical copying (see Sisam 1953, pp. 102 ff. for examples of these). Such manuscript features support the reading *edel* and, as there is in Old English no trace of a form similar to the Old High German *alod*, Grein's alternative explanation that we have here its Old English equivalent is not accepted.

69 *heo deor an ham* : Klipstein emends the manuscript *ham* to *hames*, the genitive singular form which *wilniæd* 70 might be expected to govern. The verse is cited in GK under *wilniæn* as an example of this verb used with the genitive and under *ham* as a place where the genitive singular of the noun is to be found. Otherwise attention has not been drawn to the verse, despite the difficulties of interpretation it presents. In translations *ham* is taken with the preceding dependent genitive phrase, e.g. 'these await their heavenly home' (Kennedy 1910, p. 265) and 'they wait for the heavenly home' (Gordon 1954, p. 257).

The verb *wilniæn* is generally followed by the genitive in Old English verse. Only one instance of *wilniæn* followed by an accusative is listed in BT, BTs and GK for the four major codices of verse, Rdl 49.7 where it is sometimes argued that *pa* has replaced the relative particle *he*, but many examples may be found in the Old English translations from Latin, e.g. KtPa 54, PsPa 118. 20, BH 219.35,
MBo 40.7. It is customary to regard these as unenglish constructions which arose under the influence of Latin *nolere, volere* and *desiderare* which normally govern the accusative. Many examples of *wîlniæn* followed by dative or accusative as well as by genitive forms can be found in prose translations of the Alfredian period (see Wülffing 1894, I. 33, 132 and 260), indicating that, if the construction of *wîlniæn* and the accusative was not original to Old English, at least it must have become an established alternative quite early in the written history of the language.

The phrase should therefore be interpreted 'the home of that dear one', with the substantival adjective *deoran* referring back to *dryhtne*, the word to which it is closely linked by alliteration. The words *wes deoran* cannot be regarded as qualifying *ham*, for such a form as an alternative genitive singular of *hames* is nowhere recorded. Although emendation to *hames* would not be objectionable metrically (compare similar patterns with anacrusis in 71b, 88b, 363b, etc.), it is not necessary and cannot be explained as a simple graphical error. The verse has been well proven ambiguous for the modern reader who is accustomed to the formula made up of demonstrative, adjective suited to alliterative needs and *ham* (e.g. Glo 10 to *ham hal- gæn ham*, 654 to *ham betran ham*, etc.). It should be compared perhaps with the use of *ford* 36 where an adverb stands directly before a noun with which it is often compounded in poetry.

71 *bimutad, MS bimutad*: There is considerable confusion among
the symbols $\&, d$ and $b$ in the Exeter Book, a confusion possibly indicative of transmission from a late eighth century manuscript (Wrenn 1958, p. 18 and see III.4 D.4). Often $\&$ appears for $d$: Chr 5, 69, 364, 710, 790, 961, 1337, 1597, Glc 71, 105, 153, 296, 867, 887, Phx 103, 294, Sfr 79, Wx 78(7), 109, Pnt 38, 39, 41, Rd 31.6, Rui 33 and Rd 84.1; $d$ occurs for $\&$: Chr 537, 698, 795, Glc 245, 1040, Phx 635, 648, Jln 338, 354, Wds 103, Pnt 71, Dec 30, Rd 3.5, 5.6, 13.6, 20.3, 31.15, 33.9, Dhl 79 and Lpt 2; or emendation within the manuscript may have occurred: Chr 64, 118, 137, 257, 482, 970, 1104, 1311, 1490, Glc 285, Phx 156, 393, Wx 56, Rui 13, Pnt 59, Rd 15.14, 23.1, 40.11 and 83.4. The appearance of $b$ for $d$ in Phx 491 laded (MS ladab) and of $d$ for $b$ in Rd 26.12 hyde (MS hype), together with the appearance of $\&$ for $w$ in Chr 1375 ywan (MS ydan), suggests that the confusion among $\&, d$ and $b$ is something more than the result of scribal absentmindedness in dealing with cross-strokes.

Thorpe's emendation from bimutad to bëmen 'hidden' is taken over by Klipstein as Bëmen, but later editors all make the simple graphical change from $\&$ to the $d$ to be expected in a passive participle form. The verb *mutian is not otherwise recorded in Old English and the vowel quantity of the second syllable of bimutad is uncertain. With a short vowel the verse may be scanned as a Sievers C type (Bliss 201a), if long as Sievers A (Bliss 201a with anacrusis). Building on the passive participle of Latin mutāre would have produced a short vowel, but a long could have arisen from use.
of the present stem. A common Old Norse noun múta 'fee, bribe' is from the Latin mutuum 'loan' and is paralleled by one form which occurs among Old English glosses:

mutuum, mutung siue wriulung. WrW I. 449.30

The participle bimutad 71 is therefore regarded as having ù in its root syllable.

72 be be him : Compare se be him 361 and see the note for line 703.

76 wyscað 7 wenah : See note for line 24 on the use of coordinate finite verbs in this text.

76 byogað : Thorpe's emendation to byogað 'strive after' is attractive. The use of byoganan with a genitive is well illustrated in other Old English poems (e.g. Gen 432 (Old Saxon based part), PPs 105.4, Vgl 82) and in the sense 'meditate upon' parallels the two preceding clauses. Two or three plausible explanations of why byogað should appear here for byoganan may be advanced: the scribe confuses h and b in Chr 113 an' may have done so here too, this time without noting his mistake; he may have written b under the influence of the alliteration of the preceding verse line; or he may anticipate the meaning of the finite verb which immediately follows. It must be added in Thorpe's favour that the verb byoganan does not appear to have governed the genitive in Old English verse texts, for the sole example of such usage recorded in GK for SnS
203 is based on a mistaken reading of the manuscript hycege as bycege.

The senses of bycegan and sellan are however as closely relat-ed to one another as are wenon, wycsan and hycegan and such argu-ments could almost be allowed to cancel out one another. The textus receptus can be understood without emendation and wuldres may be explained either as an unparalleled use of the partitive genitive after bycegan or as unconscious repetition of the case taken by the object in the preceding clauses where the verb com-plements likewise stand before their verbs.

80 beowiah: Forms from both class 2 and class 3 weak conjuga-
tion of this verb appear in Guthlac A (see Glossary). Sie-
vers (1885, p. 490) points out that the metre indicates a short stem vowel in this instance of beowiah. For similar problems in the hypermetrical verse type A* (Bliss 3A) see III.3 36.

82 secad gesittad: See the note for line 24 on the use of co-ordinate finite verb forms in this text.

88 eahted: Although the manuscript form with ea can scarcely be a phonological development from historical e, the digraph ea occurs too often in forms of this verb for it to be the result of mere scribal vagary, e.g. Chr eahtnyse, 010 346 eahtan, Jln 4 eahtnyse in the Exeter Book alone. Such forms could arise through
back spelling in a position where a would have been the result of
late West Saxon smoothing of Æa. An isolated ea for ǣ the i-umlaut
of ē occurs in the Tanner Bede I. 68.14 aehtan (see Deutschbein 1901,
§ 12.4) and comparable forms appear in PP 118.150 eah tand and BnR
6.2 eahnesse. An Anglian ē for ǣ appears in Bwf 2957 eht (not due
to confusion of Æ and ē, though for a different view see Maebber
1947, p. lxxvii) and it is possible that these spellings with ea rep­
resent back spellings in that dialect. As all these forms occur in
late English texts they may however reflect the confusion of ea, ē
and e which results from late Old English monophthongisation of fall­
ing diphthongs (Campbell 329(2)).

89 geaoa : This is one of the three examples of inflexional
levelling cited by Malone (1930, pp. 110-17) for this text,
but -a represents the genitive plural ending of this noun.

90 witon hyra hyht mid dryhten : This phrase certainly recalls
a famous verse from Psalm 123, if not also the Gregory passage
in which this verse is quoted. See the note for line 59.

92 aleged and adrogezed : Thorpe changes the first of these verbs
to aleged (which Klipstein prints), translating 92a 'who
never wrongs of their rewards'. The verb aleogan 'belie' does gov­
ern an accusative object and takes the dative case for the person to
whom a pledge is given, but the manuscript form can be interpreted
rather more simply as from aleogan 'deprive of, lessen'. If end-
rhyme is thought desirable in this verse, it can as easily be obtained by substituting for adrewed a form showing Anglian smoothing.

Thorpe's further suggestion that for adrewed a plural present indicative form should be substituted has not gained acceptance into any conservative text, although the verbs of line 89 and the inflexional levelling widely recognised in the Exeter Book show that his interpretation can be supported.

93 A new section begins here on the last line of folio 33v, the preceding line being empty except for adrewed which is placed at the end of it. In Magun the first letter is a large capital, as high as three lines of script, with A slightly more than a third its size. For Thorpe one poem he entitles The Legend of Saint Guthlac begins with this line. A seventeenth century hand has written in the outer margin of folio 34v Gudlao against the first line of script; this may have influenced Thorpe in his division of the previous parts of the Guthlac material.

94 Purb baligne bad : MacGillivray (1902, § 123 note 1) equates the use of had in this phrase with clerus, comparing sanctus ordo 'clergy', but does not relate this customary explanation of the phrase to its context. Klaiber (1902, p. 104) argues against overquick glossing of had as a collective with the sense 'clerici' : That purb had belongs in the rather large class of quasi-adverbial modes of expression, and that
frurh denotes manner, state, and the like in many more cases than is commonly recognised by lexicographers and editors, we feel fully satisfied.

He suggests that Glo 94 *haligne hald* 'which seems to be universally understood as *a clericis* may be interpreted as 'in a holy (or edifying) manner' if *gecyped* is taken as meaning 'manifested, shown, revealed'. Despite the use of many religious terms in this text such as *martyrdom* 472 or *regulae* 489 or indeed *hades* 60 (see further examples in III.4/E.3(b)) Haeber's interpretation of this phrase is to be preferred to the usual 'by holy men' (Kennedy 1910, p. 266) type of translation deplored by him.

102 *beorgesbel*: This is the first description the poet gives us of Guthlac's dwelling-place. The limiting element of this compound is generally understood as 'mountain, hill' in translations and dictionaries and for a discussion of the meaning of the simplex *beorg* in this poem, see the note for line 140. The compound *beorgesbel* appears only here and should be compared with the phrase *beorges* *setl* 383. The sense 'dwelling-place in the mountains' hardly describes the Lincolnshire fens and this whole passage, following as it does upon the poet's account of *anbuendra... on westennum* 81-92, recalls rather the lives of the desert fathers than of Felix's Guthlac.

105 *weard*, MS *weard*: See the note for line 71 on the confusion of *h*, *d* and *b* in this manuscript.
Many commentators have placed great emphasis on this passage, pointing out that the A poet refers specifically to oral sources whereas the B poet mentions books (line 878) as his source. The distinction is a curious one and cannot be upheld. It should be noted that an introductory Hwet often collocates with verbs of hearing and asking in Old English verse and that such formulae are widely used. See further III.2(a).

The phrase occurs both here and at line 181 and should in both places be translated 'many dangers, many perils'. Since Thorpe interprets the clause in which it stands 'the holy man in his early age loved much mischief', there has been an editorial tendency to connect freonessa with 'gluttony' (a meaning shown for the word in glosses, e.g. WrW 419.35 'Ingluuis', freonesse). Some such interpretation of the word must lie behind a translation like Collanoz's 'many vicious courses'.

We know from Felix that Guthlac was a soldier before he became a hermit. Here, in the second section of the A poem we learn how as a young man Guthlac loved danger; in the following section the poet points out that later as a warrior under Christ's standard he again overcame many hazards. Gollancz's translation is quoted in explanation of the phrase in the KD edition with a note referring the reader to lines 128-32, but this comparison is too tenuous to support either the identification of freonessa fela in this context with 'gluttony'.
Il4ff. The doctrine that every man has two angels, one good and one bad, may lie behind this passage, as perhaps also behind Ele 894-966 (especially lines 952b-55a). The existence of guardian angels for men has scriptural authority: Acts xii.15, Matthew xviii. 10, Tobias iii.35, etc. Jean Daniélou, noting that Origen was apparently the first Christian to elaborate the doctrine of two guardian angels, points out (1958, p. 144):

Dans l'Épitre de Barnabe (xvii.i) et dans Hermas (Prec., vi, 2.2-5), la doctrine de l'ange gardien se double de celle du demon gardien, ce qui apparaît comme un développement de la doctrine esseniennedes deux esprits.

123 dryhtnes dreamas: Thoroe suggests that emendation to dreames is necessary here, translating 'of the Lord's Joy'. It is unnecessary even to consider dreamas as showing levelling of -as and -es, for an accusative plural dreamas is not unsuitable. The phrase is often treated as the object of gesittatō 122 (e.g. by Kennedy 1910, o. 266 who translates 121b-123a 'where in triumphant glory holy souls have portion in the joys of God', which presumably is the sort of translation the KD note on this passage infers), but is better taken as variation of ba longan god 120 (for examples of such variation despite the intervention of a subordinate adverbial clause see Campbell 1962, p. 22).

127 scyhte: For the reconstructed infinitive *scycoan advanced in the glossary see SB 407 note 12. This preterite form
occurs also in Gen 898 and cognate with it are Old English scucca, Old Norse skykkjum (dative plural) and Middle High German schuiken. In BPs 87, 19 fræ aschibotes translates elongasti. The form of similar appearance which occurs in Ancrene Riwle MS C 312.10 schuotecS cannot be from this verb, but is probably from an Old English *-sc£htan cognate with scœoh, Middle High German schulcberen and New High German schulchten.

128 burh nebinge: This is the noun nebing 'daring' found also in the Orosius (Sweet 1883, 136.24) and cognate with Old High German nendigt and Old Norse nenning. Thorpe's emendation to nibeinge 'villains' produces difficulties of interpretation and introduces into the poem a Scandinavian loan-word first found in late law codes and in an eleventh century part of the Old English Chronicle LAtl. IV.6, Chron. 1049 and 1087).

136 sibbam: For the levelling of a and m in inflexional syllables see III.4/C.2(a). The word is to be regarded as the common Old English adverb siddan. Grein suggests printing sib bang, regarding the phrase as adverbial (1865, p. 423), and is followed in Assmann's revision of the Bibliothek, in both BT and GK and in the KD edition of the poem (where sib bam appears and translation 'after that' is suggested.

138 lufade hine 7 lorde: See the note for line 24 on the use of co-ordinate finite verbs in this poem.
lenge hu geornor: The use of *hu* with the comparative occurs in verse only here and in line 20. This intensive use of *hu* is paralleled in VPe 118.107 a *hu lenge swīður* for *usqueaque*. Similar constructions occur with *swa*, e.g. Dwf 1854, Gen 985, Leechdome ii 34.16, but *by* more often accompanies the comparative in Old English. Grein suggests in a footnote that this verse should perhaps be emended to *leng by geornor*. The recognition of a parallel phrase in line 20 has shown the change to *by* unnecessary and similar use of *lenge* can be seen in that line, in Jln 375, VPe 118, 107, Leechdome ii 258.24 and WrW 495.13.

leofedan: This class 2 weak verb is recorded only here in Old English, but its meaning and etymology are obvious even without reference to the cognate Old High German *kiliubit* 'commend-atur' cited in GK. A unique example of a related weak verb class 1 also occurs in the Exeter Book, in Chr 1644 *gelyfde* with which BTs compares Old High German *giliubta*.

on beorhge: L.K. Shook (1960, pp. 4ff.) equates the use of *beorg* in this poem with Felix's *tumulus* 390 and attributes to it the specialised meaning of 'barrow, grave-mound'. This meaning for the word apparently dropped out of literary use in English before 1400, except in the northern dialects where forms of *bargh* (probably reinforced by Old Norse *bjarg* 'rock face') occur and in the South West where forms of *barrow* survive. Its continued use there to describe such topographical features as the 'barrows' of Salisbury Plain...
may have led to the word's being taken into archaeological and general use with the sense 'grave'. The Old English *beorg* is used both in verse and prose with the meaning 'grave, burial mound', but always with contextual reinforcement for this interpretation.

The meaning of *beorg* is never ambiguous in *Beowulf* in the way suggested by Shook for *Guthlac A* (see Stjerna 1912, p. 242). At the opening of the dragon conflict we are told that the dragon

... on hea[um] h[æp]e hord bewectode,
stanbeorh steapne;

When used for a burial mound *beorg* is only one among many terms, e.g. *hlæw, eorðsele, eorðreced, hordærna sum, wyrmes denn, hringæle, eorðhus, dryhtæle dræme* for the dragon's mound, *hlæw* and *ad* for the grave-mound raised for Beowulf (and compare *beorg* in lines 2807, 3097, 3138 and 3163). Other Old English occurrences of *beorg* 'grave-mound' are few. In *The Descent into Hell* we are told:

\[\text{hæled wæron modge,}\]
\[\text{pe hy at pam beorge blide fundon.}\]

The poet later describes Christ's grave as *pæt eordærn* 12, 19 and also refers back again to *pæm beorge* in line 14. In *Guthlac B* Beccel is asked to tell Pege:

\[\text{pæt heo his banfæt beorge bifeast,}\]
\[\text{lame biluce lic orsawle}\]
\[\text{in peostороcofan þær hit þrage sceal}\]
\[\text{in sondhofe sippan wunian.}\]

\[1196\]

Two examples of *beorg* 'burial mound' are cited in the NED under *BARROW* from late Old English prose:
In the first instance it is evident that the **beorh** (like the **stanbeorh steapne** of Beowulf 2214) is man-made and in the second the coupling of **on beorgum** with **byrgenne** (the usual Old English word for 'tomb, burial place') has led to its interpretation as 'on grave-mounds' rather than 'on hill-sides'. The examples of **beorg** placed against tumulus in glosses can be given the restricted meaning 'burial mound' only where the Latin or English contexts make such a sense clear, e.g. WrW 216.25 *Cumulus, i., tumulus, apex, aceruus, coaceruatio, 'beorg' perhaps but not WrW 177.23 where *Tumulus, 'beorh' appears among a succession of words for geographical features such as mountains, valleys and fords. Against **sarcophago** is written the more explicit WrW 44.31 *licbeorg.*

Old English poets had a large conventional vocabulary in which to describe mound and cave dwellings. The dragon's lair in Beowulf has been identified as a chamber barrow (Daniels 1950, p. 26 and fn. 6) and examples of descriptions of it found in the poem are given above. In Andreas the compounds **moldern** 802 and **eorðscrafu** 803 (compare **eorðscraf** 780) are used for sepulchres. The woman of The Wife's Lament is hidden in *ham eorðscrafa** 28 in an **eorðsele** 29, eald as is the Bwf 2410 and 2415 **eorðsele** and chambered too, for she refers to it as *ham eorðscrafa** 36. It is strange that the author of Guthlac A failed to use any of these words if he were closely visualising the
account of Guthlac's hermitage given by Felix. Instead the poet's pervasive imagery is of hills and waste places. The *bearwe* 148 which God reveals to the saint need not therefore be given the technical sense 'barrow'. Shook reads into it. After all Guthlac's tormentors sorrow for the *grene beorgae* 232 that his constancy has made them forego, perhaps a further indication that the site of Guthlac's hermitage was one of these green risings.

144 *setla gesston*: Compare with this passage lines 209 ff., where the poet tells how the empty hills about Guthlac's dwelling-place had before his coming been the resting-places of fallen angels.

146 *seo londes stow*: Note that the article qualifies *stow*, not its dependent genitive. Compare *se dryhtnes beow* 386.

146 *Wasseo londes stow*: Liebermann (1892, p. 247) believes this passage to show the influence of Felix's *Vita* 390 ff.

Erat itaque in prefata insula tumulus agrestibus glebis coacervatus; quem olim amari sollicitudinis frequentatores, erga causam lucris illic defodientes adquirendi scindevat: in cuius latere uelut cisterna in esse videbatur: in qua uir beate memoriae guthlao de superinposito tugurio habitare coepit;

The poet, however, describes the place as *bimiben fore monnum* 147 before God revealed it to Guthlac and dispenses altogether with Tatwine who, in the *Vita* and subsequent Crowland traditions, guides the
saint there. (Indeed, no mention is made in this poem of any of Guthlac's companions mentioned by Felix in the Vita.) Lebermann emphasises the appearance of *lēnes lifwelan* 151, because Felix tells us that Guthlac did not dig open the *tumulus causam luori* ... *ad-aquirendi as auari* ... frequentatorem had once done. The resemblance here between poem and Vita is very slight and probably due to coincidence. The poet relates how Guthlac built for himself a place to live in (haligne hám 149), not that he should there seek worldly wealth; he dedicated that piece of land to God. In this sentence the poet shows how Guthlac followed the advice of his two guardian angels, despising the worldly possessions which one suggested he should seek and working towards *pa longan god* 120 as the other had persuaded. There is no need to look beyond the context in the poem to the Vita to find a reason for the inclusion of *lēnes lifwelan* 151.

148 *bylda*: The noun appears only in the Exeter Book, again in this poem at line 733 and in GfM 75 bylda where the manuscript reads:

```
Sum bid bylda til
hus to habenne.
```

Close attention to this latter passage may account for the uncertainty as to the meaning of the word expressed in GK (see under *bylda* the explanations *architectus? domus possessor?*). Occasional transposition of letters is found throughout the manuscript and gives the emendation *habanne* support, making it unnecessary to give to the noun
bytla the second of the equivalents put forward by Grein. There are many Old English cognates for this noun, e.g. botl, gebytlu, bytlung, bytlian, etc.

153 geostag, MS geostad: See the note for line 71 on confusion of a, d and p in this manuscript.

154ff. The verses in gemundigra monna tidum and the following clauses are, together with conventional formulae found in lines 108, 401 and 752, often taken as evidence that the poet was following oral traditions. See further III 2(a). The B poet's Us segal beo 879 is sometimes contrasted with them.

155-56 All those who have edited this passage, except Craigie, supply some object for weordiadr 156. Thorpe inserts hire after be 155 and the others after wundor 156. There is however no need to make any change here in the manuscript text which can be freely rendered '...who even now, because of his divine miracles, revere and cherish the glory of his wisdom which that holy servant...'

The A poet's frequent use of co-ordinate pairs of finite verbs lends support to this interpretation.

160 reahte 7 ræde: See the note for line 24.

162 ærendu: In some six places in the manuscript the scribe (or perhaps a later reviser) has indicated by two short lines which
slant outwards from the top of his £ that u should be read. Other examples appear in Chr 1280, Clc 405, 1128, 1306 and Phx 407. These forms often appear with o in editions of these poems, e.g. Thorpe prints o in all these places and even Gollancz gives Chr 1280 Magon. The appearance of Phx 407 wurdon in the manuscript may account for Flower's statement that 'a hook sometimes develops at the left hand shoulder' of o in this manuscript (CFF, p. 25).

163ff. Gerald (1917, p. 80) compares with this passage Vita 272-75, but there is nothing to identify the audience the poet gives to the anchorite Guthlac with the companions of the young warrior prince Felix is at this point of his narrative describing. Lines 276-77 of the Vita, because they are less specific, can with more reason be compared with this part of the poem, but point only to the similar themes present in both accounts and not to a closer relationship of the two.

166b-69 As two or three words and phrases in this passage require individual comment a free translation of it will be given first, with the notes following presented to illustrate how this interpretation has been arrived at: 'there was too great a fear of God in his mind for him to wish to devote himself to the pursuit of pleasure in worldly grandeur.'

mara in gemyndum: The formula occurs twice again in the Exeter Book: in Jln 36 it follows upon a b-verse virtually identical
with Glo 167b and in Mdb 32 the adverb of comparison bonne also introduces a clause dependent upon this phrase. In the Guthlac context the comparative should be translated by 'too' with the positive of the adjective and 'for' + infinitive substituted for the bonne clause. Compare the examples of this construction listed in BT under bonne III.

menniscum brymce: This phrase may be treated either as instrumental in function or as the object of the verb 'to serve' represented by the infinitive form began.

after bonne: As quite a few interpretations are possible for this phrase they are tabulated.

(i) The emendation affbongce 'jealously' is offered by the first editor, Thorpe. Although the change can be justified quite convincingly graphically (as the misreading by some scribe during the transmission of the text of an earlier affbongce as affbongce ?), it is unnecessary.

(ii) The common use of the adverbial phrase to bonne in Old English (e.g. Glo 125, And 1112, etc.) suggests that after bonne may be interpreted similarly and translated 'willingly' or 'thankfully', but no other examples of after used with substantives in adverbial phrases is recorded. Comparable only are the prepositional formulae containing the phrase after benn.

The frequent collocation of to bonne with the verb biogan is advanced in support of the interpretation 'willingly' for this phrase and began taken as an otherwise unrecorded infinitive form of biogan.
(iii) Kock (1918, p. 40) suggests the phrase should be translated 'to reap thanks', comparing Gen 2:22 aeowian after hyldo, Gen 2284 dreogan after dugecum and Gen 291, 2154, etc.

After many verbs this originally local preposition denotes the direction of an enquiry or the turn of one's desires and has the sense 'in order to obtain', other examples than those cited by Kock appearing in Ewf 1720 and 2179. See Wulfing (1901, II, § 614) for many examples in the Alfredian translations. A free rendering is to be found for the phrase in ET under hane III(a), reading following the dictates of pleasure, and indicates the meaning which honce should here be given. Instead of Kock's 'to reap thanks' is suggested 'in order to obtain pleasure' which may stand in a translation of the clause which regards menniscum brymme as the object of began 'to devote oneself to'.

(iv) With menniscum brymme treated as an instrumental phrase the translation advanced in (iii) may be regarded as the object of began 'to devote oneself to'. Compare 128b-129a purh nehinge wunne after worulde.

began: This infinitive form is not elsewhere recorded. Two interpretations of it are put forward in discussions of the passage:

(1) The form began may represent an alternative strong infinitive for biogan (see ET under began where the passage is translated 'for him to wish to get human glory'). However, neither biogan nor beogan (to which the infinitive could be attributed as a late form with simplification of cg to g) governs the dative. The inter-
pretation is therefore unlikely, and it should be noted that Thorpe's 'of human grandeur ... would oertake' cannot be followed unless radical emendation of menniscum brymme to a genitive is effected.

(ii) Cosijn (1898, p. 116) suggests that the infinitive is to be regarded as a by-form of beowan 'to serve', an interpretation followed in GK (see under began) and in the KD edition. The verb may be regarded either as governing the dative or as followed by after. Compare the note for menniscum brymme.

Cosijn points out that this verb shows traces characteristic of weak verbs of the third class and suggests that beside beowan the form *beogan must once have appeared; he notes also that both o and ò stems weak verb forms are represented in these poems. This infinitive began may be the result of Mercian smoothing of the form *beogan devised by Cosijn. The form pigat 461 similarly reflects the smoothing of io. Both forms reflect the fairly common alternation of g and w in Germanic.

170  God: A new section begins with this word on the fourth line of folio 34v. Heavy punctuation occurs after the last word in the second line and the third is left free. The initial capital G stretches in height from the third to the fifth line and od are small capitals.

172  ecan lifes: A weak adjective unpreceded by a demonstrative occurs also in ecan lifes 795 and in the stereotyped poetical phrases for 'forever' in to widan ealdre 636, to widan feore 840 and
ealne widan ferh 817. In Glo 991 bone bleatan dryne deopan dead-weges the adjective deopan qualifies a genitive dependent upon a phrase headed by bone which may therefore explain this appearance of a weak adjective without an article. At line 375 the -an of gifran may be for -um. The contracted comparatives fagran 48 and 383 are not to be confused with this construction.

173 feara sum: Guthlac’s solitariness is emphasised throughout this poem, so the phrase should most likely here be interpreted ‘one of a few’, i.e. ‘one alone, not ‘one and a few others’. Compare the litotes of Emf 3061. In Guthlac A the saint lacks the companions given him by Felix — and in this respect the warrior champion of this poem is unlike the desert fathers who are generally portrayed as having bands of disciples. (Compare a similar contrast found between the Evagrian life of St. Anthony and Jerome’s account of Paul’s visit to him.)

176 ondwiges heard, MS 7 wiges heard: Thorpe treats the manuscript I as the conjunction, translating ‘bold in war’. The alliteration shows that I must be regarded as the first element in the compound ondwiges and in this expansion o is preferred to a which appears only rarely before a nasal consonant in this manuscript (see III.4/A(ii)).

177ff. There is no break in the manuscript after wapnum although the metre suggests that something has been lost here.
Thorpe estimates that several lines have fallen out, but it is now generally accepted that not more than one or two words are missing. The older editors place *wæpnum* at the end of 177b, regard *wong blet-sæde* as 178a and supply some clause or phrase for 178b, e.g. *be he waldendes beacen* (Grein), *syððan be wuldres beaw* (Cremer 1888, p. 50) and *waldendes taon* (Cæijn 1898, p. 116). Craigie leaves the half-line blank. This arrangement of the text produces in 177b a rare verse pattern, found generally in a-verses if at all (see further III.3/36); as *mid* must be regarded as a syllable of anacrusis, the occurrence of such a b-verse must be considered highly improbable except in a hypermetrical passage. Like Craigie, Assmann and Gollancz print *wong blet-sæde* alone on one line, but without indication of a missing b-verse beyond the shortness of the line. Whether or not single verses were purposely constructed by Old English poets, it is unlikely that *wong blet-sæde* is to be regarded as an example for it is unparalleled in this poem.

In the KD text *wæpnum* is placed at the beginning of 178 and a lacuna is marked by asterisks. This arrangement, making 177b a Sievers C type verse (Bliss d type), follows the division of text suggested by Holthausen (1899, p. 355) and Trautmann (1894, p. 174). Trautmann supplies ond *wordum* and Holthausen *Guthlac*. To preserve the continuity of the text I supply *7 wædum*, making 178a an A verse (Bliss 1A*ia*) with double alliteration. Metrically this stop-gap resembles Trautmann's suggestion, but it is contextually nearer those verses of Eoh-seian vi which the poet may have had in mind. Similar phrases occur
in Bwf 292 wæpnum ond gewædu and Bwf 39 hildewæpnum ond headowædum: omission might easily have been caused by the similar appearance of these words.

179 him to getalle : Although the compound getalle occurs three times in Old English its meaning remains unclear. One of the other instances is in a verse text, Wld I 21 at sam getalle, and is most fully discussed in Norman's edition of the Waldere fragments (1933, p. 38). The third example of getalle occurs in an eleventh century charter: 7 swa on getalles bohr (Kemble 1839, IV, p. 31; number DCCXLII). Emendations have sometimes been put forward for the Waldere passage, for example *gastealle (Sedgefield 1922, p. 139) on the analogy of gasteale 'battle place', but unnecessarily. Norman, following Millenhoff's identification of the meaning of the word with modern German Anstand and Antritt in fencing, suggests that the Waldere phrase is to be interpreted 'at the place where the other man has taken up position', that is at a place which will be of advantage to one's opponent, for it is followed by odres monnes which may be taken as a dependent genitive. This sense cannot be given easily to the other examples of the word. In Guthlac A the phrase him to getalle 179 makes it clear that this place has been chosen by Guthlac himself and in the Portesbain charter getalle is itself a descriptive genitive. Wld I 21 odres monnes can alternatively be linked rather with wigrædenne 22, parallelling sniges monnes/wig 14-15, and cannot therefore be accepted as proving this restricted sense even within this context. The wider meanings
'station, camp' are suitable in all three contexts, as Stephens (1860, p. 83) points out. The base element -steall is found similarly combined with other prepositions, for example with ofer, on, wīl and wīpar, as well as with substantives. No modern place name descended from the charter's āststealles beorh has been identified and Norman's suggestion that it explains the first element in Stall Barn at Coryates in Dorset is made only very tentatively. The element is common enough in placenames. Both nominal elements of the charter phrase are indeed to be found in the Kentish placename Borestall (which Skeat 1903, pp. 359ff. explains etymologically as a 'hill-fort').

Translations of the sort 'reflection place' (Thorpe), 'as his help' (Gordon 1954, p. 259) or 'to mark his standard' (Shook 1960, p. 7) supply more than is implicit in the text, but Jollancz's 'to mark his station' supplies an equivalent not unwarranted by the context. An alternative interpretation of the passage, first mooted in the notes of Trautmann and Holthausen and accepted by BTs, depends upon taking the phrase as part of the preceding clause. In this arrangement it can be translated 'as his station'. Yet as its object wong precedes blestade and as blestade coincides with a line end, the phrase him to āststealle appears rather to be part of the following clause. The ambiguity must however be admitted.

180 crīstes rode: An Irish eighth century canon required a cross to be set up on all consecrated ground (Stevens 1904,
pp. 57 and 59) and this may well also have been the custom in England at this time. Stevens points out that St. Botulf and his companions are reported to have set up their cross before doing anything else when founding Icenhoe (in southern Lincolnshire, foundation date 654 according to the Chronicle).

181 *freonna fela*: As this phrase here follows so closely upon imagery from Ephesians vi it may recall the *insidias diaboli* of verse 11. Compare the note for line 110.

181 *wurdum*: Within the context of this verse the final *m* might be explained as due to dittography, but for other examples of verbal -*um* see the note for *motum* 13 and see also III.4/C.2(b).

182 *heas Gudlacingas, MS heas gud lance*: Various explanations have been put forward to justify retention of the manuscript dative form, but none is entirely convincing. The common practice followed is to translate *gudlace* apparently as a possessive dative, despite the absence of any preposition to support such an interpretation of the text (e.g. in the Thorpe and Gollancz editions). Malone (1951, p. 444) explains the form as a dative of accompaniment, suggesting the translation 'we and Guthlac ascribe to the Lord a valuable part of that...', but such a construction is unusual in Old English.

Rather more tortuous interpretations of the passage are put forward by Kock (1918, p. 41) and Schaar (1949, p. 79). Both continue
the sentence into line 184, paraphrasing liberally. Even so Kock finds emendation to *gulace* (which he interprets 'of warfare') necessary. Taking 181b–82a in parenthesis he translates:

*.. there the champion overcame a deal of dangers — valorous were many among God's sufferers — we of this warfare ascribe a glorious portion to the Lord, for it was He that gave him victory.*

His 'intentional or unintentional pun' seems an unnecessary complication and his placing of these three clauses in asyndeton is clumsy. Schaar argues that a comma should be placed after *dal* and that both *Gulace* and *dryhtne* are to be regarded as dependent on *cenned*:

*In this way we get the connection between *Frome wurdun monge godee browera and the rest: many of God's martyrs became bold, and we ascribe a considerable share in this fact to Guthlac, as a model, and to the Lord, because the latter him sige sealde 7 anyttrucraft.*

As in the case of Kock's over-ingenious interpretation of the passage, too much is read into the text.

*Cosijn (1898, p. 116) supplies *sec* before *dryhtne* 'nächst gott' and, although Holthausen (1899, p. 356) rejects this emendation as *metrisch falsch*, it must be noted that other examples of Sievers A type with anacrusis do appear in the second half-line in this poem (see III.3/(ii). Cosijn's emendation was perhaps suggested to him by line 206. Holthausen (1955, p. 277) later suggests the insertion of *mídd* before *gulace*, perhaps influenced by Malone's understanding of *gulace* as a dative of accompaniment. The simpler addition of a*
preferred by KD is here followed. KD explain that Kock's suggestion 'seems the best way out of the difficulty', pointing out that it is unnecessary to regard guilaces as a pun on the saint's name.

In most of these explanations he is regarded as the genitive singular neuter of the demonstrative in adverbial use. This view of he makes it difficult to see the connection between Frome wurdum monge godes prowera and the following clause. Gollancz for example avoids the apparent disjointedness of the passage by adding to the first clause in his translation an advent not found in the text:

there the champion overcame
divers perils; many of God's martyrs
grew valiant there; wherefore we ascribe Guthlac's dearworth lot unto the Lord.

If however he is regarded as a specifying demonstrative (again compare Kock's interpretation), the emended text shows the necessary connection:

Many of God's martyrs became brave; this Guthlac's precious part we ascribe to the Lord.

For the use of dal 'part, way of life' compare Luke x.42 Æone selestan dal for optimum partem.

187 æfeste: Cosijn (1898, p. 116) suggests this form should be emended to æfestne, but there is no need to change the accusative plural æfeste form of æfæt 'envy'.

191 fæðehwearfum: The limiting element in this hopax legomenon is
probably **fēde** 'foot, going on foot' rather than the weak masculine noun **fēde** 'infantry' which does not seem to have been used as the first element in compounds. The word **hweorfan** 'troop', related to **hweorfan** 'turn', is cognate with Old Saxon **hweorh**, Middle Low German **warf**, werf, Old High German **warb**, Middle High German **warp**, warf (see NED under **WARF** sb.2). The only other examples of this word in Old English are **Glc 263 hwearfum**, **Jud 249 hwearfum** and a form sometimes emended into **FrB 34**. Middle English examples from **Langston** are **warf 17485** (Madden) and **warf 1036** (Cal.).

197 *his ribbe ryht* : Translations such as Gollancz's 'the claims of kin' are rather vague and take no account of **his**. An equivalent such as 'kinship dues' could imply either rights of inheritance (the more likely interpretation) or duties owed to relatives. For the simplex **riht** used with similar connotations see PT examples under **riht IV** and V and GK examples under **riht 2** and 3. The A poet apparently gives legal meaning to this word in compounds found in lines 57 and 216 and here again we may have an instance of specialised legal terminology (see further III.4/5.3(a).) Felix's account of the saint's conversion does not help to restrict the phrase either to possessions or duties, for he tells us that Guthlac turned aside both from **patriam** 274 and from leadership 267.

206 *æc gode sylfum* : There is no need to regard **æc** as an adverb as Thorpe does. It appears again as a preposition governing the dative in other verse texts, e.g. **Web 11** and **Gen 2502**, as well
as in the adverbial phrase *eac bon* 'moreover' found in Wulf 14 and in the prepositional formula *Ald 10 eac bon be*. For examples of this usage from Alfredian works see Wulfing 1901, II. pp. 658-9. L.K. Shook's translation of this verse (1961, p. 303) as 'helped, indeed, by God himself' in parenthesis cannot be supported.

209 *beorges brace*: Thorpe's translation 'the mountains occupied' with his footnote suggestion *beorges brace?* is rightly ignored by later commentators, as neither *brace* nor *breeze* are possible forms of the verb *brucan* 'use, possess'. The form *brace* is the singular preterite subjunctive of *brecan* 'break into', a verb used in this sense both with the accusative and with prepositions (see BT under *brecan I(3)* and BTs under *brecan I(4)*). It should be noted that Shook's translation of *beorras* by 'the barrows' (1961, p. 306) reads more into the text than is justifiable (see also the note for line 140).

209 *by, MS he*: The manuscript *he* appears occasionally for the nominative plural of this pronoun in Old English (especially it is a feature of the Regius Psalter gloss, see Campbell 703), and as *by* and *hi* and less often *hio* and *heo* are the usual forms of this manuscript the usual emendation to *by* is here adopted. The manuscript *he* may be due to the appearance of *he* in the previous clause. Thorpe printed *by* without noticing that he had silently emended the text and this form appears also in Grein's edition, so that the scribal *he* was recognised only after Schieper's collation (1874, p. 330).
210 ondsacan: The manuscript is expanded by and- rather than Gollancz's and-, because o is usual before a nasal consonant in this manuscript.

210 mortum: See the note for motum 13 and also III.4/b.2(b).

213 restan rynebragum: The verb form restan is ambiguous here; it can be regarded as a finite verb in a series of co-ordinate clauses and is so translated by Thorpe 'rested a space of time' but is better taken as an infinitive following swoman.

The meaning of rynebragum is unclear. To the base brag can be given either its primary meaning 'run, course' or the extension to 'space of time' and both possible interpretations have their supporters. In BT Thorpe's 'a space of time' preference is followed, whereas G7 suggest cursus which perhaps leads Kock (1918, p. 42) to state that because the original meaning of brag had almost been supplanted 'only a tautological compound like rynebrag would express, unambiguously, the primary idea'. There is no need however to regard the compound as tautological, for ryne- is the limiting element in two other poetic compounds Rd 3.38 rynegiestes and PPs 19.7 ryne-wagn in which it can be translated 'swift'. As well Kock manipulates the syntax of the passage to produce the translation 'when from wandering and races they weary, came to rest', noting that the compound is 'erroneously connected with restan' in the BT and GK explanations. The meaning of the phrase remains doubtful. As the
compound *rynebragum* follows *restan* the translation 'to rest for swift intervals' is attractive, but in context the interpretation 'to rest from swift rushings' is also possible.

Shook (1961, pp. 303–4) points out the relationship of this passage to 'the respite theme which is fairly common in apocryphal writings'. Although he notes that the poet here refers to demons and not the souls of men who have been sinners on earth, the comparison is a valuable one, for it indicates that the former of the translations advanced above for *restan rynebragum* is to be preferred. Shook himself translates the phrase 'to rest betimes'.

213 rowe: The feminine noun row 'quiet' occurs only here in Old English and one example of the adjective row appears in the *Cura Pastoralis* (Sweet 1871, I. p. 71.19), the nominative singular masculine form. The word is cognate with Old High German ruowa and Old Norse ro. Middle English examples of ro in North Midland texts are examples of the Old Norse word (see Serjeantson 1935, pp. 83 and 96).

216 *efrelriht feor*: The word *efrelriht* occurs only three times in Old English, the other instances being in *Beowulf* 2198 where it varies *lond* and *eard* and *Exon* 211 where it refers to the promised land of the Israelites. Some such translation as 'far from ancestral domain' is therefore suggested. The word is perhaps to be regarded as an example of archaic legal terminology. See further III. 4/E.3(a).
In early Anglo-Saxon England the fens seem to have formed a
marsh-land between Mercia and East Anglia. They may well have
been desolate in Guthlac's time, inhabited in only a few scattered
places, for Tele describes Ely as surrounded by water (H.E. iv.19)
and the eighth century 'Tribal Hidage' indicates that all this re-
gion was then lightly populated (see further Derby 1940, pp. 7ff.
and I.i(2)).

217 **biscece**: This *hener legomenon* is generally regarded as the
genitive singular of a feminine noun, either 'bescece 'visi-
tation, approach' (e.g. Thorpe, PTs, CK, Williams, KD) or 'bisseat
'taking possession' with a due to the misreading of t (the sugge-
tion made by Kleiber 1904, p. 143). The existence however of both
an adjective *bissaco 'disputed, contested' and a passive participle
unbesacce 'unmolested by litigation, uncontested' in laws and chart-
ers suggests that the form **biscece** is yet another example of legal
terminology in this poem (see III.4/E.3(e)). The word is therefore
glossed as a feminine noun under the headword *bisceou 'dispute'.

218 **ealdfeondas**: Siévers (1885, p. 483) points out that the
Guthlac A poet's use of -as plurals for feond (compare feon-
des 421) distinguishes this poem from the other poems often connect-
ed with Cynnewulf. In them are found forms without inflexion, for
example Ele 360 frynd.

225 **earfeda**: Because he is not familiar with the intransitive
use of geryman + to 'to clear the way to' (for examples see FTS under geryman IV) Grein makes the unnecessary emendation from earfeah to the dative plural earfahum and treats ende as the accusative object of a transitive verb.

229 bleahtor alegdon: The same euphemism is found in Bwp 3020 and Exo 35.

232 gnornende: Similar present participle forms for second class weak verbs are gnornende 679, 1209 and drusende 1061 and 1379 and may point to a Mercian origin for the poems. Sievers (1885, p. 482) compares Chr 1017 sorgende, Chr 1267 sorgendum, Ele 1256 drusende and, with the reflection of medial -e- unnecessary metrically, Exo 452 fortigenende, Gen 841 gnorngende, etc. See further III.4/D.1(e).

233 hy: Grein's emendation to hym is unnecessary for the nominative pronoun is in variation with godes ondsacan.

233 ondsacan: For the expansion of I to and- in this compound compare line 210.

235 deahagbold: Cosijn (1898, p. 116) compares with this phrase the compound deahagbold 962, but points out that emendation may not be necessary for the deah may be a genitive singular form of deah from the old u- declension. See SH 273 for u stem remain-
ders for this noun, older *daupus. Elsewhere in both Guthlac poems the word gedal is not used as a simplex but only as the base element in compounds, but compare with this phrase Phr 651 burh his lices gedal or Bwf 3068 worulde gedal, etc.

236 labran gemotes: The same formula occurs in the a-verse of Bdl 5.10.

245 gedringan, MS gedrin gan with the second g altered from g: Although Thorpe records the manuscript d both he and Grein prefer the emendation b to the graphically simpler å of later editors. For the confusion of d, å and b in this codex, see the note for line 71.

246 fealog: The word occurs only here in Old English, but is paralleled by the Old High German fō(h)-lōgî cited in GK and BTs under the headword fēalōg 'raritas, paucitas'. Like the better represented fēaseaft the word seems to have had the meaning 'poor, destitute' and is made up of fēa and another noun, lōg. The simplex lōg occurs in Old English only in the Chronicle entry for 693 and in two manuscripts on his loh has been replaced by on his steall, an indication that the word was obsolescent in some dialects in the Old English period. The related weak verb (ge)lōgian is better known. Stratmann, under lā, lōog, lists cognate nouns, Old Frisian lōch, d. lōge, Middle Low German lōg 'place (?)' and Old High German
lucg 'cave, den', and points out that the word is used by William de Shoreham in the sense 'place'. This suggests a longer retention of the word in Kent than elsewhere.

249 wunād 7 weaxeð : See the note for line 24.

251 hleonað : This nonceword is often connected with the verb hlinian 'to lie down'. It is interpreted by GK as reclin-atorium cubicile with an incorrect long vowel. In BT it is translated 'a place to lie down in'. Gollancz gives 'a resting-place' in his translation. Metrically there is no objection to this interpretation of the compound for a short vowel in open syllable can fill the second measure of an A pattern verse.

It is however unnecessary to quote here other examples of this type of A verse, for the compound is better taken in the way given in BTs as hleonað from hleo(w) 'protection' with the addition of the suffix -nob. This interpretation is given the word by Kennedy (1910, p. 270 'place of refuge'). The form can be compared with many other words in which a noun has been modified by the addition of -nob. Another hapax legomenon with this suffix appears in Glo 757 trumnabe.

252 tweob, with MS emendation from w to ḷ : The emendation within the manuscript from w(ƿ) to ḷ illustrates the confusion of these symbols often found in Old English manuscripts. Other examples of this confusion in the Exeter Book lie behind Chr 31 we, Chr 371
The metre indicates that the manuscript *tweop* is to be decontracted in reading aloud. See further III.4/6.1(b) and compare *steod* 301 and *aflihde* 504.

262 "A": A new section begins here in the manuscript, with a large capital A and a smaller capital a. The preceding line is empty to mark this division except for *les sower leng* at the end. The next manuscript indicative of a new section does not occur to line 404 and it is likely therefore that a sectional break occurred within the folio lost between folios 37 and 38 (i.e. about 60 or 70 lines of verse are missing between 368 and 369).

263 hwearfum: The noun is here used adverbially and is therefore to be placed in the introductory dip of 263a, the alliteration being determined by the noun *wrecomgas*. The problem of alliteration with *w* found in the late poem *Judith* at line 249 does not arise. For a note on the infrequency of the noun *hwearf* in English see *hwearf* 191.

268 in gelimpe: The basic meaning of *gelimp* 'chance' explains such translations as the BT 'in chance', but provides an un-
satisfactory rendering. Gollancz's 'in changeful state' or Gordon's 'amid change' give to the text an image of transitoriness unwarranted in this context. Cosijn (1898, p. 116) cites the passages which appear in BTs under gelimp II a 'good fortune, success' and puts forward the translation 'prosperity'. As the noun gelimp takes on the sense of 'ill-fortune, mishap' only within context and as ungelimp is commonly used in Old English for 'misfortune, mishap', Cosijn's interpretation is convincing. Kennedy's (1910, p. 271) 'in happy issues' is old-fashioned but shows he follows Cosijn.

269 we, MS he : For the confusion of w and h found sporadically throughout the manuscript see the note for tweoh 252.

271 us, MS hus : Non-etymological initial h before a vowel appears both in syllables bearing metrical stress (Glo 950 helm-mihtiga, Glo 1215 hesentid, Rim 74 heardes, JgDI 9 onhaled and in Aaa 61 hofne where h is subpunctated), and in syllables without metrical stress (Glo 271 hus and Jln 545 his). Conversely, etymological initial h is omitted both in syllables bearing metrical stress (Phx 477 sortan, Phx 650 elpe, Jln 586 alde, OrW 91 sorðwerud, Wxmi 117 adl, RdI 5.8 undweorc, RdI 62.1 ingonges and in Gfm 93 healice where h is crowded in as an emendation) and without metrical stress (Chr 615 iæ). Such forms are found frequently in other late Old English manuscripts but are sporadic in texts of all periods (see Campbell 61).
It seems best here to interpret the manuscript $s$ as an indicative statement. The pronoun $d$ may be taken as showing an unusual Old English reduction of enclitic $du$. The texts of Grein, Assmann and Gollanox all suggest this understanding of the passage. Thorpe in a footnote suggests the emendation $du$. KD put forward two ingenious explanations of the verse.

In their text they transpose $s$ and $d$ so that $d$ may be regarded as the relative particle, but in their commentary they seem equally in favour of treating $d$ as a reduced form of the adverb $beah$, comparing $beah beu lond$ age 273.

The form $mose$ is generally recognised as an oblique form of $mōs$ 'food, nourishment' which occurs in other verse texts as well as in prose, e.g. And 27, 136, Chr 1507, PP 73.14, 77.55, XSt 287 and the cognate verb in RdL 40.62 $me$.

Shook (1960, p. 5) has recently suggested that $mose$ 274 is from $mōs(a)$, perhaps following Clark Hall (?) 'bog', putting forward the translation 'No man will feed you here in the marsh' for the line and citing as a comparable construction $he an a set dygle stowe$ 158-59. This explanation helps him to establish Guthlac $A$ as being like Guthlac $B$ 'the work of a poet who knew Felix's Vita Sancti Guthlacii'.

The Old English $mos$ 'bog' has a short vowel and Shook's 274b is therefore metrically improbable and unparalleled in this text. It should be noted also that $mos$ 'bog' is not used in Old English poetic texts. It first appears in late Old English charters.
285 indriċed, with MS emendation of first ă from ă and erasure after second i. Compare the manuscript treatment of gedring-

-
drinan 245; apparently in both places the scribe started to write -drincan. For the confusion of ă, ă and ā in this codex see note for line 71.

287 breodwiađ: Thorpe translates this form by 'drive hence', explaining that is a form from the infinitive bredan. This bredan is presumably to be identified with bregdan, brēdan and the explanation cannot therefore be accepted.

The verb to which breodwiađ belongs is represented only once elsewhere in Old English, in Beð 2619 abredwade. A cognate appears in Hild 54 bretōn. This Old High German *brētōn is interpreted by Ebbinghaus (1962, p. 184) as 'niederstrecken, schlagen', meanings suitable also in Glo 287. The Beowulf form is generally glossed 'kill, sack', the intensive prefix accounting for the greater force of this abredwade. Glo 287 breodwiađ reflects the back umlaut of e before a dental consonant common in non-West Saxon texts and indeed a feature of the Old English poetic koines; the eo is in this form levelled from forms where this umlaut occurred.

288 tergađ: There is no need to follow Thorpe's suggested emendation to teraď as in the translations of Kennedy, Gollancos and Gordon. The manuscript tergađ is from the class 1 weak verb tierwan 'insult, torment'. Compare And 963 tyrgdon and see GK under tyrgean.
BT under *tirgan* and NED under *TAR*. The verb is found frequently in homilies. For the interchange of *g* and *w* in verbs of this type see III.4/D.1(f).

292-93 In previous editions *ondswere 7 on elne strong* is punctuated as if part of the clause *hine god fremede*, although *strong* should in such an arrangement be the accusative singular masculine *strongne*. To retain this order scribal haplography of *ne* due to the opening *ne* of the following verse could be advanced in support of an emendation to *strongne*, but if *hine god fremede* is placed in parenthesis emendation is unnecessary.

294 *wond*: Kemble's explanation that this is the preterite of *windan* 'swerve' is generally accepted and Thorpe's *wondode* 'ferred' discarded.

296 *wid, MS wid*: For the confusion of *z, d* and *b* in this manuscript see the note for line 71.

298 *warlogan*: The original sense of the compound *warloga* is 'faith-falsifier', but already in Old English it is used especially of the devil and his associates. Examples of both these uses of the word in Old English are given in the NED under *WARLOCK* sb.1 under 1 and 2. Outside Old English the compound appears only once, applied to the Pharisees, in *Helian* 3816 *te hui gi wuarlogan*. 
The NED examination of the English forms suggests that the word was extended in Old English also to:

3. A savage or monstrous creature (hostile to men). The word is applied to giants, cannibals, mythic beasts, etc. Obs.

but a survey of the Old English forms listed in BT and GK does not support this assumption. Indeed the one Old English instance cited in the NED under this head, from Gen 1266, refers to the people who lived before the flood and they had broken God's covenant. The compound is used by the Andreas poet (e.g. 71, 108) to describe the Meredonians who were 'treaty-breakers' as well as cannibals. The use of the word in this way is therefore rather a Middle English development; it might better be taken as a development closely related to the NED sense 4:

4. One in league with the Devil and so possessing occult and evil powers; a sorcerer, wizard (sometimes partly imagined as inhuman or demonic, and so approaching sense 2 or 3); the male equivalent of witch. So, and north, dial.

Here the earliest entries are from the fourteenth century. Under heading 3, if the representative Old English example is excepted, the earliest instance of that development is again from a fourteenth century text.

It is unlikely that the word had any of its later reference to witchcraft in Old English. Its appearance in only one manuscript of Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* strongly supports this conclusion.

This sentence is taken from Miss Whitelock's edition of the sermon.
(1959 - second edition, p. 50) and her notes on the additions found in an eleventh century manuscript, Bodleian MS Hatton 113, are listed below:

Her syndan mannslagan 7 megalagan 7 messerbanan 7 mynsterhatan, 7 her syndan mansworan 7 morpor-wyrhtan, 7 her syndan myltestran 7 bearnmyrdran 7 ful forlegene horingas manege, 7 her syndan wic-can 7 wulcyrian, 7 her syndan ryperas 7 reaferas 7 worolstruderas, 7, hrðest is to cweśenne, mana 7 misdæa ʻungæm ealra.

In MS Hatton 113 these significant changes occur:

- after the first syndan is added swa we or sædon;
- messerbanan is replaced by sacerbanan; after
- mynsterhatan is added 7 hlafordswican 7 æbere apost-tatan; after morporwyrhtan is added 7 her syndan
- hædbrecan 7 æwrecan 7 ðurh siblegeru 7 ðurh mist-
- lice forligeru forsyngode swyða; and after worol-
- struderas is added 7 ðeofas 7 beodscadan 7 wedlogan
- 7 warlogan.

The great amount of change shows that this version of the homily contains much later elaboration of Wulfstan's original wording. Both the placing of the addition 7 warlogan and its being coupled with wedlogan indicate that the word was not at this time connected with the wiccan 7 wulcyrian who appear earlier in this sentence.

The later semantic development of warlogan can be attributed to the growing interest, particularly from the twelfth century onwards, of Englishmen in tales of the occult; the earlier and probably similar extension in meaning of such words as wicca, hegtis should be compared (see Crawford 1963, pp. 99-116 passim).
The final sound of the modern form warlock first seems to have been in use from the sixteenth century in Scotland and is therefore difficult to explain, unless as due to the influence of some other word within the same semantic field. The Old Norse feminine plural wardlokkur 'guardian songs' or 'charms' found in one saga is confidently given in CVC as the etymon of 'the Scot. warlock,' though it has changed its sense to that of the wizard himself. The poetic phrase urðarlokur 'weird spells' or 'charms' (see CVC under URDR II) is given as supporting evidence but, as the NED editor points out, these forms are both too early and too rare to gain acceptance in explanation of the modern English form warlock.

299 abonne, MS abunne: Thorpe retains the manuscript abunne, placing against it in his translation 'banish', a contextual oddity possible in his non-continuous Modern English version. Later editors are agreed that emendation to a suitable form of abannan 'summon' is necessary. The form abanne is usually adopted because of the confusion between u and an open topped a often found in Old English manuscripts. In this text Assmann's abonne is followed for two reasons: first because o predominates before a nasal consonant in this text and secondly because confusion of o and u may be a peculiarity of this scribe (compare the note for line 18).

300 widersece: Thorpe wishes here to emend widersece into his text by analogy with Ele 569 widersece. His suggestion is taken up by Grein in the Bibliothek where the emendation is incorpor-
ated into the text. However, widorß sce makes interpretation of
the clause difficult and Grein is forced to suggest in his footnotes
that either io must be added before eow or 7 is to be understood as
the preposition 'against'. Later he reestablishes the simpler
manuscript reading (1865, p. 423). The verse is otherwise accepted
as made up of two words, even by Gollancz who, although he prints
widorß sce, translates this apparent compound in its context 'and
make your warfare even more extended'. For a note on the verse
form see III.3/43.

301 Ætæð : A form without contraction is necessary here for the
metre. Compare tweop 252 and aflinh 504; see further III.
4/C.1(b).

308 earda : There has been a general unwillingness here to ac­
cept Guthlac’s words as ironical. Even KD take his words
at face value and note:

'Many dwelling places' - presumably other than the
one he has chosen.

Grein suggests that earda may be a mistake for earfeda but does not
take this reading into his text. His suggestion is approved by
Cosijn (1898, p. 116) as an alternative to his suggestion of eardæ
(which he supports by comparing erþbu 447).

310 forht ne fage : These alliterating adjectives do not appear
linked together elsewhere in Old English, but may have been
used in this way in popular sayings. As it stands, the verse presents no difficulty. Contrasting adjectives occur side by side in *Wax 66 ne to forht ne to fægan* and are certainly proverbial. Smith (1935, p. xxviii, quoting information from Sisam) points out that this phrase lies behind one entry among the Durham proverbs: *Ne sceal man to yr forht ne to yr fægan.* It would be possible to argue scribal omission of -a in *Glæ 310 fæge* and to suggest that Guthlac here announces his intention of following a middle way, but this is unnecessary.

311b-12a Two interpretations are possible for this clause, for the verb *wealdan* may govern either the genitive or the dative case. Thorpe regards the verb as having a genitive complement here and notes (p. 504) that *weorcum* is to be taken 'with sense efficiently'. This note may be reflected in the BT observation under *weorc* Vb that *weorcum* is here to be translated 'actually, indeed'. This instance of *wealdan* is also listed in GK as governing the genitive. Kennedy's translation (1910, p. 272) along these lines runs 'who in his works hath rule of every power'. The alternative interpretation, represented by Gordon's translation (1954, p. 261) 'who governs the works of all mighty things', is preferred although the easier reading.

313 *leofes gelong*: There is no need to emend this verse to bring it nearer to the traditional five basic verse patterns for similar verses occur sporadically in most long Old English poems,
e.g. *Ewf* 2150a *lifes gelong*. See further Klages (1947, p. 279) and III.3/35.

The construction of *gelong* with *at*, meaning 'dependent upon', can be found also in *Ewf* 1376-7 and *WfL* 45.

316 *longebas*: This word was unfamiliar to Thorpe who here and again in line 330 tries to divide it into *longe* (the adverb) and *bas/bas* (from *se*).

317 *sealdun*: Thorpe, translating *sealdun* 'have inflicted' as if the preterite plural of *sellan* imposes an awkward shift in sequence of tenses on the text. Grein's *raro* is now generally accepted. Cosijn points out that in this context the adverb should be interpreted *niemals*, like *Voluspa* 26.3 *sialdan*; in both places *litotes* accounts for this use of the word. For a note on the vowel (which is most likely scribal) see III.4/F.

330 This line may recall the *Vita* 241-77, but any similarities between the two need be no more than coincidental. Gerould (1917, p. 80), in his attempt to relate the poem closely to the *Vita*, has by this part of the poem passed Felix's account of the devil's sorrow at their dispossession (*Vita* 564-70) and describes this passage of the poem 'general account of Guthlac's life and trials' (see further III.2/a).
anade: This word occurs three times only in Old English and all instances are in the Exeter Book, here, Glo 356 and Rd1 60.5. There is no difficulty in interpreting the word, for cognate are Old Saxon enodi and Old High German einoti (whose descendant is still used as Einöde in German to-day). The word appears to have been compounded from ēn + Germanic *odus.  

wreste: Thorpe's attractive translation for this word, 'vigils' as the subject of binoman varied by the following verse, cannot be justified. The e of the medial syllable reflects the lowering of i possible with the reduction of stress in this syllable. The form has sometimes been regarded as instrumental in function (e.g. Gordon 1954, p. 261, translates it by 'at his rising up'), but less strained is the usual explanation that wreste is a genitive dependent upon elne (e.g. Gollancz translates 'his power of rising').

slēpa sluman: No instances of plural forms of slēp are recorded for Old English, but this is not reason enough to emend to the genitive singular slēpes with Thorpe. It should be noted that Malone (1930, op. 110-17) lists slēpa, with a for es, as one of his three examples of inflexional levelling in these two poems.

flygereowe: Thorpe here prints two separate words, translating 'in flight the cruel ones'. His translation appears virtually unchanged in Gollancz's 'in flight those cruel ones' although
he presents the words joined by a hyphen in his text. Though the form may be treated as either a compound or as two separate words, it would be perverse not to accept a compound (as accepted by BT, GK, Grein, Assmann, KD). The base element is used frequently in verse compounds and remains a feature of late Old English homilies. The limiting element appears once again in a compound, also in a nonce-word in the Exeter Book poem Vgl 27 fligepilum.

351 weredon: Both GK (under werian 2) and BT under (werian 'defend' V) suggest that weredon has here the meaning 'hold, occupy'. We know from elsewhere in the poem that the fiends count themselves owners of these waste places and this verb may here be interpreted 'defended, held'. However context indicates the meaning is rather 'occupied' and the verb werian is often compared (BT, GK and Cosijn 1898, p. 117 suggest the verb should be read as wearedon, waredon). Examples of werian 'possess' appear in late charters, a verb cognate with Old Low German werōn, Old High German werōn and Modern German wahren, but Glo 351 weredon need not be regarded as an example of this verb.

361 se be him: Compare be be him 72 and see the note for line 703.

363 reste: For a note on this form see III.4/B.3(a).

365 late: Grein suggests that a normalised late should be read
here, but see III.4/B.3(e).

365 ealdfeond: Although it is probable that the author of Guthlac A composed at a period when decontracted forms were still used in verse (see further III.4/C.1(b) and III.2/b), this verse is metrically ambiguous: it may be interpreted either as an A3 type or as C. In the metrical section decontracted forms are postulated only where the verse cannot otherwise be scanned (for a list of such verses see III.3/45).

368 At this point a break occurs in the poem for a folio is missing from the manuscript. It is one of several leaves missing from the interior of the Exeter Book. A strip from it remains, the fold belonging to folio 44, sticking out before folio 387. M. Förster (CFF, p. 57) assumes that this leaf was clumsily cut out. It must have contained some sixty lines of verse and, as the gap occurs between the opening of a speech made by Guthlac and the end of a speech by him, may have contained continuous direct speech: about a hundred lines is by no means excessive for speeches in Anglo-Saxon verse.

The text is in the manuscript divided into sections usually somewhere around a hundred lines long and it is therefore likely that the beginning of a new section occurred very near the top of the recto of the missing folio. This supposition need not indicate an interruption in Guthlac's speech, for later in the poem his lengthy profession of faith runs over from one section into another (lines 592
There is nothing in lines 361-68 to suggest that those words were addressed to the angel of comfort and therefore no reason to postulate two different speeches in 361-68 and 369-89. It should be noted that Gollancz's translation of 360b as 'oft by word addressed him' implies the following lines were spoken to the angel sent to Guthlac by God, but Gollancz's 'him' is not a detail not found in the text. The phrase *wordes biowed*, its verb varying according to context, is found elsewhere in Old English verse, e.g. And 193, 210, 304, 418, and is probably formulaic.

369 *mr ohhe sid*: Some particle(s) may well have been lost at the head of this verse. See further III.3/43.

370 *to wundre*: Thorpe translates line 370 'that ye me to glory may bear' and consequently in a footnote suggests *wundre* should be emended to *wuldra*. The nature of this not unusual adverbial phrase has not otherwise been questioned.

370 *wegan*: The hooked ø most likely represents æ. Although a few examples of Anglian ø for West Saxon æ occur in these texts (see III.4/3.3(c)) as in most Old English poetical texts, the symbol ø is scarcely significant of conscious scribal emendation from ø to æ.

371-72a: Thorpe's emendation from *dead* to *deade* only partly supports his translation of 372a as 'by death sever'd'. In
this clause the verb gedalan is used with the preposition wid (see BT under wid III(3)) and the passage runs 'My body cannot keep death out of this world ..' (compare Cosijn 1898, p. 116). Elsewhere in BT (under gedalan) a shorter and conflicting interpretation of the passage appears, different because the clause has been improperly excepted with the omission of bas lanan gesceaf : 'my body cannot separate [itself] from [i.e. avoid] death'.

374 flashoman : The usual editorial insertion of g into the simplified consonant cluster is not made in this text. For other examples of such simplification in these texts see III.4/D. 7(b).

374 fyres wylme : Cosijn (1898, p. 116) compares with this verse a sentence from the Old English prose life :

Se sone after þon he geseah eall his hus mid fyre
afylled

The correspondence is a tenuous one and Cosijn himself points out that this passage occurs in chapter 34, whereas material from chapter 33 (he presumably is thinking of the saint's journey to the gates of hell, etc.) does not appear in the poem until after line 412. The resemblance he sees here is due rather to coincidental similarities to be found between the accounts of the demonic attacks on Guthlac than to verbal dependence of the poet upon either Life or Vita.

375 gifran : As there is considerable inflexional levelling
throughout the manuscript it would be unwise to regard this as an example of the use of the weak adjective without an article. See III.4/C.2(a).

377 sarum forseean: A similar phrase appears in Ele 332 sarum gesoht, suggesting that the verb is here also forseean (see BT seean III 'seek with hostile intent'). The verb is not otherwise found with the intensive prefix for-. For the back spelling of ₇ by ₑ see III.4/B.3(e).

382 feæran: The metre shows that an unsyncopated comparative form is necessary here for recitation (compare Æwylc wæs feærra 748b). For a note on this form see III.4/C.1(c).

384 mara: For other examples of the comparative nominative singular neuter in -₇ see III.4/C.2(a).

384 duge, MS buge: Thorpe, retaining the manuscript buge, suggests that the clause should read bonne hine man buge 'when it a man inhabits'. The manuscript buge has more recently been supported by Shook (1960, p. 7) who regards buge as from the verb bugan 'bough bend' and translates lines 383b-86:

The shelter of this barrow is such (lit. not less nor more than that) that it 'bows' (i.e. makes stooped) the man who lives daily (in it) in discomfort according to God's will.
Shook, despite this translation, appears satisfied with the textual bonne 384 and does not point out that no parallels can be adduced for the use of the intransitive verb bugan with the dative case.

Grein first suggested the emendation to duge now generally accepted; the verb is used impersonally and is suited to the context. As there is little evidence for the confusion of b and d in Old English manuscripts, it is likely that the scribe diittographed b from the alliterative sounds of the preceding line.

386 se dryhtnes beow: Compare seo londes stow 142.

387 mære: Grein suggests that mære should be emended to ma ne, but the adverbial use of the accusative singular neuter of the comparative of micel is well attested (see GK under mæra) and a negative particle is not necessary before the infinitive gelufian.

389 lade: This word does not appear in other Old English verse texts with the sense 'means of subsistence, provision' but may be compared with the phrase gyroan lēd used in the charters of Oswald, bishop of Worcester (see DTs lad under IV). This meaning of the verb survives into Middle English in the compound lyflode, lyvelode (similar to Old High German lībleita 'provisions, subsistence') which became assimilated in spelling to livelihood / livelihood in the sixteenth century (see NED under LIVELIHOOD).
390–92a As four points require especial discussion in this pass­

age the translation which appears in BTs will first be given

and notes will follow :

then again as before the hate of old foes was hot, cries

for a time gave vent to a second outburst of hate, when

to the heavens rose the clamour of fiends.

Although a free rendering it shows that Toller refers oberne back to

nið and that he understands lythwon as an adverb of time (see also

BTs under lythwon II.(2)). This interpretation of the passage re­

quires the minimal possible emendation. Context shows that a passive

particle should stand where the manuscript reads onwylled and the

change from sod to wod is demanded by the alliteration.

onwylled, MS onwylled : Thorpe recognizes the need for a

passive participle here and translates the word by 'waken'd', giving

in a footnote onweced as a tentative emendation for the manuscript

onwylled. The confusion of d, ð and þ appears frequently in the

Exeter Book (see note for line 71), supporting the emendation from

ð to d. Later editors have been satisfied to make only this change,

reading onwylled, the passive participle from a causative verb whose

simplex wyllan 'boil' is also used figuratively.

wod oberne, MS sod oberne : The emendation from sod to wod

first made by Thorpe, is demanded by the alliteration and made in all

subsequent editions of the poem. Confusion between ð and w occurs

very infrequently in the manuscript, e.g. Jln 325 we for se, Sfr

117 se for we and perhaps the cancelled second w of Glo 1329 waterbisa
Thorpe also reads *oberne* to complete this measure, but later editors all place *ne* at the head of the following verse. Only Gollancz fills up the gap this leaves in 391b, adding *beor* after *ober* (presumably on grounds of haplography), a solution approved by Cosijn (1898, p. 117) but not adopted in the texts presented by Assmann and KD. Sievers (1885, p. 517), treating the *eo* of *leodode* as a long vowel, objects to *ne lythwon leodode* as improbable metrically (not recognising anacrusis in a D* verse). Cosijn's justification of the verse as similar to 226a is obviously ill-founded.

He objects to *oberne*, stating a feminine adjective should appear after *mod*.

**lythwon leodode**: Thorpe's translation of this phrase by 'a while resounded' is perhaps responsible for the citation of an Old English ghost word *lēodian* 'sing, sound' in many dictionaries. Such a verb is a plausible invention (compare Old English *lēoð* 'song' and Gothic *liubōn* 'sing' and Old High German *liudōn* 'sing, rejoice'), but found nowhere in Old English. Its appearance in BT as the verb in this passage and in Rim 40 *leohode* is reflected in some translations of the poem (e.g. Gollancz, Gordon and in KD text arrangement and quotation of Gollancz in notes), but the rhyme *freoðode/leohode* of the Riming Poem shows that a short vowel is to be expected in *leohode*. Two etymologies are possible for this verb *lībian*. In GK and AEW it is given the meaning *führen* and connected with Rim 14 *leohu, līban* 'sail' and Old Saxon *līdōn*. It should be noted that the infinitive form cited in GK as *lēodian* is mistakenly given with a long vowel and
is corrected in Holthausen's emendations which appear at the end of 
GK. The meaning of Rim 14 leopu is possibly 'ship, band of men'; 
see NED under LITH ab3 and ab4 for Middle English use of and Scan­
dinavian origin of this word. The verb *libian may alternatively 
be thought closer to Old English lib 'limb' and these forms found 
in Guthlac A and the Riming Poem considered the only instances of 
the simplex found otherwise with the verbal prefixes a-, ge-, on- 
and tō-, e.g. in verse Gen 1/7 aledōde, slb II 103 tcaledōde 
(with non-etymological h due to dittography). It seems pointless 
to argue the merits of these closely related etymologies when the 
meaning found for celipiam 'unloose, release' satisfies all the Old 
English contexts. The use of lythwon as an adverb of time has al­
ready been mentioned. Grein's ne lythwon is explained by valde in 
GK and Gollancz's 'exceedingly' approved by Cosijn, but these ex­
planations are unnecessary for the interpretation of the text foll­
owed here.

393 ceargeota: Both geost 'visitor' and geost 'spirit, ghost' 
serve frequently as base elements in compounds and it is here 
impossible to decide which word is reflected in ceargeota 393. This 
noneword is glossed 'woeful demon' in the index to the text and the 
vowel of -geosta described as Anglian ǣ for ǣ in III.4/B.3(e). A 
personal preference for this interpretation of the word in its con­
text is supported by the equivalents given in IT and Gk. It should
be noted however that the form -gesta could also reflect non West Saxon i-umlaut of g/ea (see Campbell 188). Peters (1960, p. 167) examines Old English poetry, prose, glosses and place names and cannot find 'a single example of OE. ġæst written as ġest' and on these grounds decides that the second element in ceargesta is ġæst 'stranger', suggesting as a suitable meaning for the Guthlac A context 'sorrowful visitor'.

395 weox 7 wunade : See the note for line 24 on the use of coordinate finite verb forms in this poem.

397 ber se hyra ġæst : Kemble's suggested emendation from ber se to bara be, reported by Thorpe in a footnote, is graphically unlikely and unnecessary, but is perhaps followed by Kennedy (1910, p. 275) for his translation of 397b-98a by 'whose spirit thriveth in good deeds' (with hyra for heora ?). In other translation a comparative adjective form is presented (e.g. Grein's leuterer or Gordon's 'higher'). The use of the comparative here should be compared with Dan 206 haftas hearan, where the use of the comparative without any comparison explicit in the context is often disputed.

398 beara : See III.4/B.3(1) for a note on this form of bara.

400b-3 As two or three interrelated problems present themselves in this passage the various interpretations put forward are
dealt with in turn. A diplomatic reading of the manuscript text is given for consultation:

... hwylo

was mara bonne se an oretta ussum tidum cem a
gecydæ péthim criest fore wóruldlicra mà wundra

The gaps between was and mara, between bonne and se and between an and oretta are fractionally less than the others here indicated.
The rest of the line on which gecyddæ stands is free to mark a sectional end. Note that in Grein's edition the ending of this section is wrongly given as were 411.

Thorpe places se in the same verse as an oretta, separates ge from gecyddæ and translates 400b-402a:

which was greater than/ he whom a hero,/ in our times,/ a champion, ye call/

In his commentary (p. 504) he records Kemble's interpretation of these verses. With an changed to on, gecyddæ to gecydded and bet to bes, Kemble translates:

Who was greater than he in battle, in our times, a champion more illustrious; therefore etc.

Kemble's interpretation of verse 401a as 'in battle' is worth consideration. The phrase on oretta for 'in battle' is not unsuitable metrically (compare burh eadmëdu 123, swa modgade 323, etc.) and may be another example of a formulaic phrase on oretta which appears in Wóds 41 on oretta and in Exó 313 an on oretta. Kemble's explanation requires emendation of the subordinating bet to an adverb bes, a
greater change than is necessary in other interpretations of the passage.

The next editor, Grein, makes only one alteration in the wording of the manuscript, inserting he after bonne to fill out 400b. Like Thorpe he places se before an oretta in 401a. This arrangement is followed by Assmann.

Gollancz's text owes more to Thorpe and Kemble than to Grein. In it 400b ends with bonne and se is placed before an oretta in 401a. The translation assumes a pronoun directly after bonne:

What man was greater than he, / the one hero, the one champion, / known in our times...

No explanation is given of this discrepancy between his text and translation. Holthausen accepts Gollancz's lineation of the text, but suggests that the resultant hwylo was mara bonne 400b is metrically unsuitable. He points out that an A verse with two syllables of anacrusis should not appear in the second half-line and proposes the emendation of mara to ma to obtain a C verse.

Craigie presents a compromise between the versions of Grein and Gollancz, adding after bonne in brackets [he]? to complete 400b and emending gecỵd 402 to gecỵd.

No emendation is made in the KD text. Verse 400b ends bonne se?, a new sentence beginning with the following line. They note that an article is unnecessary in 401a and point out that the verse se an oretta often put forward 'is metrically unusual'.
Schaar (1949, p. 81) objects to the KD text, believing the manuscript at fault. He argues that ma 403 gives doubtful sense as Guthlac's miracles have not yet been mentioned and suggests that 'the weak point' lies in an oretta 401. He presents the syntactically unusual reading *me oretta* 'Never does warrior..', retaining the manuscript *gecyđed*. With line 401 opening in this way and the text otherwise as in the KD edition, Schaar explains:

... we can easily supply *ponne* (Christ) Guthlac *gecyđed*; *oretta*, then, does not refer to the hero of the poem.

This tortuous explanation of the passage is further elaborated by Malone (1951, p. 446). He does not, like Schaar, put forward the 'restoration of a lost letter' but instead assumes that:

... here we probably have a case of elision and the proper reading is *an'oretta*.

Unfortunately for both these ingenious theories, the negative *me* seems somewhat strange in this position. It must be added that Schaar's objection to *an'oretta* on the grounds that the poet has not yet mentioned the saint's miracles is curious, for both poet and audience would have been familiar with the deeds of so popular a saint.

Perhaps if KD had explained how their arrangement of the text was to be understood the suggestions of Schaar and Malone might never have appeared. In this text a similar arrangement is followed and, freely translated, runs:

What man was greater than he? One hero, a champion, in our times testifies that Christ manifested in his sight more miracles on earth.
Any attempts to introduce Kemble’s *gecybed* produce a clause without a finite verb in 401a-2a, necessitating some change in the conjunction *but*. An emendation from *gecybed* to *gecyba* is attractive but unnecessary as *assum tidum* appears within this clause.

404 **HE**: A new section begins here on the fifth line of folio 38v. The preceding line is empty except for *gecyba* at the end. Grein mistakenly notes that the chapter ends with line 411. H is a large capital and E the height of the tallest ascenders in the usual script of the manuscript. In those editions and translations where the sections are given numbers, this is noted as number V (e.g. Gollancz); it should rather be VI if sufficient consideration is given to the lacuna between 368 and 369 (see note for 368).

404-7a Schaar (1949 and again 1956, p. 304) compares these lines with

And 1330b-35a:

> Latað geara ord,  
> earh ættræ gemel, in gedufan  
> in fæges ferð. Gad fromlice,  
> ðat ge guðfrecan gylp forbegan.

    Hie wæron reowe, reædon on sone  
    gifrum grapum.

and with **Ge** 995b-96a:

> ac hine reæd on  
> gifrum grapum:

Schaar suggests that both Guthlac poets were inspired in their use
of grap by Beowulf and that the Andreas poet borrows from Guthlac A without giving sufficient attention to the suitability of these phrases in his own narrative. The similarity of phrasing in these three passages may indicate no more than that all three poets drew upon conventional terminology to describe conflict. Compare also the notes for 514-17a, 574-76, 698-99 and 742-43.

405 onfengum, with MS emendation from æ to u in the final syllable: For a note on the manuscript treatment of -um in this word see under ērendu 162.

406 reowe: Two adjectives, overlapping somewhat in meaning, rōw 'fierce' and hrēoh 'rough', appear to have influenced one another in Old English and an amalgam hreow- is much used, especially as the second element of compounds, e.g. wélhreow and its derivatives. The word rōw 'fierce' occurs four times in verse texts, and in all these instances shares in alliteration on r. This passage in Guthlac A is closely paralleled by And 1330 ff. The adjective appears also in Jln 481 reone (with absence of -w- which should extend throughout the paradigm) and in And 116 hreow (with non-etymological h-).

408 sawl: This word must be read as disyllabic for the sake of the metre. See further III.4/C.1(d) and compare sawl 535.

409 se beana: Proclitic swa is reduced to se both here and in se beah 961. Such forms occur sporadically throughout the
manuscript and for a note on them see III,4/B.5(c).

411 7 Let friđ: Cosijn (1878, p. 117) suggests that this phrase should be emended to read so pet ferđ and that 409b-10 should be regarded as a parenthetical clause. There is no need for this emendation, for line 411 is a second noun clause, co-ordinate with the clause of line 410.

412ff. This passage is unparalleled in Old English verse. No picture of monastic corruption occurs in the Vita and Gerould (1917, p. 81) writes:

Either the entire vision of the monasteries was an addition of the poet's from oral tradition, which he embellished by a single detail from Felix; or he used a different Felix from the one we possess. In favour of the latter theory, there is this to be said: our knowledge of the textual history of the Vita, as I have suggested above, is by no means clear. It is certainly more reasonable that the saint should be carried aloft to view the wickedness of earth than to gaze into the jaws of Hell.

Gerould does not identify the 'single detail from Felix' used by the poet to embellish his account of this vision, but a certain similarity in contents is to be found between Glo 418-19 and Vita 276-77:

Nam cum statis suę xxiiiı. annum gerogisset, abrenuntians
secularibus pœnis, sper indubitata fixam in cristo tenebat;

These lines may be the passage Gerould does not identify. It should be noted that Glo 418-19 resemble rather more closely the poet's own
account of Guthlac's renunciation of such worldly pleasures in lines 160 ff.

Gerould's suggestion that the poet may have known some account of Guthlac's life other than that by Felix remains unexplored, for there is no evidence of the existence of other Guthlac material from the early Anglo-Saxon period outside the Felix tradition. It is possible however that Felix was appointed (by Aelfwald to whom he dedicates the *Vita*) to put together his account of Felix from memorandum collected over a period of time. (The additions about St. Patrick in the ninth century Book of Armagh are a collection of materials from the seventh century onwards and make up a typical dossier prepared for a hagiographer.) If any such Guthlac collection once existed, it was superseded by the *Vita* and has perished. It is likely that the most important item in such a dossier would have been the story of Guthlac's vision of hell and similarities may have existed between it and the account given in *Guthlac A* (see further III.2/b). To continue any further with this theory would take us beyond the point where useful speculation ends to invention.

In this passage the poet criticises laxities in monastic discipline constructively, explaining that the basic reason for such behaviour is immaturity and forecasting that time will bring wisdom to these erring monks. The poet does not, as D. Whitelock (1952, p. 172) suggests, 'go out of his way to create an opportunity to rail at the slackness in monasteries in respect of vigils and prayers': the theme is already foreshadowed in lines 60 ff. Other passages within the
poem suggest that it was made for a monastic audience (see especially lines 460–66). Churchmen already found much to criticise in the state of the monasteries before the Danish attacks on England began. Bede relates (H.E. iv.25) how strict discipline lapsed at Coldingham during Ebba's rule. At that time a brother called Adamnan was shown that in punishment a terrible fire would come to Coldingham. His forecast of this retribution produced an improvement for a short while but, after Ebba's death, the community relapsed and the predicted fire took place. From Boniface's correspondence we learn that the privileges of religious houses were respected in Mercia until Ceolred's reign and in Northumbria until Osred's time; and that Aethelbald, Ceolred's successor (and the exile comforted by Guthlac in Felix's Vita) deserved to suffer torments in hell with Ceolred. Among the many complaints made by Bede in 734 in a letter to Egbert, then the archbishop of York, are criticisms on dress and similar remarks appear in a letter from Boniface to Guthbert some twelve years later: the strictures on foolish superstition in dress made at the Synod of Clovesho in 747 suggest that monastic life was not always austere enough to please the more puritanical ecclesiastics. In the latter part of the century too Alcuin's letters are full of criticism for contemporary monastic discipline. The poet of Guthlac A is unusual only in regarding such a theme as suitable for poetry. No close analogue can be found for this temptation of Guthlac or for his compassionate defence of the geongra monna 490 who are censured by the devils.
hean: Holthausen (1899, p. 356) notes that here some de- 
contracted form such as *he[a|a]n is metrically necessary.
Compare ealdfeonda 475a and see further III.4/C.1(b).

bynda: Note that the word is extended here to the figurat-
ive sense normally associated with Latin pastor. See III.
4/E.3(b).

gierelum gielpliocum: Compare gierelan gielplioes 167. With 
the phrase in this context, it is worth noting that Keiser
(1902, §74) states that:
In the poetry no references to the dress of ecclcsiastics or to their source of income are found.

This passage of Guthlac A teaches us nothing about the income of ecclsiastics, but agrees with many other sources in showing that monks delighted in wearing rich clothing.

bch ealdres: There is no general agreement as to the meaning
of this noun. The majority of interpretations ascribe the
form to ealdor, the masculine noun for 'elder', rather than to the
neuter noun for 'life'. In the latter smaller group MT produce the
unsatisfactory translation 'so is the wont of youth, where fear of life
cheeks not'. CK suggest that the word is here to be taken in the sense
'old age': Grein's translation gives dé Alters and Kennedy's 'old age'.
No Old English parallels can be found to support this reading of the
passage. In certain prepositional phrases the neuter noun has the more
suitable meaning 'eternity', but there are no signs of ealdor with this extension in meaning outside phrases like to ealdre.

With the masculine noun ealdor many interpretations of the passage are possible, from the safe and colourless 'an elder' of Thorpe and Gollancz to Gordon's 'the Lord', an over-definite interpretation when the noun is not limited by a descriptive genitive other than the article bæs. Between these extremes lies a wide range of possible equivalents for ealdor and perhaps most attractive among these in this context are 'superior, prior'. The noun is used often in prose of men of ecclesiastical authority (see BTs under ealdor 1 a and d). MacGillivray (1902, § 190) gives examples of its use for 'abbot' and (§ 197) generally for older monks; as well (§ 260) he lists as other possible meanings for it prior conventualis; decanus monasterii; senior.

421 *No her*: Grein suggests that these words should be interpreted as nowðer or nœhwæðer, an unlikely and unnecessary emendation. For a short note on ð for ð in her see III.4/3.3(e).

421 *feondas*: For the interpretation of this verse as a Sievers A3 type, see the note for line 365. The infinitive gefeon may be interpreted as having either two or three syllables.

422 *gebrecan*: Kemble wrongly suggests that this is the passive participle of brecan; it is however from brucan 'enjoy', a verb which governs the genitive.
witan welan: The verb welan, considered an Anglian feature of prose vocabulary by Jordan (1906, p. 57), is otherwise represented in verse only in And 1361 witan bewaled. The similarity between the two instances may indicate that both poets are drawing on a stock phrase. This verb is one of Jordan's four Anglian words which are represented only in northern Germanic languages. See further the note on w₁̅₀ 1154.

bet hy, MS beby: All the editors make this obvious emendation from the manuscript be to bet. This mistake must be attributed to scribal oversight.

anum: Thorpe (p. 504) suggests that anum here should be regarded as equivalent with agenum and translates 'for his own soul'. Grein (under an I) points out that here the phrase his anes might have been expected instead of his anum (compare Glo 388 his anes gemet), whereas the adjective is here attracted to feore.

se dryhtnes dom: Compare phrases in lines 146 and 386.

gyrna: This word was unfamiliar to Thorpe who translates it 'earnestly' and gives in a footnote Kemble's suggestions gyrne? gyrnna? of snares?. These alternatives are still cited in Assmann's footnotes.

Treow: Thorpe's suggested emendation to treowð is unnecessary.
454 *heam, MS heam*: This emendation appears in all editions of the poem. The manuscript *heam* should not be retained even in a conservative text for this final *m* does not result from inflexional levelling. It may be due to false analogy, but other explanations are possible (e.g. minim misinterpretations, anticipation of final consonant of *earm*, misinterpreted nasal stroke).

458-59 The clause following *myrcelse* has proved difficult to interpret and explanations of it have affected the translation of this word. Commentary on *myrcelse* cannot therefore be given separately from discussion of the clause which follows it.

The basic meaning of *myrcelse* is 'mark, sign' and there is no evidence that it was ever narrowed in significance to 'tonsure'. The suggestion that the word should be given this meaning is made first by Cosijn (1898, p. 117):

Ich verstehe hier weder Grein noch Goll. und wage es dies *myrcelse* (= tān'zeichen' BLHom 87,16) auf die tonsur zu beziehen, die das zeichen des edlen freien mannes, das wallende haupthaar, entfernt hat.

Cosijn suggests also that *be* (comparing *be* 501) should be changed to *by* and explains lines 460b-61a as "mit diesem Hussern leben manche welche jedoch sündigen." His ingenious interpretation needs further elucidation which is provided by KD. They follow Cosijn's explanation that *myrcelse* is for the 'tonsure' and translate 458a-59:

'by which (*be* = *by*) the hand of man has changed thee from the beauty of thy appearance', i.e. has shorn
him of the glory of his looks.

Again following Cosijn they add: 'The thought is continued in ll. 460 ff.' The explanation is strained.

GK suggest that in this context *myroles* may mean *periculum, calamitas* and this interpretation of the word can be illustrated from Grein's translation of the passage:

> du verhießest dich da, dass der heilige Geist
dich wider Leid und Mühsal leicht behütete
vor dem Ausgang, dass dich abwendig machte
die Hand eines Mannes von deinem heiligen Ansehn.
In diesem Anscheine leben...

His translation assumes emendation of *be* 458 to *but*.

Gollancz suggests that *be* should be omitted and translates 458-59 (as KD note, 'unintelligibly'):

> because of the sign, which warded the hand of man
from off thy noble face

Similar wording is found in Kennedy's translation:

> by reason of that token which would avert the hand
of man from thy noble face.

and in Gordon's:

> because of the token which turned the hand of man
from thy noble face.

BT do not omit *be* (perhaps regarding it as a superfluous *ative of accompaniment*), give to *myroles* the more specific sense 'ensign' and produce a version very like those just cited:

> on account of the ensign (the cross) that would turn
man's hand from thy face.
It is not made clear whether this understanding of myreelse refers back to oristeg rode 180 or to a mark on Guthlac's face.

In most of these translations sebelum is apparently regarded as an adjective qualifying onsyne (but not in the BT translation where onsyne is left out). Yet, the phrase from binre onsyne sebelum is recognised in GK as made up of from + the dative plural of onsyne 'excellence' with binre onsyne a genitive phrase dependent upon sebelum, and such an interpretation of it lies behind the tortuous explanations of Cosijn and KD.

Toller (see BTs under fram 17) points out that the preposition fram is occasionally found in Old English 'denoting ground, reason, cause' (compare MED under FROM 14). If this use of fram is assumed in this passage, it is much easier to make sense out of it:

then you declared that the Holy Ghost would easily shield you for the sake of that sign which would turn the hand of man aside from you, because of the noble qualities of your face.

The spread of pec into the dative is found also in line 278 in this text and is not an uncommon feature of Mercian and of the poetic codices (see also III.4/F.1.). In case the interpretation be thought improbable, a more easily intelligible passage with a similar theme is quoted. In it the Andreas poet describes demons who were rather more easily intimidated by the mark of Christ's cross in the face of their victim:

syddan hie ononeowon Cristes rode
on his magwLite, mare tacen,
wurdon hie da aule on pam onfenge,
forhte, aferde and on fleam numen.  1340

460ff. Only Cosima and KD (see preceding note) allow no break at
the end of 459. Thorpe in a note on line 467 (p. 505)
writes:

This and what follows relate to the lost portion
of the poem, for which see Felix of Croyland, in

He is wrong in referring lines 467 ff. to the lost portion of the
poem specifically, for the demons recall Guthlac's first temptation,
and he is sanguine in suggesting that the lost portion may easily
be filled in by consulting the *Vita*. Yet his note deserves to be
mentioned, for it may have been prompted by observation that a change
of subject occurs in the preceding lines. No-one else has thought
to point to this passage as in any way strange and editors and trans­
lators, if they mark out speeches by inverted commas, include lines
460-67 in the speech of the demons. It is likely however that these
lines should be regarded as an aside by the poet (compare his inter­
ruption of a speech again in lines 620b-22 where these verses are
widely recognised as the narrator's comment). If his audience were
a monastic one, the aside would have held considerable point (compare
the note for 411 ff.). Lines 460-67 are marked out of the speech
made by the demons in this edition.

461 *biged* : For a discussion of this form of the verb 'to serve'
see the note for *begon* 169.
meahtes: See III.4/C.2.(b).

after browninga: This preposition is rarely followed by an unequivocal accusative in Old English and nowhere in these poems. For examples of the falling together of final -a and -a see III.4/C.2.(a). The form browninga is listed as dative singular in the glossary (and is so listed in OK also).

martyrhad: This word is used only here in Old English poetry, but appears a few times in religious prose texts (MacGillivray 1902, p. 55). It is used less frequently than another hybrid of similar meaning martyrdom and both these learned terms are less frequently used than the native word browung, the usual word for 'suffering, martyrdom' in both verse and prose. The learned martyrdom occurs three times in verse texts, Mnl 126, 145 and Rsg 81 martyrdom, whereas browung has apparently a wider currency, e.g. Glo 385, 471 and 778 for Guthlac's sufferings, Chr 470, 1129, 1179 and Kth 28 for Christ's passion.

saldfeonda: Cosijn (1898, p. 117) suggests that fela should be added to this verse for the sake of the metre. A decontracted form should however be read here, if not elsewhere in this poem (compare the note for saldfendon 365). See also III.4/C.1.(b) and III.2/b.

forscadene: Cosijn (1898, p. 117) points out that in this
context the meaning dispersus suitable in CP 134.6 and 469.11 is unsatisfactory and suggests 'Abgeschieden' von der himmlischen seligkeits. Grein seems also to give to the prefix for- in this word destructive effect, translating 478a by Verflucht seid ihr. In GK this participial adjective is the only form cited for a verb forescad- an 'condemnare'. The 'scattered' of BT, Gollancz and Gordon and Kennedy's 'dispersed' are too weak for the context, but the 'accursed' suggested by GK and Goeijn implies more than can justifiably be read into this context. Some translation such as 'scattered utterly, routed' translates at the same time both prefix and -scadens.

481 beah be: Grein in a footnote suggests that be should be emended to he, but there is no need to change the impersonal construction of this clause. The emendation has not been put forward by any other editor.

482 onweald, with subpuncted e in the MS onweald: For a note on this form see III.4/B.3(a).

483 Setton: Thorpe translates 488a 'ye said to me in reproach', noting his reading of setton as sedon. However, the later editors recognise the attributive use of me and make no change in the text.

489 rume regulae: Keiser (1919, p. 36) excludes 'the clergy proper' from this allusion, as from Wul 44 rincas regolfestes.
He does not make it clear how he thinks these passages are to be interpreted. His unwillingness to recognise any monastic terms other than *mynsterum* 416 and *temple* 1002, 1113 and 1149 in the Guthlac poems outside lines 60–61 and 790–811 must be held partly responsible for his understanding of *regulæ* 489. See also III.4/E.3(b).

490  *templum*: Keiser (1919, p.39) considers this a learned word and notes that it can be used both for buildings and figuratively for congregations in verse texts. Of the twenty-one poetic occurrences of the word, three are in *Guthlac B* where *temple* 1002, 1113 and 1149 is applied to Guthlac's oratory. The B poet also describes this oratory as *bæt halge huæ* 1290, 1310. As Keiser regards *Glo* 30–1379 as one poem, he tries to reconcile these phrases with the A poet's description of the saint's *halines ham* 149 and interprets the examples of *temple* in *Guthlac B* 'a temple of God', i.e. a figurative description for Guthlac's dwelling. It is however clear from the *Vita* which lies behind the B poem, that the poet intends this word for the saint's oratory

494  *wib bon*: Both Thorpe and Gollancz misreport w as g; Thorpe's readings serve as the basis for Grein's edition where *sibbon* is also therefore taken as the manuscript form. The mistake is not noted by Schipper in his collation of Grein's *Bibliothek* text with the manuscript. In both Assmann and KD the manuscript *p* is noted and emendation from *wibbon* to *sibbon* made, despite the difficulty found in the translations of dealing with this reading, e.g. Gollancz translates 494 'But I will tell you now the truth'. 
There is no reason why the adverbial phrase of the manuscript should not be retained in the sense 'against that'. Two examples of the phrase are given in BT (under wifh II (7)) from Bede where the phrase is used for *e contrarie* (Miller 1895, 442.1 wifh bon and 444.17 wifh bon), but the use of the prepositional formulae *wifh bon/*bam be/bet is widespread.

496  ba _afterylde_ : This nonceword, literally 'after-age', is similar to another nonceword _afterylde_ used in the Old English Bede (Miller 1890, 1-48.26). The base word of the latter should be interpreted 'age' (*swum*), whereas _-ylde_ of the _Glo_ compound is rather 'age, time of life' (*mras*). Gollancz translates 496-97a 'they may not show maturity in their first bloom'.

Both Thorpe and Grein present the compound as two words in their texts, Thorpe translating 'The young generations may not at first bear fruit' and Grein 'sie können nach des Alters Weise in ihrer ersten Blüte sich nicht gebahren'. Grein's translation follows the footnote suggestion of his edition, with _ylde_ for _ylid_. Later (1865, p. 424) he puts forward the reading _afterylde_ now generally accepted.

504  gead : This word was unfamiliar to Thorpe. Hence his translation of line 504 by 'when of youth goeth the spirit, fleeth away' and his footnote suggestion *gead*.

504  aflihã : Holthausen (1899, p. 356) first notes that a decon-
tracted form is necessary for the metre, suggesting stressing.

Compare 252 and 301 and see further III.4/C.1(b).

510 Oft ge in gestalum stondad: Thorpe translates on gestalum 'among thieves', perhaps recalling Luke x 30 incidit in latrones. Gollancz's 'Oft are ye engaged in theft' shows that he too connects with this noun stelan 'to steal' and its cognates. Grein gives in Hintermahlen in his translation and his interpretation is preferred by Cosijn (1898, p. 117) who compares with this verse lines 534 and 1140 and objects to Gollancz's translation denn die teufel haben nichts zu stehlen. In Bt choice is left open for this passage between gestala 'thief' and gestalu 'theft' and the only relevant additional information to be found in BTs is that gestala means 'accomplice in theft' rather than 'thief'. Gordon follows Thorpe with 'Often ye are among thieves' and Kennedy Grein with 'Often are ye found in stealthy deeds'.

The noun gestalum can however be connected with stelan 'accuse' instead of with stelan 'steal', an observation made by Schaar (1949, p. 82) who suggests that the use of semon in the following line makes us expect some meaning such as 'dissension' in this line and that therefore we have here a noun *gestal cognate with stelan and onstal. He translates 510a by 'You are often occupied with quarrels'.

A glance at BTs under gestal would have shown Schaar that a noun gestal 'accusation', 'charge' has been recorded for Old English.
See also Förster (1913, p. 163) for four examples in the Vercelli Book homilies. The verse can therefore with the interpretation of the verb *standan* usually given in this verse (see BT under *standan* V and of. CVC under *standa* A.I) be translated 'Oft ye are engaged in accusations' or 'Oft ye make accusations'. The phrase should perhaps be compared with an early Middle English idiom *is stoken in stall* 'stands accused' (though for other explanations of this passage see Baugh 1956, p. 155), in which case the verse may be translated 'Often ye stand accused'.

511-12 As these lines have rather a muddled editorial history, a diplomatic transcript of the manuscript forms is given for consultation:

meponne sended se
usio semon meg sepe life gehwes lengu wealde. Swahleo

Critical discussion of these lines was for a long time based on Thorpe's misreading of *meag* as *wag*. His version of 511b *se us is mon-wag* is translated 'who's to us man's way' and in a footnote he suggests *us is* should be emended to *us is*. In his edition Grein supplies *mund* before *sended* in the first verse of line 511 and reads for the second half-line *se us is se monwag*, following Thorpe's emendation. Later Grein (1865, p. 124) suggests that 511 should be read:

me ponne (sige) sended, se usio senian meag

and his translation for this line runs:

*es sendet mir den Sieg dann, der uns segen kann.*
Schipper (1874, p. 330) fails to note the manuscript *wag*, as does Gollancz who reads:

```plaintext
me þonne sended se usic se mon *wag

then He sendeth me, He who for our sakes moved as man
```

The same reading of the text appears in Assmann's revision of the third volume of the Bibliothek. In a review of this Holthausen (1899, p. 356) suggests briefly *saman *wag* statt des sinnlosen se mon *wag*. Hans Gerke collated Assmann's edition of the Exeter Book texts with the manuscript but also fails to record *wag* (see Holthausen 1916, p. 365 for these collations). Kook (1918, p. 42) elaborates Holthausen's suggestion, suggesting *se usic sem* on *wag* 'who over us brought peace (reconciliation)'. He reinstates Grein's sige before *sended*, posits a noun *seem* beside the existing *gesem* (comparing the nouns *ner* and *gener* to support this *seem*) and claims for his solution that no change in the manuscript forms of 511b is made. This plea was valid as Thorpe's *wag* was still unchallenged as the manuscript reading.

KD first give *wag* as the manuscript reading and in their edition line 511 reads:

```plaintext
Me þonne sige sended, se usic semon *wag

with the verb semon 'reconcile, bring to peace'. However, as Schaar (1949, p. 82) points out, Grein's sige is unnecessary. He shows that with lighter punctuation than the KD full stop after *heofonum* 510, the pronoun *me* 511 can easily refer back to *steor* in that line.
```

For *-on* as the ending of the infinitive compare *leon* 520,
brendon 676, ledon 721, ongylton 861 and leton 948 and see III.4/ 0.2(b).

514 martyrre : The use of the learned martyrre is restricted in Old English verse to Glo 514, And 876, Eml 69 and Est 653, but its rareness is rather the result of subject matter than convention. After all, the native word browere appears in poetry only in Glo 161 and 182, although the verb browian is widely used in the special sense 'to undergo martyrdom'.

514-17a Schaar (1949 and 1956, p. 304) compares with these verses a sentence from the Andreas:

Refde him in innan
ellen untweonde, was met wale mod
asundred frae symnum, besh he eares eua feala
decum dolgelagum dreogan seeolda. 1244

In his earlier note on this correspondence he suggests that the Andreas poet has 'badly rendered' the phrases of the Guthlac A poet and in his later note comments on the similar alliterative patterns found in both passages. Butterwieser (1898, p. 63) notes two other phrases similar to And 1243 asundred frae symnum in Phx 242 symnum asundred and Glo1 10 asundred frae symnum which suggests this to have been a collocation common in religious verse. There is little to indicate that the parallel drawn here by Schaar is due to anything else than the use of traditional phraseology and similar themes.

517 wolde : As in Collanee's text wolde (translated by him 'con-
trolled\textsuperscript{1}) is not emended to the usual editorial \textit{weolde}. Grein (1865, p. 424) tries to identify the manuscript \textit{wolde} with the preterite of the auxiliary \textit{willan} and emends \textit{witum} to \textit{witian}; this arrangement of the text is reflected in his translation of 516b–17a: \textit{wiewol der theurere Herr / sich seiner annehmen wolle}. The form \textit{wolde} for \textit{weolde} occurs again in Jln 562 and late Old English monophthongisation is perhaps also present in \textit{MxmI} 85 lof, \textit{MxmI} 139 lofes. The scribe’s \textit{o} emended to \textit{e} within the manuscript in Gln 190 \textit{hweopan} may show immediate correction of what might otherwise have been another example of the monophthongisation of \textit{eo} (see also III.4/B.4(b)).

519 \textit{afroht}: This adjective appears in verse-texts only here and in Jud 257 \textit{agesfull 7 afor} and in both places may be interpreted 'severe in strength, vehement'. Examples of the literal use of this adjective in the \textit{Leechdoms} may be found in BT and BTs and in glosses (e.g. see Napier 1900, p. 76, 2828).

520 \textit{leton}: For the vowel of the accented syllable in both this and the infinitive \textit{leton} 948 see III.4/B.3(e). The ending is paralleled in infinitives in lines 676, 721, 861 and 948 (see III. 4/C.2(b)).

521 \textit{mara}: See the note for \textit{mara} 384.

528-29 It is curious that this passage is rarely noted by those
commentators who wish to contrast an A poet dependent on oral traditions and a B poet working from the Vita. Compare the note for line 108 and see also III.2/a.

530 Geofu: A new section begins here on the last line of folio 40V; the preceding line is empty and cypha stands right at the end of the line above that. Only the initial G is a capital, in height about an inch.

533 foregengan: Thorpe translates this noun 'a forth goer', suggesting in a footnote the reading forðgengan?. Later editors accept the foregengan of the manuscript. The compound is used here in its literal sense 'a forerunner' (compare Gollanoz's 'advance-guard') as it is also in Exo 120. This basic meaning is perhaps also to be understood from an Old English gloss (Napier 1900, p. 18, 619) 'antecessor', forgencga, forstep. The word is used for an 'attendant' in Jud 127. The word is however most widely used in the Old English period in the senses 'predecessor, ancestor' and occurs once for the Latin prepositus in CP 205.14.

535 sawl: This should be read as two syllables for the sake of the metre; compare the note for sawl 408 and see further III. 4/C.1(d).

540 nyðgista, with y a MS alteration from i: In the manuscript y is superscribed above i; Assmann thinks this among the
changes made in this manuscript by a hand later than the scribe's. This is the only place where i is changed to y: examples of i altered to y are Glo 756 swile (where y is written in below i), Glo 780 agyfen. Glo 1289 lyfte, Phx 133 wynsumra (with y written in above i), Phx 371 fylle (with y above i), Pnt 43 wynsumast, Rd 1.7 hlyn (with y written in above i). Once i is written in above y in the verbal prefix by-, Chr 1088 bidyrned.

The meaning of the base element of nyggista is uncertain (compare the note for caargesta 393). The compound occurs also in Bwf 2699 bone niøgest (for the dragon) where gost 'visitor' is more suited to the context than gost 'spirit, ghost' and that sense is therefore chosen here (i.e. Gollancz's 'hateful guests' is to be preferred to Gordon's 'evil spirits').

542-43 Again, as the passage is much discussed, a transcript of the forms of the manuscript is given first for consultation:

pa sær forseah ape re sawle wel þæs mund boran þepet
mond geheld þ his nege tweode ...

Thorpe translates these verses continuously:

He the pain despis'd/ of the soul ever,/ while in
the Protector,/ who held him in his care/ that doubted
not

and in his footnotes suggests reading hwile for wel and be be for
be þæt; but his translation makes little sense. Grein, placing a
comma after wel, supplies two verses between lines 541 and 542 (on
freme ful tum ford þet reowde) and emends mond to mod. This arrange-
ment of the text is reflected in his translation of these lines which show also the replacing of the comma after wel by one mid-line (put forward by him in 1865, p. 404):

Erachtete der Schmersen nicht, da er für seine Seele stets fest vertraute auf des Fürsten Hilfs,
des Schirmherrn, der in Schuss nahm das Gemüt, ...

Assmann follows Grein's second thoughts in the placing of this comma mid-line, but does not incorporate his stop-gap verses into the text; instead he prints a row of asterisks between 541 and 542 and numbers these lines 512 and 514 respectively.

Gollanes leaves no space for a missing line of text and numbers these lines consecutively. In a footnote he points out that 'an evident omission of one line' occurs after 541, without any further discussion of this crux. He follows Grein's emendation of mend to ned and translates these lines:

he despised the pains; (he) ever (trusted) well his Saviour (for) his soul's protection, and He guarded his spirit,

KD mistakenly record in their bibliography (p. xxv) that this passage is included in Craigie's selections from the Guthlac poems; however Craigie 1926, p. 65) omits lines 541-46 from his selection number xxviii. Kennedy (1910, p. 279) translates as much as he can, leaving dots to indicate some omission:

He scorned his sore distress and ever joyed exceedingly in that Protector of his soul...who preserved that spirit,

Gordon (1954, p. 265) follows the Bibliothek text with:

He ever scorned well those things which hurt the soul;
he trusted in help from the Lord, the Guardian who kept
that heart safe,
A fairly full account is given of these earlier treatments of this passage in KD. In their text the Columbia editors follow Gollancz, printing a row of asterisks between lines 541 and 542 which they number consecutively.

C. Schaar (1949, p. 83) suggests that there is no gap in the manuscript and puts forward a number of errors, all of which he regards as 'typical slips of negligence':

He pa sar forseah a þere eawle hal 
was mundboran pe þet mod geheold
þet him ne getweode treow in breostum ...

Two of these 'slips' are explained as due to dittography, wel for hal and mon for mod; and he suggests that once a scribe had misread 
was as þæs he would automatically add -n to the mundbora of his exemplar. It is not clear from Schaar's account of the passage how he intends the lines presented by him to be translated. He notes that hal occurs mostly in religious contexts (perhaps again he has not consulted BTs as his note on gestāl indicates) and here contrasts it with sar. He compares the passage structurally with Juliana 211b ff., but these lines do little to illustrate how Schaar's version of 541 is to be understood:

ne þinra wita bealo.
Hæbbe ic me to hyhte heofonrices weard,
  mildne mundboran, magna waldend,
  se sce gescylde wið þinum scinlæce
  of gromra gripe, þe þu to godum tiohnast.  215

He provides only one close comment on his reading of Glc 541-42, ad-
ducing as a parallel for the phrase hal was mundbora the familiar
biblical words Dominius ... factus est mihi in salutem (noting their occurrence in Exodus 15.2, Psalms 117.14 and Isaiah 12.2). A translation of his arrangement of the text would presumably run:

He despised those pains, the salvation of that soul was always the protector who guarded that spirit, so that ...

but one cannot be sure, as he does not indicate any phrasing. The solution is to be admired for its provision of a finite verb between forseah 541 and gehold 543, but its ingenuity results in awkward syntax and it should be noted that a metrical stress might be expected to fall on was 542 (see III.3/1(1)).

It is likely that some finite verb has been lost from 542a and gemunde is in this edition inserted at the head of it. With this insertion the passage becomes intelligible without any other alteration than Grein's emendation from mond to mod. The omission of gemunde can be explained as an error of haplography. Although the suggested offends against Kuhn's law of particles, see III.3/1(v) for a note on similar patterns. A free translation runs:

He despised those sufferings, he always remembered well in his soul that Protector who guarded his spirit, so that...

549 to dead: The preposition to is, apart from phrases marking time, only infrequently recorded with the accusative in Old English, but another example occurs in the Exeter Book, Chr 32 to his enge lond, and for other examples see BT and BTs (under to III(i)). Although the phrase deman to deade occurs elsewhere, e.g. Jud 196, Ele 500, there is no need to amend the text here on grammatical grounds.
The emendation to *derde* made by all the editors is however attractive metrically and is supported by Holthausen (1907, p. 201). For a note on this verse see III.3/8.

559 *husulbearn*: Both this compound and *husulweras* 796 are not otherwise found in Old English. Comparable to them is Dan 705 and 749 *huselfatu*. The word *husul* does not appear elsewhere as a limiting element in a compound in poetry, but is much used in religious prose writings and in the laws (with bases -disc, -fet, -gang, -genga, -halgung, -laf, -portio and -regn).

559 *heldore*: The ending of the old u-declension is retained in the accusative singular *duru* 391.

574-76 Schaar (1949 and 1956, p. 304) compares with these lines a short passage from Andreas:

```
woldun aninga ellenrofes
mod gemyltan. Hit ne mihte sce! 1393
```

He thinks this passage 'inappropriate to Andreas' and would therefore regard it as a literary borrowing. Both poets use a short exclamation in a b-verse, a traditional line filler.

586 *gefremede*: Compare *meahtes* 469 and see III.4/0.2(b).

588 *beor*: There is no need to follow Thorspe's emendation of the adverb *beor* which stands at the head of *508* into *beot*, a
relative with *lean* as its antecedent.

592 *Dod efne swa*: Both Cremer (1888, p. 46) and Sievers (1885, p. 477), with Thorpe's misreported *efen* for the manuscript *efne*, suggest that *Dod* must be expanded for the sake of the metre. For a note on this verse see III.3/43.

594 *wergengan*: This compound occurs three times in Old English; here, again in Guthlac A at line 713 and in Dan 66 *wildra wargenga* where this phrase describes Nebuchadnezzar. Two interpretations are possible for the limiting element of this compound: it can be regarded as *waru* 'shelter, protection' as in BT; or as *wær* 'pledge, agreement' as in Sweet (1896), GK and AEW. A similar difficulty of interpretation attaches to the Latinized words from Germanic law-codes (quoted by BT under *wergenga*): npl. *wargengi* from Lombard laws and as *wargengum* from Frankish laws. Often compared with these words is the Old Norse name of the *'Varinga*', i.e. the *Varingi* who served the Greek emperors of Constantinople as bodyguards. Dörries (1962) suggests that this name goes back to *'wæra-ganga*' and compares its first element with Old Norse *værar* 'pledges', but presents all these compounds with a short vowel in this syllable. See also III.4/E.3(a).

605 *beawum 7 gebynedum*: Thorpe, translating this verse 'in practices and thoughts', suggests in a footnote the emendation
gebeahtum for gebynodum. Cosijn (1898, p. 117) compares with this verse Gen 24:15 beawum and gebancua*, pointing out that Thorpe's ge-
beahtum 'consiliis' recommends itself less in this context than ge-
bohtum 'cogitationibus'. Both suggestions are unnecessary.

613 leocht: As Cosijn (1898, p. 117) points out the word leocht is here to be understood 'heaven'; he compares Chr 1463.

614 deade: Both Grein and Cosijn (1898, p. 117) seem unwilling to recognise this instrumental use of deade. Grein in a footnote suggests that this form should be emended to the adjective deade, a simple enough change graphically. Cosijn proposes inserting on before deade, giving as an alternative emendation dead which he justifies by comparison with line 635.

617 habban: Cosijn (1898, p. 118) suggests the attractive emendation of this infinitive to habban, but the parallelism he assumes in meaning between besingan and habban, the two infinitives dependent on seocono 614, is not necessary, for there is no difficulty in understanding the passage as in the manuscript.

618 IC: A new section opens half way down folio 41v with a large capital I and with o the same height as the tallest ascenders used by the scribe. The preceding line is empty and the line above that, completely filled, ends with cyninges. The sectional break
occurs within a speech as it may also have done in the folio miss-
ing from between lines 368 and 369.

620  **lofian**: Cosijn (1898, p. 118) again, as with **habban** 617,
    wishes to emend this infinitive to **lofian** to bring it closer
to meaning to **weorðian** 619, which is also dependent on **wille** 619.
This emendation is supported also by Holthausen in the appendix to
**Ok**. The change would detract from the variation provided in 620a.

620b–622  These words are regarded as an aside from the narrator
    by some (e.g. Thorpe, Gollancz, Gordon), but as an integral
part of Guthlac's speech by others (e.g. Grein in his translation,
Kennedy, KD). Grein (1865, p. 424) suggests that the words **in his**
have been transposed and, reading this verse as **bam be his in weorcum,**
translates the lines **die in ihren Werken seinem Willen folgen**. Al-
ternatively it is possible to treat **wefnað** as a singular form, with
**-æð** for **-æð**, and to translate with Gollancz 'for him who in his works
performeth His will'. In this matter Gordon appears to follow Grein,
whereas Kennedy follows Gollancz. The manuscript order of **in his**
622 is retained in this edition. For **-æð** for **-æð** see III.4/C.2(b).

624  **lege bisenote**, **MS lege bissanote**: Thorpe translates this
    verse 'with flame for drink', adding in a footnote 'lit. hav-
ing flame served to them for drink'. Grein suggests the emendation
**bisenote** and in his translation gives for this verse **mit Lohglut
überschüttet**. His emendation is supported by Cosijn (1898, p. 118)
who compares \textit{wraedo bisenecte} 666 and \textit{Cri} 1168 \textit{flosce bisencan}. Thorpe's explanation is accepted in BT (see under \textit{bi-scencan}; no other examples of \textit{scencan} with this prefix are cited in either BT or BTs). GK hesitantly follow Grein's emendation. They give two entries for \textit{scencan} with \textit{be/bi-} as prefix; in the first are listed examples from the Paris Psalter, the Menelogium and from Exeter Book poems \textit{Cri} 1169, Glo 638 and Jln 479 and for all the meanings \textit{mergere, demergere} are suggested; the second entry, with \textit{superfundere?} given as the sense, is Grein's Glo 624 \textit{bisenote}. Gollancz retains the manuscript reading, placing against it 'with flame proffered for drink' and Assmann also reverts to the manuscript reading in his revision of the Bibliothek text. Grein's emendation is followed, however, both in Kennedy's 'engulfed in flame' and in Gordon's 'plunged in flame'.

The latest editors of the poem, KD, object to the manuscript reading because it involves 'a rather violent metaphor', returning to Grein's \textit{bisenote}. This emendation, graphically plausible on grounds of dittography, requires a simpler figurative use of the verb \textit{bisenan} than the metaphor of the manuscript \textit{biscenote} which KD distrust; but as GK indicate, a figurative use unparalleled in other instances of this verb. The ironic use of metaphors of serving drink is on the other hand often found in mediaeval writings (see Brown 1940, pp.389-99 and Smithers 1951, pp. 67 ff.); compare the note for Glo 868 for more details of the use of this theme in Old English poetry.

The metaphor is however unusually extended, as no variation for \textit{lege} reinforces it. The use of the \textit{poculum mortis} image in the B
poem is of a pattern with his elaborate and highly charged poetic compounds and phrases; such a metaphor in the A poem is unusual in this poet's style. For this reason the emended form first proposed by Grein is adopted in this text but, as again interpretation of this bisenote as if a form from -sencan also presents problems, an alternative explanation is proposed. The manuscript form may be a mistake for a passive participle from the verb besengan 'to singe'. In this case the verse lege bisenote would mean 'singed by flame', an interpretation which presents no difficulty in this context. The verb besengan does not appear elsewhere in poetic texts. Examples are recorded in BT from Leechdoms ii.124.18 Beren ear beseng, Lindisfarne Gospels: Matthew 13.6 Oðra reron forberned ðæs besenges and the Orosius (Bosworth 1859, p. 51.42) on ða besengdæ burh and in BTs from a homily (Assmann 1889, p. 115.439) ðæ fulan sceanda he besengdæ on helæ. Wulfstan uses a participle from this verb (Bethurum 1957, p. 162.114) tæ bid swyde clæne ælore synne se ðæ ðæne bryne þurhferð unbesenoged.

631 mid hægðum: Compare the note for motum 13 and see III.4/G.2(b).

633 mid soome scylldum: Thorpe, translating 'with your shameful crimes were thrust', suggests reading a compound scemu-scylldum. Other interpretations of the text are however possible without emendation. It is possible to take soome as a genitive dependent on scylldum, translating freely with Kennedy 'in your shame and guilt'. Again,
scyldum may be regarded as instrumental in function, dictating some such translation as Grein's durch eure Schuld mit Schmach or Gordon's 'shamefully ... in your guilt'. Simplest is Gollancz's reading of parallel adverbs 'ignominiously and guiltily'. Compare with this verse 675a.

636 to widan ealdre: See the note for scan lifes 172. Phrases similar to to widan ealdre occur in lines 817 and 840 and are common in Old English poetry.

643 gode: Kemble's suggested adverb from the adjective göd is unsuitable both syntactically and metrically and has gained no support.

650 mine: Thorpe, suggesting in a footnote the reading mine for the manuscript mine, translates 650a 'the base destroyers'. This interpretation of the adjective is perhaps indicated by the emendation put forward by Grein (1865, p. 424) to minne, but in his translation Grein gives for this line als mine Lebens Mörder, ihr lastervollen Schädiger, conservatively following the manuscript mine as from the possessive adjective min. The form is understood as "my" by Gollancz (who translates 'my murderers'), Assmann and KD. Kennedy avoids translating mine altogether with 'ye murderers' and Gordon gives for the line 'ye, my murderous foes and foul enemies'. The appearance of a similar verse minne manseab an 909, where the
translation 'my' is unsuited to the context, suggests that we have here a formula preserved only in these two poems. Yet, Cosijn (1898, p. 118) wishes to emend the adjectives in both these verses, suggesting instead the reading miroe 'schwarze' which he puts forward also for PsP 120.6 min ne. The emendation, although described as plausible in KD, is graphically unattractive as well as unnecessary.

Both mine 650 and minne 909 will be found in the glossary under minne 'evil, wicked'. The Paris Psalter form minne (misdivided in the Bosworth and KD editions as min ne and this min glossed as 'small' in ET) is shown to be the same word by Merritt (1944, p. 445) who points out that in medieaval exposition of Psalms 120.6 the phrase neque luna per nootem was taken as referring to enticement or conduciveness to evil. No one doubts that Leechdoms III.36.14 wi3 mal-scrunge minna wihta contains an adjective of this meaning, but the place-name on minnan linche from charter 1214 (Birch 1893) cannot be said to contain this adjective rather than *min 'small' with any certainty (see also ETs under min). The existence of an Old English simplex adjective *min 'small' is rejected in the NED (see under MIN) and by Holthausen (1905, p. 228). Merritt (1944, op. 441-45) adds to these five (or four) examples of an adjective minne 'evil, wicked' four weak adjective forms which occur in the Canterbury Psalter:

104.15 malignari/ pæm minnen, 105.21 magnalia/ pæ minnen (due to the glossator's reading maligna for magnalia), 128.7 manipulos/ dæ minnen (the word manipulos often used of 'evil tares, the wicked' in exegesis)
and 143.10 de _gladio maligno/ of _mweorde _he minnan_. A full dis-
cussion of all these forms will be found in Merritt's article, to-
gether with an account of the various misinterpretations of them to
be found in the standard Old English dictionaries.

650 _mænsçapan_: Grein in a footnote questions whether the first
element in this compound should be regarded as _mæn_ 'man' or
as _mæn_ 'evil'. The many instances of the word, its use against the
Latin _pecator_ in other Old English texts and the appearance of an
accent over its vowel in line 650 (accents appear for the most part
over long vowels in this manuscript) support the usual identification
of the limiting element with _mæn_ 'evil'. The cognate Old Saxon
_mænskazdžo_ should be compared.

661 For a note on the scansion of this line see III.3/43.

663 _Wendun ge_ 7 _woldum_: Compare the note for line 24 on the use
of co-ordinate finite verbs in this poem. For _-um_ in _woldum_
compare _motum_ 13 and see III.4/C.2(b). Compare with this line _And_
1072 _Wendan_ 7 _woldon_ _wiperhyegonde_; the compound _wiperhyegonde_ is
represented otherwise only in _Ele_ 952 and _Jln_ 196.

671 _wærnysse_: Cosijn (1898, p. 118) suggests that the manuscript
form should be emended to _wærgnyse_; but as simplification in
a consonant cluster appears often in Old English texts the lost _g_ of
this word is not emended into the text (see III.4/D.7(b). The vowel
of the accented syllable shows Anglian smoothing (see III.4/B.3(h)).

The grammatical function of *wernyse* within the clause it stands in is disputed. The word can be interpreted either as a genitive singular dependent on *brynewylm* 672 (e.g. Grein's *den Schwall der Lohglut* or Gordon's 'the surging flame of damnation') or as an accusative singular parallel with *brynewylm* (e.g. Thorpe's 'that ye malediction/burning heat have' and put forward by Kock 1923, p.267). As a similar opposition of the concepts 'malediction' and 'benediction' occurs in a famous passage from Deuteronomy xi. 26 ff. (verse 26: *Et propono in conspectu vestro hodie benedictionem et male¬dictionem...*) and these words were probably known to the poet, I prefer to regard *wernyse* and *brynewylm* as being in variation.

676 *bregden*: The -on infinitive ending is found also in lines 520, 721, 861 and 948 of these poems (see III.4/C.2(b)). Grein's emendation to a subjunctive *bregden* is unnecessary as the verb is dependent on *motan* 675.

679 *gornende*: See note for line 232.

684 *dugud 7 drohtad*: Cosijn (1898, p. 118), objecting to Grein's *Gefolgdienst* and Gollancz's 'retinues' for *drohtad*, points out here is meant *drohtad* on wuldre. Presumably Cosijn noted also the senselessness of Grein's *Heershaaren* and Gollancz's 'troops' for *dugud* in this context. The translation 'virtue and converse' is
suggested for this verse in BT (under drohtap). Kennedy's 'glory
and fellowship' is rather more meaningful (and for his interpret-
ation of *dugud* compare GK under *dugud* 4: *majestas, magnificencia*).

684b ff. A few resemblances between this poem and the *Vita* are
sometimes identified in these final sections of Guthlac A.
See particularly the notes for lines 699 and 732. Yet, as Sohaar
(1949, p. 40) notes, except for the part played by St. Bartholomew
the central events in Guthlac A and the *Vita* are 'wholly different'.

692a Compare the use of this formulaic phrase in *Dan* 726 and *And*
1264.

692 *Ofermegra* : This compound, found only here but comparable in
form with Old Norse *ofermanni* 'mighty champion', is the sub-
ject of *spreo* and is varied by *dyre dryhtnes beor* of the following
line. The earlier editors of the text appear to have been unwilling
to accept the manuscript form. Thorpe translates 692b 'proudly
spake', in a footnote suggesting the emendation *ofermattum*. Grein
gives *ofermegra* in his text, but shows his doubt about this form by
adding a note that perhaps *ofermagne* should be read. Later, in his
translation, he gives for *ofermegra* the adjective *ubermächting*, indi-
cating his acceptance of the manuscript reading. Corijn (1898, p.
118) notes that an adverb would be attractive beside *spreo* to balance
daghluttre *sön* 693, thus following Thorpe's interpretation if not
his emendation. The weak noun *meoga* appears beside the commoner
maga. The simplex appears in FtW 52 maga, and poetic compounds in Jla 260 se wracmaga and SnS 90 gudmaga (other MS - maga). Otherwise the form is recorded only in glossaries: WrW 338.2 oretmaga for agonista and WrW 342.13 oretmagan for athlete (sic). The poetic examples, all in the nominative, show its use both with and without an article, suggesting its established use as a noun.

693 daghluttre scann: This verse is capable of two very different interpretations. Thorpe regards it as made up of three words, translating 'Day brightly shone', as does Collancz. In other interpretations daghluttre is treated as an adverbial compound, e.g. Grein's tageshell erglänzend, and all the clauses of 692b-97 have the same subject. Compound adjectives with the base element hluttor occur in Run 30 glashluttur and MBe 5,8 glashlutre (compare prose Boethius 14.12 glashluttur), indicating that a similarly based adverb is by no means an unlikely form.

Either reading of the text can of course be supported according to editorial choice. Here a short parenthetic clause is avoided because such an arrangement is unnecessary for the understanding of the passage. There is no reason for the poet to break off at this point to comment on the time of day or the weather. Indeed as he is building up an imposing picture of St. Bartholomew it is far more likely that he should describe the appearance of this messenger from God. Compare Vita 545 cum inmente ccelestis lucis splendor, (although note this resemblance cannot be allowed as evidence for the close relationship of Vita and A poem as heavenly visitants are generally described
in terms of brightness).

696  **Dreemiddum**, MS **dreemiddum**: For a note on this form and on the emendation adopted here see Ill.4/B.1(a).

698–700  Liebermann (1892, p. 247) suggests that the phrase **ne labes** with 699 echoes Felix’s *sine ulla ... molestia* 553 (see further on this supposed relationship the note for line 732). Schaar (1949, and 1956, p. 304) points out the close similarity between these lines from **Guthlac A** and two passages in **Andreas**:

No þe laded ma

þurh darða gedrep gedon motan,

pa þe heardra mest hearma gefremedan. 1445

and

ne ban gebroced, ne blodiþ wund

lice gelenge, ne lades del, 1474

He suggests that the **Andreas** passages may show the influence of **Guthlac A**, noting that the spear-motif suddenly appears in **Andreas** at this point 'for no good reason'. The correspondences occur because the two poets, dealing with similar themes, draw upon the same stock phrases in expressing their ideas. It should be noted that the resemblance is greater than Schaar actually indicates for **And 1443a** *lices lalan* (as the manuscript **licslalan** is usually emended) is the only other instance of the word *lalan* in a verse text. The phrase *labes wiht* occurs again in Ola 313 and Pnt 32 and collocates with words like *noht* in prose texts; many examples of the genitive singular dependent upon other nouns occur both in verse and prose texts.
The probability that the correspondences are coincidental points to
a use of traditional patterns; it may also tell against Liebermann's
identification of 699b with a phrase from the Vita.

700a For a note on the metre of this verse see III.3/8.

703 _se mec_: Similar constructions, with _se_ the nominative rel-
ative pronoun followed by a personal pronoun in the oblique
case required by the adjectival clause, appear in Exo 380 and Misc 37
and 38. In these latter examples the personal pronoun is in the
third person (i.e. _se him_ in all three instances) and the phrases
are comparable with Glo 72 _he be him_ and Glo 361 _se he him_. Mitchell
(1964, p. 134) points out that _se_ usually carries a strong sug-
gestion of the third person and is rarely used in verse if its ante-
cedent is a pronoun in the first or second person; he finds an
example however in Bwf 506 Eart _he se Beowulf, se he wil Brecon wanne_
which he considers sufficient parallel to justify retention of the
manuscript _se mec_ against Grein's suggested _he mec_. These four
examples of this unusual construction he thinks may be the relics of
'an older construction' (which he terms asyndetic parataxis) with
_se_ as a demonstrative rather than a relative pronoun.

706 _on his sylfes dom_: This phrase, perhaps legal in origin
(compare III.4/E.3(a)), is used frequently in Old English, in
verse both demonstrably early, e.g. Bwf 895, 2147, 2776, and late,
e.g. MDP 38, as well as in prose, Chronicle 755 _hiera agenne dom_.

and is generally equated with the Old Norse sjelfdœmi 'right to judge in one's own case'. The phrases containing dom in lines 111, 134 and 601 of this poem apparently carry similar implications.

712 afstum, MS astum: The emendation afstum was first made by Thorpe and appears in all the editions of this poem. An unsyncopated form is however required by the metre (Rieger 1876, p. 52, Cremer 1888, p. 25, Cosijn 1898, p. 118 and KD) and should be supplied for reading aloud. Both Rieger and Cosijn suggest the text should be emended to afstum, but this suggestion is not followed as the scribe is more likely to have made this mistake if the syncopated form stood in his exemplar. For a note on this and other syncopated forms of the poem see III.3/45.

713 wergengan: See the note for wergengan 594.

716 on bare soone: Thorpe translates this verse 'in that sanctuary' and his interpretation of soone 716 is followed in BT and GK. Grein, with in dem Bezirke, attempts a freer translation of the phrase, but both Gordon's 'in his refuge' and Kennedy's 'in his holy refuge' follow the usual interpretation of the passage.

The word soon appears twice only in Old English verse. The other instance is in Beowulf 1777 bare soone where it is best explained as meaning 'visitations, persecution'. C.L. Wrenn (1958, p. 268) regards this use of the word as 'peculiar to Beowulf', but Gollancz obviously
recognises its presence in Glo 716a which he translates 'amid your persecution'. It seems therefore to be rather a use of the simplex peculiar to verse texts; it is found also in the compound hamosoon and is paralleled in certain uses of secan (see BT under secan III).

716 be: In GK this form is listed as a causal adverb (under be III), but should instead be regarded as the relative particle separated from its personal pronoun. Mitchell (1963, p. 307) points this out, giving Chr 1097 be... his lichoma as another example of this construction from a verse text and noting a clause similar to Glo 716 in Chronicle E, 141-24.

720 lةdon: For the inflexion of this infinitive compare the note for leton 520 and see III.4/c.2(b).

722 RA: The final section of Guthlac A begins mid-way down folio 43f. The preceding line is empty except for conns placed at the very end of it. The new section is marked by a large capital P and a smaller capital A.

726 oferleordun: This is the second of the two specimen words used by Sisam (1953, pp. 128-29) to demonstrate the conservative and mixed nature of the Anglo-Saxon poetic koiné. Jordan (1902, pp. 44 ff.) calls the verb leor 'go, die' one of the most outstanding distinguishing features of the Anglian vocabulary and
backs up this conclusion from his examination of its use in prose texts. The word is however somewhat infrequently used in verse, occurring only in Glo 726, And 124, 1042, Reg 31 and 45, perhaps Bui 7 (these examples all from two closely connected codices) and in Wnl 208 geleorde (where it does not join in the alliteration of that line). Of all these poems only the Menologium is generally regarded as non-Anglian and late, but the presence of geleorde in it leads Sisam to conclude:

The inference to be drawn is not that Beowulf, Genesis, the signed poems of Cynewulf, and the rest are non-Anglian, but that vocabulary is a tricky guide to the original dialect of verse.

732 smæbe 7 geseftes: This is the third of the verbal parallels between Guthlac A and the Vita traced by Liebermann (1892, p. 247); compare the notes for lines 146 and 699. Liebermann thinks 732 an echo of Felix’s susuivitas... quietissimo 557. Both the second and third verbal resemblances identified by Liebermann he draws from one short passage of the Vita:

Tunc deinde sanctus bartholomeus catenuis satellitum iubet: ut illum in locum suum cum magna quietudine sine ulla offensione molestia reducerent; Nec mora, precertis apostolicis obtemperantes, dicto citius iussa faecessunt; Nam illum ueluehentes cum nimia susuivitate, uelut quietissimo alarum remigio.

552-557

Already Lefèvre (1883, p. 237) had suggested that lines 530-818 show the poet’s knowledge of the Vita. More recently Schaar (1949, p. 40) has pointed out that Guthlac A resembles the Vita only in the
Bartholomew passages. See further III.2/a.

733 bytla: For a note on this word see line 148.

734 monge magulitas: Cosijn (1898, p. 118) finds this passage as it stands in the manuscript ambiguous and to avoid some such translation of 734a as the GK tiere von mancherlei aussehen suggests the verse should be emended to moniga magulita, a genitive phrase dependent upon treofugla tuddor 735. Comparing lines 916-19 from the B poem, he observes that here also only birds are referred to by the A poet. KD appear to agree with Cosijn's interpretation of the passage, for they point out that the manuscript nominative phrase of 734a can be retained, with magulitas 'species', as the subject of bletsgadon and in apposition to tuddor 'race'.

There is no need to restrict the meaning of magulitas 734 to exclude animals. The poet moves from a general description of Guthlac's welcome back to his hermitage to mention in particular his reception by the birds of the trees. He then digresses to tell how hungry birds often flew to the saint's hands for food. I suspect that Cosijn wishes to exclude animals from this account of the saint's return because of the great emphasis placed upon bird miracles by Felix in the Vita. However, verse 741a belies his statement that the poet mentions only Guthlac's love of birds and not his love of animals. It should be noted also that the adjective meagol is not restricted to the description of birdsong in Old English. Suitable
translations for this verse are given by Grein ('mancherlei Gestalten'), Gollancz ('many living kinds') and Gordon ('many kinds of creatures'); Kennedy ('many kinds of beasts') falls into the opposite error from Cosijn.

735 taonum oyödon: This phrase is generally clumsily explained, e.g. Gordon's 'declared by signs'. Only GK show any consciousness that such a translation is unsatisfactory, suggesting that in this context taonum may mean durch Signale. The word taen is occasionally extended in Old English usage to denote sounds used as signals. See the glossary for the Old English prose life of Guthlac under tēon(2) and compare the noun bellēon listed in BTs. This extension probably occurs here also.

736b-38 This is perhaps the only allusion to any of the later events in Guthlac's life as told by Felix. The poet may have known that passage in the Vita which tells how birds and fish came to the saint's call:

Erga enim omnia eximia cantantis ipsius gratia habundabat in tantum ut incolit solitudinis ulocores, et uagabundi oenos paludis pisces, ad uocem ueluti ad pastorem osius natantes uolantesque subuerirent; De manu enim illius uictum prout unius cuiusque natura indigebat uesoi solebant:

699-703

Yet, as a kindness and longsuffering attitude to animals and birds is almost obligatory in the life of any hermit saint, there is no need to relate this passage to any part of the Vita.
In any case the import of this passage is ambiguous. Some regard heold as referring to time before the return and, despite the absence of any adverb to support this interpretation, translate the verb by a pluperfect, e.g. Gollancz's 'oft had he held them food, when ..' and Gordon's 'Often he had held food for them, when ...'

bonne 737 may be regarded either as a conjunction, the general interpretation, or as an adverb: this ambiguity may explain Kennedy's choice here of a rather free translation 'oft he held out food to them and they were wont...'. Again, two interpretations are possible for geose 738, for it may be regarded either as the help given Guthlac by St. Bartholomew or as the help given the birds by Guthlac. Only Gordon obviously presents the former understanding of the phrase with his 'They were glad of his safety.' The entries in BT and GK are ambiguous, as is Gollancz's rather archaic translation of the verse by 'rejoiced in his succour' (compare Kennedy's equally ambiguous 'rejoicing in his succour'). As the birds are the subject of gefegon and as no genitive personal pronoun his stands before geose to point towards Gordon's interpretation of the phrase, some translation such as Grein's rather free es erfreuten sich der Hilfe durch Futter die Gierigen is suitable for this line.

738 gradum gifre: Thorpe translates this verse by 'greedily voracious', noting that emendation to gradum for gredigum should perhaps be made. The suggestion is attractive for two reasons. First, this is the only appearance of a noun grad in Old English and indeed the only example of such a substantive before the modern period
when the noun greed is literary loanword from Scots into English in
the early seventeenth century: the word does not have general cur­
rency in English until the nineteenth century. See NED entry for
GREED (sb.) and DOSET entry for (GREDE,) GREID. The Scots word is
regarded as a back-formation from the adjective greedy. Secondly,
the adjectives grēdig and gifre are often paired together for an a­
verse, e.g. Gen 793, XSt 32, 191, SIBI 74, Sfr 62, SIB II 69
and Rel 84,30. These verses suggest the emendation grēdge 7 gifre
rather than Thorpe’s conservative grēdgum gifre.

The manuscript form may however be regarded as an adverbia­
use of the dative plural of a noun not otherwise recorded in Old
English (and is so described in BT, OK and NED for example). Cog­
nate are Old Norse grēdr and Gothic grēdus; for other examples from
later Germanic dialects see AEW (under grēd 3) and de Vries (under
grēdr).

741 wildeorum : Cosijn (1898, p. 119) suggests that the metre
demands wildeorum, but similar verse patterns are found in other
Old English poems and the emendation is therefore unnecessary. Ex­
amples of this verse-pattern which is not used by the Beowulf poet
are given by Bliss (1958, pp. 94–95). See III.3/36 for a note on
this verse.

742-43 Schaar (1949, and 1956, p. 304) suggests that the Andreas
poet may have been influenced by these lines in :
He points out that the alliterative patterns are similar here in both poems and considers And 1581-82 unsuitable in their context because the ground has just been flooded but the poet is describing the miraculous path which opens through the waters for Andreas. Schaar himself notes that a verse similar to Glo 742a and And 1581a occurs in Phx 33a Smaulbe is se sigewong. The poetic compound sigewong is found also in Glo 921 and in Jud 295. Again it is likely that the Andreas poet was drawing on stock phraseology and we cannot prove that he was plagiarising from Cuthlac A. Compare the notes for 404-7a, 514-17a, 574-6 and 698-70.

744 gesacæ gear budon: The cuckoo as a harbinger of summer is a familiar tradition in European poetry. The bird is linked with summer by Alcuin in his Versus de Caule and in his Conflictue Veris et Hiemis. Snorri (Skáldskaparmál o.78) gives gauk-mánúðr as the poetic name for the first month of summer. Yet, the cuckoo more often appears as a bird of lament in Old English poetry: for a seafarer, a man far from his people and his home, the voice of the sumer-seaðr sounds mournful (Sfr 53 ff.); and the sign for a wife separated from her husband to set out on a voyage will be the sad cuckoo's voice (HbM 19 ff.). Sieper (1915, pp. 70-77), in his discussion of the symbolism of the cuckoo in Old English verse, notes particularly its function as a messenger of sorrow, sickness and death. The cuckoo's voice is a signal for departure on voyage in early Irish poetry.
(see Jackson 1935, p. 23) and is used as a symbol of separation from loved ones by the Welsh poets (see Williams 1944, pp. 12-13). The sad call of the cuckoo, though common in Celtic and Slav traditions, is otherwise found in a Germanic context only in a popular Swedish proverb which tells that a cuckoo call from the north bodes sorrow and from the south death (pointed out by Anderson 1937, p. 23). I. L. Gordon (1960, pp. 17 and 31) suggests that the more immediate source for the cuckoo as a bird of lament in Old English is 'from the same background as the Welsh tradition'.

We do not have here the cuckoo as a bird of lament but as the symbol of the coming of a new year, a figure that need not be thought closer to Celtic than to any other European tradition. Recently Blake (1962, pp. 163-64) has pointed out that Sfr 48-49 and Phr 242 ff. draw upon the topos of the re-awakening of plant life after winter, used in patristic and Christian Latin writings as a symbol of man's resurrection on the Day of Judgment. This passage in Guthlac should be cited as another example of the use of this figure in Old English poetry, for Guthlac's return from the gates of hell can be regarded as a resurrection. Up to this point of the poem there has been no mention of seasons. Although it would be possible to regard his triumphant return as here emphasised by pathetic fallacy, this description of Guthlac's hermitage and especially the phrase seele niwe 742 suggests that the symbolism of the reawakening of plant life was used also to mark the achievement of salvation. We should perhaps remember again the poet's question in lines 26-29: Guthlac
has so acted on earth that he will enter heaven woman cleanse 29 (and compare 689b-91a and 781-89).

751 selfe, with $ placed below the first e in the MS: Assmann thinks this correction made in a hand later than the scribe's.

A similar emendation is made within the manuscript from selfum to sylfum at line 1092. Otherwise the usual late West Saxon y spelling is found in the group sel- in these texts.

753-54a See the note for line 108 and III.2/a.

756 smyle, with $ placed below i in the MS: For changes made between i and $ in the manuscript see the note for nythgista 540.

760 almihtiga: Holthausen (1899, p. 356) suggests that both here and in line 923 almihtiga should be read almihhta. His note presumably states a metrical preference rather than a textual emendation. See III.4/c.1(c) for a note on the treatment of such medial vowels in scansion of the poems.

763 wile, with MS space between i and l where another l has been scratched out: This manuscript emendation leaves wile, the form usual for the third person present indicative of willan.

767 syled 7 sended: See the note for lin 24.
These verses should be compared with the words spoken by the angel at the beginning of the poem and especially with line 8. See further III.2/a for a discussion of the recurrence throughout the poem and particularly in the final section of the themes of the opening section.

\textit{agyfen}, with \textit{y} changed from \textit{i} in the MS: For a brief note on the changes between \textit{i} and \textit{y} made within the manuscript, see \textit{nygista} 540.

\textit{wurde}: The emendation to \textit{wurde}, first made by Grein and followed in all the editions of the poems, is not adopted here. See further the note for line 18.

These lines bear some slight resemblance to Hly 142–6 which may be coincidental. If a closer relationship of the two is to be argued, it must be noted that we do not know which was written first. It would be as easy to argue that the homilist finished his sermon from his memory of the ending of Guthlac \textit{A} as vice versa.

In these lines the poet's return to his opening theme should be noted. See further III.2/a.

\textit{scan lifes}: For an account of the use of the weak adjective without an article in this poem, see the note for \textit{scan lifes} 172.
809a Compare Bwf 1752 Bebœrh pe done bealnig from Hroðgar's long speech to Beowulf (a similarity noted by Cosijn 1898, p. 119).

814 motum : Although it would be possible here to argue that -um is written in mistake under the influence of wynnum, compare the note for motum 13 and see III.4/C.2(b).

816 ber heo sod wunad : Thorpe, translating this verse 'where they shall truly dwell', suggests the emendation midian wunad as an alternative reading for sod wunad. Later editors have found no difficulty in this passage. The pronoun heo stands for God's countenance and sod is used adverbially (for other examples see GK under sod adv.).

817 ealne widan ferh, MS ealdne widan ferh : The emendation to ealne is made by all the editors; the d is most likely due to dittography. For widan compare lines 636 and 840 and see the note for 172.

818 wynne : This word is at the end of a line otherwise empty. A sign is placed before it, showing that the word belongs to the previous line of text. It is followed by punctuation (heavier than that which marks the end of sections within the poem), and the following three lines are empty. All this suggests that a major break in material is indicated.
This row of capitals, based on the fourth line below the line on which wynne 888 stands, indicates that a new poem begins here. The first capital is approximately four times the height of the following E IS WIDE CVB which fill the space between two ruled lines. The letters WE are smaller, probably so that the scribe could fit both in at the end of the manuscript line. For a note on the sixteenth century scribble above the second poem, see the opening remarks of this commentary. An account of editorial practice in dividing the Guthlac material of this codex will be found in III.1/c.

The poem opens with a phrase often used by Old English poets and it leans heavily upon the formulaic technique of composition. Within the poem there is much repetition, for, though the diction is loaded with poetic compounds and phrases, it lacks the variety found in earlier poems. This opening section is based on the theme suggested by Vita 1070-72 sicut mors in adam data est (as Rieger 1869, pp. 314-15 first pointed out), but the poet's order and choice of imagery may be shaped by his remembrance of some earlier treatment of this theme. Grau (1908, op. 94-98) suggests that he may have been inspired by parts of the Carmen de Resurrectione Mortuorum (see PL iv, columns 1053-60, ii, columns 1147-56 and as well the fragmentary version in lxxxix, columns 237-301), but the parallels adduced by him between Guthlac B and verses from this Carmen point only to their common indebtedness to such traditions of the full and resurrection. The most striking feature of the Guthlac account,
the poet's use of the poculum mortis figure, is absent from all versions of the source suggested by Grau.

A popular hymn, often appended to early English psalters, the Rex aeterne domine, brings together in a few verses many of the thoughts developed by the poet in the opening sections of Guthlac. Brown (1940, pp. 389-99) has shown that versions of it, incorporating the poculum mortis figure, must have been well known in early Anglo-Saxon England, although the relevant verses are preserved in an English compilation only in an early eleventh century collection of hymns and canticles (Durham, Cathedral B, III.32: Ker 107). As phrases from this hymn will be quoted both in this commentary and in the discussion of the poem (III.2/d), the relevant verses are here given together with the interlinear Old English gloss set opposite to them (Stevenson 1851, pp. 30-31):

Rex aeterne Domine
Rerum Creator omnium
Qui eras ante secula
Semper cum Patre Filius.
Qui mundi in primordio
Adam plasmasti hominem
Cui tuae imaginis
Vultum dedisti similem.
Quem diabolus deceperat
Hostis humani generis
Per pomum ligni vetiti
Mortis propinans poculum.

Cyneg sce 6 eala du drihten
Gesceæta acyppend eala
Pu ðe ware ær wurulde
Æfre mid fædor sumu
Pu ðe midaneardes on fruman
Gesceope mann
Pam pinre antionysæ
Andwitan ðu sealdest gelione
Þæne deosful beswæc
Feond mennisses cynnes
Purh æppel treowes þæs ealdan
deades scencendæ dreno

1editor notes 'imagini originally in Durham MS.'
This is the opening third of the hymn as preserved in the Durham manuscript. The connection between its third verse and Guthlac A is pointed out by Brown, but he does not note that the poet had in Vita 1070–72 before him a phrase which might have prompted his use of the figure found in lines 11–12 of this hymn.

821 elda : Both Gollancz and Assmann here mistakenly give as the manuscript reading elda, apparently confusing it with the form found in line 824 where they give elda.

824 elda : For the hooked ø of this form compare reste 368 and see III. 4/B.3(d).

827 neorxnaswong : This Old English word for 'paradise' presents no contextual problem as this meaning is generally accepted for it in all the contexts in which it occurs (for a full list of these see Jente 1921, pp. 227–29). The etymology of neorxnaswong has
been much discussed, but as yet no explanation convinces the majority of Old English scholars. No attempt will be made here to give a full record of the many interpretations of the form, but a brief summary of the more important theories advanced follows. It should be noted that the articles of Leitzmann (1907) and Krogmann (1929) and section 139 of Jente's monograph on the mythological elements in the Old English vocabulary (1921, pp. 226-32) contain summaries and discussions of many of the etymologies put forward for this word.

(1) Theories summarised by Leitzmann:

(a) neorxnawong is regarded as compounded from ne + weoro + wong which Lye (1722 under neorxnawong) interprets Labore vacuus campus, Elysium, Paradisus. This explanation was for some time adopted by Grimm (1822 – 2nd edition – I.268, II.267 and III.726 and 1844 – second edition – p. 376 fn.2 and p. 781) who suggests that *neorc-sa is to be regarded as an s-derivative, giving it the meaning otium and explaining *veorca-sa by labor. The compound he explains by feld der ruhe.

Similar meaningful elements are used in the interpretation put forward by Reinius (1897, pp. 554-56) who suggests that the etymon may be *nerksanawang which he translates die Aue der nicht Arbeiten-den, nicht Leidenden, using a participle instead of Lye's noun within his *nerksanawang.

(b) The first printed references to the possibility that neorxnawong
may contain some collective name for the Norns is to be found in
Grimm (1822 - second edition - I,268 and fn. and 1844 - second ed-
tion - p. 376 fn.2) where it is rejected. However, this explana-
tion of the first element of the compound remained popular and is
elaborated in an article of Weinhold who equates the compound with
Isa vollr. The evidence is laid out by Grein in his Sprachschatz
(1861, II, p. 291 under neorxna vang and compare GX entry for this
word) where he suggests instead that behind neorxna- lies *neirxena
< *neriosena, postulating for primitive Old English a feminine noun
*nerisea with root related to the Old Norse god names Nari and Neri
and suffix similar to that found in mennise. Another attempt to
explain neorxnawong by names for the Norns - whose name(s) are in
any case unknown to us in Old English - is made by Schade who puts
forward as the etymon of neorxna- a primitive Old English *nerh-is-nä
< earlier *nerh-is-i. Falk reviews such suggestions, pointing out
that the interpretation sue der schicksalsgötinnen can be arrived at
only through a mingling of Old English and Old Norse mythology, ein
methodischer fehler. (It should be noted that here my notes on
Weinhold, Falk and Schade are dependent on the short accounts given
by Leitzmann and Jente.)

(c) Ettmüller (1851, p. 239) sees in neorxna- the elements ne +
*riosen > *neorosen; he compares a hypothetical Gothic *ni riui-
zeinavagg and gives as his translation of this compound hortus
splendidus. This etymon is to be explained as arising through met-
thesis, breaking and levelling of io and so. He notes that Gothic
riquix is cognate with Old Norse rôkkr and with the name requalira-
hanus for the gods, but can find no trace of this element in the Old
English vocabulary.

(d) Leo (1877 under vang and under neorxena-vang, columns 491 and
604) thinks neorma- a loanword, taken directly either from Greek or
through Latin narcissus before the assimilation of o before a front
vowel. He gives to the compound the meaning narcissorum campus and
finds it likely that der Gedanke eines Narzissengartens in die Phant-
asie der deutschen Völker gekommen sein sollte. This etymology is
unlikely as the word reflects breaking but shows no signs of i-umlaut.

(e) Bradley (1889, p. 254) suggests that the compound is to be re-
garded as *nēo + rōhsna- + wang 'field of the palaces of the dead'.
Kluge (1889, p. 84) independently recognises the first element of the
compound as perhaps cognate with Gothic *naus, but does not attempt
an explanation of the central part of neorxnowong. This suggestion
was at first rejected because, in Leitzmann's words, sie ein unbe-
kanntes durch ein anderes zu erklären versucht. The identification
of the first element with Gothic *naus Leitzmann considers unlikely,
suggesting that the form is paralleled only in Old Norse nár and that
it is entirely missing in West Germanic. Many traces of this word
are however now recognised in the Old English poetic vocabulary and a
fairly comprehensive list of the compounds in which it may appear is
to be found in Crawford (1963, pp. 102-3). As for Bradley's com-
parison of his suggested central element rōhsna- with Gothic rōhsna
it is perhaps better rendered in English by 'hall' rather than by 'palace'.

(f) Leitzmann himself expresses his dissatisfaction with all these etymologies for neorxntawong and sees within the form, obscured by the metathesis of -sc-, the suffix -iska- (compare Grein's explanation under (b)). He puts forward for neorxna- the etymon *nerb + iska- and, noting the possible effects of West Germanic syncope and of simplification in the resulting consonant cluster as well as metathesis of -sc-, arrives at the mythological interpretation wiese der zur Merthus gehörigen, arguing an earlier meaning die wiese der unterirdischen, der toten.

(2) Jente, under the numbers 1 to 8, summarises the theories listed by Leitzmann. He summarises also the following explanations in his monograph:

(g) Kluge supersedes his earlier identification of the opening of neorxntawong with Gothic naua. He now suggests that the genitive singular suna is the central element of the compound and puts forward the etymology *neorh + suna + waung which he translates Feld der Söhne des Neorh. He explains that the primitive Old English *neorh, like the cognate Old Norse Njörve (the father of Night and Hel's brother), is from a Germanic *nerhwan. (Here Jente's account is used.)

Uhlenbecl (1908, pp. 185-86) modifies this explanation, sub-
stituting for Kluge's *neorh < *nerhwan in Indo-European root *närka which he compares with Sanskrit năraka and explaining this element's meaning as Unterwelt, Hölle.

Falk-Torp (1909, p. 235 under ner- 3.) compare also with Sanskrit năraka the probable Indo-European root *ner- 'under' and give under the same heading Nertbus (terra mater) and Old Norse Njörðr.

(h) Ritter (1910, op. 467-70) attempts to read into the compound some form related to Old English erce 'earth', explaining the initial consonant as a prosthetic n (and comparing the development of the doublets daffodil and affodille and the appearance in dialect of downder and downdring from Middle English undern). He suggests two etymologies for -eorcna-, either *eroxuna > *erosena > *eorcna or *eroxan-suna with plural forms of suzu instead of Kluge's genitive singular (see (g) above), and interprets the compound Gefilde der Erce-Söhne. In this article Ritter adds a footnote, recording that Einenkel had suggested to him that the initial n of neorxnawong might have been transferred from some preceding particle. This suggestion is adopted by Ritter (1911, p. 528) in a later brief note on the compound.

Imelmann (1912, p. 428) publishes a note in which he points out that he had suggested the explanation of a transferred n- for the beginning of neorxnawong in a thesis presented at Berlin in 1910; Einenkel adds a rider at the foot of this note, confirming that he might well have reached this explanation through his knowledge of
Imelmann's work.

(3) Krogmann (1929, pp. 337-44) surveys rather less fully earlier discussion of the etymology of *neorxna-wong but notes from before 1921 an article overlooked by Jente:

(i) Güntert (1919, pp. 81 ff. - here Krogmann's report of the contents is used) approaches the etymology of the word through comparative mythology and puts forward the derivation *nerh + suna + wāng. He explains that suna is the genitive singular of sunu and that *nerh means 'bind, chain'.

(j) Krogmann (1929, pp. 337-44) follows up Güntert's explanation of the etymology of *neorxna-wong with the suggestion that the etymon of *neorxna- is *nerh-isa, the genitive plural of a weak noun with the stem -isa-. He postulates for Old English a word *nerhsa (< this *nerhisa) with the meaning 'siren' and explains that *neorxna-wong is die Aue der Seirenen, giving to these sirens the dual nature of the sidhe. In this discussion of the compound he draws together many other words which he relates also to the Indo-European root (s)ner-, first postulated by Schade in explanation of the etymological meaning of *neorxna-wong.

(4) No full account of the writings upon this much discussed word has apparently been published since the summaries presented by Leitzmann and Jente. An attempt will be made in the following paragraphs to note some of the more important considerations of the word.
since that time.

(k) Holthausen (1930, p. 26?) notes an Old English word *geneord* which he explains by *zufrieden* and suggests that it is cognate with the Germanic name *Nerthus* for *terra mater* and the Old Norse *Njördr* for *Gott der Fruchtbarkeit, des Reichtums, der Seefahrt und des Fischfangs*. He suggests therefore that etymologically *neorxna-wong* should be compared with the Vulgate description *paradisus voluptatis* and that the compound contains the genitive singular of an Old English word *nerbska* (or *'nerbske*) for *Freude, Vergnügen, Lust*.

Krogmann (1931, pp. 397-99) points out that although the form *geneord* cited by Holthausen in his etymology for *neorxna-wong* glosses *contentus*, this is scarcely adequate evidence for giving to it the meanings *Freude, Vergnügen, Lust* and that it is thus unwise to read such meanings into *neorxna-*. Krogmann goes on to show the relationship of *geneord* to the Indo-European root *(e)ner~* on which he had based his earlier interpretation of *neorxna-wong* (see (j) above).

(1) Langenfelt (1931, pp. 250-65) points out that most explanations of the etymological meaning of *neorxna-wong* are 'rather austere ... for a shining Christian paradise' and suggests that commentators should look for 'a translation into Old English much more akin to the Biblical sense'. He adopts the explanation of a transferred *n-* (see (h) above) for the initial letter of the compound, argues that *-orxna-* stands for *eorona* (found in Old English as a limiting element with *-stan* and in personal names) and suggests that 'originally
x was introduced in neorxnawang to represent k since paradise was closely connected with Christ'.

Krogmann (1932, p. 41 fn. 4) dismisses Langenfelt's elaborate explanation as lautliche unmögliche.

Both Krogmann and Langenfelt have continued to evolve and explain their respective interpretations of the etymology of neorxnawong. Langenfelt (1936, pp. 374-76) stands by his 'the glittering holy plain', whereas Krogmann finds further possible explanations and puts forward (1934, pp. 28-29) beside Gefilde der Verkündigungen an alternative Gefilde der Verheissungen. In a later paper (1940, pp. 1-18) he decides for the latter, now giving as the meaning of the compound Gefilde der Gerechten. In Krogmann's later interpretations of the etymological meaning of neorxnawong he has discarded his identification of the initial element with *nerhsa (see (j) above). He now works from the three elements put forward by Langenfelt and suggests that the compound is to be explained by transferred n + Germanic *erhsn- + wang. The central element *erhsn- is regarded as cognate with Gothic sirkniha 'Reinheit, gute Art', unsirkna 'unheilig, gottlos, lasterhaft', with the element ercon- found in Old English names and compounded with -stan, with the Old Norse poetic limiting word iarg-, iarkna-, etc. Krogmann reaffirms this interpretation of the compound in what is apparently his latest article upon it (1955, pp. 31-43), comparing the neorxnawong with Old Norse Iða vglir and finding for Iða cognates such as Old English ad, Old Saxon ad, etc. (the parallel use of wang in Old English and vglir in Old Norse
has been recognised since Bugge’s time).

Many of these etymologies for *neorxnawong* are, so far as the recognised sound changes and known mythological details are concerned, unlikely. Many lead far into the field of comparative religions with little support in recorded forms and beliefs. To decide among them and be sure that one’s decision is correct is impossible, for some better explanation may still be forthcoming. Most convincing of all the interpretations briefly summarised however is Bradley’s (see (e), above), at first opposed because no example of the initial element *neo-* advanced by him was at that time recognised in Old English. Moreover, Bradley’s Gothic *rohans* (genitive plural *rohansa*), if it were an i-declensional noun, might be supposed to be equivalent to an Old English *rexen* or *rexen* with i-umlaut (genitive plural *rexena*). We should then have *neo-rexena-wang*, ‘plain of the halls of the dead’, which seems closely to parallel the Norse valhöll ‘Valhalla’. The syncope of the e of *rexena* would be quite normal in such a word, so as to give the regular *neorxnawang*. It would be tempting to compare with the explanation of the form given by Bradley the idea behind the Old Norse word *nistrond*, but the similarity should not be allowed to sway one’s decision too far in view of the manifold uses to which other wishful similarities have been allowed to dominate discussion of *neorxnawong*.

827b–28a The similarities between *Guthlac* B 319–970 and *The Phoenix* 393–419, due to their treatment of similar themes and their dependence upon stock poetical formulae, is often remarked. No
attempt will be made in this commentary to note all the coincidences
of expression, but a few of the more striking similarities will be
pointed out, for example the closeness of these verses to Phx 397-
98a:

\[
\text{nemnad neornawong, þær him nænges was}
\text{eades onsyn, ..}
\]

In 828b the word brosnung makes its only appearance in the major
codices of verse, although the related verb brosnian is commonly used
in poetry; the noun is common enough in homiletic materials, in
Alfredian translations and in interlinear psalter glosses.

829–830a Ker (1904, p. 171) comparing with these verses Phx 15–16
and And 867 writes:

Some of Cynewulf's modes seem to have become con-
ventional, like the use of rhyme for the 'Paradise'
motive ... But this was found out by an artist,
before it was repeated by the school.

The confidence that we can recognise 'Cynewulf's modes' has its roots
in nineteenth century biography of a largely mythical bishop, but the
comparison of the use of rhyme in these three poems holds good to-
day. The three are still regarded as 'school of Cynewulf', but not
Cynewulf's, and in all rhyme is used to a greater extent perhaps
than in the signed poems (the end of Elene being exceptional in them).
Comparable with them in the use of occasional rhyming verses of this
sort are shorter poems of the Exeter Book, e.g. The Panther and The
Ruin, but these are not long enough to play a significant part in
modern discussions of the 'Cynewulf group'. For example, Das (1942)
and Schaar (1949) restrict themselves to the signed poems and the longer poems of the Exeter Book and the Vercelli Book. For a note on the use of rhyme in Guthlac B see III.3/49.

835 *durh alda tid* : The phrase is generally explained by *per semula semulorum* (see G/ under yldu 3 and BT under aldu 2), and, although Thorpe implies that this interpretation requires emendation from *tid* to *tide*, could be explained as a calque upon the Latin, with *alda* as a genitive heightening the sense of accusative singular *tid*. Grein translates the verse *durch alle Zeiten*, *Gollancz 'through all the ages'; it is omitted by Kennedy, apparently because the sentence can be better understood without it. (Lines 825b-78a are not translated by Gordon.) Klaeber (1913, p. 55) obviously gives to the phrase a similar meaning, but explains rather less definitely, describing it as 'synonymous with' *to widan feore* 840.

Cosijn (1898, p. 118) suggests that *alda* 835 should be regarded as the genitive singular of *alde* 'senectus'. He compares a phrase found in the Paris Psalter, 70.8 *ylde tid*; other examples of this noun with senses *old age, a decay from old age* appear in BTs under *ildu* III and IIIa and many verse examples are listed in BT under *ildu* III, e.g. *Phx* 52, 190 and 614. As Cosijn's explanation of the verse is suitable within this context, whereas the usual (and unparalleled) equation of the verse with *per semula semulorum* is not, *alda* is given in the glossary as a genitive singular form under aldu.
836  *ferestan*: For other examples of the loss of palatal $g$ between a front vowel and a following consonant, see III.4/D.1 (c). The form is unnecessarily emended to *ferestan* by all the editors except KD who note that 'it may well be an intentional phonetic record of the scribe's pronunciation'.

838  *leomu lic somud*: Guthlac uses similar words in his instructions to his servant in line 1176, but the correspondence need not be emphasised for the poet is drawing upon a conventional way of describing life. The verse may also be compared with *Chr 777 leomu lic 7 gest* which varies *lif* of the preceding line. The formula is rather more imaginatively used in *The Phoenix* in *leomu lic somod 7 lige gest* 513 if Gollancz's retention of the manuscript *liges* is followed, but the $g$ is often regarded as a mistake for $f$ (as first suggested by Grundtvig; for the latest editor's explanation of his acceptance of this emendation see Blake 1964, p. 82).

840  *to widan feore*: Compare with this formula the phrase *to widan ealdre* found in lines 636 and 817 and see the note for *scan lifes* 172.

841  *deade*: The form *dead* printed by Williams (1909, p. 52) is most likely a printer's error. It would present a curious metrical problem if intended as an emendation.

847  *ahneop*: This preterite singular form may belong either to
the seventh class of strong verbs or, with archaic or dialectal so for ęa, to the second class (see Campbell 404 and 745 (f) i); a similar uncertainty affects the preterite geneop 'overcame' of Exodus 476. Cognate with ahneop are Gothic dishniupan 'discurperere', Old Swedish niupa 'surripere', Old Norse hnupla 'surripere' and Old English hnoppian 'vellere'; (for further examples see NED under MIP vb). The relationships of the Exodus word are less easy to decide; the most up to date discussion of it is to be found in E.B. Irving's edition (1953, p. 93).

848 wéstm, MS wésten with m written above en; The superscribed m may be regarded as emendation either for -en or -n. Variation between final -m and -em is found in similar words within the manuscript, e.g. compare breahtm 262 and breahtem 1325, and examples of wéstm with a svarabhakti vowel are found elsewhere, e.g. Exo 47 wéstem. However, a very light dot seems to stand below e (so very faint it is not recorded in the footnotes) and for this reason the usual editorial wéstm is referred to wéstem.

852ff. Schaar (1949, p. 41) points out that the content of this passage is closely paralleled in The Phoenix 404 ff.: per him better weard

yrmpu after wte ond hyra eserum swa,
serlic symbel sunum ond dohtrum.

Mardon teonlice toban idge
ageald after gylte.

He notes that such parallels occur throughout between Glo 819-55 and
Phry 393-423 because both deal with the fall and redemption of man. Earlier Shearin (1907, p. 263) argues a close connection between Glo 819-70 and Phry 393-419, suggesting that:

... the author of the Phoenix had before him the more detailed and expanded statement in the Guthlac.

Literary dependence of the shorter Phoenix passage upon Guthlac B cannot be proved or disproved, for both the availability of such themes to a religious poet and the similar word stock which lies behind these two poems makes such discussion impossible. It should be noted, however, that for the poet of The Phoenix the story of the fall and redemption of man is closely linked to the tree, perhaps because he links the tree of life with the tree on which the phoenix perches, whereas the Guthlac B poet moves from the theme of the tree and its fruit to the figure of the pocusum mortis.

856 sceadende: The meaning and etymology of this participial adjective is disputed, for no other examples of such a verb are recorded in Old English. Thorpe gives in his footnotes emendations suggested by Kemble sceadende and scridende and translates the verse 'in shame departing'. Sievers (1885, p. 507) first suggests that the participle is from *sondan 'to scud', but the explanation did not at first gain general recognition. Trautmann (1898, p. 14) proposes sceondende in emendation. Klüber (1913, p. 37) prints the manuscript form, but records the interpretations put forward by Kemble and Trautmann, adding the odd comment that Kemble's sceadende must stand for sceadende.
Rather than amend the text so that it may contain some part of one of the verbs seeban 'scatter', seridan 'depart, wander' or seydan 'hasten' it seems better to surmise with Sievers an Old English strong verb *seudan. Holthausen (in AEW) relates *seudan 'silence' to Old Frisian skdda, Old Saxon seuddian, Old High German scuttan 'schütten, stossen, schwingen', New High German schütten, etc, and as well to Old English hüdenian (a ghost-word), seydd 'alluvial soil' and seydan 'hasten'.

This *seudan is sometimes connected with Modern English squad (e.g. see GK under seudan). However, the modern verb squad is not recorded until the sixteenth century and cannot be descended from Old English (see NED under SQUAD vi and Pogatscher 1899, p. 11). Serjeantson (1935, p. 103) lists Modern English squad among sixteenth century Scandinavian loanwords.

These verses contain ambiguities which are not all adequately explained in any one commentary on the passage. The verbal phrase seeoldon ... onguldun (compare note on leton 520 for -on as infinitive inflexion in these texts) may govern either the accusative or the genitive, so that any one or some combination of the following may serve as object: bare synwresse, morbres, gyrm and despra firena. Because a few lines above onguldun 857 is followed by a genitive, a genitive is selected as object in this clause (or indeed two or three parallel genitives) in most explanations of the passage: with this approach some emendation of gyrm is generally considered necessary.
On the other hand, those editors who regard *gyn* as the object of *seolden ... engyldon* find that either verb or object must be given an unusual meaning. The problems are further complicated by the ambiguity in both meaning and case of *synwraeu*.

This poetic compound occurs only three times in Old English, here, and in Chr 794 and Chr 1540. The first element may be interpreted either as *gynn* 'crime, sin' or as *sin-* 'everlasting' and the base word *wraeu* may be referred to senses within the ranges 'suffering' or 'punishment'. The other contexts do not support a definite choice among these possible interpretations of *syn-wraeu*. However, as in all three instances the limiting element contains the vowel *y* that form is regarded as *gynn* 'crime, sin'. The sense 'punishment' is preferred for *wraeu* in Chr 1539b-40a: *bid him synwraeu /ondwaeard undyrne* and therefore accepted in each context.

Thorpe translates *gyn* 'severely' without any note on the form assumed. The looseness of his translation is due to his method of following the text verse by verse:

that penalty of sin/ must afterwards,/ tribe and kinsmen,/ of deadly crime, must pay,/ the guilty towards God, severely,/ through death,/ their deep crimes./

As a result Thorpe's four genitives have not been welded into a coherent Modern English sentence. Grein, taking *gyn* as object, translates the infinitive *engyldon* 'leiden', a meaning scarcely deducible for it from the other contexts in which the verb appears:

Dort sollten sur Sündenstrafe Kummer seitdem leiden
die Frauen und die Männer für das Frevelwerk.
Gollancz's version is again difficult to reconcile with the original:

women and men, guilty against God, since then,
in retribution for their sin, their deadly crime,
their deep transgressions, must pay the penalty
by their souls' severance.

Kennedy gives more consideration to the structure of the passage, translating:

In that punishment for sin, guilty in the sight of God,
must man and maid by death atone their guilt, their
trievous sin, their great transgression.

His interpretation indicates that he regards emendation of *gyrne* to a
genitive form as necessary.

The dictionaries do not give much help with the translation of this clause, for nowhere in either BT or GK is it quoted in full.

Kühler (see GK under *gyrne*) suggests that *gyrne* is to be understood as
die Sünde der ersten Menschen, indicating that he thinks both morbes
and deopra firena dependent upon it. More recently Williams (1909,
p. 52) puts forward the emendation *gyrne* which he describes (p. 82)
as an instrumentive singular parallel to *synwraece*. Any emendation
which involves adding to *gyrne* an unsounded syllable is however un-
suitable metrically, for it introduces into this poem a verse-type
otherwise absent from it and in general rare in Old English verse
(see III.3/36 for a note on such verse patterns). It seems better
therefore to avoid emending the text: *gyrne* can be regarded as an ad-
verbial use of the accusative singular neuter of *georn* and the passage
freely translated:

Since then men and women, guilty against God, had to pay dearly for their sin, their dreadful crimes, in that punishment for their sins, through death.

863 **Dead in gebrong**: The poet's development of the theme suggested in the *Vita*, that death achieves dominion over Guthlac as over all men, is original to his poem. His personification of death, owing much to Corinthians I.xxv, is probably the most striking feature of his poem, but we cannot judge if he had a place for this theme in the final lines of his poem as the end is lost. A similar personification of death appears in Phr 485 ff. (compare the note for Glo 999) and in MS 27.11 where Death is called an *eggescio hunta* (Klesber 1912, p. 467). For a discussion of this theme see III.2/d.

866 **sigetudre**: This nonceword need not be regarded as an unfeeling and careless use of a limiting element common in religious verse. The poet emphasises through contrast the inevitability of man's guilt after the fall. -tudor is not a common baseword in poetical compounds, occurring otherwise only in PPs 117.22 eordtudrum, Gen 2765 and Chr 629 magutudre.

867 **gynnwised**, MS **gynnwised**: For a note of the confusion of ȝ, ȝ and ð in this manuscript see the note for line 71.

Thorpe puts forward the reading *ne gen wisod* 'nor yet ... directed', not recognising the limiting element *gynn*. Grein expresses
uncertainty as to the inflexion of the form, printing *gynnwiséd* as an emendation of the manuscript form reported by Thorpe but noting that *gin-wisod* is the form he would have expected. Subsequent editors print Grein's emendation *gynnwiséd* without comment. Both this form and the preterite *wisde* which must lie behind the manuscript form *Dan 35 wisde* indicate the existence of a weak verb *wisan* 'direct' beside the second class *visan* (or point to an early weakening of the stem syllable in *visan*?), cognate with Old High German *visan* and Old Norse *visa*. Toller (in BTs under *gin-wisad*) puts forward a compound *gynnwis án* 'of noble manners' for this context, but there is no reason to disregard entirely the manuscript A which suggests a participial adjective.

868  *bone bitran dryngu*: Compare *Hex 12 Mortis ... poculum* (see note for 819). Brown (1940, pp. 389-99) makes it clear that this figure cannot have been the invention of some English writer, for reference is made to it already in the fifth century by Prosper of Aquitaine: *Viperis galiciis gustum procul exsulium*. Brown notes the appearance of this figure in the *Hex asterne domine* and in the *Guthlac B* poem, but does not notice that the *Guthlac B* poet may have developed more of the themes of the opening verses of this hymn than the cup of death figure (see further III.2/d).

873  *ber hi*: Cosija (1898, p. 119) wishes to amend *ber* to *be*, linking this relative particle with *beah be 872* and comparing *Mil 4.9 se beah*. He appears to regard the phrase *be hi* as equivalent
to qui. The emendation is unnecessary. It should be noted that there is no need to translate the adverb her by 'here' as Gollancz does, for the first element of foldbuend 872 is sufficient referrent for the sense 'there'.

874 gebihhum: The word occurs only here, but its meaning 'a dwelling, abode' obvious from context can be supported by a glance at such cognate words as Old English byht, Old Norse bot and bygg, Modern English bight and the Old English verb bugan. Thorpe's note (p. 505) above that although he translates the word correctly, he explains it by comparison with Jud 174 to behde (which he interprets domi; the phrase means 'as a token'). This confusing note may indicate why Kemble in his turn suggests an emendation to gesih-
hum.

875 stowum, MS stopum: A similar confusion of w (p) and p occurs in Jln 294 bisweop (MS bispeop) and Ml 42.4 aoeow (MS aopeop) and appears sporadically in other Old English manuscripts. Thorpe recognises the need for some emendation in the line, but changes stedewonga to stedewongum, translating 'from place to place/ journey-ing executed'.

876 For a note on the scansion of this verse, see III.3/45(1).

The need to substitute ûsera for ûrra in the b-verse is first noted by Rieger (1876, p. 52) and subsequently by Sievers (1885, p. 462).
877 "talmearcce": This poetic compound occurs only here, but its meaning presents no difficulty. It should be noted that *tal-* is used as a limiting element in poetry otherwise only in *And* 211 *talomet* 'measured number'. The compound *teloreftas* 'arithmetic' is cited from a homily in *BT* and a similar *getelcraft* from a late glossary. The forms *talu, tal, ofertal* should be compared; cognate are *tellan* and *tallian*.

878 "Us segead bee": This clause is often contrasted with the A poet's references to hearsay in discussions of the sources of the two poets. See further *III.2/a*. The phrase *Us segead bee* was a common introductory phrase used by homilists; for an example from Wulfstan's sermons see Berthurum (1957, p. 155.204). Compare *Phr* 655 *ßat sindon þa word swa us gewritu segead*.

880 "on angle": The poet both here and at line 1360 uses a tag not elsewhere recorded in Old English verse. It is suggested in *GK* (see under *Engel*) that in both phrases *angle* is the dative singular of an otherwise unrecorded proper name *Engel*, similar to *Ongel* (for Angeln, the continental home of the Angles) to which the dative singular *Angle* of *Widsith* 8 and 35 is usually attributed. The likelihood that *angle* here is the accusative plural of *Engle* 'Angli' discourages acceptance of the *GK* suggestion. The phrase *geond bryten innan* 883 implies some restriction in the meaning of *angle* 880, but probably not more than its usual contrast with *Seaxe* 'Saxons'.

of sidwegum, MS of sidwegum: The phrase of sidwegum (literally 'from the wide ways' but better interpreted 'from far and wide') occurs also in Ene 282 and the compound sidwegum again in Pbr 337. It seems therefore best to accept with Köhler (see GK under sidweg) Thorpe's suggestion that this form should be emended into the text. For the confusion of Æ, d and P in this manuscript see the note for line 71. BT gloss the otherwise unrecorded sidweg hesitantly as 'a road to travel on, a high road?' and translate the verse 'from the travelled ways'. Kennedy's paraphrase 'coming from far ways' implies his acceptance of the emendation, as do Grein's von allen Enden and Gordon's 'from far places'. Gollancz conservatively prints Æ in his text, but translates the phrase by 'from distant ways'.

894 OPT: A new section begins here; Æ is a largeish capital (about an inch in height) and the following FT are smaller capitals. A line is left free between this and the preceding section which ends, at an end-line, with gefremede :=

In lines 894-915 the poet deals with the material of Vita 36, at times following his source quite closely, e.g. compare 903b-6 with Vita 631-35. For an account of the poet's use of earlier portions of the Vita in the opening sections of his poem, see III.2/d.

sard weardae: This pattern was probably a useful formula widely used, although it is preserved only in Exeter Book poems, HbM 18 sard weardigan and Chr 772 sard weardigan. The B poet is fond
of such rhyme and for further examples from this poem, see III.3/49.

905 *wrohtsmiðas*: The compound appears otherwise only to describe cannibals in *And* 86 *werigum wrohtsmiðum*, in that poet's eyes despised and feared servants of the devil, but *-smið* is a commonly used base element in Old English verse of all periods.

906 *hleobrum brugdon*: Another example of *bregdan* with a dative in the sense 'vary, change in' is found in the Exeter Book, in *Pnt* 23 *bleon bregdende*, and a verse similar to *Gle* 906b occurs in *MBo* 13.47b *hleóðrum bregdan*. The cognate Old Norse verb *bregða* generally governs the dative case, but the use of the dative is apparently restricted to verse in Old English.

909a For a note on this phrase, see the note for 650a.

912 *adloman*: The compound occurs only here and is usually interpreted 'the lame ones of the fire of hell' and regarded as parallel with *And* 1171 *hellehinoa* 'the cripple of hell'. Except for these two compounds there is no other evidence for a belief in lame devils among the Anglo-Saxons, as Krapp points out (1906, p. 135), although such allusions are found in modern European literature. However, the many similarities between *Guthlac B* and *Andreas* show that they derive from a similar background (if not from the same poet) and make it likely that a figure found in one poem should appear in the other. Brooks (1961, p. 103) develops Krapp's suggestion that Satan's
lameness resulted from the conflation of his fall from heaven with the story of Vulcan's fall from Olympus, thus giving support to the usual interpretation of *adloman* 'for Vulcan, or Hephaestus, was the god of the fire and forge'. (Although this attractive speculation could lead one dangerously far into the field of comparative mythology, it is worth noting that the Anglo-Saxons seem to have possessed in Weland a lame smith of their own.) In this orthodox explanation of the compound the limiting element *ad-* is perhaps stretched too far as 'the fire of hell'. The interpretation implicit in Col-lancz's 'the fire-maimed wretches' is therefore preferred in the glossary.

Both Trautmann (1907, p. 123) and Meritt (1954, pp. 5–6) argue against the manuscript *adloman* that it is a corruption of *slogan* 'perjurers', a compound which appears in Chr 1604 *slogum*. The use of rhyme and assonance is an obvious feature of Guthlac B (see III. 3/49 for examples), but cannot be advanced as grounds for emending into the text *slogan* to parallel in sound *werlogan* 911a. Moreover, the emendation achieves only a piling up of meaningless variation. Thorpe's suggestion that the scribe has omitted a nasal consonant in the first syllable of the compound involves an unparalleled figurative extension of the concrete *andlóman* 'tools'.

The use in this poem of other poetic compounds with the limiting element *adl* 'illness, disease' suggests that we may have here a compound made up of *adl + lama* with simplification of *-ll- within the resulting consonant cluster (as found in examples of *fællīn* and
Poetic compounds with this limiting element are found only in Guthlac B, a restriction due to context, and the hapax legomena containing it, Æðilhærcu 962 and Ælwērigne 1008, deal specifically with aspects of Guthlac's last illness. Yet, the poet must have known Felix's description of the repulsive demons who tormented Guthlac:

... femoribus scabris, genibus nodatis, crucibus uncis, talo tumido, plantis suersis. 494-95

In any case such descriptions of demons are a common feature of earlier hagiographic and patristic writing and with such infirmities these demons must have limped. However, as Æd 'fire, funeral pyre' is better attested as a limiting element of the general poetic vocabulary (combined with -fyr in Exo 398, with -fere in Nwf 3010 and with -lēg in Phr 222), there is no reason to seek Ædl- in this compound.

916-23a Lines 916-19a recall the many episodes which centre on birds in the Vita and particularly the account of the two swallows in chapter 39 who (lines 713-41) obeyed the saint's commands as to where they should build their nest. Lines 919b-32a, praising the help and comfort given by Guthlac to all who visited him, pick up the theme of 881b-93 again. With 932b the poet's close dependence upon chapter 50 of the Vita begins.

917 feornhære: The context, and especially the phrase hungre
gebreed 916, prompts the interpretation of this word here as 'sustenance, food'. Thorpe's 'refuge' may be due to his knowledge of chapter 39 of the Vita, where the swallows do not resume to choose a nesting-place without Guthlac's instructions. It should be noted that the poet is less generous than Felix is judging the motivation of the swallows for visiting the saint: in the life they went to him because of his purity of spirit, whereas in Guthlac B they seek food from him. This discrepancy may suggest that the poet remembered the final passages of the Guthlac A poem for which he was providing a companion piece, rather than the Vita, but as he is summarising here the contrast cannot be pressed too far.

921 sigewonge: Compare the note for lines 742-43.

922 bæwong: For other examples of the falling together of the inflexions -an and -on in these poems, see III.4/2 (a and b). This is the only place in either text where -on appears in the declension of weak nouns and adjectives, but to emend the form away, the universal practice of the editors, would be inconsistent unless all examples of -on for -an in infinitives were also changed. Such an -on for normal -an is well attested in Kentish (for example see Sweet 1885, p. 443, number 37: helgon 3, towardon 4, etc.).

923 forðum: Grein's suggested emendation to furðum is accepted in OK, but goes unmentioned in commentary upon the text except in Cosijn's note upon this line (1898, p. 119). As the adverb furðum
appears twice again in this poem in lines 1228 and 1239 and because
some signs of a scribal o for u occur in accented syllables (see note
for line 18 for details), Grein's explanation is here followed but
without emendation of this forstum 923 to furbum.

927 seoslige: The adjective occurs only here but, as Thorpe (p.
506) first pointed out, must be relêed to süel 'torment'.
For a list of the hapax legomena of these poems see III.4/E.2.

931b The scribe has overlooked some preterite auxiliary verb form
in this verse, almost certainly the moste generally supplied.

923b Weæ gewinnes ba: From this verse on the poet follows the
material of chapter 50 of the Vita 1072 ff. quite closely.
The manuscript break coincides with Vita 1175, indicating perhaps that
very little of the poem has been lost for this chapter ends at line
1187. The poet may, however, have been versifying the lessons for
the octave of the saint, not just the death, and in this case the poem
could have carried on to the end of chapter 52. See further the note
for Vita 1072 and also III.2/d.

As the poet is now working from the Vita the most satisfactory
way to examine his use of this source is to show how he has changed
and adapted it to his needs. Lines 932b-38a correspond with Vita
1072-77:

Contigit ... uitam 1072-74 - these lines are compressed; the
poet records the period of time and rephrases Felix's solitariam dux-erat uitam in lines 935-6a.

eoce ... ueluisset 1074-6 - the poet substitutes for the in-tention of dominus iesus the mission of a frofre gest, lines 935b-6a.

quadam ... perstaret 1076-77 - this clause is not used by the poet.

endedogor : The impersonal time constructions of Jud 287 and Gen 2509 suggest that endedogor should here be glossed as a dative singular, as in lines 1167 and 1201.

933939b-69a These lines are for the most part based on the Vita 1077-81:

subito ... coerripuit 1077-78 : these words are quite closely reproduced in Him ... gewod 939b-40a.

Statimque ... coepit 1078-81 : here the poet centres his at-tention on the phrase manum domini ad se missam, in 950b using it in his direct narrative where Felix tells us that Guthlac recognised God's hand upon him. In 957b he uses Felix's words more closely, describing Guthlac's recognition that God was seeking him out. The final clause in this passage of the Vita (tunc ... coepit) is not any-where translated, but supplies the hint for the poet's description of the saint's joyful attitude to the onset of his illness, lines 953b-69a passim.
942-44a These verses are difficult to explain, for the verb phrase *was ... gebrungen* lacks any obvious subject, yet if taken as impersonal requires some emendation of 942a to include a verb. Thorpe reports the verses correctly in his text. Grein assumes some words have dropped out of the text and supplies a line *untrymnes adle-gongum* between lines 942 and 943. Holthausen (18942, p. 385) notes that this line is metrically curious and emends it, suggesting either that *seo* should be placed before or *pa* after *untrymnes*. This line is relegated to the footnotes in Assmann's revision of the *Bibliothek* text, but a line is left free in his text to show that something is missing. Kennedy apparently follows him, in his translation indicating some corruption with 'In the gloom of night ... it racked his body'. Both Gollanez and KD print the manuscript lines continuously without indication of any omission. Gollanez silently supplies a subject for this clause which he translates:

In the gloom of night
palm pressed his body hard,
his breast's treasure was enfeebled, the glad spirit
was eager for departure.

KD presumably have this translation in mind when they note that the subject of *was ... gebrungen* 'is carried over from adl, 1.940', although they provide no translation for the clause and punctuate their text in such a way that a separate sentence stands between this clause and the clause in which *adl* 940 occurs. Gordon's translation 'hard pressed was his body' also disregards the dative case of *bam baneofan*. It may derive from the BT interpretation of the passage (to be found under *onderan*):
disease pressed the body hard, the mind was enfeebled, 
the glad spirit was eager for departure.

In all these explanations neah is regarded as an adverb modifying gebrungen. Against this assumption it must be noted that the verb gebringen is otherwise used either transitively with a following accusative or intransitively. Therefore neah must be regarded as a reposition, with hem banocfan as its complement. The passage can only be understood if adl 940 is treated as the subject of was... gebrungen, as implied by BT and Gollancz and as stated by KD. The intervening clause should be placed in parenthesis and the phrase was ... gebrungen understood as a pluperfect; with this arrangement of the text breosthord 944 becomes the object of (was)... önboren.

lepton : See the note for leton 520.

on his dagena tid : Similar verses are Ele 193 on his dagena tid, PPs 77.32 Hi heora dagena tid and PPa 88.39 bu his dagena tid. Sievers (1885, p. 484) points out that the use of dagena:

... steht metrisch sicher für Cynewulf, Guthlac und die Psalmen auf englischer, und für das späte Menologium auf sächsischer seite:

Other examples given by him where the form is metrically necessary are Chr 467 dagena rimes and Mnl 64, Chr 1587 ond his dagena rim, Mnl 169 henne dagena worn; he notes also PPs 101.21 minna dagena and PPa 118.

84 salra dagena but here dagr would have been a possible metrical alternative (see Schabram 1960, pp. 220-41 for an exhaustive discussion
of the use of \( /x/\) by Old English poets). Examples of\( \text{deg}a\)
beside\( \text{dage}\) may be found in these poems, e.g. Chr 1022 \(\text{Daga \, eges}-\)
\(\text{licast}\) and Glo 1001 \(\text{daga \, neosade}\). For a note on\( \text{dage}\) see III.4
\(\text{C.2}(a)\).

950 \(\text{halmihtiga}\): Compare \(\text{hefentid}\) 1215 and for a short account
of \(h\)- before vowels in this manuscript see the note for \(\text{hus}\)
271.

950ff. Cosijn (1898, p. 119) compares with this passage some phrases
(Life 753 ff.) from the Old English prose life of Guthlac, but
the resemblances he notes are no more than the results of their in­
dependent indebtedness to the \(\text{Vita}\).

955 \(\text{inbendum \, fast}\): The adjective \(\text{fast}\) is generally followed by
the dative case and does not collocate with \(in\) or \(on\) in Old
English, evidence that the alliteration is correct in pointing here
to a compound not elsewhere recorded. All the editors, except Thorpe,
print this compound \(\text{inbendum}\) but disagree over its meaning. The pre­
fix \(in\)- may be interpreted either as 'inner' or as an intensive. As
a nominal prefix \(in\) usually has the sense 'inner' and is suitable both
within the context and in relation to Felix's \(\text{intimorum \, stimulatio}\) 1078.

956 \(\text{lichord \, onloec}\): This phrase may be the poet's own invention,
for the compound \(\text{lichord}\) occurs only here and in the phrase
\(\text{lichord \, onloec}\) 1029. Thorpe (p. 506) comments that he uses \(\text{lichord}\)
for *lichorm* 'obviously for the sake of the metaphor with *onleao*', perhaps recognising the frequent use of *-hord* compounds with verbs *onleao*, *onspeon* and *onwreah*. The compound is glossed straightforwardly in GK as *interiora corporis* and in BT as 'inner parts of the body'; Clark Hall follows GK with 'interior of the body'. Crein translates the compound directly also with *des Leibes Hort*, but the English translators supply a one-word equivalent for the phrase. Gollancz introduces 'frame' both here and in line 1029 and this word is used both by Kennedy and Gordon, although it does not truly translate the phrase. In the glossary I suggest that the phrase should be translated directly or perhaps interpreted 'soul'. The phrase *feorhhord onleao* 1144 shows the phrase being adapted to fit another alliterative pattern. This interpretation of *lichord* can be supported by a comparison of it with the more widely used *breosthord* (e.g. *Bwt* 1719, 2792 and *Sfr* 55), as well as with *saawlhord* and *feorhhord* and see Stanley (1955, pp. 428-29) for Old English poetic use of the figure behind the idea that a man's thought is bound fast within his mind.

960  *farhagan*: Thorpe translates this hapax legomenon as 'peril', noting in his commentary (p. 506) that it cannot, like *anhaga*, signify a person, as it governs the genitive plural *feonda gewinna*. In BT the compound is glossed 'peril-hedge', the interpretation GK cite with approval from Ettmüller, but the form is listed also among the examples of the adjective *fær* 'sudden' used as a limiting element in compounds. Toller (see BTs under *farhaga*) substitutes the definition 'Calamity that compasses about' for the BT 'peril-hedge',
suggesting as a translation for 959b-60 '... he fortified his mind firmly against all the ills that compassed it about'. Gordon's translation of farhagan by 'the encircling danger' follows the BTs interpretation. As the word haga occurs in poetical compounds both with the sense 'hedge' and 'hedged/fenced enclosure', both these interpretations of farhagan are possible. Although the latter sense is general in non-poetical compounds, it appears only once in a verse text, Ele 830 under turfhagan 'under a grassy enclosure'.

The other verse compounds in -haga (Jln 395 cumbolhagan, Ele 652 bordhagan and MEp 102 wihtegan) denote a wedge formation of ranks described also by Bmf 3118 scildweall, Jud 305 scildburh and MEp 242 scyldburh. Tacitus tells us that the continental Germanic tribes employed such formations in making up their battle lines (Germania c. 6); the Latin word testudo should be compared and parallel compounds to the Old English words appear in other Germanic languages, e.g. Old High German sciltburg, Old Norse skjaldborg and skjaldhagi. Toller's explanation of this Guthlac B passage becomes strained when the phrase feonda gewinna is included and it proves much simpler to interpret the sentence in terms of battle, as do Collinæs with 'the sudden onset of the fiends' attacks' and Kennedy with 'the perils of the fiend's assaults'. This interpretation of -haga, as will have been seen from the two translations just quoted, gives to the limiting element its possible alternative sense 'sudden, perilous' seen in the many compounds formed with it.
se beah: Compare the note for se beans 409 and see III.4/D.5(c).

eagle, MS angle: This word eagle seems to have been unfamiliar to the scribe of the Exeter Book, for the same mistake occurs in Chr 762 eglum (MS englum), although he manages to transcribe it correctly twice elsewhere in the manuscript. Apparently he unconsciously substituted for it the more familiar noun engel which he would have expected in religious poems. K. Sisam (1953, pp. 29-30) suggests that a similar scribal error is responsible for Gen 328 angles which is generally emended to egles (an orthodox reading of the passage which deserves careful consideration even in the face of the ingenious objections to it advanced by Stanley 1954, pp. 55-58).

gedalde, MS ge daled: The manuscript form is generally emended to give a finite verb in this clause. Thorpe suggests gedaldon 'should pay'. Grein and Assmann put forward gedalden which KD follow, noting that they consider Gollanzz's gedaled unsuitable because 'the context requires a past tense and plural number.' A simpler change is to argue a scribal transposition of the letters ed, perhaps due to the influence of the perfective ge-. As a few other examples of the preterite plural subjunctive in -e occur in these poems (see III.4/C.2(b)), the scribe may well have had gedalde in his exemplar.
The poet again picks up the theme of the fall. In this development of it he emphasises the bitter bedeweg which he has introduced earlier. Cosijn (1898, p. 119) notes ironically against line 971: Wenn nur 'fyllan' die bedeutung des afries, solla bitte!

A new section begins here on the sixth line of folio 47f. The preceding line is left half-empty, the last word in it being cynnes: -. The sixth line opens with an A about an inch in height; the following A is a smaller capital.

As Klaeber (1913, p. 55) points out, the metre here shows that adl should be regarded as disyllabic. Compare adle 1022, adl 1064, sawul 1089, sawel 1264 and see III.4/0.1(d).

This word occurs only here and in the compound And 1532 sorgbyrben 'sorrowful drink' in verse texts. The Andreas compound is generally translated 'a burden of sorrow' by the older editors of that poem, but -byrben has been recognised as a metathetic form of bryben 'brewing' (Smithers 1952, p. 74 fn. 9 and Brooks 1961, p. 114). This -byrben must be regarded as a late West Saxon form, for the movement of r forward within a word is a feature practically limited to before -ht and found mainly in late West Saxon and late Northern texts (see Campbell 592b).

The word bryben 'brewing, draught' was unfamiliar to Thorse who
therefore suggests that the manuscript form may be a mistake for bryn- wen. Later editors do not question the form; equivalents such as 'brewing, drink' are general in translations and dictionaries. BT cite (under bryben) one other example of the form from Leechdoms ii. 142.15; one further example listed in BT from a will is re-identified as an instance of byrben 'burden' in BTs. The word bryben 'drink' is cognate with Old English broð and brōwan, Old High German brod and Old Norse broð (see AEW for further examples).

985  biteror bedeweg: The base element in this compound is generally identified with wēge 'cup' which occurs in the Beowulf compounds ealuwēge 481, 2021, salowēge 495 and libwēge 1982. Otherwise the word may appear as the base element in OEC 991 deawēges and in this bedeweg which is found also in the Old English Bede (Miller 1891, I) 370.30 :

    pa hi pa betweoh him spracon be haligra fadera life and
    him betwih bedeweg scenoton pas heofonlican lifes
    qui dum sese alterutrum celestis vites pocus debriarent
The form is apparently corrupt in two manuscripts which read beadowig (see Miller 1891, II readings for Q and Ca). Except in the Bede and Guthlac B examples of bedeweg there is no evidence for the existence of wēge 'cup', a by-form of Old English wēge. The Germanic cognates listed for wēge 'cup' by Holthausen (see AEW under wēge 3) are similar in form: Old Saxon wēgi and Old High German weig. The base-word in bedeweg must therefore be examined carefully.

The word pocusum, which we know the Bede translator had before
him, could mean both 'cup' and 'drink' and was translated into English in both ways. The examples cited by Professor Smithers (1949, pp. 68 ff.) in his exhaustive article on the use of the pocusum mortis image in medieval English literature demonstrate clearly both translations of pocusum, yet the ambiguity of baseweg is not noted. The 'cup' interpretation is followed in the translations of Grein, Gollancz and Gordon, whereas Kennedy's 'and then she poured out that bitter potion to Adam' suggests that he recognised the possible alternative interpretation of the baseword in this compound. Such an interpretation is suitable in both contexts and passages similar in meaning to the Bede clauses can be found in other Old English prose writings, for example Life 581 and 679. Brown (1940, pp. 389 ff.) shows in his discussion of the pocusum mortis figure the greater popularity of the pocusum vitae metaphor to which passage such as these should be related.

It would be possible therefore to see in the compound bedeweg the Old English masculine noun wag 'a wave', especially as this word is found in another unusual metaphor in Glo 1057 wagdropan 'tears'. However, the adjective bittor stands beside the compound in Guthlace and is without the -ne accusative inflexion to be expected if the compound ends in -wag 'wave'.

Poetic compounds in -wage appear in Bwf 481 ealu wage, Bwf 2021 ealu wage, Bwf 495 ealowage, Bwf 1982 liewage and probably Glo 991 deadwages (see note for line 991). The Beowulf examples indicate
that an Old English poet would most likely have been familiar with -wage as a base word on which compounds could be built and it is generally agreed that the translator of the Old English Bede had some familiarity with the old poetic vocabulary. It seems best therefore to regard the compound as showing a by form of wage 'cup'. I argue that the ambiguity in meaning remains and that in either context in which the word appears the second element of badeweg can be translated by 'cup' or 'drink'. The overlapping of these two senses may be seen in the Old Norse noun veig 'drink'. The word is, according to de Fries (1962 - second edition - under veig), of uncertain etymology; contextually it can denote either 'cup' or 'drink'.

The limiting word in badeweg is obscure. Dietrich's identification of this element with beado 'battle', adopted in BT but discarded in GK and BTs, may have been based on his knowledge of the beadowig forms of late Bede manuscripts where an apparently unfamiliar limiting element has been replaced by a better known form. The first part of badeweg is probably related to the Old English verb bedan 'urge on, solicit' (see AEW under bedan 1 for cognate verbs, for example Old Norse bele and Gothic baidjan). In GK (under badeweg) Old Norse poetic words in bei-, for example bei-hlökk, bei-sif and bei-rindr, are compared and the compound is glossed poculum ut bibatur aliquis instanter rogatur? als allgemeine Benennung des Bechers. In the Old Norse phrases in which this element bei- occurs it is accompanied by an objective genitive, as for example bei-Tyr Bildes hattar 'Tyr who asks for a helmet' (for a 'man of fighting fame and
service*, see Gordon 1957 edition, p. 216), or see Egilsson (1855) entries for beiðálfr bandrindær, beiðihlêkk blîke and hörbeidœisif. In the Bede passage bedswæg is followed by þæs heafondan and the relative pronoun Glo 985 þæs is probably to be regarded in the same way. It is curious that this element is not otherwise known to us from Old English sources, but the appearance of this compound in both the Old English Bede and Guthlac B suggests that it may have had a wider currency in at any rate the late eighth and the ninth centuries. To give a concise Modern English equivalent of the metaphor involved is impossible, and it is better therefore to give the simple glosses 'cup' or 'drink' generally found in dictionaries and translations.

990 bone blestan dryne: The adjective blêat appears only here in simplex form in Old English texts. The related adverb occurs in Bwf 2824 bleate and the adjective forms the second element in a compound, Bwf 2725 welbleate. The adjective is cognate with Old Frisian blêt 'elend', Middle Low German blōt 'elend', Middle High German blōn 'arm, blos, nackt', Old High German blōs 'stolz' and Old Norse blautr 'weich, zart, furchtsam' (see AEW under blêat). A phrase in the Middle English poem The Owl and the Nightingale, line 57 Bare...

And blete suggests that the word may have had also in Old English the connotations 'bare, naked' although these senses are not indicated by the contexts in which the word appears. A short note on the history of the word can be found in NED under BLETE.
For discussion of the weak form of the adjective in this phrase see the note for eosan lifes 172.

The second element of the compound deāwegen (a word found only here) is usually identified with wage 'cup' in all translations of and notes on the passage. Brown (1940, p. 389) first notes that a puzzling line in the Gnomic Verses may contain a similar phrase:

Deep deada wage dyrne bid longest Mox I 78,
suggesting the deada wage should be emended to deada wage. As the confusion of ð and ð is a well marked feature of the poems of the Exeter Book (see the note for line 71) the emendation is a simple one. The emended form deada should be regarded as a u-stem genitive form, similar to Glo 236 deada, and the whole line is translated by Brown:

The deep cup of death is the secret longest hidden.

This translation is preferred by him because both passages are therefore further instances of the poculum mortis theme in Old English texts. He suggests that both wage 'wave' and wage 'way' are unsuitable within the context of the Gnomic Verses, rejecting such translations as the 'deep dead wave' or the 'deep way of the dead' often put forward for Mox I 78a.

Some consideration must be given to the possible interpretation 'deep wave of death' possible contextually both in Guthlac B and in the Gnomic Verses of the Exeter Book. The alternative 'deep way of death' covertly rejected by Brown is less attractive in the Guthlac.
context than in the Gnomic Verses, for in the former deopan dead-
weges is a descriptive genitive phrase dependent upon bone blestan
drynco. Both poems may however contain an image other than the poci-
ulum mortis figure. The idea of a journey to the abode of the dead is
implicit in such compounds as Vgl 55 neosidum, BnP 69 ofer wag gewat
and Sfr 63 welweg (see Smithers 1957, pp. 137-53 for a full discussion
of the meaning and use of such imagery in early mediaeval eschatologic-
al writings). There is some evidence that Germanic peoples may have
thought the journey of death might be across water (see Smithers 1959,
p. 100) and some belief of this sort may lie behind the collocation
of deop, dead and wag common only to two poems preserved also in the
Exeter Book from which Smithers' putative examples of this belief are
drawn. Certainly wag 'wave' can be read into Mym I 78 as easily as
wag 'cup' but is at first sight less suitable in Guthlac B. The
elaboration of the sorgbyrben metaphor in a similar passage in Andreas
indicates that it is not impossible to read wag 'wave' into Guthlac B:
but was sorgbyrben,
biter beorþegu. Byrlas ne galdon,
ombæhtþænas; ber was sulcum genog
fram dages orde drynco sona gearu. 1535

Here drynco refers ironically to floods both as floods and as a bitter
potion. In Gde 990 bone blestan drynco could indeed be 'of the deep
wave of death'. A rather more compressed image of similar effect is
Bdl 23.13 mandrino.

The appearance of the pociulum mortis figure in the preceding
verses of the poem suggest, however, that the base element in deadwges-
is -wage-, whether with sense 'cup' or 'drink', and for this reason Brown's interpretations of both passages is accepted rather than more difficult readings of them already discussed.

991 **duru sylfa**: Klaeber (1913, p. 55) points out that *duru* may be regarded either as a nominative form (in which case *sylfa* as a feminine form needs some note) or as an accusative with some subject (Klaeber suggests 'death' or 'man') understood. There is no need to resort to the second of his alternatives. For examples of the falling together of -a and -e in this text see III.4/5.2(a), if this form is to be regarded as the nominative singular feminine of *sylf* in the weak declension. Examples of *sylfa* where a feminine form is to be expected occur also in Gen 570 and Chr 59.

994 **feore wifrstondan**: Thorpe translates this phrase 'death withstand' and in his notes (p. 506) suggests that 'feorh here seems to signify death', but he overlooks *bam* 993.

997 **enge anhoga**: Five examples of *anhoga* occur in Old English poetry, seven of *anhaga*. The contexts in most instances make it plain that either form may describe some person or something who lives alone. It is therefore likely that *anhoga* is a by-form of *anhaga* in all its occurrences and not a different compound with -hoga 'care, anxiety' for base. The common occurrence of this word -hoga in such compounds as *yabhoga* may have led to a confusion of -haga and -hoga when the second elements in compounds.
stryhte: Both here and in 1152 stryhte functions as a preposition (and is so glossed in GK) which governs the dative. It is probable that And 848 biryhte is also used prepositionally, with exceptional alliteration on a preposition before its case, a sign of the late nature of the Andreas text, but for an alternative explanation see Brooks (1961, p. 91 who prefers to regard biryhte as an adverb, describes the singular pronoun him which refers to Andreas as pleonastic and suggests that ‘all other compounds of ryhte are adverbs’.

wiga welgifre: The personification of death, first found in the introductory section of the poem in lines 264 ff., is picked up again in Guthlac’s words in 1033 ff., although not a feature of the Vita account of his death. This phrase occurs otherwise only in Phx 486 and is described by Rankin (1910, p. 73) as ‘probably not an Old German phrase’. See further III.2/d.

Resemblances may be traced between these lines and the Vita 1086–91, the correspondence of Hine wunade mid and Habit- abat ergo sum eo being particularly close. The poet does not name Beccel, nor does he here follow Felix in citing him as an authority for this narrative. He adds the information that an ombethbegn visited the saint daily, but could have derived this from ut adsolebat 1089. The words coepit illum uirum dei ..., de aliis interrogare are reflected in the parenthetical verses 1006–7a and perhaps again in 1010b.
These lines correspond to *Vita* 1091-96. The poet translates the opening of Beocel's speech *domine mis quid noui tibi accidet?* quite closely, but here omits Guthlac's short reply (for it see note for line 1023). Instead the servant is given both his short speeches together and allowed to assume:

```
Is me on wene gepuht
  þet þe untryme adle gongum
  on þisse nyhetan niht bysgade,
  sarbennum gesoht;
```

and to express his concern for Guthlac more strikingly. The poet leaves out the first of Beocel's questions in the second of the two short speeches of the *Vita* as a result of this compression. Verses 1021b-22 paraphrase the rest of this speech *scisne ..., putas? 1096.*

**1002**  *temple*: See the note for *templum* 490.

**1007**  *fonde*: See the note for line 18 and also III.4/F.

**1013**  *genaged*: Compare the note for *wegan* 370.

**1015b-16a**  Yock (1918², p. 122) notes that the verbs *wealdan* and *gewealdan* can 'take first an instrumental, then, with the same force, a genitive,' regarding this as 'a common phenomenon' and comparing Beow 19-21:

```
  and Denia wealdon decre rice
  Engla landes XXVIII
  wintra gerimes, welan brytnodon.
```
It is however possible to take Engla landes as dependent on rice.

He quotes as well other passages from verse-texts in an attempt to show that phrases in variation need not be in the same case and suggests that medelcowidum and worda are therefore in variation, bearing the same relationship to the infinitive gewesaldan. It seems unnecessary to cite such a phenomenon here and Kock's observation that the other instances of medelcowide (in G1c 1007, G1c 1219 and Xst 430) 'all show variation' by no means proves that variation should also be recognised in G1c 1015-16.

1019 gesoht: Only Williams (1909, p. 87), of those who have edited this part of the text, points out that the passive participle is without inflexion here. Compare soden 1150 and perhaps gesoht 1145. Campbell (1962, p. 20) gives G1c 1019 gesoht among his examples of uninflected parallels in poetic variation, his other examples being Chr 1175 read 7 picce, Gen 456 geworht, Exo 129 fus, Exe 213 gemyndig, And 1672 salu and Brb 63 hwit.

1022 adle: The metre shows a disyllabic form of adl necessary here. Compare the note for adl 978.

1023-47a Behind these lines lie Vita 1096-1101 oui ... sequi, but the poet uses as well phrases and clauses he had omitted when working from earlier parts of this chapter. A patchwork reconstruction will be attempted, although any such equivalents are highly speculative. The first verse in this passage Him ba sid onoweð
corresponds with either *qui uir dei respondens inquit* 1097 or *Ille autem tarde respondens* 1090, but what follows in the poem derives from *demum cum sermone suspicium traxit* 1091 so it seems the poet is drawing upon a sentence omitted earlier. As well the brief reply made by Guthlac to Beccel in *Vita* 1094, dropped out with the drawing together of Beccel's staccato question, is now used. The beginning of Guthlac's speech (1027 ff.) is based upon *Vita* 1094 *molestia* *me tetigit nocte hac*. This speech draws next upon the words given Guthlac in *Vita* 1097-1100 *fili ... sequi*. These are considerably extended and the approach of the *wiga* death, absent in the source, continues the figure introduced in the first sections of the poem (compare 864 ff., 999 and see III.2/d).

1025 *bancoba*: The second element in this compound is *-coda* 'disease'. The first element may be regarded either as *ban*-related to *bana* 'killer' or *bân* 'bone'. The word occurs also in the *Leechdomes* ii 102.16 *wâl bancoda, dêt is oman, nim solonan*. The early commentators' interpretation of the word by *ossium morbus* or *erysipelas* (see GK for Ettmüller definition) was replaced by Grein's identification of the limiting element with *ban-* (1865, p. 404) which is reflected in the GK, FT and Clark Hall entries for the word, as well as in the translations of Guthlac. Meritt, in the 1962 supplement to Clark Hall, returns to the *bâncoda* explanation of the compound demanded by the *Leechdomes* instance.

1029 *lichord onleac*: See the note for line 956.
leomu, lames gebacan: Thorpe, treating leomu-lames as a compound, translates the verse by 'with covering of clay' and explains (p. 506) that 'the notion that the body or limbs are formed of clay' underlies the phrase. Grein's translation die Gleider auf Lehm gebettet is reflected in the BT and GK interpretations of the passage and in Gordon's 'the limbs stretched upon clay', but in these explanations gebacan is given a participial function and a sense the word cannot support. The translations of Gollancz 'these limbs, covering of clay' and of Kennedy 'these clay wrappings of the limbs' are better. The phrase lames gebacan should be regarded as a variation of leomu.

laces: The simplex with the sense 'struggle' is not found elsewhere in Old English, although the sense is well known from the many poetic compounds and proper names in which it is found. See further the note for Life 82.

on bisse sahteban: These words refer back to niht 1035, not forward to dag 1038, for bisse is feminine. The German scholars do not misunderstand the grammatical concord here. However, Thorpe translates 1037a and 1038a together by 'on this eighth/passing day', an interpretation which has left its mark on most subsequent translations of the passage into English, for example Gollancz's 'upon this eighth, this cooaching day'.

dag scribende: This phrase is described in GK (see under
as an accusative absolute and explained by die appropinquante, 
kurs vor Tagesanbruch. Cosijn (1898, p. 119) points out that the 
phrase must be regarded as instrumental, indicated by the form of 
the participle.

1040 geswedrad, MS geswedrad: For a note on the confusion of d, 
d and h in this manuscript see himutad 71.

1042 gingra geafena: The only other occurrences of this phrase 
are also in the Exeter Book. Phx 624 geongra gyfena again 
refers to heavenly gifts and OfM 2 geongra geofena is used of earthly 
gifts. The adjective is generally understood either as 'young' (e.g. 
Thorpe's 'the young gifts' or Grein's die jungen Gaben) or as 'new' 
(e.g. Gollancz, Kennedy and Gordon give 'new gifts'). Cosijn (1898, 
p. 119) attempts to extend the meaning of geong by a comparison of it 
with the Old High German iuundlith 'jocundis, dolcis', but this in­
terpretation is otherwise unsupported. Klaeber (1904, p. 141) argues 
that the scribe has in all three places misread his exemplar and that 
ginra should be read in this phrase, explaining 'ginra > gingra > 
geongra is a self-explanatory series'. He notes that the word ginne, 
confined to poetic texts where it is rare, was particularly liable to 
misinterpretation by scribes, pointing out that emendation is general­
ly accepted in Ewf 466 ginne for the manuscript gimme. His ginra 
geofena phrase Klaeber regards as 'merely a metrical variant' of the 
commoner formula ginformste gife.
This ginfaste gife formula, in the form appropriate to each context and with consequent varying connotations, appears in Gen 29:19, Bwf 2182, perhaps in Bwf 1271 (MS ginfaste), Jln 168 and MBo 20.227 and may underlie And 524 ginfasten god. However, as Klaeber observes, it is unlikely that the same mistake should be made three times by one scribe and 'probability therefore favours the retention of the MS. gingra'. He does not explain how the adjective is to be understood, although the phrases cited by him as similar in content to ginfaste gife from Chr 686 geofum unhneawum and Pnt 71 god ungnyde indicate that many poetical phrases descriptive of God's generosity must have existed in the stock vocabulary of a religious poet. Recently Blake (1964, p. 86) elaborates the interpretation of geong as 'new', suggesting that the gifts are 'perpetually new', but his explanation of the Phoenix context, although suitable in Guthlac B where the phrase is also used of the gifts that will be received in the kingdom of heaven, does not account for GfM 2 geongra gylfena which refers to earthly gifts. The phrase can be compared with the promise of novos caelos et novam terram for the faithful (see II Peter 3.13, Isaiah 65.17, 66.22 and Revelation 21.2) in The Phoenix and Guthlac B, but the third example in The Gifts of Men indicates that it was a stock phrase which may not have held any clear relevance in all the places in which it appears.

1042  lomber: Cosijn (1898, p. 119) points out that as folgian is rarely followed by an accusative in Old English ist lomber der lautgesetzliche dativ (statt lomber). Although this interpret-
ation of lomber 1042 is likely, there is insufficient evidence to de-
cide either that it is accusative or dative. Whereas the form is
given as dative in SB 289 note I (presumably for the same reasons as
advanced by Cosijn, although these are not stated), Campbell (in §635)
is content with describing the form as 'poetical'. See also III.4/
C.2(a).

1047b-59 These lines correspond to Vita 1101-3 His... rigavit.

The Vita 1102 flens et gemens inspires a long sentence which
opens sa wes wop 7 heaf and the words orebris laeRimarum riilis mest-
as genas rigavit lie behind

as he hate let
torn poliende tears geotan,
weallan waegdropan. 1057

The poet does not follow the transitive construction of the Vita and
it is therefore unlikely that his waegdropan 1057 should be emended to
*waegdropan because the phrase mestas genas appears in the Vita (see
note for this word). A short gnomic sentence, original to the poem,
concludes this section.

1053 gesah: A pronoun subject for gesah is supplied by all the
editors except KD who note that the subject need not always
be expressed in Old English (unfortunately comparing Chr 602 and Chr
1154 where both clauses open with the relative particle be). How-
ever, such discussion seems unnecessary here as bes be refers back to
bes ferspelles 1050 and the text should be punctuated accordingly.
It should be noted that Gollancz's division of the text, with *gessah* at the beginning of the following verse, is dependent upon the adoption of some subject into the preceding verse.

1054 **onbaru**: The word occurs only here. The base element, cognate with *geberan* and *beru* presents little difficulty, but the prefix can be interpreted either as *un-* or *ond-*— Thorpe points out that his translation of the form by 'resignation' is a conjecture from context. The BT translation of the passage, based on *un*-*beru* 'wrong behaviour, vexation, anger', is forced ('he could not be vexed at it (Outhlac's death), but he shed hot tears') and the tentative comparison of the word with Old High German *un-giparida* 'fastidium, ira, rabies' is insufficient to bolster up this explanation. Identification of the prefix in *onbaru* with *ond-* has proved more attractive to translators of the passage. The word is explained in GK as *abstinentia?* and in Clark Hall as 'self-restraint?' and the translations of Grein, Gollancz, Kennedy and Gordon all reflect this interpretation of the compound.

1057 **wegdropan**: Cosijn (1898, p. 119) objects to this conceit and suggests instead that the compound should be emended to *wegdropan* to parallel *heordropan* 1341 more closely, although recognising that similar imagery lies behind the phrase *tegor yðum weol* 1340. The poet's use of *weg-* here may have been influenced by *Vita* 1102-3 *crebris... riulig*.
1060 **ONgeat**: A line is left free in the manuscript to mark the beginning of a new section. The previous section ends with at the end of the line (the heavy punctuation serving to fill out the line). In **ONgeat** a large capital Q (almost an inch high) is followed by a script n the height of the tallest ascenders used by the scribe.

1060-96b These lines are based upon Vita 1103-8 Quem ... judicaret. The first clause Quem uir dei consolans ait is expanded into a four line speech and tristitiam ne admittas becomes:

Ne beo pu unrot ðeah þeos adl me innan æle.

and as well lies behind 1074b-75a. Vita 1104 non enim mihi labor est is closely followed in Nis me earfaða 1065 and again in nis me wrecu ne gewin ... 1081 where the poet draws upon Vita 1105 ad dominum meum qui servuiui in requiem uenire sterna for 1082b-1093. The poet works into this speech the content of the statement made by Felix after it, Vita 1105-7 Tantæ ... judicaret.

The only lines in this long speech in the poem not implicit within the Vita are 1067b-76a. Guthlac firmly announces that he has no fear of þes deadea 1067 and the poet's own development of the warrior-death figure is again picked up. Next Guthlac points out that he fears neither the devil nor his ministers, for they themselves must lament and suffer hell-fire. These verses recall an earlier passage in the poem (lines 894-915) and may, like them, stem from the poet's knowledge of some earlier part of the Vita.
1060 *gæsta hælig*: Of the editors and commentators only Thorpe appears to have noted this curious phrase which he translates 'holy in soul', suggesting *gæsta* should be emended to *gæste*. This explanation is accepted here and for the confusion of *-a* and *-e* see III.4/c.2(a). Holthausen (in the supplement to GK) suggests that the phrase should be emended to *gæstalig* (compare *gæstaligra* 873 and *gæstaligne* 1149) and, although this produces a verse metrically less unusual, there is no need to make this emendation.

1061 *druwendne, MS druende*: As the verb *ongitan* generally governs the accusative and as *hyge* is masculine, the orthodox editorial emendation is adopted. For a note on the lack of *-i-* in this participle see III.4/D.1(e); comparable forms are listed in the note for *gæ nxende* 232.

1064 *adl*: See the note for *adl* 978.

1068 *on bas seocan tid*: The adjective *seoc* does not appear with an *-n-* stem in Old English and cognate Germanic languages. The emendation put forward by Thorpe and in GK is therefore adopted. The scribe's *seocnan* may be explained as a simple mistake of ditto-graphy.

1072 *seoclan*: Cosijn (1898, p. 120) points out that the poet returns to the plural subject implicit in *hæsthloðe hellebega* 1069.
1078  edleana georn, MS edlea/nan georn: The noun edlean is strong and no cognate weak forms are recorded. KD suggest the existence beside it of a weak noun *edleana 'in which case edleanan might be a gen. sing., or it might be object of niman, parallel to upeard'. A genitive singular form would, they add, make the phrase syntactically parallel to sipes fue 1077. Emendation to edleana is made in this edition, but the form is regarded as genitive plural. As the scribe had to split the word between two lines, the circumstances favoured dittography. See also III.4/F.

1089  sawul: See the note for 978.

1088b-89a  Similar phrasing appears in And 294b-95a ber be lust myned/to gesceanne. Cosijn (1898, p. 120) mistakenly connects the verb myned with gemunan, but it is to be related rather to myne 'purpose, desire' and the Gothic verb munan 'intend, purpose'.

1091  edwelan: A g was first written at the head of this word in the manuscript and is super- and sub-punctated. See further III.4/D.1(a).

1091  bes ebel: Grein suggests in a footnote the reading pesa adel, the words are rendered Dies Seichtum in his translation of the poem and he again puts forward this emendation (1865, p. 424) in the form pesa adel, but no other reader of the poem has found this contrast between earthly and heavenly home bewildering.
se wuldormaga : Both this phrase and se wuldormago represent the Vita phrase viir dei (lines 1103 and 1155) and, although regarded as synonymous by translators, are given as grammatically different forms in both BT and GK. As there is some manuscript evidence for the falling together of inflexional back vowels in these texts (see III.4/C.2) there is no need to gloss one under -maga and the other under -magu. Both strong u-noun forms of mago and weak forms of maga occur in Old English (see Campbell 614 fn. 2) and both compounds are therefore for convenience listed under the headword wuldormaga (see also III.4/F).

These lines are based upon Vita 1108-1113 Interea ... testatur, the source being used with considerable freedom. The poet draws upon decursus quaternarum dierum articulis twice, at 1096 ff. and at 1134 ff. In his first use of it he follows Felix's narrative, expanding it greatly and adapting it skilfully. He tells us that time passed on (at this point he does not specify how much time) and the day of Christ's resurrection has arrived (Vita 1108-10 Interea ..., exsurgens = Glo 1096b-1104). The passage based on dies paschae is elaborated, yet with the syntax of the Latin visible behind the Old English (e.g. on bæm 1099 may answer to Vita 1109 in quae, although leading on to entirely different matter). Emphasis is put upon the fact that Christ rose from death and from hell (æras 1101 and æstæg 1104 were perhaps prompted by exsurgens 1110, although the contexts are different).
Lines 1105-33 of *Cuthlao B* correspond to Vita 1109-13 in qua ... testatur. In *arum pa eorla wyynn* 1108 we see the poet reproducing *exsurgens* in the context given it in the Vita. These lines follow the Vita story quite straightforwardly: Glo 1105-11a correspond to Vita 1109 in qua ... *exsurgens* and Glo 1111b-33 to *immolato ... testatur* 1113. Some phrases reflect the structure of the Latin, especially:

7 *his hægne ongon ... godspel bodian* 1115 : prefato fratrum

uerbum dei evangelizare coepit 1112;

ær ne sid/efre to ealdre 1112 : numquam ante necue post tam 1112

þurh menniscne mid 1122 ; ab ullius ore 1113.

Lines 1134 ff. summarise the contents of 1096b-1133 but are not without variety for the poet does not mention the actual number of days gone past to this point and the first phrases are therefore closer to Vita 1108 ff. than are Glo 1096b ff. *weren ... ford gewitene; decursis; feowere...dages; quaternarum dierum; on rime; articulis*. With this second statement of the length of the illness Cuthlao has suffered, the poet brings in again his vivid and stealthy figure of death in lines 1139b-41a.

1096 *swamode*: Thorpe translates this verb 'floated' and suggests (o. 506) that it is related to *swam*, adding that he has not found the verb elsewhere. Dietrich (1854, p. 315) compares with this form *Gen* 376 *aswamad*, suggesting the meanings (adopted by GK and BT) 'grow dark' for Glo 1096 and 'languish, fail, cease' for Gen 376, Cosia
(1898, p. 120) points out that the sense here is rather wältzte sich and compares with swamode Middle High German sweimen 'sich swingen', Old High German sveimen 'schweben', Old Norse sveima 'soar' and Old English aswæman (sic) which he states occurs only in Genesis. Kock (1918, p. 42) suggests *susim- 'move (in a vague manner, not in a straight direction, not with a fixed goal)' as the etymon of swamode and compares Old Norse sveima 'wander, stray', Old English aswæman 'move on, wander about' and aswæman 'pass on, disappear'. (See also the note for aswæman 1352). Emphatically rejecting Dietrich's interpretation for the Quthlao B passage, Kock notes:

When nihtrim scridon (a number of nights, or days, passed), heaven did not 'grow dark'; what is meant is the circular motion of the firmament... Note how closely swamode ower niða bearn answers to scridon ower dugeðum!

The parallels he draws between these two clauses are valid, but do not support his further comparison of the passage with the Boethius description of the motion of the firmament:

... hwa unlæredra he wundrap þæs roderes færelde 7 his swiftnesse, hu he eæc dægæ utohymbwyrf þæs ealne ðisne middangeard!

Both Grein with wältze sich and Gollancz with 'floated' translate with more consciousness of the sense of this word than do Kennedy with 'grew black' and Gordon with 'darkened over'.

1097 nihtrim: Cosijn (1898, p. 120) points out that this collective is explained by feower dagas 1134, seofon niht 1035 and
1101 mid dreame: The phrase may be interpreted in two ways, either as 'amid joy, joyfully' or as 'together with a host'. The latter is perhaps to be preferred in this context because of bresta mætne. The phrase is explained in OCH om choro eorum, uos ex inferno liberaverat.

1102 onwald: Thorpe, noting at the foot of the page his reading r,on wealde?, writes against this form 'without power'. Cosijn (1898, p. 120) counters the GK interpretation of this word as potens and Gollanoz's 'omnipotent', preferring princeps, the meaning he mistakenly gives to onweald 'power' in two places in the Cura Pastoralis:

He was Romanum swa milde swa him nan onwald nas
ar pam. 254.22

Ilirice gesetton Ueteromem to hiora anwealde 284.20.

The adjective onwald is not elsewhere recorded and it is tempting to follow the BT suggestion that it should be emended to the more familiar adjective onwealh, certainly suitable in this context, but as the weak noun anwealda is so commonly used this one possible instance of a comparable adjective is not to be dismissed lightly.

1113 temple: See the note for templum 490.

1123 sopra: By position this word is an adverb, although the
form is unusual. Thorpe suggests it should be emended to *sobor. Grein's emendation to *sobre tampers less with the text and suggests that the form may reflect the rare adverbial use of the accusative singular neuter case of a comparative adjective form. If this explanation of the form is to be assumed however, emendation of the text *sobra is unnecessary, for many examples of the *a for *e appear in these poems (see III.4/C.2(a)).

1134 **MERon: A new section begins here on the fourth line from the bottom of folio 49^f^; the tail of the large wen descends below the last line of script on this folio and the following two letters are smaller capitals (the height of the scribe's tallest ascenders). The preceding line is empty, except for *forgiefen hefdes-.**

1135 **hms se dryhtnes (begn) : The metre indicates that something has dropped out of the manuscript here and the monosyllable *begn provides a satisfactory stopgap. Grein's suggestion that *se should be emended to *be is unnecessary; compare *bes lifes gest 1176, *se eordan dal 1366 and *se wuldras dal 1368.**

1140 **stalgongum : The word occurs only here, but must have some such meaning as 'with stealthy strides' (Gollancz's translation). The prefix is most likely cognate with *stalu 'theft', stalian 'steal, proceed stealthily'. The compounds *Rud 47.5 stalgiest 'thiev­ ing guest', *stelhere 'marauding band' used in the Chronicle and in the Cura Pastoralis, steltihtle 'charge of stealing' from the laws and stelding 'theft' used in the Rule of Chrodegang do not suggest that a
figurative meaning such as 'unrelenting' can be given to stal- in this compound, although this would be attractive in the context. Thorpe's 'with iron strides' may stem from some such interpretation of the compound, or it may be based on his comparison of stal- with stilfian 'temper', style 'steel', Old Norse stål and Old High German stahal. His translation perhaps prompted the alternative explanation of stalgongum to be found in GK. There the first element in this compound is hesitantly connected with stálwirða 'robustus, fortis' (the meaning later developed by this word which in the Old English period is used in the sense 'serviceable') and a form found only in Lye stálferhd (otherwise unrecorded as is the stabol-ferhd to which Lye relates it). Other compounds like stabolfest 'fixed, steadfast' could be cited as evidence for the use of stabol- in stalgongum but it is difficult to explain how a should appear in such a form.

1141b–65 These lines correspond to Vita 1113–20 Denique ... siebat. The poet begins with Com se seofeda dæg 1141, translating the first clause of the Latin and then working in imagery of the shafts of illness (1142–45a). The next finite verb in the Latin passage (uisitasuit 1115) is represented in his next main clause (ongon ... neosan 1145–46) and the following inuenit in the verb fond 1147. A further main clause (was pa sihste tid ... 1150) picks up the detail circa horam sex-tam not already used from the Vita clause which contains uisitasuit 1115. The rest of this passage in the poem follows the Vita quite closely:

Vita 1116–7 nec ... loquebatur : Glo 1154b–56a;
Vita 1118 Denique ... dimitteret : Glo 1156b–62a;
antequam moretur : Glo 1162b mrdon hive dead onseægæ;
Vita 1120 suspirans aiebat : Glo 1163–65.
bidescurun: For the inflexion -un compare the note for line 13 and see III.4/C.2(a). See the note for malloilum 1154 for a discussion of this imagery.

gescht: Williams's note (1909, p. 87) that the passive participle is here undecorated in variation is curious, for feorh-hord is neuter. However, his similar remarks on gescht 1019 and soden 1150 deserve consideration.

unwenne: Both Thorpe and Gollancz emend the manuscript form to unwenne 'blameless' and are followed by Williams who prints unwe(m)ne in his extracts (1909, p. 55) and by Gordon who translates the adjective 'faultless'. The other editors, following Crein who first interpreted unwenne as hoffnunglos in his translation of the poem, find no need to emend the form. Cosijn (1898, p. 120) also interprets the adjective in this way, adding the explanation dem tote rettungslos nahe and noting that unwe(n) is used in almost the same sense as (fæores) orwena. To support this view he quotes the two passages to be found in BT under unwe(n) I. It should be noted that GK prefer the form unwen perhaps because of the form of the cognate Old Norse úvenn) but, as unwe(n) is recorded in the nominative singular masculine, this form, recognised both in BT and Clark Hall, is given as the headword in the glossary.

temple: See the note for templum 490.
1150  soden: This may be an example of an uninflected parallel in poetical variation (compare gesoht 1019), but can be explained also as an accusative singular masculine form of the participle with syncope and transposition of final -en. See the note for line 67 for examples of transposition of letters in this manuscript.

1152  stryhte: Cosijn (1896, p. 13) compares the use of stryhte here with And 848 bryhte. See further the note for line 997.

1154  awrecen welpilum: The poet uses a similar pattern in 1286. The compounds welpilum and welstrelum are not elsewhere recorded in Old English but comparable compounds, though used concretely, are found in Bwf 398 walsceftas, WEp 322 walspera, etc. The figure of Death in The Phoenix is wapnum gebrybed 486, but the agsalio hunta 27.13 of the Metors of Boethius is less developed. Apparently therefore the shafts of Death appear only in Guthlac B in Old English verse.

The examples of the devil's arrows gathered together by Stanley (1955, pp. 419-22) emphasise for the most part torment of the spirit; only in JIn 468-72 do these arrows cause actual bodily affliction. In the source for that poem the devil strikes his victims with blindness and this is reflected in the words given him by the poet. Stanley (1955, p. 421 and fn.) notes that this use of the figure of the devil's arrows in the poet's addition to his source, but does not point out that in the Old English poem on Juliana's passion the Latin version's fact of physical blindness is lost in the symbolical development of this theme:
Oft ic syne ofteah,
ablende bealoponoum beorna unrim
monna cynnes, misthelme forbragd
þurh attres ord, eagna leoman
swæxtum scurum ...

Arrows of physical illness are better known from medical writings and iconography; they first appear in Guthlac B in lines 1142b-45a where they are independent of the source (see note for 1141b-65).

1154  wlo : Thorpe suggests that wlo should be emended to wlono
'the high of soul', but the form is now generally connected
with the noun wla+h 'hem, fringe' (found in verse in J1n 590 and And 1471) and with the adjectives Gen 1789 gewlo 'adorned' and Dan 584 anwlo+h 'unadorned'. Cognate are Old Saxon wlo+h 'flocke' and Old Norse ló (found only in the phrase ló á kláði); other cognate words may be seen in AEW and in Jordan (1906, p. 57 where a full conspectus of forms is to be found). GK, following Dietrich (1854, p. 359) suggest that Glo 1154 wlo is to be explained as an adverbial accusative with the meaning nicht die Faser, nicht das mindeste, suggesting that an adverb may have developed in the same manner as the German nicht die Bohne or Old English hwōn. BT assume an adverb with the meaning 'readily, easily' which they relate without further comment to their entry for wla+h. Kock (1920, p. 104) accepts the GK explanation, suggesting the translation 'could not a funicle' for wlo ne meahte and supporting this suggestion by an unnecessary manipulation of Chr 77 after modwisan mod ne oudes to produce mot ne oudes 'thou knowest not a mote, is not the slightest'. 
The word may well be related to *wlōh* 'hem' but attempts to translate it by a noun form unconvincing equivalents like Rock's 'a funicle'. Some adverb is indicated by the structure of the clause. Comparison with Vita 1116–17 *neatamen tune cum eo lœquebatu* suggests using 'indeed' to explain *wlōh*. Gollancz's 'scarce' and the 'hardly' of Gordon and Kennedy are unsuitable because they necessitate omitting the negative particle in interpreting the clause.

1155 **ellensprœce** : Kock (1920, p. 253) points out that **ellensprœce** is better considered as parallel with *hleoper* (as treated in BT) rather than as a genitive 'on a par with *gœfugeles hleoper, gæn-
etes hleoper* (as in Gx and Gollancz). He notes that the poet uses similar wording in *sprœce ahebban* 1160, adding that parallel accusatives are a common Germanic method of variation.

1158 **modgiadne** : Kock (1918, p. 43) wishes to extend this compound to *modgiatne*, an unrecorded compound to which he gives the meaning 'faint at heart'. He argues that the 'dying saint, unwen, soden sarwylmum, is surely not called *mede* and *modgiad* in the same breath!' It would be easier to see the logic of his argument if these cleverly contrasting adjectives were applied to Guthlac's companion, instead of to the saint eager to enter his heavenly home.

1161 **truwade** : Sievers (1885, p. 486) and Holthausen (1899, p. 356) suggest that an emendation to *trœwade* is necessary here, because they regard the vowel of the accented syllable of *truwian* as
long (so listed in both Gk and ET).

1145

1166-96 These lines correspond to Vita 1121-26 fill ... sarcofago.

It should be noted that the poet omits all reference to the winding-sheet sent by Eogburh, Vita 1126-30 et ... cursum. There is no basis in the Vita for the short speech (Glo 1173b-75a) in which his servant interrupts Guthlac's instructions and its insertion is at variance with the poet's treatment of speeches in 1010b-22. For a note on this short speech, see line 1172. At line 1182b the poet has moved on to material from Vita 1123 et dices illi, and at 1192b to Vita 1125 Dicas cuoque.

1172b-75a Grein in his translation presents these verses as reported speech within Guthlac's words to his companion; later (1865, p. 424) he suggests the new speech should begin with 1173a. Williams (1909, p. 56) follows Grein's later division of the text. Gollancz, Kennedy and Gordon all divide the text as here.

1175 asanian: This verb, cognate with Gothic sânina and sânian, Old High German sein 'slow' and Old Norse sein 'tarry, delay' appears twice only in Old English. The other instance is hit asanode ba on ba ylcan wysan 'and it waned in the same way' (in An Old English Vision of Leofric, Napier 1908, line 57). For a note on the verse form see III.3/3. Compare 1177a, 1252a and 1361a.

1176 bes lifes gmst: The demonstrative agrees with gmst instead
of with the noun in the genitive which precedes it. There is no need to regard *hes* as a genitive singular masculine form of the definite article with second fronting (as does Weightman 1977, part II. §1(b)). Compare phrases which appear in lines 1135 (?), 1366 and 1368.

1178 Fyr: Thorpe, noting fer? at the foot of the page, translates this verb by 'go'. The Vita supports his interpretation:

Postquam spiritus hoc corpusculum deseruerit, perge
ad sororem meum pegan. et dices illi. 1123

There is no need to force out of after bon some translation such as Gollancz's 'on the errand' if Fyr is understood as an imperative from feran 'go'. (A certain ambiguity is found here in Gollancz's edition: he prints Fyr in his text, yet translates 'Hasten'.) The v in this form must be regarded as Kentish back spelling. See further III.4/B.3(k).

The commentators who followed Thorpe appear to have connected this form with the weak verb ferian which, having a short vowel, forms its imperative singular in —e. This may explain why emendation has been generally considered necessary. Grein first put fys 'hasten' which has gained general acceptance. Graphically it is suitable, for r and s are often confused in insular script (examples of this confusion in the Exeter Book are Chr 1650 bar, Fm 93 nergend and Em 40.63 byrse), but within the context it is less suitable than the manuscript form as interpreted by Thorpe. The perge of the Vita
also favours retention of the manuscript form.

1180 on longne weg: Cosijn (1898, p. 120) compares Phx 555 on longne sid and a Middle Dutch phrase from Reinaert up mine langhe vaert. For a note on the journey of a soul after death mentioned in Old English writings see Smithers (1957, p. 140) who compares with Guthlac B phrases such as this the translations of Bede's account of Fursey's death. The compound Mark 13.34 langwege of the Lindisfarne Gospels means 'pilgrimage'.

1189 leahtra lease: Compare the poet's use of the compound leah-terlease 1087.

1195 in beosteroofan: Both Cosijn (1898, p. 120) and Kock (1920, p. 254) point out that this phrase is parallel with in sone-hoe 1197. The compound beosteroofa appears also in Eie 833 and a similar compound occurs in Phx 49 heolsteroofan. Cosijn notes also that the prose life differs from the poem here in having be bruh 801 (translating Vita 1126 in sarcofago). This difference may be in part due to the poet's omission of Egburg and her winding-sheet.

1197-1223 These lines follow the Vita 1130-35 Audiens ... cumque, but the poet does not use propterea ... dimittas 1135-36. The passage beginning obscura 1131 corresponds with Eie 1203 In beo halsige ... and the final clauses of Beocel's speech may have suggested some of the poet's words to him in this passage. In lines
1212 ff. the poet elaborates the material of *Vita* 1133 *Nam* ..., in particular ornamenting the simple *Vita* 1135 *uespere et mane*. This passage is discussed further in the note for line 1218.

The poet elaborates the material of *Vita* 1133 *Nam* ..., in particular ornamenting the simple *Vita* 1135 *uespere et mane*. This passage is discussed further in the note for line 1218.

1200 *freakn feorhgedal*: Kock (1920, pp. 254-55) notes that this phrase stands before the clause to which it properly belongs, pointing out that 'what the servant once now was not *freakn feorhgedal*, but *bet freakn feorhgedal feor ne wass*. He compares the structure of *Ele* 57 ff. (why?) and *Heliand* 3592 ff. He appears to object unnecessarily to the view put forward by Klaeber (1904, p. 144) that *hit* is used impersonally but the absence of *hit* from *Glc* 1166-67 and *Chr* 782 cited by him against Klaeber's interpretation shows only that such clauses may occur with or without a subject pronoun. The poet tells us two things, that the saint's companion recognises that Guthlac is dying and that it is not long to his final day. The translators too are unwilling to recognise that a clause varies the phrase *freakn feorhgedal* and find themselves obliged to take *endedogor* as in variation with *hit* and *freakn feorhgedal*, rather than as a dative following *feor*.

1206 *Wis be ende feor*: Thorpe, Grein and Kennedy (with 'Thy end is not far off', *nicht ist dein Lebensende fern* and 'Thine end is not far off' respectively) show that they understand *be* as the dative pronoun of the second person. Other translators imply through omission that *be* here is an early instance of this form in the nominative singular masculine of the definite article (e.g. Gollancz 'The
end is not far off' and Gordon 'The end is not distant').

1209 **gnornende**: See the note for line 232.

1215 **hesentid**: Compare **helmihtige** 950 and see the note for **hus** 271. The form is amended to **hesentid** in all the editions of the poem.

1218 **dagwomn**: Koek (1918, p. 43) points out that this word must here mean 'nightfall', noting the common double application of such words as 'twilight', Dämmerung and crepusculum, and explains that the angel visited Guthlac in the evening (1218 and 1242b) and then in the morning (1219b and 1243b). He notes also that the Life here reads on **afenne** on *arme morgen* 812, but the resemblance is scarcely surprising as both the Guthlac B poet and the prose-translator are dependent upon Vita 1135 *vespere et mane*. A note on the compound will be found in the discussion of **dagredwomn** 1292.

1220 **gestes**: This word may be either *gest* 'spirit' (as in Thorpe and Kennedy) or *gest* 'visitor, stranger' (as in Grein, Collines and Gordon), and personal preference will determine the interpretation given it (compare the note for **neargesta** 393). Besseel's description of Guthlac's mysterious visitor in the Vita does not help towards deciding either way, for he says he has heard the saint speaking with *nescio unques* 1135. However, Guthlac's own description of the visitor as an *angelum consolationis* may point to *gest*. 
1222a For a note on this verse see III.3/43.

1224 3A: A new section begins here slightly under half way down folio 50v. The preceding line is empty; the line above is filled with script and ends with sinens. A capital a (approximately an inch in height) is followed by an a which reaches the same height as the scribe's tallest ascenders.

1224-1269a These lines correspond to Vita 1136-44 Tune ... present-abat. The poet does not use Vita 1144-48 Q ... cogensat, the injunction that Bessel should not reveal these secrets to any others except Page and Eggerich. The poet, in lines 1227 ff., changes the sense somewhat from his source in Vita 1137-38 fili ... noli, but from 1228b has be ... his wording is closer to the Vita (1138 quod ...) for a few verses. From line 1238 (Vita 1138 A secundo ...) the structure of the poet's clauses is difficult to follow and has led to misunderstandings of the content of this passage (see note for line 1239). The Latin helps to show how this passage should be understood, for the poet is here following his source quite closely and on bone

afteram ... georgemeares 1240-41 corresponds with A secundo ... anno 1139. In lines 1255-69a the poet makes Guthlac reiterate the reasons for his silence about his nightly visitor and for his decision to tell his servant about this angel. These verses are original to the poem, but are foreshadowed in the conversation of 1166-96.

1226 Since onydig: This phrase occurs also in Ede 724 where it
describes Judas and is in variation with wæde and meteless, (wægen was geswīðrod) 698 and with hungre gehyned 720. The form occurs also in FAp 106 werum oncyðig; it should be noted that this is the instance cited in FEs from Napier 1889, p. 73, line 12. This latter example of the form, though hesitantly glossed in FEs by 'unknown', is usually accepted as meaning 'made known'. Napier (1889, p. 73) explains that it is a by-form of *ondcyðig, comparing the gloss unondcyðignisse for ignorantiae found in the Vespasian Psalter Gloss 24.7 (Sweet 1885, p. 217). This explanation of FAp 106 oncyðig is followed by K.R. Brooks (1961, p. 126) who points out that on- may appear for proclitic ond-. (see SB §198.5, note 2 and Campbell §73, fn. 1).

Cognate is an Old High German adjective an thundig 'wise' and one instance of an Old English verb oncyðan 'to make known' is recorded in PT (from a charter for which see Thorne 1865, p. 117, line 1: to oncyðde ealle folce ...). The Modern German Ankündigung is probably to be connected with these forms.

Editors of Elene generally explain that the phrase elnes oncyðig means 'revealing courage' (for example see notes in Grimm 1840 and Gradon 1958 on Ele 724) and a similar interpretation is not unsuited to the Guthlac context, for the poet, in similar passages throughout the poem, describes the dying saint in phrases roughly equivalent: eadig on elne 1285, wegne modig 1272, eadig elnes gemynig 1274, etc. OK infer a similar interpretation of these passages, giving as the meaning of oncyðig in Ele 724 and Glo 1226 bewusset and in FAp 106 bekannt.
The ET equation of onocyðig with uncyðig 'weak, ignorant' has gained a certain amount of support and lies behind such translations as Gollancz's 'void of strength' for Glc 1224a. This adjective, containing the prefix un- which is generally privative or pejorative, appears in Ele 960 and swa uncyðig where stylistic arguments favour its interpretation as 'ignorant, wicked' instead of as 'wise' (the latter proposed in CK (under onocyðig) and put forward also by Kock (1923, p. 226)). The occurrence of the gloss Kane uncyðig vel unwtende against ignorantem (Skeat, 1874, p. 7, line 18) shows that an adjective uncyðig 'ignorant', cognate with Old High German unkundig and Old Norse ukunnigr, was in use. There is, however, no evidence to suggest the semantic extension necessary if it is to be read into Ele 724 and Glc 1226. This may explain why Brooks, in his note on FAp 106 oncyðig cited above, prefers to relate these other two instances of oncyðig to the noun oncyð 'distress' which occurs in Dwf 830, 1420 and in And 1179 oncyðæsæ, when interpreting them by 'devoid of'. Both methods of justifying etymologically oncyðig 'void of' seem in any case irrelevant. Though this sense can be shown suitable in both the Elene and Guthlac B contexts, there is no reason to assume that on- has been written in mistake for un- in both manuscripts.

1227 *Hwæt*: In Grein's text and in GK hwæt is understood as an interrogative *our* rather than an exclamation particle. This interpretation of the text adds to the simple statement made by Guthlac in Vita 1137 ff. and is not followed in this edition.
1233 Obviously Thorpe was unfamiliar with geað 'folly'. He suggests that the manuscript gieddum 'in songs' should be emended to gehbunn and translates the line:

... and should pour it forth into the streets, /in their talk mention it,/

but gives no further explanation of his emendations.

1234 The lack of alliteration in this line was first noted by Thorpe. Grein tries to fill the assumed lacuna by supplying two verses:

* bi me lifgendum [leoda bearnum]
* Huru ic nolde sylf [nefré on ealdre]
* þurb gielpowide gastes mines

Assmann places the verses composed by Grein in his footnotes, but sets up his text in such a way as to show his approval of Grein’s understanding of the line:

* bi me lifgendum ....
* Huru ic nolde sylf ....
* þurb gielpowide gastes mines

However, although something may have dropped out of the text, there is no obscurity and I have therefore, following Gollancz and KD, printed these verses as one line. It is unfortunate that this line is not considered in the index to the alliteration of this poem drawn up under the direction of Lehmann and Dailey (1960), but for some discussion of it see III.3/43.

1239b-42a This clause is translated by Thorpe:

(after I had first begun/ in this second/ hermitage
to dwell,/ a year’s space)/ a holy spirit,/ an angel
from above,/
The translations of Grein, Collamos, Kennedy and Gordon show that they also regard *bona afteran anseld* as an accusative noun with its modifiers. GK (under *aftera*) quote from this clause in a similar manner, adding a question mark after the citation. Cosija (1898, p. 120) first points out that *selc* is neuter, that *bona afteran* and *geargemeares* should be taken together and that the appearance of both masculine and neuter inflexions in forms of *gear* support his explanation. In comparison with this explanation he quotes from the *Life* 519–20 *ban afteran geare be in his westen eardode*; for the *Vita* passage from which both prose and poetic version stem see *Vita* 1139–40.

A note must be added on the confusing treatment of the passage to be found in *BT*. The noun *anseld* is identified (under *anseld* in *BT*) as a masculine noun and the following excerpt given:

*Is ongon on bonne经营理念 'I began to dwell in this hermitage'*

Under *aftera* a fuller quotation from the text may be found and the phrase 'in this second hermitage' appears in the translation given with this extract. An odd note appears in *BTs* (under *Anseld*): 'Under this word for 'dwell in' substitute 'turn to' and a correction of this will be found under *geargemeares* where *Anseld* is described as neuter and the passage translated 'directly after I had begun the second year of my inhabiting the hermitage'.
have expected 1248a to form a syntactic group, therefore writing a
genitive form for the dative shown necessary by the context.

1269b–95a These lines correspond to Vita 1148–57 Dixerat ... dicens.

Vita 1148–50 ... anhelaret lie behind Glo 1269b–72a. The
verses hyrde þæ gena ellen on innan 1270b–71a (compare the note for
elines endyðig 1224) are not suggested by the source but may be due
to the poet's presentation of Guthlac's death as a struggle between
a warrior saint and the warrior death. Vita 1150–52 uelut ... in-
flaret are reflected in Glo 1271b–75a. Whereas Felix tells how the
scent of sweet-smelling flowers seemed to proceed from Guthlac's mouth,
the poet states that the sweetest of smells came from his mouth, then
adding a new simile (most likely conditioned by the appearance of
uelut in his source) which is his adaptation of Vita 1151–52 ita ut
totum domum sue sederet nectarius odor inflaret.

Vita 1152–57 Nota ... dicens is elaborated by the poet in Glo
1276b–95a and his treatment of his source in this passage contains
many puzzling features which are discussed in the following entries in
the advent of night, this commentary. The poet works from the outline provided by Felix: the
fiery light which enshirles Guthlac's cell during the night and
the introduction to the saint's final speech are all used. He omits
however Felix's careful explanation that Beocel saw these marvels while
praying during the night and instead presents them as straightforward
narrative. As well as lengthening and elaborating the Vita account
of the miraculous light the poet inserts material to remind his audience
that the struggle between Guthlac and Death is nearly over:

Bad se be scoolde
sadig on elne  andedogor
swrecen walstrælum.

and again in the phrase sadig elnes gewyndig 1294. Again the poet disregards the force of uelut 1156 (compare his treatment of uelut 1150) and in his story of the saint's death, Guthlac gets up. There is no need to argue that he misunderstands the Latin; his change accords better with his characterisation of a far less impassive dying champion of God.

1264 sawel: See the note for adl 978.

1278a-82a This passage has proved one of the most difficult for editors and critics of the text. In the verses 1281b-82a there was among the earliest editors disagreement as to how the texts should be divided. Thorpe presents them:

prong nhit efer./ tiht-londes frætwa
when night slæd'd over/ the cultur'd land's adornments./

but notes (p. 507):
I am very doubtful about tiht, and suspect the integrity of the line: it may perhaps be the Omg. nuht.

Grein puts forward at least four different explanations for these verses. In his Bibliothek text he prints them:

prong nhit efer,
tihte londes frætwa;

but in his footnotes reveals his dissatisfaction with this arrangement
by his further suggestion that tiht Should be emended to liht. His translation shows a different manipulation of the text:

und das Dunkel der Nacht
überlagerte des Landes Zierden...

Finally (1865, p. 424) he arrives at the arrangement which has prevailed, reading brong niht ofer tiht as one verse. He follows this note with speculation as to the etymology of tiht, suggesting either its identity with Old English tyht or its relationship to Modern English tight.

Both Gollanes and Assmann in their texts follow the division of these verses eventually arrived at by Grein, as does Gollanes who translates them:

night fell o'er the earth's expanse,
the land's adornments.

Like Gollanes's, Kennedy's translation does not indicate whether fretwa is to be regarded as parallel with niht or tiht:

Over the moving earth, the beauties of the world,
the night came down.

GK (see under fretwa) explains fretwa as an accusative form, the interpretation apparently followed also by Gordon:

night came rushing down over the world, over the land's adornments.

Although the phrase landes fretwa can be regarded as variation of worldly 1280 (with brong niht ofer tiht in parenthesis), it is an unlikely variation of tiht without repetition of ofer and is therefore better taken as a descriptive genitive phrase dependent upon tiht. Grein's
arrangement of the text did not at first gain general acceptance and
the suggestion that *ofertyht*, a compound with the sense 'a covering,
what is drawn over', should be read is to be found in BT under tyht
III. This form is compared with the Old English verb *ofertasan* and
Modern German *Übersetz*, but it is not otherwise recorded for English.

Many of these suggestions are reviewed in Klaeber's discussion
of the passage (1904, pp. 345-47). He argues convincingly in favour
of the simplex *tihht*, comparing the phrases in Phx 525 on *tihht*, Ele
53 on *tihht* and Chr 812 on *tihht*. In these places the word is used
with the sense 'motion' and, as Klaeber points out,
... it would be only natural to credit this noun with
a semasiological development parallel to Latin tractus,
German *Beg*.

These words develop the meanings 'extension, expanse, region' and he
compares with them Old English *byht* 'bend', Low German *Bucht* and its
Modern English cognates *bight* and *beacht*, Old English *gang* 'path',
Modern English *bed* (of a river), Old English *réd* and *sund*. He cites
as parallel with *ofertihht/londes freatwe* such common poetical phrases
as *wonga* (*flode, geofenes*) *higong* and explains that *hræng* is used in-
transitively with the sense 'pressed on, forced its way', comparing
Gen 139 *hræng bystræ genip*. The passage has been published at least
four times since Klaeber's article appeared but no further suggestions
of any significance have been put forward to supplant or even modify
his explanation of these verses. Sometimes even commentators still
regard the passage as corrupt, for example Wyld (1925, p. 67) who
translates it:
The northern sky grew dark, black beneath its cloudy canopy; it curtained the world in mist, covered it with darkness; night pressed on and blotted out the beauty of the land.

although Klaeber's investigation of it shows that there is no need to fall back on corruption here.

There is some ambiguity also in woruld miste ofertesah 1280. This verse is translated by Thorpe 'o're veild the world with mist'. His suggestion that woruld should be emended to worulde implies that he did not recognise that inflected and non-inflected accusative forms of this word appear in Old English texts. In the Bibliothek footnotes Grein notes that miste could be emended simply to mist, but his translation some years later shows his satisfaction with the manuscript forms as miste is rendered by mit Nebel.

1284 burgsalu : The compound passes without comment from Cosijn here, but see further the note for line 1331.

1288 scirwered : Thorpe translates this by 'brightly soft', apparently regarding wered as the adjective 'soft' and connecting the form with Beowulf 496 sweonot scir wered (where Beowulf editors generally advance an otherwise unrecorded noun *wered, a neuter noun cognate with the adjective with the meaning 'soft drink'). In his notes (p. 507) Thorpe draws attention to a suggestion made by Kemble that the line expresses 'the bright troop of angels, such as we read of at the death-bed of saints' and comments 'I incline to believe he
is right'. In translations of this poem seirwered is variously represented by *im Strahlemischeine* (Grein), 'with brightsome beams' (Gollancz), 'brightly' (Kennedy) or 'bright' (Gordon). Before the form is considered in any greater detail, it should be pointed out that there is no softness in the light described in the corresponding passage of the *Vita* and that the sound of angels' voices is not heard until after the saint's death:

_Nocte uero sequenti sum prefatus frater nocturnis_

_uigiliiis incumberet: igneo candore e medio noctis spatio_  
_usque in auroram totam domum circumplendescere videbat;_

1152-55

It is usual to read _Gle 1288 seirwered_ as a compound adjective with the meaning 'clothed in radiance' (comparable in formation with _Bwf 606 seirwered_, _Jud 230 seirmale_ and _Gen 812 unwered_), yet to read _seirwerod_ 'the gleaming host' in _Exodus 125_ and _seirwered_ 'sweet drink' in _Beowulf 496_. The latest editor of _Exodus_ (Irving 1953, p. 77) notes that it is unlikely that 'two separate phrases, _seon seirwerod_ and _seän seirwered_ existed concurrently' and suggests that the meaning in the _Exodus_ context is improved by reading _seirwerod_ 'brightly clad', an adjective qualifying the pillar of fire. (The force of his argument would be improved by placing a semi-colon after _hyrde 124_ and a full-stop after _seirwerod 125_ in his text). He argues:

The poet in 107-15 has introduced the pillar and emphasised its brightness; he digresses briefly to point out its punitive function, and he now returns to dwell on the gleaming of the pillar which causes the shields to glitter and enables the Israelites to see clearly the *white strata*. 

1160
It should be noted that his explanation of the Exodus passage can be taken further in explanation of Bwf 496a where it is possible to argue either that the lavishly adorned cup was so incandescent that the thane who poured it out (and sceoncan is used both transitively and intransitively) was 'bathed in radiance' or that the adjective parallels hroden 459. This speculation should not however be allowed to detract from the interpretation advanced for Exo 125 and Gle 1288.

1292 over: Mullen (1911, §89) points out that over here has the sense 'up over' as in Bwf 2073 and Mal 114, contrasting Phm 103 and Erb 15 where 'up' is expressed. He notes also (1908, p. 28) that the construction in line 1291 is unusual in Old English verse texts. Four examples only occur in the corpus of poetry, the others in MBo 20,10, Ele 140 and PPs 129,6, and are apparently modelled in the Latin a... usque (which is demonstrably behind both Gle 1291 and PPs 129,6).

1292 dagredwona: This compound occurs otherwise only in a similar and simpler passage in Andreas:

lecht after com,

dagredwona.

Comparable is dagwona 'herald of the day' which is recorded only twice, in Gle 1218 and Exo 344. Brooks (1961, p. 67) cites a form from Aelfric's Colloquy (from the Carmansway edition) but the word there is rather dagred and Bwf I,90,20 place on dagred above dilusco. 
The base element -wara in these compounds, like Old English wôr and Old Norse ór, means 'sound, noise', the sense it holds in other poetical compounds in which it appears, e.g. And 218, JIn 136 and 663 hildwôna 'noise of battle', Chr 835 and 999 heofonwôna 'noise of the heavens' and the phrases in And 1355 and Ele 19 wiges woman 'noises of battle', Exo 100 wuldres woman and probably also in Edr 103 wintres woma. Gradom (1956, p. 26) points out that the cognate Old English verb wôna 'allure, entice' suggests that the noun wôna held the sense 'harbinger, one who speaks', a meaning she suggests is implicit in the compounds dagwôna and dagrewôna. She suggests that the formula sweofnes wôna found in Ele 71, Dan 118 and 538 is to be explained 'the revelation of a dream' and that a similar extension of wôna appears in this phrase. Woolf (1955, p. 49) does not discuss the meaning of JIn 576 wiges woman in her edition of Juliana, hazarding in the glossary the meaning 'perils', but again a similar semantic change is necessary for the understanding of the passage.

1293 wederwâgen: The presence of wera in this verse shows that wederwâgen is here a sign of good weather. The limiting element of Asa 96 ware wederwânas is similarly marked and the sense 'fine weather' should be understood in Exo 75 wederwolocan (the pillar of cloud protects the Israelites from the sun) and in And 1697 Baderburg (after the conversion of its inhabitants the city must have been blessed with good weather), but not in And 372 wederankandel sweare. The use of weder as a limiting element in compounds is not restricted to poetic texts in the Old English period, for the adjective wederfests
'weather-bound' appears in the Chronicle entry for 1046 (Land manuscript).

1295b–1308a These lines correspond to *Vita* 1157–63 *filii* ... *emisit*.

Guthlac's words in verses 1295b–99 summarise the matter of the slightly longer speech here given him by Felix (1157–60 *filii* ... *malit*) and *Vita* 1160–63 are reflected in lines 1300–4 of the poem.

The poet paraphrases and varies the phrase *eleuatis olulis ad calum*, reproduces quite closely the clause *animam ... emisit*, but does not use the description *extensisque in altum manibus* 1162.

In the introduction to the next section of the poem a few lines, stating that Guthlac's soul was carried up to heaven and that his body grew cold, are provided by the poet in explanation of the fate of body and soul at death. This new material acts as a bridge and anticipates the angelic song of *Vita* 1168.

1302 *halge heafdes gimme*: Collins (1959, pp. 2–3) notes that behind this phrase lies a fairly common kenning for 'eyes'. He criticises the expression, describing it as 'a fanciful expression which may just pass' and asking rhetorically 'is this the true thing?' It is difficult to see why he should draw a distinction between this image expressed in a compound and in a phrase, but perhaps the presence of the adjective *halge* is the reason for his distaste. It should be noted that all the examples of this image occur in the Exeter and Vercelli codices, the other instances being the compounds in *Chr* 1330 *heafodgimme*, *MraI* 44 *heafodgimme* and *And* 31 *heafodgimme* (genitive
The same image may be expressed also in *And 50 heafdes sigel* (see Brooks 1961 note for this emendation of the manuscript sigel) rather more fantastically. The three examples of the compound *heafodgimmelae* are all in contrast with words for truer inner vision and the occurrence of *halge* in the Guthlac B context may therefore have been necessary to emphasise that *heafdes gimmelae* here carries no such overtones.

1306 *feredun,* with *u* emended from *g* in MS; See the note for line 162.

1308 *belifd:* Thorpe suggests the emendation *belifden* here and translates 1308a by 'remaining under air' (perhaps he meant to suggest *belifend* ?). The word is understood in the sense 'lifeless' by later translators and commentators. KD (referring to the note to be found in BT under *belifd*) explain that the form 'seems to belong to a verb *belibban,* *to deprive of life,* not elsewhere recorded'. Three examples of a verb 'to deprive of life, kill' are listed in BTs under the headword *belifian:* hal Th 36.10 belifian, 308.5 belifode and hal 8 12.221 Belifian (*vel beheafdian*). Although Toller proposes the infinitive *belifian* for all these examples, it is possible that all contain the late reformed *lifian* from *libban* and that the prefix *be* is privative in force. Semantic clash with *belibban* 'live by, subsist' may be responsible for the infrequent examples of this verb. The contracted form should be compared with *gynnwised* 867 and see also III.4/6.2.
1308 leocht ascen, MS leohhta ascen: Thorpe follows the manuscript division of these words, translating them 'shone of lights', but no subsequent commentator has taken leohhta as parallel with beansa 1309 and like it dependent on beorhtast.

1308b–26a These lines correspond to Vita 1163–70 Inter ... cernere.

The poet now follows Felix's account of the marvellous light quite closely, but again dispenses with Beocel's function as witness of this miracle. The angelic troops and the spreading of scents throughout the island are elaborated and a new detail creeps in:

Beofode pet ealond,
feldweng onsprong. 1326

perhaps suggested by the infinitive detonari used in Vita 1168 of the angelic song.

1317 For a note on the scansion of this line see III.3/43.

1320 eal innanweard: This phrase is taken syntactically with what precedes by Grein, Assmann, Kennedy, Gordon, Craige, Williams, KD and Bolton, with what follows by Thorpe and Gellanes. The latter division is preferred in this edition.

1320 muliæra: For the inflexion in this word and wynsumra 1321 compare the note for mara 521 and see III.4/8.2(a).

1326 onsprong, MS onbrong: Thorpe retains the manuscript form,
translating the verse by 'rush'd towards the land' but making little
sense of the passage. Grein first puts forward the sense *erbebte*
for the manuscript *onbrong*. He notes however that some emendation
seems necessary and suggests *onbrom* from a verb *onbriman* cognate
with *bryma* 'host'. He would presumably argue that the manuscript *on-
brong* is an error due to the influence of the preceding *-wong*. It
is impossible to derive the sense *erbebte* implicit in the context from
the manuscript form.

An attractive suggestion appears in BT (under *onbrigan III*),
and that emendation *onspring* is here adopted. This form preserves
the assonance so often found in this poem and can be reconciled simp-
ly with the manuscript form (misreading of the consonant cluster for
a shorter similar group). The verb *onspringan* 'spring asunder' occurs
in *Bwf* 817 *seconowe onspringon*; it can also mean 'spring forth' and
is represented in this sense in *Phx* 63, *And* 1637 and in a sermon by
Wulfstan (Napier 1883, p. 206, 18). The meaning 'spring asunder' is
suitable after *Botode bat salong* 1325.

1326b–43 These lines are based on *Vita* 1170–74 *Deinde... perrexit*.
The poet states Beccel's fear briefly, but his elaboration of
lines 1172–74 *arrepta... perrexit* is entirely new, perhaps only his
phrase *he bat gestag* 1328 being close to the source.

1328 *unhyæg*: Thorpe first puts forward the emendation *unhyæg*
'unheedful' which is adopted by both Craigie and Williams.
The form unhydige is used also of the Anthropophagi when they find the
prisons empty of the foreigners they hoped to eat, and 1078:

Hie pa unhydige eft geoyrden,
luste belorene, laespell beran;

It seems unlikely that the mistake assumed by Thorpe should have been
made by both scribes. The adjective can be explained literally as
'without booty' and hence as 'hapless, unlucky'.

1329 wagbengest: The compound, found also in Ex 236, is similar
to the Old Norse vagnmæg. In the same line waterbisa (with
subpuncted w in MS biswa) is a compound found otherwise only in Whl
50 waterbisa wlonc. Similar in formation and sharing the same base
element are And 257 merbissan, and 446 merebyssan, and 1657, 1699
and Ex 238 brimbisan and Whl 27,10 magenbisan 'violence' (where
Grein's emendation magenwisan has Trautmann's support). A cognate
strong noun is listed in BT (under bys 'storm') from the Alfredian
Boethius. The phrase windes bys occurs in Rawlinson's edition (1698,
p. 44) which is presumably based on the nearest to an authentic manu-
script for the text, Cotton Otho A VI which was burnt in the fire of
1731. The corresponding words in Junius's transcript, MS Bodley 180,
read windes byf. Sedgefield in his edition of the text (1899, p. 47)
records and follows Napier's suggestion that Junius's byf should be
emended to pyf and a correction appears in BTs where pyf is adopted
and bys banished as a ghost-word. Rawlinson's bys is however rein-
stated by G.L. Wrenn (1962, pp. 170-71) who argues that it is easier
to glimpse behind the Junius byf his exemplar's bys then the form pyf
put forward by Napier. He finds "*bye a decidedly less phantasmal "ghost" than *pyr' and noted also its possible occurrence in Middle English texts in the South Eastern form *hes. Holthausen (see AEW under ëysa 'Toser') compares Old High German dœsœn 'rauschen, tünen, brausen', Modern German tosen, Old Norse byss, dœson 'Getümmel' among the many related words listed by him.

1330 sœrgum: Grein suggests the emendation sœrgum and translates 1330a unter dem Traurigen. Gollancs in his translation 'be­neath the sorrowing wight' appears to favour Grein's emendation, but does not adopt it into his text. Wyatt (1919, p. 177) gives sœrgum in his text and notes (p. 275) that it should be understood as 'sorrow­ing messenger', following Gollancs's rather than Grein's interpreta­tion of the emended form. Kennedy's 'woeful wight' and Gordon's 'sorrowful man' reflect a similar interpretation of the text. The emendation destroys the contrast the poet makes between the speed of the boat and the griefs it contains.

1331 ofer burgesale: Gesiijn (1898, p. 120) suggests that this de­tail is incongruous in the description of the journey through the fens. He points also to the inconsistency between adjectives applied to the boat, leocht 1332 and gehlæsted 1333, but may here do the poet an injustice. The boat moves quickly, it is light although heavy-laden with sorrows; and all the time this journey is taking place the sky is clear above the dwelling-places of men. The phrase ofer burgesale appears also in Oë 1284 and in Pat 50 where it is in variation with of ceastrum ond cynestolum.
1332 lagumesarg: This and the kenning harnflota of the following line are peculiar to this poem. Lines 1330-50 have recently been described as a 'pedestrian passage of Old English poetry' (Collins 1959, p. 15):

There is nothing here beyond a number of kennings strung together - kennings of the most ordinary kind for, or about ships.

The adjective 'pedestrian' is curiously chosen, for the poet seems to be attempting a high style and he indulges in rather precious imagery.

The phrase after sundplegan is used only in this poem and in Phy III. The compound sondleand occurs nowhere else and may have been invented here to rhyme with ground 1335; note also the assonance with -und-

1334. For this poet's apparent love of rhyme see the note in III.3/49.

1338 bilidena: This form is generally emended to bilidenne by the editors, but for the sporadic simplification of -an- compare mine 650 and see also III.476.2.

1339 wopes bring: The four examples of this phrase in Old English verse all occur in the closely related Exeter and Vercelli codices. The other instances are in Chr 537, And 1278 and Ele 1131. The noun bring could denote either shape or sound, both explanations favoured by readers of these passages. Two explanations are possible also for the dependent genitive wopes, but the 'cry of grief, weeping' sense is generally preferred in this phrase to 'loud cry, shout'. A full discussion of the four passages has recently appeared (Brooks 1948,
pp. 68–74) and need only be summarised here. In it may be found a thorough discussion of earlier notes upon the phrase (especially those of Klaeber (1902, p. 109) and of Kook (1918, pp. 5–6) should be noted. Brooks’s interpretation of the phrase rests on his acceptance of wop ‘weeping’ and bring ‘circle’. He compares the imagery of Bwf 189 f. and 1992 and the use of the passive participle sōden in Gla 1073, 1150, 1262, And 1239 and Bwf 1150–51, assuming therefore that a metaphor expressed by the verb sōden was drawn from an image of a cauldron boiling over and lies behind wopes bring which he translates ‘outpouring of tears’. He explains this interpretation:

The heart or breast, as the seat of emotions which are said to ‘well up’ or ‘boil’ within it until they overflow, is thus compared with a cauldron of liquid which will boil over if not kept under control. From such a notion as this may well have originated wopes bring, ‘the circle of weeping’, which would thus express a comparison between hot tears flowing out over the eye-lids (the natural result of emotions welling up within) and boiling liquid overflowing the circular rim of a cauldron.

The figurative use of the verb weallan and of the cognate noun wylm assumed in this explanation is well-attested; compare the examples gathered together by Stanley (1955, pp. 429–31).

1340 gemonaðe: The verb (ge-)monian is usually followed by an accusative of person and genitive of thing, but a similar construction with the dative of the person is noted by Cosijn in CP 370.
11 Ag him mon sceal monian (Cotton manuscript in Sweet 1871). Despite
these two occurrences of this construction Cosijn concludes. Aber an beiden stehen sind wol schreibfehler anunehmen. Examples of the verb followed by a form which may be either accusative or dative for the person, e.g. Gen 1029 me, and the dative construction may therefore have been more widespread than Cosijn assumes.

1340 teager: Thorpe suggests that this word is 'a poetic formation analagous to lombar' and thinks the g an 'error for e'. The form may well be poetic and is certainly archaic. Unique in Guthlac B, it shows the historically expected Old English development from Germanic *tagur (compare Gothic tagr) and represents the form *tegar < *tahur which Campbell (235 fn. 1) posits in explanation of the Anglian form tāer. The Germanic *tagur, in which g apparently remained a fricative, commonly appears with h in West Germanic: in Old High German sahar (with second sound shift) and in Old English theher, teher and tehher (from primitive Old English *tahur). The ea in teager may be analogical from tāer and the form teager is best regarded as archaic and probably poetical. See also III.4/F.

1343 læg geladan: The noun læg can be interpreted either as the accusative singular with feminine inflexion (see doubtful entry in ETs under læg III) or as the dative singular of a neuter noun (see Gk under læg 5) which is preferred in the glossary. The accusative singular form læg in 1298 and the absence of clear examples of this noun with feminine inflections in the poem, although negative evidence, favour the latter interpretation. The clause should be compared with
the phrase found in Ele 1199 sende to lace.

1343 to socē: Holthausen (1907, p. 201) suggests that the metre requires emendation of this phrase to to socē. This is however unnecessary, for there are other examples of this verse-pattern in Guthlac. See III.3/35.

1344ff. The poet's Cwom pa ... per se fæmne was 1344 may correspond to Vita 1174 Deveniens ... ad sanctam cristi virginem regiam but the poet, instead of following Felix in recording that Beccel related to Pege her brother's last commandments, now gives to him a fusleod not indicated in the source. This elegiac speech begins at line 1348 and by line 1370 Beccel is recounting the messages Guthlac had entrusted to him for Pege. At 1378b he returns to telling over his sorrow and the text breaks off abruptly at the end of the next line. Whether the poet then continued with the source he had to this point followed quite closely is impossible to say.

1346 fusleod agol: Cosijn (1898, p. 120) compares Chr 623 fusleod galan and Bwf 1424 fœlic fyrŸldleod with this verse, noting also that resemblances to Beowulf are to be found in 1349a and 1359. It is easy enough to identify the line in Beowulf which reminds him of 1349a (Bwf 1685 ðum seleston be ðam tweonum), but less easy to be sure of the verse he thinks similar to 1349a (perhaps Bwf 1470a driht- sceype dreogan ?). The similarities cannot hold much significance beyond indicating that both poets drew on a stock of traditional phrases.
and themes. A note on other examples of this figure of speech fus-
lead ang can be found in Stanley (1955, p. 431).

1349 dreogan dryhten bealu: Thorpe translates this verse 'endure extreme evil', noting (p. 506) that 'dryhten here seems a mere intensive'; his explanation is followed in ET, GK and Clark Hall and in the translations of Kennedy and Gordon. Grein understands the first element as 'lord' and translates 1348b-49a: wer da Sumner oft

um seinen Herrn soll tragen.

This interpretation is followed also by Gollancz who renders dryhten
bealu 'at his master's bale'. Their understanding of the compound is paralleled in beodengedal 1350. The same phrase as 1349a occurs in PtM 55 dreogan dryhtenbealu.

1350 broht, beodengedal: A similar passage in Christ III should be compared with this line:

for him sorgerum sar onelife,
broht beodbealu, on broc healfa. 1267

In both broht seems by position an adjective and is so treated in GK and ET. Kock (1918, p. 11) points out that the only other instance of broht in Old English verse is a noun form, Ele 704 and bes broht to bes heard, and that there is a separate adjectival form brohtig, e.g. Mil 85.4 brochtigra. These forms correspond to the Old Norse words brottar and brottage. Although KD prefer still to explain broht in the Guthlac B and Christ III contexts as an adjective, Kock's sug-
gestion should not lightly be disregarded. It is widely recognised that two nouns may stand in apposition to one another within the same verse (whether shading into attributive use or not) and only a few of the examples listed by Kook need be quoted in illustration of this usage: Glo 1146 ar, onbtbegr, Bwf 2198 eard, edelriht, Bwf 2493 eard, edelwyra, Vgl 44 nifum nearowrenuon.

1351 wyrdstafun : See the note for motum 13.

1352 āsweman : Thorpe and Collanacs both translate this verb by 'pine'; Grein gives sich hāren in his translation and Gordon 'grieve'; this interpretation is supported by the examples of the verb with this sense quoted in BT (under āsw̄eman) and in BTs (under āsw̄eman) from late Old English homilies and biblical translations. An alternative interpretation for the verb is first put forward by Cosijn (1898, p. 120) who suggests that the word has been misunderstood generally and that it is to be equated with bonan ... hweorfan 1354. Both senses, 'grieve' and 'wander', are available here to the modern reader of this poem who will find the context gives him little help in making his choice. A desire to increase the 'elegiac' qualities of the speech will favour the translation 'wander about' (as in Wyatt 1919, p. 289), but adds more than the text warrants. Craigie (1926, p. 75) prints āsw̄eman which can only be described as yet another possible interpretation of the text not followed in this edition.

1360 on angle : See the note for this phrase in line 880.
Andrew (1940, §122) points out that accennadne is singular. He suggests therefore that para is probably a scribal interpolation. Translators tend either to neglect the singular inflexion of accennadne or to waver between both plural and singular antecedents. An example of the former treatment of the text is found in Grein's translation:

`der Herr mein, der Gebieter der Helden und der Bruder dein, inmitten der Seen der Männer bester, die wir in England hörten irgend gemals geboren werden in Bibelins Gestalt ..`

The latter practice is illustrated in Collanze's translation:

`My lord, the prince of warriors, thy brother, the noblest of all men 'twixt the seas whom we in England e'er had knowledge of, of all those born in child's condition ..`

The difficulty does not seem to have been noted by any other commentators on Guthlac B and is probably illusory. As both Holtbuer (1884, p. 30) and Mitchell (1965, § 183.3(d)) point out, the verb of an adjective clause headed by para be may be either singular or plural. The plural tends to occur more frequently than the singular, but is not universal, for example see Ele 974-75. It seems logical therefore to extend this licence and to suggest that in such circumstances para be may be either singular (as accennadne here indicates) or plural.
1365 winige, MS wunga or wiinga (?): Thorpe reads wunga here and, putting forward the emendation wonga, translates 1365a 'departed, the plain's protector'. Grein at first accepts Thorpe's wonga into his text, but later (1865, p. 424) suggests the reading *wiinga 'amicorum'. This form is now generally adopted and is convincing both on grounds of sense and palaeography. The genitive plural specifies persons in the variations of this phrase, werga wraha 1363 and winauga wyo 1364, and has stylistic probability also on its side. A weak genitive plural form for wine appears in a similar phrase in Bwf 2567 winia bealdor. For a note on the form see III. 4/C.2(a).

1366 se sorjan del: Compare se wuldra del 1368 for the agreement of the demonstrative and see the note for line 1176.

1375 wes, MS wos: For a note on the confusion of h and w (?) in this manuscript see line 252.

1379 drusendne: Compare the note for gnornende 232 and see also III.4/D.1(e).

This is the last word on folio 52 and was recognised as the end of the Guthlac material in this manuscript by its first editor who notes (Thorpe p. 507):

The rest of the legend, which is void of interest, may be seen in Felix.
The upper part of the next folio has been cut away with loss of approximately six lines of text on each side. As folio 52 begins a new gathering it is impossible to estimate how much has been lost from the manuscript at this point. For further discussion of this problem and of its bearing on the authorship and value of Guthlac B, see III.2/d. It is likely that far more than the few lines once thought sufficient for a Cynewulfian signature have been lost. We are in no position to compliment the poet on his selection of material from the Vita as we do not know how much of the Vita he chose to versify. One cogent argument has been advanced in favour of the loss of at least one gathering from the manuscript here. Ker (1933, pp. 227-28) points out that the visible remains of two letters above the large capital H, the first letter on folio 53̈, suggest that there was less than one blank line before the section which begins Him þa æsæriaes:

... this section was not therefore introduced with more ceremony than, e.g. the canto of Christ on f.25̈.

In this part of the manuscript two or three blank lines are always left before the beginning of a new poem.
The words are glossed in alphabetical order. Thus я comes between яп and яф. The prefix ге- is disregarded in verbs which are glossed after the alphabetical order of the simplex. The letters п and л, taken together as one letter, follow т.

Where variant forms occur within the text for any one word, the form which occurs first is used as head-word. Preterite present verbs are glossed under infinitive forms, as are most participial adjectives. Hypothetical forms are marked with an asterisk and readings without manuscript authority are noted. The dagger is used for words found only in these poems. Cross references to the commentary are signalled by (N). The accent marks of the manuscript are recorded, but no attempt is made to show the capitals either of the manuscript or of the edited text and the expansions of manuscript abbreviations are silently given.
adv always:  a 13, 344, 839, 1190, 1255, 1262;  a 541, 632, 763, 1371; and see āwā

vb prefix, with bannan, bōdan, brecan, cennan, ceolec, drēogan, fleon, frefan, fyllan, fyrhtan, fyrran, fyssan, galan, gōtan, giean, gongan, heban, hāsapan, hwyran, legan, lyfan, nemnan, rēran, reccan, rīsan, sīnian, soñan, settan, springan, stīgan, sundrian, swēman, teon, bīsan, winnan, wrecan, wṛddan, wyrçan.

bannan stv 7 summon; 2pl pr subj abonne 299 (MS abunne, N)

bōdan stv 2 announce, offer; inf - 1374; 3s pr ind bōde 5; 3s pt ind bōd 160, 685; pp bōden 309, 723

brecan stv 4 destroy; pp bōcan 1367


cennan wkv 1 beget, be born; pp cenned 825, asm cennedne 1361

cool adj terrified; nsm - 692

cowealan stv 5 speak; 3s pt ind cowa 1347

dā m funeral pile; ns dā 668

dāl f disease, pain; ns - 940, 976, 1064; ēde 1022; gs ēde 1017; ds ēde 886, 956, 1136, 1162

ēdloma m one lamed by fire, wretch; npl sarne aeloman 912 (M)

ēdlbrau f force of the disease; ns - 962

ēdlwērīg adj exhausted by the disease; asm ēdlwērīgne 1008

ēdrēogan stv 2 endure; inf - 516; 3s pr ind ēdrēoged 92; 3s pt ind ēdrēog 532, 539

ē f law; as.ē 23, 55

ēbōda m messenger (of the law), preacher; ds ēbōdan 937

ēbylg n anger; as - 1237
aðeðr adv forthwith, quickly; - 1199, 1377

aþfeðt adj pious, firm in observing the law; gpl aþfeðtra 526

aþfera n evening; as - 1277; gpl aþféna 1242

aþferid f evening, eventide; as bæþferid 1215 (N)

aþferglœm m twilight; de aþferglœme 1291

aþfere m/f envy; apl aþféste 187; dpl aþfærum 712 (MS aþfærum, N)

aþfænan wkv l perform, fulfill; inf - 844; 3pl pr ind aþfæned 15;
inf geaþfænan 1237; 3s st geaþfænde 1108

aþfre adv ever; - 612, 866, 1119, 1229, 1237, 1260, 1360

after adv afterwards; - 27, 855

after prep after; + d - 23, 211, 471 (N), 811, 836, 877, 943, 1225,
1260, 1325; + a/d - 561, 998, 1093,
1334; from + d 492, 532; with + d 169
(N); for + d 129, 399; along, in + d
875, 883, 1275

after bon adv phrase then, therefore; - 1178

aftera opv adj second, following; asm bone afteran 1240

afterylf f maturity; as - 496

æþgwær adv everywhere; - 601

æþgwylæo pron each one, everyone; dsm æþgwylæum 33; ism æþgwylæo
1000

æht f possession; dpl æhtum 418

æhtwela m wealth, riches; apl æhtwelæan 388

ælan wkv l kindle, burn; 3s pr subj æle 1065; see also in-
elde plm men; gpl ælda 755, 821, 926, 975, ælda 824; dpl ælдум
1142

elda f age; time of life, youth, old age; as - 109; ge ælda 835 (N)
elmesse f alms, almsgiving; a elmessean 77

elmihtиг adj almighty; nsm - 242, 532, 555, 822, 930, 958, 1100;
æ elmihtiga 760, æhelmìhtiga 950 (N)
amen adj uninhabited; nsm - 216

ānig pron + g any; nsm - 755, 987, 993, 1251; gam āngles 1126, ānges 1129; dam āngum 1229, 1249

ānig adj any; nsm - 1247

ānīłī adj excellent; nsm opv ānīłīre 1320

ār adv formerly, before, earlier; - 27, 143, 369, 390, 859, 876, 1014, 1118, 1228, 1297; gō - 844; opv āror 210; spv ārest 179, 455, 562, 607, 826, 983

ār conj before; - + subj 1020, 1222; ār bon + subj 50; ār bon + ind/subj 1162

ārest spv adj first; nsm séo āreste 437; asm bonē ārestan 821; asf bā - 109; dam bām - 496; mpl bā - 975

ārenda n message; as - 5; apl ārendu 162, 724, 1296

ārgewyrht n former work, deed of old; as - 987; dpl ārgewyrhtum 1079

ārist m/f/n arising, resurrection; as - 1100; gs āreste 342

āt prep + d at, near, from; - 33, 258, 443, 559, 889, 922, 1174; + a/d - 1, 312, 982, 1009, 1052, 1174, 1209, 1216, 1336

āt f food; ge āte 736

āstryhte adj almost, close at hand; - bā 997, 1152

āstall m station; ds āstalle 179 (N)

āstwist f substance, existence; as - 500

āshela adj noble, excellent; nsm - 1287; asm āshelne 1287; gam āshelès 1146; nsm as āshela 1278; asf bā āshelan 926, 1105; isn bī āshelan 1301

āsheltungol m noble star; gpl āsheltungla 1314

āshelu pln excellencies; apl - 97; gpl āshela 43; dpl āshelum 459

āswisomōd adj ashamed; nsm āswisomōd 924
æflæn stv 2 flee from; 3s pr ind æflæða 504

æfor adj bitter; dpl æfræm 519

æfræfran wkv 1 comfort; 3s pr ind æfræfred 315; 2s pr subj æfræfre 1021

æfyllan wkv 1 cause to fall down, overturn; inf - 285

æfyrrhtan wkv 1 frighten; pp æfyrrhted 1326

æfyrran wkv 1 remove, expel; 3s pt æfyrde 748; pp æfyrrred 669

æfysan wkv 1 hasten; pp nsm æfysed 939

ægalan stv 6 sing; 3s pt ægel 1346

ægan prp v own, possess, have; inf - 482, 681; 3pl pr ind ægun 79; 2s pr subj æge 273; 3s pt ægte 523

ægætan stv 2 shed, pour out; 3s pt ind ægæat 522

ægiefan stv 5 give back, repay; 3s pt ind ægeaf 1026, 1163, 1224; pp ægiefen 660; ægefan 780

æglæsa m miserable being, monster; npl æglæcan 575

ægonfan stv 7 go, depart; pp ægonfan 470

æhebben stv 6 raise up; inf - 1156, 1160; 3s pt ind æhöf 1300; æhöf 399; æhöf 772, 1104; 3pl pt æhöfun 299; æhöfun 905

æhnæjan stv 7 pluck; 3s pt ind æhnæop 847 (N)

æhwyrfan wkv 1 turn away; 3s pt æhwyrde 459

ælegan wkv 1 withhold, lessen, deprive of; 3s pr ind æleged 92 (N); 3pl pt ælegdon 229

ælyfan wkv 1 allow; 3s pt ælyfde 481; pp ælyfed 423, 612, 1248

ån num one, a certain; nsm - 242, 401, 1000; asm ånne 27, ånne 601; gsm ånes 269; dam ånum 250;
pron one, gpl ånra 33; alone, wk nsm åna 101, 158, 207, 245, 277, 432, 450, 555; used with possessive pronoun ge ånes 388; dam/n ånum 441 (N)

ånad n desert; ds ånade 333, 356
Enbänd m hermit; gpl Enbändra 88
Änneman wkv 1 declare; 3pl pt Ännendon 42
Anforlötan stv 7 forsake, relinquish; inf - 187, 641
Änhoga m solitary; nam - 997
Anhödig adj steadfast; nam - 897, 978
Enself m hermitage; asm Enself 1240 (N)
Är m messenger, servant; ns - 1327, Är 684, 1146; gs Äre 1217; npl Äras 920
Äy f honour, glory; ns - 620; as Äre 480; a/ds Äre 766; dpl Ärum 450
Ärēran wkv 1 raise up; 3s pt Ärēde 179, Årēde 149; pp nam Årēred 1312
Ärēcan wkv 1 tell, relate; inf - 891, 1122, 1322
Ärisan stv 1 arise; 3pl pr ind Ärisal 32; 3s pt ind Ärē 1101, 1108, 1293; pp Ærisene 39
Ärlēaalice adv wickedly, impiously; - 565
Ärlēc adj fitting; ns - 526
Æäänian wkv 2 grow weak; inf - 1175
Æænian stv 1 shine; 3s pt ind Ææn 1308
Æettan wkv 1 place, set down; 2pl pr ind Æettan 701
Aspringan stv 3 spring out, fall away, fail; 3s pr ind Æspringed 20
Æstigan stv 1 climb, rise; inf - 26; 3s pt ind Æstāg 263, 392, 661, 1104
Æsoundrian wkv 2 separate, sever; 3pl pr subj Æsoundrien 1177; pp Æsoundred 515
Æswēman wkv 1 grieve; inf - 1352 (N)
Ætōn stv 2 set out upon; 2pl pr ind Ætōd 301
Ætol adj dire, terrible; nam gē Ætöl 116; asm bet Ætule 562
Ættrn m poison, venom; ds Ættr 668, 912
äprēotan stv 2 weary; 3s pt ind äprēat 844
äwa adv always, forever; - 670; äwo tō ealdre 786; sibban äwo 1043
äwinnan stv 3 gain; 2s pt ind äwunne 469
äwresan stv 5 strike; pp nsm äwresen 1154, 1286
äwredēdan wkv 1 support; pp nsm äwredēd 324
äwyrgan wkv 1 curse; pp damned, nplm äwyrgēde 255, 911; mp lē äwyrgēdan 25
badewōg n drinking vessel, cup; as - 985 (\(\ddot{\text{i}}\))

bælβase f blaze of flame; a/ds in bælβasean 676

bām, see bēgen

bān n bone; gs bānes 698; npl bān 380

bānoofa m bone dwelling, body; ns - 954; ds bānoofan 942

bānoofa m bone disease; ns - 1025 (\(\ddot{\text{N}}\))

bānfaet n body; ns - 1265, as - 1193

bānhus n body; ns - 1367

bānlocm m bone enclosure, body; ns - 980

bannan, see \(\ddot{\text{a}}\)-

bēt m boat; as - 1328

bēscen n sign, standard; ns - 1309

be-, with hlehan, hyogan, libban, niman, singan, swīsan, witigan

beald adj bold, brave; nsm - 1025

bealdor m hero, master; ns - 1358

bealonif m balesful malice, evil; as - 809

bēam m tree, light; ds bēame 847; gpl bēama 1309

bēarn n child; ns - 430, 787, 1076, 1080, 1166; apl - 1097; gpl bēarna 1130; dpl bēarnum 854

bearo m grove, wood; ds bēarwe 148, 429

bebod (bibod) n command, decree; as bibod 807; apl bebodu 34, 843; bibodu 75

bēgen n bothi; n bētū 380, 928; g bēga 87, 523; d bām 870

behlēhēn stv 6 laugh at, rejoice in; inf - 1357

behyogan wkv 3 consider; inf - 1349

belibban wkv 3 deprive of; pp belifd under lyfte 1308

gebelgan stv 3 enrage; pp asf gebolgne 303; nplm - 287
bēn  f  prayer; as - 777

bend  m/f bond, fetter; dpl bendum 573

beniman, see biniman

bōc, bōd, see wesan

bōdan stv 2 command, threaten, announce; 3pl pt ind budon 564, 744; 3s pt subj bude 915; also see ē-, for-, bi-

beofian wkv 2 tremble, quake; 3s pt beofode 1325

beorg m hill, mound; as - 148, 262, 429; biorc 175; ge beorges 383; ds beorge 192, 329, 439, 733; beorge 140; apl beorgan 209, 232

grave; ds beorge 1193

beorgan stv 3 protect (+ d pers, a thing); 3pl pr ind beorga 809; 3pl pt bur gum 730
inf gebeorgan 990

†beorgasbal m/n hill dwelling; as - 102

beorht adj bright; nsm - 854; asm beorhtne 798; asn beorht 843; gpl beorthra 941; asm bone beorhtan 1106; asf bē- 777; dsf bēre -1191; opv nam beorthra 1313; spv nam beorhtast 1309

beorhte adv brightly; - 1284

beorn m man; ns - 1328; gpl beorna 1358

beran stv 4 carry, bear; inf - 345; 3pl pr ind bered 798; 3s pt ind ber 170; 3pl pt bāron 117, 729
inf geberan 497; also see for-, tō-, on-, od-

besingen stv 3 bewail; inf - 615

beswīcan stv 1 deceive; inf - 568; pp nplm beswīcne 625

betran, betra, see gōd adj

bewītan wkv 2 observe; inf - 199; see witian

bi prep + d by, through, beside; - 70, 1234; bi sēm twōmum 266, 1359; bi hwo n 273 (why)
bi-, with beoden, bugan, cuman, cwanan, deglian, drōsan, drifan, fastan, følan, för, gongan, pytän, healdan, heilan, hōrian, lōsian, līpan, lūcan, midan, mūnan, nūtan, nītan, senan, sōn, sengan, beocan, beongan, werian

bibeoden stv 2 bid, command; 1s pt ind bibeđ 1297; 3s pt ind - 697

bibod, see bebod

bibugan stv 2 avoid; inf - 868, 990

bicuman stv 4 arrive; 3s pt ind bicwūm 1098

bicwedan stv 5 declare, say; 3s pt ind bicwām 360

bidan stv 1 stand, remain, endure; inf - 779, 787; 3s pr ind bidād 67; 3s pt ind béd 329, 914, 941, 1136, 1284, bēad 952

+ g await, wait for; inf bidan 289; 3s pr subj bidā 236; 3pl pr ind bidād 84;
3s pt ind bēad 550, bēad 217

gebīdan + a experience; inf - 835; 2pl pr ind gebīdād 636; 2pl pr subj gebīden 509

gebīdan + g await; inf - 378; also see ofer-
biddan stv 5 ask, pray for (+ a pers, g thing); inf - 479; 3s pt ind bed 332, 1158

bidēglian wkv 2 conceal; inf - 1252

biding f abode; ge lidinge 209

bidōsan stv 2 deprive of; pp nplm bidōre ne 626, 901

bidēfan stv 1 drive, constrain; 3s pt ind bidēf 597

bifastan wkv 1 secure, bury; 3s pr subj bifaste 1193

bifōlān stv 3 consign to; pp nplm bifōlēne 626

bifōn stv 7 surround, encompass; pp nam bifongen 994; nplm bifongne 627

biforan prep + d before; post pos him biforan 974

bigān anom vb + d enjoy; inf - 104
bigongan stv 7 attend to, practise; 3pl pr ind bigongan 805;
3e pr subj bigonge 28

bigydan stv 5 get, obtain; 3pl pr ind bigydan 25

bihealdan stv 7 behold; inf - 815; 3s or ind bihealdan 318;
3e pt ind biheald 105

bihelien wkv 1 hide, bury; pp asm bihelien 1353

bihöriian wkv 2 + g behave; 3s pr ind bihöriian 361

biliösen stv 2 + g deprive of; pp nplm biiolen 1170, 1327

bililan stv 1 depart; pp asm bilidene 1338

biliösen stv 2 lock up; 3s pr subj biliösen 1194; 3e pt imbiliösen 1245

binidan stv 1 hide, conceal; pp bimiben 147

bimurian stv 3 mourn for, reckon; 3pl pr ind bimurian 130

bimutian wkv 2 change; pp bimutian 71 (MS bimutian, N)

bindan stv 3 bind; 3s pt ind bond 696; pp nplm gebundne 886

binöton stv 2 + g deprive of enjoyment or of use; pp nplm

binömen stv 4 take from, deprive; 3pl pt ind binömen 342; pp

biong, see behog

*bisacu f dispute; ge bisacce 217 (N)

biscorion, see byscorion

bisen, see bisen

bisibon stv 5 look; 3s pt ind bisibon 1302

bisicengage wkv 1 sink, lower; 3s pt bisicengage 666

bisengan wkv 1 singe; pp nplm bisengage 624 (MS bisicengage, N)

gebiaged, see bysgian

bitter adj cruel, bitter; nsm - 1025; asm - 985; asm bone
bitran 868
bitwēon prep + a/d between; deaywoman - 7 bāre duorcian niht 1218
bia, bích, see wesan
bibeocan wkv 1 cover, cover over; 3s pt bibeahē 1281; 2s pr subj - 1377; pp nsm bibeahē 1031
bibeocan wkv 1 remember; 2s pr subj bibeocē 1296
biverian wkv 1 forbid; pp asm biveredne 848
blēo adj shining, pallid; nsm - 1331
blēd m prosperity, joy; property; ns - 43, 439; as - 102; gs blēdes 422, 931, 1374; ds blēde 497
blēst adj wretched; asm bonne blēstān 990
blēd f shoot, fruit; as blēde 847
blēo n form; as - 911
bletsian wkv 2 bless, consecrate; 1s pr ind blestige 608; 3s pt ind blestade 178; 3pl pt blestadon 733
bletsung f blessing; as/pl bletsunga 672
blindnes f blindness; ds blindnesse 628
blīs f joy, exultation; ns - 954, 1082; gpl blīssa 1374; dpl blīssum 1106, 1317
blissian wkv 2 rejoice in (+ d), be glad; 3pl pr ind blissiað 497; pp geblissad 722
blīpe adj happy, blithe; nsm - 439, 787, 942; ism blīpe 335; ism - 608; nsm sc blīpa 944
blīd n blood; ns blīd 380
blōdgyte m bloodshed, pouring out of blood; ds burh - 305
blōdig adj bloodstained, bloody; nsf - 698; dpl blōdsum 289
geblonden stv 7 mingle, blend; pp geblonden 668
blōwan stv 7 flourish, blossom; pp geblōwen 743; nplf geblōwane 1275
bōe f book; npl bōe 528, 878
bodian wkv 2 announce, proclaim; inf - 1115
bold n building, dwelling; ns - 140; ge boldes 84; and cf. botl
bolgenmód adj enraged in mind; npnl bolgenmóde 557
gebolgne, see belgan
bona m slayer, killer; ns - 87; npnl bonan 429; gpl bonana 523
bót f remedy; as bőte 628
botl n abode, house; ge botles 329, 384; cf. bold
braidwís adj wise in deceit, crafty; nsm - 87
breahm m noise, tumult; ns - 262; breahmen 1325; ds breahme 1325; gpl breahma 910
breæan stv 4 force a way into, storm; 3s pt subj breæe 209 (N)
bredædan stv 3 fling, drag, turn; inf bredædon 676; 3pl pt brugdon 906 (N), 910; see also od-
gebræædan stv 3 + d draw; inf - 1165
brægan wkvl frighten, terrify; 3pl pt brægdon 564
bræme adj famous, renowned; npln - 883
gærendæan wkvl bring; 3pl pt gebræhton 557
bringan stv 3 lead; 3s pr subj bringe 48; 2pl pr ind gebringæd 378
*breadwan wkvl 2 strike, strike down; 3pl pr ind breadwian 287 (N)
bræost f/n breast; dpl bræostum 543, 654, 798, 804, 843, 954, 964
bræosthord n treasure of the breast, mind; ns - 944
bræostsefa m mind, spirit; ns - 309, 335
brimwudu m ship; ns - 1331
bræga m terror; ns - 140; as brægan 84
brondhát adj ardent, burning; nsf - 964
broæmung f corruption, decay; ns - 828
bræhor m brother; ns - 714, 1358
bræhersibb f brotherly love; asen bræhersibbe 804
brūcan stv 2 + g enjoy, make use of; inf - 35, 211, 220, 338, 745, 931, 1191; 3s pr ind brūcād 383; 3pl pr ind brūcād 21, 75, 759; 3pl pt brūcan 417; pp gebrocan 422

bryce m breaking, fracture; ns - 698; as - 729

bryd f wife, woman; ns - 870

bryne m fire, flame; as - 573

brynnewylm m surge of flame; as - 672

brydan, see in-, on-

brypen f brewing, drink; ns - 980 (N)

bügan stv 7 occupy, take possession of; inf - 102, 1240; 3pl pr ind bügād 298; pp gebāen 305

bügan stv 2 sink; pp was him in bogen 1024; see also bi-

burg f city, dwelling place; as - 812; ds byrig 1191; dpl burgum 883, 942, 1367

burgsale n city dwelling, dwelling-places; spl ofer burgsale 1284 (N), 1331

burgstede m city place, citadel; ns - 1317

butan conj + ind but that; - 132

pret except for, without; + d - 245, 841; + a/d - 678, 1231

bung, see bōgen

byegan wkv 1 + g buy; 3pl pr ind byogād 76

gebyldan wkv 1 to make bold; pp gebylded 475

byre m child, descendant; npl - 985

byrelian wkv 2 pour out, serve; 3s pt byrełade 870, byrłade 982

gebyrman wkv 1 ferment; 3s pt gebyrđe 981

byran stv 3 burn; inf - 192; 3s pt born 938, 964, 980

byscyrian wkv 1 deprive, separate; pp byscyredē 145, 895, biscyredē 673, bisoryredē 1074
**bysen** f. example; ns - 175; spl **bisena** 528

**bygian** wkv 2. afflict; 3s pt **bysgade** 1018; pp **gebysgad** 1013, 1136; **gebysgad** 1197

**bysgu** f. affliction, distress; ns - 714; apl - 546; dpl **bysgun** 1110

**bytla** m. builder; ns - 148 (N), 733
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oearful</td>
<td>adj full of care, sorrowful</td>
<td>nplm oearfulle 577;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>apl oearfulra 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þeargœst</td>
<td>m woeful demon; gpl þeargœsta</td>
<td>393 (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cearu</td>
<td>f grief, sorrow; dpl cearum</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cecater</td>
<td>f city, castle; dpl cecastrum</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cemma</td>
<td>m champion, warrior; ns - 153,</td>
<td>180, 324, 402, 438,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>513, 580, 727, 901; as cemman</td>
<td>558, 576, 688; as - 889;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>npl - 797; apl - 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cennan</td>
<td>wkv 1 give birth to; 3pl pr</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ind gennad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ascribe to + d; 1pl pr ind</td>
<td>183 (N); also see -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gecœsan</td>
<td>stv 2 gain, obtain; 3s pt gecœs</td>
<td>880, 935; pp nplm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as gecœrene 59, 797; asm gecœrene 1004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oild</td>
<td>n child; gs cildes</td>
<td>1361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oirm</td>
<td>m noise, clamour; ns - 393;</td>
<td>as - 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oirman</td>
<td>wkv 1 shriek, yell; 3pl pt cirm</td>
<td>908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olæne</td>
<td>adj clean, pure; ns - 29; naf - 536; asf - 799; spv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>df bare olænestæn 822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olæne</td>
<td>adv wholly, completely; - 580</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gleopian</td>
<td>wkv 2 cry, call; gleopedon</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olom</td>
<td>m bond, chain; prison; as - 598; dpl olommum 540</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geonœwan</td>
<td>stv 7 perceive; 3s pt geonœow</td>
<td>957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onœo</td>
<td>n knee; dpl onœowum</td>
<td>1041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onœoris</td>
<td>f generation; dpl onœorissum</td>
<td>819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oœlian</td>
<td>wkv 2 cool, grow cool; 3s pr</td>
<td>ind oœlab 38; 3s pt oœlode 1307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oompian</td>
<td>wkv 2 fight; inf - 345; 3s pt oompode 643</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oondel</td>
<td>f/n candle, lamp; ns - 1290</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corðor</td>
<td>n band, company; ds corðre</td>
<td>908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geocostian</td>
<td>wkv 2 try, tempt; pp geocostad</td>
<td>153, 536, 580 (MS geocostad 153, N)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
costing f temptation, tribulation; ns costung 438; npl costinga 38

croft m power, skill; as - 87; ds crofte 198

cuman stv 4 come; inf - 23, 29, 366, 777, 951; 3s pr ind oymed 10, 510, 1350; 3s pt ind swom 140, 148, 185, 684, 732, 747, 1272, 1282, 1291, 1344, oam 1141; 3pl pt owman 212, 350, owman 594; 2s pt owme 455; 3s pt subj - 432; 3pl pt subj - 237; see also bi-, ofer-

cunnan prp v know, can; 2s pr ind onst 1045, 1377; 3s pr ind onn 721; 2pl pr ind conn 479; 3s pt suðe 295; 1pl pt subj oibben 751; pp suð 536, 819

cwealm m/h death, slaying; as - 224, 858; gs cwealmen 223; ds cwealme 23

cwéman wkv l + d please, give pleasure to; inf - 306; 3pl pr ind cwémad 462; 1s pt cwénde 1085; 3s pt geowénde 949

cwedan stv 5 say, speak; 3s pr ind owid 4; 3s pt ind owid 239; 3pl pt owedon 192, 236, 577; see also -a-, bi-, on-

cwio adj alive, living; gpl cwiers 1249

cwide m speech; as - 1223

cwihan wkv l lament; 3pl pr ind owihad 223

cynne m coming, arrival; ns - 830; as - 972; npl - 1223

cyn n race, kin; ns - 311, 917, cynn 413; gs cynnes 755, 821, 975, 988, 1204, 1250, 1362; ds cynne 683, 864

cyning m king; ns - 17, 682, 822; ds cyninge 91; gpl cyninga 17

cyrren wkv l turn; 3pl pt oyrdon 908; also see on-
cyst f choice, best; ns - 853

cyðan wkv l reveal, make known; 3s pr ind cyðed 769; 3pl pr ind cyðed 529; 2s pr subj cyðe 1222; 3pl pt cyðdon 735;

inf to geofdenne 1249; 3s pr ind geofhæd 402 (N); 3s pt geofhæde 403, 1160; imp s geofh 1182; pp geofhæd 94, 48, 531
dām f action, deed; apl dāme 80, 527, 721, 772, dāde 466; gpl
dāde 123, 254; dpl dādem 240, 493, 619, 949, 1085

dag m day; ns - 1098, 1141; as - 1106, 1151, 1256, 1277; ge
dages 610; npl dagas 969, 1135; apl
dagas 772; gpl daga 1001, dagan 949; dpl dagum 51, 618
daghlütte adv brightly as day; - 693
daghwām adv daily; - 80, 386
dagredwōma m herald of dawn; ns - 1292 (N)
dagwōma m dawn; ds dagwōman 1218
dāl m part, share, portion; ns - 247, 381, 1366, 1368; as - 183, 516; ds dāle 728; dpl dālum 54
gedēlan wkv l divide, separate; inf - 227, 372; 3s pr ind gedēled 3; 3s pt gedēlde 331, 740; 3pl pt subj
gedēlde 969 (N); pp gedēled 54
daru f hurt, harm; a/ds dare 700
dēaglian, see bi-
dearninga adv scarcely; - 1252
dēašerende ptc adj death bringing; as - 850
dēašgedāl n separation of death; ns - 963
tēašmagen n deadly band; npl - 895
dēašeela m death hall; ds - 1075
tēašwēge n fatal drink; ge tēašwēges 991 (N)
dēgle, see dīgol
dēma m judge; ns - 703; as dēman 618; ge dēman 783, 1188
dēman wkv l judge; inf - 549, 554; 3s pr ind dēmed 373; 1pl pr
subj dēmen 527; 2pl pt dēmān 493; pp gedēmed 1059
dœfol m/n devil; gs dœfles 850; gpl dœfla 895
dœop adj deep, profound;asm dœpne 669, asm dœop 1292; gpl
dœopra 853, 863; gs wk dœopan 991 (N)
dœope adv deeply, entirely; - 554, 583, 1349

dœophyogende pto adj deep-thinking, wise; nsam - 1112
dœophydig adj profound; nsam - 1001
dœoplice adj profound; nsn - 1130
dœoplice adv profoundly; 1121

dœor n animal; ns - 276; npl - 907
dœoro adj dark; nsn - 1098; dsf bære deorean 1218
dœore adj dear, precious; nm dœre 693; asf dœore 1059; gsm
dœoa deoran 69; dam bœm dœoran 871
dœore adv cruelly; - 969

dœormod adj bold in mind, brave; nsam - 952
dœorwyrde adj precious, of great worth; asm dœorwyrdne 183
dim adj dim, wretched; dsf bære dimman 1162
dœgor n day; npl - 1038; gpl dœgra 56, 321
dol adj dull, foolish; dam dolum 464
dœm m judgment, law; ns - 444; as - 601, 610, 669; dœm 135,
706, 772; es dœmes 972; ds dœme 111,
1362; apl dœmes 14, 56
dœmēadig adj blessed with power; nsam - 727, 952
dœmēfest adj just, righteous; gpl dœmēfestra 1083
dœn anom v do; 3pl pr ind dœn 61, 129; imp pl dœn 592
inf gedœn 314, 700

dragan stv 6 draw oneself, go; inf - 727
drœam m joy, rejoicing; ns - 11, 662, 1083; as - 195, 495, 1304,
1316; gs drœamas 830; ds drœame 64,
626, 1101; apl drœamas 3, 123; gpl
drœame 330, 680; drœamum 740, 901
**drēogan** stv 2 keep up, endure; inf - 235, 259, 341, 635, 680, 1349;
3s pr ind **drēoged** 386, 1355; 1pl or
ind **drēoged** 49; 3pl pr ind **drēogad**
213; 3s pt **drēag** 524; 3pl pt **drugon**
115; 1s pt subj **druge** 487

**dreasign** adj mournful, sad; asm **dreaign** 1139; asf þæs **drōgan**
1085

gedrēasan stv 2 fall; inf - 372; also see bi-
drifan, see bidrifan

droht m/n? manner of life; gs **drohtes** 1162 (N)
drohtab m way of life; ns - 684

drūsian wkv 2 become slow, sink; pr ptc asm **drūsendne** 1061 (MS
**drusende**, N), 1379

dryht f people; pl men; gpl **dryhta** 1130

dryhten m lord, master; ns - 54, 224, 321, 379, 516, 554, 592,
703, 788, 1083, 1101; as - 14, 90,
479; gs **dryhtes** 116, 123, 159, 240,
259, 314, 386, 444, 579, 583, 652, 684,
693, 727, 893, 901, 963, 1067, 1121,
1135; ds **dryhtes** 69, 80, 183, 215,
341, 464, 527, 612, 631, 721, 740, 841,
1112

dryhtenbealu n loss of lord; a - 1349 (N)
dryman wkv 1 be joyful, rejoice; inf - 14

dryne m drink, draught; as - 868, 990
dryre m decline, ceasing; ns - 830

pedūfan stv 2 plunge, dive; inf - 583
dugan prep v, imper s d befit; 3s pr subj **dūge** 384 (MS **buge**, N)
duguʒ f excellence, virtue, salvation; ns - 684; gs **dugube** 479;
gpl **duguba** 895, **duguba** 1075

body of retainers, host; gpl **duguba** 1061; dpl **dugebun**
893, **dudeum** 1098

duru f door; as - 991

*duuran* pt or v dare; 1s pt **dorste** 1211
gedygan wkv l escape, survive; pp gedγed 436
dγgle adj secret, hidden; asf - 159; nsf sōo dγgle 215
dγgol n darkness; ds dγgle 466; dēgle 952
dyrne adj hidden, secret; nplm - 453; nlf - 466
ēac adverb also; - 300, 1182, 1192, 1374; swyloē - 166
prep + d besides; - 206
ēaca adjective addition, increase; de ēacan 381
ēad noun bliss; gen ēades 1192
ēadig adjective happy, blessed; nsm - 176, 441, 745, 880, 1026, 1285, 1294, 1306; gen ēadges 736, 1319; dat ēadgum 937, 1005; gen ēadigra 555; nsm se ēadga 590, 1109, 1163, 1224; nsp seō ēadg 2
ēadwela noun riches, blessedness; a/ds or apel ēadwelan 1091 (N), 1118
ēafora noun child, pl men; dpl ēaferum 855
ēage noun eye; apel ēagan 1301; gen ēagena 166; dat ēagum 414, 1254
ēahtan verb 1 + g persecute; inf - 346; pr ind ēahteð 88
ēahtian verb 2 think; pr pt ēahtade 336
ēahtēda noun eighth; ism bisse ēahtēpan 1037
ēald adjective old; opv asm yldrān 4; gen yldrān 500
yldrān opv as sb elder; nplm yldrān 750, 973
ēaldfeond noun old enemy, devil; ns - 365; gen ēaldfeondas 203; gen ēaldfeondas 141, 390, 475; npl ēaldfeondas 218
ēaldian verb 2 to grow old; pr ind ēaldā 43
ēaldor noun elder, superior; gen ēaldres 420 (N)
ēaldor noun life; eternity (in dative phrases); de ēaldre 636, 786, 1119, 1229
ēaldorgewinna noun life enemy, deadly enemy; dpl ēaldorgewinnum 534
ēaldorlegu noun death; de ēaldorlega 1260
ēall adjective and sb all; nsp - 279, 373; eal 325; nsm eall 532, eal 42, 1309; nsm ealne 103, 817 (MS ealne); nsp ealle 119, 200, 253; gen eala 68; nplm ealle 548, 760 (or f); nplf ealle 50; nplm eall 96,
eall adv completely, entirely; - 414; eal 1320

ealle adv completely, entirely; - 299, 1171

ealles adv entirely, of all; - 469, 601, 662

Salond m island; ns - 1325

em, see wesan

eard m dwelling, land, home; as - 897, 1182, 1372; gs eardes 220, 745, 1366; ds eard 256, 428, 656; npl eardas 297; apl eardas 351; gpl eard 308

eardfast adj settled, established; nsal - 786

eardian wkv 2 dwell; 3pl pr subj eardian 55

eardwic n dwelling-place; gpl eardwica 853

earfeda n hardship, suffering; ns - 1065; npl earfeda 194; apl earfeda 225, 1355; gpl earfeda 207; dpl earfeda 245, 432, earfeda 457, 556

earm adj wretched, poor; nsal - 454; nolm earm 210, 575, 912; apl earm 77, 519; gpl earm 297, 339, 405, 437, 904; dpl earm 686

earnian wkv 2 + g earn; 3pl pr ind earniađ 795

ear, see wesan

eastan adv from the east; - 1291

eastorti f Easter; as - 1102

ead adv easily; - 242, 250, 457, 488, 556

eadmēd f/n humility; apl - 103, 776; dpl eadmēdum 28, 480

eadmēdum adv humbly; - 920

eadmōd adj humble, obedient; nsal - 525, 599, 1301

eawed, see īwan
[Natural Text]

**see** adj eternal; ns - 67, 930, 1100; nsf - 880; asm **see** 638, 791, 1182, 1267; asm **see** 15, 634; 
    gsm **see** 783, 1188; gsm **see** 72 (N), 795; nsm se **see** 381; asm pet **see** 62, 126;  
    dem hám lêofestan **see** 656;  
    dem/dpl hám **see** 1079, 1186, 1371

**tædergong** m baggery, destitution; ns - 11 (N)

**edlæan** n reward; gpl **edlæana** 1078 (MB edlæesp/nan)

**edwif** n reproach; as - 488

**edwitspæca** m scornful speaker, secoffer; npl edwitspæcan 447

**efne, see **efen

**efne** adv even, just; **efne swæ** 592; **efne hæs ilcan** 973

**eft** adv afterwards, again; - 196, 281, 355, 365, 390, 428, 687, 908, 910, 920, 924, 1186, 1243

**efecyme** m return; as - 736

**ega** m terror, awe; as - 686

**egesla** adj horrible, fearful; ns - 141

**egla** adj hateful, leathsome; nsf - 962 (MB engla); dpl eglaum 405

**egsa** m terror, fear; ns - 72, 167, 420; as egsan 565; ds egsan 203, 692; apl egsan 86; s/ds - 339, 731

**éhtend** m persecutor; gpl **éhtendra** 525

**ellen** n courage, strength; ns - 1348; as - 203, 450, 1271; ge 
    elnes 897, 978, 1226, 1294, 1327; ds 
    elne 158, 190, 293, 328, 342, 475, 532, 940, 1026, 1108, 1136, 1285; is - 950

**ellenheard** adj courageous; ns - 1165

**tellenspræg** f powerful speech; apl tellenspræge 1155

**ellenweor** n brave deed; apl - 641

**ellorfûs** adj ready to depart; asm ellorfûnes 1054

**ende** m end, death; ns - 369, 1206; as - 135, 225, 835, 1022, 1037;  
    ds - 443, 678
endedōgor n final day; ns - 933 (N), 1152; as - 1285; ds - 1167, 1201

endid an wkv 2 end, make an end; 3pl pr subj endien 50

enge adj painful; nsm - 997

angel m angel; ns - 2, 4, 112, 116, 172, 190, 253, 336, 356; as - 315, 1242; ge engles 135, 1124; mpl engles 88, 1306; mpl engla 11, 325, 670, 782, 945, 1132, 1314, 1319; dpl englum 607, 681, 1192

tangelound adj angelic; asf angelounde 101

de, see see gān

eam, see see wesan

eorl m man, warrior; ns - 1165; mpl eorla 1108, 1206

eorde f earth; ns - 373; as eorban 119, eordan 647; ge eorban 2, 43, 381, 388, 795, eordan 728, 1366; ds eordan 1377; a/ds eorban 15, 220, eordan 333, 428, 525, 712, 755, 933, 1102, 1127

eordlice adj earthly; nsm - 261; apln - 97

eordwarae plm earth's inhabitants; dpl eordwarum 607
eordwela m earthly wealth; ns - 62; ge eordwelan 319

eow, see gā

eoware poss adj your; nsm - 261; a/ds eoware 707; mplf eoware 466; dpl eowrum 241

ermbu, see yrmbu

ést f grace, favour; as - 826

gēðan wkv 1 make easy, alleviate; 2s pr subj geehe 1206

ēgel m native land, country; ns - 67 (MS elč), ēgel 261, 852, 1091; ds ēgel 277, ēgle 355, ēgle 801, 844

tēhelboda m land's apostle, native preacher; as ēhelbodan 1003

ēhelond n native land; ns - 656

ēhelriht n hereditary right, ancestral domain; ds ēhelrihte 216 (N)
fæen n sin, evil; gs fænnes 1071; gpl fæna 586
fæo n period, space of time; as - 214
fæder m father; ns - 534, 825, 945, 1012, 1211; gs - 657, 801, 1236
fæge adj doomed to death, fated; nsm - 310, 1031; gem fæges 1346; dam fægum 1058; nplm fæge 560
fæger adj fair, beautiful; nsm - 825; naf - 743; nen - 657; asf pæ fægran 629; dam bæn fægran 1181; opv nsm fægerra 748; opv gan fægran 383; opv as/plm fægran 48; spl nsm fægrast 1; spl dam bæn færestan 836
fægre adv pleasantly, beautifully; - 152, 653
fæhe f hostility, enmity; as fæhde 186
fæle adj faithful, gracious; nsm - 173
fæmne f woman; ns - 1344
tærhaga m perilous hedge; ds tærhagan 960 (M)
tæringa adv suddenly; - 939
tærscyte m sudden shot; dpi tærscytum 186
tærspell n sudden message; gs tærspelles 1050
tæut adj firm, fast; nsm 955, 1032 (or n); npln faste 1274
faste adv firmly; - 960
tæstan, see bifætan
tæsten n fasting, fast; as - 808
tæstlig adj firm; nsm - 773
tædm m embrace; dpi tædnum 782
tæran stv 6 go, journey; 3s pr indфер 382; 3s pt tær 1329; imp s far 231, tær 1178 (N)
fæa pl adj few; nplm - 59; gpl fæara 173
feallan stv 7 to fall; inf - 283
gefeallan stv 7 fall, light upon; 3s pt him dat in gefeol 1008

téalög adj destitute; nm téalög 246 (n)

fédan wkv l feed; 3s pr ind fédæ 274

fela n indec a great number, many; n - 538, a - 59, 465; +g
n - 296, 872, a - 110, 143, 181, 189, 243, 308, 585

feng m grip, grasp; as - 436

félolan, see bífélolan

féohtan, see oferféohtan

géfeòn stv 5 trs rejoice; inf - 13, 421

rejoice in, with in + d; 2pl pr ind geféol 508;
3pl pt gefégon 213, 738

féond m enemy, devil; ns - 136, 864, 982, as - 803; gs féondas
442; mpl féondas 421; apl féond
152, féondas 748; gpl féonda 186, 201,
265, 326, 436, 566, 691, 902, 915, 961;
dpl féondum 773

feor adj far; nsf - 216

feor adv far, distant; - 1166, 1200, 1206

feorggedál n death; as - 1178, 1200

feorh n life; ns - 1036; as - 90, feorg 243, 1058; gs feores
291, 627; ds fère 130, 436, 442, 548,
995; gpl fère 396; ds 'forever'
widan ferh 817, tô widan fère 840,
tô fère 13

feorhowesalma m death, slaughter; as - 915

feorhgiefa m giver of life; ns - 1239

feorhhood m life's treasure, soul; as - 1144

tífeorhloca m life's enclosure, breast; ds feorhlocan 653

feorhneru f sustenance, food; as feorhnera 917

feorweg m distant path, remote journey; as on feorweg 257
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>föweræ</td>
<td>num four;</td>
<td>1134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>föran</td>
<td>wkv 1 go, depart; inf - 6; 2s pt förne 691; 2s pr subj före 1295</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ferían</td>
<td>wkv 1 carry, bring; 3pl pt feredun 1306</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ferð</td>
<td>m/n mind, spirit; ns - 1012; as - 1021; gs ferðes 923</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ferðwērīg</td>
<td>adj soul weary, sad; nem - 1157</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+fēðwēzwērf</td>
<td>m host on foot, drove; dpl fēðwēzwērfum 191 (N)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiftynu</td>
<td>odl num fifteen;</td>
<td>936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>findan</td>
<td>stv 3 find, find out; 3s pr ind finded 59; 3pl pt fundon 270, 349, 628, 889, 913, 918; 3s pt fond 1147, fond 1007 (N)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fīras</td>
<td>plm men; gpl fīra 864, 1250, fyra 998</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firen</td>
<td>f crime, wickedness; as fyrene 1071; gpl firena 858, 863; dpl firenum 265, 627, 508</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firenful</td>
<td>adj sinful; gpl firenfulra 560</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firenlust</td>
<td>m sinful lust; apl firenlustas 803</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flæcor</td>
<td>adj flickering; nsf - 1144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flæse</td>
<td>n flesh; ds flæse 994</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flæshoma</td>
<td>m fleshly covering, body; ns - 1031; as flæshoman 374 (N); a/ds flæshoman 586</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flænbrecu</td>
<td>f arrow-clash; ns - 1144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flæon</td>
<td>stv 2 flee, fly; 3s pt flæag 917; 3pl pt flugen 737; pl imp flæod 257; see also ḣ-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+flygerēow</td>
<td>adj wild flying, fierce in flight; apl flygerēow 349 (N)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geflyman</td>
<td>wkv 1 put to flight; pp geflymed 136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folc</td>
<td>n people, host; ns - 285; gpl folca 1239; dpl folcum 820</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folotoga</td>
<td>m folk leader, leader of a host; ns - 902</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foldarn</td>
<td>n earth house, flesh; ds foldarne 1031</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foldbūnd</td>
<td>m dweller upon earth, man; apl - 872; gpl foldbūndra 64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
folde f earth, ground; ns - 743; ds foldan 823, a/ds - 396, 808, 1311
foldweg m way over earth, ground; ds foldwege 1250
foldwong m earthly plain, earth; ns - 1326
folgian wkv 2 follow; inf - 1044 (S)
fon, see be-, on-
för f journey; as före 566
for prep + a/d for, because of; on account of; + a - 200; + d - 238, 294, 341, 458, 639, 661, 692, 1110, 1257; + a/d - 208, 933; see also forbôon, for ðy
for vb prefix, with bêden, beran, giefan, gieldan, grîpan, hyogan, lêtan, lêcan, scêan, scêdan, scêon, siltan, stonden, swelgan, swêdan, brycan, wyrmân
forbêden stv 2 forbid; pp asf forbodene 847
forberan stv 4 bear with, endure; 3pl pr ind forberað 804; 1s pt forber 488
fore prep + a/d before, in the sight of; for; on account of; + d - 11, 19, 88, 147, 402, 414, 465, 634, 658, 712, 783, 959, 1041, 1051, 1188, 1254, post p - 402; + a/d - 246, 339, 353, 462, 707, 764, post p - 528
foregenga m forerunner; as foregengan 533
forespreca m advocate; npl foresprecan 265
forgiefan stv 5 give, grant; pp forgiefen 1133
give up, commit; inf - 327; pp nplm forgiefene 461
forgieldan stv 3 give; inf - 588
forgrîpan stv 1 grasp, assail; 2pl pr subj forgrîpen 375
forht adj frightened; ns - 310, 961; cpv ns - forhtra 201
forhtian, see a-
forhyogan wkv 3 neglect, despise; 3s pt forhogde 741
forlætan stv 7 leave, surrender; 1s pr ind forlæte 1174; 3s pr ind forlæted 3; 3s pt forlæt 330

forlæsan stv 2 leave, forsake; 3pl pr ind forlæsade 503

forsæcan wkv 1 afflict, punish; 2pl pr subj forsæcan 377 (N)

forscædan stv 7 scatter, rout; pp nplm forsædene 478

forsæon stv 5 scorn, reject; 3s pt forsæah 96, 541; 2pl pt forsægon 630

forsittan stv 5 neglect; 3s pt forsæt 340

forsleondan stv 6 + d to protect from; inf - 702

forsweulan stv 3 swallow, devour; inf - 193

forswifdan wkv 1 overcome; 3s pt forswifde 966

ford adv forth, forward, away; - 36, 75, 841, 1277; before verb - 969, 1039, 1044, 1134

forbôn adv therefore, accordingly; - 46, 65, 526, 754; forbôn 316, 645; forðan 378

conj because; - 469, 585

forbryccan wkv 1 oppress, overwhelm; pp forbrycced 1198

forðslæ m journey, departure; as - 1148, 1181, 1346, forðslæ 939; gt forðslæs 1050

forðum, see furðum

forðwæg m onward course, departure; as - 801, 945

forð by conj because; - 1185

forwyrmæ wkv 1 + g deprive of; 3s pt forwyrnde 164

føt m foot; dpl føtum 285

fretwe plf ornaments; a - 1059, fretwe 1282 (N)

fretwan wkv 1 adorn, decorate; 3pl pr ind fretwan 806

fræsung f temptation; gpl fræsunga 189

fræa m master, lord; ns - 1222; as fræan 1080, 1148; gs - 1200
freone adj horrible, dangerous; asf - 566; ism - 191

freone adv horribly, boldly; - 974

freoness f danger, hazard; gpl freonesssa 110, 181

freofran wkv 1 console, comfort; 3pl pr ind freofrad 77; see also Æ-

fremde adj foreign, strange; nsm - 64

fremman wkv 1 make, bring about; 3pl pr ind fremmad 808; 3s pt fremde 292; 3pl pt fremedan 875

gefremman : 1s pr ind gefremma 715; 2a pr ind gefremad 586; 3s pt gefremade 207, 893, 1100; 3pl pt gefremedon 859; 2pl pr subj gefremme 466

freodryhten m noble lord; ns - 1021

freond m friend; ns - 715; gpl freonda 291, 453, 1012

freorig adj chilled, freezing; nsm - 1157

†freorigferð adj sad in soul; nsm - 1344

†freorigmóð adj sad in mind; nplm freorigmóða 888

freodian wkv 2 keep, protect; 3s pr ind freobad 243; 3s pt freóðade 396

gefreodian : 3s pt gefreobade 152, gefreóðade 442 (+ d); pp gefreobad 411

†freóðuweard m guardian of peace; ns - 173

frigman stv 3 ask, inquire; inf - 1010, 1211; 2s pr ind frignest 1228

gefrigman : find out by asking, hear; 1pl pt subj gefrungen 1360

frið m/n peace, truce; ns - 411; as - 257; ds friða 310

frófor f comfort, consolation; ns - 1211; as frófre 888, 923, 1236; gs frófre 136, 508, 936

from prep + d from, out of; 256, 277, 366, 459, 514, 1104, 1291; + a/d - 988, 1311

from adj strong, bold; nsm - 902; nplm fromne 349; nplm frome 181
fromlīce  adv strongly, boldly; - 453
frum  m beginning; ns - 823; a/ds fruman 982, 988
 prince; ns - 773
frumbearn  n firstborn; ns - 1071
frym  f beginning, creation; a/ds fryme 1; gpl frymbe 820
fugol  m bird, fowl; gpl fugla 743, 917
full  adj + g full of; nplm fulla 205
fulsum  m help, aid; ns - 189
fundian  wkv 2 go forward, desire; 3s pr ind funded 1089, 1264;
2s pt fundadest 6
furdox  adv further; - 1222
furdum  adv at first, indeed; - 1228, 1239; forsum 923 (N)
fus  adj eager, ready to go; ns - 1050, 1077, 1045, 1214, 1299,
1332, 1375, fus 945; asm füne 801, 1148, 1157, 1228
fuslēad  n death song; as - 1346
fyl  m destruction; as - 548
fylla  wkv 1 fill, fulfill; inf - 971; pp gefyllid 653, 1317;
see also -
fyr  n fire; as - 634; ge fyræ 191, 374
fyra, see fyræ
fyren  adj flaming, burning; ns - 1311
fyrene, see fyræ
fyrn  adv formerly, long ago; - 869, 973, 1258
fyrdagæg  plm days of old; dpl fyrdagum 629
†fyrgewyrht  n ancient decree; as - 971 (N)
fyrst  m space of time, period; ns - 110, 326; ds fyreste 836
fyrstgemaere  n appointed time; ge fyristgemaeres 1036
ffesan  wkv 1 hasten, depart quickly; 3s pr ind ffased 1266
gęst m spirit, ghost; ns - 116, 136, 162, 202, 258, 361, 367, 397, 451, 456, 499, 690, 722, 781, 838, 936, 944, 967, 1045, 1176, 1266, 1299, 1305; as - 5, 28, 345, 504, 694, 1303; gs gęstes 107, 802, 1115, 1220, 1235; ds gęste 36, 170, 188, 226, 544, 591, 643; is - 335; npl gęstas 560; apl gęstas 25, 519; gpl gęsta 89, 297, 339, 405, 437, 756, 904, 1133, 1204; dpl gęstum 100, 686 is gęsta 1060

gęstound adj spiritual, divine; asf gęstounde 771

gęstowalu f death of the soul; ns - 679

gęstgedal n separation of soul and body, death; as - 862; gs gęstgedales 1138

gęstgemynd f/a inmost thought; dpl gęstgemyndum 602

gęstgerýne n spiritual mystery; dpl gęstgerýnum 248, 1084, 1113

gęstgewinn n soul torment; ds gęstgewinne 589

gęsthålîg adj holy in spirit; asm gęsthålîgne 1149, 1241; apl gęsthålîger 873

gęstlîc adj spiritual; ams gęstlîcne 630; apln gęstlîceu 155; dpl gęstlîcum 177

gafûlreden f tax, tribute; as gafulrêdenne 986

galdor n speech; dpl galdrum 1207

gän anom vb ge; 3s pt in geode 1005

gegan : get by going, gain, happen; inf - 272; 3s pr ind gęgæd 499; 3s pt geode 158; 3pl pt geoden 753


gæse m cuckoo; npl gæseas 744
geofena, see giofu

gær n year; as - 744; apl - 936

gæara adv formerly; gæara tâ 40; gæasco 630

geard m enclosed space, dwelling, land; as - 791, 1267; dpl gæartum 1221

tgæargemaro m year; ga gæargemaroes 1241 (M)

gære, see gæara

gearwe adv readily, completely; - 1045, 889

gearwan wkv l prepare; 3s pr ind gearwad 100; gearwas 802; 3s pt gearde 177; pp gagearwad 690

gearu adj ready; nsm - 1175, gæare 292; asm gæarene 913; npl gearwe 89, 724

gæad f foolishness; as - 504, 1233

gæbaru f behaviour, bearing; a - 416

gæbed n prayer; apl gæbedu 809

tgæbihb (n?) abode, dwelling; dpl gæibhbum 874

gæcost adj tried, proven; aplm gæcostan 91

gæcynd n kind, variety; npl gæcyndu 44

gædæl n parting; as - 235 (M)

gædæfe adj fitting, seemly; nsm - 579; asm gædæfne 610

gædwola m error; apl gædwolan 259

gæfæa m joy, bliss; as gæfæan 48; a/ds gæfæan 382, 691; ds gæfæan 837, 1079, 1090, 1181, 1186, 1264, 1307, 1371; gpl gæfæana 1, 833

gæfæalfe adj joyous; nsm - 657; nsm - 825

gæfærscype m brotherhood, fellowship; ds - 1258

gæfærga adj + d famous among; nsm - 820

gægrunge adv directly, certainly; - 813

gæhæt n promise, vow; gpl gæhêta 941
gehba f. sorrow, anxiety; ns - 1208

gehwel pron + g each; asm gehwone 555; gan gehwone 311, 512; dam gehwene 321, 1242

gehwyle pron + g each, every; asm gehwylene 1255; asm gehwyle 396, 704, 965, 1244; gan gehwylene 926, m/a - 45, 587; saf gehwylene 43, 1075; dam gehwylene 63; saf gehwylene 332, 347; ism gehwylene 56

gehyed f/n thought, meditation; dpl gehyedum 473, 807

gelédi n way, path; as - 1292

geléfase m/n belief, faith; as(m) geléfase 796; ds - 652, 1111

geléjó adj like, similar; nplm geléjóe 664; aplf - 117

gelime n prosperity; ds gelime 268 (N)

gelimos adv often; - 7

gelong adj dependent (on on, qa); nsn - 313; aplf gelonce 252

gemuna n society, companionship; ns - 670

gemot n measure, portion; ns - 398

remote adv mostly, in a proper manner; - 501

gemofest adj moderate, modest; nsn - 1107

gemot n meeting, assembly; as - 127; ge gemotae 236

gemyd f/n remembrance, memory; as - 118, 474 (f); dpl gemydum 168, 215, 877

gemyndig adj + g mindful of; nsn - 1294; nplm gemyndige 89, 446; aplf gemyndigre 154

gén adv yet, still; - 521, 536, bá gén 515

géná adv still, again; - 155, bá géná 233, 446, 1270

geneahhe adv frequently, earnestly; - 697, 719

genir n refuge; ge genere 290

gené adj current, prevalent; nsn - 765
genip n mist, darkness; npl genipu 970; apl - 350

genōg adj enough; asm - 295

gēoa f aid, comfort, help; ds gēoea 367; a/ds - 137; g/a/ia - 738 (N); gpl gēoea 89

gēocenē n preserver, saviour; nsm - 1133

gēocoor adj sad, grievous; nsm - 1048; asm gēoearn 1138; asf hē gēocran 976

geofu, geofona, see giefu

gēogud f youth; as' geoguda 495, 499; ge - 419, 504, geoguba 21; a/ds geoguda 104

gēomor adj sad; nsm - 1208, 1354

gēomormōd adj sorrowful; nsm - 1220; asm gēomormōdes 1060

gēomrian wkv 2 mourn, sigh; pr pte ism gēomrende 1048

gēond prep + a throughout; - 30, 39, 68, 270, 501, 537, 761, 865, 883

gēong adj young, recent; nsm - 870; asm geongum 1048; gplm geongra 490; gplf gingra 1042; opv asm geongran 1062

gēorn adj + g eager for, desirous of; nsm - 867, 1045, 1078, 1267, 1299

gēorne adv eagerly, readily; - 107, 124, 177, 552, 805, 815, 1084; opv geornor 138; spv geornast 357

gōomīce adv eagerly, readily; - 602

gōotan stv 2 pour out, tell forth; inf - 1056; 3pl pt (subj?) gutan 1233; see also ē-
gērīne n secret, mystery; as - 1121; apl gērīnum 644

gēōlīnes f happiness, blessedness; ns - 12

gēsceafte f/n thing created, creature, creation; as - 371, 629, 777, 1117; npl gēsceafte 50; apl - 760; gpl gēsceafte 638

gēsērte adj soft, mild; nplm - 732

gēset n seat, habitation; apl gēsetu 1268
gesiðḥ f sight, vision; as gesiðḥe 816; a/ds - 841, gesiðḥe 759

gesiḷ m companion, retainer; ds gesiḷhe 1295

gestāl n charge, accusation; dpl gestālum 510 (N)

gestrēon n wealth, possession; gpl gestrēona 78

gesund adj sound, unharmed; asm gesundne 701

gesynta f health, salvation; ds gesynta 332

getimbre n building, foundation; npl getimbru 18; apl - 485

getrēowe adj true, faithful; spv aplm getrēoweste 709

gębaca m thatch, wrapping; nplm gębaca 1032

gėbeaht f/n counsel; a/ds gėbeahte 1216

gėbōht m thought; as - 300

gėbono m/n thought; ?npl - 368; dpl gėboncum 1253

gėbyld f/n patience; adv use of dpl gėbyldum 483, 914

gėbyldig adj patient; nam - 600

gėbynoda f honour, dignity; dpl gėbynodem 605

gėweisld n power, control; as - 29, 523; dpl gėweisldum 415, 596, 694

gėweoro n work; npl - 882; apl - 529

gėwin n strife, hardship; ns - 1081; as - 115; gs gėwinnes 134, 932; gpl gėwinna 961

gėwinna m opponent, enemy; npl gėwinnan 275

tgėwinworulď f world of turmoil; as - 857

gėvit n mind, reason; ns - 376

gėvita m witness; npl gėwitan 752

gėwitnesa f testimony, cognisance; as gėwitenes 720; npl - 758

gėwyrt n work, deed; dpl gėwyrtum 70

giedd n song; dpl gieddum 1233

giedan stv 5 give; is pt gied 869; see also ĭ-, for-, of-
gięfu f gift, grace; ns geofu 530; as giefe 100, 357, 893, 1115, 1246, gife 771; a/gs giefe 124; spl giesena 606, 755, geofena 1042; geofena 1303

gieldan stv 3 give, repay; inf gieldan 434; 3s pr ind gielded 124; 2pl pr ind gieldad 464; see also gięfn for-, on-

inf gęgylde 471

gieldan stv 3 + d exult over, boast in; inf - 239; 3pl pt gęlpom 265

gielpowde m boasting, boastful speech; as/pl - 1235

gielplie adj boastful, ostentatious; gsam gielpliie 167; dpl gielplium 419

gitera m garb, apparel; gu gierela 167; dpl gierelum 419

giełt adv yet, still; - 1221

gietyan, see bi-, on-

gif conj if, whether; + ind - 34, 276, 280, 289; + subj - 291, 433; amb, perhaps + ind - 592, perhaps + subj - 195, 842, 1159

gife, see gięfu

gifre adj greedy, eager; dsaq gifran 375; nplm gifre 738; dpl gifrum 407, 996

gim m jewel; ns - 1212; apl gimmas 1302

gimnan, see om-

git dual pron you two; n - 1371

gitsung f covetousness, desire; apl gitsunga 150

ględmōd adj joyful in mind, happy; ns - 1062, 1303

glęm m splendour, radiance; ns - 1278, 1289

glęsw adj wise, prudent; asa gęławsne 914; gum gęławsne 1221

glęswmōd adj wise in mind; ns - 1002
glēawnes f wisdom, prudence; a/ds glēawnesse 802

gnornian wkv 2 lament, mourn; 3s pr ind gnornedon 1266; 3pl pt gnornenden 232, 679, 1209

gnornsong f grief, sorrow; as gnornsoige 1335

gnornung f grief, sorrow; npl gnornungas 544

god m God; ns - 202, 242, 292, 395, 407, 449, 470, 495, 552, 606, 756, 820 as - 318, 439, 1081; as godes 5, 21, 40, 72, 95, 111, 162, 167, 182, 233, 272, 348, 490, 538, 569, 591, 660, 690, 724, 731, 746, 780, 787, 805, 815, 826, 848, 867, 873, 879, 884, 889, 1002, 1042, 1113, 1149, 1237, 1324, 1362, 1369; as gode 28, 102, 151, 206, 258, 304, 345, 367, 461, 643, 775, 820 as - 318, 439, 1081; as god* 28, 102, 151, 206, 258, 304, 345, 367, 461, 643, 775, 820

gød adj good; ns - 170, gød 580; dan godum 394; spl gødra 36; opv ns blever 779; gen blever 217; gen - 75; dem - 654; a/ds on - 378

gød n property, goods; spl gød 71, 107, 120

godhound adj divine; dan godhoundum 530; spl - 248

godrēam m heavenly joy; as - 630; spl godrēama 1299

tgodscyldig adj guilty against God, impious; npl godscyldige 862

godspel n gospel; as - 1115

gomen n joy, sport; as gomenes 1354

gong m going, journeying; npl gongas 731

attack; spl gongum 1017

fig. stream (of words); spl gongum 1161

gongan stv 7 go; inf - 571, 1002; 3s pr ind gonged 42; 3pl pr ind gonged 813; see also bi-

gråd m hunger, greed; adv use of spl grådu 738 (N)

gråp f grasp, cluthe; spl gråpum 407, 996

gråne adj green; spl - 232; nsm så gråne 746; asm bonne grånes 477
grōt n earth; ds grōte 1335
tgrōothord n earth treasure, body; ns - 1266
grōtan wkv l approach, speak to, greet; inf - 377, 1157; 3s pr ind grōted 5; 3s pt grōtte 357
gegrōtan : assail; 3pl pr ind gegrōted 316
grim adj fierce, cruel; nsp - 679; nplm grimme 547; asm bone grimman 571; spv dan þæm grimmestan 589
grimme adv terribly, cruelly; - 986
grimmes f severity, harshness; ds grimmyse 578
grindan stv 3 grind against; 3s pt grond 1335
grīpan, see for-
gromheort adj fierce-hearted; nplm gromheorte 569
gromhīdygg adj fierce-minded; nplm gromhīdge 375
grund m bottom, abyss; apl grundas 563
gyro m terror, dread place; as - 571
guma m man; ns - 35; apl gumena 495, 1204, 1362
gyld n food, fruit; as - 850; is gyfle 1301
gylde n giving, payment; as - 765
gylde, gegeylde, see gieldan
gyldp n pride, boasting; as - 662
gylt n guilt, crime; mpl gyltum 461
gyrede, see gearwan
tgynnwised pto adj. well-directed, knowledgeable; ns - 867 (N)
gyrn m/f/n grief, affliction; as - 862 (N); mpl gyrna 446
gyrnman wkv l g desire, want; ls pr ind gyrne 320
gegyrnman wkv l g obtain by seeking; inf - 258; 3pl pt ge gyrnand 72
gyrnwe sce f vengeance for injury; as gyrnwe sce 434
habban wkv 3 have hold; inf - 584, 617, 1055; 1s pr ind hafu 1067; 3s pr ind habba 4, 87, 647; 3pl pr ind habbad 800; 3s pr subj habbae 389; 2pl pr subj habban 672; 3s pt hafde 694

auxiliary + uninflected pp have; 1s pr ind habbe 1207; 2pl pr ind habba 309; 3s pt hafde 436, 546, 723, 747, 1113; 3pl pt hafdon 422, 426

höd m rank, kind; as - 1361, hö 4, 94; ge hödes 60, 500; npl hödes 31; apl - 52

hödre adv clearly; - 1283

höfentid, see øfentid

heft m captivity, bondage; as - 597

captive; npl heftas 725

hölan wkv 1 make whole, heal; 3s pt hilde 928

gebölan : 3s pt gebölde 885, 1245; 2pl pt subj gebölde 705

heleC(3) m hero, warrior; man; ns haled 928, hale 1145; gpl haleba 683, 890, 1203; halede 1129

höland m healer, Saviour; ds hölende 604

helmíhtiga, see almihtiga

hölu f salvation, safety; ns - 683; as - 171, 435, hale 890; a/de hale 397

thornflota m sea-ship; ns - 1333

hölig adj holy, blessed; nsam - 106, 361, 456, 513, 545, 582, 685, 789, 938, 1060, 1283; naman hölig 1088; asm hälige 94, 149, 799; asf hölge 617; aen hölig 559; gam hälges 842, 1006; dam hälgeru 631; aplm hälge 1302; apln hälig 34; gpl hälige 31, 65, 90, 121, 415, 491, 1316; dplf/a hälgera 807; naman sá hälga 108, 157, 896, 925, 951, 1049, 1323; asf af hálgen 812; aen het hálge 1290, 1310; gam bes hálgen 725, 1276; dam bám hálgan 10, 922, 1147
halsian  wkv 2  entreat, adjure; 1s pr ind  halse  1203

hâm  m  home;  na  hâm  677;  as  hâm  98, 149, 271;  ge  hâm  69,  hâmes 796;  da  hâm  10, 654, 871;  hâm  834;  apl  hâmâs  83;  apl  hâmâ  222

hêt  adj  hot, burning;  nsf  979, 1143, 1209;  asf  hête  1336;  nplm  1341;  aplm  1055;  spv  nsf  hêtes  1020

hête  adv  hotly, intensely;  - 1330

hêtan  stv 7  command, threaten, promise;  3s  pt  hêt  687, 1370, 1374,  hêht  703

gehêtan  :  2s  pr  ind  gehêtest  271;  3s  pr  ind  gehêted  363;  3pl  pr  ind  gehêton  234,  447,  570,  gehêton  548;  2pl  pr  subj  gehêten  240;  2s  pt  subj  gehête  456

heaf m lamentation, wailing; ns - 1047; as - 616
heafela m head; as heafelan 1270
heafod n head; ge heafdes 1302; dpl hæafdum 73
hæah adj high; asf NE hæan 412; epv nvm hyræ 397; spv nvm hyrast 63, eð hyrsta 16; eðm hyrastan 73
hæahgetimbru npl lofty building; apl hæahgetimbru 584
hæahbrym m exalted glory; ns - 1324
hæahtru f high place, glory; ds - 938; a/ds or apl - 796, 1088
healdan stv 7 keep, hold to, support; inf - 34, 717, 842, 1263;
3s pr ind healdæ 16, 249, 310, 397;
3pl pr ind healdæ 90, 157, 810; 3pl pr subj healden 55; 3s pt hæold 736;
3pl pt hæoldon 729
gehealdan : inf - 1058; 3s pt gehæold 542
healf f side; apl healfe 133
hēan adj low, mean, humble; ns - 454 (Mr heat), 925, 1353; gpl hēanra 995
hēanmōd adj humble in mind, abject; ns - 1379
heard adj brave, strong; ns - 176, 953, 1109; ns - 977; nplm hearde 275; ns - 545
hearmstaf m harm, affliction; apl hearmstafas 229
hēarsume, see hīrsum
hebban stv 6 lift, raise; 3pl pt hōfun 412, 899, hōfon 730; pp hafon 262; see also h-
hefig adj heavy, grievous; ns - 1009; asf hefige 1052; opv gpl hefigra 885
hefigian wkv 2 make heavy, grow heavy; 3pl pr ind hefigian 1029; 3pl pt hefigedon 956
hel f hell; ge helle 677; a/ds - 582, 616, 1104
heldor n hell door; ds heldore 559
helian, see bi-
†hellebegn m hell fiend; gpl hellebegna 1069
help f help, assistance; ns - 683; as helpe 890, 922
helpan stv 3 + g help; inf - 717
helwaru fpl body of inhabitants of hell; dpl helwarum 572
hōo, see hō
heofon m heaven; as - 647; ge heofon 1212; apl heofonis 435; gpl heofonis 1302; dpl heofonum 16, 31, 52, 66, 98, 106, 121, 251, 334, 510, 584, 685, 711, 747, 1104, 1283, 1316
heofonound adj heavenly, celestial; asm heofonounde 171; gen heofonoundan 83
heofoncyning m heavenly king; ge heofoncyninges 617, 807
heofonlife adj heavenly, celestial; ns - 1310; ns - 1290, 1323
heofonrīce n kingdom of heaven; gs heofonrīces 611, 789, 838
heolster m place of hiding, darkness; dpl - heolstrum 83
heonan adv hence, from here; - 1036
heorde, see hyrde
heoregrīm adj war-grim, savage; nsf - 979
heorte f heart; as heortan 799; gs - 368, 1205, 1253; s/as - 582, 611, 1009, 1052, 1143, 1209, 1336
hēr adv here; - 14, 23, 27, 250, 260, 301, 441, 792, 892, 931, 948, 1129, 1248; hēr on stonde 373, hēr on stondeb 256
thereocir m war shout; as - 900
therehlōs f hostile troop; as herehlōsē 1069
herenīs f praise; as herenīsse 616
herian wkv l praise, extol; ls pr ind herge 611; 3s pt herede 121
hī, see hē
hider adv hither, to here; - 274, 711
hīge, see hyge
thildescūr m war shower, flight of missiles; dpl hildescūrun 1143
him, see hē
hinder adv down; on hinder 676
hīne, see hē
hingong m going hence, departure; ds hingonge 811
hinsīp m journey hence, death; as - 1357
hīo, hit, see hē
hīw n shape, form; as - 710, 909; gs hīwes 900
hladan, see āp-
hlæstan wkv l load; pp gehlæstæd 1333
hlæford m lord, master; ns - 1357; as - 1053
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hleaktor</td>
<td>m laughter, exultation</td>
<td>as - 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlehan, see be-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hleo n protector</td>
<td>ns - 1012, 1061, 1365</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hloseas adj</td>
<td>unprotected, cheerless</td>
<td>nplm hlosease 222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hléonað m shelter</td>
<td>as - 251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hléonah, see hlinian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hléor n cheek, head</td>
<td>as - 334</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h流逝ropa n tear</td>
<td>npl h流逝ropan 1341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h流逝tan stv 2 + g</td>
<td>gain, obtain; inf - 972, 1041</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h流逝bor n sound</td>
<td>speech; ns - 1323; as - 685, 1156; gs h流逝res 1319; dpl h流逝rum 906</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h流逝brian wkv 2</td>
<td>speak, cry out; 3s pt h流逝rade 513</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlinian wkv 2</td>
<td>lean, slope; 3s pr ind hleonað 73; pp sam hlin-gendne 1147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h流逝sa m sound</td>
<td>fame; as h流逝san 157; gs - 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h流逝 f company</td>
<td>band; ns - 915; dpl h流逝um 896</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h流逝 adj</td>
<td>loud, ringing; asm h流逝ne 900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h流逝cr adj</td>
<td>clear, pure; asm bat h流逝tre 106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h流逝apan, see E-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hof n house, dwelling</td>
<td>ds hofe 1147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h?fian, see bi-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hold adj</td>
<td>gracious, kind; asm holdne 1353; nplm holda 280</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>holdlifoe adv</td>
<td>graciously; - 604</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hond f hand</td>
<td>ns - 259, 442; as - 303, 322, 458, 523, 737, 951; ds honda 131, 916; apl - 1300; dpl hondum 283, 410, 647, 705, 730</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hræ n body</td>
<td>as - 283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hræde adv</td>
<td>quickly, soon; - 422, est - 687; spv nsm hræpost 1109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hrēmig adj + d exulting in; ns - 1106
hrēow f sorrow, penitence; ns - 10
hrēowan stv 2 + d grieve; 3s pr ind hrēowed 811
gehrēowan stv 2 + a grieve; 3s pt gehrēaw 714
hrēowesig adj troubled, sorrowful; ns - 1053
hrēran, see on-
hrēre, see ūne
hrēber m breast, bosom; ns - 938, 979, 1052, 1129; ds hrēbre 1020, 1245, 1341
hrēberloca m breast; ds hrēberlocaan 1263
hrēdlēas adj inglorious, joyless; nplm hrēdlēase 906
hrēnan stv 1 + d touch, strike; inf - 283, 410, 520
gehrēnan + a/d touch, reach; 3s pt gehrēn 1027
hring m ring, circle; ns - 1339 (M)
hrēf m roof; as - 1312
hrēpan stv 7 shout, cry out; 3pl pt hrēopun 906
hrēye m fall; ds - 730
fall, death; ns - 829; a/da - 1093
hē adv how, in what way; + dir q - 366, 1011; + indir q - 95, 337, 879, 884, 1022, 1161, 1322
+ opv the more; lenge hē 20 (M), 138
hungor m hunger; ns - 275; ds hungre 916
hungrig adj hungry; nplm hungriga 737
hungriglowende ptc adj flowing with honey; nplf - 1276
hūre adv indeed, truly, however; - 769
exel - 361, 1221, 1234, 1356
hūs m house, dwelling-place; as - 251, 677, 802, 1290, 1310; hūs
hus 271, see under vē

hūsil n hest, Eucharist; ds hūsle 1300

þūsilbearn n communicant; as - 559

þūsilwerer n communicant; mpl þūsilweras 796

hūþ f booty, plunder; as hūþe 131

hwā pron who, what; asn hwet 1252; is bī hwon 273

hwār adv where; - 55

hwat adv, excl what, 1st; - 108, 517, 752, 1227

hwat pron, see hwā

hwabre adv however, yet; - 233, 446, 520, 557

hwéste adv however, yet; - 233, 446, 520, 557

hwearf m crowd, troop; mpl hwearfum 263 (m)

hwæorfan stv 3 turn, go, depart; inf - 572, 837, 1354, 1379; 3pl pr ind hwæorfan 812

hwider adv + indir q whither, to where; - 26 (m)

hwēl f space of time, time; as hwēle 423, 481; ds - 1225; adv use of mpl hwēlum 86, 907, 908, 910, 916, 919

hwon, see hwā

hwonan adv whence; - 1223

hwonnan conj when, until; - 111, 237, 779

hwōpan stv 7 threaten + d; 3pl pt hwōpan 190

hwyle pron who, which, what; nam - 400, 748

hwyrfan, see ð-

hyogan wkv 3 think, resolve; 3s pt hogde 1253

gehyogan resolve, hope; inf - 47; 2pl pr ind gehyogan 465

hyge m mind, heart; ne - 545, 1048, 1053, 1209; as - 66, 1020, 1061, 1139, 1379, hige 368; a/ds hyge 1253
hyregemor adj sad in mind, sorrowful; nsm - 1156; asm hyregemurme 1336; aplm hyregemore 885, 928

hygerif adj stout-minded, valiant; nsm - 953

hygeseomtor adj wise of mind; prudent; nsm - 1109

hygesorg f mind sorrow, anxiety; as hygesorge 1009, 1205, 1245

hyht m hope; ns - 98, 318, 659, 953, 1088; as - 90, 171, 435, 799; gpl hyhta 63, 925

hyldan, see on-

gehynan wkv l oppress, humble; 3s pt gehynde 592; pp gehyned 572

hyne, see hē

hēr, see hēa

hēran wkv l + a hear, learn; 1 pl pt hērdom 108

+ a d listen to, obey; inf - 280, 454, 604; 3s pr subj hēre 364

gehēran + a hear, learn; inf - 1170; pp gehēred 1316, 1324; 1s pt gehērde 1212; 3s pt - 1049, 1120

gehēran st + a belong to; inf - 33

hēronigen wkv 2 listen to, hear; inf - 1006

hērdan wkv l to make hard, brace; 3s pt hērde 1270

hērde m guard, shepherd; ns - 318, 789, heorde 747; gs hērdes 217; npl hērdes 550; gpl hērde 415

hēre, see hē

hērsum adj obedient; nplm hēarsume 705, 725; asm hērsume 368

hērwan wkv l despise; 3pl pr ind hērwað 65

gehērwan : inf - 491

hēhat(-), see hēa

hēd f harbour, port; ds hēde 1333
†inband m/f inner chains; dpl inbendun 955 (N)

imbryrdan wkv l incite, inspire; pp imbryrden 654

ingong m entrance, entry; as - 562, 993

inlýhtan wkv l enlighten, illumine; pp inlýhted 655; 3s pt inlýht 99

innan adv (from) within, inside; - 883, 938, 979, 1052, 1271, 1367

semi-prep + preceding d - 1065

innanweard adj inward, interior; nsm - 1320

inne adv inside; - 1003

imbrycean wkv l press forward, push; 3s pr ind imbrícéd 285

is, see wesan

ið adv long ago, formerly; gêara ið 40
lēo n battle, struggle; ge lēses 1034
offering, oblation; as lēo 1111
gift, message; as lēo 1298; ds lēze 307, lēse 1343 (m);
dpl lēcum 79
lēd f course, journey; ge lāde 1332
sustenance; as lāde 389 (m)
lācan, see nāc-
lēdan wkw l bring, take; inf - 7, 595, 689, lādon 721; 3pl pt lēddun 427, lēdon 784; 2s pr subj lēde 1297
gelēdan: inf - 1343; pp gelēded 621, 781, 1305; 3s pr ind gelēded 85, 131, 253; 1pl pt gelēddun 467; 2pl pt gelēddon 484; 3pl pt gelēddun 188
lēl f wound, weal; npl lēla 699
lēne adj transitory, fleeting; asf - 120; gsm lēnes 151; gpl lēbra 330; asf ās lēnan 371, 967, 1120; apl ās lēnan 3
lēran wkw l teach, instruct; 3pl pr ind lēran 24; 3s pt lērde 138
gelēran: inf - 279
lēs, lēast, see līt
lēstan wkw l perform, carry out; inf - 843; 3pl pr ind lēstah 24; 1 pl pt lēstan 1259; 3pl pr subj lēsten 843; imp s lēt 1171
gelēstan: last, serve; 3s pr ind gelēstan 376
lēst adj sluggish, late; asf lātu 903, 1265
lētan stv 7 allow, permit; inf - 199, 1259, lēton 520, 948; 3s pt ind lēt 777, 951, 1055; 3s pr subj lēto 364
lēton 126
lēt alone, give up; inf lēt 126
lagumearg m sea-horse, ship; ns - 1332
lēm n clay, earth; ge lēmes 1032; ds lēme 1194
lande, see lond

lær f teaching, instruction; ns lær 620, 1126; as/pl lære 1120, 1170; npl - 252; apl - 117, 794, læra 1006; dpl lærum 364, 453, 846

læreow m teacher; as - 1004; gs læreowes 359

læst m track, foot-print; dpl læstum 289; læst weardian 'remain behind' 1338

lætu, see lat

læte adv slowly; - 1164, 1225

lætteow m leader, lord; gs lætteowes 364

læð adj hateful, hostile; asm læðne 85; nplm læðe 577; asm læðen 595; opv gen læðran 236; spv nsn læðpast 588

læð n evil; gs læðes wiht 313, 699

lådian wkv 2 invite, call; 3s pr ind læbed 363

læðspel n hateful message; as - 1343

leahætor m crime, sin; dpl leahætra 832, 947, 1189

fleet; as leahætor 1072

leahæterléas adj faultless; asf leahæterléas 1087

læsn n reward; ns - 784; as - 15, 123, 588, 1087, 1093; apl - 92; apl læsna 1170; dpl læsum 1303

læsstan wkv 2 reward, pay; 3s pt læsande 449

læse adj + g free from, void of; nsam - 832, 925; asm læsne 947; nplm læsse 1189

leogan, see l-

léa, lêge, see lîg

lêgerbed m sickness bed, death bed; de lêgerbedde 1032

lengu f length; as - 512

læof adj dear, beloved; nsam - 1062, 1164; asm læofra 726, 1339; daf læofre 1298; nplm læofe 797; dpl læofum 1164; nsn min het læofe 1076; opv dan læofran 304; gesf - 551;
lēof n love; ge wiht .. lēofes 313
lēofian wkv 2 to be dear, delight; 3pl pt lēofedan 139 (N)
lēofīce adv kindly, lovingly; - 784
lēocht n light, glory; eternal life; ns - 8, 486; as - 583, 1369; ge lēochtus 613, 659
heavenly body; ns lēocht 1308; qpl lēohta 1282
lēocht adj bright, heavenly; dam lēohta 652, 1111; nsm sē lēohta 1289; dam hēm lēohtan 834
light, fast running; nsm lēocht 1332
lēohtes adv brightly, clearly; - 768
lēohtfruma n author of light; ns - 593; as lēohtfruman 609
lēoma n light, radiance; ns - 659, 1310; dpl lēohtm 655
lēomu, lēoma, see lim
lēoran, see ofer-
lēosan, see bi, for-
lēosbede, see libian
gelētan wkv 1 hinder; inf - 359, 1236
libban, see be-
lih n body; ns - 838, 929, 967, 1176, 1307; as - 1194; ge liheas 699, 829, 1072, 1093; ds lihes 3, 1298
lihfe n body vessel, body; ds lihfe 1090, lihfe 1369
liheoma n body-home, body; ns liheoma 371; as liheman 163, 193, 424, 1376; ge - 389; ds - 462; a/ds - 228, 338, 409, 551, 642, 761, 1099
+tlihord n body-hoard; soul (?); ns - 956 (N); as - 1029
life n life; ns - 20, 779; as - 62, lifr 126; gs lifre 74, 85, 99, 163, 172, 363, 417, 524, 593, 609, 659, 756, 794, 795, 829, 834, 838, 929, 932, 1047, 1176; ds life 238, 268, 620, 749, 946, 1248 (MB lifes), 1338

living thing; apl life 512

liffruma n giver of life, God; a/ds liffruman 637

lifgen wkv 3 live; inf - 273, 831; 3pl pr ind lifgen 460; 2pl pt lifgen 624; pr pto dan lifgendum 1234; apl lifgendre 818; nam sa lifgenda 1099

lifgedal n parting from life, death; as - 1046

lifweg m life-way, path of life; apl lifwegas 768

lifwela n life-riches, worldly wealth; gs lifwelan 151

life m/a flame; ns - 193; as lög 595; ds læge 375, 624; lige 1072

ligesearum n lying art, wile, snare; apl ligesearum 228

lim n limb; mpl leoma 838, 956, 1029, 1032, 1176; apl leoma 221, 1046

limhál adj limb-whole, unharmed; asm limhálne 689

geliman stv 3 happen, befall; 3s pt gelump 520, 665; 3pl pt subj gelumpe 194

liss f mercy, grace; apl lissa 834, 1076; mpl lissum 613

life adj pleasant, gentle; aplm - 768; mpl lifum 363

lifban, see bi-

libiian wkv 2 release, unloose; 3s pt leobode 392 (N)

lof m/a praise; ns - 393, 963; as - 24, 159, 491, 527, 609, 613

lombor n lamb; ds lomber 1042 (N)

lond n land, country; as - 151, 273, 307; gs londes 139, 146, 467, 818, 1282; ds lande 831; mpl londe 485

long adj long, lasting; nam - 904, 1046; asm longne 1180; def longere 1225; mpl þam longan 1090, 1307; mpl þam longan 120; opv nam longra 1034
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>longað</td>
<td>m desire; ns - 359; mpl longeþæs 316; apl - 330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longe</td>
<td>adv long; - 7, 624, 832, 1171, 1259; opv leng 236, 261, 424, 1058; lenge hū geornor 138; lenge hū sæl 20 (N)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longfyrst</td>
<td>m long space of time; as - 947</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longsum</td>
<td>adj long, enduring; aplf longsume 794</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lūcan, see bi-, on-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gelufian</td>
<td>wkv 2 love, treat with kindness; inf - 620 (N); 3s pr ind lufad 499, 761; 3pl pr ind lufiad 79, 808; 3s pt lufade 138; 3pl pt lufedon 161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lufu</td>
<td>f love, favour; ns - 38, 769, 964, 1189; as lufan 92, 1173; ds - 1257; a/ds - 462, 652; gpl lufena 1076</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lust</td>
<td>m pleasure, joy; as - 417; mpl lustes 113; dpl lustum 524</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lūfan</td>
<td>wkv 1 + d allow, permit; inf - 593; 3s pt lūfde 409; pp gelūfled 214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gelūfan</td>
<td>wkv 1 + a believe, trust in; 1s pr ind gelūfe 637</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lyft</td>
<td>m/f/n air, heavens; nam - 221; asm - 392, 467; asf lyft 412; ds lyfte 120, 427, 485, 761, 1289, 1308, 1315</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lyftlācende</td>
<td>ptc adj hovering in the air; mplm - 146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lūhtan, see in-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lyre</td>
<td>m loss, damage; ns - 829</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lūsan, see tū-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lūt</td>
<td>adv little, not at all; - 238, 252, 726, 774, lūt 316; opv lēs 79; opv lēsast 338, 769; for by lēs 757, by lēs hēt, see sē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lūtel</td>
<td>adj little, small; asf lūtle 423, 481; asn lūtel 214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lūthwōn</td>
<td>adv for a little, a while; - 392</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mā opv adv more; - 518

+ g as indecl noun; mā 403

meog m kinsman, man; gs meoges 1209; npl meoges 861

meg, see megan

mēg m man, kinsman; dpl mēgum 195

magen n might, strength; ns - 977; as - 1107; ds magne 46, 260, 282, 325, 531, 591, 1086, 1272; gpl magna 311, 644

megenraft m mighty power; ns - 1132

megenfast adj strong, vigorous; asf megenfaste 474

magenspēd f strength, might; dpl magenspēdum 639

†magenbagn m mighty man; gs magenbagnes 1126

mēgpb f maiden, woman; ds mēgpb 1342; npl mēgpb 861; gpl mēgpb 1376

mēgdb f tribe; apl mēgdb 762

mēgwilite m appearance, form; species; ds - 460; npl mēgwilites 734

mēnan wkv l lament, mourn; 3pl pt mēndon 430; 3pl pt subj mēnden 1233

mēran wkv l celebrate; inf - 507

mēre adj famous, renowned; npl mēre 881; apl ba mēran 71

mēst, see mīcel

mēte adj moderate, poor, mean; aplm - 53; opv asf mētre 46

mēdlan wkv l speak; inf - 1202

mēgan ppr v can, be able to, have power to; 1s pr ind mēg 244; 2s pr ind meahes 469, meah 1015; 3s pr ind mēg 35, 242, 278, 347, 371, 511 554, 993, 1070; 1pl pr ind magun 32, 93, 284; 2 pl pr ind magon 702; 3pl pr ind magun 496; 1s pt meahet 486; 3s pt - 358, 576, 989, 1023, 1055, 1057, 1109, (not aux.), 1154, 1164; 3pl pt meahet 187; 3s pr subj mege 868, 891, 1321; 3s pt subj 433, 1159, 1225, 1251
magnus m young person, servant; ns - 1010
mán n sin, evil; apl mána 96

gemanian wkv 2 admonish, remember; 3s t gemanode 1208, gemanode 1340

mánsnesabba n evil foe; npl mánsnesaban 309; npl mánsnesaban 650

mára, see micel

mára adv more; - 387 (N)

martyr m martyr; ns martyr 514

martyrend m martyrdom; as martyrhind 472

meagol adj earnest, firm; dpl meagulum 734, 919

me, meo, see io

meahf f strength, power; as - 881, 884, 926; apl meahfe 413;
gol meahfa 185, mihta 1158; dpl meahfum 240, 695

meahf, meahfe, meahfe, see meagan

menhitig adj mighty; ns - 788, 1243

mearglend n borderland, waste land; as - 174

meahf m horse; gpl mëara 286

melda m narrator, informer; ns - 1230

meahf: f indeol. host, troop; n 185, 279, 326; e - 68; d - 708;
 продол. - 20, 237

menniso adj human; as mennisose 1122; are mennisso 909; asm
mennisum 168; epl mennisce 919

meodumæ adj average, little; epl nm/n meodumæ 384 (N)

meord f reward, pay; as meorte 1086; gpl meorda 1041

meotud m creator, God; ns - 147, 259, 1132; as meotudes 358, 576,
705, 10-1, 1243; dpl meotuma 366

geméstan wkv 1 meet, find; pp geméstad 531; 1s pr ind geméstte
1015; 3pl pr ind gemésted 1; 3pl pt
geméstton 922
māde adj weary, sad; nsm - 1110; asm mēne 1015, 1158, 1261, 1337

mebelowide m speech, conversation; ae - 1219; gpl mebelowīda 1007; dpl mebelowidum 1015

mēdian wkv 2 grow weary, tire; pp gremēgad 977

mīcel adj great, big, large; nsm mīole 326; nsm - 531; asf mīole 1010, 1342; gsm mīoles 320; aplm mīole 53; dpl hūm mīolan 1100; opv nem māra 168, 247, 400; nsm māre 384, 521; asf mēran 237, 270; den - 198; dpl - 282; dpl - 433; spv nem mēst 1282; nsm - 207, 1127; asm mēstne 1103; iam mēste 910

mīole adv much, greatly; swībor mīole 1125; intens. mīole monig-
tesalāran honne 1247; opv mēre.

honne 387

mīolum adv greatly; - 1197

mīd prep with, among; + a - 14, 90, 303, 318, 439, 530, 999, 1215, 1372

+ a - 79, 89, 177, 198, 260, 290, 410, 450, 480, 574, 591, 648, 674, 681, 1101, 1192

+ a/d - 237, 258, 338, 578, 633, 652, 802, 1258

midd adj mid, middle (of); asm mīdne 1151

middangeard m world; nsm - 53; as - 30, 39, 68, 270, 501, 521, 537, 762, 865

mihta, see mesht

mīlke adj mild, gentle; nsm - 788, 1107; gsm mīldes 1007; nsm bēt mīlde 739

mīlta f mercy, kindness; a/ds mīltsa 331; gpl mīltsa 21; dpl mīltsum 639, 959

mīn pron, see io

mīn pope adj my; nsm - 258, 260, 309, 318, 366, 371, 376, 379, 714, 1011, 1088, 1211, 1222, 1227, 1238, 1357; fūfor mīn 1211;
minne adj mean, vile; upla minne 909, mine 650 (N)

mislige adj various, diverse; ism/n mislige 898; dpl misligum 874

mist n mist; ds miste 1280 (N)

mīban stv l hide, conceal; inf - 708: 2pl pr ind mībad 465; 1s pt mēd 1255; 3s pt mēđ 1345

mōd n mind, heart; ns - 26, 342, 537, 739, 977, 1132; as - 65, 96, 366, 507, 542 (MS mond), 861, 1110, mōd 106; ge mōdes 118, 400; ds mōde 320, 344, 353, 394, 440, 465, 472, 710, 770, 962, 1068, 1086, 1255; is - 608; apl mōd 489, 575

mōdcearu f heart-sorrow; as mōdcearu 195, mōdceare 1010, 1342

mōdgepane m/n heart-thought; mind; ns - 1197

mōdgian wkv 2 exult; 3s pt mōdgade 323

mōdgled adj glad in mind; as mōdgładne 1158

mōdig adj brave, courageous; ns m - 695, 1272; gpl mōdigra 267

mōdsef n mind; as mōdsefan 959, 1337; a/ds - 387

mōdseño adj sick in mind; as mōdseñone 1261

mōdseorg f sorrow of mind; as mōdseorge 1051

molde f earth; a/ds moldan 989, 1230

moldweg n way upon earth, earth; ds moldwage 1039

mon n man; ns - 46, 282, 1164, 1247, mon 989; ce monnes 26, 130, 269, 322, 430, 458, 710, 770, 1126; ds men 364; gpl monna 154, 195, 247, 311, 331, 413, 416, 490, 762, 865, 874, 1173,
1230, 1251, 1255, 1257, manna 1173; dpl
monnum 147, 465, 518

indef pron one; mon 274, 279

mancynu n mankind; gs mancynnes 440, 514, 739; ds mancynne 198

mondryhten m master, lord; as - 1007, 1337; ds mondryhtne 1051, 1151

monfaru f moving host; dpl monfarum 286

gemonade, see gemanian

monig adj many, many a; nplm monge 734; nplf - 39; dpl mongun
118, 898

pron many; nplm monge 30, 181, 460, monige 264, 501; aplm
monge 884; dpl mongun 174, 323, 474

monigfeald adj manifold; gpl monigfealdra 644; opp asf monig-
fealdran 1247

monlufu f love of mankind; a/ds monlufan 353

monhæaw m manner, custom; as - 507

morgen m morning; ds morgne 1217, 1243

morror m/n death; gs morrere 861

mose n sustenance, food; ds mose 274 (N)

most, moote etc., see mæten

mæten prp v be able, may, be permitted; 1s pr ind mæt 717, 1040;
2s pr ind mæt 6; 3s pr ind mæt 785;
1pl pr ind mœtun 1191; 2pl pr ind -
314, 370, mœtan 377, 595, 648, 675, 700;
3pl pr ind mœtum 13, mœtun 22, 220,
790, mœtun 814, mœtan 132; 3s pt mœte
744, 779 (subj ?), 831: 1pl pt mœstun
1187; 2pl pt - 632; 3pl pt - 226, 840,
mœstum 210, mœstan 424, 837, mœston
549; 3s or subj mœte 28; 2pl pr subj
mœten 613; 2pl pt subj mœsten 482,
1371; 3pl pt subj - 410

gemonan pt prs v remember; 3s pt gemunde 97; 3pl pt subj - 750

mundbora m protector; ns - 695, 788; gs mundboran 542
mundbyrd  f protection, aid; as - 185, 881
mundian wkv 2 protect, shelter, guard; 3s pr ind mundan 269
murnan stv 3 mourn; pr pto nplm murnende 430; see also bi-
mutan m mouth; as - 1122; ds mūde 1272
*myntian, see bi-
*mynnan wkv 1 intend, urge; 3s pr ind mynede 1089 (N)
mynster n monastery; dpl mynsterum 416
myrcella m sign, mark; ds myrcele 458 (N)
myrbran m murderer; npl myrbran 650
näfre adv never; - 10, 92, 376, 636, 640, 648, 658, 1013, 1170, 1173, 1210

nägan wkv 1 speak to, address; inf nägan 1063; 2s pr ind nägest 1227

genägan : approach, assail; 1pl pr ind genägan 290; pp genäged 1153, genaged 1013

näning pron not any, none; nm - 865, 890, 923; gen nänges 827

nes, see wesan

ness a headland, cliff; apl nessas 563

nales adv by no means, not at all; - 261, 583, 461, 616, 672; nales 117; prep phrase nales by 150, see se


nē conj nor; - 19, 227, 283, 313, 320, 340, 480, 544, 659, 676, 1069, 1070, 1121; disjunct phrases - 310, 384, 579, 580, 698, 699, 828, 829, 829, 830, 830, 834, 867, 904, 962, 963, 995, 1081, 1092, 1092, 1118, 1236

nēah adj near, high; nm - 172, 189, 336; naf - 970; nes - 95; spv def bisse nýstan 1018; dan bám - 445; apl bā - 1168

nēah prep postp + d near; - 1143

nēah adv intens hard; - 934, 943, 998

nēalœan wkv 1 draw near to, approach; 3s pr ind nēalœoed 1033; 3s pt nēalœote 1139

neara adj narrow, oppressive; asm nearone 598; dpl nearwum 540

nearwe adv narrowly, closely; - 1013, 1210

nearwum adv narrowly, hardly; - 1153
négan, see négan
nella, see willen
neksen wkv l name, tell; inf - 93; see also *-
nowse conj unless; - 367
nëod f/n need, necessity; ns - 329, 1095 (a); as nëd 697; dpl
nëda 241
nëol adj deep, bottomless; spl nëole 563
nëorxmaòng m paradise; as - 827 (a)
nëosen wkv l + g seek, go to, attack; inf - 350, 719, 1146, 1365;
pr pte san nëosande 1217; 3s pt
nëosade 958, 1001; 3pl pt nëosedon
920
nëoten stv 2 + g make use of, enjoy; inf - 832, 1373; see also bi-
nergen wkv l save, protect; inf - 553; pr pte nam nergende 598
genergen : inf - 241
nërgend m Saviour; ns - 640; de nërgende 658
nëling f audacity; as nèthing 128
nïht f night; ns - 1281; as - 1287; ds - 1018, 1028, 1218; spl
- 1035; spl nïhta 350
nïhtes, adv use of ge by night; - 128, 610, 1210
†nïhtsöìe m night-gloom, darkness of night; de nïhtsöìe 943
nïnthelm m a cover of night; spl nïnthelma 970
nïnthreìa m a number of nights; spl - 1097
nïnthsoda m darkness, shade of night; a/d nïnthsöìap 998
nïnan stv 4 take, take up abode in; inf - 1078, 1372
feol (terror); 3pl pt eðdon nöman 218
genësan seise, carry away; 3s pt genëëm 846; 2pl pt
genësan 701

* take, feel; 3s pt genëëm 741; see also be-, bi-
n̄a, see wesan

n̄bb m enmity, violence, contest; ns - 141, 390; as - 525; apl n̄bbas 49; gpl n̄ba 290; dpl n̄bum 241, 553, 648

n̄ber adv down, downward; - 563

n̄bbas plm men; g n̄bbas 640, 1097

n̄we adj new; ns - 742, 823; gpl n̄wra 833

gen̄wian wkv 2 renew, make new; pp gen̄wad 953

n̄a emph neg adv not at all, not ever; n̄a 18 (as n̄ā); n̄ā 201, 269, 302, 332, 339, 407, 421, 452, 549; n̄ā 492, 506, 833

n̄̄ht adv not; - 1171

nolde, see willen

tn̄ordodor m north firmament, northern sky; ns - 1279

n̄u adv now; - 6, 9, 35, 42, 49, 52, 65, 93, 255, 526, 582, 587, 670, 719, 1166, 1257, 1263, 1268, 1298, 1366, 1377; conj - 307, 317, 717; correl 1044/5; n̄u gēna 155; n̄u hā 1231

n̄ū, see n̄s̄ed

tn̄fcoating f painful trial, affliction; dpl n̄fcoatingum 1153

n̄fgedāl m forced dissolution, death; as - 934; ge n̄fgedāles 1168; ds n̄fgedāle 445

n̄fwraco f violence; as n̄fwa 553

n̄̄htan, see n̄̄ah

n̄̄ḡist m malicious stranger; gpl n̄̄ḡista 540 (n)
of prep + d from, out of; - 44, 57, 106, 196, 212, 334, 376, 427, 485, 510, 685, 688, 711, 747, 822, 847, 865, 887, 938, 1090, 1101, 1102, 1125, 1263, 1272, 1283, 1298, 1363 (postp), 1369

of- vpref, with giefan, -tōn, -unnan

ofer prep + a over, above, against; - 49, 62, 311, 413, 848, 872, 947, 1097, 1171, 1281, 1284, 1292, 1331;
+ d " " - 73, 1098
+ a/d " " - 755, 1127, 1230

ofer- vpref, with -bidan, -guman, feohtan, -lōran, -sēon, stīgan, -tēon, -hēon, -winnan

oferbīdan stv 1 survive; pp oferbīden 546
ofercūman stv 4 overcome; pp ofercūman 437
oferfeohtan stv 3 conquer, vanquish; 3pl pr ind oferfeohtad 803
oferhygd f/n arrogance, pride;apl oferhygdum 269; dpl oferhygdum 634, 661
oferlōran wkv 1 deviate from; 3pl pt oferlōrdum 726

ofermōga m very strong (or illustrious) man; ns - 692 (M)

oferān stv 5 observe; 1pl pt oferāgon 266
oferstīgan stv 1 defeat; 3s pt oferstāg 230
oferēgon stv 2 draw over, cover; 3s pt oferēgan 1280
oferbōn stv 1 and 3 excel, surpass; 3s pt subj oferbūnge 431
oferwinnan stv 3 overcome; 3pl pr ind oferwinnad 25; 3s pt oferwinnum 152, 180

oferwlenca f ostentation, arrogance; dpl oferwlengum 418

ofestlice, see ofestlice

ofestum adv quickly; - 1297

ofgiefan stv 5 give up; inf - 232, 477; 3s pr ind ofgiefen 2
ofestlice adv speedily, quickly; - 1201, ofestlice 1327

oftōn stv 2 + g, thing; + d, person; take away from

oftost, see oft

ofunnan pt pra v + g, thing; + d, person; to begrudge a person anything; 3s pr ind ofunn 85

ombehtbegn m servant; ns – 1000, onbehtbegn 1146; ds ombehtbegne 1199, onbehtbegne 1294

tombiehthēre m vassal; ns – 599

on prep on, in, upon; + a – 71, 133, 135, 257, 412, 455, 523, 706, 765, 794, 801, 827, 855, 857, 880, 909, 911, 939, 945, 949, 967, 977, 992, 1068, 1088, 1106, 1120, 1148, 1151, 1175, 1180, 1182, 1215, 1233, 1240, 1267, 1268, 1273, 1306, 1360, 1366; post + a 995, 1271


+ adv – 15, 112, 175, 208, 220, 244, 271, 293, 346, 359, 362, 396, 428, 478, 525, 691, 712, 713, 773, 795, 808, 818, 841, 927, 935, 989, 1016, 1070, 1077, 1231, 1253, on betran 378

on adv in adv phrases on; hér on 256, 373; on hinder 676; on innen 1271

on- vpref, with –ælan, beran, brydan, onæwan, oswan, cyrran, fôn, gietan, gyldan, ginnan, hrëran, hyladan, læcan, sægan, sægan, sædan, settan, sittan, springan, stellan, tûnan, wendan, vrəon, wyllan

onælan wkv l fire, kindle; pp onæled 955

þonbæru f composure; as – 1054 (H)
onbaran stv 5 weaken; pp onbaran 944
onbid n waiting; ns - 904, 1046
onbzyried wkv 1 stimulate, incite; pp onbzyried 335
ononwagen stv 7 know, recognise; 3s pt ononwagen 1199
onoweihan stv 9 speak; 3s pt onoweihan 1023
onoevrren wkv 1 turn away; inf - 365
ondojiig adj + g devoid of; naa - 1226 (w)


onba onba onba, see onba

onda n anger, terror; as ondan 218, 565; a/ds - 346, ondan 773

ondoweis f answer; as - 1026

ondgiste n understanding; de ondgiste 766

ondgiste f mind; a/ds ondgisten 112

ondlong adj continuous, whole; naa ondlonge 1277; aef ondlonge 1287

ondgena n adversary; mpl ondgenan 210, 233
ondawarian wkv 2 answer; 3s pt ondswarode 590
ondswar answer; as ondsware 1163, 1224; a/ds - 293
ondswar adj present; nsm - 1083, 1142
ondwige m/a resistance; ge ondwige (MS 7wige) 176 (W)
onfeng m grasp, attack; dpl onfengum 405, 519
onfön stv 7 receive, obtain; 3pl pt onföngon 974
ongöan postp prep + d against; - 239
+ a/d - 302
ongietan stv 5 understand, perceive; pp ongietan 1207; 1s pt ongiet 1220; 3s pt 1060; 3pl pt ongieton 552
onginn n undertaking; ns - 277, ongin 355
onginnan stv 3 begin; pp onginnan 980; imp s onginn 290; 3pl pr ind onginnad 561; 1s pt onginn 1239
3s pt onginn 101, 1001, 1010, 1061, onginn 726, 1110, 1114, 1156, 1145, 1201; 3pl pt onginnon 569
ongyladan stv 3 + a or g pay for, be punished for; inf ongylod 861 (N); 3pl pt ongulon 857, 988
onhale adj secret, hidden; nplm - 297; aplm - 351; dpl onhålum 534
onhäraran wkv 1 stir up, agitate; pp onhärared 37
onhyladan wkv 1 bow; 3s pt onhylde 334, 1213, 1270
onlœcan stv 2 unlock; pp onlœcan 956; 3s pt onlœæ 1029, 1144
onmöd adj steadfast; nsm - 745
onsegøan wkv 1 cause to sink down, prostrate; 3s pt onsegøde 1162
onsegon wkv 3 offer, sacrifice; 3s pt onsegøde 1111
onsendan wkv 1 send, dispatch; pp onsended 937; 3s pt onsende 711, 776, 1238, 1303
onsettan wkv 1 oppress; 3s pt onsette 697
onsittan stv 5 fear; 1s pr ind onsittte 1070
onspringan stv 3 burst asunder, quake; 3s pt onsprong 1326 (MS onsprong, M)
onsatal m arrangement, disposition; ns - 824
onsatalen wkv 1 bring against, accuse of; 1pl pt onstaldun 968
onsyf f lack, want; ns - 828
onsyf f/a face; as - 143, 500, 707, onsayf 718, onsyne 815, 1184; ds onsyne 459; a/ds - 753, 1188
onsyne adj visible; nsam - 1254
ontynan wkv 1 open, reveal; pp ontyned 9, 487; 3s pr ind ontyned 992; 3s pt ontynede 1301
onwold m authority, power, rule; as - 482
onwald adj mighty; nsam - 1102
onwealdes m ruler; as onwealdan 638
onwendan wkv 1 turn away from, change; inf - 469; 2pl pr ind onwendad 376
onwille adj desired; dam non onwille 728
onwriðon stv 1 reveal; 3s pt onwrið 147, 162; 3s pt subj onwriga 1161
onwyllan wkv 1 cause to boil, become violent; pp onwylledd 391 (MS onwyllled)
geopenan wkv 2 open; 3s pr ind geopenad 993
ord m point, beginning; ds orde 532
ôretta m warrior; ns - 176, 344, 401; as ôrettan 569
orlege n battle, strife; as - 455, 564; ds - 196
oreð m breath, breathing; ns - 1278; as - 1024, 1155, 1271; ds orebe 1165, 1226
orsÆyle adj without soul, lifeless; asam - 1194
orswéna adj + g hopeless, despairing of; apla orswénan 627
orwénnysa f despair, hopelessness; a/ds orwénnysse 575
ed prep + a until, to; - 1256, 1277, 1312
ob- vpref, with -beran, -bregdan

ob but conj until; - 134, 147, 546, 1291; ob but 498

obberan stv 4 bear forth, carry away; inf - 303

obbregdan stv 3 take away, carry off; pp obbregden 854

obber prsn other; nsm - 119, 127

adj other; asm öberne 5, 391, 1215; splf öbre 1119

obbe conj or; - 27, 281, 343, 369, 751, 891

þwihþ f/n anything; as - 319
garēsan wkv 1 attain; 3a pt gerehte 171
rēd m counsel, advice; as - 278
rēdan stv 7 + d counsel, have the disposal of; inf - 132
rēfan wkv 1 do, perform; 3s pr ind rēfand 622; 3pl pr ind - 792 (H)
rēran wkv 1 raise, exalt; inf - 186; 3pl pr ind rērađ 24; 3s pt rērā 160; see also r-
rēsan wkv 1 rush; inf tō rēsanne 406; 3s pr ind rēsad 995
rest f rest; ns - 12; as reste 25, reste 363; ge / 1095; dpl reste
rēaf m spoil, booty; de rēafe 132
rēccan wkv 1 + g heed, care for; 2s pr subj rēcces 291
rēccan wkv 1 expound; 3s pt rēchte 160; see also r-
   gereccan wkv 1 direct, ordain; pp gerehte 768; 3s pt gerehte 96, gerehte 135
regul m rule, standard; apl regulas 489
rēsonigmōd adj sad at heart, weary; de rēsonigmōdu 1096
reord f voice, speech; ns - 743; as reorde 160; dpl reordum 734, 898
gereordan wkv 1 give food to, refresh; pp gereorded 1300
reordian wkv 2 speak; 3s pt reordade 1025
rēowe adj fierce, cruel; mpln rēowe 406
restan wkv 1 rest; inf - 213 (M)
rētan wkv 1 cheer up; inf - 1062
rēbe adj savage, cruel; nsam brēde 1140; mpln rēbe 489
rīce adj powerful; mpln rīcea 995
rīce n kingdom; ns - 792; ds - 682; a/ds - 660, 1302
rīsian wkv 2 reign, tyrannise; 3s pt rīsade 864, rīsade 871
rīne n number; ns - 498; as - 32, rīne 891; ds rīne 1135
gerísan stv l, impers + d befit; 3s pt gerísa 1114; see also e-

rísada, see rísian

réd f cross; as róde 180

rédor m firmament; pl = heavens; ns - 1096; spl ródira 682, 792, 1312

rūs adj renowned; ns - 1095

trōw f rest, quietness; s/ds rōwe 213

rūm adj lax; splm rūme 489

rūmnōd adj of liberal mind, liberal in giving; nplm rūmnōde 78 (W)

rūmwhita m wise man, counsellor; ns rūmwhita 1095

rūht adj true, right, lawful; ns - 682; spl rūhtra 78

erec; nsf rūht 1312

rūht n law, justice; as - 197, 810

rūht adv rightly; - 32

rūman wkv l manifest, clear a way; 3s pr ind rūmed 767

gerūman + to clear the way to; 3s pr subj gerūma 225

rūnebralg f space of time, period; dpl rūnebralguum 213 (W)
sacu f strife; ns - 678; as sacu 300
sā m/f sea; dpl bī sām tvēnum 266, 1359
sāgan, see for-
sēd n seed, fruit; gpl sēda 45
sēgān, see on-
sēl f time, prosperity; ge sēla 35
gesālaun wkv l bring about; inf - 347
sēmra opv adj worse, inferior; aplm bē sēmran 492
sēne adj sluggish; nm - 342
sēnian, see r-
sēr n pain, suffering; ns - 1027, 1092; as/pl - 408, sēr 1073;
  ge sēros 515; apl sēr 541; gpl sēra
  704, 965, 1244; dpl sērum 377, 433,
  957, 1030, 1137
sērbenn f painful wound; dpl sērbennum 1019
sērig adj sad, grieving, sorrowful; dsa sērgum 1356; nplm sērga
  887
sērīgferdī adj sad in soul; nm - 1352, 1378
sērīglea m painful blow, wounding blow; a/ds - 227
tērstar f m bitter word; dpl sērstarum 234
tērsylm m surging pain; dpl sērsylmulm 1150
tēsvelound adj spiritual; nm - 317
sēvelgedēl n parting of soul and body, death; ge sēvelgedēles 1035
tēsvelhūs n soul house, body; ns sēvelhūs 1030; as sēvelhūs 1141
sēwl f soul; ns - 2, 408, 535, sēwlu 550, 1089, sēwel 1264; as
  sēwle 227, 377, 929; ds - 541; apl
  sēwla 22, 122, 790; gpl sēwlu 567, 806;
  gpl sēwla 12, 332, 347; dpl sēwllum 767
sēldan, see for-
shade n 675; npl scadu 1288

sceal, scealt, see sculan

sceapa m enemy; gpl sceadana 127

soeawian wkv 2 look at, behold; 3s pr ind sceawad 54, 80; 2pl pr ind sceawad 718; 3s pt sceawode 414

scenoan wkv 1 pour out, give to drink; 3s pt scenote 984

soebhan stv 6 + d soothe, injure; inf - 226; pr pto gpl soebeana 404; 3pl pt soebun 544; 3s pt subj soode 443

gesoebehan: 3s pt gesed 425, gesed 870

scieppan stv 6 create; pp sciepan 677; 3s pt soep 495, 945

gescieppan: 3s pt gesep 606

scoildan wkv 1 shield, protect; 3s pt scoilde 404

gescoildan: inf - 556, genclydan 242; 3s pt gescilde 457

scima n radiance, splendour; ns - 1286

sefan stv 1 shine; inf - 1283; 3s pt sofn 1288, 1330, sofn 693; see also E-

sefran wkv 1 make clear, distinguish; 2pl pr ind sefrad 505

sefrered pto adj cloathed with radiance; ns - 1288 (N)

scoelu f host; npl - 204

scofthan stv 1 go by, pass; pr pte ism scophende 1038; pp scoiben 1039; 3pl pt scoidun 969, scoidon 1097

soomu f shame; as soome 204; a/ds - 633; dpl sooomum 856

soond f shame; adv use of de soonde 675

'scoudan stv 2 hasten, skitter; pr pto nplm scoudende 856 (N)

scufan stv 2 shove, thrust; inf - 675; pp nplm scofene 633, 856

scoulan pt pr v must, ought to; 1s pr ind sceal 7, 600, 707, 720, 1378; 2s pr ind scealt 273, 582, 1168; 3s pr ind sceal 26, 63, 258, 260, 304,
*seocan wkv 1 instigate, urge; 3s pt seochte 127 (N)

soyld f/m guilt, crime; ns - 478; adv use of dpl soyldum 633

geseyldan, see soildan

soyldig adj guilty; gpl soyldigra 204, 505

soyndan wkv 1 hurry; 3s pt soyndes 1331

soyppend m creator; as - 1158; de soyppende 664

soyrian, see by-

*ße, *ssé, bat def art. the, that; nsm sü 4, 16, 46, 67, 108, 116,
148, 157, 180, 326, 381, 368, 397, 444,
451, 499, 514, 545, 590, 666, 689, 703,
715, 742, 746, 747, 760, 763, 773, 852,
896, 925, 944, 950, 951, 954, 1049, 1094,
1098, 1099, 1105, 1135, 1141, 1163, 1224,
1278, 1289, 1293, 1317, 1322, 1322, 1323,
1333, 1359, 1366, 1368; naf aås 2, 45,
146, 215, 408, 437, 550, 769, 903, 962,
970, 978, 1265, 1344, 1350; nsm bat
277, 355, 739, 904, 1076, 1080, 1166,
1309, 1325; nsm bon 477, 571, 595,
618, 645, 821, 866, 990, 1004, 1106,
1240, bon 533; naf bå 109, 301, 412,
499, 629, 716, 758, 777, 812, 926, 976,
992, 1086, 1102, 1105, 1117, 1345, 1372;
ann bat 62, 106, 126, 151, 542, 562,
667, 957, 1290, 1310, 1347; gsm hæs 26,
60, 69, 107, 135, 182, 203, 352, 359,
364, 420, 422, 542, 725, 973, 1067, 1131,
1190, 1216, 1276, 1339; gaf hære 68,
542; gsm hæs 75, 134, 379, 1050; hæs
83; dan hæs 10, 91, 192, 203, 427, 443,
458, 460, 496, 654, 655, 688, 728, 733,
834, 836, 871, 889, 899 (or a), 921, 922,
942, 960, 1075, 1079, 1090, 1114, 1181,
1186, 1264, 1269, 1307, 1371; hæm 692;
daf hære 716, 822, 860, 983, 1180, 1218,
1342, hære 1162, 1191; dan hæs 3, 196.
333, 356, 445, 548, 681, 831, 866, 1147, 1167, ãn 589; ãn ñw 73, 132, 702; ãn ñw 1301; mpl ña 18, 91, 421, 757, 905, 975, 985; mpl ña 25, 49, 56, 61, 71, 92, 120, 298, 492, 541, 546, 702, 1168, 1296, 1355, ãñ 581; mpl ñara 528, 606, 709, 892; mpl ña 241, 661, 894, ãñ 111

subst pron that one, be, she, it; ñm ña 1, 28, 92, 400 ñ40; ñaf ña 214; emphatic use of ñat 91, 517, 520, 521, 596, 612, 714, 769, 796, 811, 870, 1127, ñat 18, 819, 1008; ñm ñat 72, 271, 483, 555, 587, 637, 757, 947, 1351 ññ ña 98; mpl ña 55, 287, 493, 496; mpl ña 299; mpl ñara 398 (ñ); mpl ña 19, 993 (Note ñat 18, 91, 796 with mpl verb

as rel pron ñm ña 63, 106, 149, 200, 242, 249, 323, 511 597, 646, 689, 1000, 1242; ñaf ña 965; ñm ñat 93, 851, 1019; ñm ñone 899; ña ña ñm (whom) 701; ñm ñat 1253; ñm ña 642, 1084, 1099, 1354; ñm ña 985; mpl ña 81, 91, 115, 287, 725; mpl ña 162, 1172, ññ 51, 52, 58

as rel + be ñm ña 85, 99, 241, 311, 385, 441, 512, 747, 1284, 1337, 1351; ñm ñone be 104; ñm ña be 131, 1207, 1228; ñm ña be 379, 426, 469, 539, 700, 776; ñm ña be 92, 173, 346, 1348; ña ñone him (him whom) 361; mpl ña be 14, 23, 31, 79, 130, 238, 351, 792, ñña be 66; mpl ñara be 268, 417 750, 1360, ñara be 155; mpl ña be 124, 161, 622, ñña him (over whose) 72

adv use of gen ña - 32, 252, 361, 408, 469, 510, 538, 63; 754, 1034, 1054; intens adv ña 867, 1130 as conj + be (the time in which, when) ña be 341, 1053, 1142; conj ña (since) 113

adv use of ñw (thereby, therefore) - 201, 491; naless ñw adv (not that) 150; conj ñw ña (lest) 757; ñw ña ñat 1232; see also for ñw

use of ña ñone in adverbs and prep. formulae: ña ñone (the upon) 218; ñiñ (against that) 494; see also under after, ña, for

ññ (ñwana), ññ (ñnah), see swi

sældun adv seldom; - 317 (ñ)
soaro n artifice, guile; as/pl - 850
+soaroog f (or searoogga m) guileful key, insidious attack; dpl searoogum 1145
searoofraft m treacherous art, wile; dpl searoofraftum 142, 568, 674
sécan wkv 1 seek, look for; inf - 480, 561; ls pr séce 1082; 3pl pr ind sécad 82, 809; 3s pt söhte 128, 1141, 1279, 1370; 2pl pt söhtun 492; 3pl pt - 878, 927
gosécan : seek, seek out, visit, siess; inf - 197, ts gégeanne 1089; pp gesóht 1019, 1145, gesóhte 957, 1030; 3s pr ind gesócat 1037; 1pl pr ind gesésd 261; 3s pt gesóhtes 354, 522, 1244; 3pl pt ge-
góhtun 887
segégen wkv 3 say, tell; inf - 494, 614, 1027, 1116, 1370, ts segégen 531, to segégenne 539; 2pl pr ind segésd 506; 3pl pr ind - 878; 3s pt seges 119, 451, 476; 3pl pt segeson 41, 234; imp a H ... sase 1192; 1pl pr subj segégen 527
gessegégen : inf - 244, 704; 3s pt gesegde 295; 2s pr subj gesègge 1179; see also on-
sef a m understanding, mind, heart; ns - 1048, 1208; as sefam 1116, 1138; ge - 473; ds - 1123, 1356; a/ad - 570, 965, 1077
söfte adj soft, comfortable; gpl söftera 165
seld n seat, throne; as - 585
selle n hall, dwelling; ns - 742
selle, see sylf
sélla opv adj better, greater; asm séllem 278; aplm - 492; aplm - 1268; spv nsm sélést 1348, nsm at sélésta 1359
séllan wkv 1 give; 1s pr sylle 367; 3pl pr ind sélled 77; 3s pr ind sylled 767; 3s pt seeled 100, 112, 184, 202, 357, 473, 849; 3pl pt seeledon 413
**gesellan** : pp **geseald** 784; 3s pt **gesealde** 103

**sōmon** wkv 1 reconcile; inf - 511 (N)

**sēocean**, see **bi-**

**sendan** wkv 1 send; 3s pr ind **sended** 321, 511, 767; see also on-

**sēoc** adj weak, sad; ns - 1077; asf ḟās **sēocean** 1068 (MB **secean** N)

**seofēa** num. seventh; sē **seofēa** 1141

**seofian** wkv 2 sigh, lament; 3pl pt **seofedon** 230

**seofon** edl num. seven; - 1035

**gesēon** stv 5 see, behold, look at; inf - 486, 1080, 1187; pp **geseven** 1128, 1313; 3s pr ind **gesihd** 56; 3s pt **gesah** 712, 1053; 2s pt subj **gesēa** 468; see also **bi-**, for-

**tūsēlig** adj afflicted, troubled; nplm **tūsēlige** 927

**sōdan** stv 2 boil, cause to well up; pp **sēdan** 1073, 1150, 1262

**setl** n seat, dwelling-place; ns - 383, 785; as - 244; gs **setles** 278; spl **setlu** 144, 165

**setlong** m setting journey, setting; as - 1279; gs **setlonges** 1214

**settan** wkv 1 establish, set; 3s pt **sette** 434; 2pl pt **setton** 488

**gesettan** : inf - 1022; pp **gesetted** 774; 3s pt **gesette** 51, 58, 535; see also **sib-**, on-

**sib** f relationship, peace; ns - 12, 1082; as **sibbe** 716, 816, 1173, 1262; gs **sibbe** 197

**sibgedryht** f peaceful band; as - 1372

**sid** adj wide, extensive; dsffl **sidum** 1123

**side** adv wide(ly); **wide** 7 **side** 382

**sidweg** m distant way; dpl **sidwegum** 887 (MS **sidwegum**, N)

**sier** edl num. six; - 51

**gesīgan** stv 1 sink; 3s pt **gesīg** 1269
sige m victory; as - 184
sigidryhten m victorious lord, God; ns - 1238, 1375
sigehreōg adj rejoicing in victory, triumphant; nsm - 732
sigelēas adj without victory, defeated; asm sigelēasne 302; nplm sigelēase 476, 651
sigelēod n song of victory; as - 1315
teigetūdor n victorious race; ds sigetūdre 866
sigewong m place of victory; ns - 742; ds sigewonge 921
sigor m victory; gpl sigora 1080
sigorfest adj victorious, firm in victory; nsm - 1244; nsf - 965
sigorlēan n reward for victory, prize; as - 878, 1370
tegortāon n sign of victory; dpl sigortāonum 1116
tegorwuldor n triumphant glory; ds sigorwuldre 122
sihste num. sixth; nsf sihste 1150
gesinca stv 3 sink; 3s pt in gesone 1142
sinogīefa m giver of treasure; as sinogīefan 1352
sind, sindon, sindan, see wesan
sindrēam m eternal joy; dpl sindrēamum 839, 1043
singales adv continually, always; - 219
singen stv 3 sing; 1s pr ind singe 609; 3pl pt sungon 1315;
see also be-
sinhīwam mpl couple; n - 968; a - 851
sinnan stv 3 care for; 1s pr ind sinne 319
sinneht(e) f unending night, darkness; ns sinnehte 678
sitā adv late, afterwards; ār onbe - 369; ār ne - 1118; sume
ēr, sume sitā 876; pā sitā 1023
sitā adv after; opv nsf eō sībre 45
sīd m journey; as - 144, 302, 726, 1175, sīp 354; ge sīpes 1045, 1077, 1375

sīfat m journey; as - 1378

sībfom adj eager to be going; nplm sībfome 921

sībian wkv 2 journey; 3s pt sībade 924

sīdān adv afterwards, since; - 667, 988, sīban 706, 751, 774, 839, 852, 860, 866, 984, 985, 1040, 1196, sīban 136, sīban āwo 1043

conj after that, since; - 504, 1176, sīban 99, 152, 175, 208, 723, 741, 935, 1049, 1239, 1254

sitten stv 5 sit, settle; 3s pr ind sited 478

gesittan : trans sit down in, settle; 3pl pr ind gesittad 82, 122; 3s pt gesat 158, 174; 3pl pt gesatón 144; see also fer-, on-

sīlēp m sleep; apl sīlēpa 342

sīlīna adj hard, cruel; asf ḫā sīlīnan 992

sīlūma m slumber; mol sīlūman 342

sīmībe adj smooth; nplm sīmībe 732

sīmolt adj pleasant, calm; nsm - 742

sīnēl adj quick, strong; nsm/a - 1330

sīnottor adj wise, proud; nsm - 35, 1145

sīnūde adv at once, quickly; - 704

sīnyrīan wkv 1 hasten; 3s pt sīnyrede 1332

sīnytrtu f wisdom; ar - 163, 473; adv use of dpl sīnytrrum 764

sīnytrrīcraft m wisdom, prudence; ns - 184, 1128

sīón f refuge; ds sīene 716 (N)

sīmud adv together; - 1372

sīmud postp prep + a together; - 838

sīmwist f living together, matrimony; as - 1177, sīmwiste 968
sona adj immediately; - 992, 1023

sondhoft n house in sand, grave; ds sondhoft 1196

sondland n sandy shore; as - 1334

sorg f sorrow, grief, trouble; ns - 354, 379, 1040, 1092; as sorge 219, 295, 1068, 1137; ds - 230, 476; npl - 317; gpl sorgna 1019; dpl sorgum 1330

sorgsearu f sorrowful anxiety; ns - 966

sorgian wkv 2 sorrow; 3pl pt sorgedon 238

sorgwylm m surge of grief; dpl sorgwylmu 1073, sorgwylmuum 1262

sōða truth; ns - 764; as - 295, 468, 494, 810, 957; gs sōðes 759; gpl sōða 244

sōða adj true; asn - 1343; ds hām sōðan 1264; adv use of asn sōða 816; adv use of cpv sōðra 1123 (N)
sōðfast adj firm in truth, faithful; gpl sōðfastra 22, 506, 567, 790

sōðlice adv truly; - 651

spēð f success; as - 254

spēðig adj + d successful, rich; nam - 695

spell n discourse; conversation; dpl spellum 1160

spelboda m messenger, prophet; npl spelbodan 40 (N)

*spēwan wkv 2 spit, spew out; 3pl pt spēwdon 912 (N)

spōwan stv 7, impers succeed; pp asf spōwende 254; daf spōwendre 621

sprēc f speech, conversation; as sprēca 1160, 1220; ds - 621, 1005; gpl sprēca 254

sprēcan stv 5 speak; 3s pt sprēco 200, 692, 1234; 1pl pt sprēcon 1172

springan, see s-, on-
gespurnan stv 3 tread upon, spurn; 3s pt gespurnan 1334

gestālan wkv l + d, pers., a, thing accuse; inf - 1071
tstalgong m furtive step; dpl *stalgongum* 1140
stabelian wkv 2 make firm; inf - 1110; 3pl pr ind *stabeliad* 66
stabel m foundation; dpl *stabulum* 1274
stedewong m open place, plain; gpl stedewonga 875
stefn f voice, sound; ns - 1322; dpl *stefnum* 919
steno m smell; ns - 1322; dpl *stenum* 1318
stör f guidance, punishment; ns - 510
stepan stv 6 step, advance; 3s pt *stöp* 1140
gestīgan stv 1 climb, ascend; inf - 791; 1s pt *gestēg* 307; 3s pt - 428, 1328; *gestēh* 175; see also Æ-,
in-
stihtung f arrangement, direction; ns - 1131
gestillan wkv 1 + g cease from; 3s pt *gestilde* 1094
stille adv still; modifying *lētan* 'let be' - 199
stincan stv 3 perfume; 3pl pr ind *stincad* 1274
stondan stv 6 stand; 1s pr ind *stonde* 246, 373; 2pl pr ind *stondað* 256, 510; 3pl pr ind - 88; 3s pt *stöd* 215, 323, 474, *stöd* 746; 2pl pt *stödan* 191, *stödum* 724; see also for-, *wid-
stöw f place, spot; ns - 146, 215; as *stōwe* 159; dpl *stōwum* 875 (MS stopum), 1274
strong adj strong; ns - 293 (N), 1140
stronglice adv strongly; - 903
stund f hour, time; ns - 903; adv use of dpl *stendum* 1271
styran wkv 1 steer, govern; 3s pr ind *styrad* 420
sum adj some one, some; + g ns - 173, 398, 709; asn - 518;
as sb: nplm *sume* 60, 81, 876, 876, 876
sumor m summer; ge *sumeres* 1273
sundplega m tossing of the sea; a/d *sundplegan* 1334
sundrian, see ë-

sunne f sun; ns - 1214; de sunnan 1313

süd n torment; as - 667


intens adv so; - 246, 431, 1121

in adv phrases ofne svæ 592; svæ bëah 493, 940, sæ bëah 961; svæ bëana 110, sæ bëana 409

conj so; without clause svæ 276, 373, 390, 907

with clause - 129, 213, 246, 974, 1109, 1114, 1118, 1225, 1297

conrel. svæ bet ... svæ 'even as ... so' 40/42

swéman, see ë-

swása adj dear, beloved; nam bet swása 1080, 1166; dam swásum 984

swámian wkv 2 move, wander; 3s pt swámode 1096 (n)

swät n blood; as - 522

swært adj dark, dismal; nsf swært 678; asn bet swærte 667; nplm swærte 651

swærte adv darkly, miserably; - 625

swébban wkv 1 send to sleep; 3s pr ind swéfed 221

swécc m smell, scent; gpl swécca 1273

swécg m sound; ns - 1315, 1322

swégelcyning m heavenly king; as - 1082

swégl n heaven, sky; ns - 1330; gs swéglas 486; de swégle 585, 625, 785, 1313

tswéglbeorht adv heaven-bright; nsf - 1213

swéglðréam m heavenly joy; dol swéglðréamum 1125

tswéglwuldor n heavenly glory; de swéglwuldre 1187

tswéglundor n heavenly wonder; dpl swéglwundrum 1318
swelgan stv 3 swallow, imbibe; 1pl pr subj swelgen 764; see also for-
swencan wkv 1 trouble, afflict; inf - 452, 570; pp geswenced 1137; 3pl pr ind swencad 806
swecroan stv 3 darken; 3s pt sweorc 1052, 1279
swoord n sword; as - 302
swoostor f sister; de - 1179
swedrian wkv 2 weaken, abate; pp geswedrad 1040; 3s pt sweordade 352; 3pl pt saturated 1288, 3pl pt subj sweardan 113
swoote adj sweet, pleasant; dpl svōtum 1318; spv nm svētast 1273
swige m delaying, wait; ms - 1034
geswiccan stv l + g give up; imp s geswil 278; see also re-
swil, see swyle
swincan stv 3 toil, labour; 3pl pr ind swincad 810
swīp adj strong, harsh; nm - 142; opv nm swīdra 230
swilian, see for-
swilē adv greatly, much, very; - 234, 570, swīlē 1070, 1268, 1356; his swīlē 452; salles to swīlē 662
intense adv - 977, 1166, swīlē 1299; opv swilēr 1125
swyle demonstr. such; nm - 355; nm - 1128; as/pl swylē 1119
adv thus, so; swyle 756
swylea adv so, likewise; - 1301
conj such as, like; - 1273, 1311; swylē ñac 166
swylt m destruction, death; de swylte 851
swytowalu f death pang, death; a/de swytowale 561
sw, synd, see wesan
sylf pron self; nm sylf 1234, sylfe 177, 527, 535, 539, 468, 991; asa his sylfe 701; ges his sylfe 59, 706; iem gode sylfum 206; me
**sylfum** 1092; **gpl sylfra** 82; **nplm wē selfe** 751, **hi sylfe** 806, **by him sylfe** 142 (N)

**symbeldag** m feast day; **gpl symbeldaga** 165

**symle** adv always; - 348, 393, 785, 888, 913, 966, 1212, 1238

**synfull** adj sinful; **nplm synfulle** 674

**synn** f crime, sin; **apl synne** 506, 1070; **gpl synna** 113, 550, 585; **dpl synnum** 515, 568, 774, 810

**synwraeu** f punishment for sin; **ds synwrece** 860 (N)
tēon n sign, signal; dpl tēonum 735 (N)

tēlmeare n? measured time, date; ds tēlmeare 877

tēaor, tēar m tear, weeping; ns tēaor 1340 (N); apl tēarag 1056

tempel n temple, church; ds temple 1002, 1113, 1149; dpl templum 490

tēon stv 2 draw, lead, undertake; inf - 649; 3s pt tēsh 1271; 3pl pt tugon 144; 3s pt subj tuge 354

getēon : inf - 574, 1024, 1155; 3s pt getēsh 851

tēona m injury, hostility; ds tēonan 426

tēonowide m abusive speech, taunt; dpl tēonowidum 448

tēonsmið m evil doer, tormenter; apl tēonsmiðas 205

tergan wkv 1 torment, insult; 3pl pr ind tergad 288

tīd f time; ns - 114, 970, 1150, 1265, 1295, tīd 45; as tīd 340, 794, 835, 949, 967, 976, 992, 1068, 1085, 1105, 1120, 1273; gs tīde 551; apl tīda 36, 754, 877; dpl tīdam 118, 154, 401; adv use of dpl - 211

†tīdfara m time server; nsm - 9 (N)

tīht m course, motion; expanse ?; as - 1281 (N)

tīme m time; a/ds or apl tīman 754

getimbran wkv 1 build; 1s pr ind getimbre 250; 3s pr ind getimbred 470

tinterg n torture, torment; apl tintergu 649; dpl tintergum 211

tō prep + d to, towards; - 10, 47, 66, 188, 225 (N), 333, 355, 367, 427, 445, 549 (N), 572, 578, 621, 654, 655, 728, 733, 741, 757, 801, 813, 836, 851, 894, 1002, 1090, 1105, 1117, 1118, 1147, 1181, 1202, 1264, 1269, 1294, 1295, 1298, 1302, 1303, 1307, 1333, 1362; postp tō 84, 253; to, for, as - 131, 179, 353, 381, 426, 432, 476, 700, 766, 766, 916, 1005, 1112

+ inf - 531, + inf inf - 406, 539, 1066, 1089, 1249
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tō</td>
<td>adv, + adj or adv too; - 585, 662, 844, 1077, 1343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tō</td>
<td>vb, pref, with -beran, -līsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōberan</td>
<td>stv, 4 bear off; 3pl pr ind tōberad 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōlīsan</td>
<td>wkv, 1 unloose, release; pp tōlīsed 1289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tor</td>
<td>m, tower; ns - 1311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>torht</td>
<td>adj, bright, beautiful; nsm - 1295; nsm - 9, 487; spv asm bone torhtestan 645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>torn</td>
<td>n, grief, anger; as/pl - 288, 487, 1056; gs tornes 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>torn</td>
<td>adj, grievous; dpl tornum 448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tornwīde</td>
<td>m, bitter speech; dpl tornwīdum 574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>torne</td>
<td>adv, grievously, bitterly; - 1340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōrnumōd</td>
<td>adj, raging, furious; nplm tornumōde 649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōrnumwraucu</td>
<td>f, grievous revenge; as tornumwraec 301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōweard</td>
<td>adj, approaching, near; nsm - 1114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tredan</td>
<td>stv, 5 walk on, tread on; 3pl pr ind tredad 288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōrsofugol</td>
<td>m, bird of the trees; gpl tōrsofugla 735 (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōcow</td>
<td>f, truth, faith; ns - 340, 448, 543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōcowan</td>
<td>wkv, 1 trust in, believe in; 1s pr ind getrywe 645; 3s pt getrōwede 435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōcowe</td>
<td>adj, true, faithful; dsm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōrumnab</td>
<td>m, strengthening, confirmation; ds trumnabe 757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>truwian</td>
<td>wkv, 2 + g, trust, have faith in; 3s pt truwade 1161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tryman</td>
<td>wkv, 1 make strong, strengthen oneself; inf - 1116; 3s pr ind trymaed 362; 3s pt trymede 107, 190, 960; 3pl pt trymedon 133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
getrywe, see trōowan

tūddor n race, kin; npl - 735; gs tūdres 824

twēgan num. two; nm - 114; nn tū 968; af twā 133

twelf num. twelve; gm twelfa 709

twēogan wkv 2 + a, pers., g, thing, doubt, inspire doubt of something in someone; inf - 754; 3s pr ind twōh 252; 3s pt getweode 340, 543

twēone distributor num. two; bi sēm twēomum 'between' 266, 1339

tydræ adj weak, feeble; splm pā tydran 757

tydrían wkv 2 grow weak, decay; 3s pr ind tydrād 1265; 3pl pr ind tydrād 18

tynan, see on-
bā pron and def art., see sē

bā adv then, thereupon; - 412, 427, 726, 932, 936, 1005, 1007, 1061, 1110, 1147, 1150, 1201, 1278, 1300, 1302, 1303, 1327, 1344; mā 262, 390, 470, 684, 691, 722, 823, 950, 976, 1001, 1010, 1047, 1094, 1108, 1134, 1145, 1156, 1224, 1269, 1282, 1305, 1308, 1326; bā gēn 515; bā gēn 233, 446, 1270; stryhte bā 997, 1152; bā stā 1023; mā stā 1231

bā conj when, as; - 148, 158, 230, 524, 631, 855, 1375; mā 666, 766, 1104; correl. bā ... mā 454/6, 1098/1101, mā ... bā 1197/9

bār adv there; - 11, 13, 143, 149, 180, 573, 665, 774, 833, 839, 873, 888, 898, 921, 1082, 1189, 1190, 1308, 1320; bār 421 (n); bār in 19; 'to there' bār 140

bār conj where; - 10, 16, 121, 174, 209, 291, 347, 382, 397, 420, 453, 535, 560, 588, 656, 667, 677, 679, 682, 701, 715, 785, 814, 816, 827, 917, 1003, 1088, 1195; bār 159, 635, 658; 'to where' bār 896, 951, 1344

bots, see sē

bot pron and def art., see sē

bot conj + noun clause that; - 67, 93, 108, 192, 194, 206, 224, 235, 239, 253, 271, 353, 408, 410, 411, 424, 430 (ms bā), 440, 456, 468, 470, 476, 482, 518, 521, 526, 532, 537, 552, 571, 594, 613, 639, 664, 671, 674, 689, 704, 712, 763, 764, 769, 845, 931, 958, 1017, 1027, 1049, 1081, 1124, 1128, 1160, 1183, 1186, 1193, 1200, 1205, 1295, 1371, 1376

that, so that; - 28, 48, 101, 113, 127, 139, 157, 163, 203, 282, 342, 354, 358, 364, 368, 370, 389, 402, 414, 428, 442, 450, 472, 485, 488, 499, 509, 543, 628, 648, 718, 851, 868, 905, 924, 971, 1036, 1168, 1179, 1251, 1328, 1333; 'even as ... so' swā bot ... swā 40/2

botte conj that; - 449, 820, 981, 987, 989

gēpastian wkv 2 support, obey; inf - 600

he rel particle who, which, that etc. - 18, 19, 49, 55, 68, 256, 298, 327, 373, 423, 458, 528, 542, 606, 661,
bēah  adv however;  swā bēah 493, 940;  sē bēah 961
bēah  conj usually + subj although;  - 273, 299, 487, 915, 967, 1164;  bēah 374, 380, 1064
bēah pe conj + subj although;  - 240, 377, 466, 481, 872;  bēah pe 516
gebeating  f counsel;  dpl gebeatingum 646
bēane  adv however, yet;  sē  - 409;  swā bēane 110
bearf  f need;  ds bearfe 1174;  a/ds bearfe 927;  apl bearfe 322
bearf;  see burfan
bearfendlic  adj needy, poor;  nsm - 431
bearl  adj severe, excessive;  nsp  - 978;  nplm/f bearle 547
bēaw  m custom, way;  ns - 419, 566;  apl bēawas 161, 267;  dpl bēawum 398, 502, 605
bēgan,  see bēow(1)an
bēccan,  see bi-
bebyn  m servant, thane;  ns - 693, 708, 1243;  aś - 1216;  ds beyn 1114, 1231;  apl beynes 547, 696
bēcnan  wkv l think, intend;  ls pr ind bēcnæ 303, 306;  3s pr ind bēcnæst 289;  3pl pt bēhtan 327;  see also bi-
bēndan  conj while, as long as;  - 376;  bēndan 929
bēod  f people;  ds bēode 1231;  gpl bēoda 267;  dpl bēodum 502
bēoden,  see under-
bōden m master, prince, lord; ns - 1014, 1174; gs bōdnes 385, 1066, 1198, 1216, 1256; ds bōdne 778, 1114

þbōdengedal n parting from a master; as - 1350

bōc swv 1 prosper; 3s pr ind bōc 398

gēbēc 3s pr gēbāh 537; see also ofer-
bōstocofa m dark chamber; a/ds bōstocofan 1195

bōstra, see býstru

bōw m servant; ns - 157, 314, 386, 579, 600, 896, 351

bēw(i)an wkv 2 and 3 + d serve, devote oneself to; inf bēgan 169 (N); 3pl pr ind bēwia 69, bēwia 80, bēwas 91, bīgād 461 (N); 3s pt bīawe 740

bēs, bōes, bīs dem adj this; ns m bēs 53, 296, 304, 1091, 1176 (N); nsf bēs 279, 373, 1022, 1064; nsn bīs 1030, 1046, 1265; asm bīsne 1256; asf bīs 119, 125, 371, 741, 967, 1068, 1085, 1120; nsn bīsne 24, 307, 455, 1193; gam bīses 383; gaf bīses 337, 946, 237, bīses 1028; gaf bīses 74, 278; dem bīsum 256; def bīses 47, 1018; npl bīs 70; apl - 2, 3, 284; gpl bīssa 752; dpl bīssum 376

dem pron "; asn bīs 1171; npl bīs 753

bīgan swv 5 accept, partake of; inf - 125, 483

bider adv to there, thither; - 1044

bider conj to where, whither; - 6, 22 (N)

bīgād, see bōw(i)an

bīn poss adj s your; ns - 1358; asm bīnne 1223; asf bīnne 1174; asan bīn 283; gaf bīnes 291; def bīnre 459, 1257

bīngian wkv 2 speak; 3s pt bīngode 239

bōliān wkv 2 + g thole, endure; inf to gōpōliānne 1066; pr pto bōliānde 1056; 3pl pr ind bōliād 222

bon, see under after, ār, for, tō
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Example Usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bonan</td>
<td>adv, thence, from there</td>
<td>- 144, 325, 1353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bode</td>
<td>m, thought, thanks</td>
<td>- 471; gs bonoe 914; de bonoe 169 (n) to bonoe 125 'thankfully, willingly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boncian</td>
<td>wkv 2 + g (thing) d (pers.); thank, to give thanks to</td>
<td>inf - 605; 3s pt boncada 778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bonne</td>
<td>adv, then</td>
<td>- 190, 511, 1038, bonne 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bonne</td>
<td>conj, when, whenever</td>
<td>- 1, 27, 185, 333, 349, 392, 444, 567, 737, 759, 770, 1212, 1350, bonne 72, 212, 356, 812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>after opv than</td>
<td>+ no clause - 126, 279, 388, 400, 1035, 1126 + clause - 168, 384, 1059, 1247, 1321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brecu</td>
<td>f, violence</td>
<td>as brace 267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brag</td>
<td>f, time, season</td>
<td>ns - 1350; as bragge 1196; apl - 1184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breo</td>
<td>m/f/a, violence, affliction</td>
<td>npl - 547; dpl breoan 431, 1198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brean</td>
<td>wkv 2, reprove</td>
<td>pp nplm gebrede 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breanfedla</td>
<td>m, powerful constraint, oppression</td>
<td>dpl breanfedlum 696 (MS breanedlum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breat</td>
<td>m, troop, band</td>
<td>ns - 691; npl breatas 1314; gpl breata 1103; dpl breatum 286, 902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breatan</td>
<td>wkv 2, torment</td>
<td>pp gebrøstad 916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breatan, see for-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>briecan, see for-, in-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bringen</td>
<td>stv 3, press forward, throng</td>
<td>inf - 896; 3s pt bring 1281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gedringen</td>
<td>; oppress, gain by pressing forward</td>
<td>- inf - 245 (MS gedringen); 3s pt gebring 863; pp gebringen 934, 943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broht</td>
<td>m, oppression, hardship</td>
<td>as - 1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>browan</td>
<td>wkv 2, suffer</td>
<td>inf - 573; 3s pt browa 408; 3pl pt bro-wedon 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broware</td>
<td>m, sufferer, martyr</td>
<td>gpl broware 161, 182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
brówing f suffering; de brówinga 471; dpl brówingum 385, 778
brym m strength, power, glory; ns - 1103; ns - 646, 1364; de brymme 169; is - 74; gpl brymna 1103
†brymcyne m glorious coming; as - 1256
brýnes f Trinity; ge brýnesse 646

ði pers pron s you; n - 6, 6, 273, 273, 276, 289, 453, 454, 456, 468, 469, 469, 582, 585, 1015, 1020, 1021, 1045, 1064, 1077, 1175, 1179, 1205, 1222, 1227, 1295, 1376, 1377, ði 271, 271, 280, 291, 291, 579, 1168, 1192; enclitic de 272, be 290; a beo 7, 274, 281, 287, 288, 289, 290, 456, 467, 468, 1203, be 452, 1013, 1017, 1210, 1259, 1297; d beo 278, 458, be 8, 275, 280, 282, 467, 587, 588, 1011, 1206, 1231, 1370, 1374; a/d be 1215, 1262, be sylfa 468

burfan pt pr v need; as aux 1s pr ind bearf 1356; 3s pr ind - 46, 282, 754; 2pl pr ind burfon 673; 3s pt borste 337, 833; 3pl pr burfan 239, 452, borston 421; 3pl pr subj burfe 758

need; pr ptc bearfende 1347

burh prep + a through, by; - 41, 58, 75, 94, 103, 128, 150, 155, 160, 214, 224, 227, 305, 308, 315, 322, 350, 417, 529, 610, 641, 644, 662, 669, 685, 772, 776, 780, 826, 835, 850, 858, 862, 879, 884, 893, 926, 934, 972, 987, 1115, 1122, 1150, 1176, 1198, 1204, 1223, 1235, 1361

burhtéon etv 2 accomplish, penetrate; pp burhtogen 426

burat m thirst; ns - 275

bus adv thus, so; - 452, 1011, 1015

by, by læ, see sē

bydæn wkv 1 join, associate; pp gebýded 998

byncan wkv 1 impers + d seem, appear; gebýhht 1016, 1123; 3s pt býhte 440, j18, 1128

byslice adj such; sam byslicene 1014
ursively as a darkness, cloud, as *μύκτρο* 635; *γυλ* *μόοστρα* 696; *dpl* *μύκτρυμα* 1281
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ufán</td>
<td>adv from, above; - 612, 937, 958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ufancund</td>
<td>adj heavenly, celestial; asm ufancundne 686, 1242; asm ufancundes 1124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncere</td>
<td>dual pose adj our; nsf - 1189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncoð</td>
<td>pto adj unknown, strange; nm - 141; asm uncūnes 1217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ungyldu</td>
<td>f strange place; as ungýldu 855 (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under</td>
<td>prep + a, c under, underneath; + a - 563, 598, 675, 710; + d - 31, 52, 120, 415, 540, 761, 1280, 1289, 1308, 1313, 1316, 1330; a/d - 731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>underlyðan</td>
<td>wkv l + d subject (to); pp underlyðed 603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unergæro</td>
<td>adv quite soon; - 281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ungeblyged</td>
<td>ptc adj undismayed; nm - 941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unhvelden</td>
<td>adj lasting, eternal; asm - 1737, 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unhýlig</td>
<td>adj unhappy; nm - 1328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unlæt</td>
<td>adj quick, ready; nm - 1034;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unnan</td>
<td>pt pis v grant; inf - 930; see also of-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unrøt</td>
<td>adj sad; nm - 1064; asm unrøtne 1260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unscyldig</td>
<td>adj innocent, guiltless; asm unscyldigne 687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unsław</td>
<td>adj quick; ism unsławne 950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unsnyttru</td>
<td>f folly; adv use of dpl unsnyttrum 859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unsøfte</td>
<td>adv severely; - 886, 1107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>untrynnnes</td>
<td>f weakness, infirmity; ns - 1017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unwæne</td>
<td>adj hopeless; asm unwænne 1148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ûp</td>
<td>adv up, on high, aloft; - 263, 284, 484, 776, 791, 1024, 1155, 1278, 1311, ûpp 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fûpeard</td>
<td>m dwelling on high; as - 1078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ûplîc</td>
<td>adj celestial; den þam ûplîcan 681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ûphlædan</td>
<td>stv 6 draw up; pp ûphlæden 1278</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Üprochor** m firmament, heaven; as - 782

**Üppweg** m ascent; as - 1306, 1365

**Üre** poss adj our; mpl **üser** 750, 973; gpl **üsera** 753, **ürra** 877; dpl **üssum** 401

**Üre, üs, üsic, see wê**

**üt** adv out; - 299

**ütsia** m departure; ge **ütsides** 1267

**ütto** adv more utterly; - 126

**ütsenge** adj not to be held, alien; nam - 852
wast, wæt, see witan; gewæt, see gewitan

wæbb pl pers pron we; n - 32, 34, 49, 93, 108, 182, 266, 269 (MS be), 280, 284, 290, 452, 467, 468, 526, 587, 751, 752, 763, 1360; a ðæg 511; g ðrea 289; d ðæ 48, 280, 766, 878; a/d ðæ 93, 528, ðæ 764, hūs 271 (N)

wēa m woe, misery; as wēan 615

wealdan stv 7 + a/d rule; inf - 702, 1159; 3s pr ind wealded 17, 241, 312, 512; 3pl pt wōldon 268; 3s pt subj wēlda 517 (N)

gewealdan : inf - 1016, 1226

weallan stv 7 well up, surge; inf - 1057; pp asm weallendne 615; 3s pt wēol 979, 1340

weard m guardian, lord; ns - 105 (MS wear), 231, 611, 789, 929, 1204; npl weardes 115

wearm adj warm; as - 1293

weardian wkv 2 occupy; inf læst weardian 'remain behind' 1338; 3s pt weardede 897, 1129

weaxan stv 7 grow; 3s pr ind weaxed 249; 3s pt wēox 395

twedertæcen n weather-sign, sun; ns - 1293

wēdan wkv 1 rave; pp nplm wōdende 907

wefan stv 5 weave, destine; pp wēfen 1351

weg m way, path; as - 99, 1180; ge weges 37; apl wegas 8

wegan stv 5 bear, feel; inf - 61; 3s pt weg 1009, 1051, 1137, 1335, 1341

wel adv well, fully; - 541, 581, well 1171

wēla m wealth; ge welen 828

wēn f expectation, hope; a/ds wēne 1016

wēnan wkv 1 + g expect, hope; inf - 673; 2pl pr ind wēnād 508, 3pl pr ind wēnād 76; 2pl pt wēndun 663; 2s pr subj wēne 291
west adv west, westward; — 1213

wēstenn m/n wilderness, wild place; ns — 296; a/ds wēstennas 208; 935; ds — 899; dpl wēstennum 81

wēbe adj gentle, mild, pleasant; nplm — 8

wīo n dwelling place, home; spl — 284, 298, 702; gpl wīoa 1365; dpl wīcum 894

±wīceard m dwelling place; — 935

wīd adj wide; nsn — 296 (NS wīd); in phrases 'forever' ealne wīdan
ferh 817, tō wīdan ealdre 636, tō wīdan
féore 840
wendan

weora

weorud

weordan

gewerban

weordian

weordlice

weordmynd

wépan

wer

werga

vérge

wèrgenga

gewærian

werian

wèrgmod

wesan
vide adv far, far and wide; - 145, 536, 819; - 7 side 882; opv
    videor 300

videorh n/a for a long time; as - 603, 671 (N)

vif a woman, wife; ns - 846

viga a warrior; ns - 999, 1033

vign f/a anything; ns - 277, 312, 425, 699; as - 313

twillhode a messenger of joy, angel; as - 1246

wilde adj wild; nsn - 276; mpln - 907

wildor a wild beast; dpl wildorum 741 (N)

will a wish, desire, will; ns - 749; as willam 389, 849, 873;
sn - 828, 867, 1066; ds - 358; a/ds - 95, 348, 362, 538, 622, 780, 805, 879,
1132; mpl willam 1074, 1190; adv use
of dpl willam 82, 199, 1373

willam anom v will, wish, desire, be about to; + inf : 1s pr ind
    will 243, 257, 378, 494, 603, 619, 717,
    719, 1027, 1263; 2s pr ind will 280;
    3s pr ind will 241, 346; lpl pr ind
    willam 34, 587; 2pl pr ind - 307; 3pl
    pr ind - 60, 124, 567; 1s pt wold 1229;
    2s pt - 454; 3s pt - 169, 196, 470, 517,
    518, 558, 930, 1006; 2pl pt woldun 483,
    493; 3pl pt woldun 574, 842; 2s pr
    subj will 272, wille 593; 3s pr subj
    wille 640; neg 3s pt wolda 945, 1234;
    1s pr ind nelle 1259

    + clause : 1s pr ind wille 763; 3s pt
    wolda 407; 1pl pt woldun 468; 2pl pt
    woldun 663; 3pl pt -en 353; 3pl pr subj
    willam 224

william wkv 2 + g desire; inf - 37

willian wkv 2 + g desire, ask for; inf - 290; 3pl pr ind william
    70; 1s pr ind willamode 1185

windan stv 3 move; 3s pt wend 294

wine a friend; ns - 1227; as - 1063, 1339; ds - 1347; mpl winea
    1365 (ES wunge, N)
winedryhten m generous lord, friend and lord; ns - 1011; de wine-dryhtne 1202

winemæg m kinsman, friend; gpl winemæga 1364

winescype m friendship; as - 1172

winnan stv 3 strive for, contend; 3s pt won 399; 3s pt subj wunne 129

gewinnan stv 3 triumph; 3s pt gewon 450; see also ê-ôfer-

winter m/a winter, year; gpl wintra 498

wiscað, see wysecan

wisdom m wisdom; ns - 1131; as - 503, 529, 763; gs wisdomes 156, 1246

wise f way, mode; gpl wisesa 1162

wisian wkv 2 direct, show; 3s pr ind wisað 362; 3s pt wisaðe 444

wist f food, feast; gpl wista 463

wit dual pers pron we two; n - 1172, 1186, 1190, 1258; a uno 1186, a/d uno 1258

witan pt pr v know; 1s pr ind wät 1086, 1092, 1221; 2s pr ind wät 1021; 3s pr ind wät 1351, 1352; 3pl pr ind witen 67, 90; 3s pt wiste 1003, 1339; 3s pr subj wite 891, 1247

gewitan stv 1 depart, go away; pp gewiten 1365, mpl gewitene 1134; 2s pr ind gewitest 276; 3s pt gewit 325, 1327; pl imp gewitað 255

wite n pain, torment; as/pl - 469, 713; gpl wîta 885; dpl witum 425, 517

wîtedðm m prophecy; as wîtedðm 41

witian wkv 2 appoint, assure; pp asf witude 918; see also be-

wid prep + a/d against, with, from; + a - 411, 716, wib 371; + d

wîd 40, 241, 323, 404, 457, 474, 494 (N), 534, 553, 556, 739, 774, 810, 960, 1335; wib 3, 203; + a/d wîd 228, 331, wib 1262

wið v pref, with -byogan, -stondan
wiberbreoca m adversary; dpl wiberbreocum 294 (N)
wiberhyogende pte adj hostile; malevolent; nplm wiberhyogende 663
wīðhyogan wkv 3 + d set oneself against; 2pl pt wīðhgodum 631
wīðstóndan stv 6 resist, withstand; inf - 994; 3s pt wīðstōd 903
wleancu f pride; as - 503; ds wleance 208
wleite m beauty, splendour; ds - 44, 1314
wlitig adj beautiful, fair; nsf - 817; asm wlitigne 1304; asf ṃ̄ wlitigan 1117
wlo adv indeed; wlo 1154 (N)
wolcenn n cloud; dpl wolcomum 1280
wölde 517, see wealdan
wom m/n impurity, blemish; gpl womma 29, 587
won adj dark; nsm - 1280; dsf bisse wonnan 1028
wong m field, place, plain; ns - 304, 746; as - 178, 477; gs wonges 352; ds wonge 231; is - 702; dpl wongum 1275
wonian wkv 2 weaken, diminish; inf - 57;
gewonian : 3s pt gewonade 775
wonesālig adj wretched; gsf bisse wonesalgan 946
wōp m lamentation, weeping; as - 1047, wōp 636, 905; gs wōpes 1339; ds wōpe 615
word n word, speech, command; ns - 1126, 1131; as - 725, 842, 848, 1347, word 58; ds wordes 294, 360; apl word 308, 720, 775, 1172, 1198, 1216; gpl words 1016, 1094, 1161, 1169; dpl wordum 41, 61, 363, 376, 451, 581, 619, 793, 1063, 1183, 1202, 1227
wordowide m speech, word; gpl wordowida 1159
worulde f world; ns - 37; as - 125, 741, 1280; gs worulde 105, 304, 337, 498, 814, 932, 946, 982, 1047; ds - 47, 129, 399, 892, 1321
†woruldbìlsa f worldly joy; gpl woruldbìsas 164
worulddrèam m worldly joy; dpl worulddrèamum 1363
woruldgestrèon n worldly riches; npl - 70
woruldlìfJo adj worldly; gpl woruldlìfìora 403
woruldlíff n worldly life; ds woruldlífe 1169, 1185
woruldryht n worldly right, law; ds woruldryhte 57 (N)
woord f sound, cry; ns - 263, 391 (MS sód); as wòde 899
wrecu f punishment, hostility; ns - 1081; as wraoe 199
wrecmomog m banished man, outcast; npl wrecmomogas 129, 231, 263, 558
†wrecsetl n exile dwelling place; gpl wrecsetła 296
wrecsefì m exile journey, exile; as - 1074; ds wrecsefìde 623, 688; gpl wrecsefìda 509
wreæp adj hostile; nplm wreàde 558; ism/n wreàde 666
wreæpu f help, support; ns - 1363; ds wraepe 249
wrecan stv 5 drive, press, avenge; 3pl pr ind wreæad 288; 3s pt wreæo 1329; see also w-
wrécn, see on-
wrëht m/f strife; ns - 391
wrëhtsmìd m strife maker; npl wrëhtsmìdas 905
wuldor n glory; gs wuldres 8, 25, 76, 324, 558, 688, 1081, 1246, 1286, 1304, 1365, 1366, 1368; ds wuldre 145, 399, 657, 665, 673, 1117; apl wuldor 86
wuldoreynìng m king of glory; gs wuldoreynìneas 596, 793, 849
wuldorfast adj fast in glory, glorious; nsf - 817
wuldorléan n glorious reward; as - 1373
†wuldormagà m glorious man; ns - 1094, wuldormago 1293 (N)
wund f wound; ns - 698; dpl wundum 284
**wundor** n wonder, miracle; spl - 156; gpl wundra 403, 517, 529, 752, 882, 892, 1127; adv use of spl wundra 1117; ds in adv phrase to wund-

**wundrian** wkv 2 marvel; 3pl pt (subj) wundredan 1232

**wunian** wkv 2 inhabit, remain, await; inf - 632, 840, 948, 1033, 1190, 1196; 3s pr ind wuned 249, 715, 816, 1368; 3pl pr ind wunied 19, 81; 3s pt wunade 395, 437, 545, 999

**gewunian**: 3s pt gewunade 137, 360

**wyllen**, see on-

**wylm** m surge; ds wylme 191, 374

**wyn** f delight, pleasure; ns - 352, 1206, 1364, wynn 1108; as wyn 680; ds wynne 741; npl - 139; spl - 2, 400, 818, wynna 467; gpl wynna 164, 166, 337; dpl wynnum 105, 463, 498, 814, 1275

**twyncondel** f joyful light, i.e. sun; ns - 1213

**wyndeg** m joyful day, day of gladness; dpl wyndagum 632

**wynle** adj joyful, pleasing; nsm - 824

**twynmæg** m beloved kinsman; ns - 1345

**wynnum** adj pleasant; opv nsm wynumra 1321

**wyroan** wkv 1, intrs work; 3s pr ind wyroed 756; 3pl pt worhton 974

**kewyroan** wkv 1, trs make, work; 3s pt geworhte 823; 2s pr subj gewyro 300

**wyrd** f fate, destiny; ns - 1057; as - 1345

**twyrdstaf** m decree of fate; dpl wyrdstafun 1351

**wyrged**, see s-

**wyrm** m serpent; gæ wyrmes 846, 911

**wyrmian**, see for-

**wyrp** f change; improvement; as wyrpe 47, 509, 636
wyre  adv  worse;  - 665

wyrt  f  wort, plant; npl wyrta  1275

wyscan  wkv  l + g wish for, desire;  3pl pr ind wyscad  76, wiscad  223
ylóran, see eald

ymb prep + a about, around; - 114, 737, 1287, 1290, 1310

ymbstandan stv 6 stand round, encircle; 3pl pt ymbstódan 262

yrfestól m hereditary seat, throne; ns - 1317

yrning m wretch; ns - 272

yrmdōn f misery, distress; apl yrmbu 447; gpl yrmba 933; dpl yrmðum 11, yrmbum 19

yrre adj angry; nplm - 190

yringga adv angrily; - 484

yrseian wkv 2 enrage; 3s pt yrsade 200

ýð f wave; dpl ýðum 1340

ýstem spv adj utmost, final; dem þém ýstemstan 463; dem þém ýstemstan 1167

ýwan wkv 2 reveal, show; 3s pr ind ýwæh 86; 3pl pr ind ýwæh 502; 3pl pt ýwden 143
Proper names

Adam : n - 826; d Adam 853, 869, 961, 983

bartholomeus : n - 723

bryten f Britain; a - 883; a/d brytene 175

orist : n - 402, 598; eo oristen 23, 38, 153, 180, 393; d oriste
306, 577, 797

Sue : n - 869, 981; d Juan 853

engle plm Englishmen; apl - 880, 1360

gudlēo : n - 95, 170, 206, 239, 292, 434, 511, 879, gudlēo 744;

a gudlēo 342, 530, 613; e gudlēose 137, 182 (N), 188,
202, 226, 394, 694, 722, 771, 781, 1305;
d gudlēo 111, 327, 449, 578, 976, 996

hierusālem : a - 813
APPENDICES
Appendix 1

a) Saint Bertellin of Stafford

The first reference to a local patron saint at Stafford occurs in the chronicle of Hugo Candidus:

Et in Stefford sanctus Berthelmus martyr.

The inclusion of this entry in a twelfth century chronicle from Peterborough suggests that the resting place of this St. Berthelmus of Stafford was at this time well known and the cult of Stafford's saint quite widespread. It is difficult now to decide even his name, and the problem of his identity cannot be resolved. The saint mentioned by Hugo, if the tendency to confusion of -m- and -in- is recognised, can be identified with the St. Bertellin to whom some English churches seem to have been dedicated in the later Middle Ages. The church of Barthomley in Stafford has been called variously St. Bertolin's, St. Bartholomew's or St. Bertram's. A uncorn church had a Bertellin dedication as early as 1115, but at the Reformation its dedication was assigned to Bartholomew and it is now All Saints. At Thurcaston in Wirral a fifteenth century stone, originally under the church window, is (according to the latest discussion of it) inscribed:

(?GARDIANI) SANCTI BERTELINI JOHN
WITTMO WILLIAM KOEL.
and that church is now dedicated to Bartholomew. The Ilam church now dedicated to Holy Cross may once have been dedicated to Bertellin, for a seventeenth century antiquarian wrote of a Bertram who had 'a well, an Ash and a Tomb at Ilam', identifying him with the St. Bertellin whose legend is found only in Wynkyn de Worde's Nova Legenda Anglie of 1516\(^1\). He points out however that the tomb seems 'by no means above 300 years old' and can be explained only as a fourteenth century celebration of the 1386 miracle connected with the saint\(^2\).

The life of St. Bertellin is one of those fifteen legends which first appear in the Nova Legenda Anglie\(^3\). In it much of the material of Felix's Vita Guthlac is used. Its author summarises the story of Guthlac up to his departure for Crowland accompanied by two youths, one of whom is predictus Bertellinus filius regis Staffordensis populi. This Bertellinus shares in Guthlac's demoniacal attacks and miracles, but a significant omission is the episode of Beccel's temptation to kill Guthlac. Finally in the Crowland series he celebrates a mass during Guthlac's final illness. Then he returns home and demands a hermitage, the link back into the curious story in which this Felix material is embedded. This late life is the only evidence for connecting Beccel of the Guthlac story with Hugo's Berthelmus and the saint to whom churches may have been dedicated at Stafford, Berthomley, Ilam, Runcorn and Thurstaston. It is moreover the only source for our knowledge of a St. Bertellin of Stafford.

\(^1\)Plot 1386, p. 409  
\(^2\)Ibid, p. 410  
\(^3\)Edited by Horstmann 1901, I, pp. 162-67
The story built around the Guthlac borrowings sounds more like the matter of Britain than the history of a Midland saint at the turn of the seventh century. Prefaced to the Guthlac episodes is a tale of a king's son who leaves home to avoid the contamination of his father's house. He crosses to Ireland where he finds favour with a local king and falls in love with the Irish king's daughter. Bertellin runs off with her to England where, in a forest, she and her new-born child are devoured by wolves (an incident perhaps illustrated in the decorations on the font at Ilam church). Bertellin, stricken with sorrow, turns to a solitary life of prayer; his prayers are accepted by God and he performs many miracles. At one time the devil tempts him to change a stone into bread, but Bertellin withstands him and instead turns bread into stone. The narrative is for a moment interrupted for the statement that the stone is still to be seen at Bertelmesley. The aside is tossed off in a most factual way, but the bread into stone miracle becomes less convincing when the etymology of Barthomley is considered. The name was originally very different for the place was at one time the leah of a woman called Beorhtwynn; the early forms show no sign of a non-etymological possessive from which a local identification of the place with the Vita might be argued.

At this point the author switches to his Guthlac material which is summarised, with the emphasis of course shifted to Bertellinus, un-

\[\text{Forster 1899, II. p. 102} \quad \text{Que petra loco, qui nunc Bertelmesley nuncupatur (Horstmann 1901, I. p. 162)} \quad \text{Ekwall 1960 [4th ed.] under BARTHOMLEY; the change from m to n already found among the earliest instances of this name, may be due to the influence of the initial labial.}\]
brokenly until Guthlac's death. Then the author picks up again his Staffordshire setting for the saint. Bertellinus returns unrecognised to his father's court where he demands a hermitage and is granted a small island, anciently called Bethnei but now known as Stafford. Bertellinus settles quietly there. Some years later a stranger usurps his father's kingdom and tries also to evict the hermit Bertellinus from Bethnei by law, not by force. The saint's friends desert him, but in answer to his prayers God sends a little man to help him in the judicial duel by which the cause is to be decided. The little man defeats the new king's gigantic champion without difficulty and his victory is regarded as a miracle. Bertellinus's rights to the island are restored, but the saint now fears worldly fame and departs into desert places. However, his power was such that miracles continued to take place at Stafford (for example in 1386 a man called Wilmot regained his sight during the elevation of the host), thus showing that he was not forgotten.

Where and how was this life printed by Wynkyn de Worde first assembled? The Guthlac episodes may have been strayed through some copy of the Historia Ingulphi for in it are first named the four hermits who joined Guthlac at Crowland. These four, according to this chronicle, had cells at Crowland at the time of Guthlac's death; one is named Bertellinus (through the misreading of g and t in the insular hand). As

1 Forster 1699, II, 99 states that his shrine is still shown at Iham.
2 Horstmann 1901, I, p. 167; in AS Sept III, p. 452 the date is wrongly given as 866 (presumably a misprint); Oswald 1955 gives the date 1256.
3 Fulman 1864, p. 5.
for the king's son and the Irish king's daughter, perhaps they have strayed from the same traditions which lie behind the Brut. Stories were told of a Guichtlacus of Dennemearc who stole away a king's daughter called Samye. Her father had given her to Brennius, a son of Donewal. As Guichtlacus and Samye flee, they are blown off course and fall into the hands of Brennius's brother Belinus. Luckily for the lovers the brothers are at war with one another and Belinus accepts Guichtlacus's homage and allows him and Samye to go home to Dennemearc. This story cannot of course be the source for the non-Guthlac material in the life of Bertellinus, but it shares with it certain stock elements of such legendary stories and shows that, given the names to facilitate the merging of such fantasy with a local patron saint, the author may well have drawn upon some similar popular tradition.

Whatever his sources, someone set about writing up the legend of St. Bertellin of Stafford and made rather a good story out of it. He linked his account with a local place-name Barthomley, either spinning an apposite miracle or elaborating a local folk etymology of that name. Otherwise the whole life is singularly lacking in details which may be checked from any sources. Elaborate attempts have been made to reconcile the marvellous Bertellin with Guthlac's companion², but remain, because of the lack of evidence, only interesting speculation. If a St. Bertellin ever existed in the Stafford area, it seems unlikely that he was in any way connected with the Guthlac legend until his life was

¹Brie 1906, I. pp. 24-26 ²Convenient summary to be found in Forster 1889. II. pp. 99-102.
written up, by the fourteenth century. By that time, with the cult of Guthlac waning, it would have been easy enough to associate an inadequately documented local St. Bertellin with the shadowy ancient Bertellin of the Histori Ingulphi. The churches dedicated to Guthlac and his sister Pege all lie within a closely defined area, except for certain dependencies of the pre-Reformation abbey, and other persons in the Vita do not appear to have had churches dedicated in their names. If St. Bertellin of Stafford was more than a name in twelfth century Peterborough and if that fenland monastery already connected him with the Guthlac cult, surely the busy twelfth and thirteenth century chroniclers and historians at Crowland would not have been silent about so illustrious a king's son who had followed their patron saint? Fantastic though some of the later Crowland material is, it includes for Beccel no hint of a shady past and glorious future of the sort found in the life of Bertellinus. The problem is well summarised by A. Oswald:

Evidently the tomb or shrine of this St Bertel-mus at Stafford was sufficiently well known for his fame to reach Peterborough along with theirs. If Guthlac's disciple is meant, his designation as a martyr may simply be an error, but otherwise this Stafford saint must be a different one of whose martyrdom nothing is known.²

¹ See appendix 2, II ff. Oswald 1:55, p. 7 (their = other saints listed by Hugo Candidus)
b) Story of Pelinus and Brennius

The main outline of this story does not, according to the editions of the Brut I have glanced at, change much. It is briefly told but may have been popular.

It is worth noting that the forms of the Danish king's name show considerable variation in those few manuscripts of The Brut easily available in standard editions. The edition by Griscom includes a translation from a Welsh version in which the king is called *gwichlan* (Jesus Ixi). The other forms recorded by Griscom are: *ginhtlacus rex dacorum* (his text), *guithlacus* (Bern) and *guthlacus* (Harlech). Should one here recall Felix's detail that St. Guthlac's name was from the tribe called *guthlacings* (Vita 208) and connect it with Gaimar's words about one of the followers of Hereward the Wake:

Godwinus Gille qui vocabatur Godwinus, quia non impar
Godwino filio Guthlac, qui in fabulis antiquorum valde praedicatur.

Tatlock points out that only eleven Scandinavians appear in the Historia and that, except for the incident in which a Norwegian called Gunbertus (or Gonbertus) appears (v.8), Guichlacus and Samye (daughter of Elsingius of Norway) are the only Scandinavians to appear outside the Arthurian part of the Historia. (On the following page he admits to unwillingness to recognise Gunbertus as a Scandinavian.) He suggests that Elsingius is perhaps the father of Cerdic, the traditional founder

---

1. Miller 1895, p. 40
2. 1929, p. 278
3. 1950, p. 139
of the West Saxon dynasty and that Guichtlacus is to be connected with the wihtlaeg found in the Mercian genealogies, but notes against this latter identification that the name wihtlaeg was common enough in Scandinavia.

It is interesting to note that the story of Samye and Guichtlacus has often been compared with Norse poems and sagas:

The first part of the account of Belinus and Brennius has a vaguely Scandinavian aspect; indeed it has some likeness to that of Hēðinn, Ragni and Hildr (see H. Sweet, Icel. Primer pp. 58-9). It may have some connection with some Norse history or tradition; but after all it is very elemental. Tatlock points out that Deutschbein has compared tales of Helgi, and San-Marte the story of Hilda and Godrun, and to these adds the Mðrrikasaga:

..... where also the woman's father is named Klung. but considers it difficult to imagine that Geoffrey had any direct acquaintance with Norse tradition.

As for Guichtlacus (or Guichlacus), Tatlock thinks it clear enough he was either Scandinavian or English and tends to connect the name with "Wihtlac, Wihtlaeg, Guithleg, Rightleag, Wiglac, etc.", forms common enough in early Anglo-Saxon genealogies, in Nennius and the Chronicle, etc. He notes that the names Wiglac, Wiltlac, Wilac appear repeatedly in Domesday for Lincolnshire and points out that Vigeikr, with such forms as Vigletus (for Vigleicus), is common in Scandinavian sources.

1950, p. 168 fn. 280  
1950, p. 140
A. Bell\(^1\) points out that although Hugo used some Old English version of *Die Heiligen Englandens*\(^2\) compiled originally at the turn of the tenth century, much material not in the lists edited by Liebermann is found in Hugo. He adds quite a few saints of northern England and his midland entries may derive from his own local knowledge. Yet, a curious anomaly is noted by Bell\(^3\) for the midland area:

\[
\text{Et in Barthaneia sanctus Oswaldus rex.}\quad \text{\(4\)}
\]

In the Anglo-Norman list of saints' resting-places preserved in the *Breviatae of Domesday* the compiler elaborates the similar brief statement which must have stood in his exemplar:

\[
\text{S. Oswald fu poses en Bardeneie, or dit l'om k'il est en Nostle, mes li moine de Burc dient k'il ont les mayns entiers.}
\]

The comparison suggests that Hugo did not give thought always to the accuracy of his sources, even when further local knowledge must have been available to him.

---

\(^{1}\) Mellowes 1949, pp. xxix-xxxv

\(^{2}\) Liebermann 1889

\(^{3}\) Mellowes 1949, p. xxxv

\(^{4}\) Ibid, p. 60
d) A note on St. Bertellin's name

Five churches are thought at some time or another to have been dedicated to St. Bertellin:

**Bartomley (Cheshire)** The church is to-day dedicated to St. Bertoline. Oswald points out that St. Bertolina's in Stafford sometimes occurs as St. Bartholomew's or St. Bertram's but adds "there is no reason to think that this has any connection with Guthlac's tutelary saint". This church is sometimes closely linked to the legend because of the incident of turning bread into a stone at a place now called Bertelmesley. Tait 1939, p. 24 suggests that the author of the life found in *wynkyn de worde* obviously thought Barthomley named after the saint. (The parish is apparently in both Cheshire and Staffordshire.)

**Ilam (Staffordshire)** The church was once dedicated to 'S. Bertoline or Bertram', but elsewhere Forster is less certain of this dedication, suggesting that to-day's Holy Cross dedication may have superseded an earlier dedication. Ilam is connected with the *Nova Legenda Anglie* St. Bertellin by tradition; he is thought to have died and been buried there. The church has a shrine for him and a font which may preserve the story of the Irish princess and her child being devoured by wolves. According to Plot this St. Bertram had 'a Well, an Ash, and a Tomb

---

1 Forster 1899, III, appendix III; and see Crockford, p. 9, fn. 22  
2 Oswald 1955, Forster 1899, III, appendix III  
3 Ibid, II, p. 102
at Ilam.\(^1\)

**Runcorn (Cheshire)** The church was perhaps dedicated to Bertellin as early as 1115; by the Reformation the dedication was assigned to St. Bartholomew. Tait (1939, pp. 19-21) prints a seventeenth century transcript of William FitzNigel’s foundation charter for Runcorn Priory. It begins:

\[
\text{In nomine patris filii et Spiritus Sancti Amen. Noscat presencium pietas et in seculum successura posteritas quod ego Willimus Cestriae constabularius do ecclesiae Sancte Mariae et Sancti Bertel [ini] de Runcona et canoniciis ibidem Deo regulariter servientibus eandem Runcon- am in elemosina cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus ...}
\]

Tait is apparently unsure of the name in this charter which constitutes the only evidence for such a dedication at Runcorn. The church is now dedicated to All Saints.\(^2\)

**Thuretaston (Cheshire)** The church is now dedicated to Bartholomew, but an inscription on a fifteenth century stone includes the words SANCTI BANT’LINI misreported apparently by one recent writer on this subject as SANCTI BERTOLINI.\(^3\)

**Stafford (Staffordshire)** No trace of any church or altar dedicated to St. Bertollin now remains but the 1386 miraculous gaining of sight by Wilmot took place at his altar in Stafford, according to the Vita.

The names other than Bartholomew found in these dedications have for the

---

\(^1\) Plot 1686, p. 409  \(^2\) Oswald 1955, p. 8  \(^3\) Oswald 1 55, p. 8
most part the appearance of being in some way derived from the Hebrew name. Only Bertram cannot be attributed to this etymon, for that name, first introduced into England at the time of the Conquest, was of Germanic origin. A similarity in sound may explain its intrusion.

Among the derivatives of Bartholomew in England the form Bartelot (BART + two diminutives, became popular, giving the modern surname BARTLETT). In the Franche-Comté area of France occurs the form Bartholin. Dauzat notes also the popular Corsican and Italian names Bertolini and Bertolinette which he connects with Barthelemey.

As for Bartholomew, the change of -n- to -m- is already illustrated sporadically in the earliest instances of the name. It would have been possible at any time in the late Middle Ages to derive a saint from the place-name, producing by backformation and metathesis either *Bertelm or *Bertelin. If certain local churches had a Bartholomew dedication with the name in a popular form, the extraction would have been the easier. Bartholomew was widely popular and he has one hundred and sixty-five church dedications in England. His great popularity in mediaeval England may in some part have been due to the arm at Canterbury, taken there by Anselm.

---

1 Withycombe 2nd ed. 1950, p. 47  
2 Reaney 1958, p. 23  
3 This form is described by Dauzat 1951, p. 29 as hypocoristic and as having substitution of its final consonant  
4 Withycombe 1950, p. 41  
5 Gould 1897, ix. p. 258 and Forster 1899, I. p. 82
e) A note on the name Beccel

As the earlier Vita manuscripts have forms similar to the Beccel of the Old English translation, this form is therefore generally accepted as the name of Guthlac's companion who was tempted to cut his throat and who was with him at his death. However in the Vita text of MS Douai 852 is found the name Beccelms (though the -m- is not present in the forms of the Vita text of MS Harley 3097 judged by B. Colgrave most closely related to the Douai text). The Douai manuscript was in the post-conquest period Crowland Abbey's book of its own history. The form Beccelms therefore tends to dominate all subsequent Guthlac material compiled within the ambience of Crowland, either as Beccelms (e.g. in the Harley Roll) or as Beccelms (in Leland, Mabillon etc.) or as Beccelinus (the name of Guthlac's servant was badly enough known by the time the Historia Ingulphi was put together for the insular e to be misread as t).

Discussions of Beccel's name usually centre on its etymology. Certain differences of opinion have arisen among scholars; for the sake of brevity, suggestions and points often made will be tabulated.

1. The name is sometimes thought cognate with Celtic *bekko-se, 'little'. Kedun notes Domesday book forms Biche and Bichus which he thinks Celtic by etymology.

2. The -s- suffix is diminutive.

3. Kedun suggests that Beccel is cognate with Bacula, also of obscure origin, and that both are related to Bac(e)a and Old

\footnote{1} John, p. 85 fn.1  \footnote{2} Kedun, p. 82
The Crowland form Beccelm may have arisen through the analogy of many Old English names which end in the element -helm. Its -m through a miscoding of minim strokes may explain the forms in -in (which explanation is more likely than the interpretation of -in as a second diminutive suffix).

Some have suggested that the name Becca is a fusion of a common Old English name element (beorn- or beorht- for example) with the hypocoristic suffix -oca.

The name is compared with wde 19 and 115 Becca. Attempts have been made to prove that the etymon of this name is Sibiloche. Although such an origin for this Becca would enable certain Ermaneric legends to be drawn together neatly, the etymology presupposes an unusual aphaeresis of an accented first syllable. (Similar attempts to derive the name of the wicked counsellor of Icelandic traditions from Sifka of the Vikingsage made first by Grim cannot be supported. Bikki, used as a by-name in Old Norse is cognate with Old English Bice and with the nouns Old English bioce and Old Norse bikkja 'bitch').

Although the Celtic etymology may not please all who discuss the Widsith forms, there is no reason why it should not be accepted in explanation of Beccel. Non-naturalised Celtic names are found frequently in the nomina praebestorum clericorum et monachorum of the Durham Liber Vitae (e.g. faelfli 95, ultan 100, finan 166, adaman 165, aethan 255, fergus 307, coloduo 377, etc.). It is interesting that Cissa also, although naturalised in English, is a name most likely of Celtic origin.

1 e.g. Malone 136, pp. 127-8
2 Brady 1943, pp. 57 and 171 fn. 22.
3 Sweet 1895, pp. 153-166
4 Redin 1919, p. 89.
Appendix 2

An attempt will be made in this appendix to list the materials, manuscript and other, important as evidence of the widespread nature of the Guthlac cult in mediaeval England. The following arrangement of the materials will be followed:

1. a) manuscripts of Felix's *Vita sancti Guthlacii*
b) the *Miracula* and *Translatio* of the Douai manuscript

2. the Old English texts edited in this thesis

3. a) the Old English *Martyrology*
b) the Middle English *South English Legendary*

4. early epitomes of the life
   a) by (i) Ordericus Vitalis
      (ii) Peter of Blois and John of Tynemouth
   b) the life of St Bertellin

5. a) the hexameters of Henry of Avranches
   b) other Latin verses concerned with Guthlac

6. the *Harley Roll*

7. chronicles, etc
   a) of some length
   b) annal type entry
8 entries in calendars, missals, etc

9 a) resting-places of English saints
   b) relics

10 charter evidence

11 church dedications

12 popular lore
Checklist of Vita texts and other mediaeval Guthlac materials

1  a) Vita

There are extant thirteen mediaeval manuscripts which contain either full or fragmentary versions of Felix's Vita. These are here listed with a short description - indication of the amount of text extant, of date, of provenance and of the purpose of the manuscript of which they originally formed part. References are given to fuller descriptions of them. The order followed in listing them is according to their present location: texts in the United Kingdom are noted first, then the texts in Southern Ireland and last the four continental texts. These last four I have not seen and I therefore depend upon Mr Colgrave's edition for details of them.

CAMBRIDGE (two manuscripts)

Corpus Christi College 307 contains prologue, chapter list and life, and is complete. It is written in a bold insular hand of the ninth century in single column. Acrostic verses connected with the saint and with the writing of this manuscript follow the life and are in a smaller less bold hand of the same period, thought by M.R. James to be by a second scribe (James 1912, II. p. 105) and by B. Colgrave to be by the same scribe (Colgrave 1956, p. 27). These acrostic verses have been edited by M.R. James (1912, II. pp. 105-6, by W. de G. Birch (1881) and by W.F. Bolton (1954).
The Guthlac material covers 52 folios which appear to form an entity. It is bound up with a fourteenth century manuscript of writings by Ioh. Wallensis and Thomas Aquinas. Descriptions of the manuscript can be found in: Birch (1881, p. xix); James (1912, II. p. 105); and Colgrave (1956, pp. 26-27). The manuscript is number 1563 in Bernard's catalogue (1697-8, I. p. 142), number cccvii in Nasmith (1777, p. 356) and is omitted from N.R. Ker's *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (1941; and from the 1964 revision) because its provenance is unknown. Colgrave suggests that the acrostics may have been intended for the shrine built for Guthlac by Æthelbald. This suggestion would indicate a Crowland interest in these 52 folios of *Corpus Christi College 307*, but no conclusions can safely be based on it.

*Corpus Christi College 389* is the text used in this edition and a full description of it will be found in II. 1/0. The manuscript has been described by: James (1912, II. pp. 239 ff.); Wormald (1952, p. 55 and plate 36); and Colgrave (1956, pp. 27-8). The manuscript is number 1345 in Bernard's catalogue (1697-8, I. p. 134), number cccclxxxix in Nasmith (1777, p. 375) and is attributed by N.R. Ker (1941, p. 25; 1964, p. 41) to the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Augustine in Canterbury.

LONDON (five manuscripts in the British Museum)

*Royal 4 A xiv* contains lines 1-120 of the *Vita*, that is the prologue and some of the chapter headings. This material is preserved in two folios which serve as end fly-leaves for a tenth century psalm commentary.
The leaves have been cut down and are bound in upside down. The text therefore begins on 108 and ends on 107 and not all of 108 can now be read. It is written in Anglo-Saxon minuscule of the late eighth or early ninth century. Descriptions of the manuscript can be found in: Birch (1881, p. xviii); Warner and Gilson (1921, I. pp. 81-2); Lowe (1935, II. p. 28 with facsimile); and Colgrave (1956, p. 26). The psalm commentary is attributed by H.R. Ker (1941, p. 56 and p. 115) to a Winchester scriptorium, perhaps either Hyde or Nunnamenster and his suggestion accords with Lowe's surmise that the Guthlac folios, if not from Winchester, are certainly from southern England. Ker later (1964, p. 363) doubts his earlier ascription of this psalm commentary to the Winchester area and (1964, p. 207 and fn 4) places it at Worcester, though noting that a companion volume Royal 2 B v is still hesitantly assigned to Hyde.

Royal 13 A xv contains the life only in forty-five folios. There is neither prologue nor list of chapters and the text ends with nescit on the second line of 45, the rest of the folio being empty. Clasp marks in the last part of the manuscript indicate that this manuscript has long been the last item in some volume and it may always have been a separate entity. The text is written by two scribes in single column, both hands, one insular and one caroline, being of the tenth century.

This text is the basis of Birch's edition and is described by him (Birch. 1881, p. xviii f.), by Warner and Gilson (1921, II. p. 84) and by Colgrave (1956, pp. 28-30). The manuscript is number 8099 in Bernard's catalogue (1697-8, II) and is omitted from N.R. Ker's Medieval Libraries
of Great Britain (1941 and 1964) because its origin is unknown.

Harley 3097 contains prologue and life, but is without a chapter list and the text ends abruptly with Deinde 1310 mid-page and mid-line. It is written in a twelfth century hand in single column and occupies folios 67v to 84v. The Guthlac material belongs to a collection of religious writings made at Peterborough, probably in the first half of the twelfth century (Ker's dating is preferred to Colgrave's mid-eleventh century suggestion). A post-mediaeval hand (perhaps Richard James) has added a rubric in the left margin by the beginning of the Guthlac material:

ffelix crowslanis floruit ad 730.

v. Bibl Cott
Vesp D xxi

Descriptions of the manuscript can be found in: Catalogue (1808, II. p. 735) and Colgrave (1956, pp. 30-51). It is number 628 in Bernard (1697-8, II. p. 15) and is attributed by N.R. Ker (1941, p. 84 and 1964, p. 151) to the Benedictine house of Saint Peter, Paul and Andrew at Peterborough. This manuscript is the basis of Gough's text (1783, pp. 131-53).

Cotton Nero E i (pars i) contains the prologue, chapter list and life on folios 185r to 196r. It is written in an eleventh century hand in two columns and there is much underlining and glossing of the Guthlac material. These notes, closely related to those in Corpus Christi College 389, are found only in this part of the manuscripts Cotton Nero E i (pars i) and Cotton Nero E i (pars ii).

This Guthlac material cannot have been part of the original design.
of the Worcester passional in which it appears, for it has no number in
the collection and is not entered in the list of contents. The contents
of the passional are now split up among three manuscripts, that is Corpus
Christi College 9 which contains lives for the final months of the year
as well as the two Nero E i manuscripts. For bibliographical details
see N.R. Ker, Membra disiecta, second series (1940).

Descriptions of the manuscript can be found in: Smith (1802, pp.
239-41) and Colgrave (1956, pp. 31-32). It is ascribed by Ker (1941, p.
116 and 1964, p. 207) to the Benedictine priory of the Blessed Virgin
Mary at Worcester.

Cotton Nero C vii contains the life on folios 29^v to 40^v and is without
prologue and chapter list. It is written in a twelfth century hand in
double columns. The Guthlac material is contained in the folios 29-79
which form part of a now dismembered collection of passionals which be-
longed to Christ Church, Canterbury; other sections of the original book
are to be found in Harley 315 folios 1-39 and Harley 624 folios 84-143
(for details see Ker, Membra disiecta, second series). Descriptions of
the manuscript can be found in: Catalogue (1802, p. 235) and Colgrave
(1956, pp. 32-33). It is attributed by Ker (1946, p. 22 and 1964, p. 36)
to the Benedictine priory of the Holy Trinity or Christ Church, Canterbury.

It is perhaps of interest that part of this manuscript was trans-
scribed by Richard James into his notebooks (Bodleian, MS James 16, pp. 50
ff., the manuscript numbered 3855(6) in Bernard 1697-8, I, p. 260) and
that this is most likely the hand which appears on the title-page of this
manuscript (as on the title-page of Vespasian D xx1) and on 29° beside
the beginning of the Vita:

Vita Sancti Guthlacii Croilansis
Incipit Liber de vita sancti Guthlacii stremoni
issimi ac perfectissim anchoriti/

LUBLIN (two manuscripts in Trinity College)

B. 1. 16 contains the life in pages 138-64, but is without prologue and
chapter list. It is written in a thirteenth century hand in double col-
umns. It forms part of the remainder of the March to June sections of
a legendary from Jervaulx in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The manu-
script is described by Abbott (1900, pp. 72 ff. where it is number 171),
by Grosjean (1928, p. 86 where Guthlac life is item 18) and by Colgrave
(1956, p. 43). It is number 793 in Bernard's catalogue (1697-8, II. p.
46) and is ascribed by Ker (1946, p. 57 and 1964, p. 105) to the Cister-
cian Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Jervaulx.

B. 4. 3 contains prologue, list and life. It occupies folios 73° to
85° and is written in single column in an eleventh century hand; Abbott
(1900, p. 73) suggests twelfth century but both Ker (1964, p. 171) and
Colgrave (1956, p. 42) place the manuscript in the latter part of the
eleventh century. The English words on the recto of the first fly-leaf
are in a late eleventh century insular hand: of searobyrig ic som.
The manuscript was still at Salisbury in the early seventeenth century
(Ker 1949, p. 172, p. 179) where it was borrowed by Archbishop Ussher who
took it to Dublin. It is made up of two collections of a similar char-
acter and period which appear to have been bound together in the six-
teenth century. Guthlac is the only insular saint included in either part (his life is in the second manuscript) and Colgrave's suggestion that the collection may have related to the relics at Salisbury, although pleasing, is unlikely, as these parts may not have been associated with one another before modern times.

Descriptions of the manuscript can be found in: Abbott (1900, p. 73 where it is number 174), Grosjean (1928, p. 88 where Guthlac life is item 13) and Colgrave (1956, pp. 42-43). It is number 478 in Bernard's catalogue and identified as a Salisbury manuscript by Ker (Addenda 1946, p. 3 and 1964, p. 171).

CONTINENT (four manuscripts, only one of which is assigned by N.R. Ker to a mediaeval English library)

Arres MS 1029 (812) is a fragmentary text. The Guthlac material occupies folios 27\textsuperscript{v} to 65\textsuperscript{v} and a pen-proof of the first three words of the prologue appears on 24\textsuperscript{v}. A gathering, if lost before 27\textsuperscript{v}, could have contained prologue and chapter list and these appear in the closely related Boulogne text. The extant text (= lines 206 to 579 and 760 to end) is written in a late tenth century continental hand and perhaps belonged to the abbey of St Bertin monks at Bath (Grierson 1940, p. 104-6, 109 and 130). The manuscript, written in a mixture of tenth and eleventh century insular and continental hands, is a collection of lives of English and French saints and is described by Colgrave (1956, pp. 35-35).
Boulogne, Public Library 637 (106) contains prologue, chapter list and life and ends with a short litany (the litany printed by Colgrave in his footnotes, 1956, p. 171). The Guthlac material occupies folios 85$^v$ to 92$^v$ of this single column manuscript which is written in continental hands of about 1000 A.D. The book is a legendary which belonged to the monastery of St Bertin at St Omer. A very full description of it is given by Colgrave (1956, pp. 35-39); a briefer note appears in the Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques 1872, IV. p. 637.

Douai, Public Library 852, written in various hands (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) and assembled over a fairly long period of time, was most likely a collection of pieces, for the most part of local interest, made at Crowland. Felix's Vita (prologue, chapter list and life) occupies folios 5$^r$ to 32$^r$. This material is written in a twelfth century hand in single column and to it has been added a chapter from Ordericus Vitalis (Historia ... 1838, ii. p. 265) on Æthelbald's foundation of a monastery at Crowland. Other Guthlac materials follow: first an account of the saint's translation in 1136, next a description of miracles and last the Abbrevatio made by Ordericus Vitalis. The miracles are incomplete for they must have ended on a folio now missing from the manuscript (and obviously missing by 1675 when the Bollandist editor broke off suddenly at the same point as this manuscript); the folio or its contents was however known to Peter of Blois whose life of the saint includes a summary of the lost miracles.

The book was still at Crowland in John Leland's time, for he made a transcript of part of it when he visited Crowland (Smith 1907, II. pp.
It had apparently reached France by 1672 when Mabillon and d'Achery stated that their text was based on a manuscript from Lyre (Colgrave 1956, p. 45, suggests that their Lyre manuscript was a transcript from the Douai manuscript). It was certainly at Douai in 1675 when the Bollandists (Aprilis II) know of texts at Arras, St Omer and Douai and indeed print much of the material of the Douai manuscript. Descriptions of the manuscript can be found in: Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publicques (1878, VI, pp. 598-602), Analecta Bollandiana (1901, xx, pp. 406-7), Smith (1907, II, pp. 122-26), Liebermann (1892, pp. 249 ff.) and Colgrave (1956, pp. 39-42). N.R. Ker (1946, Addenda 2, p. 28 and 1964, p. 56 where the contents are labelled Heracleides etc) attributes the book to Crowland.

Gotha, Herzogliche Bibliothek I, 61 is described by Grosjean (1940, pp. 90-103) and Colgrave (1956, pp. 43-44), but disappeared from Gotha towards the end of the last war. B. Colgrave had in his possession a photostat of the life of Guthlac it contained, from which are taken the collations in his edition. The manuscript, written in double columns in the early fourteenth century, contained a collection of lives of English, Welsh and Cornish saints. The Guthlac text, occupying folios 104v to 115r, was without prologue and chapter list and is item no. 32 in the index to the manuscript presented by Father Grosjean (1940, p. 96).
b) the **Miracula** and **Translatio** of the Douai manuscript

Douai, Bibliothèque publique 852 is not the earliest extant manuscript containing Felix's *Vita sancti Guthlac*, but its considerable importance must be emphasised. Both for its association with Crowland and on the evidence of its contents the manuscript is of obvious interest as a collection of pieces for the most part concerned with local events and persons. It contains not only a text of Felix's life, but also the *Abbrevatio* made by Ordericus Vitalis sometime before 1124. Two items of particular interest for the growing cult of St Guthlac are the twelfth century additions:

- **Translatio B. Guthlac**, folios 32\- 38;
- **Miracula [B. Guthlac]**, folios 55 - 46\-.

Both are printed by the Bollandists (*Aprilis, Tomus II*, pp. 54-60).

The *Miracula* is now incomplete, but Peter of Blois's life of the saint shows that in his day a fuller account of these miracles was available.
the Old English texts edited
in this thesis

All the Old English materials of any length, except perhaps for
the first of the Exeter Book poems, are for the most part dependent on
the Vita by Felix. Edited in this thesis are:

British Museum Cotton Vespasian D xxxi: folios 18r - 40v con-
tain an Old English translation of the life of the saint and are written
in a late eleventh century hand. See II.2/c.

Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare cxvii: a homily related to the
longer Vespasian Life is contained in folios 133v - 135v. The manu-
script is from the latter part of the tenth century. See II.2/f.

Exeter, Cathedral 3501: the poems now generally entitled Guth-
lao A and Guthlao B are contained in folios 32v - 52v of this manuscript.
See III.1/b.
a) the Old English Martyrology

Entries concerned with Guthlac appear in three of the five manuscripts of the Old English Martyrology: in British Museum Cotton Julius A x, Corpus Christi College Cambridge 196 and Corpus Christi College Cambridge 41, but not in British Museum Add. 23211 or British Museum Add. 40165A. The standard edition of this martyrology is by G. Herzfeld (An Old English Martyrology 1900) who takes his basic text from Corpus Christi College Cambridge 41, listing variants from the three other manuscripts then known. The fragment in British Museum Add. 23211 has been edited by Sweet (The Oldest English Texts 1885, pp. 177-78). The fragments first discovered in this century, British Museum Add. 40165A, are edited by C. Sisam ('An Early Fragment of the Old English Martyrology' in RES 1953, pp. 209-20), this article providing the fullest discussion available of the origin of the martyrology. A couple of sentences from the Martyrology appear in the British Museum manuscript Harley 3271 (see Ker 1957, no. 239, item 11). Miss Sisam (1953, p. 217) places the original compilation of the martyrology in Mercia sometime after 850 A.D. and suggests that a manuscript was taken south where it was copied first in the late ninth century. However, she points out that the collection could equally as well have been assembled by one of the Mercian scholars imported into Wessex by King Alfred.

The immediate source for the Guthlac entry found in three of the manuscripts extant is not known. Herzfeld (1900, p. xxxviii) cites Felix's Vita of the saint as the source, but it is more likely that the brief note on Guthlac stems directly from some litany or collect or other
martyrology (and of course ultimately from Felix). The John of Tynemouth collect remembers the morning and evening visitation of the saint by an angel and both this incident and the appearance of the miraculous hand from heaven occur in the Corpus Christi College Cambridge 198 fragmentary office for Guthlac's feast. These two incidents, together with the interpretation of the name Guthlac, are all that the Old English Martyrology contains. For further notes on material of this sort in calendars and missals, etc., see (8) below.

3 b) the Middle English South English Legendary

Poems about Guthlac appear in three of the Middle English manuscripts generally grouped under this title:

British Museum, Cotton Julius D ix, folios 297v - 301v, containing a poem of 292 lines;

Corpus Christi College Cambridge 145, folios 210v - 213r, containing a poem of 174 lines (the manuscript is placed by Ker 1964, p. 181 in Southwicke, Hampshire);

Oxford, Bodley 779 (2567), folios 163r - 164v, containing a poem of 104 lines.

The original collection is thought to have been compiled in the late thirteenth century and those manuscripts in which the Guthlac poems are found are usually dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For lists of the contents of the manuscripts see Brown 1916, (I, pp. 29 ff.) and Wells (1916, pp. 292 ff.).
Two editions of the collection have appeared:

C. Horstmann, The Early South English Legendary, (EETS 87), 1887.


The Guthlac legend is not represented in either of these modern editions.

Accounts of the three Guthlac poems are given by:

W. de G. Birch, Memorials of Saint Guthlac of Crowland, 1881; on pp. xxviii Birch notes four manuscripts, mistakenly listing the Bodley poem under each of its two numbers.

H. Forstmann, 'Untersuchungen zur Guthlac-Legende' in Beiträge xii, 1902; on pp. 22-35 he prints the London and Oxford versions and part of the Cambridge one.

B. Colgrave, Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac, 1956; p. 24 lists these versions and points out Birch's mistake.

W.F. Bolton, The Middle English and Latin Poems of Saint Guthlac. This is a 1954 Princeton doctorate thesis. A description of it appears in Doctoral Dissertation Series Publication No. 13669 and microfilm copies may be obtained from UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Dr Bolton presents full texts of the three Guthlac legendary entries, together with photostats of one page from each manuscript.
early epitomes of the life

a) (i) Ordericus Vitalis

Sometime in the early twelfth century a revision of the life of St Guthlac by Felix was made by Ordericus Vitalis at the request of Abbot Geoffrey (who was abbot at Crowland from 1110-24). His Abbrevatio was in the thirteenth century written into folios 47-52 of Douai, Bibliothèque publique 852, a Crowland manuscript containing for the most part material of local interest. No edition has been published of this Abbrevatio, but according to the Bollandists (see Analesota Hollandiana xx 1901, p. 406) it differs little from the version later inserted by Ordericus into his Historia ecclesiastica (in their words aequis verbis mutatis). For the inclusion of this material in the Historia ecclesiastica see section 7 below.

a) (ii) Peter of Blois and John of Tynemouth

Peter of Blois's epitome (in Trinity College Dublin B. 2. 7) is printed by C. Horsmann, Nova Legenda Anglie (1901, II. pp. 698-701). Descriptions of the manuscript appear in Abbott (1900, number 174) and Grosjean (1928, pp. 88-91). Of the two manuscripts of this life of Guthlac noted in Bale (see Poole and Bateson 1902, pp. 319-20), one may be the present Trinity College Dublin B. 4. 3. This revision of the life was made by Peter at the request of Henry Longchamp; Peter most likely worked from Douai, Public Library 852, for he includes miracles known now only from this manuscript originally from Crowland. John of Tynemouth's
epitome is printed by C. Horstmann, Nova Legenda Anglie (1901, II. pp. 1-10), who suggests that it is dependent upon the revision made by Peter of Blois (Horstmann 1901, II. p. 688, fn 1), as does B. Colgrave (1956, p. 22). The two texts presented by Horstmann cannot, however, support his conclusion that the manuscript Trinity College Dublin B. 2. 7 proves to be that from which John of Tynemouth made his abridgement, for John's epitome contains phrases and sentences found in Vita texts but not in Peter's epitome, and, if Horstmann's opinion is to be supported, the existence of an earlier and fuller life of Guthlac by Peter must be argued. Indeed, John of Tynemouth may well have made his abbreviation also from the Douai manuscript, for his epitome reflects the interpolation from Ordericus Vitalis on the foundation of Crowland, found only in that text of the Vita and, as Horstmann notes (1901, I. p. x), John of Tynemouth most likely travelled around the country to collect his materials.

These remarks are dependent upon the information to be extracted from Horstmann's edition, of which some further details should be added. This edition of the Nova Legenda Anglie is based upon the British Museum manuscript Cotton Tiberius E.I, with collations from the legendary printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516. Cotton Tiberius E.I (placed by Horstmann as a St Albans' manuscript of the last quarter of the tenth century, but ascribed by Ker 1964, p. 188 to Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire), one of the manuscripts damaged in the Cotton library fire of 1731, is an arrangement of saints' lives in calendar order by John of Tynemouth.

A fifteenth century alphabetic rearrangement, with a decrease in the num-
ber of Narrationes appended to the lives, was made by John Capgrave who is generally credited with the composition of the whole collection (for example, by Plot 1686, p. 409). A final revision of the materials was put in hand for Wynkyn de Worde, with the further addition of fifteen lives, for publication in 1516. Three other manuscripts are described by Horstmann (1901, I, p. xiv) as presenting intermediary positions between Cotton Tiberius E 1 and the collection published by Wynkyn de Worde. These are:

British Museum, Cotton Otho D ix: a manuscript greatly damaged in the 1731 fire. Its contents are listed in the 1696 catalogue of Cottonian manuscripts by Smith as 'Vitae Sanctorum Anglie collectae Johanne Capgrave:

York, Minster Library, xvi C 1;

Bodley, Tanner 15 (ascribed by Ker 1964, p. 386, to Canterbury).

b) the life of St Bertellin

As this life appears first in the legendary attributed to Capgrave and because it draws upon the epitome of Felix made by Peter of Blois, it is noted in this section. According to Pits (1619, p. 295) a life S Bertelini in one book was in his day extant. There is now no trace of this. Pits attributes this life to Alexandro Essibiensi, p. 1220, who was sometimes called Staffordiensum chronographum. For a discussion of the problems presented by this vita see Appendix 1.
a) the hexameters of Henry of Avranches

Cambridge, University Library Dd xi 78: folios 61r - 91r contain the Guthlac poem by Henry of Avranches, for a long time mistakenly attributed to William of Ramsey. A copy of this poem in Cotton Vitellius D xiv is described in Smith's 1696 catalogue (p. 93) of the Cottonian library, but the manuscript perished in the 1731 fire in Ashburnham House. A third manuscript, MS Norwich, More 906, of the poem is noted by Tanner (1748, p. 363) who notes also the Cottonian manuscript. According to Bolton (1954, p. 10) this manuscript is 'otherwise unknown', but it is interesting to read N.H. Ker's observations on the provenance of certain books in the University Library at Cambridge (1964, p. xv):

The history of the Norwich library is obscure, but many Norwich books are now in the Cambridge University Library and others were procured.

It is possible therefore that evidence should be sought for placing this one extant manuscript in Norwich at some time in the post-mediaeval period. The extant volume belonged to Matthew Paris; much of it was transcribed by him and his characteristic inscription of gift to God and St Albans can still be recognised. The manuscript is acknowledged as a St Albans book by Ker (1964, p. 165).

The poem is generally thought to have been commissioned by Henry Longchamp, a tradition based on a reference under the year 1237 in the Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense (see Giles 1845, p. 135). More recently it has been suggested that Henry of Avranches 'was writing in England for various patrons between 1244 and 1262' (Vaughan 1958, p. 260), but this should not be set against the traditional recognition of an earlier period.
of literary activity on his part in England (see Russell 1928, p. 35 and Bolton 1954, p. 23). It is indeed likely that Henry Longchamp, who commissioned an up to date revision of the *Vita sancti Guthlacii* (*herpico stylo*) from Peter of Blois, should also commission a poem (metrical style) from one of the most fashionable poets of the time (phrases from *Chronicon Angliae Petribungensis* op. cit.).

Among the more valuable descriptions of the poem are:

1. **A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge** 1856, I. p. 472


b) other Latin verses concerned with Guthlac

_Corpus Christi College Cambridge 307_ contains acrostic verses on folio 52. These verses are printed by M.R. James (1912, II, pp. 105-6) who thinks them written in a hand of the same period as the _Vita_ which precedes them (more detail is given on this point in 1 a) above).

_British Museum, Arundel 201_, folios 92v - 93v, a fifteenth century manuscript, contains fifteen stanzas of rhyming verse. These have been published by Birch (1881, pp. 72-74) and are edited by Bolton (1954, pp. 133-35) who considers the poem was written in the second quarter of the thirteenth century (ibid, p. 128).
Passimile and a full account of British Museum, Harley Roll Y 6 are to be found in:


Among other reproductions and accounts the more important are: Schnelle 1800; Nichols 1807, IV. part i, pp. 1-7; Birch 1881, pp. xxxv ff.; Conser 1909, pp. 189 ff.; d'Ardenne 1946; Colgrave 1956; Wormald 1957.

A similar roll, though with English captions, may have been in Leominster in the thirteenth century, for an old catalogue there lists:

Rotula cum uita sancti Guthlacii Anglice scripta.

See further Barfield (in EHR 1888, p. 124); Wilson 1936, p. 12 and 1952, p. 98; Colgrave 1956, p. 12. The description is quoted from Ker (1957, p. xlvii). The roll used to be attributed to the rule of Henry Longchamp and cannot be earlier than 1141 for the priory of Frieston, founded in that year, is among the benefactions shown in the last roundel (see Warner 1928, p. 17 who suggests that picture 18 shows 1196 translation). This final picture suggests that the series was made for Crowland. It has lately been dated to about 1200 (Wormald 1957, p. 262).

What its purpose can have been is still disputed, for there have been many attempts to explain the roundels as cartoons for glass, as shrine decorations, altar decorations, as spandrels of arches in chapels or sculptured reliefs over doors of cathedrals.
7 chronicles, etc

a) entries of some length

In this group are placed any mediaeval notes on the saint which are more than a mere statement either of his death or of his burial place.

TWELFTH CENTURY

Chronicon Abbatum ex Episcoporum Eliensium

In Hearne's 1774 edition of Leland an extract (noted by Forstmann 1902, §III), is given Ex Annalibus Eliensis monasterii, telling only of Abbess Ægburg's gift of a winding-sheet and sarcophagus to Guthlac:

Cui successit Adulphus, ejus nepos, Annae filius, cujus filia Badurga abbatisa in Reopendune famulo Dei Guthlaco sarcophagum plumbum lintheumque transmisit;
in quo idem vir Dei postea sepultus est.

This Chronicon seen by Leland is representative of a small group of manuscripts which present 'a radically abbreviated version of the Liber Eliensis': this has been pointed out by Blake (1962, p. xxvii) in his edition of the older and fuller records of Ely chronicles.

Geoffrey Gaimar, Lessoris des Engles

This is edited by T.D. Hardy and C.T. Martin for the Rolls Series 1888-9. The Guthlac entry is very brief (I. p. 66, lines 1655-9):

En ices tens Gudlac estait,
Uns hom ki Dampne Deu serveit.
Ki la vie de lui vereit,
Mainte miracle i troveret.
Tuchet mestut, ne puis tut dire.

Bell (1919, p. 282) points out that for his knowledge of Anglo-Saxon saints Gaimar may have drawn on an earlier, rather fuller list of the sort printed by Hardy and Martin (1888, I. in preface), for a note on which see 9/a in this appendix.

**Liber Eliensis**

The most satisfactory edition of this is by E.O. Blake, for the Camden Society 1962. The short note on Guthlac (Blake 1962, p. 19) is little different from that of the closely related *Chronicon*:

Post quem Anne regis filius, frater videlicet virginis Etheldrethe de quo iam diximus, regnum suscepit Adulfus, cuius filia Edburga in Reepuduna abbatissa famulo Dei Guthlacaco sarcofagum plumbeum lintherumque transmisit, quo idem vir Dei post obitum locaretur et circumdaretur.

**Ordericus Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica**

Ordericus incorporated into his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, compiled during the years 1123–41, the *Abbrevatio* of Felix he had made earlier for Abbot Geoffrey of Crowland. See further 4/a in this appendix.

**William of Malmesbury, Gesta pontificum**

A short passage about Guthlac appears in liber iv § 182 (Hamilton 1870, p. 321):

Croland est una insularum jacentium in illo tractu orientalium stagnorum, quae a meditullio terrae orienta, et per centum et eo amplius milia fluentia, in mare cum multis et magnis fluminibus impetu suo praeclmitantur. Hic
An extract from some manuscript of the Gesta pontificum is to be found in Hearne's 1774 edition of Leland (III, p. 270), corresponding closely with the first two sentences in the above quotation. William of Malmesbury's account of Guthlac should be compared with Higden's.

John of Wallingford (attributed to), Chronica

An unsatisfactory partial edition of this chronicle appears in Gales 1691 and is superseded by the good text recently edited by R. Vaughan 1958; Guthlac material appears in pp. 4-10 of this edition. Vaughan (1958, p. x) points out that this chronicler gives more attention to hagiography than is usual among chroniclers. He deals in particular with Guthlac, Kenelm, Botulf, Swithun, Edmund, Frideswide, Neot, Dunstan, Edward the Martyr, Aelfheah and Ivo, probably using some legendary of English saints which has since been lost.

Florence of Worcester, Chronicon ex Chronicis

Florence's chronicle is edited by Thorpe 1848. Two short entries concerned with Guthlac's life appear and neither is marked by Thorpe as
from the earlier chronicle of Marianus Scotus which served Florence as his basic material. It seems probable therefore that the Guthlac note found in Hearne's 1774 edition of Leland under the heading *Ex Chronico Mariani Scotii*, (III. p. 276) comes from Florence's *Chronicon ex Chronicis*.

The first entry in this chronicle (I. pp. 44-45) tells of Guthlac's decision to leave secular life when he was twenty-four years old, and of his reception as a monk at Repton by Abbess Aelfthryth. His death is noted in the second passage (I. p. 48). It is necessary to quote this entry in full, for Gray (1881, p. 1 fn) has suggested that the way in which Pege is introduced indicates that for Florence she may have seemed more important than Guthlac:

*Anachorita probatissimus Deique sacerdos fidelissimus, dilettae Christi virginis Pegiae germanus, innumerabilem virtutum patrator Guthlacus, indentioe xii., quarto lumine festi Paschalis iii. idus Aprilis [11 Apr.] animam ad gaudia perpetuae emisit exultatationis; cui Cissa cui diu paganis ritibus deditus erat, sed post baptismum in Britanniae perooperat, successit.*

It is obvious that any summary of Felix's account of Guthlac's death should mention both Pege and Cissa, the other important persons in this chapter of the *Vita*. There is therefore no need to emphasize or over-interpret Florence's inclusion of Pege, any more than his inclusion of Cissa.

**THIRTEENTH CENTURY**


Both have been edited by H.R. Luard for the Rolls Series.
the Guthlac material see 1872, i. pp. 324-8 and 1890, i. pp. 362-5.

This epitome of Felix's Vita is considered briefly by Bolton (1959, pp. 43-44) who seems unaware of its relationship to the version found in Roger of Wendover's Flores Historiarum.

Roger of Wendover, Flores Historiarum

An edition of this chronicle by H.O. Coxe (1841-4) contains Guthlac material in volume I, pp. 206-11. It should be noted that the Rolls Series edition by H.G. Hewlett (1886-9) begins only 'from the year of Our Lord 1154' and therefore includes no epitome of Guthlac's life.

Although Roger is here placed under the heading 'thirteenth century', it would be fairer to describe him as a late twelfth/early thirteenth century chronicler and to regard him as a near contemporary of the chronicler popularly called John of Wallingford.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY

John of Brompton, Chronicon

This chronicle occupies columns 721-1284 of the first volume of Twysden's Historiae Anglicanae scriptores x 1652. The Guthlac material (columns 797-8) is introduced:

Regis Oswaldo Northumbri defuncto, Ardulphus, sive Aldulphus rex in regno sibi successit, ejus tempore floruit sanctus Guthlacus, qui ...

This chronicler gives the following details of Guthlac's life: his decision when about twenty-six to become a hermit; his choice of Crowland as his dwelling-place; the temptation to fast to excess; the
healing of a youth (here called Hintredus) possessed by a demon; Edurga's gift of a sarcophagus and her question about his successor; and the saint's death on the eighth day of his illness after fifteen years of solitary life.

Ingulf (attributed to), Historia Ingulfi

Excerpts from this chronicle were printed by Savile (1596 and 1601), but a full edition appears first in Fulman (1684, pp. 1-107). Although a text is presented by Biroh (1883), Gross (1915, p. 247) points out that this edition "is inferior to Fulman's.'

The Historia Ingulfi which forms the first part of the Historia Croylandensis is associated with the Ingulf who was abbot of Crowland in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Although the work has for a long time, together with the first continuation which follows it, been regarded as forgery of the fourteenth century (for example by Liebermann 1892, pp. 255-67) or even the fifteenth (for example by Riley 1854, p. xii or Searle 1893, p. 209), Bolton (1959, pp. 41-42) suggests that so far as the references to Guthlac are concerned there is no need to argue so late a forgery. Pointing out that the Guthlac material does not show any signs of having been influenced by the Peter of Blois epitome of the saint (in his words the 'textus receptus at Croyland after about 1200'), he argues that the forger was scarcely subtle enough to avoid using this redaction of Felix's Vita. He appears therefore to regard the Guthlac passages as having been put together in this form before Peter made his life of the saint. On the problem that the Historia Ingulfi includes phraseology from both Felix's Vita and Orderic's Abbrevatio he comments:
There is no way of knowing whether Ordericus used a
text of Ingulph, or available to Ingulph, or whether
an imposter used Ordericus as well as Felix.

However, Bolton is unwilling to draw any firm conclusions from his argu-
ments and, because his major point is the lack of contamination of the
Guthlac material by the Peter of Blois version of the life, there seems
little point in arguing that this part of the Chronicle may have been
written by Abbot Ingulf. As for his hypothesis:

If the Ingulph passage is the original then some of the
chronicle which has been branded a forgery may in fact
be genuine.

Few historians would be prepared to dismiss all the materials gathered
together in the Historia Croylandensis as worthless. Perhaps some gen-
uine Historia Ingulfici lies behind the earliest part of this material but,
as Searle points out (1893, p. 208), the text we have shows a consider-
able dependence upon the works of twelfth century historians. The earli-
est possible date for it remains the late twelfth century and the argument
that its author's knowledge of the Peterborough Chronicle suggests a much
later date is still to be refuted convincingly.

Ranulph Higden, Polychronicon

This chronicle, together with both Trevisa's translation of it and
another anonymous translation of the second quarter of the fifteenth cent-
ury, has been edited by Babington and Lumby for the Rolls Series, 1865-66.

The Guthlac material is to be found in volume VI, pp. 166-9. Hig-
den's written source was William of Malmesbury's Gesta pontificum for
details of Guthlac's life. His first sentence tells of Guthlac's decision
at twenty-four to leave warfare and worldly possessions and of his reception at Repton as a monk sub abbatisse Alfrida. The following information given by Higden suggests that he knew some popular traditions about the saint:

Deinde tertio post hoc anno ad insulam de Croulond transiit, ubi anchoritice vivere coepit, miraculis coruscavit, potestatem magnum super inmundos spiritus accepit, adeo quod, sicut vulgus tradit, eos aedificia construere cogeret, et quondam tam spiritum in olla bulliente includeret.

Finally Higden records that a monastery was built in Guthlac's resting-place and that this remained,

.. inter tot bellorum turbines, inter tot temporum volubilitatis, nusquam deletum.

He adds that Crowland is the resting-place also of St Neot, the discipulus of Bishop Erkenwold of London, and ends this Crowland centred material with the words:

Et quamvis locus ipse de Croulond non possit nisi nauigio adiri, nunquam poene loco desunt hospites.

Higden's account of the saint led Foxe into fevered denunciation of 'St. Guthlake' (see Cattley's edition 1837-41, I, book ii, p. 357).

b) short entries

1 annals for 714 A.D.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

Guthlac's death is generally recorded in a short obit; the Parker chronicle entry is quoted in illustration of the type (Plummer 1892, I,
Her forb ferde Gu lac se halga.

Æthelweard, Chronicon

Three editions of this late tenth century text are available:
Seville 1596, Petrie 1848 and, with critical apparatus, Campbell 1962.
The Guthlac entry is quoted from Campbell (1962, p. 20):
Post quadrienium quippe obiit Guthlac famulus Christi.

Asser (attributed to), Annales

This early twelfth century collection of annals (printed Gale 1691, pp. 141-75) is edited by Stevenson (1904, p. 125) where this entry is recorded:
Anno DCCXIII Sanctus Guthlacus anachorita transiit.

John of Peterborough, Chronicon Anglie Petriburgense

This chronicle has been edited by Sparke 1727 and Giles 1845. The entry for 714 runs (Giles 1845, p. 5):

2 note in sequence for 745 A.D.

Roger of Hoveden, Chronica

These words, quoted from Stubbs' edition (1868, I. p. 6), occur at the end of the sequence for 745 A.D.:
His temporibus floruit Sanctus Guthlacus.

Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*

Henry names a few of Ine's contemporaries and lists as churchmen of that time (Arnold 1879, p. 115):

Tempore etiam huius regis, cóeli palatia consedereunt S. Geddi episcopus Wincestrænæs, S. Guthlacus heresemita Croilandænæs, S. Johannes Eboracensis archiepiscopus.

Simon of Durham, *Historium Regum*

A sentence, added above the text in the manuscript used by Arnold (1885, II, p. 39) for his edition of this history, is thought by him to be in a hand of almost the same time as the scribe's. The words are:

His temporibus floruit sanctus anachorita Guthlacus.

Hugh Candidus, *Peterborough Chronicle*

This text is edited by Mellows 1949. The Guthlac entry has affinities with the material printed by Liebermann (1889) under the title *Die Heiligen Englands* (see also section 8 below). In his list of the resting places of English saints Hugh notes (Mellows 1949, p. 65):

Et in Cruulandia sanctus Guthlacus presbyter.
entries in calendars, missals, etc.

CALENDARS

Most of the relevant materials are to be found in:


*English Benedictine Kalendar After A.D. 1100.* 2 volumes. London 1939 and 1946

In Wormald 1934 see entries 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20; Wormald does not print 15 which contains a mass for Guthlac under April 11th at the beginning of the missal and is therefore sometimes called the 'book of St Guthlac'. This missal was written for Robert of Jumièges while he was bishop of London 1044-50 and has been edited by H.A. Wilson for the Henry Bradshaw Society 1896. Wormald (p. vi) points out that all of these calendars, except for 5 (the Bosworth Psalter from Canterbury), show indications of West Country origin. It is obvious from this widespread representation in the early calendars that Guthlac's cult was popular at least from the second half of the tenth century, although it is worth noting that only in 20, a mid-eleventh century calendar from Crowland, do other particular Crowland feasts occur (including the saint's sister Pege and his translation on August 30th). Discussion of these points to be found in Colgrave (1956, pp. 9-10) and Gradon (1958, p. 4 and fn 1).

The saint is still known in the calendars noted by Wormald for after 1100. He points out (1939, p. 5) that:

...these calendars, when compared with the earlier ones, have lost their strong martyrological element, and are much more guides to the liturgical practices of the houses to which they belong.
As well the feasts are, in the later period, more often graded. The great expansion of the calendars is well illustrated in the Crowland versions (Wormald 1939, pp. 113-29) in which high grading is given to Guthlac feasts and to Peg, Heddno and Bartholomew, and in which a great many saints of local interest are entered. Peculiar to the Ely calendar, and found in three manuscripts (Wormald 1946, p. 15), is a commemoration of Guthlac on August 26th. One Gloucester calendar from St Peter's Abbey passed from the parent house to its cell at St Guthlac's, Hereford, where a dedication of the church of St Guthlac on October 17th is among the additions made in a hand of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries (Wormald 1946, p. 39).

OFFICES AND VICES for the saint's feast

Oxford, Bodley 579, a service book written in north-east France in the ninth/tenth centuries and now usually known as the Leofric Missal, contains a mass for Guthlac. This was one of the books given to Exeter Cathedral by Leofric (see Ker 1964, p. 84): it was given to the Bodleian by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter in 1602.

British Museum, Harleian 1117, an eleventh century manuscript, contains a mass for Guthlac's feast; see further Birch 1881, pp. 70 ff. and Colgrave 1956, p. 10.

Corpus Christi College Cambridge 198, an early eleventh century collection of homilies, contains on folio 377v, part of an office (16 lines with musical notes) for Guthlac's feast. This passage is written in a late eleventh/early twelfth century hand. The homiliary may have origi-
inated in the South-East (Sisam 1953, p. 154 fn 4), but was at Worcester by the thirteenth century at the latest (this is shown by the glosses in the characteristic 'tremulous' hand). Colgrave (1956, p. 10 fn 2) suggests that the Guthlac office may have been added to the manuscript at Worcester, but this remain interesting speculation. It is worth noting that folio 377r contains the final part of an Old English homily in lines 1-6 but is otherwise blank. It is likely that lines 7-26 and the verso of this folio were left empty when this homily was completed.

The office is described and printed by Birch 1881, pp. 70-71 and James 1912, I. p. 480.

Rouen Library, Y. 6, a mid-eleventh century missal known variously as the Jumièges Missal or the 'book of St Guthlac', is included by Worm-ald 1934, although not printed by him, as entry 15 (see under CALENDARS above). See Wilson 1896, pp. xix-xx and 3.

Trinity College Dublin D. l. 25a comprises six leaves in single column in a hand of the first half of the twelfth century. Part of an office for St Guthlac is contained on the resto of the first folio. The leaves have been removed from the binding of Trinity College Dublin D.1.25, (a manuscript generally known as the Liber Croylandiae in that library), a fourteenth century collection of Latin and French medical and religious writings. See Ker (1964, p. 56 and fn 1).

Hereford Breviary: The manuscripts and, later, printed texts in this tradition contain an office for Guthlac's Festival. Readings are
given for Vespers on his feast-day: the first six are concerned with Guthlac's early life and the others do not relate to him. See further Frere and Brown (1904-10, especially II, p. 140-2).

LITANIES

Litanies follow the lives found in Boulogne Public Library 637 (106), printed Colgrave 1956, p. 171, fn 18, and in the John of Tynemouth collection, printed Horstmann 1901, II, p. 10. It should be noted that the immediate source for the Guthlac entries in the Old English Martyrology is probably from some litany or collect. See further 3(a) in this appendix.

Corpus Christi College Cambridge 44 names Guthlac among confessors in a litany on folio 8\(^v\) (see James 1912, I. p. 88). This is an eleventh century manuscript usually associated with St Augustine's Canterbury from liturgical evidence, but containing an inscription which points to its having been at Ely in mediaeval times (Ker 1964, p. 40, p. 78). Guthlac is not included in the shorter litanies of folios 12\(^v\) and 155\(^v\).

No attempt has been made to examine the litanies of psalters to see in which Guthlac is mentioned; there may well be many other instances, as for example in the Hereford Breviary (see Frere and Brown 1904, I. p. 26) or the Leofric Missal, Paris Psalter, Wulfstan Collecta, etc.
9 a) resting places of English saints

Resting places of English Saints, an early eleventh century document in Latin and Old English is found in several manuscripts. These are described and printed by F. Liebermann, Die Heiligen Englands 1889, pp. 11-12. Representative examples of the entries are:

\[\text{Bonne rested sancte Gudlac on hare stowe pe is genemned Crulond, pat mynster is on midden Givans fenne.}\]

\[\text{Beatus vero Guthlacus in monasterio quod constructum est in mediiis paludibus in loco quo vocatur Cruiland requiescit.}\]

Interesting also for the history of the Guthlac cult is the list's inclusion of Cissa among Thorney saints (Liebermann 1889, p. 27).

Mellows (1949, p. xxx) points out that Hugh Candidus drew on some such document as these when drawing up his list of the resting-places of English saints (see also 7/b in this appendix).

The list was translated too into Anglo-Norman by the fourteenth century, for a late version is bound up with Breviate of Doomsday. This list is printed by Hardy and Martin 1888 (I, in Preface). In it the entry for Guthlac appears (p. xl):

\[\text{Saint Gulac en Croilande entre plus sus ewes}\]

Obviously, as Bell (1919, p. 282) points out, \textit{entre plus sus ewes} suggests corruption from \textit{en les palus Cirweis}. Bell notes also that Gaimar is to some extent dependent on the ancestor of this list for some of his geographical material (see 7/a above).
b) relics of the saint

Relics of the saint are sometimes mentioned in mediaeval chronicles and lists etc:

St Albans Abbey, Hertfordshire: a late fourteenth century relic list notes *De sancto guthlaco scilicet dans eiusdem*. See Wormald 1939, p. 33.

Glastonbury is recorded as having been given a great part of Guthlac's body by Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester. See T. Hearne 1726, I. p. 19 and II. p. 446; Colgrave 1956, p. 9, fn 4.

Thorney Abbey in Lincolnshire had an arm and whip of Guthlac in an ivory case. See Wormald 1939, p. 130.

Abingdon had among its relics a rib of Guthlac (Stevenson 1858, II. p. 158).
W.F. Bolton (1959, p. 38 fn 9) points out that three 'mentions of the saint which might antedate Felix' appear in charters printed by Birch in his Cartularium Saxonum (1833, volume I). Charters numbers 75, 76 and 135 should be consulted.

Birch, no. 75 (I, pp. 109-10) is dated by Birch A.D. 691/692. It concerns a grant made by Aethelred of Mercia to Oftor, bishop of Worcester, of land at Heaaburg (or Hanbury) in Worcestershire. Among the signatories on p. 110 appears:

Ego Guthlac consensi et subscripsi.

Birch, no. 76 (I, pp. 110-11) is dated by Birch A.D. 691/692. It also concerns a grant made by Aethelred to Oftor, this time of land at Fledanburg (or Fladbury) in Worcestershire. A later endorsement of exchange by Bishop Eoguine is added. Among the signatories on p. 111 appears:

Ego Guthlac consensi et subscripsi.

Birch, no. 135 (I, pp. 199-201) purports to record the charter of foundation of Crowland Abbey from Æthelbald and is given the date 716 A.D. by Birch, although in Bolton's view it should be dated 714 A.D. because it claims to be post parvum tempus migrationis beati Guthlacii de hoc saeculo. This charter has long been recognised as a forgery (Hickes 1703, III, p. 73). The Patent Rolls show that both the 716 and 948 foundation charters were in existence by 1395, and they were most likely manufactured at least by Richard II's time (Searle 1893, p. 208). This charter records a joint dedication of the Abbey to Guthlac, Mary and Bar-
tholomew, but, in view of its unsatisfactory origins, can scarcely be given any authority.

There is no evidence to connect the Guthlac of the two earlier charters with the contemporary saint, but it is interesting to note that both would seem to indicate that this Guthlac was at the time of his signing of these charters a non-religious, as would the saint have been at this time.
church dedications

The fullest survey of church dedications in England is:


Forster lists (III, appendix III) the following churches as having originally been dedicated to Guthlac (all pre-reformation):

- Astwick, Bedfordshire, diocese of Ely
- Branstone, Leicestershire, diocese of Peterborough
- Deeping (now St James), Lincolnshire, diocese of Lincoln
- Fishoft, Lincolnshire, diocese of Lincoln
- Marholm (now St Mary), Northamptonshire, diocese of Peterborough
- Passenham, Northamptonshire, diocese of Peterborough
- Ponton, Little, Lincolnshire, diocese of Lincoln
- Stather, Leicestershire, diocese of Peterborough
- Swaffham (anciently Guthlac's-stow), Norfolk, diocese of Norfolk; this church demolished.

Crowland Abbey (now SS Mary, Bartholomew and Guthlac), Lincolnshire;

Forster (1899, I. p. 82) points out that Crowland Abbey was:

'... in the eighth century formally dedicated to S.
Guthlac, its hermit-founder; but in aftertimes when
the tide was setting in favour of Catholic as against
local saints, the old dedication was expanded into its
present form ...'

One church is dedicated to Pege, Guthlac's sister (pre-reformation):

Peakirk, Northamptonshire, diocese of Peterborough; Forster (1899, II p. 495) notes that there was still in the church in the sixteenth century a statue of St Pege, 'for in 1566 one Robert Angele (Murray's Northants) left barley, and twenty pence for repair of St Pege's image'. This church, on the borders of Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire, is encircled by a ring of churches dedicated to St. Guthlac.
Two churches are sometimes linked with Guthlac's disciple Beccel, though the identification of their patron saint with Beccel is by no means certain. Both are pre-reformation:

Ilam (now Holy Cross), Staffordshire, diocese of Lichfield
Barthomley, Staffordshire, diocese of Cheshire

The former is thought earlier to have been dedicated to St Bertoline or Bertram and the latter to St Bertoline. Forster discusses this question in volume II, pp. 99-102. See also Oswald 1955, Colgrave 1956, p. 186 and Appendix I (where other churches sometimes linked with Bertellin are noted).

The churches at Fishtoft and Market Deeping once belonged to Crowland (Forster 1899, II. p. 98). The abbey once had priories at Hereford and Prieston.

ALTAR dedications have not been collected and discussed in the comprehensive manner in which Forster deals with dedications of churches. However, materials about the altar dedications within two cathedrals have been summarised for Lincoln and Salisbury by C. Wordsworth and certain of his investigations of Lincoln cathedral history have interest for any study of the Guthlac cult. In his Notes on Mediaeval Services in England 1298, p. 232, Wordsworth points out the earliest list extant of altars in Lincoln cathedral places between St Stephen and St John the Evangelist altare Sancti Gulaci. This Registrum Antiquissimum was begun sometime in the early thirteenth century and rubricated c. 1338 (p. 222). The keepership of St Guthlac's altar is mentioned in the minster's Chapter
Acts c. 1326-31 (Bradshaw and Wordsworth 1897, II. pp. 811 ff.).

Wordsworth (p. 155 and p. 232) concludes that so far as Lincoln is concerned 'this old fashioned saint had to make way for the cultus of St. Anne' or possibly 'for the title of St. Edward, which may well have been popular in the fourteenth century.'
A few pieces of Crowland lore, coins, etc., are important in any general account of the Guthlac cult and will be described briefly under headings alphabetically arranged.

ANCHOR CHURCH HOUSE

This name is given by Stukeley (1724, p. 32) to the chapel, pulled down 1720, on Anchor(ite) Church hill, traditionally the site of Guthlac's hermitage. In later writings Stukeley associates this place with Pege rather than with her brother (1746, II. p. 35) and Griesley records (1836, p. 3) from Stukeley's papers a description written by him in 1757 of a building at the south west corner of the church:

I took a drawing of the remains of St Guthlac's cell, unknown to any but myself. 'Tis at the south-west corner of the Church. Nought remains of it but the brick work introduced into a buttress. The Abbot's Lodge & Chapel did join upon it. Now they have pulled down the south-west angle of this fabric, wherein was a stone staircase. It was part of the original Church built by king Ethelbald; and the whole west front is endangered thereby.

Griesley adds that one would expect the abbey to be founded on Guthlac's cell, as is St Chad's at Lichfield. His connection of Anchor Church hill with Pege does not seem to have gained any support among antiquarians. It is in any case generally accepted that her hermitage was at Peakirk, though it must not be assumed that she remained there after her brother's death.

The building on Anchor Church hill had been turned into a cottage by
the early eighteenth century and, after this was pulled down, the surrounding ground was called Anchor Church Field. A curious story, learned from Canham, is reported by Moore (1879, p. 133 fn 1):

Until this year (1866) this property was in the possession of the Hicklings, who superstitiously protected it.

Colgrave (1956, pp. 176–7) suggests that this may indicate a local memory of Guthlac's descent from Icel, pointing out that the saint's father is described as of the family of the Iclingas in the Old English prose Life, but it is more likely only coincidence that a family of Hicklings should in the nineteenth century own this property.

**ARMS**

The arms of Crowland are three knives and three whips quarterly in the 1684 silver assay marks on the Chalice and Paten seen at Crowland by Griesley (1886, p. 4) and both knives and whips appear on the 1670 poor half-penny. Knives and whips occur also as two of the three shields on Kenulph's Cross (see below).

Dugdale (1819, II. p. 105 and see plate 2) notes that the arms 'were formerly in separate shields on the cross at Finset' (i.e. Kenulph's or Thurketel's Cross). In a footnote (fn. f) he adds Edmondson's description of the arms:

Quarterly: first and fourth Gules, three knives erect in fesse, Argent their handles Or.; second and third, Argent three scourges erect in fesse, Or. with three lashes to each.

The initial letter of the beginning of his account of Crowland (on p. 90)
is modelled on this. However, it is also pointed out that the abbey
arms are differently described in *Ashmole 763* and in a Procession-Roll
to Parliament from the time of Henry VIII (a manuscript then in Cole's
collection):

\[\text{Gu. a cross fleury Or. within a border } \text{Ax. enealuron}
\text{of nine cross-croslets Ax.}\]

**BOILING POT**

The story that Guthlac 'enclosed the devil in a boiling pot'*(Foxe's words)* appears first in Higden's *Polychronicon* and thereafter
in Trevisa (see section 7 of this appendix).

**COIN**

Whips and knives appear on the 1870 Crowland poor halfpenny (noted
by Griesley 1886, p. 4, Miller and Skertchly 1878, p. 73 and Kurtz 1926,
p. 113 fn 19).

**GLASS**

No early glass remains at the abbey. The windows were, according
to Stukeley, broken by 'soldiers in the rebellion' when Crowland was
garrisoned for Charles I and the parliamentary forces were at Peterborough
(see Stukeley 1724, p. 31 and Holdich 1816, p. 121).

It is often suggested that the drawings of the *Harley Roll* were
cartoons for windows (see Warner 1928, p. 19) and the designs have success-
fully been copied in Market Deeping church in Lincolnshire. Canham (1894, p. 252) records his discovery of a fragment of glass 'near the great west window with ornaments and treatment very similar to the afore-said drawings', but nothing seems to be known of this find now.

Griesley (1886, p. 7 fn) notes an eighteenth century 'picture of St Guthlac in fine painted glass' in what is now Boston church.

**GUTHLAC'S STONE**

The fullest account of this stone is printed by Canham (1894, p. 247). He describes it as a single stone, four miles from Crowland on the Spalding road, near to Brotherhouse toll-bar. Inscribed on it are the words:

\[ \text{Aio / hanc / petram / guhla / cus : h't / sibi- me / tam /} \]

(recorded by Griesley as quod hanc petram Guthlalcos habet sibi metam). Canham points out that the stone was probably 'renovated' sometime in the eighteenth century. Gough (1763, p. xv) notes that the stone was recut by one Edm. Webster c. 1750 and records Essex's suggested 1390 dating.

**GUTHLAXTON HUNDRED**

This is one of the six modern divisions of Leicestershire and the name was given to one of the four hundreds recorded in the late eleventh century (see Anderson 1943, p. 43). The hundred originally included all the south west of the county, but is rather more restricted, a great part of it being known as Sparkenhoe hundred. A list of names recorded for
Guthlaxton hundred between the 1086 Doomsday survey and 1428 is given by Anderson (1943, p. 44) who notes also the names:

Guthlaxton Bridge (from the old 1" Ordinance Survey map), a mile south west of Marborough, carrying the Posse Way across a tributary of the river Soar;

Guthlaxton Cap in the Posse Way; and

Guthlaxton Meadow, in Costey parish and south of Marborough, where a hundred court used to be held.

KENULPH'S STONE

Canham (1894, p. 247) gives this name to the base of a cross (?) which then remained on the bank of the old bed of the river Welland as the 1817 county division between Kesteven and Holland; he suggests that the shaft may have been thrown into the river during some boundary dispute between Crowland and Deeping.

For Kenulph's cross, see Thorketel's cross.

KNIFE

Stukeley (1724, p. 31 describes one of the figures of the West Front of the abbey as Guthlac:

... with whip and knife, as always painted; they[the figures] were cut in a soft kind of stone, and drawn over in oyl colour with gilding.

Knives figure on the arms of Crowland, on the 1684 assay mark, the 1670 coin and Thorketel's cross. On St Bartholomew's feast day all comers
were welcome at the abbey and given knives. The knives provided in the year of the dissolution were 'in anger thrown into the river'. See Griesley 1886, p. 5.

PIG

A sow and her pigs, the sign for Guthlaco to land and build his hermitage at Crowland, is seen in the bottom relief of the West Front quatrefoil. A similar founding legend is connected with St Brannock and his church at Braunston in North Devon (Sillar and Meyler 1961, p. 17). Griesley (1886, p. 4) points out that such legends may owe much to the directions given by Helenus in Aeneid iv.

PSALTER

One John Lambert in 1538 is recorded as having seen at Crowland Abbey a book called 'St Guthlaco's Psalter' which was kept as a relic; he recognised it as being in Old English and perhaps thought it a translation made by Alfred:

There [in Higden's Polychronicon] it is showed, how when the Saxons did inhabit the land, the king at that time, who was a Saxon, did himself translate the Psalter into the language that then was generally used. Yea I have seen a book at Crowland Abbey, which is kept there for a relic; the book is called St Guthlaco's Psalter; and I ween verily it is a copy of the same that the king did translate, for it is neither English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, nor Dutch, but somewhat sounding to our English; and, as I have perceived since the time I was last there, being at Antwerp, the Saxon tongue doth sound likewise after ours,
Cook (1893, p. xix) points out that Ussher thought this psalter still at Crowland in 1690, but he may not have seen it for himself as he refers to Lambert’s testimony. Colgrave (1956, p. 14 fn 2) suggests that this psalter was perhaps the translation now known as the Paris Psalter, but there are no grounds on which such an identification can be made. Certainly Guthlac is included in the litany of saints of the Paris Psalter, but so are many other Anglo-Saxon saints, for example Guthbert, Aidan, Dunstan, Withun, Aethelræth, Aelfgifu and Seaxburh (see Krapp 1932, p. xii). The psalter seen by Lambert may have been prefaced by some Guthlac material (as is the Jumièges Missal or ‘book of St Guthlac, see 9 above) and for that reason popularly called the St Guthlac Psalter.

A psalter was connected with the saint in Crowland traditions and is referred to by Henry of Avranches whose account of Guthlac’s loss and recovery of it (lines 445-56) is probably the first evidence for this story. A large, important looking book, perhaps meant to remind the spectator of Guthlac's psalter, appears in nine (numbers 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15 and 17) of the medallions in the Harley Roll and a tradition of Guthlac’s psalter was known to the author of the Historia Crowlandensis where it is recorded that Pope gave Kenulph both a psalter and a scourge which had belonged to her brother (see also under SOURCES below).

Stukeley (1724, p. 31) notes that the gilded roof of Irish oak which had been in the abbey was by that time distributed 'so that instead of
one, most of the houses of the town are become religious'. This is mentioned here only because it is possible that wood carvings which might have utilised the Harley Roll cartoons could have disappeared with this ceiling.

SCOURGE

Although in the Vita by Felix Guthlac is scourged by his demon-tormentors, other traditions give to him a whip with which he scourges the demons. The eighth cartoon of the Harley Roll shows Bartholomew handing a three-lash whip to Guthlac and the ninth Guthlac about to lash a demon with it. This tradition was known also to Henry of Avranches (line 526), and is commemorated in the Henry Longchamp seal (see under SEAL). Some such story must have been known to the author of the Historia Croylandensis, for he relates that Fege left among other relics St Bartholomew's scourge and her brother's psalter in Kenulph's hands when she went to Crowland to elevate Guthlac's relics (see Fulman 1684, p. 7); Ingulf records also both scourge and psalter were among the valuables taken away for safety during the Danish invasions.

Whips are noted also under AXIS, COIN, KNIFE and THURKTEL'S CROSS. The relics at Thorney Abbey included an arm and whip of Guthlac (see 9 b above).

SEAL

The most recent account of the seal of Henry Longchamp, abbot of Crowland 1191-1236, is to be found in Warner (1928, p. 23). The seal
bears the legend:

Sigillum commune abbatis et conventus Croylandie

On it are represented Bartholomew with a book (the psalter ?) and a three-lash scourge, a bush with a bird (crow ?) perched in its branches and Guthlac.

SWIFT AS CROWLAND BELLS

According to Stukeley (1724, p. 31):

In the middle of the cross stood once a lofty tower and a remarkably fine ring of bells, of which there is a proverb in the country still remaining.

The phrase 'sweet as Crowland bells' is recorded by Miller and Skertchley (1676, p. 77). Bells were cast during the abbacy of Egelius, six named for Bartholomew, Battelm (i.e. Beocel), Thorketel, Tatwine, Peg and Bega; a larger bell, named for Guthlac, had earlier been cast under Thorketel's direction (Ingulf's evidence).

TABLE

A table (tabula - panel ? painted plaque ?) was seen at Crowland by Leland (Hearne's 1774 edition, IV, pp.29-30) who describes it:

S. Guthlacus heremita Croylandiae insulam a demonibus liberavit, tandemque ibidem obiit, a sepultus est.

S. Cyseis, ex pagano factus Christianus, successit Guthlacum. Etheldrutha, Off. regis filia, a uxor Ethelberthi regis & martyris, postea monialis ibidem sepulta:

Beocelima, S. Gudlaci discipulus, ibidem sepultus. Ethelbaldus, rex Merciorum, post Gudlaci anachorites tempora Croylandiam adduxit monachos, & ecclesiam novam fabricavit, quae postea per Hinguarum & Hubban penitus spoliata & delecta fuit.
Ecclesia vero, quae nunc extat, opus fuit Ingulphi Nor-  
manni, ejusdem monasterii abbatis.

THURKETEL’S CROSS (sometimes called Kenulph's Cross)

In Canham’s account of it (1894, p. 247) this cross, which lies  
between Thorne and Crowland near where Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire  
and Cambridgeshire meet, has a bold base with four shields upon it. One  
of these was by then defaced (as in all earlier modern accounts); the  
others depict a cross, three knives and three whips.

WEST DOOR QUATREFOIL

The quatrefoil centred on a fifth relief sculpture above the west  
Door of the abbey is variously interpreted by the antiquaries. There is  
general agreement as to the subject of the bottom scene which shows three  
men in a boat, a tree and sow with litter. This is taken as Guthlac’s  
discovery of his hermitage (Stukeley’s account was known to Gough 1783,  
p. 90, Griesley 1886, p. 4 and Saunders 1834, p. 325 who agree in this  
description). Both Gough (1783, p. 90) and Warner (1928, p. 12) compare  
this scene with the fourth Harley Roll medallion (which however lacks  
pigs).

The central scene is described by Gough 'as of a monstrous swolln demon  
tempting a man'. Griesley reports that one figure holds a switch and  
that a block of stone may also be identified, an interpretation followed  
by Bolton (1954, p. 37) takes as this scene’s subject 'Guthlac builds his  
habitation'.
The top scene is described by Gough as 'corpse carried by angels', and he notes also that 'Deity or angel descends.' For Griesley too this is a scene of deification, but with an angel holding the saint's head and a devil his feet and another angel on wing.

Gough identifies in the lefthand scene a kneeling figure before an altar, another sitting figure and, behind this second figure, another altar. Holdich (1816, p. 119) interprets this account as the saint dying or dead, with attendant and an angel descending, but for Griesley it contains two females by a shrine. The sitting figure he thinks may be Edelfleda, the daughter of Offa who became a religious at Crowland. This explanation of the scene should not surprise when his knowledge of the Guthlac legend is examined:

If this be not a true interpretation of the story, it is some famous miracle wrought at his shrine, which we cannot recount for want of the histories of his life, now lost: one whereof was compiled by William de Ramsey abbot here; and likewise by Foelix, a monk of the Abbey. Another monk epitomized it, at the instance of 'olfin the Prior, Joffrid, Abbot, too, wrote his life. All lost.'

His knowledge of the legend was based upon a careful reading of the Ingulf chronicle. Bolton (1954, p. 251) lists this leaf of the quatrefoil as Headda's ordination of Guthlac and consecration of his church.

The righthand leaf according to Gough shows Guthlac on his deathbed; one person is present and a deity or angel descends from heaven. For Holdich (1816, p. 119) the righthand side represents the consecration of Guthlac. Griesley suggests that the saint is on his shrine and that 'Someone laments and embalms'. For Bolton (1954, p. 252) Guthlac is
being buried in his oratory by Becoeil and Page.

Much ingenuity could be spent on these scenes and little certain explanation of them reached. Despite his apparent switching of the accounts for the righthand and lefthand leaves, Holdich's summary of the purpose of the quatrefoil (1816, p. 119) is probably the best advanced:

... the sculpture, in few, represents his **arrival** at Croyland; his **temptation**; his **consecration**; his **death**, and **apotheosis**.
Appendix 3

In this appendix will be found brief notes on the persons mentioned by Felix in the *Vita*, together with some account of peoples and mythological places to which he refers. No note is given for Guthlac himself, as the chapter list of the *Vita* details the events of his life. Names are, so far as possible, given in the form generally used to-day. The list is alphabetical and should serve as an index to the *Vita*.

**ADAM** is mentioned in line 1069 in the sentence which begins *Nam sicut mors in adam data est*. The passage is important, for in it is to be found the hint for much of the material used by the Guthlac *E* poet; see further III.2/d.

**AELFTHRYTH** was already abbess of Repton when Guthlac first went there c. 697 (see *Vita* 280). She was evidently succeeded by Eogburh during his lifetime. It is unlikely that she was the foundress of Repton, for she is not given the title of saint as were most founders in hagiographical writings of this age. The name is, as Colgrave (1956, p. 179) points out, a fairly common one and this Aelfthryth cannot therefore be equated with a woman of the same name included under the heading of *Reginarum et abbatissarum* in the Durham *Liber Vitae*. She can perhaps be connected with the Aelfthryth whose case for readmission to church privileges was heard at the Council of Mercia in 705 (Haddan and Stubbs 1869, III. pp. 273-4 and see further I.1/c).

Later traditions confuse Aelfthryth of Repton with either the late
seventh century abbess of Minster in Thanet or with the earlier and more
famous foundress of Coldingham, both women called Ebba. The name Ebba
is given to the abbess of Repton in the Harley Roll (roundel III). Such
confusion is more likely than the existence of the forms Ebba and Aelf-
thryth in independent use as by-name and real name for one person (the
explanation put forward by Redin 1917, pp. 116 and 178).

AELFWALD, king of East Anglia g. 713-49, apparently commissioned the Vita
from Felix (Vita 3). Little is known about his life. There is, among
the Boniface correspondence (Tangl 1873, Epistle 81, p. 181) a letter
written by him to the missionary, promising Boniface the prayers of seven
of the monasteries of his kingdom. Modern commentators generally express
bewildement as to the reasons why an East Anglian king should have asked
for the life of a Mercian saint to be written up and this problem is dis-
cussed in I.1/a. It should however be noted here that Crowland was situ-
ated in the borderland between East Anglia and Mercia and that, although
at this time probably part of the Mercian kingdom, the place would have
been well known also to East Anglians. As well, a member of the East
Anglian royal family, Egburh, was abbess at Repton during the latter part
of Guthlac's life at Crowland, and provides an important link between the
East Anglian royal family and St Guthlac overlooked in most examinations
of why an account of Guthlac's life should have interested Aelfwald (see
also I.1/a).

A mistaken ascription of the life of Guthlac to Aethelbald of Mercia
is often found in writings upon the saint. Colgrave (1956, pp. 15 ff.)
traces the origin of this misunderstanding to the Maurist text of the Vita
in which the prologue is headed *Prologus ad regem Ethelbaldum.* This heading appeared subsequently in the Bollandist life, and an explanatory footnote was added in which the East Anglian king Aelfwald is equated with Æthelbald of Mercia. The Bollandists' error is repeated by many, the more important among these being Birch (1881, p. liii), Forstmann (1902, p. 17) and Plummer (1896, II. pp. xxxvi and 342). Consor (1909, p. 16) notes that Felix dedicates his work to Aelfwald in the oldest English manuscripts but that in other manuscripts the name given is Ethelbald or Æthelwald; a misunderstanding apparently based also on the insertion made into the continental editions of the *Vita.* Consor, however, holds firmly to Aelfwald as Felix's patron.

ÆTHELBALD is mentioned in the *Vita* in lines 143, 152, 746, 831, 923, 1033, 1056, 1211, 1232, 1254 and 1270. He succeeded Ceolred and was king of Mercia from 716 to 757. A discussion of the major events of his reign is to be found in Stenton (1947, pp. 202-5) who points out (1947, p. 202) that Æthelbald was at the height of his power 'the head of a confederation which included Kent, Wessex, and every other kingdom between the Humber and the Channel'.

During Guthlac's life at Crowland he was often visited by Æthelbald, then an exile (a point emphasised in the *Vita*), and after his death he is supposed to have founded a monastic community at Crowland (see further I.2). We can assume from genealogical evidence that Guthlac and Æthelbald were related to one another, for Felix traces the saint's ancestry back to Æsel (see *Vita* 164) who occurs also in Æthelbald's ancestry. When he visited Crowland he was accompanied by friends and retainers, but
only a few of these (Eoga, Offa and a priest called Wilfrid) are named by
Felix. One time, during his persecution in Ceolred's reign, Guthlac
comforted him, reassuring him that in due course and by peaceful means
he would become king; and after Guthlac's death Aethelbald rushed to his
tomb at Crowland where, sleeping in the saint's cell, he saw him in a
vision and learned from him that he would be king within a year. Later
he was responsible for enriching the shrine in which Pege placed her
brother's body.

Aethelbald may, during his days as an exile, have lived the sort of
life Guthlac had left and he was very probably the leader of a small war-
band. See also I.1/c. In later Crowland traditions, for example the
Abbrevatio of Ordericus Vitalis and the Harley Roll, he is mistakenly
described as king already during Guthlac's lifetime. The importance of
his appearance in the Vita is perhaps best indicated by the curious intro-
duction of his name into the last episode of the life in the Old English
prose version (see the note for Life 933). A forged charter, purport-
ing to give details of his foundation of an abbey at Crowland, is gener-
ally attributed to him (see further I.2 and Appendix 2, section 10).

ÆTHELRED, according to Vita 161, was king of Mercia at the time of the
marriage of Guthlac's father and mother. A son of Penda and brother of
Wulfhere, he reigned from 675 to 704 when he abdicated, becoming abbot
of Bardney; his nephew Ceolred succeeded him to the throne. Although
pious in his latter days and then associated with the foundation of Abing-
don and Malmesbury and benefactor of many other communities, in 676, Bede
tells us (H.E. iv. 12), Ceolred attacked churches and monasteries in Kent.
Theodore and Wilfrid were among his friends (H.E. v. 19). His wife
Osthryth, a daughter of Oswy of Northumbria, was murdered for unknown
reasons by the Mercians in 697 (H.E. v. 24). She was among the foremost
patrons of Bardney abbey (and was responsible for the translation of St
Oswald's bones to that house), which may explain why Aethelred chose to
retire to Bardney at his abdication. See further Stenton (1947, pp. 201
-2).

ALDWULF is mentioned in Vita 1010 as the father of Eogburh, abbess of
Repton. He ruled in East Anglia from 664 until 713 when he was succeed-
ed by Aelfwald who was apparently the last of the local dynasty in East
Anglia. There is some uncertainty as to the relationship of these two
men to one another (see Stenton 1947, p. 209), but the length of Aelfwald's
reign would suggest that they were father and son or perhaps uncle and
nephew rather than half-brothers (see also I. 1/c).

BARTHOLOMEW, Guthlac's patron saint, is mentioned in Vita 99, 102, 110,
343, 344, 358, 424, 432, 545, 552 and 1005. Guthlac arrived at Crowland
on St Bartholomew's day, August 25th, that is, the day on which Barthol-
omew's feast was celebrated up to the end of the eleventh century. Al-
ready by the end of that century, however, the date later widely observed,
August 24th, was often regarded as his day (see Colgrave 1956, p. 182).
The duplication of Guthlac's arrival at his hermitage in the Vita has
given rise to many attempts to establish another feast day for the saint
in April or May or to the omission of one of the two sentences which con-
tain these supposedly conflicting dates from the text (this point is dis-
cussed in I.1/c; it should be noted that because the chapter titles of the Vita have been assembled from the contents of the life the seeming inconsistency is echoed in them. St Bartholomew appears to have given Guthlac a scourge to use on his demon-tormentors according to popular traditions (see Harley Roll roundel VIII and Appendix 2, section 12).

Bartholomew was apparently very popular in mediaeval England, as throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. Some one hundred and fifty churches in England are dedicated to him and, of the other apostles, only Peter, Andrew and James have more churches named in their honour. For a list of English churches dedicated to him see Arnold-Forster (1899, p. 82 and III). The present dedication of Crowland abbey to St Mary, St Bartholomew and St Guthlac may therefore have less significance than Colgrave argues (Colgrave 1956, p. 182).

BECCEL is named in the Vita in lines 598, 613 and 1087. His attempt on Guthlac's life is similar in many details to Gregory's account of how Florentius tried to poison St Benedict (Dialogues ii. 8) as Kurtz (1926, p. 115) points out. The part he plays in Guthlac's death scene is closely modelled on Bede's prose description of St Cuthbert's death (discussed by Kurtz 1926, pp. 121 ff.). There is some uncertainty as to the form Beccel's name should take, for in some Crowland traditions he is called Beccelm or perhaps Beccelin; in the later mediaeval period the name was read also as Bettelm. Further discussion of this difficulty will be found in the note for Life 194. Appendix 1 is devoted to an examination of Beccel's cult and his possible relationship to St Bertollin, and should be consulted.
BRITONS were, Felix tells us (Vita 573) fighting against the Mercians during Ceolred's reign and it was sometime in these years that Guthlac was tormented by phantasmal demonic bands who spoke to him in the British language, a tongue the saint was able to recognise because he had been exiled among the Britons earlier in his life (Vita 571 and 581). This chapter 34 of the Vita has often been treated by historians as evidence that Britons were still to be found in the fens in the eighth century; the problems is further discussed in the note for Life 388.

The name britannia (see Vita 517, 808, 904 and 1028) is, it should be noted, used in the normal way for the whole island which comprises Great Britain.

CAIN is for Felix (Vita 540) the ancestor of evil broods. Emerson (1906, pp. 685-4) points out that the Beowulf poet's explicit reference to the devil descendants of Cain is unparallelled in Old English poetry and notes that he has not found instances of this belief anywhere in Old English prose from his general reading. More recently Miss Whitelock (1951, p. 80) has shown that the Beowulf poet's in Caines gyme 107 is paralleled in Felix's semel cain addressed by Guthlac to demons.

CAMBRIDGE is to be understood by Felix's castello quae dicunt nomine grante 319; the name grantescaaster appears in Life 169. The original Roman fort in the river Granta was clearly disused by the eighth century, but it was there the monks of Ely found a coffin of white marble fit for the burial of St Ethelthryth (see Bede's H.E. iv. 19). The name Cambridge has developed from a form Grontabriac first recorded a. 745. The modern Grantchester is not, it should be noted, descended from the grantescaaster of
Bede's time but reflects corruption from a name which contained as its second element the word _sette_ 'settlers'. For a discussion of what he calls the 'eccentric development of both names' see Reaney (1960, pp. 25-6).

CENRED was king of Mercia from 704-9, a period in which, Felix tells us (Vita 573), the Britons proved troublesome. Little is known about this son of Wulfhere and nephew of Aethelred who succeeded his uncle to the throne. Bede tells us that he disapproved of the private life of one of his great noblemen, warning him to desist from his evil ways, but the unnamed layman did not heed the king's strictures; on his deathbed he was shown his sins and described to Cenred the end he expected (E.B. v. 13). Cenred became a friend to Wilfrid, at the request of his predecessor Aethelred, on the bishop's return from his last appeal to the pope (E.B. v. 19 and Eddius c. 51). Eventually, like Aethelred, he abdicated (E.B. v. 19 and v. 24); with an East Saxon prince called Offa he went to Rome where he was tonsured by Constantine, an event recorded in the Liber Pontificalis (see Colgrave 1956, p. 5).

CEOLRED, king of Mercia from Cenred's abdication in 709 until his death in 716, is presented by Felix as Aethelbald's enemy (Vita 1034). Colgrave (1956, p. 5) suggests that Aethelred may have suspected that his son Ceolred would prove a bad ruler and that this, and not his youth, may explain why he had not succeeded his father in 704. Yet, according to Henry of Huntingdon, Ceolred ruled _patrice et suiite virtutis haerex clarissima_ (Arnold 1879, p. 110) and he is depicted not unsympathetically by Eddius (c. 64). His dissoluteness is described twice in Buniface's
letters (Tangl 1916, Epistles 10 and 73) and Boniface indeed ascribes to his reign the beginning of monastic decay in the English church. A good and brief account of Ceolred's life is to be found in Plummer 1896, II, p. 314.

Clissa is mentioned twice by Felix as one of his informants on the details of Guthlac's life (Vita 50 and 388) and was evidently still at Crowland in Felix's time (Vita 1026). When Egbert questioned Guthlac about his successor, Clissa was still in gentili populo 1023 and had not yet received baptism. In the Historia Crowlandensis we are told that Clissa was a man of noble birth who had once been powerful in worldly matters (Pulman 1684, p. 5), that, like Tatwine, Beccal and Engberht, he occupied a cell near Guthlac's during the saint's lifetime and that his coffin was one of those placed beside Guthlac's. Although the name is probably Celtic in origin (see the note for Life 227), there is no reason why it should not have been possessed by an Anglo-Saxon nobleman, for the name was borne by one of the sons of Aelle of Sussex (Chronicle 477). In reality, however, we know nothing of Clissa beyond what Felix tells us. He obviously played an important part in the Guthlac cult and, although no feast is entered for him in either of the extant calendars which show Crowland usage (see Wormald 1939, pp. 113-28 and 1946, pp. 253 ff.), was sufficiently important to be included in the document called the Resting Places of English Saints (see Appendix 2, section 9a) where he is numbered among saints whose relics were translated to Thorney by Aethelwold, bishop of Winchester, on the refoundation of Thorney in 973 (Liebermann 1889, p. 27); relics Sancti Clissi anchorite appear in a list of Thorney relics described by Wormald (1938, p. 129).
CROWLAND, the place of Guthlac's hermitage, is named in the Vita at lines 100, 103, 335, 343, 361, 545, 549, 807, 813, 940, 1003 and 1299. A brief account of the foundations at Crowland is to be found in I.2 and I.6. Giraldus Cambrensis (Brewer 1861, III. p. 386) includes among the monasteries founded by St David a house he calls Croulan, a tradition which is found nowhere else. Despite Orderic's explanation (le Prévost 1838, II. p. 280) that the name means orudam, id est oenosam terram, the first element is to be understood as *crow-* 'bend' (see Ekwall 1960, p. 135).

DAMASCUS is mentioned by Felix (Vita 374) in his comparison of Guthlac with the apostle Paul.

DONATUS is mentioned by Felix (Vita 16) in his deprecating remarks about the quality of his life of Guthlac.

EAST ANGLES are mentioned only in Felix's dedication of the Vita to Aelfwald (Vita 3) and in the story of Guthlac's healing of an East Anglian nobleman called Hwaetred (Vita 785). The abbess Ecgburh was an East Anglian princess, for Felix tells us (Vita 1010) that she was aldulfi regis filia, but this fact is to be inferred from external knowledge rather than the Vita.

ECGA is the name of a comes of Aethelbald who was cured (chapter 42) by wearing Guthlac's belt. He is named in the Vita in lines 129 and 832.
ECOBURH is described by Felix as *aldulfi regis filia* 1010 and is named in the *Vita* in lines 140, 1006, 1010 and 1127. Evidently she had succeeded Aelfthryth as abbess of Repton during Guthlac's life at Crowland. The name *ecaburfa* occurs twice in the list *Nomina reginarum et abbatarum* of the Durham Liber Vitae (Sweet 1885, pp. 154-5, lines 27 and 47) and Egburh of Repton could be identified with either of these women. Epistle 13 of the Boniface correspondence (Tangle 1873) is a letter by an abbess called Egburg, of whom L. Eckenstein (1896, p. 126) writes:

> Her reference to the remoteness of her settlement suggests the idea that it was Repton, and that she herself was identical with Egburh, daughter of Ealdwulf king of the East Angles, the abbess whom we have noted in connection with Guthlac.

Although the letter must have been written c. 716-8, Colgrave (1956, p. 191) thinks it 'not at all likely that she is this Eogburh'.

EGGBERHT is mentioned twice in the *Vita*, at lines 1146 and 1209, and is described as an anchorite in both these passages. Guthlac tells Beccel that he may reveal a fuller knowledge of his angelic visitor than he already knows in the earlier of these references. In the later Eogberht is described as the donor of a winding-sheet in which Guthlac's body is placed after Fige's translation of it (see further the note for Life 884 on *opre scytan*). Ingulf (Fulman 1684, p. 5) names Eogberht as one of the four anchorites living near Guthlac's cell at the time Aethelbald's monastery was founded (see 1.2).

EGYPT is mentioned in the speech given the two devils who try to tempt
Guthlac to fast to excess (Vita 454).

ELIAS is cited by the two devils who tempt Guthlac to fast to excess (Vita 452).

FELIX names himself in line 4 of the Vita, but nothing else is known of him except what can be extracted from his life of Guthlac. For a discussion of the traditional assumption that he was a monk of Crowland see I.1/b; notes on the originality of his Vita sancti Guthlacii are to be found in I.1/d.

GRANTA river is mentioned by Felix when he describes the fens, a gronta fluminis ripis incipiens 318, and the river name, he tells us, gives to the fort its name (see under CAMBRIDGE above). The name is perhaps etymologically Celtic, though this must be considered doubtful as the area is one of primary English settlement up to the first half of the sixth century (see Reaney 1960, p. 89). The river's name has changed to Cam, following the change in the town name from Grantanbryge to Cambridge (Reaney 1960, pp. 25-26).

GUTHLACINGAS are mentioned by Felix as the tribal name from which Guthlac's name was drawn (Vita 207-8). R.M. Wilson (1933, pp. 31-2 and 1952, p. 31) points out that the Guthlacingas:

... may have been a family who took a prominent part in the conquest, or in the early history of the Anglo-Saxons, and like the Old Norse Volsungar they may have had a saga to themselves. If so, it has been entirely lost, and
these two references (e.g. from the Guthlac *Vita* and the *Gesta Herewardi*) are all that remain.

The problem of the Guthlacingsas is more fully discussed in Appendix 1 (*passim*) where it is pointed out that a Danish king of the matter of Britain may also recall the memory of a famous leader called Guthlac.

**HÆDDA** is the name given the bishop who ordains Guthlac and consecrates the island of Crowland in *Vita* 956 (and in the chapter-list, *Vita* 139). Hædda was bishop of Lichfield from 691 and of Leicester from 709 and is thought to have died between the years 716-27. In later Crowland traditions he was confused with his near contemporary, Hæddi, bishop of Winchester (see Colgrave 1956, p. 190).

**HWAETRED** is an East Anglian youth whom Guthlac cured of possession by the devil. The name is common enough in Anglo-Saxon England, so it seems pointless to attempt to identify this Hwaetred with any person of that name mentioned in other sources (see also I.1/c).

**ICEL** occurs five generations above Penda in the Mercian genealogies (see Chronicle 626). Stenton (1947, p. 39) suggests that he may have been 'the first of this race to reach Britain'; Chadwick (1907, pp. 15-6) points out where expressions similar to Felix's *ab origine iciles 166* occur 'the ancestor from whom descent is claimed is believed to have reigned in Britain'. Of the generations above Icel, Eomer, Offa and Wyrmaund are all mentioned in *Beowulf* (1949, 1957, 1960 and 1962). A curious story about a family called Hickling 'who superstitiously protected' Anchor Church House is discussed in Appendix 2, section 12.
JEROME is wrongly credited with a saying of Gregory's (Vita 14) in all the manuscripts of the Vita except Douai 852 (see Colgrave 1956, p. 174 and p. 61 fn 27).

MIDDLE ANGLES are specifically mentioned by Felix in lines 163 and 205, but this people had fallen under Mercian control already by the middle of the seventh century (Stenton 1947, p. 42). Guthlac's father, Penwald, is described as having his mansio in mediterraneorum anglorum 163, but we have no knowledge of his status among this people.

MERCIANS are specifically mentioned by Felix in lines 162, 573 and 746, in each place in the description of some man's ancestry (Penwald, Cenred and Aethelbald). Otherwise Felix uses the more general descriptive genitive anglorum to describe the people ruled by Aethelred (161), to describe English scholars generally (16), to describe the vernacular (210); but no significance can be given this distribution of forms, for the succession of proper names in lines 573-5 suggests only that for Felix both the words from which our modern 'Angle' and 'Saxon' derive could be used to denote all the Germanic inhabitants of Britain in his day.

MOSES is mentioned in the speech in which two demons tempt Guthlac to fast to excess (Vita 452).

OFA is quidam comes prefati exulis æøøelbaldis 923 who was healed by the touch of Guthlac's robe, the thorn which had caused his illness being immediately dislodged from his body. Stenton (1947, p. 299) points out that several of the charters of Aethelbald's reign 'are witnessed by a
minister or comes named Oba* whom he identifies with the subject of this miracle.

PAUL, whom Felix describes as the egregium doctorem gentium 374, is mentioned in the summarising chapter which occurs before the account of Guthlac's solitary life.

PÆGE is the name of Guthlac's sister; in the manuscript of the Vita followed here her name occurs in the form pægia and she is named in lines 1123, 1146, 1174, 1206 and 1300. A short entry for January 9th occurs in the Old English Martyrology: it gives only the date of her feast day and the curing of the blind man with salt consecrated by Guthlac (see Herzfeld 1900, p. 116). In the eleventh and fifteenth century calendars connected with Crowland (Wormald 1934, p. 253 and 1946, I. p. 115) her feast day is given as January 8th and Peakirk in Northamptonshire (with substitution of Old Norse kirkja for Old English cirice) is supposed to take its name from the place of her hermitage; Peakirk was later a dependency of Crowland abbey.

Felix tells us little about Pæge, but later writers add a few spurious details. In Henry of Avranches' poem a devil is introduced in Pæge's form to tempt Guthlac to break fast before sunset; the germ for this invention is most likely to be found in Vita 1123-5. The Historia Crowlandensis tells us that she left a scourge and psalter belonging to her brother in abbot Kenulph's hands when she went to Crowland to elevate Guthlac's relics and that she then went on pilgrimage to Rome where she died and was buried. 'Ingulf' adds the attractive legend that on her entry into Rome
all the bells of the city rang for an hour, proclaiming her holiness.

There are no separate acta for Pege and the life printed by the Bollandists is put together from Felix, Orderic and 'Ingulf' (Jan. I, pp. 532-3). Further discussion of Pege is to be found in I.1/c, I.9 and in the note for Life 798.

PENWALD, called penwualh 162 in the manuscript of the Vita here edited, is the name of Guthlac's father (see further the note for Life 47). Felix notes Penwald's high rank, but gives no information on his position among the Middle Angles. Stenton, pointing out that Bede's mention of a princeps of the South Gyrwe 'suggests that each of the Middle Anglian folks was ruled by a separate ealdorman' (1947, p. 43), is however unwilling to hazard more about Guthlac's father than that he 'stands for a type of nobility older than the conception of rank earned by service' (1947, p. 301).

OLYMPUS, a concept used by Felix in his description of the brilliant appearance of St Bartholomew (Vita 547) illustrates his delight in classical mythology. This is seen also in his use of such phrases as ad nefand-as tartari fauces 519, heresi octis 535, stigie fibre 536 and aestiui saherontis moragines horrendis 536-7.

PETER is referred to in Felix's observation that Guthlac received mistigam sancti petri apostolorum proceris tonsuram 279 at Repton. Meissner (1929, p. 37) points out that all the great monastic houses of early Anglo-Saxon England were Celtic in sympathy for some considerable time after the synod
of Whitby and that, as late as 685, the abbess of Whitby indeed had living in her monastery a bishop under her jurisdiction (H.E. iv. 26).

**Repton** is the double monastery where under Aelfthryth Guthlac lived for two years and where he received the petrine tonsure. The house is named three times in the *Vita* (at lines 88, 101 and 278) which is the only early authority for the establishment of such a monastery. A late tradition, first found in Giraldus Cambrensis, tells us that a monastery was founded at Repton in the sixth century by St David, but little credence can be given this legend (see Brewer 1861, III. p. 386; Giraldus also attributes to St David among other unlikely houses one he calls Croulan). During Guthlac's life at Crowland Eofburh, daughter of Aldwulf of East Anglia, became abbess, and it is she who asks Guthlac about his successor in chapter 48 of the *Vita*.

It is curious that later Guthlac traditions should confuse the names Repton and Ripon (for example the Middle English legend states that Guthlac went to the abbey of Ripon), for etymologically they contain the same first element. The name Ripon preserves a tribal name *Hrype* which is perhaps found also in the neighbouring place name Ribston; some of the Hrype migrated south to Derbyshire where they settled on a hill situated above the right bank of the Trent, giving to the place the name which is our Repton (see Ranney 1960, pp. 101-2). Repton may have been the traditional burial place of the Mercian dynasty (as Ingulf tells us), for it is recorded (*Chronicle* 755) that Aethelbald was buried there. St Wigmstan was also buried there (Liebermann 1889, p. 12). The Danish army entered Repton late in 873 (Stenton 1947, p. 249) and this fact may explain why so little is
known of the early history of this place.

SCOTS are mentioned in the reported speech of Wigfrith, Hadda's secretary, who asserts that as he has lived inter scotorum populos 967 he will be able to judge Guthlac's sanctity. See further the note for Life 672.

TATWINE is the name given by Felix (Vita 328) to the man who first guided Guthlac to Crowland. In the Harley Roll (fourth roundel) Tadsinus is pictured as an oldish man steering the boat in which they travel and he is presumably to be identified also in the bottom scene of the West Door quatrefoil at Crowland abbey (see Appendix 2, section 12). An image of Tatwine, with boat in hand, is supposed to stand at the west end of Thorney church. The information that he too became a hermit and that he was still living in a cell at Crowland a few years after Guthlac's death is known only from the Historia Croylandensis (Fulman 1684, p. 5 and see I. 1/c). The name is common enough in Anglo-Saxon England and there is no reason to identify Tatwine of the Vita sancti Guthlacæ with many of that name who are known to history. Colgrave (1956, p. 181) points out that in some calendars, 'thanks to the Pseudo-Ingulf', his feast is entered as July 3rd; the Bollandists (July, I, pp. 553-4) briefly note under July 3rd the information to be found in the Historia Croylandensis.

TETTE is the name of Guthlac's mother (Vita 169); nothing else is known of her. The name is found also for a sister of Ine who was abbess of Wimbourne when Leoba was there; this Tette may have given her name to a settlement in Gloucestershire known as Tetian monasterium, now Tetbury.
(Reaney 1960, p. 144).

WIGFRITH is the name of the secretary who accompanies bishop Hasdda to Crowland and who offers to judge Guthlac's holiness because he has lived among the Scots and had much experience of false sanctity. His name occurs in *Vita* 132, 950, 958, 964, 994, 995 and 997. The name is common enough in Old English and there is no reason to identify this man with any particular person of the name known from other sources.

WILFRID, an abbot, is cited by Felix, together with Cissa, as chief among his informants on the life of Guthlac. He is supposed to have been a frequent visitor of the saint and in one incident accompanies Aethelbald; see further the note for *Life* 483. Wilfrid is named in lines 49, 388, 716, 722, 748, 749, 757, 765 and 782 of the *Vita*.

WISSA is the name given an area on the lower reaches of the rivers Wissey and Nene; the province most likely took its name from the river Wissey (see further the note for *Life* 934). Felix tells us (*Vita* 1288) that the blind man healed with salt previously consecrated by Guthlac came from this area. There is no reason to believe the Old English version when it informs us that this paterfamilias was one of the followers of the exiled Aethelbald (see the note for *Life* 933).
ABBREVIATIONS

In references made within this thesis the author's surname, date of publication of article or book cited and page or paragraph is the normal method of citation followed. A list of the works used will be found in the bibliography.

Abbreviations are however used for certain standard works of reference and for some works of particular importance to the discussion of the Old English Guthlac writings (the bibliography should be consulted for fuller descriptions):

Abk Holthausen, Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch 1934
Ass. Assmann, Bibliothek der angelaehischen Poesie (Dritter Band) 1898
BT Bosworth and Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary 1898
Btn Bolton, An Old English Anthology 1963
BtTs Toller, supplement to BT 1921
Dülbbrinc Dülbbrinc, Altenglisches Elementarbuch 1902
Campbell Campbell, Old English Grammar 1959
CFF Chambers, Förster and Flower, The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry 1933
Chad Vleeskruyer, The Life of St. Chad 1953
Chronicle Plummer, Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel 1892, 1899
Clark Hall Hall, J.R. Clark, A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary 1960
Colgrave Colgrave, Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac 1956
CP Sweet, King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care 1871
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ctr</td>
<td>Charter as in Sweet, <em>The Oldest English Texts</em> 1885</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>Cleasby, Vigfusson and Craigie, <em>An Icelandic-English Dictionary</em> 1957</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Fries</td>
<td>de Fries, <em>Altunordisches Etymologisches Worterbuch</em> 1962</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOST</td>
<td>Craigie, <em>A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue</em> 1937-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDD</td>
<td>Wright, <em>The English Dialect Dictionary</em> 1898-1905</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESTS</td>
<td>Early English Text Society</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GK</td>
<td>Grein and Köhler, <em>Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter</em> 1912</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gar</td>
<td>Gonser, <em>Das angelsächsische Pros-Leben des hl. Guthlac</em> 1909</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-E.</td>
<td>Bede's <em>Historia</em> as edited by Plummer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hly, Homily</td>
<td>- Veressli Book homily edited in this thesis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>Handbuch der mittelenglischen Grammatik 1934</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KD</td>
<td>Krepp and Dobbie, <em>The Exeter Book</em> 1936</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ker</td>
<td>Ker, <em>Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon</em> 1957</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KG</td>
<td>Kentish Glosses as in Sweet, <em>The Oldest English Texts</em> 1885</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kln</td>
<td>Klipstein, <em>Analecta Anglo-Saxonica</em> 1849</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leechdoms</td>
<td>as in Cockayne 1864-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life</td>
<td>- Old English life of Guthlac edited in this thesis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lind.</td>
<td>Lindisfrane Gospels Gloss as in Skeat 1871-87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luick</td>
<td>Luick, <em>Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache</em> 1914-40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MED</td>
<td>Kurath and Kuhn, <em>Middle English Dictionary</em> 1954-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NED  Murray, A New English Dictionary

R.Ben.  Benedictine Rule as in Schröer 1885-6

RPa  Regius Psalter as in Roeder 1904

Rushworth\textsuperscript{1}  Rushworth Gospels (Mercian gloss to Matthew and small portions of Mark and John) as in Skeat 1871-87

Rushworth\textsuperscript{2}  Rushworth Gospels (Northumbrian gloss to most of Mark, Luke and John) as in Skeat 1871-87

SB  Brunner's revision of Sievers, Angelsächsische Grammatik

Stratmann  Bradley's revision of Stratmann's A Middle-English Dictionary

Vita  Felix's Vita sancti Guthlac as presented in this thesis

VPs  Vespasian Psalter Gloss as in Sweet 1885

For Old English verse texts the abbreviated titles devised by Magoun (1955, pp. 138-46) for the corpus of Old English poetry as presented in The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records has been followed. A shortened copy of this list is given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Volume, Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ald</td>
<td>Aldhelm (vi.97)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alm</td>
<td>Almsgiving (iii.23)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And</td>
<td>Andreas (i.3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asa</td>
<td>Asarias (iii.88)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCr</td>
<td>Brussels Cross (vi.115)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bws</td>
<td>Beowulf (iv.3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BwF</td>
<td>Beowulf (iv.3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bla</td>
<td>Bishop's Psalter gloss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>Bede's Death Song (vi.107)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brb</td>
<td>Battle of Brunanburh (vi.16)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brf</td>
<td>Beowulf (iv.3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...Continued)</td>
<td>(Continued)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...Continued)</td>
<td>(Continued)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...Continued)</td>
<td>(Continued)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cedmon's Ryn (vi.105)  
Capture of the Five Boroughs (vi.20)  
Christ (iii.3)  
Cred (vi.78)  
Death of Alfred (vi.21)  
Daniel (i.109)  
Deor (iii.178)  
Death of Edward (vi.25)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DNI</td>
<td>Descent into Hell</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drm</td>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drf</td>
<td>Dream of the Rood</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECL</td>
<td>An Exhortation to Christian Living</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EgD</td>
<td>Coronation of Edgar</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EgD</td>
<td>Death of Edgar</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ele</td>
<td>Elene</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exo</td>
<td>Exodus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map</td>
<td>Fates of the Apostles</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FrC</td>
<td>Frank's Casket</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FmB</td>
<td>Battle of Finnsburg</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FFp</td>
<td>Fragments of Psalms</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pmn</td>
<td>Fortunes of Men</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>Genesis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gfn</td>
<td>Gifts of Men</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gld</td>
<td>Guthlac</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I use A and B to distinguish from one another the two Guthlac poems)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glo I</td>
<td>Gloria I</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glo II</td>
<td>Gloria II</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hbm</td>
<td>Husband's Message</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hom I</td>
<td>Homiletic Fragment I</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hom II</td>
<td>Homiletic Fragment II</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JpD I</td>
<td>Judgment Day I</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JpD II</td>
<td>Judgment Day II</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jln</td>
<td>Juliana</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jdh</td>
<td>Judith</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kth</td>
<td>Kentish Hymn</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lde</td>
<td>Leiden Riddle</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lwp</td>
<td>Latin-English Proverbs</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lfr I</td>
<td>Lord's Prayer I</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lfr II</td>
<td>Lord's Prayer II</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lfr III</td>
<td>Lord's Prayer III</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbo</td>
<td>Meters of Brethren</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mch</td>
<td>Metrical Charms 1-12</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mgp</td>
<td>Battle of Maldon</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnl</td>
<td>Menologium</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPd</td>
<td>Metrical Preface to Gregory's Dialogues</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mps I</td>
<td>Maxims I</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mps II</td>
<td>Maxims II</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orw</td>
<td>Order of the World</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pcr</td>
<td>Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pcp</td>
<td>Metrical Preface to the Pastoral Care</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phx</td>
<td>Pharaoh</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phx</td>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pnt</td>
<td>Panther</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pps</td>
<td>Paris Psalter</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre</td>
<td>A Prayer</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro</td>
<td>Precepts</td>
<td>iii.140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PrW</td>
<td>A Proverb from Winfred's Time</td>
<td>vi.57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psm 50</td>
<td>Psalm 50</td>
<td>vi.88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptg</td>
<td>Partridge</td>
<td>iii.174</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCr</td>
<td>Ruthwell Cross</td>
<td>vi.115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rd1</td>
<td>Riddle</td>
<td>iii.180-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rim</td>
<td>Rimming Poem</td>
<td>iii.166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg</td>
<td>Resignation</td>
<td>iii.215</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rui</td>
<td>Ruin</td>
<td>iii.227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run</td>
<td>Rune Poem</td>
<td>vi.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sfr</td>
<td>Seafarer</td>
<td>iii.143</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFS</td>
<td>Seasons for Fasting</td>
<td>vi.98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIB I</td>
<td>Soul and Body I</td>
<td>ii.54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIB II</td>
<td>Soul and Body II</td>
<td>iii.174</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SmP</td>
<td>A Summons to Prayer</td>
<td>vi.69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SnS</td>
<td>Solomon and Saturn</td>
<td>vi.31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thr</td>
<td>Thureth</td>
<td>vi.97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vgl</td>
<td>Vainglory</td>
<td>iii.147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wan</td>
<td>Wanderer</td>
<td>iii.134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wds</td>
<td>Widsith</td>
<td>iii.149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wfl</td>
<td>Wife's Lament</td>
<td>iii.210</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whl</td>
<td>Whale</td>
<td>iii.171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wld</td>
<td>Waldere</td>
<td>vi.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIE</td>
<td>Wulf and Bedwasaer</td>
<td>iii.179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XSt</td>
<td>Christ and Satan</td>
<td>i.133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following signs and abbreviations are used in the glossaries and language sections of the thesis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. acc.</td>
<td>accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv.</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anom. vb.</td>
<td>anomalous verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>art.</td>
<td>article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conj.</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf., cp.</td>
<td>compare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cpv.</td>
<td>comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d., dat.</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>def.</td>
<td>definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dem.</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dir. q.</td>
<td>direct question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>emendation (and see Commentary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f., fem.</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g., gen.</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp.</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ind.</td>
<td>indicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indir. q.</td>
<td>indirect question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inf.</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intr.</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m., masc.</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms</td>
<td>manuscript</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>initially = nominative; alone or preceded by other abbreviation = neuter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>see Commentary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neg.</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>num.</td>
<td>numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pers.</td>
<td>personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post p.</td>
<td>post position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp</td>
<td>passive participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr., pres.</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prep.</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pron.</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prp. v.</td>
<td>preterite-present verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pt</td>
<td>preterite, past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ptc</td>
<td>participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ptc adj</td>
<td>participial adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s., sg.</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sb.</td>
<td>substantive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subj., sj.</td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spv.</td>
<td>superlative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stv.</td>
<td>strong verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr., tras.</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vb</td>
<td>verb, verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wk</td>
<td>weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wkv</td>
<td>weak verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* hypothetical forms (marks doubtful headwords only in glossaries)

† marks hapax legomena
BIBLIOGRAPHY
Surname and date form the normal abbreviation throughout the thesis; the surname given is either of author or editor. The bibliography is presented in nine main sections, the listing in each being alphabetical rather than chronological:

1 Manuscripts
2 Editions (including selections)
3 Translations
4 Sources and Background Material
5 Textual Criticism and Interpretation
6 Language
7 Metre
8 Literary and General Criticism
9 The Legend and Cult of St Guthlac

The bibliography is a selected one and not every occasional article, etc, mentioned in footnotes appears in it. No attempt is made to note the place of publication for well-known periodicals and collections of editions and monographs. A special list of abbreviations for use only within this bibliography follows. It should be noted also that for the most part surnames of authors and editors are accompanied only by initials and that short titles are used where these are readily identifiable. References to one journal in a series give the volume number in arabic figures; the reference is the number held by the particular volume in the continuous series unless attention is drawn to a new series notation.

The following abbreviations are used within this bibliography:

AfA Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archiv</td>
<td>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beiblatt</td>
<td>Beiblatt zur Anglia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBA</td>
<td>Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik hrg. vom M. Treutmann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E &amp; S</td>
<td>Essays and Studies by members of The English Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EETS (OS)</td>
<td>Early English Text Society (Ordinary Series)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EHR</td>
<td>The English Historical Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EST</td>
<td>Englische Studien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESTS</td>
<td>English Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBS</td>
<td>Henry Bradshaw Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IF</td>
<td>Indogermanische Forschungen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEGP</td>
<td>The Journal of (English and) Germanic Philology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGSt</td>
<td>English and Germanic Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAE</td>
<td>Medium AEvum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLN</td>
<td>Modern Language Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLR</td>
<td>Modern Language Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPh</td>
<td>Modern Philology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N &amp; Q</td>
<td>Notes and Queries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBA</td>
<td>Proceedings of the British Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNB</td>
<td>Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMLA</td>
<td>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PQ</td>
<td>Philological Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>The Review of English Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Rolls Series (Harum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores..)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SseP</td>
<td>Studien sur englischen Philologie hrg. von L. Morbach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Studies in Philology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPS</td>
<td>Transactions of the Philological Society</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Zfda | Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur
Zfp | Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie
ZfeP | Anglia. Zeitschrift für englische Philologie
a  Vita sancti Guthlaci

The manuscript used in this thesis is Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389. A brief account of and notes on the other manuscripts of this text are to be found in Appendix 2(a). Descriptions of these manuscripts appear in the editions of the life by Birch 1881 and Colgrave 1956. A select list of catalogues and other accounts consulted follows:

Abbott, T.K. Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin Dublin and London 1900

in Analecta Bollandiana 1901: 'Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Publicae' Analecta Bollandiana 20, pp. 361-423 1901

Atkins, I and Ker, W.R. Patrick Young, Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Wigorniensis Cambridge 1944

Barfield, S. 'Lord Pingall's Cartulary of Reading Abbey' ENR 3, pp. 113-25 1888

Bernhard, E. Catalogi librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum Collecti, sum indice alphabeticó Oxford 1697-8

Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements. (Part of Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France) 1849-85

A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum London 1808-12

A Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, deposited in the British Museum London 1802

Gough, R. 'The History and Antiquities of Croyland Abbey in the County of Lincoln' (Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica number 11, volume III) London 1783

Grierson, P. 'Les Livres de l'abbé Seivold de Bath' Revue bénédictine 52, pp. 96-116 1940

'La Bibliothèque de St. Vaast d'Arras au xii siècle' Revue bénédictine 52, pp. 117-40 1940
Grosjean, P. "De Codice Hagiographico Gothano" *Analecta Hollandiana* 58, pp. 90-103 1940

"Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum bibliothecarum Dubliniensium" *Analecta Hollandiana* 46, pp. 81-148 1928

Hardy, T.D. "Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland" 1862-71

James, M.R. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge* Cambridge 1909-12

"Lists of Manuscripts formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library" as supplement to *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 5 1926

See also under Robinson 1909.

Ker, N.R. "Membra Disiecta" *British Museum Quarterly* 12, pp. 130-34 1938

"Membra disiecta, second series" *British Museum Quarterly* 14, pp. 79-86 1940


"Salisbury Cathedral manuscripts and Patrick Young's Catalogue" *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 53 1949

See also under Atkins 1944.

Love, E.A. *Codices Latinj Antiquiores* Oxford 1934-55

Nasmith, J. *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum quos Collegio Corporis Christi et E. Maria Virginiis in Academia Cantabricensi legavit reverendissimus in christo pater Matthaeus Parker, archiepiscopus cantuariensis* Cantabrigiae 1777

Phillipps, D.T. *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Magnae Britanniae* London 1850

Pitz, I. *Relatioeum Historicaeum de Rebus Anglicis* Paris 1619

Peele, R.L. and Bateson, Mary: John Bale's 'Index Britanniae Scriptorum' *Anecdota Oxoniensia. Mediaeval Series* 9 Oxford 1902

Robinson, J.A. and James, M.R. *The Manuscripts of Westminster Library* Cambridge 1909

Smith, T. *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae* Oxford 1696
The only manuscript, edited in this thesis, is Cotton Vespasian D xxi folios 18-40 in the British Museum. Descriptions of it are to be found in the earlier editions by Goodwin 1848 and Gonser 1909. Of other accounts the following are particularly important:

Ker, N.R. 'Membra Disiecta' British Museum Quarterly 12, pp. 130-4 1938

Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon (in which this manuscript is no. 344) Oxford 1957


The Guthlac homily is to be found only in manuscript number CXVII in the
Eusebian Archives at Vercelli in Northern Italy. The manuscript is commonly known as the Vercelli Book, though its correct title is Bibliotheca Capitolare cxvii. The homily appears on folios 133⁷ to 135⁷ and is the final text contained in the manuscript.

A reduced facsimile of the codex is generally available:

Forster, Massimiliano Il Codice Vercellesse con Opere e Poesie in Lingua Anglesassone Roma 1913

Most of the accounts of this manuscript are concerned mainly with the verse it contains, but of importance either as more general descriptions or as notes concerned specifically with the prose contents are:

Förster, M. 'Der Vercelli-Codex CXVII nebst Abdruck einiger altenglischen Hemilien der Handschrift' SaeP 1, pp. 20-179 1913

'Die Vercelli-Hemilien' Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa XII, 1932 (only first eight hemilies printed)

Ker, N.R. 'Maier's Transcript of the Vercelli Book' MAB 19, pp. 17-25 1950

Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon Oxford 1957

Krapp, G.P. 'The First Transcript of the Vercelli Book' MLR 17, pp. 342-4 1902

'The Vercelli Book' The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records II 1932

Wülker, R.P. 'Über das Vercellibuch' ZfSP 5, pp. 451-65 1882

'Codex Vercellensis. Die alte handschrift zu Vercelli in getreuer nachbildung' in Bibliothek 1894

...the Old English Guthlac poems

The Guthlac poems are contained in a manuscript which belongs to the lib-
rary of Exeter Cathedral. A complete photographic facsimile of this
manuscript is available:

Chambers, R.W., Förster, Max and Flower, Habim  The Exeter Book of Old
English Poetry  London 1933

A list follows of articles which deal either with the manuscript or
with the facsimile transcript by Robert Chambers (made in 1831 and col­
lated with the manuscript by Sir Frederick Madden sometime in 1831-2, it
is now British Museum Additioanal MS. 9067):

Chambers, R.W.  'The British Museum Transcript of the Exeter Book'  ZfeP
35, pp. 393-400  1912

Conybeare, J.J.  'Account of a Saxon Manuscript perserved in the Cathed­
ral Library at Exeter'  Archaeologia  17, pp. 180-197  1812

Holthausen, F.  'Vergleichung des Gautsiche-Textes mit der Ms.'  ZfeP 40,
pp. 365-6 (a collation of Assmenn's text with the manu­
script, made by one of Holthausen's pupils)  1916

Keller, Wolfgang  'Angelsächsische Palaeographie'  Palaeestra  43  1906

Ker, M.R.  review of  CFP  in  MAE  2, pp. 224-31  1933

Catalogue of Manuscripts  1957 (where manuscript is number 116)

New Palaeographical Society publications, 'Facsimiles of Ancient Manu­
scripts, etc.' First Series, column I and plate 9  1903-12

903-9  1940

Schipper, J.  'Zum Codex Exoniensis'  Germania  19, pp. 327-33  1874
(should be read with Grein's text)

Sisam, K.  review of  CFP  in  RES  10, pp. 358-42  1934; much of this
review is incorporated into a later paper:
'The Exeter Book' in Sisam 1953, pp. 97-108

'The Arrangement of the Exeter Book'  Studies in the History
of Old English Literature  pp. 291-2  Oxford 1953

Times Literary Supplement  1629, p. 272 (anonymous review of  CFP) April 20th
1933
EDITIONS (INCLUDING SELECTIONS)

a : Vita sancti Guthlac

Birch, W. de G. Memorialis of Saint Guthlac of Crowland (pp. 1-64) Wisbech 1881

Bollandus, J. et alia Acta Sanctorum Aprilis II pp. 38-50 Antwerp and Brussels 1675

Belton, W.F. An Old English Anthology London 1963 (on pp. 64-66 prints lines 1113-70 of Vita from Corpus Christi College Cambridge 1589)

Celgrave, Bertram Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac Cambridge 1956

d'Anchery, L. and Mabillon, J. Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti Saec. III, Part I (pp. 263-84) Paris 1672; in later reprint appears in Saec. III, Part I (pp. 257-75) Venice 1734

Gomser, P. Das angelsächsische Prosal-Leben des hl. Guthlac (pp. 100-73 contain approximately four-fifths of the Bollandist text) Heidelberg 1909

Gough, R. 'The History and Antiquities of Croyland Abbey in the County of Lincoln' Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica number 11, volume III (pp. 131-53) London 1783

Vleeskruyer, R. The Life of St. Chad (on p. 185 prints lines 1216-31 from the Bollandist text) Amsterdam 1953
b : the Old English life of St Guthlac

Bolton, W.F. An Old English Anthology (prints lines 788-851) London 1963

Gonser, P. 'Das angelsächsische Pros-Leben des hl. Guthlac' (complete text) Anglistische Forschungen 27 Heidelberg 1909

Goodwin, C.W. The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Life of St. Guthlac (complete text) London 1848

Vleeskruyver, R. The Life of St. Chad (on p. 84 prints lines 893-902 from Gonser's text) Amsterdam 1953

It is perhaps worth noting that lines 46-9, 128-30 and 106-9 were transcribed from the manuscript into his notebooks by Richard James and appear on p. 50 of MS James 18 (= Bernard 3855(6)).

c : the Old English homily on St Guthlac

Gonser, P. 'Das angelsächsische Pros-Leben des hl. Guthlac' (only complete text) Anglistische Forschungen 27 Heidelberg 1909

Extracts from this homily appear in Goodwin 1848 and a few variations between it and the Life are noted by him; it seems Goodwin was lent either the relevant portion of Maier's transcript of the manuscript or an abstract of it.

d : the Old English Guthlac poems

Assmann, Bruno : See under Wülker 1881-98 below; as Assmann was responsible for the volume in which the greater part of the Guthlac poems appear, he is throughout cited as editor for the Guthlac texts in the revision of Grein's Bibliothek.
Bolton, W.F. *An Old English Anthology* (prints lines 114b - 1325a)
London 1963

Campbell, Jackson J. and Rosier, James C. *Poems in Old English* (prints lines 1335-79)
New York and Evanston 1962

Cook, Albert S. *The Christ of Cynewulf.* (prints as end of *Christ* lines 1-29)
Boston 1900

Edinburgh 1923

Edinburgh 1926

Gollancz, Israel *Cynewulf's Christ*. An Eighth Century English Epic.
(prints in appendix lines 1-29)
London 1892

*The Exeter Book*, an Anthology of Anglo-Saxon Poetry. Part I. Poems I-VIII. (includes both *Guthlac* poems)
*RETS* (OS 104)
London 1895

Grein, Christian W.M. *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie* volumes I and II (with lines 1-29 attached to *Christ* and rest as *Guthlac* material)
Göttingen 1857-8

Klaeber, F. *The Later Genesis and Other Old English and Old Saxon Texts Relating to the Fall of Man* (prints lines 819-871 and 976-996)
Heidelberg 1913

Klipstein, Louis F. *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica II* (prints lines 30-92)
New York 1849

Krapp, G.P. and Dobbie, E. van K. 'The Exeter Book' *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* III (complete texts)
New York 1936

Toronto 1961

Thompson, Bertha *The Old English Poem of St Guthlac* (lines 30-1379)
unpublished PhD thesis Leeds 1931

Thorpe, Benjamin *Codex Exoniensis*. A collection of Anglo-Saxon Poetry. (Guthlac material printed consecutively under various headings)
London 1842

Williams, O.T. *Short Extracts from Old English Poetry* (prints lines 201b-261, 819-871, 999*-1047, 1139*-1196 and 1278*-1343)
Bangor 1909
3 TRANSLATIONS

Note: Only complete or fairly extensive translations are noted in this section.

a: Vita sancti Guthlac

Colgrave, Bertram  Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac Cambridge 1956

Jones, C.W. Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England (see pp. 125-60) Ithaca 1947

b: the Old English life of St Guthlac

Goodwin, C.W. The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Life of St. Guthlac London 1848

c: the Old English homily on St Guthlac

No translation.
d : the Old English Guthlac poems

Gordon, Robert K. *Angle-Saxon Poetry* (lines 1-29 appear as the end of Christ; lines 825-878 omitted) London and Toronto 1926 also revised edition 1954

Gollancz, Israel *The Exeter Book* London 1895

Grein, C.W.M. *Dichtungen der Angelsächsischen stahreimend übersetzt* (lines 1-29 as end of Christ in I, rest in II) Göttingen 1857-9

Kennedy, Charles W. *The Poems of Cynewulf Translated into English Prose* (Christ, Guthlac, Phoenix and Juliana) London and New York 1910

Olivero, Frederico *'Sul peonetto anglosassone Guthlac' Memorie della reale accademia delle scienze di Turino* 70 Serie II, pp. 223-65 1942


Thorpe, Benjamin *Codex Exoniensis* London 1842

4 SOURCES AND BACKGROUND MATERIAL

a : editions of Old and Middle English texts consulted

Assmann, Bruno : 'Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben' in *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* 3 1889

Baugh, Nita Scudder *A Worcestershire Miscellany, compiled by John Northwood, c. 1400* Philadelphia 1956
Belfour, A.O. 'Twelfth Century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343' *FETS (OS 137) 1909

Bethurum, Dorothy *The Homilies of Wulfstan* Oxford 1957


Bright, J.W. and Ramsay, R.L. 'The West-Saxon Psalms' *The Belles-Lettres Series* 1907

Brook, G.L. and Leslie, R.P. 'Lazarus: Brut' *FETS (OS 250) 1963

Campbell, A. *The Battle of Brunanburh* London 1938

Clark, C. *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154* Oxford 1958

Clubb, Merrel Dare 'Christ and Satan' in *Yale Studies in English lxx*, 1925

Cockayne, T.O. 'Leechdoms, sorcewumming and starcraft of early England' *ES 35* 1864-6

Conybeare, W.D. J.J. Conybeare's *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* London 1826

Cook, A.S. *The Old English Elegies, Phoenix, and Physiologus* New Haven 1919

*The Christ of Cynewulf* Boston 1900

Crawford, S.J. 'The Old English Version of The Heptateuch' *FETS (OS 160)* 1922

D'Evelyn, Charlotte and Mill, Anna J. 'The South English Legendary' *FETS (OS 235, 236)* 1951, 1952

Dobbie, F.V.K. 'Beowulf and Judith' *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 4* 1953

'Doveung, E. 'The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems' *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 6* 1942

Earle, John **Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel** Oxford 1865

Garmonsway, G.N. *Elftrio's Colloquy* London 1939

Goolden, Peter 'The Old English 'Apollonius of Tyre' Oxford 1958

Gordon, W.V. *The Battle of Maldon* London 1937

Goldman, Israel *Cynewulf's Christ* London 1892

Graden, P.O.F. *Cynewulf's 'Elene'* London 1958
Grimm, Jacob Andreas und Elene Cassel 1840

Hecht, H. 'Warforth von Worcester, Bischof, Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors' Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 5, 1901-7

Holthausen, F. 'Vices and Virtues' *ETS (OS 69 and 159) 1888 and 1920

Horstmann, C. 'The Early South-English Legendary' *ETS (OS 87) 1887

Irving, E.B. The Old English Exodus New Haven 1953

Klaeber, Fr. The Later Genesis (revised edition) Heidelberg 1931

Beowulf (revised edition) Boston 1950

Krapp, G.P. 'The Junius Psalter' Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 1 1931

'The Vercelli Book' Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 2 1932

'The Paris Psalter and the Meters of Boethius' Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 5 1953

Krapp, G.P. and Dobbie, E.V.K. 'The Exeter Book' Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 3 1936

Leslie, R.F. Three Old English Kieles Manchester 1961

Lindelöf, U. 'Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis' *Surtees Society Publications 140 1927

L'isle, William Divers Ancient Monuments in the Saxon Tongue London 1638

Kemble, J.M. Salomon and Saturn London 1848


Menner, R.J. The Poetical Dialogues of Salomon and Saturn New York 1941

Meritt, H.D. 'Old English Glosses' The Modern Language Association of America, General Series, 16 1945

Meritt, H. 'The Old English Prudentius Glosses at Boulogne-sur-Mer' Stanford Studies in Language and Literature 16 1959

Miller, Thomas 'The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People' *ETS (OS 95, 96, 110, 111) 1890, 1891, 1898

Morris, R. 'Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises' *ETS (OS 29, 34, 53) 1867, 1868, 1873

'The Blickling Homilies, 971 A.D.' *ETS (OS 58, 63, 73) 1874-80
Napier, A. 'Ein altenglisches Leben des heiligen Chad' *ZfEP* 10, pp. 150-56 1888

Wulfstan, Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Hymnen
Berlin 1883

Napier, Arthur S. 'Old English Glosses chiefly unpublished' *Aneodota Oxoniensia* 4 Oxford 1900

Napier, A.S. 'Contributions to Old English Lexicography' *TPS* pp. 265-358 1903-6

'An Old English Vision of Leofric, Earl of Mercia' *TPS* pp. 180-88 1907-10

Norman, F. *Waldere* London 1933

Plummer, Charles (on the basis of Earle's edition): *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* 1892 and 1899


Schlotterose, Otto 'Die altenglische Dichtung Phoenix' *BBA* 25 1908

Schmidt, Reinhold *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* Leipzig 1832, 1858

Schröer, A. 'Die angelsächsischen Prosearbeitungen der Benedictinerregel' *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* 2 1885, 1888

Sedgefield, W.J. *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiae* Oxford 1899

Sisam, Celia and Kenneth 'The Salisbury Psalter' *EETS* (OS 242) 1959

Sisam, Celia 'An Early Fragment of the Old English Martyrology' *RES New Series IV* pp. 209-20 1953


'The Holy Gospels' in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian versions.. Cambridge 1871-87

Stephens, G. *King Waldere's Lay* London 1860

Stevenson, J. 'The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church, with an interlinear anglo-saxon gloss' *Surtees Society* xxiii 1851

Sweet, Henry 'King Alfred's Orosius' *EETS* (OS 79) 1883

'The Oldest English Texts' *EETS* (OS 83) 1885
Sweet, Henry  'King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care'  *RSTS* (OS 45, 50) 1872

Thorpe, Benjamin  The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church  (Aslfric Society)  London 1846-8

Timmer, B.J.  Judith  London 1952

Ure, James M.  The Benedictine Office  Edinburgh 1957

Vleeckruyer, R.  The Life of St Chad  Amsterdam 1953

Warner, Rubie D-W.  'Early English Homilies from the twelfth century MS. Vesp. D xiv'  *RATS* (OS 152) 1915

Whitelock, D.  *Sermon Lupi ad Anglos* (second edition)  London 1952

Wildhagen, Karl  'Der Cambrider Psalter'  *Bibliothek der englischen Philologie*  7 1910

Willard, R.  'Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies'  *Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*  30  Leipzig 1935

Wrenn, C.L.  *Beowulf* with the Finnshurg Fragment (revised edition)  London 1956

Wright, T. and Wulser, R.P.  *Anglo-Saxon and Old English vocabularies*  (second edition)  1884

Zupitza, Julius  *Aelfric's Grammatik und Glossar*  Berlin 1880

b editions of Latin texts used

Note: No attempt will be made to list the texts consulted in the two series *'Patrologiae cursus completus', series latina and* *'Patrologiae cursus completus' series graeca.* Where texts from these are cited in the body of the thesis the source is made plain by the use of the identifying abbreviations *PL* and *PG*.

Bouyer, L.  *La Vie de S. Antoine*  Abbaye S. Wandrille 1950
Brandt, Samvel et Leibmann, Georgius L. Cali Firmiani, Lactanti Opera Omnia
Praga, Vindobonae & Lipsiae 1892-3

Butler, C. 'The Lansias History of Palladius' in Texts and Studies 6,
edited by J. Armitage Robinson Cambridge 1898 and 1904

Colgrave, Bertram The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus
Cambridge 1927

Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert Cambridge 1940

Dudley, Louise 'An Early Homily on the Body and Soul Theme' JEGP 8
pp. 225-53 1909

Garitte, Gerard 'Un témoign important du texte de la vie de S. Antoine
par S. Athanase' Études de Philologie, d'Archéologie
et d'Histoire ancienne pub. l'Institut historique belge
de Rome 3 1939

Haddan, A.W. and Stubbs, W. Councils and ecclesiastical documents relating
to Great Britain and Ireland Oxford 1869-78

Halm, Carolus 'Sulpicii Severi Libri qui supersunt' Corpus scriptorum
ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 1 Vindobonae 1866

Hammer, Jacob Geoffrey of Monmouth, 'Historia Regum Britanniae'
Cambridge (Mass.) 1951

James, M.R. The Testament of Abraham' Texts and Studies 2 edited by
J. Armitage Robinson Cambridge 1892

Page, Frances M. 'Wellingborough Manorial Accounts' Northamptonshire
Record Society 1936

Pertz, G.H. Monumenta Germaniae Historiae 1826- (abbreviation MGH
sometimes used)

Plummer, C. Bedae Opera Historica Oxford 1896

Stubbs, W. 'The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Dice' RS 68 1876

Tangl, M. 'Bonifati et Lulli Epistolae' in MGH (Epistolae Selectae I)
Berlin 1916

[Wharton, Henry] Anglia Sacra sive collectio historiarum de archiepiscopis
et episcopis Angliae ad annum 1540. London 1691

Wilkins, David Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, A.D. 446-1718
London 1737
background material

[Allen, Thomas] The History of the County of Lincoln, from the earliest to the present time London and Lincoln 1854

Anderson, A.O. and M.O. Adomnan's Life of Columba London 1961

Atkinson, Robert 'The Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac' Publications of the Royal Irish Academy Dublin 1887

Aurenhammer, Hans Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie Wien 1960, 1961

Baltrusaitis, Jurgis Le Moyen Age Fantastique Paris 1955

Bateson, Mary 'Origin and early history of double monasteries' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society NS 13 pp. 137-98 1899

Battiscombe, C.F. The Relics of Saint Cuthbert Oxford 1956

Beazley, F.C. 'The Parish of Thurstaston' Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire 75, pp. 1-177 1923

Bell, Alexander 'The Anglo-French De Sanetis' M & Q 136 pp. 261-3 1919

Best, R.I. and Lawlor, H.J. The Martyrology of Tallaght (HBS 68 1931)

Blair, P.H. An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England Cambridge 1956

Brady, Caroline The Legends of Ermenarius Berkeley and Los Angeles 1943

Braune, Wilhelm Althochdeutsches Lesebuch 1962

Brooke, G.C. English Coins (third edition) 1950

Brooke, Christopher The Saxon and Norman Kings London 1963

Brown, C. A Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse Oxford 1916

Camden, Wm. Britannia: or, a chronologographical description of the flourishing kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the islands adjacent; from the earliest antiquity. (Gough edition in three volumes) London 1789

Canham, A.S. 'Notes on the History, Charters and Ancient Crosses of Crowland' Penland Notes and Queries 2, pp. 236-52 1894

Chadwick, H.M. Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions Cambridge 1905

The Origin of the English Nation Cambridge 1907
Chadwick, H.M. The Heroic Age Cambridge 1912

Clarke, R.R. East Anglia London 1960

Clay, Rotha Mary The Hermits and Anchorites of England London 1914


Colgrave, Bertram review of Blair 1957 in RES (NS 8) 1957, pp. 422-4

Colgrave, Bertram 'The Earliest Saints' Lives written in England' PRA pp. 35-60 1958


Cross, J.E. 'The Dry Bones Speak - A Theme in Some Old English Homilies' JEP 56, pp. 434-9 1957

Danielou, Jean Les Anges et leur mission (second edition) Paris 1953

Danielou, Jean Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme Paris 1958

Darby, H.C. 'The Fenland Frontier in Anglo-Saxon England' Antiquity 8, pp. 165-201 1934

The Cambridge Region Cambridge 1938

The Mediaeval Fenland Cambridge 1940

d'Ardenne, S.T.R.O. 'The Devil's Spout' TPS pp. 31-55 1946

Deansley, M. The Mediaeval Church London 1925


Dickens, Bruce 'William L'Isle the Saxonist and Three XVIIth Century Remainder Issues' EGS 1, pp. 53-5 1947-8

Dickens, Bruce 'The Beheaded Manumission in the Exeter Book' in Chadwick memorial studies edited by Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickens, pp. 363-67 1950

Dolley, R.H.M. (editor) Anglo-Saxon Coins London 1961

Dudley, Louise The Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul Baltimore 1911

Dugdale, William Monasticon Anglicanum (Caley, Ellis and Bandinel edition) in six volumes) London 1846
Eckenstein, L. **Women under Monasticism 500 A.D. to 1500 A.D.** Cambridge 1896

Ekwall, Eilert **Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England** Lund 1918

Anderson, O.F. 'Legends of Cain, especially in Old and Middle English' PMLA 21, pp. 831-929 1906

Flower, Robin 'Laurence Nowell and the Discovery of England in Tudor Times' PBA 21, pp. 47-75 1935

Forster, P. Arnold **Studies in Church Dedications, or England's Patron Saints** London 1899

Foxe, John **The Acts and monumrnts of John Foxe** With a life and defence of the martyrlogist. (Townsend edition in Cattley revision used) London 1837-41

Gaidoz, H. 'Le Dénat du Corps et de l'Ame en Irlande' Revue celtique 10, pp. 463-70 1889

Galbraith, V.H. 'The Historia Aurea of John, Vicar of Tynemouth, and the Sources of the St. Albans Chronicle (1327-1377)' in Essays in History presented to Reginald Lane Poole edited by H.W.C. Davis pp. 379-98 Oxford 1927

Godfrey, John **The Church in Anglo-Saxon England** Cambridge 1962

Gough, R. 'The History and Antiquities of Croyland Abbey in the County of Lincoln' Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica number 11, volume III London 1703

Gould, Sabine Baring **The Lives of the Saints** London 1897

Graham, Rose 'A Picture Book of the Life of Saint Anthony the Abbot' Roxburgh Club Oxford 1937


Griesley, J.M. Some Account of Croyland Abbey, Lincolnshire, from the MSS. and drawings of the Rev. William Stukeley MD, FR. & AS. Ashby-de-la-Zouche 1886

Criscom, Acton (editor) **The Historia Regna Britanniae** of Geoffrey of Monmouth London, New York and Toronto 1929

Gross, Charles **The Sources and literature of English history** (second edition) London and New York 1915
Gwynn, Aubrey  'Some Notes on the History of the Irish and Scottish Benedictine Monasteries in Germany'  Innes Review 5, pp. 5-27  1954

Hall, Antonius  Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannis, auctore Joanne Lelando Londinate  Oxonii 1709

Harcourt, C.G.V.  Legends of St. Augustine, St. Anthony and St. Cuthbert painted on the back of the stalls in Carlisle Cathedral. Carlisle 1868

Hickes, George  Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus Oxoniensis  1705


Holdich, Benjamin  The History of Crowland Abbey  Stamford 1816

Jeremy, Sister Mary  'Caxton's Golden Legend and Varagine's Legenda Aurea'  Speculum 21, pt. 212-21  1946

John, Eric  Land Tenure in Early England: a discussion of some problems  1960

Jonsson, Finnur (editor)  Sæmundar-Édda  Reykjavik 1927


Kingsley, Charles  The Hermits  London [1868]

Kemp, E. Waldram  Canonization and Authority in the Western Church  Oxford 1946


Knowles, David and Haddock, R. Neville  Medieval Religious Houses (England and Wales)  London, New York and Toronto 1953

Laistner, M.L.W.  Thought and Letters in Western Europe A.D. 500-900  London 1931

Leland, John  De Rebus Britannicis Collectaneis, cum Thomas Hearni Prefatione Notis et Indice ad Editionem primum. London 1774

Levison, W.  England and the Continent in the Eighth Century  Oxford 1946

Liebermann, F.  'Zum Old English Martyrology'  Archiv  105, pp. 86-7  1900

Lingard, John The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church London 1845

Lorié, L. Th. A. Spiritual Terminology in the Latin Translations of the Vita Antonii Nijmigen 1935


Marekwardt, A.H. (editor) Laurence Nowell's Vocabularium Saxonicum Ann Arbor 1952

Marstrander, Carl 'The Two Deaths' Eriu 5, pp. 120-5 1911

Meissner, J.L.G. The Celtic Church in England London 1929

Mayer, Robert T. 'St Athanasius, The Life of Saint Anthony' Ancient Christian Writers 10 Westminster, Maryland and London 1950

Miller, S.H. 'Earl Waltheof' Fenland Notes and Queries 2, p.138 1894

'M. The Grave of Waltheof' Fenland Notes and Queries 2, pp. 37-39 1894

Miller, S.H. and Skertchly, S.B.J. The Fenland Past and Present London 1878

Midgley, L. Margaret 'A History of the County of Stafford' volume IV, The Victoria History of the Counties of England 1958


Oakeshott, W. The Sequence of English Medieval Art London 1950

Oman, Sir Charles England Before the Norman Conquest London 1938

Page, Frances M. The Estates of Crowland Abbey Cambridge 1934

Poole, Reginald L. Chronicles and Annals Oxford 1926

Quentin, Henri Les Martyrologes historiques du moyen Age Paris 1908

Raby, F. J. E. A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages Oxford 1957

Robertson, Anne S. 'Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles' Anglo-Saxon Coins London 1961
Riley, Henry T. (editor and translator) *Ingulph's Chronicles of the Abbey of Croyland* London 1854


Salway, Peter 'New Light on the Fens under the Romans' p. 13 in the *Times* February 1st 1963

Seehnbelie, Jacob *The Antiquary's Museum* London 1800 (uses MS collection of Sir Thomas Cave for Leicestershire)

Scott, Forrest S. 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria' *Archaeologia Aeliana* 30 (Fourth series), pp. 149-215 1952

Searle, W.G. 'On the date of Ingulf's History of Croyland Abbey' *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* NS 1 pp. 207-9 1953

Seymour, St.J.D. 'The Bringing Forth of the Soul in Irish Literature' *Journal of Theological Studies* 22, pp. 16-20 1921


Smith, Lucy Toulmin *The Itinerary of John Leland* London 1907

Smith, William and Wace, Henry (editors) *Dictionary of Christian Biography* London 1880

Stanton, R. *A Menology of England and Wales* London 1887

*Supplement to the Menology of England and Wales* London 1892


*The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* Oxford 1955

Stevens, William O. *The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons* New York 1904
Stubbs, W. 'Memorials of St. Dunstan' RS 63 1874

Stukeley, William Itinerarium Curiosum London 1724

Itinerarium Curiosum (second edition) London 1776

Tait, James 'The Foundation Charter of Runcorn (later Norton) Priory' Chetham Miscellanies NS volume 7 Manchester 1939

Thompson, A.H. English Monasteries Cambridge 1913

Turner, Sharon History of the Anglo-Saxons (seventh edition) London 1852

Vaughan, R. 'The Handwriting of Matthew Paris' Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society 5 1953

Matthew Paris Cambridge 1958

Wells, J.E. A Manual of the Writings in Middle English New Haven and Oxford 1916

Whitelock, Dorothy 'The Conversion of the Eastern Danelaw' Saga-Book of the Viking Society 12, pp. 159-76 1941


Wolpers, Theodor Die Englische Heiligenlegende des Mittelalters Tübingen 1964

Woolf, R.E. 'The Devil in Old English Poetry' RES (New Series IV) 1953

Workman, Herbert B. The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal London 1918


English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries London 1952
Abbetmeyer, C. 'The Phoenix and the Guthlac', a letter in MLN 33, p. 32 1908

Adams, Arthur 'Christ (?) 1665-1693' MLN 21, p. 240 1906

Bins, G. review of Buttenwieser 1899 in ESt 29, pp. 108-14 1901

Blackburn, F.A. 'Is the Christ of Cynewulf a single poem?' ZfeP 19, pp. 89-99 1907

Blake, N. 'Two Notes on the Exeter Book' M & Q 207, pp. 45-7 1962

Blake, N.F. 'The Seafarer, lines 48-49' M & Q 207, pp. 163-4 1962

Blake, I. 'Some Problems of Interpretation and Translation in the OE Phoenix' ZfeP 80, pp. 50-62 1962

Bourauel, J.B. Zur Quellen und Verfasserfrage von Andreas, Crist und Fata Darmstadt 1901

Bradley, Henry 'The Etymology of Neorxmagw' Academy 36, p. 254 1889

Brotanek, R. Review of Förster 1913 (both Verselli and fass and edited texts) Beiblatt 26, pp. 225-33 1915

Brown, Carleton 'Posulum Mortis in Old English' Speculum 15, pp. 389-99 1940

Brown, C.F. 'Cynewulf and Alcuin' FMLA 18, pp. 308-34 1903

Duggy, S. 'Studien über das Beowulfpos' Berträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 12, pp. 1-79, 360-65 1887

Buttenwieser, Ellen C. Studien über die Verfasserschaft des Andreas Heidelberg 1898
Campbell, A. 'The Old English Epic Style' in English and Medieval Studies edited by Norman Davis and C.L. Wrenn, pp. 13-26 London 1962

Charitius, F. Über die angelsächsische Gedichte vom Hl. Guðlac' ZsP 2, pp. 265-306 1879

Cook, A.S. 'Alfred's Soliloquies and Cynewulf's Crist' MLN 17, p. 110 1902

'The Date of the Old English Elens' ZsP 15, pp. 9-20 1893

Cosijn, P.J. 'Anglosaxonica' Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal - en Letterkunde pp. 143-58 Leiden 1881

Aantekeningen op den Beowulf Leiden 1892

'Anglosaxonica III' PBB 21, pp. 8-26 1896

'Anglosaxonica IV' PBB 23, pp. 109-130 1898

Cramer, Julius 'Quelle, verfasser und text des Altenlischen Gedichtes Christi Höllefahrt' ZsP 19, pp. 137-74 1897

Crawford, S.J. 'A Latin Parallel for part of the Later Genesis' ZsP 48, pp. 99-100 1920

Cross, J. 'On the Allegory in The Seafarer - illustrative notes' MAE 28, pp. 104-6 1959

D'Ham, Otto Der gegenwärtige Stand der Cynewulf-Frage Limburg 1863

Dietrich, F. 'Cynewulf's Crist' ZfdA 9, pp. 193-214 1853

'Zu Câdmon' ZfdA 10, pp. 310-67 1856

Dietrich, Francisco Commentatio de Cynewulf Poetae aetate, amenitatum fragmento s codice Lugdunensi edito illustrata Marburg 1860

Ekwall, Eilert review of Gonser 1909 in Est. 42, pp. 298-300 1910

Forstmann, Hans Das altenglische gedicht 'Guthlac der Einsiedler' und die Guthlac-Vita des Felix Halle 1901

'Untersuchungen zur Guthlac-Legende' NFA 12 1902

Fritzsche, A. 'Das angelsächsische Gedicht Andreas und Cynewulf' ZsP 2, pp. 441-500 1879
Gerald, O.H. review of Forstmann 1902 in Est 34, pp. 95-103 1904

Saints' Legends Boston and New York 1916

'The Old English Poems on St. Guthlac and their Latin Source' MLN 32, pp. 77-89 1917

Glöde, O. review of Gollancz 1892 in Est 19, pp. 260-61 1894

Gregor, Gustav 'Quellen und Verwandtschaften der Älteren Germanischen Darstellungen des Jüngsten Gerichtes' SzeP 31 1908

Grein, C.W.M. 'Zur Textkritik der angelsächsischen Dichter' Germania pp. 416-29 1865

Grein, C.W. Kursgefasste angelsächsische Grammatik Kassel 1880

Harlow, C.G. 'Punctuation in some MSS of Aelfric' RES (NS 10) pp. 1-19 1959

Hart, J.M. 'OE weor, 'werig "ACCURSED"; wergen "TO CURSE"' MLN 22, pp. 220-22 1907

Harting, P.M.U. 'The text of the Old English translation of Gregory's Dialogues' Neophilologus 22, pp. 281-302 1937

Herzfeld, Georg 'Die Räthsel des Exeterbuches und ihr Verfasser' Acta Germanica 2 1890

Holthausen, F. review of Assmann 1898 in Beiblatt 9, pp. 353-5 1899

'Zur altenglischen literatur IV' Beiblatt 18, pp. 201-8 1907

'Vergleichung des Güstläe-textes mit der hs.' ZfeP 40, pp. 365-6 1916

'Zu englischen Wortkunde III' Beiblatt 32, p. 17-23 1921

'Wortdeutungen' IF 48, pp. 254-67 1930

'Zu den AE. Gedichten der HS. von Veressli' ZfeP 73, pp. 276-8 1955

'Beiträge zur Erklärung und Textkritik altenglischer Dichtungen' IF 4, pp. 379-88 1894

Howard, E.J. 'Cynewulf's Crist 1665-1693' MLA 45, pp. 354-67 1930

Imelmann, Rudolf 'Zu Neorxanawn' ZfeP 35, p. 428 1912
Jansen, Karl  
**Die Schriften zu und über Cynewulf nach der Zeit folgte**  
Bonn 1907

'Die Cynewulf-Forschung von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart'  
*BBA* 24 1908

Kail, J.  
'Über die Parallelstellen in der angelsächsischen Poesie'  
*ZfeP* 12, pp. 21-40 1889

Kern, J.H.  
'Altenglische Varia'  
*EST* 51, pp. 1-15 1917

Kirkland, J.H.  
*A Study of the Anglo-Saxon Poem, The Harrowing of Hell*  
Halle 1885

Klaeber, F.  
'The Críst of Cynewulf', review of Cook 1900 in *JESP* 4,  
pp. 101-12 1902

'Zur altenglischen Bedauerung'  
*ZfeP* 25, pp. 257-315 1902; and  
*ZfeP* 27, pp. 399-435

'Emendations in Old English Poems'  
*MPh* 2, pp. 141-6 1904

'Guthlac 1252 ff.'  
*Beiblatt* 15, pp. 345-7 1904

'Die christlichen Elemente im Beowulf : III'  
*ZfeP* 35,  
pp. 453-82 1912

'Zu König Aelfreda Vorrede zu seiner Übersetzung der Cura Pastoralis'  
*ZfeP* 47, pp. 53-65 1923

Kock, Ernst A.  
'Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings'  
*Lunds Universitets Års-  
skrift N.F. AUD. 1. Bd. 14. Nr. 26*  
Lund 1918

Kock, E.A.  
'Interpretations and Emendations of Early English Texts IV'  
*ZfeP* 42, pp. 98-124 1918

'Interpretations and Emendations of Early English Texts VII'  
*ZfeP* 44, pp. 245-60 1920

'Interpretations and Emendations of Early English Texts XI'  
*ZfeP* 47, pp. 264-73 1923

Krogmann, W.  
'Age. neorxenawang'  
*ZfeP* 53, pp. 337-44 1929

'AE. GENGEBORD'  
*ZfeP* 55, pp. 397-99 1931

'AE. ORCNÉAS'  
*ZfeP* 56, pp. 40-42 1932

'AE. Neorx(e)nawang Paradise'  
*ZfeP* 58, pp. 28-9 1934

'AE. (N)eorx(e)nawang'  
*EST* 74, pp. 1-18 1940-1
Krogmann, W. 'Neorxnaæwæng und I a vólnr Archiv 191, pp. 31-43 1954

Langenfelt, Gösta 'The OE. Paradise Lost' ZfP 55, pp. 250-65 1931

'The OE. Paradise Lost : Neorxnaæwæng' ZfP 60, pp. 374-6 1956

Lawrence, W. 'The First Riddle of Cynewulf' PALA 17, pp. 247-61 1902

LeFèvre, P. 'Das alteenglische Gedicht vom hl. Guthlac' ZfP 6, pp. 181-240 1883

Leitzmann, Albert 'Ags. NEORXNA-WONG' PBB 32, pp. 60-66 1907

Lindeman, J.M. 'A Note on Cynewulf' MLR 39, pp. 397-9 1924

Mackie, W.S. 'Notes on the Text of the Exeter Book' MLR 28, pp. 75-8 1933

McKillop, A.D. 'Illustrative Notes on Genesis B' JEGP 20, pp. 28-39 1920

Malone, Kemp review of Schaar 1949 in ZfP 70, pp. 444-50 1951-2

Mead, W.E. 'Color in Old English Poetry' PALA 14, pp. 169-206 1899

Meritt, Herbert 'The Old English Gloses deȝs and minnæn: A Study in Ways of Interpretation' JEGP 43, pp. 434-46 1944

Meritt, Herbert Dean 'Fact and Lore About Old English Words' Stanford University Publications (University Series) Language and Literature 13 1954

Napier, Arthur 'Collation der altnenglischen Gedichte im Verceilibuch' ZfA 33, pp. 66-73 1889

'Contributions to Old English lexicography' TPS, pp. 265-352 1903-6

Peters, R.E. 'OE. CEARGEST' M & Q 207, p. 167 1960

Pogatscher, A. review of Sweet 1897 in AfDA 25, pp. 1-16 1899

Potter, Simeon review of Bethurum 1957 in RES (WS 10) pp. 294-7 1959

'The Old English Pastoral Care' TPS pp. 114-25 1947

Price, M.B. 'Teutonic Antiquities in the Generally Acknowledged Cynewulfian Poetry' Leipzig 1896
Reinius, Josef  'Agg. NEORXNAWANG'  ZfEP 19, pp. 554-6  1897
Rieger, Max  'Über Cynewulf'  ZfEP 1, pp. 215-26 and 313-34  1869
Ritter, Otto  'Neorxawang'  ZfEP 33, pp. 467-70  1910
   'Noch einmal AE. Neorxawang'  ZfEP 34, p. 528  1911
Sarrazin, G.  'Parallellstellen in altenglicher Dichtung'  ZfEP 14, pp. 186-93  1892
   'Zur Chronologie und Verfasserfrage angelsächsischer Dichtungen'  ES 38, pp. 145-95  1907
Schaar, C.  'Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group'  Lund Studies in English 17  1949
Schlutter, Otto B.  'Some Remarks on Max Förster's Print of Some OE Homilies contained in Verceil Codex CXVII'  Neophilologus 15, pp. 264-70  1929-30
Shearin, H.G.  'The Phoenix and the Guthlac', a letter in MLN 22, p. 263  1907
Shook, L.K.  'The Burial Mound in Guthlac A'  MPH 58, pp. 1-10  1960
   'The Prologue of the Old-English Guthlac A'  Mediaeval Studies 23, pp. 294-304  1961
Skeat, W.W.  'Notes on English Etymology'  TPS pp. 359-78  1903-6
Smith, L. Toulmin  entry for Cynewulf in the Dictionary of National Biography
Smithers, C.V.  'A Middle English Idiom and its Antecedents'  EGSt 1, pp. 109-13  1947-8
   'Five Notes on Old English Texts'  EGSt 4, pp. 65-85  1951-2
Stanley, E.G.  'A Note on Genesis B, 328'  RES (NS 5) pp. 55-58  1954
   review of Vleeskruyer 1953 in EGSt 6, pp. 112-18  1957
Strunk, W.  'Notes on Cynewulf'  MLN 17, pp. 186-7  1902
Ten Brink, B. 'review of Zupitza 1877 in ZfdA 23, pp. 53-70 1879

Trautmann, Moritz 'Der sogenannte Crist' ZfEP 18, pp. 382-88 1896

'Kynewulf der Bischof und Dichter' BBA 1 pp. 43-70 1898

'Werge (wyrga) verflucht' BBA 23, pp. 155-6 1907

Tupper, F. 'The Philological Legend of Cynewulf' PMLA 26, pp. 235-79 1911

'Judith' JESOP 11, pp. 62-89 1912

Uhlenbeck, C.C. 'Etymologia' PBB 33, pp. 182-6 1908

Willard, Rudolph 'Vercelli Homily VIII and the Christ' PMLA 42, pp. 314-30 1927

'The Address of the Soul to the Body' PMLA 50, pp. 957-983 1935


'The Devil in Old English Poetry' RES (NS 4), pp. 1-12 1953

Workman, R.T. 'The Concept of Hell in Anglo-Saxon Poetry before A.D. 850' (see Dissertation Abstracts 19, P. 1746/7) 1959

Wrenn, C.L. review of Irving 1953 in RES (NS 6), pp. 184-9 1955

review of Stanley 1960 in RES (NS 13, pp. 168-72 1962

Wülcker, R. 'Über den dichter Cynewulf' ZfEP 1, pp. 483-507 1878

review of Gollancz 1892 in Beiblatt 3, pp. 333-37 1893

'Über das Vercellibuch' ZfEP 5, pp. 451-65 1882

'Cynewulfs Reimat' ZfEP 17, pp. 106-10 1895

'Entgegnung' Beiblatt 10, p. 19 1899

Zupitza, Julius 'Zu Seele und Leib' Archiv 111, pp. 369-404 1893
a phonology and grammar

HANDBOOKS etc.

Nölbrin, K.D. *Altenglisches Elementarbuch (Lautlehre.)* Heidelberg 1902

Campbell, A. *Old English Grammar* Oxford 1959

Jordan, R. *Handbuch der mittelenglischen Grammatik* Heidelberg 1934

Luick, K. *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache* Leipzig 1914-40

Mitchell, Bruce *A Guide to Old English* Oxford 1965

Prokosch, E. *A Comparative Germanic Grammar* Philadelphia 1939


Sievers, E. *Angelsächsische Grammatik* Halle 1882 in the revision of
K. Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik* Halle 1942

Wright, J. and E.M. *An Old English Grammar* Oxford 1926

MONOGRAPHS AND ARTICLES

Bauer, Hermann *Über die Sprache und Mundart der ae. dichtungen Andreas,
Guðlac, Phoenix, hl. Kreus und Höllefahrt Christi.* Marburg 1890

Brunner, K. *Die Sprache der Handschrift Junius 24* Beiblatt 51, pp. 207-13 1940

Campbell, A. *review of Vleskruyer 1953 in MAE* 1, pp. 52-56 1955

Daunt, Marjorie *Some notes on Old English Phonology* TPS pp. 48-54 1952


Deutschbein, M. *Dialektisches in der angelsächsischen Übersetzung von
Bedas Kirchengeschichte* PBB 26, pp. 169-244 1901
Gradon, Pamela  'Studies in Late West-Saxon Labialization and Delabialization' in English and Medieval Studies edited by Norman Davis and C.L. Wrenn London 1962

Jost, K.  review of Sisam 1953 in MAE 24, pp. 129-32  1955

Kuhn, S.M.  'From Canterbury to Lichfield'  Speculum 23  1948

Menner, R.J.  'Farman Vindicatus'  ZefP 58, pp. 1-27  1934

Peterson, P.W.  'Dialect Groupings in the Unpublished Vercelli Homilies'  ZPP 7, pp. 559-65  1953

Quirk, R.  'On the Problem of Morphological Suture in Old English'  MIR 45, pp. 1-5  1950

Samuels, M.L.  'The ge-prefix in the Old English Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels'  TPS  pp. 62-116  1949

'The Study of Old English Phonology'  TPS  pp. 15-47  1952

Schlemiloh, W.  Beiträge zur Sprache spätdorlenglischer Denkmäler  Halle 1914

Sprockel, C.  The Language of the Parker Chronicle (i. phonology and accidence)  The Hague 1965

Weyhe, H.  'Zur Synkope nach kurzer Tonsilbe in Altdorlenglischen'  PBB 30, pp. 55-141  31, pp. 43-90

Weightman, Jane  The Language and Dialect of the Later Old English Poetry  Liverpool 1907

Wildhagen, Karl  'Der Psalter des Eadwine von Canterbury'  SzeP 13  1905

Wilkes, Johann  Der i-Undlaut in Aelfrics Heptateuch und Buch Hiob nebst einigen jüngeren Erscheinungen  Bonn 1905

'Leutlehre zu Aelfrics Heptateuch und Buch Hiob'  PBA 21  1905

Williams, Edna R.  The Conflict of Homonyms in English  New Haven 1944

Wrenn, C.L.  'Standard Old English'  TPS  pp. 65-86  1933

'The Value of Spelling as Evidence'  TPS  pp. 14-39  1943
b : syntax (including some articles on accidence)

Andrew, S.O. Syntax and Style in Old English Cambridge 1940


Bloomfield, Leonard 'OEM. EINO, OE. ANA SOLUS' Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies pp. 50-59 Philadelphia 1930

Bräker, F. 'Understatement in Old English Poetry' MLA 52, pp. 915-34 1937

Brühl, Carl Die Flexion des Verbums in Aelfric's Heptateuch und Buch Hich Marburg 1892


Einenkel, E. Geschichte der englischen Sprache (third edition) Strasbur

Furkert, Max Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Verbums in den angelsächsischen Gedichten vom heiligen Guthlac Leipzig 1889

Holtbuer, Fritz Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Genitivs in ANDREAS, GUDLAC, DEN HEILIGEN KREUZ UND DER HOLLENFAHRT Halle 1884 (also in ZfdP 8, pp. 1-40)

Jones, Charles Grammatical Gender in Late Old English and Early Middle English (unpublished B.Litt. thesis) Glasgow 1964

Kellner, L. Historical Outlines of English Syntax London 1892

Lichtenheld, A. 'Das schwache Adjectiv im Angelsächsischen' ZfdA 16, pp. 325-92 1873

Levin, S.R. 'Negative Contractions : An Old and Middle English Dialect Criterion' JESP 57, pp. 492-501 1958

McIntosh, A. 'The Relative Pronouns M and AT in Early Middle English' EGS 1, pp. 75-87 1947-8

Malone, Kemp 'When did Middle English Begin?' Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies pp. 110-17 Philadelphia 1930

Moore, S. 'Grammatical Gender and Natural Gender in Middle English' MLA 36, pp. 79-103 1921
Morsbach, Laurens. Review of von Glahn 1918 in Beiblatt 32, pp. 73-78 1921

Mitchell, Bruce. 'Pronouns in Old English Poetry' RES (NS 15) pp. 128-41 1964

Adjective Clauses in Old English Poetry' Zeff 81, pp. 298-322 1963


Potter, Sim. 'On the Relation of the Old English Bede to Warferth's Gregory and to Alfred's Translations' Mémoires de la Société royale des sciences de Böheme. Année 1930, 1. pp. 1-76 Prague 1931

Quirk, R. The Concessive Relation in Old English Poetry New Haven 1954

Ross, A.S.C. 'The Errors in the Old English Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels' RES 8, pp. 385-94 1932


'Sex and Gender in the Lindisfarne Gospels' JEGP 35, pp. 321-30 1936

Studies in Accidence of the Lindisfarne Gospels Leeds 1937

Voges, F. 'Der Reflexiv Dativ im Englischen' ZeFP 6, pp. 317-74 1883

von Glahn, Nikolaus. 'Zur Geschichte des grammatischen Geschlechts' Anglistische Forschungen 53 Heidelberg 1918

Wülfing, E. Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Großen Bonn 1894-1901

Wullen, F. Der Syntaktische Gebrauch der Präpositionen 'fram', 'under', 'efor', 'zurh' in der Angelsächsischen Poesie I Kiel 1908; II in ZeFP 34, pp. 421-97 1911
vocabulary

DICTIONARIES, wordlists etc

Bosworth, J. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* Oxford 1898;
Supplement by T.N. Toller Oxford 1921


Craigie, Sir William A. et alia *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* London 1937-


Dodd, Loring Holmes *A Glossary of Wulfstan's Homilies* *Yale Studies in English* 35 New York 1908

Egilsson, Svein Björn *Lexicon Poetice antiquae Linguæ Septentrionalis* Hafnæ 1855

Ettingshausen, Ludovicus *Lexicon Anglosaxonicum* Quedlinburgh et Lipsae 1851

Geisel, Ida *Sprache und Wortschatz der altenglischen Guthlacübersetzung* Basel 1915

Grein, C.W.M. *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter. Unter Mitwirkung von F. Holthausen neu hsg. von J.J. Köhler* 1914


Halliwell, James O. *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words ...* (Ninth edition) London 1878

Holthausen, F. *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Heidelberg 1934

Leo, Heinrich *Angelsächsisches Glossar* Halle 1872-77

Lye, Edvard *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum* Londini 1772

Kurath, H. and Kuhn, S.M. *Middle English Dictionary* Ann Arbor 1952-

Murray, Sir J.A.H. et alia *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* Oxford 1884-1933
Stratmann, F.H. *A Middle-English Dictionary* edited by H. Bradley
Oxford 1891

Sweet, H. *A Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon*
Oxford 1897

Wright, Joseph *The English Dialect Dictionary*
London etc 1898-

MONOGRAPHS AND ARTICLES

Buckhurst, H.T. 'Terms and Phrases for the Sea in Old English Poetry'
*Klaeber Miscellany* pp. 105-19 1929

Campbell, Jackson J. 'The Dialect Vocabulary of the OE Bede'
*JEGP* 50, pp. 349-72 1951

Collins, D.C. 'Kenning in Anglo-Saxon Poetry'
*E & S* (NS 12) pp. 1-17 1959

Jente, R. 'Die mythologischen Ausdrücke um altengl. Wortschatz'
*Anglistische Forschungen* 56, Heidelberg 1921

Jordan, R. 'Eigentümlichkeit des angelsächsischen Wortschatzes'
*Anglistische Forschungen* 17 Heidelberg 1906

Keiser, A. 'The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English Poetry'
*University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* 5, pp. 1-150 1919

Kroesch, Samuel 'Semantic Borrowing in Old English' in *Studies in Philology* pp. 50-72 Minneapolis 1921

Lerner, L.D. 'Colour Words in Anglo-Saxon' *MLA* 46, pp. 246-9 1951

MacGillivray, H.S. 'The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English'
*Spec* 8 1902

Magoun, F.P. 'Colloquial Old and Middle English'
*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* 19, pp. 167-73 1937

Menner, R.J. 'The Vocabulary of the Old English Poems on Judgment Day'
*PMLA* 62, pp. 583-97 1947

'Anglian and Saxon Elements in Wulfstan's Vocabulary'
*MLF* 63, pp. 1-9 1948

'The Anglian Vocabulary of the Blickling Homilies'
*Philologica* (Malone Anniversary Studies) pp. 56-64 1949

'The Date and Dialect of Genesis A 852-2936 (Pt III)'
*ZefP* 70, pp. 285-94 1951

Pedelford, Frederick M.  'Old English musical terms'  BBA 4  1899

Rankin, J.W.  'A Study of the Kennings in Anglo-Saxon Poetry'  JEGP 6, pp. 357-422  1909;  JEGP 9, pp. 49-84  1910

Rauh, Hildegard  Der Wortschatz der altanglischen Ubersetzungen des Matthaeus Evangelium. . .  Berlin 1936

Seherer, Gunther  Zur Geographie und Chronologie des angelsächsischen Wortschatzes . . .  Leipzig 1928

Schlutter, O.B.  'Zum Wortschatz des Regius und Eadwine Psalters'  EST 38, pp. 1-27  1907

Scholts, H. van der M.  The Kenning in Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse Poetry  Utrecht 1926

von Lindheim  'Traces of colloquial speech in Old English'  ZfEP 70, pp. 22-42

A few proper noun studies to which reference is made

Anderson, Clive  The English Hundred Names  Lund 1934, 1938


Kemble, J.M.  On the Names, Surnames and Nouns of the Anglo-Saxons  unpublished monograph : Bodley 30263.e.16

Smith, A.H.  'English Place-name Elements'  (volume 25 of English Place Name Society)  Cambridge 1956

Reaney, P.H.  A Dictionary of British Surnames  London 1958
The Origin of English Place Names  London 1960

Redin, Mats  'Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English'  Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift  1919

Andrew, S.O. The Old English Alliterative Measure Croydon 1931

Postscript on 'Beowulf' Cambridge 1948

Beatty, John O. 'The Echo-Word in Beowulf with a note on the Finnsburg Fragment' PMLA 49, pp. 365-73 1934

Bliss, A.J. The Metre of 'Beowulf' Oxford 1958

Bliss, Alan An Introduction to Old English Metre Oxford 1962


Bright, James W. 'Proper Names in Old English Verse' PMLA 14, pp. 349-66 1899

Creed, R.P. 'The Andreas-Systeue in Old English Poetry' Speculum 32, pp. 523-527 1957

Creed, Robert P. 'Genesis 1316' MLN 73, pp. 321-5 1958

Cremer, Matthias Metrische und sprachliche Untersuchung der altenanglischen Gedichte Andreas, Guólæ, Phoenix (Elene, Juliana, Crist). Bonn 1888

Das, S.K. Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon Calcutta 1942

Daunt, Marjorie 'Old English Verse and English Speech Rhythm' TPS pp. 56-72 1946

Diamond, R.E. 'The Diction of the Signed Poems of Cynewulf' PQ 38, pp. 228-41 1959

Gradon, Pamela 'Cynewulf's Elene and Old English Prosody' EGSt 2, pp. 10-19 1948-9

Greg, W.W. 'The Five Types in Anglo-Saxon Verse' MLA 20, pp. 12-17 1925

Heusler, Andreas 'Die altgermanische Dichtung' (zweite Auflage) Walsel, Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft Potsdam 1941

Kuryлович, Jerzy 'Latin and Germanic Metre' EGSt 2, pp. 34-38 1948-9

Lehmann, W.P. and Dailey, Virginia F. The Alliterations of the 'Christ' 'Guthlac' 'Elene' 'Juliana' 'Fates of the Apostles' 'Dream of the Rood' Texas 1960
Luick, K. 'Die englische Stabreimzeile im XIV., XV., and XVI. Jahrhundert' ZfeP 11, pp. 392-443 and 553-618 1889

Magoun, Francis P. 'Recurring first elements in different nominal compounds in Beowulf and in the Elder Edda' in Studies in Philology (Klaeber miscellany) pp. 73-78 Minneapolis 1929

Magoun, F.P. 'Oral Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry' Speculum 28, pp. 446-67 1953

Rather, F.J. 'The Cynwulf Question from a Metrical Point of View' MLN 7, pp. 97-107 1892

Oakden, J.P. Alliterative Poetry in Middle English Manchester 1930-5

Nist, John A. The Structure and Text of Beowulf Sao Paulo 1959

Pope, J.C. The Rhythm of Beowulf New Haven 1942

Rankin, J.W. 'Rhythm and Rime Before the Norman Conquest' PMLA 36, pp. 401-28 1921

Richter, C. 'Chronologische Studien zur angelsachsischen Literature auf Grund sprachlichmetrischer Kriterien.' ZfeP 33 1910

Salmon, Paul 'Anomalous alliteration in Germanic verse' Neophilologus 32, pp. 201-241 1958


Schipper, J. Grundisss der englischen Metrik Wien and Leipzig 1895

Schmitz, Theodor 'Die sechstaker in der altenglischen Dichtung' ZfeP 33, pp. 1-76 1910

Sievers, E. 'Zur rhythmik des germanischen alliterationsverses' I in PBB 10, pp. 209-314 1885; II in PBB 10, pp. 451-545 1885; III in PBB 12, pp. 454-82 1887

'Szu Cynwulf' ZfeP 13, pp. 1-25 1891

Altgermanische Metrik Halle 1893

C dmon und Genesis' in Britannica, Max Forster zum 60. Geburtstage pp. 57-84 Leipzig 1929
Sievers, E. *Zu Cynewulf* in *Neusprachliche Studien Festgabe Karl Luick* (Die Neueren Sprachen, 6 Beilage) pp. 60-61 Marburg 1925

Slay, D. *Some Aspects of the Technique of Composition of Old English Verse* TFS pp. 1-14 1952

Stobie, Margaret M.R. *The Influence of Morphology on Middle English Alliterative Poetry* JEGP 39, pp. 319-36 1940

Taglicht, Josef *Beowulf and Old English Verse Rhythm* RES 12, pp. 341-51 1961

Touster, Eva K. *Metrical Variation as a Poetic Device in Beowulf* ZFaP 73, pp. 115-26 1955-56

Trautmann, Moritz *Zur Kenntnis des altsächsischen Verses, vornehmlich des altenglischen* Beiblatt 3, pp. 87-96 1894-5

Waldron, R.A. *Oral-Formulaic Technique and Middle English Alliterative Poetry* Speculum 32, pp. 792-801 1957

Warth, J.J. von der Description of his Bonn dissertation 1908 by T. Schmitz Beiblatt 22, p. 358 1911 consulted.

---

**LITERARY AND GENERAL CRITICISM**

Anderson, G.K. *The Literature of the Anglo-Saxons* Princeton 1949

See also below under Craig

Anderson, O.S. *The Seafarer. An Interpretation* K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssekarfundets i Lund Arsskriftern X 1937-8

Bethurum, Dorothy *The Form of Aelfric's Lives of the Saints* Studies in Philology 29, pp. 515-33 1932

Bolton, W.F. *The Latin Revisions of Felix's Vita Sancti Guthlac* Medieval Studies 21, pp. 36-52 1959
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brandl</td>
<td>1899, revision of Ten Brink 1877-93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brodeur, A.O.</td>
<td><em>The Art of Beowulf</em></td>
<td>1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooke, Stopford A.</td>
<td><em>English Literature from the beginning to the Norman Conquest</em></td>
<td>1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The History of Early English Literature</em></td>
<td>London 1892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carney, James</td>
<td><em>Studies in Irish Literature and History</em></td>
<td>Dublin 1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combeare, J.J.</td>
<td><em>Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry</em></td>
<td>1826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook, Albert S.</td>
<td><em>Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers</em></td>
<td>London 1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craig, Hardin (general editor)</td>
<td><em>A History of English Literature: Begins with George K. Anderson, Old and Middle English Literature from the Beginnings to 1485</em></td>
<td>New York 1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubois, M.M.</td>
<td><em>Les Éléments latins dans la Poésie religieuse de Cynewulf</em></td>
<td>Paris 1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ælfric, sermonnaire, docteur et grammairien</em></td>
<td>Paris 1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebert, A.</td>
<td><em>Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande</em></td>
<td>1874-1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerson, O.F.</td>
<td>'Originality in Old English Poetry'</td>
<td>RES 2, pp. 18-31 1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funke, Otto</td>
<td>'Studien zur alliterierenden und rhythmisierenden Prosa in der älteren antenglischen Homiletik'</td>
<td>ZfkP 80, pp. 9-36 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garnett, J.M.</td>
<td>'The Latin and the Anglo-Saxon Juliana'</td>
<td>PMLA 14, pp. 279-98 1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garnett, Richard and Gosse, E.W.</td>
<td><em>English Literature</em></td>
<td>London 1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girvan, Ritchie</td>
<td><em>Beowulf and the Seventh Century</em></td>
<td>London 1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'The Medieval Poet and his Public' in <em>English Studies To-day</em> edited by C.L. Wrenn and G. Bulloch, pp. 84-97 Oxford 1951</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Grimm, Jacob  
Deutsche Grammatik  
Göttingen 1822, 1826, 1831 and 1837

Deutsche Mythologie (second edition)  
Göttingen 1844

Hanscom, E.D.  'The Feeling for Nature in Old English Poetry'  
JEOP 5, pp. 439-65  1903-5

Hotehner, Cecilia A.  Wessex and Old English Poetry  
New York 1939

Jackson, K.  Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry  
Cambridge 1935

Kemble, John M.  'On Anglo-Saxon Runes'  
Archaeologia 28, pp. 327-72  1840

Kennedy, C.W.  The Earliest English Poetry  
Oxford 1943

Ker, W.P.  The Dark Ages  
Edinburgh and London 1904

Körting, G.  Grundges der Geschichte der englischen Litteratur (fourth edition)  
Münster 1905

Kurz, B.J.  'From St. Anthony to St. Guthlac'  University of California Publications in Modern Philology 12, No. 2, pp. 103-46 1926

Laistner, K.L.W.  'Bede as a Classical and a Patristic Scholar'  in publications of the Royal Historical Society 16 (fourth series) pp. 69-94 1933

Lawrence, W.W.  Beowulf and Epic Tradition  
Cambridge (Mass.) 1928

Legouis, Émile and Casamian, Louis  A History of English Literature (translation)  
London and Toronto 1926-7

Leo, H.  Quae de se ipso Cynewulfus Poeta Anglo-Saxonius tradiderit  
Marburg 1857

Lord, Albert B.  The Singer of Tales  
Cambridge (Mass.) 1960

Malone, K.  'The Old English Period (to 1100)'  in Baugh's A Literary History of England  
New York 1948

Marquardt, Hertha  Die altenglischen Kemningar  
Halle 1938

McIntosh, A.  'Wulfstan's Prose'  PBA 24, pp. 1-20  1949

Mosher, J.A.  The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England  
New York 1911

Peters, L.J.  'The Relationship of the Old English Andreas to Beowulf'  
PMLA 66, pp. 844-63  1951
Philpots, Bertha "Wyrd and Providence in Anglo-Saxon Thought" E & S 13 1927

Pons, Émile Le Thème et le Sentiment de la Nature dans la Poesie Anglo-Saxonne Strasbourg 1925

Raby, F.J.E. A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the End of the Middle Ages Oxford 1927

Rhys, Ernest Lyric Poetry London 1913

Roger, M. L'Enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin Paris 1905

Russell, Josiah Cox 'Master Henry of Avranche as an International Poet' Speculum 3, pp. 34-62 1928

Sieper, Ernst Die altenglische Elegie Strasbourg 1915

Sisam, Kenneth Studies in the History of Old English Literature Oxford 1953

"Canterbury, Lichfield and the Vespasian Psalter" RES (NS 7) pp. 1-10, 113-31 1956

Skemp, A.R. 'The Transformation of Scriptural Story, Motive, and Conception in Anglo-Saxon Poetry' MP 4, pp. 423-70 1906-7

Smalley, B. The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (revised edition) Oxford 1952


Ten Brink, B. Geschichte der englischen Literatur Berlin 1877-93

Revision by Brandl 1899

Early English Literature; translation by Horace M. Kennedy includes note in pp. 386-89 on Fritzsche's work. 1883

Geschichte der Englischen Literatur (second edition by Brandl) Strasbourg 1899

Timmer, B.J. "Wyrd in Anglo-Saxon Prose and Poetry" Neophilologus 26, pp. 24-33, 213-28 1940

'The Elegiac Mood in Old English Poetry' BStudies 24, pp. 33-44 1942
Wardale, E.B. *Chapters in Old English Literature* 1935

White, Caroline Louisa *Ælfric: A new study of his life and writings* *Yale Studies in English* Boston, New York and London 1898

Whitelock, Dorothy *The Audience of Beowulf* Oxford 1951

White, Caroline Louisa *Ælfric: A new study of his life and writings* *Yale Studies in English* Boston, New York and London 1898

Whitelock, Dorothy *The Audience of Beowulf* Oxford 1951

White, Caroline Louisa *Ælfric: A new study of his life and writings* *Yale Studies in English* Boston, New York and London 1898

Whitelock, Dorothy *The Audience of Beowulf* Oxford 1951

Williams, Ifor *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry* Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1944

Wilson, R.M. *Lost literature in Old and Middle English* *Leeds Studies in English* 2, pp. 14-37 1933

Wrenn, C.L. *The Poetry of Cadmon* *PBA* 32, pp. 277-95 1946

Wilson, R.M. *Lost literature in Old and Middle English* *Leeds Studies in English* 5, pp. 1-49 1936

Wülker, R. *Grundisse zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur* Leipzig 1885

Wülker, R. *Grundisse zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur* Leipzig 1885

Wyld, H.C. *Diction and Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Poetry* *E & S* 11, pp. 49-91 1925

Young, Jean I. *Glæd was ic gilgwem: Ungloomy Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* in Chadwick memorial studies edited by Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickens Cambridge 1950

Zesmer, David M. *Guide to English Literature From Beowulf through Chaucer and Medieval Drama* New York 1961
THE LEGEND AND CULT OF SAINT GUTHLAC

Note: Primary sources only are noted in this section; the material of sections 1 and 2 is not repeated.

Arnold, T. 'Symeonis Konsachi Opera Omnia. Historia Regum' RS 75 1885

Henrici Archidioecensis Moutendunensis Historia Anglorum' RS 72 1879

Birch, W. de G. Cartularium Saxonicum London 1885-93

Blake, F.O. 'Liber Eliomensis' Camden Society (third series) 92 1962

Bolland, J. et alia Acta Sanctorum Antwerp 1643-


Bradshaw, H. and Wordsworth C. Lincoln Cathedral Statutes Cambridge 1892-7

Brewer, J.J. 'Giraldi Cambrensis Opera' RS 21 1861-91

Campbell, A. Chronicon Ethelwardi London 1962

Colgrave, Bertram Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac Cambridge 1956

Coxe, H.C. 'Rogeri de Wendover Chronica, sive Flores historiarum, etc.' English Historical Society 1841

Freke, W.M. and Brown, L.R.C. 'The Hereford Breviary' HBS 26, 40, 46 1903, 1910, 1915

[Fulman, William] Regum Anglicarum scriptorum veterum volume i Oxford 1684

[Gale, Thomas] Historiae Britannicii Scriptores XV Oxford 1691

Giles, J.A. 'Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense' Caxton Society London 1843

Hamilton, N.E.S.A. 'William of Malmesbury Gesta Pontificum' RS 52 1870

Hardy, T.D. and Martin, C.T. 'Lactoria des Angles solum la translacione Factura Geoffrei Gaimar' RS 91 1888-9
Hearne, T. *Johannis Glastoniensis Chronica sive Historia de Rebus Glastoniensisibvs.* 1726

Hersfeld, G. 'An Old-English Martyrology' METS 116 1900

Horstmann, C. *Nova Legenda Anglie* Oxford 1901

Kemble, J.M. *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* London 1839-48

le Prévost, A. 'Historiae ecclesiasticae libri tredecim; ex veteris codicis Uticensis collatione emendavit, et suas adjecit Augustus Le Prévost' Société de l'Histoire de France Paris 1838-55

Liebermann, F. *Die Heiligen Englands* Hannover 1889

Luard, H.R. *Matthaei Parisiensis Nonachi Sancti Albani - Chronica Maiora* RS 57 1872

'Flores Historiarum' RS 95 1890

Lumby, J.R. 'Polychronicon Ranulphi Rigden monachi Cestrensis together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century' RS 41 1876

Petri, Henry (assisted by John Sharpe) *Monumenta Historica Britannica* I London 1848


[Sparkes, Joseph] *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores* London 1723

Stevenson, Joseph 'Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon' RS 2 1858

Stevenson, W.H. *Asser's Life of King Alfred. Together with the Annals of St Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser* Oxford 1904

Stubbs, W. 'Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene' RS 51 1868-7

Thorpe, B. *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis* London 1648-9

Thorpe, Benjamin *Diplomaticarum Anglicarum AEvi Saxonicorum* London 1665

Twysden, Roger *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores X.* London 1652

Warner, Sir George 'The Guthlac Roll' Roxburghe Club Oxford 1928
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, H.A.</td>
<td>'The Missal of Robert of Jumièges'</td>
<td>HRS 11</td>
<td>1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>The Calendar of St. Willibrord</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wormald, F.</td>
<td><strong>English Kalendars Before A.D. 1100</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>English Benedictine Kalendars After A.D. 1100</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(third series)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaughan, R.</td>
<td>'The Chronicle attributed to John of Wallingford'</td>
<td>Camden</td>
<td>1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Society</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

Outhlæa: an edition of the Old English prose life, together with the poems in the Exeter Book.

The thesis begins with an introductory chapter in which an examination is made of the growth and spread of the Outhlæa cult in England. Emphasis is placed upon the importance of the Vita sancti Outhlæa which dominates most records of the saint. It is shown that, of the Outhlæa materials of the early Anglo-Saxon period, only the earlier of the two Exeter Book poems and the concluding portion of the Vercelli Book homily are outside the Felix tradition, and that a very few popular stories found in writings of the later period cannot be traced back to the early period. No evidence remains either to prove or disprove the continuity of monastic life at Crowland from Aethelbald's time to Thurketyf's foundation. Even the traditional dating of the Benedictine abbey to Eadred's reign is to be doubted and the establishment of this community is probably to be placed after 971 A.D. From this time a renewed interest in the cult of St Outhlæa is apparent; it is seen first in the Benedictine calendars. The earliest Outhlæa entries in these do not appear before c. 970, a date significantly near that envisaged for Thurketyl's foundation of the abbey.

The late tenth century foundation at Crowland became rich and important, and with its expansion efforts were made to enhance the reputation of its patron saint. Much valuable material both for the history of the cult and of the abbey must have been lost in the fires of the
eleventh and twelfth centuries and it is hardly surprising therefore
that no documents from before the twelfth century have specific con-
nections with Crowland. In the refurbishing of the abbey muniments
one abbot, Henry Longchamp, seems to have been particularly industri-
cous; we know that he commissioned prose and verse lives of Guthlac
from two of the most eminent writers of his day and he may also have
been responsible for the making of the Harley Guthlac Roll. At this
time a wide interest in the cult outside Crowland is shown in chronicles
and histories, but there is little evidence for the development of the
minor figures of the legend. Some tales attached themselves to the
saint's sister Page, and his successor, the hermit Cissa, translated
to Thorney, had a small amount of fame of his own. But only Beocel
acquired separate acts - and these are most probably spurious. By the
time of the dissolution of the monasteries the Guthlac cult was, every-
where except at its centre in Crowland, apparently waning and his legend
was giving way in service books and dedications to other growing cults.

An edition of the Old English prose life of Guthlac from British
Museum MS Cotton Vespasian Dxxi together with the twenty-third homily
of the Vercelli Book, is presented in section II. Full critical ap-
paratus is provided and a transcript from MS Corpus Christi College
Cambridge 389 of the Latin Vita is given for comparison. The gloss-
aries for the Old English texts attempt to be exhaustive. The use of
a complete text of the Vita sancti Guthlac enables a new comparison of
the Life and Vita to be made and it seems that the relationship of these
has previously been misunderstood, for it is unlikely that the Old English
texts reflect a specially made abbreviation from Felix's Vita. Indeed, both the Old English Life and Homily show signs of considerable independent revision during transmission from the original translation.

Section III is a critical edition of the two Guthlac poems of the Exeter Book. A complete record of the forms of these poems is given and a full metrical discussion of them has been undertaken. No separate edition of either of these texts has yet been published and it has been necessary therefore to draw together for the first time the varied commentary of a century and a half and to review the disputes as to their relationship to one another and to the Cynewulf canon. The differences between the two poems in style and content are emphasised and it is apparent that, although both are written in the general poetic koiné, they are not the work of one poet or even of one period.

While this thesis embodies a full review of all that has hitherto been done on St Guthlac in literature, a considerable amount of new material is included in its introductory sections, in its commentaries and its appendices. Though relatively little of lexicographical value has come to light in completing the glossaries, there is value in having all this material fully assembled together.

Three appendices follow the main body of the thesis. The first is a detailed account of the problems presented by the Bertellin legend preserved in Wynkyn de Worde's Nova Legenda Anglie. Although its author has used much Guthlac material to bolster out his life, it seems obvious that the relationship between Beccal and a shadowy Staffordshire
anchorite is purely literary. The second appendix presents a check-
list of all the mediaeval Guthlac materials and the third is a list of
persons mentioned in the *Vita sancti Guthlacii*. Finally the abbrevia-
tions used throughout the thesis are detailed and a bibliography of
the works cited is presented.