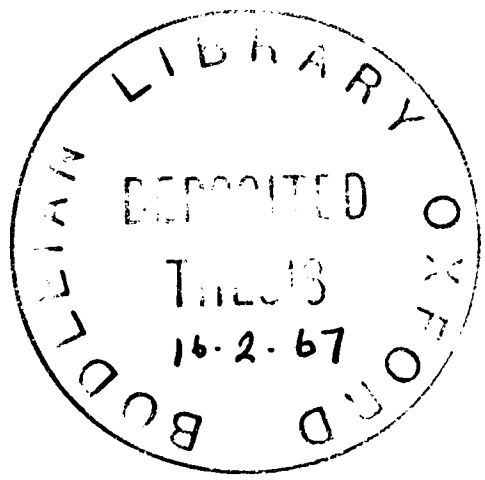
COMMENTARY



(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 32^{r} of the manuscript the script ends three quarters way along the nineteenth line and the last three lines are empty. Folio 32^{v} opens with a line filled chiefly with capitals : SE BIÐ GEFEANA FæGrast. 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 serue 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
> Gaudiis quæ paravit Deus pro iis qui amaverunt
> eum & mandata ejus impleverunt: cum...

The heading scrawled by the same hand mid-way down folio 44^{v}, over the opening of Guthlac B, 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 10^{r} are in the same hand, as is the heading

> Diei Judicij descriptio.

which corresponds to Wanley's :

> Liber III in quo habentur
> 1. Descriptio Poetica diei Judicii

The interlinear glossing of folio 9^r 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 10^r is uncertain.

1 æt frymðe : 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 frymð. The equivalent usually accepted is some such adverbial phrase as 'at first'.

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

> Ðonne cwið se engel : "Hafað yldran hād."
> Grēteð gæst ōþerne, ābēodeð him godes ærende :
> "Nū þu mōst fēran þider ...

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-

tinction 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, Bwf 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 tidlic 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. eart nu tiða fara(n) with tiða 'granted', an adjective followed by the infinitive faran 'travel';

2. eart 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 yrmþum : 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. 297) '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 *edergung in Old English casts doubt upon Toller's suggestion. Bradley in his turn puts forward the emendation *eargung which he bases on the verb eargian '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 gong '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 húsgangr '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 interpretating 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 hyhsta : A form without syncopation is necessary here metrically. 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 cyninga cyning. (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 þrymma þrym. A short note on the verse-forms is to be found in Sievers 1885, p. 479.

18 nó, MS nú : The manuscript nú can be defended only if þær 19 is regarded as contrasting with þa getimbru 18 and such defense breaks down with the succession of þider 22 and Hwider 26.

The manuscript nú is generally altered to a negative which is required by the sense. The earlier editors prefer 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, Glo 492, 506, 833, Phx 72, Ele 836, Bwf 2585, Wan 96 and SnS 203 (and no more, according to Mitchell 1958, I. 868).

In this manuscript two things point to the reading nó rather than ne. Of nearly six hundred accent marks in the Exeter Book more than five-sixths are over etymologically long vowels (e.g. nó appears in Chr 1097, Glc 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 borgsorg, Rdl 22.17 ne onder, JgDI 70 fol, Rdl 73.1 wonode and perhaps in Glc 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, Glc 299 abunne, Rdl 58.15 furum and perhaps Glc 18 nú. In the group w + short vowel + r three examples of o for u occur, in Chr 1496 worde, Glc 780 worde, Jln 508 gewordun, and, with correction to u, in Phx 407 wordon; these forms give some probability to the emendation wuldre put forward by Klæber (1906-7, p. 198) for Phx 386 woruldre, 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 tydriað : This verb appears only twice in the corpus of Old English verse, here and Glc 1265 tydrað. 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 lenge hu sel : This phrase is misdivided in Thorpe's edition :

ac him bið lenge.	but shall to them be length,
husel geoguþe brucað	... youth they shall enjoy

and to support his translation he puts forward (p. 503) the emendation ... lengþu. sin-geoguþe brucað. Dietrich (1855, p. 207) suggests reading as a compound husel-geoguðe '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 gelenge '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 bið lenge hu sel, but was first put forward by Cosijn (1881, p. 150). The construction is paralleled within the poem by lenge hu geornor 138 (see note for this verse).

24 lærað 7 læstað 7 his lof rærað : 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 co-ordinate 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 Gollancz'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.K. Gordon (1954, 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 opening 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 þider 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 question parallel to ræste', 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 unparalleled 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(c). 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).

Cosijn'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 geond middangeard answers to a verse with one of its main lifts supplied by the pronoun/adjective monig (compare for example Exeter Book instances in Chr 644, Glo 39, 501 and Phx 4). For a discussion of the relationship of lines 30 ff. to the preface to the tenth chapter of Gregory's Vitæ Patrum see III.2(a). The relevant paragraph from Gregory will be found in the note for line 59.

31 hadas : 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 in haligra : Thorpe's emendation to unhaligra '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 expressive in Old

English 'elegiac' verse and parallels can be adduced both from Old English homilies and from other poems (e.g. Wdr 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 spelbodan : 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 spelbodan 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 Glc 240 for 'apostle', giving as an explanation of this instance of spelbodan 'the Apostles as prophets'. There is however no need to restrict the meaning of spelbodan 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 mægne, a comparative nominative singular neuter, the form usually to be expected is mætre. The hooked ę is used by him in inflexional syllables only two other times, in Chr 91 solimę and Phx 673 letitię. In both these Latin words, as in the accented syllables of many Old English words, the hooked ę form of ę must be recognised as intended for æ. Inflexional æ 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 m 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 BT that woruld 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 fægran : 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 gedæled occurs again in Vgl 22. In both places dalum shows West Saxon restoration of ā 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 godcunde 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.

59 The line recalls words from Matthew xx.16 ... multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi and as well the opening of this passage Monge sindon... 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 Glc 30-92 and this famous paragraph from the Vitæ 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 eolorum regna conscenditur, de quibus, ut opinor, et David dicit, quia ascensus in corde deposuit (Psal. lxxxiii.6). Accipiuntur ergo hi gradus diversorum operum ad cultum divinum profectus, et nullus in his gressum figere potest, nisi fuerit, sicut sæpe testati sumus Dei adjutorio provocatus. Sic enim Psalmographus in illo medio profectionis gradu loquitur, dicens: Nisi Dominus ædificaverit domum, in vanum laborant qui ædificant eam (Ps. cxxvi.1). Quod adjutorium, non modo martyres, verum etiam et illi quos

> sacre vitæ roboravit auctoritas [Ed., celebravit], jugiter inquirentes, ad hoc quod sitis disiderii spiritalis promebat alacres pervenerunt. Nam si ad martyrium mens accensa est, hujus adjutorii opem poposcit martyr ut vinceret; si jejunii observantiam adhibere studuit, ut ab eo confortaretur afflictus est; si castitati artus reservare voluit impollutos, ut ab illo muniretur oravit; si post ignorantium pœnitendo converti desideravit, ut ab eo nihilominus sublevaretur cum lacrymis flagitavit; et si quid operis boni exercere eorum quispiam meditatus est, ut ab hoc adjutorio juvaretur expetiit. Per hos ergo scalæ hujus ascensus tam difficiles, tamque excelsos, tam arduos, cum sint diversi, ad unum tamen Dominum per hujus adjutorii opem conscenditur. Idcirco semper ille poscendus, ille quærendus, ille invocandus erit, ut quod de bono mens concipit, adjutorio suo ipse perficiat, de quo et nobis sine fine oportet dicere : Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini, qui fecit cœlum et terram (Ps. cxxiii.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 martyres 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 fela and fea 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 bæs hades : It is possible to give to this instance of had the general sense 'rank, station' suitable in the other examples 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)).

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

63 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 þa gehwylcum sceolon, providing a semicolon after hyhst. As the antecedent of se is eorðwela 62 emendation to procure its agreement with Sume 60 and him 62 is unnecessary.

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

Transposition of letters occurs quite frequently in the Exeter

Book, instances appearing in Chr 1100, Phx 64, Vgl 3, MxmI 100, Rim 70, Rdl 15.9, JgDI 9, Rdl 37.7, Rdl 73.2 and perhaps Phx 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 eðel 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 þæs deoran ham : Klipstein emends the manuscript ham to hames, the genitive singular form which wilniað 70 might be expected to govern. The verse is cited in GK under wilnian 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 wilnian is generally followed by the genitive in Old English verse. Only one instance of wilnian 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 þa has replaced the relative particle þe, but many examples may be found in the Old English translations from Latin, e.g. KtPs 54, PsPs 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 wilnian followed by dative or accusative as well as by genitive forms can be found in prose translations of the Alfredian period (see Wülfing 1894, I. pp. 33, 132 and 260), indicating that, if the construction of wilnian 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 þæs 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. Glc 10 to þam halgan ham, 654 to þam betran ham, etc). It should be compared perhaps with the use of forð 36 where an adverb stands directly before a noun with which it is often compounded in poetry.

71 bimutad, MS bimutað : There is considerable confusion among

the symbols ð, d and þ 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 ð appears for d : Chr 5, 69, 364, 710, 790, 961, 1337, 1597, Glc 71, 105, 153, 296, 867, 887, Phx 103, 294, Sfr 79, MxmI 78(?), 109, Pnt 38, 39, 41, Rdl 31.6, Rui 33 and Rdl 84.1; d occurs for ð : Chr 539, 698, 795, Glc 245, 1040, Phx 635, 648, Jln 338, 354, Wds 103, Pnt 71, Deo 30, Rdl 3.5, 5.6, 13.6, 20.3, 31.15, 33.9, DHl 79 and LPrI 2; or emendation within the manuscript may have occurred : Chr 64, 118, 137, 257, 482, 970, 1104, 1311, 1490, Glc 285, Phx 156, 393, MxmI 56, Rim 13, Pnt 59, Rdl 15.14, 23.1, 40.11 and 83.4. The appearance of þ for d in Phx 491 læded (MS lædaþ) and of d for þ in Rdl 26.12 hyde (MS hyþe), together with the appearance of ð for w in Chr 1375 ywan (MS yðan), suggests that the confusion among ð, d and þ is something more than the result of scribal absentmindedness in dealing with cross-strokes.

Thorpe's emendation from bimutað to bemiðen 'hidden' is taken over by Klipstein as Bemiðne, but later editors all make the simple graphical change from ð 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 2c1a), if long as Sievers A (Bliss 2a1a with anacrusis). Building on the passive participle of Latin mūtāre would have produced a short vowel, but a long could have arisen from use

of the present stem. A common Old Norse noun mú́ta 'fee, bribe' is from the Latin mūtuum 'loan' and is paralleled by one form which occurs among Old English glosses :

Mutuum, mutung siue wrixlung. WrW I. 449.30

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

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

76 wyscaþ 7 wenaþ : See note for line 24 on the use of co-ordinate finite verbs in this text.

76 bycgaþ : Thorpe's emendation to hycgaþ 'strive after' is attractive. The use of hycgan 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 bycgaþ should appear here for hycgaþ may be advanced : the scribe confuses h and b in Chr 113 and 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 bycgan 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 hycgge as byccge.

The senses of bycgan and sellan are however as closely related to one another as are wenan, wyscan and hycgan and such arguments 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 bycgan or as unconscious repetition of the case taken by the object in the preceding clauses where the verb complements likewise stand before their verbs.

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

82 secað 7 gesittað : See the note for line 24 on the use of co-ordinate finite verb forms in this text.

88 eahteð : 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 1094 eahtnysse, Glc 346 eahtan, Jln 4 eahtnysse in the Exeter Book alone. Such forms could arise through

back spelling in a position where e would have been the result of late West Saxon smoothing of ēa. An isolated ea for ē the i-umlaut of ō occurs in the Tanner Bede I. 68.14 eahtan (see Deutschbein 1901, § 12.4) and comparable forms appear in PPs 118.150 eahtand and BnR 6.2 eahtnesse. An Anglian ǣ for ē appears in Bwf 2957 æht (not due to confusion of œ̄ and ǣ, though for a different view see Klaeber 1947, p. lxxvii) and it is possible that these spellings with ēa represent back spellings in that dialect. As all these forms occur in late English texts they may however reflect the confusion of ea, æ and e which results from late Old English monophthongisation of falling diphthongs (Campbell 329(2)).

89 geoca : 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 alegeð and adreogeð : Thorpe changes the first of these verbs to aleogeð (which Kligstein prints), translating 92a 'who never wrongs of their rewards'. The verb aleogan 'belie' does govern 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 adreogeð a form showing Anglian smoothing.

Thorpe's further suggestion that for adreogeð 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 33^{v}, the preceding line being empty except for adreogeð 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 34^{v} Guðlac against the first line of script; this may have influenced Thorpe in his division of the previous parts of the Guthlac material.

94 þurh haligne hād : MacGillivray (1902, § 123 note 1) equates the use of hād in this phrase with clerus, comparing sanctus ordo 'clergy', but does not relate this customary explanation of the phrase to its context. Klaeber (1902, p. 104) argues against overquick glossing of had as a collective with the sense 'clerici' :

> That þurh ___ hād belongs in the rather large class of quasi-adverbial modes of expression, and that

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

102 beorgsebel : 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 beorgsebel 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 ánbuendra ... on westennum 81-92, recalls rather the lives of the desert fathers than of Felix's Guthlac.

105 weard, MS wearð : See the note for line 71 on the confusion of ð, d and þ in this manuscript.

108 Hwæt we hyrdon oft : 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 Hwæt often collocates with verbs of hearing and asking in Old English verse and that such formulae are widely used. See further III.2(a).

110 frecnessa fela : 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 frecnessa with 'gluttony' (a meaning shown for the word in glosses, e.g. WrW 419.35 'Ingluuiæ', frecnesse). Some such interpretation of the word must lie behind a translation like Gollancz'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 frecnessa fela in this context with 'gluttony'.

114ff. 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'Epitre de Barnabe (xviii,1) et dans Hermas (Prec., vi, 2.2–5), la doctrine de l'ange gardien se double de celle du demon gardien, ce qui apparait comme un developpement de la doctrine essenienne des deux esprits.

123 dryhtnes dreamas : Thorpe 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 gesittað 122 (e.g. by Kennedy 1910, p. 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 þa longan gód 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 *scycean 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 schucken. In RPs 87, 19 þu aschihtes translates elongasti. The form of similar appearance which occurs in Ancrene Riwle MS C 312.10 schucteð cannot be from this verb, but is probably from an Old English *-scȳhtan cognate with scēoh, Middle High German schüchteren and New High German schüchtern.

128 þurh nebinge : This is the noun nebing 'daring' found also in the Orosius (Sweet 1883, 136.24) and cognate with Old High German nendigi and Old Norse nenning. Thorpe's emendation to nibinge '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 LAth. IV.6, Chron. 1049 and 1087).

136 sibbam : For the levelling of n and m in inflexional syllables see III.4/C.2(a). The word is to be regarded as the common Old English adverb siððan. Grein suggests printing sið þam, 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 sið þam appears and translation 'after that' is suggested.

138 lufade hine 7 lærde : See the note for line 24 on the use of co-ordinate finite verbs in this poem.

138 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 VPs 118.107 a hu lenge swiður for usquequaque. Similar constructions occur with swa, e.g. Bwf 1854, Gen 985, Leechdoms 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, VPs 118, 107, Leechdoms ii 258.24 and WrW 495.13.

139 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 'commendatur' 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.

140 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[æþ]e hord beweotode,
> stanbeorh steapne;

When used for a burial mound beorg is only one among many terms, e.g. hlæw, eorðsele, ece eorðreced, hordærna sum, wyrmes denn, hringsele, eorðhus, dryhtsele dyrne 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 :

> hæleð wæron modge,
> þe hy æt þam beorge bliðe fundon. 8

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

> þæt heo þis banfæt beorge bifæste,
> lame biluce lic orsawle
> in þeostorcofan þær hit þrage sceal
> in sondhofe siþþan wunian. 1196

Two examples of beorg 'burial mound' are cited in the NED under BARROW from late Old English prose :

Aelf : Josh. vii 26 Worhton mid stanum anne steapne beorh him ofer.

Leechdoms I 124 Þeos wyrt ... bið cenned abutan byrgenne, 7 on beorgum.

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 sarcofago 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 eorðscræfu 803 (compare eorðscræf 780) are used for sepulchres. The woman of The Wife's Lament is hidden in þam eorðscræfe 28 in an eorðsele 29, eald as is the Bwf 2410 and 2415 eorðsele and chambered too, for she refers to it as þas eorðscrafu 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 beorg on 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 beorgas 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 gesæton : 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 þeow 386.

146 Wæs seo 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 coaceruatus; quem olim auari solicitudinis frequentatores, erga causam lucri illic defodientes adquirendi scindebat: in cuius latere uelut cisterna in esse uidebatur: in qua uir beatę memorię guthlac de superinposito tugurio habitare coepit;

The poet, however, describes the place as bimiþen 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.) Liebermann emphasises the appearance of lænes lifwelan 151, because Felix tells us that Guthlac did not dig open the tumulus causam luori ... adquirendi as auari ... frequentatores 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 þa longan gód 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 lænes lifwelan 151.

148 bytla : 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 bið 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 hebanne 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 gecostaḋ, MS gecostað : See the note for line 71 on confusion of ð, d and þ in this manuscript.

154ff. The verses in gemyndigra 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 seggað bec 879 is sometimes contrasted with them.

155-56 All those who have edited this passage, except Craigie, supply some object for weorðiað 156. Thorpe inserts hine after þe 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 rærde : 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 o that u should be read. Other examples appear in Chr 1280, Glc 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. 85).

163ff. Gerould (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 Glc 167b and in HbM 32 the adverb of comparison þonne 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 þonne clause. Compare the examples of this construction listed in BT under þanne III.

menniscum þrymme : 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.

æfter þonce : As quite a few interpretations are possible for this phrase they are tabulated.

(i) The emendation æfþonce '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 æfþonce as æftþonce ?), it is unnecessary.

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

The frequent collocation of to þonce with the verb þicgan is advanced in support of the interpretation 'willingly' for this phrase and began taken as an otherwise unrecorded infinitive form of þicgan.

(iii) Kock (1918, p. 40) suggests the phrase should be translated 'to reap thanks', comparing Gen 282 ðeowian æfter hyldo, Gen 2284 dreogan æfter dugeðum 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 Bwf 1720 and 2179. See Wülfing (1901,II. § 614) for many examples in the Alfredian translations. A free rendering is to be found for the phrase in BT under þanc III(a), reading 'following the dictates of pleasure', and indicates the meaning which þonce 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 þurh nebinge wunne æfter worulde.

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

(i) The form began may represent an alternative strong infinitive for bicgan (see BT under began where the passage is translated 'for him to wish to get human glory'). However, neither bicgan nor þecgan (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 partake' cannot be followed unless radical emendation of menniscum þrymme to a genitive is effected.

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

Cosijn points out that this verb shows traces characteristic of weak verbs of the third class and suggests that beside þeowan the form *þeogan must once have appeared; he notes also that both ō and ē stems weak verb forms are represented in these poems. This infinitive þegan may be the result of Mercian smoothing of the form *þeogan devised by Cosijn. The form þigað 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 34^{r}. 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 Glc 991 þone bleatan dryne deopan dead-weges the adjective deopan qualifies a genitive dependent upon a phrase headed by þone 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 fægran 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 Bwf 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 7 as the conjunction, translating 'bold in war'. The alliteration shows that 7 must be regarded as the first element in the compound ondwiges and in this expansion o is preferred to a which appearw only rarely before a nasal consonant in this manuscript (see III.4/A(ii)).

177ff. There is no break in the manuscript after wæpnum 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 bletsade as 178a and supply some clause or phrase for 178b, e.g. þa he waldendes beacen (Grein), syððan he wuldres beam (Cremer 1888, p. 50) and waldendes tacn (Cosijn 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 bletsade 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 bletsade 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 Ephesians 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.

173 him to ætstælle : Although the compound ætsteall occurs three times in Old English its meaning remains unclear. One of the other instances is in a verse text, Wld I 21 æt ðam ætstealle, and is most fully discussed in Norman's edition of the Waldere fragments (1933, p. 38). The third example of ætsteall occurs in an eleventh century charter : 7 swa on ætstealles beorh (Kemble 1839, IV, p. 31 ; number DCCXLI). Emendations have sometimes been put forward for the Waldere passage, for example *æscstealle (Sedgefield 1922, p. 139) on the analogy of æscstede 'battle place', but unnecessarily. Norman, following Müllenhoff'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 oðres 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 ætstælle 179 makes it clear that this place has been chosen by Guthlac himself and in the Portesham charter ætstealles is itself a descriptive genitive. Wld I 21 oðres monnes can alternatively be linked rather with wigrædenne 22, parallelling æniges 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, wið and wiþer, as well as with substantives. No modern place name descended from the charter's ætstealles 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 Borstall (which Skeat 1903, pp. 359ff. explains etymologically as a 'hillfort').

Translations of the sort 'refection 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 Gollancz'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 bletsade and as bletsade coincides with a line end, the phrase him to ætstælle appears rather to be part of the following clause. The ambiguity must however be admitted.

180 cristes 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 Icanhoe (in southern Lincolnshire, foundation date 654 according to the Chronicle).

181 frecnessa 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 þæs Guðlaces, MS þæs guð lace : 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 guðlace 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 guðlaces (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 dæl and that both Guðlace and dryhtne are to be regarded as dependent on cennað :

> In this way we get the connection between Frome wurdun monge godes 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 snyttrucræft.

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 eac 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 mid before guðlace, perhaps influenced by Malone's understanding of guðlace as a dative of accompaniment. The simpler addition of s

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 guðlaces as a pun on the saint's name.

In most of these explanations þæs is regarded as the genitive singular neuter of the demonstrative in adverbial use. This view of þæs makes it difficult to see the connection between Frome wurdum monge godes þrowera and the following clause. Gollancz for example avoids the apparent disjointedness of the passage by adding to the first clause in his translation an adverb 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 þæs 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 dæl 'part, way of life' compare Luke x.42 ðone selestan dæl for optimam partem.

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

191 feðehwearfum : The limiting element in this hapax legomenon is

probably fede 'foot, going on foot' rather than the weak masculine noun feda 'infantry' which does not seem to have been used as the first element in compounds. The word hwearf 'troop', related to hweorfan 'turn', is cognate with Old Saxon hwarf, Middle Low German varf, werf, Old High German warb, Middle High German warp, warf (see NED under WHARF 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 FnB 34. Middle English examples from Layamon are wærf 17485 (Madden) and warf 1036 (Cal.).

197 his sibbe 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 BT 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 eac gode sylfum : There is no need to regard eac as an adverb as Thorpe does. It appears again as a preposition governing the dative in other verse texts, e.g. MEb 11 and Gen 2502, as well

as in the adverbial phrase eac þon 'moreover' found in WfL 44 and in the prepositional formula Ald 10 eac þon þe. For examples of this usage from Alfredian works see Wülfing 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 beorgas bræce : Thorpe's translation 'the mountains occupied' with his footnote suggestion beorges breace? is rightly ignored by later commentators, as neither bræce nor breace are possible forms of the verb brucan 'use, possess'. The form bræce 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 beorgas by 'the barrows' (1961, p. 306) reads more into the text than is justifiable (see also the note for line 140).

209 hy, 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), but as hy and hi and less often hio and heo are the usual forms of this manuscript the usual emendation to hy is here adopted. The manuscript he may be due to the appearance of he in the previous clause. Thorpe printed hy 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 Schipper's collation (1874, p. 330).

210 ondsacan : The manuscript 7 is expanded by ond- rather than Gollancz's and-, because o is usual before a nasal consonant in this manuscript.

210 mostum : See the note for motum 13 and also III.4/D.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 cwoman.

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 GK 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 tautologous, for ryne- is the limiting element in two other poetic compounds Rdl 3.58 rynegiestes and PPs 19.7 rynewægn in which it can be translated 'swift'. As well Kock manipulates the syntax of the passage to produce the translation 'when from wanderings 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 ró. Middle English examples of ro in North Midland texts are examples of the Old Norse word (see Serjeantson 1935, pp. 83 and 96).

216 **ebelriehte feor** : The word ebelriht occurs only three times in Old English, the other instances being in Bwf 2198 where it varies lond and eard and Exo 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 march-land between Mercia and East Anglia. They may well have been desolate in Guthlac's time, inhabited in only a few scattered places, for Bede describes Ely as surrounded by water (H.E. iv.19) and the eighth century 'Tribal Hidage' indicates that all this region was then lightly populated (see further Darby 1940, pp. 7ff. and I.i(a)).

217 bisæce : This hapax legomenon is generally regarded as the genitive singular of a feminine noun, either *besēc 'visitation, approach' (e.g. Thorpe, BTs, GK, Williams, KD) or *bīsæt 'taking possession' with c due to the misreading of t (the suggestion made by Klaeber 1904, p. 143). The existence however of both an adjective bīsæc 'disputed, contested' and a passive participle unbesacen 'unmolested by litigation, uncontested' in laws and charters suggests that the form bisæce is yet another example of legal terminology in this poem (see III.4/E.3(a)). The word is therefore glossed as a feminine noun under the headword *bīsacu 'dispute'.

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

225 earfeða : Because he is not familiar with the intransitive

use of geryman + to 'to clear the way to' (for examples see BTS under gerȳman IV) Grein makes the unnecessary emendation from eaɾfeða to the dative plural eaɾfeðum and treats ende as the accusative object of a transitive verb.

229 hleahtor alegdon · The same euphemism is found in Bwf 3020 and Exo 35.

232 gnornende · Similar present participle forms for second class weak verbs are gnornende 679, 1209 and drusendne 1061 and 1379 and may point to a Mercian origin for the poems. Sievers (1885, p. 482) comoares Chr 1017 sorgende, Chr 1267 sorgendum, Ele 1258 drusende and, with the reflection of medial -i- unnecessary metrically, Exo 452 fortigende, 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 7 to and- in this compound compare line 210.

235 deaþa gedal : Cosijn (1898, p. 116) compares with this phrase the compound deaðgedal 963, but points out that emendation may not be necessary for the deaþa may be a genitive singular form of deað from the old u- declension. See Sb 273 for u stem remain-

ders for this noun, older *dauþus. 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 Phx 651 þurh his lices gedal or Bwf 3068 worulde gedal, etc.

236 laþran gemotes : The same formula occurs in the a-verse of Rdl 5.10.

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

246 fealóg : The word occurs only here in Old English, but is paralleled by the Old High German fō(h)-lōgi cited in GK and BTs under the headword fēalōg 'raritas, paucitas'. Like the better represented fēasceaft 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 lō, loog, lists cognate nouns, Old Frisian lōch, d. lōge, Middle Low German lōg 'place (?)' and Old High German

luog '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 wunaŏ 7 weaxeŏ : See the note for line 24.

251 hleonaŏ : This nonceword is often connected with the verb hlinian 'to lie down'. It is interpreted by GK as reclinatorium cubile 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 hlēonaŏ from hlēo(w) 'protection' with the addition of the suffix -noþ. 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 -noþ. Another hapax legomenon with this suffix appears in Glc 757 trumnaþe.

252 tweoþ, with MS emendation from w to þ : The emendation within the manuscript from w(ƿ) to þ 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

we, Chr 1375 ywan, Chr 1582 bær, Chr 1628 oþer, Glc 269 we, Glc 1375 wæs, Phx 115 bræce, Jln 325 we, Jln 455 wær, Jln 511 þu, FtM 43 aswencan, Rdl 4.9 beccan, Rdl 14.10 behlywed, Rdl 38.2 myrþe and Rdl 42.11 bæs.

The metre indicates that the manuscript tweoþ is to be decontracted in reading aloud. See further III.4/C.1(b) and compare áteoð 301 and aflihð 504.

262 ÞA : A new section begins here in the manuscript, with a large capital Þ and a smaller capital A. The preceding line is empty to mark this division except for les eower 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 wræcmægas. 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 feðehwearfum 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 þe : For the confusion of w and þ found sporadically throughout the manuscript see the note for tweoþ 252.

271 us, MS hus : Non-etymological initial h before a vowel appears both in syllables bearing metrical stress (Glc 950 hælmihtiga, Glc 1215 hæfentid, Rim 74 heardes, JgDI 9 onhæled and in Aza 61 hofne where h is subpuncted), and in syllables without metrical stress (Glc 271 hus and Jln 545 his). Conversely, etymological initial h is omitted both in syllables bearing metrical stress (Phx 477 eortan, Phx 650 elpe, Jln 586 æleð, OrW 91 eorðwerud, MxmI 117 adl, Rdl 5.8 ondweorc, Rdl 62.1 ingonges and in GfM 93 healice where h is crowded in as an emendation) and without metrical stress (Chr 615 is). Such forms are found frequently in other late Old English manuscripts but are sporadic in texts of all periods (see Campbell 61).

272 eart ðe : It seems best here to interpret the manuscript eart ðe as an indicative statement. The pronoun ðe may be taken as showing an unusual Old English reduction of enclitic ðu. The texts of Grein, Assmann and Gollancz all suggest this understanding of the passage. Thorpe in a footnote suggests the emendation ðu. KD put forward two ingenious explanations of the verse. In their text they transpose eart and ðe so that ðe may be regarded as the relative particle, but in their commentary they seem equally in favour of treating ðe as a reduced form of the adverb þeah, comparing þeah þu lond age 273.

274 mose fedeð : 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, PPs 73.14, 77.55, XSt 287 and the cognate verb in Rdl 40.62 mesan.

Shook (1960, p. 5) has recently suggested that mose 274 is from mōs(sic, 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 ana sæt 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 Guthlaci'. 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 inðriceð, with MS emendation of first ð from d and erasure after second i: Compare the manuscript treatment of geðringan 245; apparently in both places the scribe started to write -drincan. For the confusion of d, ð and þ in this codex see note for line 71.

287 breodwiað : 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 breodwiað belongs is represented only once elsewhere in Old English, in Bwf 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 Glc 287. The Beowulf form is generally glossed 'kill, slay', the intensive prefix accounting for the greater force of this abredwade. Glc 287 breodwiað 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 koinē; the eo is in this form levelled from forms where this umlaut occurred.

288 tergað : There is no need to follow Thorpe's suggested emendation to terað as in the translations of Kennedy, Gollancz and Gordon. The manuscript tergað is from the class 1 weak verb tierwan 'insult, torment'. Compare And 963 tyrgdon and see GK under tyrgan

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 on ondsware 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 wið : For the confusion of ð, d and þ in this manuscript see the note for line 71.

298 wærlogan : The original sense of the compound wærloga 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 Heliand 3816 te hui gi uuarlogan.

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 Mermedonians 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. Sc. 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 supoorts 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 mægslagan 7 mæsserbanan 7 mynsterhatan, 7 her syndan mánsworan 7 morþorwyrhtan, 7 her syndan myltestran 7 bearnmyrðran 7 fule forlegene horingas manege, 7 her syndan wiccan 7 wælcyrian, 7 her syndan ryperas 7 reaferas 7 worolstruderas, 7, hrædest is to cweþenne, mána 7 misdæda úngerim ealra.
>
> In MS Hatton 113 these significant changes occur : after the first syndan is added swa we sr sædon; mæsserbanan is replaced by sacerdbanan; after mynsterhatan is added 7 hlafordswican 7 æbere apostatan; after morþorwyrhtan is added 7 her syndan hádbrecan 7 æwbrecan 7 ðurh siblegeru 7 ðurh mistlice forligeru forsyngode swyðe; and after worolstruderas is added 7 ðeofas 7 þeodscaðan 7 wedlogan 7 wærlogan.

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 wærlogan and its being coupled with wedlogan indicate that the word was not at this time connected with the wiccan 7 wælcyrian who appear earlier in this sentence.

The later semantic development of wærloga 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,hægtis should be compared (see Crawford 1963, pp. 99-116 passim).

The final sound of the modern form warlook 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 varðlokkur '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 URÐR 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 widor sæce : Thorpe wishes here to emend wiðersæce into his text by analogy with Ele 569 wiðersæc. His suggestion is taken up by Grein in the Bibliothek where the emendation is incorpor-

ated into the text. However, wiðorsæce makes interpretation of the clause difficult and Grein is forced to suggest in his footnotes that either ic 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 widor-sæce, 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 ateoð : A form without contraction is necessary here for the metre. Compare tweoh 252 and afliheð 504; see further III. 4/C.1(b).

308 earda : There has been a general unwillingness here to accept 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 earfeða 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 earmða (which he supports by comparing ermþu 447).

310 forht ne fæge : 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 Wan 68 ne to forht ne to fægen 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 ær forht ne to ær fægen. It would be possible to argue scribal omission of -n in Glc 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. Bwf 2150a lifes gelong. See further Klaeber (1947, p. 279) and III.3/35.

The construction of gelong with æt, meaning 'dependent upon', can be found also in Bwf 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 þas/þæs (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 Vǫluspa 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 devils' 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).

333 anade : This word occurs three times only in Old English and all instances are in the Exeter Book, here, Glc 356 and Rdl 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 ān + Germanic *odus.

342 æreste : 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 æreste is a genitive dependent upon elne (e.g. Gollancz translates 'his power of rising').

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

349 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 warian is often compared (BT, GK and Cosijn 1898, p. 117 suggest the verb should be read as weare-don, waredon). Examples of werian 'possess' appear in late charters, a verb cognate with Old Low German werōn, Old High German werēn and Modern German währen, but Gle 351 weredon need not be regarded as an example of this verb.

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

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

365 lete : Grein suggests that a normalised læte 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 38^{r}. 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

ff.). 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 is a detail not found in the text. The phrase worde biowæð, 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 ær obbe sið : 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 wuldre. The nature of this not unusual adverbial phrase has not otherwise been questioned.

370 wegan : The hooked ę most likely represents ǣ. Although a few examples of Anglian ē for West Saxon ǣ occur in these texts (see III.4/B.3(e)) as in most Old English poetical texts, the symbol ę is scarcely significant of conscious scribal emendation from ē to ǣ.

371-72a : Thorpe's emendation from deað to deaðe only partly supports his translation of 372a as 'by death sever'd'. In

this clause the verb gedælan is used with the preposition wiþ (see BT under wiþ III(3)) and the passage runs 'My body cannot keep death out of this world ..' (compare Cosijn 1898, p. 116). Elsewhere in BT (under gedælan) a shorter and conflicting interpretation of the passage appears, different because the clause has been improperly excerpted with the omission of þas lænan gesceaft : 'my body cannot separate [itself] from [i.e. avoid] death'.

374 flæshoman : The usual editorial insertion of c 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 :

> Þa sona after þon he geseah eall his hus mid fyre afylled 397

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 forsæcan : A similar phrase appears in Ele 932 sarum gesoht, suggesting that the verb is here also forsecan (see BT secan III 'seek with hostile intent'). The verb is not otherwise found with the intensive prefix for-. For the back spelling of æ by e see III.4/B.3(e).

382 fægran : The metre shows that an unsyncopated comparative form is necessary here for recitation (compare Hwylc wæs fægerra 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 -a see III.4/C.2(a).

384 duge, MS buge : Thorpe, retaining the manuscript buge, suggests that the clause should read þonne 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 būgan 'bow 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 būgan 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 dittographed b from the alliterative sounds of the preceding line.

386 se dryhtnes þeow : Compare seo londes stow 142.

387 mare : Grein suggests that mare 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 māra) 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 cyrcan lād used in the charters of Oswald, bishop of Worcester (see BTs lād[1] under IV). This meaning of the verb survives into Middle English in the compound lyflode, lyvelode (similar to Old High German līhleita 'provisions, subsistence') which became assimilated in spelling to livelihood / livelihead in the sixteenth century (see NED under LIVELIHOOD).

390-92a As four points require especial discussion in this passage 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 oþerne back to niþ and that he understands lythwon as an adverb of time (see also BTs under lythwon II.(2)). This interpretation of the passage requires the minimal possible emendation. Context shows that a passive particle should stand where the manuscript reads onwylleð and the change from soð to woð is demanded by the alliteration.

onwylled, MS onwylleð : Thorpe recognises 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 onwylleð. 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.

woð oþerne, MS soð oþerne : The emendation from soð to woð first made by Thorpe, is demanded by the alliteration and made in all subsequent editions of the poem. Confusion between s 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 Glc 1329 wæterþisa

(MS -þisya). Thorpe also reads oþerne 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 þær after oþer (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 leoðode as a long vowel, objects to ne lythwon leoðode 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 oþerne, stating a feminine adjective should appear after woð.

lythwon leoðode : Thorpe's translation of this phrase by 'a while resounded' is perhaps responsible for the citation of an Old English ghost word lēoðian 'sing, sound' in many dictionaries. Such a verb is a plausible invention (compare Old English lēoð 'song' and Gothic liuþōn '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 leoþode 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/leoþode of the Riming Poem shows that a short vowel is to be expected in leoþode. Two etymologies are possible for this verb *liþian. In GK and AEW it is given the meaning führen and connected with Rim 14 leoþu,līþan 'sail' and Old Saxon lidōn. It should be noted that the infinitive form cited in GK as lēoðian 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 leoþu is possibly 'ship, band of men'; see NED under LITH sb[3] and sb[4] for Middle English use of and Scandinavian origin of this word. The verb *liþian may alternatively be thought closer to Old English liþ '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 177 aleoðode, SlB II 103 tōhleoðode (with non-etymological h due to dittography). It seems pointless to argue the merits of these closely related etymologies when the meaning found for geliþian 'unloose, release' satisfies all the Old English contexts. The use of lythwon as an adverb of time has already been mentioned. Grein's ne lythwon is explained by valde in GK and Gollancz's 'exceedingly' approved by Cosijn, but these explanations are unnecessary for the interpretation of the text followed here.

393 ceargesta : Both gæst 'visitor' and gāst 'spirit, ghost' serve frequently as base elements in compounds and it is here impossible to decide which word is reflected in ceargesta 393. This nonceword is glossed 'woeful demon' in the index to the text and the vowel of -gesta described as Anglian ē for ē in III.4/B.3(e). A personal preference for this interpretation of the word in its context is supported by the equivalents given in BT and GK. It should

be noted however that the form -gesta could also reflect non West Saxon i-umlaut of æ/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. gæst written as gest' and on these grounds decides that the second element in ceargesta is gæst '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 co-ordinate finite verb forms in this poem.

397 bær se hyra gæst : Kemble's suggested emendation from bær 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 lauterer or Gordon's 'higher'). The use of the comparative here should be compared with Dan 206 hæftas 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 :

... hwylc
wæs mara þonne se an oretta ussum tidum cem[illegible]a
gecyðed þæthim crist fore woruldlicra mǽ wundra
} gecyðdet7

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

Thorpe places se in the same verse as an oretta, separates ge from cyðeð 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, gecyðeð to gecyðed and þæt to þæs, 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 þurh eaðmedu 123, swa modgade 323, etc.) and may be another example of a formulaic phrase on orette which appears in Wds 41 on orette and in Exo 313 an on orette. Kemble's explanation requires emendation of the subordinating þæt to an adverb þæs, 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 þonne 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 þonne and se is placed before an oretta in 401a. The translation assumes a pronoun directly after þonne :

> 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 hwylc wæs mara þonne 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 þonne in brackets [he]? to complete 400b and emending gecyðed 402 to gecyðed.

No emendation is made in the KD text. Verse 400b ends þonne 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 A ne oretta 'Never does warrior..', retaining the manuscript gecyðeð. With line 401 opening in this way and the text otherwise as in the KD edition, Schaar explains:

> .. we can easily supply þonne (Christ) Guthlace gecyðde; 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 a n'oretta.

Unfortunately for both these ingenious theories, the negative ne 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 gecyðed produce a clause without a finite verb in 401a-2a, necessitating some change in the conjunction þæt. An emendation from gecyðed to gecyðde is attractive but unnecessary as ussum tidum appears within this clause.

404 HE ; A new section begins here on the fifth line of folio 38^{v}. The preceding line is empty except for ⁊ gecyðde:⁊ 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 :

Lætað gares ord,
earh ættre gemæl, in gedufan
in fæges ferð. Gað fromlice,
ðæt ge guðfreoan gylp forbegan."
Hie wæron reowe, ræsdon on sona
gifrum grapum.

and with Gle 995b-96a :

ac hine ræseð 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 o to u in the final syllable : For a note on the manuscript treatment of -um in this word see under grendu 162.

406 reowe : Two adjectives, overlapping somewhat in meaning, rēow '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. wælhreow and its derivatives. The word rēow '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 þeana : Proclitic swa is reduced to se both here and in se þeah 961. Such forms occur sporadically throughout the

manuscript and for a note on them see III.4/D.5(c).

411 7 bæt friđ : Cosijn (1898, p. 117) suggests that this phrase should be emended to read ac bæt 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 Glc 418-19 and Vita 276-77 :

> Nam cum statis suę .xxiiii. annum peregisset. abrenuntians secularibus pompis. spem indubitatę fixam in cristo tenebat:

These lines may be the passage Gerould does not identify. It should be noted that Glc 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 memoranda 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 Cuthbert 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.

412 hean : Holthausen (1899, p. 356) notes that here some de-contracted form such as *hēa[a]n is metrically necessary. Compare ealdfeonda 475a and see further III.4/C.1(b).

415 hyrda : Note that the word is extended here to the figurative sense normally associated with Latin pastor. See III. 4/E.3(b).

419 gierelum gielplicum : Compare gierelan gielplices 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 ecclesiastics or to their source of income are found.

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

420 þæs 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 BT produce the unsatisfactory translation 'so is the wont of youth, where fear of life checks not'. GK suggest that the word is here to be taken in the sense 'old age': Grein's translation gives des 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 þæs. 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 þer : Grein suggests that these words should be interpreted as nowðer or nahwæðer, an unlikely and unnecessary emendation. For a short note on ē for ǣ in þer see III.4/B.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 gebrocen : Kemble wrongly suggests that this is the passive participle of brecan; it is however from brucan 'enjoy', a verb which governs the genitive.

425 witum wælan : The verb wælan, considered an Anglian feature of prose vocabulary by Jordan (1906, p. 57), is otherwise represented in verse only in And 1361 witum bewæled. 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 wlǽ 1154.

430 þæt hy, MS þæhy : All the editors make this obvious emendation from the manuscript þæ to þæt. This mistake must be attributed to scribal oversight.

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

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

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

448 Treow : Thorpe's suggested emendation to treowð is unnecessary.

454 hean, 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 458 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 myrcels 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 myrcels (= tāen'zeichen' BLHom 87.16) auf die tonsur zu beziehen, die das zeichen des edlen freien mannes, das wallende haupthaar, entfernt hat.

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

> 'by which (þe = þy) 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 myrcels 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 behüte
> vor dem Ausgang, dass dich abwendig machte
> die Hand eines Mannes von deinem heiligen Ansehn.
> In diesem Anscheine leben...

His translation assumes emendation of þe 458 to þæt.

Gollancz suggests that þec 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 þec (perhaps regarding it as a superfluous dative of accompaniment ?), give to myrcels 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 myrcelse refers back to cristes rode 180 or to a mark on Guthlac's face.

In most of these translations æþelum is apparently regarded as an adjective qualifying onsyne (but not in the BT translation where æþelum is left out). Yet, the phrase from binre onsyne æþelum is recognised in GK as made up of from + the dative plural of æþelu 'excellence' with binre onsyne a genitive phrase dependent upon æþelum, 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 NED under FROm 14). If this use of from 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 þec 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 :

> syððan hie oncneowon Cristes rode
> on his mægwlite, mære tacen,

wurdon hie ða aole on þam onfenge,
forhte, afærde and on fleam numen. 1340

460ff. Only Cosijn 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 Acta Sanct. Benedict..

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 translators, 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 interruption 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 bigað : For a discussion of this form of the verb 'to serve' see the note for begon 169.

469 meahtes : See III.4/C.2.(b).

471 after browinga : 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 -e and -a see III.4/C.2.(a). The form browinga is listed as dative singular in the glossary (and is so listed in GK also).

472 martyrhād : 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 martirdom, 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.

475 ealdfeonda : 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 ealdfeond 365). See also III.4/C.1.(b) and III.2/b.

478 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 seligkeit?. 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 forscadan '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 Cosijn 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 -scadene.

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

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

489 rume regulas : Keiser (1919, p. 36) excludes 'the clergy proper' from this allusion, as from Mnl 44 rincas regolfæste.

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 regulas 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 þæt halge hus 1290, 1310. As Keiser regards Gle 30–1379 as one poem, he tries to reconcile these phrases with the A poet's description of the saint's haligne 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 wiþ þon : Both Thorpe and Gollancz misreport w as s; Thorpe's readings serve as the basis for Grein's edition where siþþon 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 ƿ is noted and emendation from wiþþon to siþþon 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 wiþ II (7)) from Bede where the phrase is used for e contrario (Miller 1895, 442.1 wiđ þon and 444.17 wiđ đon), but the use of the prepositional formulae wiþ þon/ þam þe/þæt is widespread.

496 þa æfteryld : This nonceword, literally 'after-age', is similar to another nonceword æfteryldo used in the Old English Bede (Miller 1890, 1-48.26). The base word of the latter should be interpreted 'age' (ævum), whereas -yld of the Gle compound is rather 'age, time of life' (ætas). 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 yld. Later (1865, p. 424) he puts forward the reading æfteryld now generally accepted.

504 geađ : 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 gæđ?.

504 aflihđ : Holthausen (1899, p. 356) first notes that a decon-

tracted form is necessary for the metre, suggesting aflih[e]ð. Compare tweoþ 252 and áteoð 301 and see further III.4/C.1(b).

510 Oft ge in gestalum stondað : 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 Hinterhalten 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 stælan '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 stælan and onstāl. He translates 510a by 'You are often occupied with quarrels'.

A glance at BTs under gestāl would have shown Schaar that a noun gestāl '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 cf. 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 :

meþonne sendeð se
usic semon mæg seþe life gehwæs lengu wealdeð. Swahleo

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

me þonne (sige) sendeð, se usic senian mæg

and his translation for this line runs :

es sendet mir den Sieg dann, der uns segnen kann.

Schipper (1874, p. 330) fails to note the manuscript mæg, as does Gollancz who reads :

me þonne sendeð se usic se mon wæg
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 seman mæg statt des sinnlosen se mon wæg. Hans Gerke collated Assmann's edition of the Exeter Book texts with the manuscript but also fails to record mæg (see Holthausen 1916, p. 365 for these collations). Kook (1918, p. 42) elaborates Holthausen's suggestion, suggesting se usic sem on wæg 'who over us brought peace (reconciliation)'. He reinstates Grein's sige before sendeð, posits a noun *sem beside the existing gesem (comparing the nouns ner and gener to support this *sem) and claims for his solution that no change in the manuscript forms of 511b is made. This plea was valid as Thorpe's wæg was still unchallenged as the manuscript reading.

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

Me þonne sige sendeð, se usic semon mæg

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 leton 520,

bregdon 676, lædon 721, ongyldon 861 and leton 948 and see III.4/ C.2(b).

514 martyre : The use of the learned martyre is restricted in Old English verse to Glc 514, And 876, Mnl 69 and XSt 653, but its rareness is rather the result of subject matter than convention. After all, the native word browere appears in poetry only in Glc 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 :

> Hæfde him in innan
> ellen untweonde, wæs þæt ædele mod
> asundrad fram synnum, þeah he sares swa fealu
> deopum dolgslegum dreogan sceolde. 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. Buttenwieser (1898, p. 63) notes two other phrases similar to And 1243 asundrad fram synnum in Phx 242 synnum asundred and GloI 10 asundrod fram synnum 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 Gollancz's text wolde (translated by him 'con-

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

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

520 leton : For the vowel of the accented syllable in both this and the infinitive 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 mara : See the note for 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 40^{r}; the preceding line is empty and cyþað:⁊ 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 Gollancz'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, forstæp. 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 præpositus 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 Glc 756 swilc (where y is written in below i), Glc 780 agyfen, Glc 1289 lyfte, Phx 133 wynsumra (with y written in above i), Phx 371 fylle (with y above i), Pnt 43 wynsumast, Rdl 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 nyðgista is uncertain (compare the note for ceargesta 393). The compound occurs also in Bwf 2699 bone niðgæst (for the dragon) where gæst 'visitor' is more suited to the context than gēst '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 :

. He
þa sár forseah aþære sawle wel þæs mund boran þeþæt
mond geheold ƿ him 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 þe þa for þe þæt; but his translation makes little sense. Grein, placing a comma after wel, supplies two verses between lines 541 and 542 (on frean fultum forð getreowde) 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) :

> Er achtete der Schmerzen nicht, da er für seine Seele stets
> fest vertraute auf des Fürsten Hilfe,
> 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.

Gollancz 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 mond to mod 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. xcv) 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 þa sar forseah a þære sawle hæl
> wæs mundbora þe þæt mod geheold
> þæt him ne getweode treow in breostum ...

Two of these 'slips' are explained as due to dittography, wel for hæl and mond for mod; and he suggests that once a scribe had misread wæs 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 hæl 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, mægna waldend,
> se mec gescyldeð wið þinum scinlace
> of gromra gripe, þe þu to godum tiohhast. 215

He provides only one close comment on his reading of Glc 541-42, adducing as a parallel for the phrase hæl wæs mundbora the familiar

biblical words Dominus ... 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 geheold 543, but its ingenuity results in awkward syntax and it should be noted that a metrical stress might be expected to fall on wæs 542 (see III.3/1(i)).

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 deaḍ : 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 bis enge lond, and for other examples see BT and BTs (under tō III(i)). Although the phrase deman to deaḍe occurs elsewhere, e.g. Jud 196, Ele 500, there is no need to emend the text here on grammatical grounds.

The emendation to deeðe 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 huslfatu. 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, -fæt, -gang, -genga, -halgung, -laf, -portic and -begn).

559 heldore : The ending of the old u-declension is retained in the accusative singular duru 991.

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 swa! 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 gefremedes : Compare meahtes 469 and see III.4/C.2(b).

588 þær : There is no need to follow Thorpe's emendation of the adverb þær which stands at the head of 588b into þæt, a

relative with lean as its antecedent.

592 Doð efne swa : Both Cremer (1888, p. 46) and Sievers (1885, p. 477), with Thorpe's misreported efen for the manuscript efne, suggest that Doð 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 wærgenga 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 wār '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 wer-genga) : npl. wargengi from Lombard laws and as. wargengum from Frankish laws. Often compared with these words is the Old Norse name of the 'Warings', i.e. the Væringi who served the Greek emperors of Constantinople as body-guards. De Vries (1962) suggests that this name goes back to *wāra-gangja- and compares its first element with Old Norse várar 'pledges', but presents all these compounds with a short vowel in this syllable. See also III.4/E.3(a).

605 þeawum 7 gebyncðum : Thorpe, translating this verse 'in practices and thoughts', suggests in a footnote the emendation

gebeahtum for gebyncðum. Cosijn (1898, p. 117) compares with this verse Gen 2415 beawum and gebancum, pointing out that Thorpe's gebeahtum 'consiliis' recommends itself less in this context than gebohtum 'cogitationibus'. Both suggestions are unnecessary.

613 leohtes : As Cosijn (1898, p. 117) points out the word leoht is here to be understood 'heaven'; he compares Chr 1463. Compare also Gen 392, 394, 401 and see BTs I(1a) for more examples.

614 deaðe : Both Grein and Cosijn (1898, p. 117) seem unwilling to recognise this instrumental use of deaðe. 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 deaðe, giving as an alternative emendation deað which he justifies by comparison with line 635.

617 habban : Cosijn (1898, p. 118) suggests the attractive emendation of this infinitive to hebban, but the parallelism he assumes in meaning between besingan and habban, the two infinitives dependent on sceolon 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 41^{v} with a large capital I and with c 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:7. The sectional break

occurs within a speech as it may also have done in the folio missing from between lines 368 and 369.

620 lufian : Cosijn (1898, p. 118) again, as with habban 617, wishes to emend this infinitive to lofian to bring it closer to meaning to weorþian 619, which is also dependent on wille 619. This emendation is supported also by Holthausen in the appendix to GK. 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 þam þe his in weorcum, translates the lines die in ihren Werken seinem Willen folgen. Alternatively it is possible to treat ræfnað as a singular form, with -að for -eð, 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 -að for -eð see III.4/C.2(b).

624 lege bisenote, MS lege biscenote : Thorpe translates this verse 'with flame for drink', adding in a footnote 'lit. having 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 wraðe bisencte 666 and Cri 1168 flode bisencan. Thorpe's explanation is accepted in BT (see under bi-scencan : no other examples of scencan with this prefix are cited in either BT or BTs). GK hesitantly follow Grein's emendation. They give two entries for sencan with be/bi- as prefix: in the first are listed examples from the Paris Psalter, the Menologium and from Exeter Book poems Cri 1169, Glc 638 and Jln 479 and for all the meanings mergere, demergere are suggested; the second entry, with superfundere? given as the sense, is Grein's Glc 624 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 bisenote. This emendation, graphically plausible on grounds of dittography, requires a simpler figurative use of the verb bisencan than the metaphor of the manuscript 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 Glc 868 for more details of the use of this theme in Old English poetry.

The metaphor is however unusually extended, as no variation for lege reinforces it. The use of the 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 bisencte 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 bisencte 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 oððe besenced and the Orosius (Bosworth 1859, p. 51.42) on ða besengdan burh and in BTs from a homily (Assmann 1889, p. 115.439) þa fulan sceanda he besengð on helle. Wulfstan uses a participle from this verb (Bethurum 1957, p. 162.114) 7 se bið swyðe clæne ælcere synne se ðe bæne bryne ðurhfærð unbesencged.

631 wiðhogdum : Compare the note for motum 13 and see III.4/C.2(b).

633 mid scome scyldum : Thorpe, translating 'with your shameful crimes were thrust', suggests reading a compound scomu-scyldum. Other interpretations of the text are however possible without emendation. It is possible to take scome as a genitive dependent on scyldum, 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'. Com pare with this verse 675a.

636 to widan ealdre : See the note for ecan 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 gōd is unsuitable both syntactically and metrically and has gained no support.

650 mine : Thorpe, suggesting in a footnote the reading mīne 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 maines Lebens Mörder, ihr lastervollen Schädiger, conservatively following the manuscript mine as from the possessive adjective mīn. The form is understood as "my" by Gollancz (who translates 'my murderers'), Assmann and KD. Kennedy avoids translating mine altogether with 'ye murderers' and Gordan gives for the line 'ye, my murderous foes and foul enemies'. The appearance of a similar verse minne mansceaþan 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 mirce '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 BT) is shown to be the same word by Merritt (1944, p. 445) who points out that in mediaeval exposition of Psalms 120.6 the phrase neque luna per noctem was taken as referring to enticement or conduciveness to evil. No one doubts that Leechdoms III.36.14 wið malsorunge minra 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 BTs 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, pp. 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/ þæm minnæn, 105.21 magnalia/ þæ minnæn (due to the glossator's reading maligna for magnalia), 128.7 manipulos/ ðæ minnæn (the word manipulos often used of 'evil tares, the wicked' in exegesis)

and 143.10 de gladio maligno/ of wweorde þa minnan. A full discussion of all these forms will be found in Merritt's article, together with an account of the various misinterpretations of them to be found in the standard Old English dictionaries.

650 mánscaþan : Grein in a footnote questions whether the first element in this compound should be regarded as man 'man' or as mān 'evil'. The many instances of the word, its use against the Latin peccator 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 mān 'evil'. The cognate Old Saxon mēnskaðo 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 wiþerhycgende; the compound wiþerhycgende 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 wærgnysse, 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 wærnysse 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 maledictionem ...) and these words were probably known to the poet, I prefer to regard wærnysse and brynewylm as being in variation.

676 bregdon : 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 gnornende : 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 drohtaþ). Kennedy's 'glory and fellowship' is rather more meaningful (and for his interpretation of duguð compare GK under duguð 4 majestas, magnificentia).

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 Schaar (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 Ofermægca : This compound, found only here but comparable in form with Old Norse ofrmenni 'mighty champion', is the subject of sprec and is varied by dyre dryhtnes degn 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 ofermettum. Grein gives ofermægga in his text, but shows his doubt about this form by adding a note that perhaps ofermægne should be read. Later, in his translation, he gives for ofermægga the adjective ubermächtig, indicating his acceptance of the manuscript reading. Cosijn (1898, p. 118) notes that an adverb would be attractive beside sprec to balance dæghluttre soán 693, thus following Thorpe's interpretation if not his emendation. The weak noun mægga appears beside the commoner

mæcg. The simplex appears in FtM 52 mæcga, and poetic compounds in Jln 260 se wræcmæcga and SnS 90 guðmæcga (other MS - maga). Otherwise the form is recorded only in glossaries : WrW 338.2 oretmæcga for agonista and WrW 342.13 oretmæcgan for anthletæ (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 dæghluttre scán : This verse is capable of two very different interpretations. Thorpe regards it as made up of three words, translating 'Day brightly shone', as does Gollancz. In other interpretations dæghluttre 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 glæshluttur and MBe 5,8 glashlutre (compare prose Boethius 14.12 glæshluttru), 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 inmenso cælestis lucis splendore, (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 þreaniedlum, MS þreamedlum : For a note on this form and on the emendation adopted here see III.4/B.1(a).

698–700 Liebermann (1892, p. 247) suggests that the phrase ne labes wiht 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 laðes ma
þurh daroða gedrep gedon motan,
þa þe heardra mæst hearma gefremedan. 1445

and

ne ban gebrocen, ne blodig wund
lice gelenge, ne laðes dæl, 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 lælan (as the manuscript liclælan is usually emended) is the only other instance of the word lǣla in a verse text. The phrase labes wiht occurs again in Glc 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 relative pronoun followed by a personal pronoun in the oblique case required by the adjectival clause, appear in Exo 380 and HxnI 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 Glc 72 þa þe him and Glc 361 se þe him. Mitchell (1964, p. 134) points out that se usually carries a strong suggestion of the third person and is rarely used in verse if its antecedent is a pronoun in the first or second person; he finds an example however in Bwf 506 Eart þu se Beowulf, se þe wiþ Breoan wunne which he considers sufficient parallel to justify retention of the manuscript se mec against Grein's suggested þe 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 dóm : 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. MEp 38, as well as in prose, Chronicle 755 hiera agenne dom,

and is generally equated with the Old Norse sjálfdœmi '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 æfstum, MS æftum : The emendation æfstum 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 æfestum, 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 þære 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 Bwf 1777 þære soone where it is best explained as meaning 'visitation, persecution'. C.L. Wrenn (1958, p. 288) 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 hamsoon 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 lædon : For the inflexion of this infinitive compare the note for leton 520 and see III.4/C.2(b).

722 ÞA : The final section of Guthlac A begins mid-way down folio 43^{r}. The preceding line is empty except for conn: 7 placed at the very end of it. The new section is marked by a large capital Þ 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 koinë. Jordan (1902, pp. 44 ff.) calls the verb leoran '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 Glc 726, And 124, 1042, Rsg 31 and 45, perhaps Rui 7 (these examples all from two closely connected codices) and in Mnl 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 smebe 7 gesefte : 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 732a an echo of Felix's suauitate ... 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 cateruis satellitum iubet: ut illum in locum suum cum magna quietudine sine ulla offensionis molestia reducerent; Nec mora, precepcis apostolicis obtemperantes, dicto citius iussa facessunt; Nam illum reuehentes cum nimia suauitate, 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 mægwlitas : 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 monigra mægwlita, 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 mægwlitas 'species', as the subject of bletsadon and in apposition to tuddor 'race'.

There is no need to restrict the meaning of mægwlitas 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 tacnum cyðdon : 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 tacnum may mean durch Signale. The word tacn 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 tācn(2) and compare the noun belltācn 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 eximię cantatis ipsius gratia habundabat in tantum: ut inoultę solitudinis uolucres. et uagabundi cœnosi paludis pisces. ad uocem ueluti ad pastorem ocius natantes uolantesque subuerirent; De manu enim illius uictum: prout unius cuiusque natura indigebat uesci 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 ...' þonne 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 geoce 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 geoce 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 grædum gifre : Thorpe translates this verse by 'greedily voracious', noting that emendation to grædgum for grædigum should perhaps be made. The suggestion is attractive for two reasons. First, this is the only appearance of a noun grēd 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 currency in English until the nineteenth century. See NED entry for GREED (sb.) and DOST entry for (GREDE,) GREID. The Scots word is regarded as a back-formation from the adjective gredy. Secondly, the adjectives grædig and gifre are often paired together for an a-verse, e.g. Gen 793, XSt 32, 191, SlBI 74, Sfr 62, SlB II 69 and Rdl 84.30. These verses suggest the emendation grædge 7 gifre rather than Thorpe's conservative grædgum gifre.

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

741 wildeorum : Cosijn (1898, p. 119) suggests that the metre demands wildrum, but similar verse patterns are found in other Old English poems and the emendation is therefore unnecessary. Examples 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 :

Smeolt was se sigewang, symble was dryge
folde fram flode, swa his fot gestop. 1582

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 Glc 742a and And 1581a occurs in Phx 33a Smylte is se sigewong. The poetic compound sigewong is found also in Glc 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 Guthlac A. Compare the notes for 404-7a, 514-17a, 574-6 and 698-70.

744 geacas 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 Cuculo and in his Conflictus Veris et Hiemis. Snorri (Skáldskaparmál c.78) gives gauk-mánuðr 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 sumeres weard 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[2], pp. 163-64) has pointed out that Sfr 48-49 and Phx 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 A 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 sele 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 womma clæne 29 (and compare 689b-91a and 781-89).

751 selfe, with y 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 swilc, with y placed below i in the MS : For changes made between i and y in the manuscript see the note for nyðgista 540.

760 ælmihtiga : Holthausen (1899, p. 356) suggests that both here and in line 923 ælmihtiga should be read ælmihtga. 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 syleð 7 sendeð : See the note for line 24.

767b-768 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.

780 agyfen, with y changed from i in the MS : For a brief note on the changes between i and y made within the manuscript, see nyðgista 540.

780 worde : The emendation to 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.

781-89 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 A as vice versa.

790ff In these lines the poet's return to his opening theme should be noted. See further III.2/a.

795 scan lifes : For an account of the use of the weak adjective without an article in this poem, see the note for scan lifes 172.

809a Compare Bwf 1758 Bebeorh þe ðone healonið 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 þær heo soð wunað : Thorpe, translating this verse 'where they shall truly dwell', suggests the emendation siððan wuniað as an alternative reading for soð wunað. Later editors have found no difficulty in this passage. The pronoun heo stands for God's countenance and soð is used adverbially (for other examples see GK under sōð 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.

819 **ÐÆT IS WIDE CVÐ** : 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 **Æ IS WIDE CVÐ** 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, pp. 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 297-300), 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 fall 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 B. 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		cyning ece ⁊ eala ðu drihten
Rerum Creator omnium		gesceafta scyppend ealra
Qui eras ante secula		þu ðe wære ær worulde
Semper cum Patre Filius.		æfre mid fæder sunu
Qui mundi in primordio	5	þu ðe middaneardes on fruman
Adam plasmasti hominem		gesceope mann
Cui tuae imaginis[1]		þam þinre anlicnysse
Vultum dedisti similem.		andwlitan þu sealdest gelicne
Quem diabolus deceperat		þæne deofol beswæc
Hostis humani generis	10	feond mennisces cynnes
Per pomum ligni vetiti		þurh æppel treowes þæs ealdan
Mortis propinans poculum.		deaðes scencende dreno

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[1] editor notes 'imagini originally in Durham MS.'

Quique clausis in tenebris		se ðe beclesed on þeostrum
Gemebat in suppliciis		geomrode on witum
Cujus tu formam corporis	15	þæs þu hiw lichoman
Assumere dignatus es		geniman gemedemod þu wære
Ut hominem redimeres		þæt mann þu alysdest
Quem ante jam plasmaveras		þæne ær eallunga þu gesceope
Ut nos Deo conjungeres		þæt us gode þu geðeoddest
Per carnis contubernium.	20	þurh flæsces gemænnysse
Quem editum ex virgine		þæne acennedne of fæmnan
Pavescit omnis anima		forhtað ælc sawul
Per quem et nos resurgere		ðurh ðæne 7 we arisan
Devota mente credimus.		estfullum mode we gelefað.

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

824 ęlda : For the hooked ę of this form compare ręste 368 and see III. 4/B.3(d).

827 neorxnawong : 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 neorxnawong 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 + weorc + 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 Arbeitenden, 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 edition - p. 376 fn.2) where it is rejected. However, this explanation of the first element of the compound remained popular and is elaborated in an article of Weinhold who equates the compound with Iða vǫllr. The evidence is laid out by Grein in his Sprachschatz (1861, II, p. 291 under neorxna vang and compare GK entry for this word) where he suggests instead that behind neorxna- lies *neirxena < *neriosena, postulating for primitive Old English a feminine noun *neriose with root related to the Old Norse god names Nari and Neri and suffix similar to that found in mennisc. 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-nā < earlier *nerh-is-ā. Falk reviews such suggestions, pointing out that the interpretation aue der schicksalsgöttinen 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 riqui-zeinavaggs and gives as his translation of this compound hortus splendidus. This etymon is to be explained as arising through metathesis, breaking and levelling of io and eo. He notes that Gothic

riquiz is cognate with Old Norse røkkr 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 neorxna- a loanword, taken directly either from Greek or through Latin narcissus before the assibilation of c before a front vowel. He gives to the compound the meaning narcissorum campus and finds it likely that der Gedanke eines Narzissengartens in die Phantasie 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 regarded 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 neorxnawong. This suggestion was at first rejected because, in Leitzmann's words, sie ein unbekanntes 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 comparison of his suggested central element rōhsna- with Gothic rōhsns

it is perhaps better rendered in English by 'hall' rather than by 'palace'.

(f) Leitzmann himself expresses his dissatisfaction with all these etymologies for neorxnawong 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 Nerthus 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 neorxnawong with Gothic naus. He now suggests that the genitive singular suna is the central element of the compound and puts forward the etymology *neorh + suna + wang which he translates Feld der Söhne des Neorh. He explains that the primitive Old English *neorh, like the cognate Old Norse Njǫrve (the father of Night and Hel's brother), is from a Germanic *nerhwan. (Here Jente's account is used.)

Uhlenbeck (1908, pp. 185–86) modifies this explanation, sub-

stituting for Kluge's *neorh < *nerhwan an Indo-European root *nārka which he compares with Sanskrit nāraka and explaining this element's meaning as Unterwelt, Hölle.

Falk-Torp (1909, p. 205 under ner- 3.) compare also with Sanskrit nāraka the probable Indo-European root *ner- 'under' and give under the same heading Nerthus (terra mater) and Old Norse Njǫrðr.

(h) Ritter (1910, pp. 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 -eorxna-, either *ercsuna > *ercsena > *eorxna or *ercan-suna with plural forms of sunu 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 neorxnawong 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 + wang. 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 neorxnawong 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 neorxnawong is die Aue der Seirenen, giving to these sirens the dual nature of the sídhe. In this discussion of the compound he draws together many other words which he relates also to the Indo-European root (s)ner-, first posited by Schade in explanation of the etymological meaning of neorxnawong.

(4) No full account of the writings upon this much discussed word has apparently been published since the summaries presented by Heitzmann 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. 267) notes an Old English word geneorð which he explains by zufrieden and suggests that it is cognate with the Germanic name Nerthus for terra mater and the Old Norse Njǫrðr for Gott der Fruchtbarkeit, des Reichtums, der Seefahrt und des Fischfangs. He suggests therefore that etymologically neorxnawong should be compared with the Vulgate description paradisus voluptatis and that the compound contains the genitive singular of an Old English word *nerþska (or *nerþske) for Freude, Vergnügen, Lust.

Krogmann (1931, pp. 397-99) points out that although the form geneorð cited by Holthausen in his etymology for neorxnawong 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 geneorð to the Indo-European root *(s)ner- on which he had based his earlier interpretation of neorxnawong (see (j) above).

(l) Langenfelt (1931, pp. 250-65) points out that most explanations of the etymological meaning of neorxnawong 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 -eorxna- stands for *eorcna (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 airkniþa 'Reinheit, gute Art', unairkns 'unheilig, gottlos, lasterhaft', with the element eorcon- 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 vǫllr and finding for Iða cognates such as Old English ad, Old Saxon ed, etc. (the parallel use of wang in Old English and vǫllr 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 *rohsns (genitive plural *rohsnse), if it were an i-declensional noun, might be supposed to be equivalent to an Old English *rexn 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 valhǫll '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 nástrondr, 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 819–970 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 :

> nemnað neorxnawong, þær him nænges wæs
> 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 conventional, 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 today. 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 burh ælda tid : The phrase is generally explained by per sæcula sæculorum (see GK under yldu 3 and BT under ældu 2), and, although Thorpe implies that this interpretation requires emendation from tid to tide, could be explained as a calque upon the Latin, with ælda 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 ælda 835 should be regarded as the genitive singular of eld '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 sæcula sæculorum is not, ælda is given in the glossary as a genitive singular form under ældu.

836 færestan : 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 fægrestan 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 gæst which varies lif of the preceding line. The formula is rather more imaginatively used in The Phoenix in leomu lic somod 7 liges gæst 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 ecan lifes 172.

841 deaðe : The form deað 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 ēo for ēa, to the second class (see Campbell 740 and 745 (f) 1); a similar uncertainty affects the preterite geneop 'overcame' of Exodus 476. Cognate with ahneop are Gothic dishniupan 'discerpere', Old Swedish niupa 'surripere', Old Norse hnupla 'surripere' and Old English hnoppian 'vellere'; (for further examples see NED under NAP 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 wæstm, MS wæsten 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 wæstm with a svarabhakti vowel are found elsewhere, e.g. Exo 47 westem. 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 wæstm is preferred to wæstem.

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

> þær him better wearð
> yrmþu æfter æte ond hyra eaferum swa,
> sarlic symbel sunum ond dohtrum.
> Wurdon teonlice toþas idge
> ageald æfter gylte.

He notes that such parallels occur throughout between Glo 819–55 and

Phx 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 Phx 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 poculum mortis.

856 scudende : 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 scriðende and translates the verse 'in shame departing'. Sievers (1885, p. 507) first suggests that the participle is from *scūdan 'to scud', but the explanation did not at first gain general recognition. Trautmann (1898, p. 14) proposes scyndende in emendation. Klaeber (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 sceððende.

Rather than emend the text so that it may contain some part of one of the verbs sceadan 'scatter', sceriðan 'depart, wander' or seyndan 'hasten' it seems better to surmise with Sievers an Old English strong verb *scēūdan. Holthausen (in AEW) relates *scēūdan 'eilen' to Old Frisian skedda, Old Saxon scuddian, Old High German scutten 'schütteln, stossen, schwingen', New High German schütten, etc, and as well to Old English hūdenian (a ghost-word), seydd 'alluvial soil' and seyndan 'hasten'.

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

860-63a These verses contain ambiguities which are not all adequately explained in any one commentary on the passage. The verbal phrase secoldon ... ongyldon (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 : here synwrasce, morþres, gyrn and deoþra firena. Because a few lines above onguldon 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 gyrn is generally considered necessary.

On the other hand, those editors who regard gyrn as the object of sceoldon ... 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 synwræce 860.

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 synn 'crime, sin' or as sin- 'everlasting' and the base word wræcu 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-wræcu. However, as in all three instances the limiting element contains the vowel Y, that form is regarded as synn 'crime, sin'. The sense 'punishment' is preferred for wræcu in Chr 1539b-40a · bið him synwræcu /ondweard undyrne and therefore accepted in each context.

Thorpe translates gyrn '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 gyrn as object, translates the infinitive engyldon 'leiden', a meaning scarcely deducible for it from the other contexts in which the verb appears :

> Dort sollten zur Sündenstrafe Kummer seitdem leiden
> die Frauen und die Männer für das Frevelwerk

gottschuldig zut Vergeltung durch des Geistes Trennung,
für das tiefe Verbrechen:

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 gyrn to a genitive form as necessary.

The dictionaries do not give much help with the trnaslation of this clause, for nowhere in either BT or GK is it quoted in full. Köhler (see GK under gryn) suggests that gyrn 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 synwræce. Any emendation which involves adding to gyrn an unaccented syllable is however unsuitable 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: gyrn can be regarded as an adverbial 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 Deað 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.xv, 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 Phx 485 ff. (compare the note for Glc 999) and in MBo 27.11 where Death is called an egeslic hunta (Klaeber 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 eorðtudrum, Gen 2765 and Chr 629 magutudre.

867 gynnwised, MS gynnwiseð : For a note of the confusion of ð, d and þ 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 gynnwised 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 gynnwised 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 *wīsan 'direct' beside the second class wīsian (or point to an early weakening of the stem syllable in wīsian?), cognate with Old High German wīsen and Old Norse vīsa. Toller (in BTs under gin-wīsed) puts forward a compound gynnwīse 'of noble manners' for this context, but there is no reason to disregard entirely the manuscript ð which suggests a participial adjective.

868 bone bitran dryng : Compare Rex 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 : Viperei calicis gustum procul excutiamus. Brown notes the appearance of this figure in the Rex aeterne 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 þær hi : Cosijn (1898, p. 119) wishes to emend þær to þe, linking this relative particle with þeah þe 872 and comparing Rdl 4.9 se þeah. He appears to regard the phrase þe hi as equivalent

to qui. The emendation is unnecessary. It should be noted that there is no need to translate the adverb þær by 'here' as Gollancz does, for the first element of foldbuend 872 is sufficient referrent for the sense 'there'.

874 gebihþum : 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 bygð, Modern English bight and the Old English verb būgan. Thorpe's note (p. 505) shows that although he translates the word correctly, he explains it by comparison with Jud 174 to behðe (which he interprets domi; the phrase means 'as a token'). This confusing note may indicate why Kemble in his turn suggests an emendation to gesihðum.

875 stowum, MS stopum : A similar confusion of w (ƿ) and p occurs in Jln 294 bisweop (MS bispeop) and Rdl 42.4 sneow (MS speop) 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/ journeying executed'.

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

The need to substitute ūserra for ūrra in the b-verse is first noted by Rieger (1876, p. 52) and subsequently by Sievers (1885, p. 462).

877 tælmearce : This poetic compound occurs only here, but its meaning presents no difficulty. It should be noted that tæl- is used as a limiting element in poetry otherwise only in And 211 tælmet 'measured number'. The compound telcræftas 'arithmetic' is cited from a homily in BT and a similar getelcræft from a late glossary. The forms talu, tæl, ofertæl should be compared; cognate are tellan and tallian.

878 Us secgað bec : 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 secgað bec was a common introductory phrase used by homilists; for an example from Wulfstan's sermons see Berthurum (1957, p. 155.204). Compare Phx 655 ðæt sindon þa word swa us gewritu secgað.

880 on engle : 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 engle 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 Ongle of Widsith 8 and 35 is usually attributed. The likelihood that engle 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 engle 880, but probably not more than its usual contrast with Seaxe 'Saxons'.

887 of sidwegum, MS of siðwegum : The phrase of sidwegum (literally 'from the wide ways' but better interpreted 'from far and wide') occurs also in Ele 282 and the compound sidwegum again in Phx 337. It seems therefore best to accept with Köhler (see GK under sīdweg) Thorpe's suggestion that this form should be emended into the text. For the confusion of ð, d and þ in this manuscript see the note for line 71. BT gloss the otherwise unrecorded sīðweg 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 ð in his text, but translates the phrase by 'from distant ways'.

894 OFT : A new section begins here; O is a largish 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 :-:7 .

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.

897 eard weardade : This pattern was probably a useful formula widely used, although it is preserved only in Exeter Book poems, HbM 18 eard weardigan and Chr 772 eard 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 hleoþrum brugdon : Another example of bregdan with a dative in the sense 'vary, change in' is found in the Exeter Book, in Pnt 23 bleom bregdende, and a verse similar to Gle 906b occurs in MBo 13.47b hleoðrum brægdan. 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 hellehinca '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 Gollancz'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 aðlogan 'perjurers', a compound which appears in Chr 1604 aðlogum. 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 aðlogan 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 andlōman 'tools'.

The use in this poem of other poetic compounds with the limiting element ǣdl 'illness, disease' suggests that we may have here a compound made up of ǣdl + lama with simplification of -ll- within the resulting consonant cluster (as found in examples of ȳfellīc and

ȳfellíce). Poetic compounds with this limiting element are found only in Guthlac B, a restriction due to context, and the hapax legomena containing it, ǣdilþracu 962 and ǣdlwērigne 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 auersis. 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 ǣd 'fire, funeral pyre' is better attested as a limiting element of the general poetic vocabulary (combined with -fyr in Exo 398, with -fære in Bwf 3010 and with -lēg in Phx 222), there is no reason to seek ǣdl- in this compound.

912 spiowdon : For a note on this form see III.4/F.

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 feorhnere : The context, and especially the phrase hungre

gebreatad 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 presume to choose a nesting-place without Guthlac's instructions. It should be noted that the poet is less generous that 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 þeowon : 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 : halgon 3, towardon 4, etc.).

923 forþum : Grein's suggested emendation to furðum is accepted in GK, 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 forþum 923 to furþum.

927 seoslige : The adjective occurs only here but, as Thorpe (p. 506) first pointed out, must be related to sūsl '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 Was gewinnes þa : 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 duxerat uitam in lines 935-6a.

ecce ... uoluisset 1074-6 - the poet substitutes for the intention of dominus iesus the mission of a frofre gæst, lines 935b-8a.

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

933 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.

939b-69a These lines are for the most part based on the Vita 1077-81 :

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

Statimque ... coepit 1078-81 : here the poet centres his attention 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 anywhere 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 _wæs ... 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 (1894[2], p. 385) notes that this line is metrically curious and emends it, suggesting either that _seo_ should be placed before or _þa_ after _untrumnes_. 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 Gollancz and KD print the manuscript lines continuously without indication of any omission. Gollancz silently supplies a subject for this clause which he translates :

> In the gloom of night
> pain 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 _wæs ... gebrungen_ 'is carried over from _adl_, l.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 _þam benoofan_. It may derive from the BT interpretation of the passage (to be found under _onberan_) :

> 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 gebringan is otherwise used either transitively with a following accusative or intransitively. Therefore neah must be regarded as a preposition, with þam bancofan as its complement. The passage can only be understood if adl 940 is treated as the subject of wæs ... gebrungen, as implied by BT and Gollancz and as stated by KD. The intervening clause should be placed in parenthesis and the phrase wæs ... gebrungen understood as a pluperfect; with this arrangement of the text breosthord 944 becomes the object of (wæs)... ónboren.

948 leton : See the note for leton 520.

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

> ... steht metrisch sicher für Cynewulf, Guthlac und die Psalmen auf anglischer, und für das spätе 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 þenne dagena worn; he notes also PPs 101.21 minra dagena and PPs 118. 84 ealra dagena but here daga would have been a possible metrical alternative (see Schabram 1960, pp. 220–41 for an exhaustive discussion

of the use of / x / x by Old English poets). Examples of daga beside dagena may be found in these poems, e.g. Chr 1022 Daga egeslicast and Glc 1001 daga neosade. For a note on dagena see III.4 /C.2(a).

950 hælmihtiga : Compare hæfentid 1215 and for a short account of h- before vowels in this manuscript see the note for 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 independent indebtedness to the Vita.

955 inbendum fæst : The adjective fæst 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 inbendum but disagree over its meaning. The prefix 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 intimorum stimulatio 1078.

956 lichord onlocen : This phrase may be the poet's own invention, for the compound lichord occurs only here and in the phrase lichord onleac 1029. Thorpe (p. 506) comments that he uses lichord

for lichoma 'obviously for the sake of the metaphor with onleac', perhaps recognising the frequent use of -hord compounds with verbs onleac, 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 onleac 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. Bwf 1719, 2792 and Sfr 55), as well as with sawlhord 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 færhagan : Thorpe translates this hapax legomenon as 'peril', noting in his commentary (p. 506) that it cannot, like ānhaga, 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 færhaga) 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 *færhagan* 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 *færhagan* 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 *wihagan*) denote a wedge formation of ranks described also by *Bwf* 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 Gollancz 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.

961 se þeah : Compare the note for se þeana 409 and see III.4/D.5(c).

962 egle, MS engle : This word egle 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 engles 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).

969 gedælde, MS ge dæled : The manuscript form is generally emended to give a finite verb in this clause. Thorpe suggests gedældon 'should pay'. Grein and Assmann put forward gedælden which KD follow, noting that they consider Gollancz's gedæled 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 gedælde in his exemplar.

970b ff. The poet again picks up the theme of the fall. In this development of it he emphasises the bittor bædeweg 985 which he has introduced earlier. Cosijn (1898, p. 119) notes ironically against line 971 : Wenn nur 'fyllan' die bedeutung des afries. fella hätte!

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

978 adl : 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/C.1(d).

980 bryben : This word occurs only here and in the compound And 1532 sorgbyrþen 'sorrowful drink' in verse texts. The Andreas compound is generally translated 'a burden of sorrow' by the older editors of that poem, but -byrþen has been recognised as a metathetic form of bryben 'brewing' (Smithers 1952, p. 74 fn. 9 and Brooke 1961, p. 114). This -byrþen 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 Thorpe who

therefore suggests that the manuscript form may be a mistake for bry-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 brod and brēowan, Old High German brod and Old Norse brod (see AEW for further examples).

985 bittor bædeweg : The base element in this compound is generally identified with wǣge 'cup' which occurs in the Beowulf compounds ealuwæge 481, 2021, ealowæge 495 and lidwæge 1982. Otherwise the word may appear as the base element in Glc 991 deadweges and in this bædeweg which is found also in the Old English Bede (Miller 1891, I) 370.30 :

> þa hi þa betweoh him spræcon be haligra fædera life and
> him betwih bædeweg scencton þæs heofonlican lifes
> qui dum sese alterutrum cælestis vitæ poculis debriarent

The form is apparently corrupt in two manuscripts which read beadowig (see Miller 1891, II readings for O and Ca). Except in the Bede and Guthlac B examples of bædeweg there is no evidence for the existence of wæg 'cup', a by-form of Old English wæge. The Germanic cognates listed for wæge 'cup' by Holthausen (see AEW under wǣge 3) are similar in form : Old Saxon wegi and Old High German weiga. The base-word in bædeweg must therefore be examined carefully.

The word poculum, 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 poculum mortis image in mediaeval English literature demonstrate clearly both translations of poculum, yet the ambiguity of bædeweg 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 poculum mortis figure the greater popularity of the poculum vitae metaphor to which passage such as these should be related.

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

Poetic compounds in -wæge appear in Bwf 481 ealuwæge, Bwf 2021 ealuwæge, Bwf 495 ealowæge, Bwf 1982 liþwæge and probably Glc 991 deadweges (see note for line 991). The Beowulf examples indicate

that an Old English poet would most likely have been familiar with -wæge as a baseword 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 byform of wæge 'cup'. I argue that the ambiguity in meaning remains and that in either context in which the word appears the second element of bædeweg 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 Vries (1962 - second edition - under veig), of uncertain etymology; contextually it can denote either 'cup' or 'drink'.

The limiting word in bædeweg 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 bædeweg is probably related to the Old English verb bædan 'urge on, solicit' (see AEW under bǣdan 1 for cognate verbs, for example Old Norse beiða and Gothic baidjan). In GK (under bædewēg) Old Norse poetic words in beiði-, for example beiði-hlökk, beiði-sif and beiði-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 beiði- occurs it is accompanied by an objective genitive, as for example beiði-Tyr Bilds 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 beiðiálfr bandrinðar, beiðihlökk bliks and hörbeiðsif. In the Bede passage bedeweg is followed by þæs heofonlican and the relative pronoun Glc 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 bleatan dryne : The adjective blēat 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 wælbleate. The adjective is cognate with Old Frisian blāt 'elend', Middle Low German blōt 'elend', Middle High German blōz 'arm, bloss, nackt', Old High German blōz 'stolz' and Old Norse blautr 'weich, zart, furchtsam' (see AEW under blēat). 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 MED under BLETE.

991 deopan deaðweges : For discussion of the weak form of the adjective in this phrase see the note for ecan lifes 172.

The second element of the compound deaðweges (a word found only here) is usually identified with wæge '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 :

Deop deada wæg dyrne bið lengest Mxm I 78,

suggesting the deada wæg should be emended to deaða wæg. As the confusion of d 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 deaða should be regarded as a u-stem genitive form, similar to Glc 236 deaða, 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 wæg 'wave' and weg '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 Mxm 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

B context than in the Gnomic Verses, for in the former deopan deaðweges is a descriptive genitive phrase dependent upon þone bleatan dryne. Both poems may however contain an image other than the poculum mortis figure. The idea of a journey to the abode of the dead is implicit in such compounds as Vgl 55 neosiðum, RnP 69 ofer wæg gewat and Sfr 63 wælweg (see Smithers 1957, pp. 137-53 for a full discussion of the meaning and use of such imagery in early mediaeval eschatological 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, deað and wæg common only to two poems preserved also in the Exeter Book from which Smithers' putative examples of this belief are drawn. Certainly wæg 'wave' can be read into Mxm I 78 as easily as wæg 'cup' but is at first sight less suitable in Guthlac B. The elaboration of the sorgbyrþen metaphor in a similar passage in Andreas indicates that it is not impossible to read wæg 'wave' into Guthlac B :

> Þæt wæs sorgbyrþen,
> biter beorþegu. Byrlas ne gældon,
> ombehtþegnas; þær wæs eloum genog
> fram dæges orde dryne sona gearu. 1535

Here dryne refers ironically to floods both as floods and as a bitter potion. In Glc 990 þone bleatan dryne could indeed be 'of the deep wave of death'. A rather more compressed image of similar effect is Rdl 23.13 mandrinc.

The appearance of the poculum mortis figure in the preceding verses of the poem suggest, however, that the base element in deaðweges

is -wæge , whether with sense 'oup' 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/C.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 wiðstondan : 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 ymbhoga may have led to a confusion of -haga and -hoga when the second elements in compounds.

997 ætryhte : Both here and in 1152 ætryhte 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').

999 wiga welgifre : The personification of death, first found in the introductory section of the poem in lines 864 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.

999b-1010a Resemblances may be traced between these lines and the Vita 1086-91, the correspondence of Hine wunade mid and Habitabat ergo cum 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 ombehtbegn 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.

1001b-22 These lines correspond to Vita 1091-96. The poet translates the opening of Beccel's speech domine mi; 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 geþuht
þæt þe untrymnes adle gongum
on þisse nyhstan niht byegade,
earbennum gesoht; 1019

and to express his concern for Guthlac more strikingly. The poet leaves out the first of Beccel'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 genæged : Compare the note for wegan 370.

1015b-16a Yock (1918^2, 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 DEw 19-21 :

and Dena weoldon deore 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 meðelcwidum and worda are therefore in variation, bearing the same relationship to the infinitive gewealdan. It seems unnecessary to cite such a phenomenon here and Kock's observation that the other instances of meþelcwide (in Glc 1007, Glc 1219 and XSt 430) 'all show variation' by no means proves that variation should also be recognised in Glc 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 Glc 1019 gesoht among his examples of uninflected parallels in poetic variation, his other examples being Chr 1175 reade 7 bicce, Gen 456 geworht, Exo 129 fus, Ele 213 gemyndig, And 1672 salu and Brb 63 hwit.

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

1023-47a Behind these lines lie Vita 1096-1101 cui ... 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 þa sið oncwæð

corresponds with either cui uir dei respondens inquit 1097 or Ille autem tarde respondens 1090, but what follows in the poem derives from demum cum sermone suspirium 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 bancoþa : The second element in this compound is -coða 'disease'. The first element may be regarded either as ban- related to bana 'killer' or bān 'bone'. The word occurs also in the Leechdoms ii 102.16 wið bancoða, ðæt is oman, nim eolonan. 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, BT 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 bāncoða explanation of the compound demanded by the Leechdoms instance.

1029 lichord onleac : See the note for line 956.

1032 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.

1034 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.

1037 on bisse eahteban : These words refer back to niht 1035, not forward to dæg 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 approaching day'.

1038 dæg scribende : This phrase is described in GK (see under

dæg) as an accusative absolute and explained by die appropinquante, kurz vor Tagesanbruch. Cosijn (1898, p. 119) points out that the phrase must be regarded as instrumental, indicated by the form of the participle.

1040 geswe∂rad, MS geswedrad : For a note on the confusion of ∂, d and þ in this manuscript see bimutad 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 GfM 2 geongra geofona 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 iucundlIh 'jocundis, dolcis', but this interpretation 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 generally accepted in Bwf 466 ginne for the manuscript gimme. His ginra geofena phrase Klaeber regards as 'merely a metrical variant' of the commoner formula ginfæste gife.

This ginfæste gife formula, in the form appropriate to each context and with consequent varying connotations, appears in Gen 2919, Bwf 2182, perhaps in Bwf 1271 (MS gimfæste), Jln 168 and MBo 20.227 and may underlie And 524 ginfæsten 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 ginfæste 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 gyfena 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 lember). Although this interpret-

ation of lomber 1042 is likely, there is insufficient evidence to decide 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 ... rigauit.

The Vita 1102 flens et gemens inspires a long sentence which opens Þa wæs wop 7 heaf and the words crebris lacrimarum riuilis mestas genas rigauit lie behind

ac he hate let
torn þoliende tearas geotan,
weallan wægdropan. 1057

The poet does not follow the transitive construction of the Vita and it is therefore unlikely that his wægdropan 1057 should be emended to *wængdropan 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 geseah : A pronoun subject for geseah 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 þe). However, such discussion seems unnecessary here as þæs þe refers back to þæs ferspelles 1050 and the text should be punctuated accordingly.

It should be noted that Gollancz's division of the text, with geseah at the beginning of the following verse, is dependent upon the adoption of some subject into the preceding verse.

1054 onbæru : The word occurs only here. The base element, cognate with geberan and bæru 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+bāru 'wrong behaviour, vexation, anger', is forced ('he could not be vexed at it (Guthlac's death), but he shed hot tears') and the tentative comparison of the word with Old High German un-gipārida 'fastidium, ira, rabies' is insufficient to bolster up this explanation. Identification of the prefix in onbæru 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 wægdropan : Cosijn (1898, p. 119) objects to this conceit and suggests instead that the compound should be emended to *wængdropan to parallel hleordropan 1341 more closely, although recognising that similar imagery lies behind the phrase teagor yðum weol 1340. The poet's use of wæg- here may have been influenced by Vita 1102-3 crebris ... riuilis.

1060 ONgeat : A line is left free in the manuscript to mark the beginning of a new section. The previous section ends with wæs:-:7 at the end of the line (the heavy punctuation serving to fill out the line). In ONgeat a large capital O (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 ... iudicaret. The first clause Quem uir dei consolans ait is expanded into a four line speech and tristitiam ne admittas becomes :

Ne beo þu 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 earfeða 1065 and again in nis me wracu ne gewin ... 1081 where the poet draws upon Vita 1105 ad dominum meum qui seruiui in requiem uenire æternam for 1082b-1093. The poet works into this speech the content of the statement made by Felix after it, Vita 1105-7 Tanto ... iudicaret.

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 þæs deaðes 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 halig : 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 gæsthalig (compare gæsthaligra 873 and gæsthaligne 1149) and, although this produces a verse metrically less unusual, there is no need to make this emendation.

1061 drusendne, MS drusende : 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 gnornende 232.

1064 adl : See the note for adl 978.

1068 on þas seocan tid : The adjective sēoc 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 dittography.

1072 sceolon : Cosijn (1898, p. 120) points out that the poet returns to the plural subject implicit in herehloðe hellebegna 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 sibes fus 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 adl 978.

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

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

1091 þes ebel : Grein suggests in a footnote the reading þeos adl, 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 þeos adel, but no other reader of the poem has found this contrast between earthly and heavenly home bewildering.

1094 se wuldormaga : Both this phrase and se wuldormago 1293 represent the Vita phrase uir 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 -măga 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).

1096b-1140a These lines are based upon Vita 1108-1113 Interea ... testatur, the source being used with considerable freedom. The poet drews upon decursis 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 = Glc 1096b-1104). The passage based on dies pasche is elaborated, yet with the syntax of the Latin visible behind the Old English (e.g. on þam 1099 may answer to Vita 1109 in qua, although leading on to entirely different matter). Emphasis is put upon the fact that Christ rose from death and from hell (aras 1101 and astag 1104 were perhaps prompted by exsurgens 1110, although the contexts are different).

Lines 1105-33 of Guthlac B correspond to Vita 1109-13 in qua ... testatur. In aras þa eorla wynn 1108 we see the poet reproducing exsurgens in the context given it in the Vita. These lines follow the Vita story quite straightforwardly : Glc 1105-11a correspond to Vita 1109 in qua ... exsurgens and Glc 1111b-33 to immolato ... testatur 1113. Some phrases reflect the structure of the Latin, especially :

7 his þegne ongon ... godspel bodian 1115 : prefato fratrum uerbum dei euangelizare coepit 1112;

ær ne siþ/æfre to ealdre 1112 : numquam ante neque post tam 1112
þurh menniscne muð 1122 : ab ullius ore 1113.

Lines 1134 ff. summarize 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 Glc 1096b ff. (wæron ... forð gewitene : decursis; feowere...dagas ; quaternarum dierum; on rime : articulis). With this second statement of the length of the illness Guthlac 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 (p. 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 aswamaþ, suggesting the meanings (adopted by GK and BT) 'grow dark' for Glc 1096 and 'languish, fail, cease' for Gen 376, Cosijn

(1898, p. 120) points out that the sense here is rather wälzte sich and compares with swamode Middle High German sweimen 'sich swingen', Old High German sweimen 'schweben', Old Norse sveima 'soar' and Old English āswōmian (sic) which he states occurs only in Genesis. Kock (1918, p. 42) suggests *suaim- '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 aswōman 'move on, wander about' and aswāmian 'pass on, disappear'. (See also the note for aswōman 1352). Emphatically rejecting Dietrich's interpretation for the Guthlac 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 ofer niðða bearn answers to scridon ofer 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 wundraþ þæs roderes færeldes 7 his swiftnesse, hu he ælce dæge uton ymbhwyrfþ 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 feowere dagas 1134, seofon niht 1035 and

se seofeða dæg 1141.

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 ðreata mæstne 1103. The phrase is explained in GK cum choro eorum, quos 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 Gollancz's 'omnipotent', preferring princeps, the meaning he mistakenly gives to onweald 'power' in two places in the Cura Pastoralis :

> He wæs Romanum swa milde swa him nan onwald næs ær þam. 254.22
>
> Ilirice gesetton Ueteromonem 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 soþra : By position this word is an adverb, although the

form is unusual. Thorpe suggests it should be emended to sobor. Grein's emendation to soðre 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 WÆRon: A new section begins here on the fourth line from the bottom of folio 49^{r}; 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 hefde:-:⁊ .

1135 þæs 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 þe is unnecessary; compare þes lifes gæst 1176, se eorðan dæl 1366 and se wuldres dæl 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 Rdl 47.5 stælgiest 'thieving guest', stælhere 'marauding band' used in the Chronicle and in the Cura Pastoralis, stæltihtle 'charge of stealing' from the laws and stælðing '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 stīlan 'temper', stȳle 'steel', Old Norse stāl 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 stælwirðe '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, stalferhð (otherwise unrecorded as is the staþol-ferhð to which Lye relates it). Other compounds like staðolfæst 'fixed, steadfast' could be cited as evidence for the use of staðol- in stalgongum but it is difficult to explain how ā should appear in such a form.

1141b-65 These lines correspond to Vita 1113-20 Denique ... aiebat. The poet begins with Com se seofeða dæg 1141, translating the first clause of the Latin and then working in imagery of the shafts of illness (1142b-45a). The next finite verb in the Latin passage (uisitauit 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 (wæs þa sihste tid ... 1150) picks up the detail circa horam sextam not already used from the Vita clause which contains uisitauit 1115. The rest of this passage in the poem follows the Vita quite closely :

Vita 1116-7 nec ... loquebatur : Glc 1154b-56a;
Vita 1118 Denique ... dimitteret : Glc 1156b-62a;
antequam moretur : Glc 1162b ærdon hine deað onsægde;
Vita 1120 suspirans aiebat : Glc 1163-65.

1143 hildescurun : For the inflexion -un compare the note for line 13 and see III.4/C.2(a). See the note for walpilum 1154 for a discussion of this imagery.

1145 gesoht : Williams's note (1909, p. 87) that the passive participle is here undeclined in variation is curious, for feorhhord is neuter. However, his similar remarks on gesoht 1019 and soden 1150 deserve consideration.

1148 unwenne : Both Thorpe and Gollancz emend the manuscript form to unwemne '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 Grein who first interpreted unwenne as hoffnungslos 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 unwēne is used in almost the same sense as (fēores) orwēna. To support this view he quotes the two passages to be found in BT under unwēne I. It should be noted that GK prefer the form unwēn perhaps because of the form of the cognate Old Norse úvænn) but, as unwēne is recorded in the nominative singular masculine, this form, recognised both in BT and Clark Hall, is given as the headword in the glossary.

1149 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 ætryhte : Cosijn (1896, p. 13) compares the use of ætryhte here with And 848 hiryhte. See further the note for line 997.

1154 awrecen wælpilum : The poet uses a similar pattern in 1286. The compounds wælpilum and wælstrælum are not elsewhere recorded in Old English but comparable compounds, though used concretely, are found in Bwf 398 wælsceaftas, MEp 322 wælspere, etc. The figure of Death in The Phoenix is wæpnum gebrybed 486, but the egeslic hunta 27.13 of the Meters 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 Jln 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 bealoþoncum beorna unrim
monna cynnes, misthelme forbrægd
þurh attres ord, eagna leoman
swe:rtum scurum ... 472

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 wlǽ : Thorpe suggests that wlo should be emended to wlonc 'the high of soul', but the form is now generally connected with the noun wlōh 'hem, fringe' (found in verse in Jln 590 and And 1471) and with the adjectives Gen 1789 gewlo 'adorned' and Dan 584 anwloh 'unadorned'. Cognate are Old Saxon wlōh 'flocke' and Old Norse ló (found only in the phrase ló á klæði); 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 Glc 1154 wlǽ 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 wlōh. Kock (1920, p. 104) accents the GK explanation, suggesting the translation 'could not a funicle' for wló ne meahte and supporting this suggestion by an unnecessary manipulation of Chr 77 æfter modwisan mod ne cuðes to produce mot ne cuðes 'thou knowest not a mote, ie not the slightest'.

The word may well be related to wlōh 'hem' but attempts to translate it by a noun form unconvincing equivalents like Kock's 'a funicle'. Some adverb is indicated by the structure of the clause. Comparison with Vita 1116-17 nec tamen tunc cum eo loquebatur suggests using 'indeed' to explain wlǫ́; Gollancz's 'scarce' and the 'hardly' of Gordon and Kennedy are unsuitable because they necessitate omitting the negative particle in interpreting the clause.

1155 ellensprǽce : Kock (1920, p. 253) points out that ellensprǽce is better considered as parallel with hleoþor (as treated in BT) rather than as a genitive 'on a par with guðfugeles hleoðor, ganetes hleoþor' (as in GK and Gollancz). He notes that the poet uses similar wording in sprǽce ahebban 1160, adding that parallel accusatives are a common Germanic method of variation.

1158 modglǽdne : Kock (1918, p. 43) wishes to emend this compound to modlǽtne, 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 meðe and modglæd 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 trēowde is necessary here, because they regard the vowel of the accented syllable of truwian as

long (so listed in both GK and BT).

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

It should be noted that the poet omits all reference to the winding-sheet sent by Eogburh, Vita 1126-30 et ... curaui. There is no basis in the Vita for the short speech (Glc 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 sains and sainjan, Old High German seini 'slow' and Old Norse séina 'tarry, delay' appears twice only in Old English. The other instance is 7 hit asanode þa on þa 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 þes lifes gæst : The demonstrative agrees with gæst instead

of with the noun in the genitive which precedes it. There is no need to regard þes as a genitive singular masculine form of the definite article with second fronting (as does Weightman 1907, 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. þerge
> ad sororem meam pegian. et dices illi. 1123

There is no need to force out of efter þon 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 y 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 þær, FtM 93 nergend and Ed1 40.63 byrse), but within the context it is less suitable than the manuscript form as interpreted by Thorpe. The þerge of the Vita

also favours retention of the manuscript form.

1180 on longne weg : Cosijn (1898, p. 120) compares Phx 555 on longne siδ 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 leahterlease 1087.

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

1197-1223 These lines follow the Vita 1130-35 Audiens ... eumque, but the poet does not use propterea ... dimittas 1135-36. The passage beginning obsecro 1131 corresponds with Gle 1203 Ic bec halsige ... and the final clauses of Beesel'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.

1200 frean 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 oncneow was not frean feorhgedal, but þet frean feorhgedal feor ne wæs'. 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 frean feorhgedal and find themselves obliged to take endedogor as in variation with hit and frean feorhgedal, rather than as a dative following feor.

1206 Nis þe 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 þe as the dative pronoun of the second person. Other translators imply through omission that þe 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 hæfentid : Compare hælmihtiga 950 and see the note for hus 271. The form is emended to æfentid in all the editions of the poem.

1218 dægwoman : Kock (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 æfenne 7 on ærne morgen 812, but the resemblance is scarcely surprising as both the Guthlac B poet and the prose-translator are dependent upon Vita 1135 uespere et mane. A note on the compound will be found in the discussion of dægredwoma 1292.

1220 gæstes : This word may be either gæst 'spirit' (as in Thorpe and Kennedy) or gæst 'visitor, stranger' (as in Grein, Gollancz and Gordon), and personal preference will determine the interpretation given it (compare the note for ceargæsta 393). Bœcel'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 cumque 1135. However, Guthlac's own description of the visitor as an angelum consolationis may point to gæst.

1222a For a note on this verse see III.3/43.

1224 BA : A new section begins here slightly under half way down folio 50^{v}. The preceding line is empty; the line above is filled with script and ends with sinden :⁊ . A capital Þ (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 Tunc ... presentabat. The poet does not use Vita 1144-48 O ... cognoscet, the injunction that Beccel should not reveal these secrets to any others except Pega and Egbeorht. The poet, in lines 1227 ff., changes the sense somewhat from his source in Vita 1137-38 filii ... noli, but from 1228b hæs þe ... 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 æfteran ... geæræmearces 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 elnes eneydig : This phrase occurs also in Ele 724 where it

describes Judas and is in variation with eðe and meteleas, (mægen wæs geswiðrod) 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 BTs from Napier 1889, p. 73, line 12. This latter example of the form, though hesitantly glossed in BTs by 'unknown', is usually accepted as meaning 'made known'. Napier (1889, p. 73) explains that it is a by-form of *ondgyðig, 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 antkundig 'wise' and one instance of an Old English verb oncyðan 'to make known' is recorded in BT (from a charter, for which see Thorpe 1865, p. 117, line 1 : ic oncyðde ealle folce ...). The Modern German Ankündigung is probably to be connected with these forms.

Editors of Eleng 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, mægne modig 1272, eadig elnes gemyndig 1284, etc. GK infer a similar interpretation of these passages, giving as the meaning of oncyðig in Ele 724 and Glc 1226 bewusst and in FAp 106 bekannt.

The BT equation of oncyðig 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 ond swa uncyðig where stylistic arguments favour its interpretation as 'ignorant, wicked' instead of as 'wise' (the latter proposed in GK (under oncȳðig) and put forward also by Kock (1923, p. 226)). The occurrence of the gloss ðone uncyðig vel unwittende 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 Bwf 830, 1420 and in And 1179 oncyðdæda, 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 cur rather than an exclamatory 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 geaȝ 'folly'. He suggests that the manuscript gieddum 'in songs' should be emended to gehbum 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 [næfre on ealdre]
> þurh gielpcwide gæstes 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 lifigendum ....
> Huru ic nolde sylf ....
> þurh gielpcwide gæstes 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, Collaeus, Kennedy and Gordon show that they also regard on bone æfteran anseld as an accusative noun with its modifiers. GK (under æftera) quote from this clause in a similar manner, adding a question mark after the citation. Cosijn (1898, p. 120) first points out that seld is neuter, that on bone æfteran and geargemearces 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 819-20 ðan æfteran geare be ie bis 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 ānseld in BT) as a masculine noun and the following excerpt given :

> Ie ongon on ðone ānseld būgan 'I began to dwell in this hermitage'

Under æftera 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 ānseld) : 'Under this word for 'dwell in' substitute 'turn to' and a correction of this will be found under gēargemearc where ānseld is described as neuter and the passage translated 'directly after I had begun the second year of my inhabiting the hermitage'.

1248 life, MS lifes : This emendation is made by all the editors. The scribe, perhaps following his exemplar mechanically, may

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 Glc 1269b-72a. The verses hyrde ba gena ellen on innan 1270b-71a (compare the note for elnes oncydig 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 ... inflaret are reflected in Glc 1271b-78a. 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 qua sederet nectarius odor inflaret.

Vita 1152-57 Nocte ... dicens is elaborated by the poet in Glc 1278b-95a and his treatment of his source in this passage contains many puzzling features which are discussed in the following entries in this commentary. The poet works from the outline provided by Felix :/ the advent of night, the fiery light which encircles 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 Beccel 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 þe sceolde
> eadig on elne endedogor
> awrecen wælstrælum.

and again in the phrase eadig elnes geryndig 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 :

> þrong niht ofer./ tiht-londes frætwa
>
> when night sles'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 Ohg. zuht.

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

> þrong niht ofer,
> tihte londes frætwa:

but in his footnotes reveals his dissatisfaction with this arrangement

by his further suggestion that tihte 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 Gollancz and Assmann in their texts follow the division of these verses eventually arrived at by Grein, as does Gollancz who translates them :

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

Like Gollancz's, Kennedy's translation does not indicate whether frætwa 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 frætwe) explains frætwa 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 frætwa can be regarded as variation of woruld 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 ofertēon and Modern German Überzug, but it 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 tiht, comparing the phrases in Phx 525 on tihte, Ele 53 on tyhte and Chr 812 on tyhte. 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 Zug..

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 bought, Old English gang 'path', Modern English bed (of a river), Old English rād and sund. He cites as parallel with ofer tiht/ londes frætwa such common poetical phrases as wonga (floda, geofenes) bigong and explains that þrēng is used intransitively with the sense 'pressed on, forced its way', comparing Gen 139 þrang þystre 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.

althouth 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 ofercah 1280. This verse is translated by Thorpe 'o're veil'd 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 Bwf 496 seomote 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 scirwered is variously represented by im Strahlenscheine (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 cum prefatus frater nocturnis uigiliis incumberet: igneo candore e medio noctis spatio usque in auroram totam domum circumsplendescere uidebat;
>
> 1152-55

It is usual to read Gle 1288 scirwered as a compound adjective with the meaning 'clothed in radiance' (comparable in formation with Bwf 606 sweglwered, Jud 230 scirmæled and Gen 812 unwered), yet to read scir werod 'the gleaming host' in Exodus 125 and scir wered 'sweet drink' in Beowulf 496. The latest editor of Exodus (Irving 1953, p. 77) notes that it is unlikely that 'two separate phrases, scan scīr werod and scān scīrwered existed concurrently' and suggests that the meaning in the Exodus context is improved by reading scirwerod '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 scirwerod 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 rihte strēte.

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 scencan 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 Glc 1288.

1292 ofer : Mullen (1911, §89) points out that ofer here has the sense 'up over' as in Bwf 2073 and Mnl 114, contrasting Phx 103 and Brb 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 Glc 1291 and PPs 129.6).

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

leoht efter com,
dagredwoma. 125

Comparable is dagwoma 'herald of the day' which is recorded only twice, in Glc 1218 and Exo 344. Brooks (1961, p. 67) cites a form from Aelfric's Colloquy (from the Garmonsway edition) but the word there is rather dagred and WrW I.90.20 place on dagred above diluculo).

The base element -woma in these compounds, like Old English wōm and Old Norse ómr, means 'sound, noise', the sense it holds in other poetical compounds in which it appears, e.g. And 218, Jln 136 and 663 hildwroma 'noise of battle', Chr 835 and 999 heofonwoman 'noises 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 Wdr 103 wintres woma. Gradon (1956, p. 26) points out that the cognate Old English verb woman 'allure, entice' suggests that the noun woma held the sense 'harbinger, one who speaks', a meaning she suggests is implicit in the compounds dagwoma and dægredwoma. She suggests that the formula swefnes woma found in Ele 71, Dan 118 and 538 is to be explained 'the revelation of a dream' and that a similar extension of woma appears in this phrase. Woolf (1955, p. 49) does not discuss the meaning of Jln 576 wiges womum 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 wedertacen : The presence of wearm in this verse shows that wedertacen is here a sign of good weather. The limiting element of Asa 96 wearme wederdagas is similarly marked and the sense 'fine weather' should be understood in Exo 75 wederwolcen (the pillar of cloud protects the Israelites from the sun) and in And 1697 ba wederburg (after the conversion of its inhabitants the city must have been blessed with good weather), but not in And 372 wedercandel 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 wederfæsts

'weather-bound' appears in the Chronicle entry for 1046 (Land manuscript).

1295b-1308a These lines correspond to Vita 1157-63 fili ... emisit.

Guthlac's words in verses 1295b-99 summarise the matter of the slightly longer speech here given him by Felix (1157-60 fili ... malit) and Vita 1160-63 are reflected in lines 1300-4 of the poem. The poet paraphrases and varies the phrase elevatis oculis ad cælum, 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 gimmas : 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 heafodgimmum, MxmI 44 heafodgimme and And 31 heafodgimme (genitive

plural). The same image may be expressed also in And 50 heafdes sigel (see Brooks 1961 note for this emendation of the manuscript segl) rather more fantastically. The three examples of the compound heafodgimmas 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 gimmas here carries no such overtones.

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

1308 belifd : Thorpe suggests the emendation belifen 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 belfian : Hml Th 36.10 belifian, 308.5 belifode and Hml S 12.221 Belifian (vel beheafdian). Although Teller proposes the infinitive belfian 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/C.2.

1308 leoht ascan, MS leohta scan : Thorpe follows the manuscript division of these words, translating them 'shone of lighte', but no subsequent commentator has taken leohta as parallel with beama 1309 and like it dependent on beorhtast.

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

The poet now follows Felix's account of the marvellous light quite closely, but again dispenses with Beccel'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 þæt ealond,
foldweng 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, Craigie, Williams, KD and Bolton, with what follows by Thorpe and Gollancz. The latter division is preferred in this edition.

1320 smiþra : For the inflexion in this word and wynsumra 1321 compare the note for mara 521 and see III.4/C.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 **onbrimman* cognate with *brymm* 'host'. He would presumably argue that the manuscript *onbrong* 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 *onbringan* III), and that emendation *onsprong* is here adopted. This form preserves the assonance so often found in this poem and can be reconciled simply with the manuscript form (misreading of the consonant cluster for a shorter similar group). The verb *onspringan* 'spring asunder' occurs in *Bwf* 817 *seonowe onsprungon*; 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 *Beofode þæt ealond* 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 þat gestag* 1328 being close to the source.

1328 *unhydig* : Thorpe first puts forward the emendation *unhydig* 'unheedful' which is adopted by both Craigie and Williams.

The form unhydig is used also of the Anthropophagi when they find the prisons empty of the foreigners they hoped to eat, And 1078 :

Hie þa unhydige eft gecyrdon,
luste belorene, laðspell 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 weghengest: The compound, found also in Ele 236, is similar to the Old Norse vágmarr. 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 merebissan, And 446 merebyssan, And 1657, 1699 and Ele 238 brimbisan and Rdl 27.10 mægenbisan 'violence' (where Grein's emendation mægenwisan 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 manuscript 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 ðyf. Sedgefield in his edition of the text (1899, p. 47) records and follows Napier's suggestion that Junius's ðyf 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 reinstated by C.L. Wrenn (1962, pp. 170-71) who argues that it is easier to glimpse behind the Junius ðyf his exemplar's ðys then the form pyf

put forward by Napier. He finds '*bys a decidedly less phantasmal "ghost" than *byf' and notes also its possible occurrence in Middle English texts in the South Eastern form bes. Holthausen (see AEW under ðyssa 'Toser') compares Old High German dōsōn 'rauschen, tönen, brausen', Modern German tosen, Old Norse byss, bausn 'Getümmel' among the many related words listed by him.

1330 sorgum : Grein suggests the emendation sargum and translates 1330a unter dem Traurigen. Gollancz 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 sārgum in his text and notes (p. 275) that it should be understood as 'sorrowing messenger', following Gollancz'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 burgsalo : Cosijn (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, leoht 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 burgsalo appears also in Gle 1284 and in Pnt 50 where it is in variation with of ceastrum ond cynestolum.

1332 lagumearg : This and the kenning hærnflota 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 æfter sundplegan is used only in this poem and in Phx 111. The compound sondlond occurs nowhere else and may have been invented here to rhyme with grond 1335; note also the assonance with -sund- 1334. For this poet's apparent love of rhyme see the note in III.3/49.

1338 bilideng : This form is generally emended to bilidenne by the editors, but for the sporadic simplification of -nn- compare mine 650 and see also III.4/C.2.

1339 wopes hring : 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 hring 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 hring 'circle'. He compares the imagery of Bwf 189 f. and 1992 and the use of the passive participle soden in Gle 1073, 1150, 1262, And 1239 and Bwf 1150-51, assuming therefore that a metaphor expressed by the verb seoðan was drawn from an image of a cauldron boiling over and lies behind wopes hring 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 hring, '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 gemonade : 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 Ac him mon sceal manian (Cotton manuscript in Sweet 1871). Despite

these two occurrences of this construction Cosijn concludes Aber an beiden stellen sind wol schreibfehler anzunehmen. Examples of the verb followed by a form which may be either accusative or dative for the person occur e.g. Gen 1029 me, and the dative construction may therefore have been more widespread than Cosijn assumes.

1340 teagor : Thorpe suggests that this word is 'a poetic formation analagous to lombor' and thinks the g an 'error for r'. 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 *teahur < *tehur which Campbell (235 fn. 1) posits in explanation of the Anglian form tēar. The Germanic *tagur, in which g [ȝ] apparently remained a fricative, commonly appears with h in West Germanic : in Old High German zahar (with second sound shift) and in Old English tæher, teher and tehher (from primitive Old English *tahur). The ea in teagor may be analogical from tēar and the form teagor is best regarded as archaic and probably poetical. See also III.4/F.

1343 lāce geleedan : The noun lāce can be interpreted either as the accusative singular with feminine inflexion (see doubtful entry in BTs under lāc III) or as the dative singular of a neuter noun (see GK under lāc 5) which is preferred in the glossary. The accusative singular form læc in 1298 and the absence of clear examples of this noun with feminine inflexions 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 soð : Holthausen (1907, p. 201) suggests that the metre requires emendation of this phrase to to soðe. This is however unnecessary, for there are other examples of this verse-pattern in Guthlac B. See III.3/35.

1344ff. The poet's Cwom þa ... þær se fæmne wæs 1344 may correspond to Vita 1174 Deueniens ... ad sanctam cristi uirginem pegian but the poet, instead of following Felix in recording that Beccel related to Pege her brother's last commandments, now gives to him a fusleoð 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 fusleoð agol : Cosijn (1898, p. 120) compares Chr 623 fusleoð galan and Bwf 1424 fuslic f[yrd]leoð 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 ðæm selestan be sæm tweonum), but less easy to be sure of the verse he thinks similar to 1349a (perhaps Bwf 1470a driht-scype 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-leod spel* 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 intensitive'; his explanation is followed in BT, 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 Kummer 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 FtM 55 *dreogan dryhtenbealo*.

1350 *broht, beodengedal* : A similar passage in *Christ III* should be compared with this line :

þær him sorgendum sar onslife,
þroht þeodbealu, on þreo healfa. 1267

In both *broht* seems by position an adjective and is so treated in GK and BT. Kock (1918, p. 11) points out that the only other instance of *broht* in Old English verse is a noun form, *Ele* 704 *ond þes broht to þes heard*, and that there is a separate adjectival form *brohtig*, e.g. *Rdl* 85.4 *þreohtigra*. These forms correspond to the Old Norse words *bróttr* and *bróttigr*. 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 Kock need be quoted in illustration of this usage : Glc 1146 ar, onbehtbegn, Bwf 2198 eard, eðelriht, Bwf 2493 eard, eðelwyn, Vgl 44 nibum nearowrencum.

1351 wyrdstafun : See the note for motum 13.

1352 ǽswæman : Thorpe and Gollancz both translate this verb by 'pine', Grein gives sich härmen in his translation and Gordon 'grieve'; this interpretation is supported by the examples of the verb with this sense quoted in BT (under swǽman) and in BTs (under ǽswǽman) 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 þonan ... 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 ǽ swæman which can only be described as yet another possible interpretation of the text not followed in this edition.

1360 on engle : See the note for this phrase in line 880.

1360 bara be : Andrew (1940, §122) points out that accennedne

1361 indicates that the antecedent of be is singular. He suggests therefore that bara is probably a scribal interpolation. Translators tend either to neglect the singular inflexion of accennedne 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 Herre mein,
der Gebieter der Helden und der Bruder dein,
inmitten der Seen der Männer bester,
die wir in England hörten irgend jemals
geboren werden in Bübleins Gestalt ..

The latter practice is illustrated in Collancz'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 bara 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 be as complement of a clause headed by bara be may be either singular (as accennedne here indicates) or plural.

1365 winiga, 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 winiga '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, werigra wraþa 1363 and winemæga wyn 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 eorðan dæl : Compare se wuldres dæl 1368 for the agreement of the demonstrative and see the note for line 1176.

1375 wæs, MS þæs : For a note on the confusion of þ and w (ƿ) in this manuscript see line 252.

1379 drusendne : Compare the note for gnornende 232 and see also III.4/B.1(c).

This is the last word on folio 52^{v} 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 53^{r}, suggest that there was less than one blank line before the section which begins Him þa asarias :

> ... this section was not therefore introduced with more ceremony than, e.g. the canto of Christ on f.25^{b}. In this part of the manuscript two or three blank lines are always left before the beginning of a new poem.

GLOSSARY

The words are glossed in alphabetical order. Thus æ comes between ad and af. The prefix ge- is disregarded in verbs which are glossed after the alphabetical order of the simplex. The letters þ and ð, taken together as one letter, follow t.

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.

ā adv always; ā 13, 344, 839, 1190, 1255, 1262; ā 541, 632, 763, 1371; and see āwa

ā vb prefix, with bannan, bēodan, brecan, cennan, cweþan, drēogan, flēon, frēfran, fyllan, fyrhtán, fyrran, fȳsan, galan, gēotan, giefan, gongan, hebban, hnēapan, hwyrfan, lecgan, lȳfan, nemnan, rēran, reccan, rīsan, sānian, scīnan, settan, springan, stīgan, sundrian, swēman, tēon, þrēotan, winnan, wrecan, wreððan, wyrgan

ābannan stv 7 summon; 2pl pr subj abonne 299 (MS abunne, N)

ābēodan stv 2 announce, offer; inf - 1374; 3s pr ind ābēodeð 5; 3s pt ind ābēad 160, 685; pp āboden 309, 723

ābrecan stv 4 destroy; pp ābrocen 1367

ac conj but; - 11, 20, 151, 188, 202, 222, 228, 247, 259, 294, 306, 310, 321, 332, 359, 372, 378, 399, 422, 462, 484, 497, 505, 545, 550, 614, 633, 701, 756, 831, 836, 846, 925, 963, 991, 995, 1055, 1072

ācennan wkv 1 beget, be born; pp ācenned 825, asm ācennedne 1361

ācol adj terrified; nsm - 692

āceweþan stv 5 speak; 3s pt ind ācwæð 1347

āð m funeral pile; ns āð 668

āðl f disease, pain; ns - 940, 978, 1064; āðle 1022; gs āðle 1017; ds āðle 886, 956, 1136, 1162

†āðloma m one lamed by fire, wretch; npl earme aðloman 912 (N)

†āðlþracu f force of the disease; ns - 962

†āðlwērig adj exhausted by the disease; asm āðlwērigne 1008

āðrēogan stv 2 endure; inf - 516; 3s pr ind āðrēogeð 92; 3s pt ind āðrēag 532, 539

ǣ f law; as ǣ. 23, 55

†ǣboda m messenger (of the law), preacher; ds ǣ.bodan 937

†ābylg n anger; as - 1237

ǣdre adv forthwith, quickly; - 1199, 1377

ǣfest adj pious, firm in observing the law; gpl ǣ. fæstra 526

ǣfen n evening; as - 1277; gpl ǣfna 1242

ǣfentīd f evening, eventide; as hæfentīd 1215 (N)

ǣfenglōm m twilight; ds ǣfenglōme 1291

æfest m/f envy; apl æfeste 187; dpl æfstum 712 (MS æftum, N)

æfnan wkv 1 perform, fulfill; inf - 844; 3pl pr ind æfnað 15; inf geæfnan 1237; 3s pt geæfnde 1108

ǣfre adv ever; - 612, 866, 1119, 1229, 1237, 1260, 1360

æfter adv afterwards; - 27, 855

æfter 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

æfter þon adv phrase then, therefore; - 1178

æftera cpv adj second, following; asm þone æfteran 1240

æfteryld f maturity; as - 496

ǣghwǣr adv everywhere; - 601

ǣghwylc pron each one, everyone; dsm ǣghwylcum 33; ism ǣghwylce 1000

ǣht f possession; dpl ǣhtum 418

ǣhtwela m wealth, riches; apl ǣhtwelan 388

ǣlan wkv 1 kindle, burn; 3s pr subj ǣle 1065; see also in-

ælde plm men; gpl ælda 755, 821, 926, 975; eldа 824; dpl ældum 1142

ældu f age; time of life, youth, old age; as - 109; gs ælda 835 (N)

ælmesse f alms, almsgiving; a ælmessan 77

ælmihtig adj almighty; nsm - 242, 532, 555, 822, 930, 958, 1100; sē ælmihtiga 760, sē hælmihtiga 950 (N)

ǣmen adj uninhabited; nsf - 216

ǣnig pron + g any; nsm - 755, 987, 993, 1251; gsm ǣniges 1126, ǣnges 1129; dsm ǣngum 1229, 1249

ǣnig adj any; nsm - 1247

ǣnlīc adj excellent; nsm cpv ǣnlīcra 1320

ǣr adv formerly, before, earlier; - 27, 143, 369, 390, 859, 876, 1014, 1118, 1228, 1297; tō - 844; cpv ǣror 210; spv ǣrest 179, 455, 562, 607, 826, 983

ǣr conj before; - + subj 1020, 1222; ǣr þon + subj 50; ǣr ðon + ind/subj 1162

ǣrest spv adj first; nsf sēo ǣreste 437; asm þone ǣrestan 821; asf þā - 109; dsm þām - 496; npl þā - 975

ǣrende n message; as - 5; apl ǣrendu 162, 724, 1296

ǣrgewyrht n former work, deed of old; as - 987; dpl ǣrgewyrhtum 1079

ǣrist m/f/n arising, resurrection; as - 1100; gs ǣreste 342

æt prep + d at, near, from; - 33, 258, 443, 559, 889, 922, 1174; + a/d - 1, 312, 982, 1009, 1052, 1174, 1209, 1216, 1336

ǣt f food; gs ǣte 736

ætryhte adj almost, close at hand; - þā 997, 1152

ætstæll m station; ds ætstælle 179 (N)

ætwist f substance, existence; as - 500

æbele adj noble, excellent; nsm - 1287; asm æþelne 1287; gsm æbeles 1146; nsm sē æbela 1278; asf þā æbelan 926, 1105; isn þȳ æbelan 1301

æbeltungol m noble star; gpl æbeltungla 1314

æbelu pln excellencies; apl - 97; gpl æbela 43; dpl æbelum 459

ǣwiscmōd adj ashamed; nsm ǣwiscmōd 924

ā̆flēon stv 2 flee from; 3s pr ind ā̆flīhð 504

ā̆for adj bitter; dpl ā̆frum 519

ā̆frēfran wkv 1 comfort; 3s pr ind ā̆frēfreð 315; 2s pr subj ā̆frēfre 1021

ā̆fyllan wkv 1 cause to fall down, overturn; inf - 285

ā̆fyrhtan wkv 1 frighten; pp ā̆fyrhted 1326

ā̆fyrran wkv 1 remove, expel; 3s pt ā̆fyrde 748; pp ā̆fyrred 669

ā̆fȳsan wkv 1 hasten; pp nsm ā̆fȳsed 939

ā̆galan stv 6 sing; 3s pt ā̆gōl 1346

ā̆gān prp v own, possess, have; inf - 482, 681; 3pl pr ind ā̆gun 79; 2s pr subj ā̆ge 273; 3s pt āhte 523

ā̆gēotan stv 2 shed, pour out; 3s pt ind ā̆gēat 522

ā̆giefan stv 5 give back, repay; 3s pt ind ā̆geaf 1026, 1163, 1224; pp ā̆giefen 660; ā̆gyfen 780

ā̆glǣca m miserable being, monster; npl ā̆glǣcan 575

ā̆gongan stv 7 go, depart; pp ā̆gongen 470

āhebban stv 6 raise up; inf - 1156, 1160; 3s pt ind āhōf 1300; āhōf 399; āhōf 772, 1104; 3pl pt āhōfun 299; āhōfun 905

* āhnēapan stv 7 pluck; 3s pt ind āhnēop 847 (N)

āhwyrfan wkv 1 turn away; 3s pt āhwyrfde 459

ālecgan wkv 1 withhold, lessen, deprive of; 3s pr ind ālegeð 92 (N); 3pl pt ālegdon 229

ālȳfan wkv 1 allow; 3s pt ālȳfde 481; pp ālȳfed 423, 612, 1248

ān num one, a certain; nsm - 242, 401, 1000; asm ānne 27, ānne 601; gsm ānes 269; dsm ānum 250; pron one, gpl ānra 33; alone, wk nsm āna 101, 158, 207, 245, 277, 432, 450, 555; used with possessive pronoun gs ānes 388; dsm/n ānum 441 (N)

ānād n desert; ds ānade 333, 356

†ānbūend m hermit; gpl ānbūendra 88

ānemnan wkv 1 declare; 3pl pt ānemdon 42

anforlātan stv 7 forsake, relinquish; inf - 187, 641

ānhoga m solitary; nsm - 997

ānhȳdig adj steadfast; nsm - 897, 978

ānseld m hermitage; asm ānseld 1240 (N)

ār m messenger, servant; ns - 1327, ār 684, 1146; gs ǣres 1217; npl āras 920

ār f honour, glory; ns - 620; as āre 480; a/ds āre 766; dpl ārum 450

ārǣran wkv 1 raise up; 3s pt ārǣrde 179, ārǣrde 149; pp nsm ārǣred 1312

āreccan wkv 1 tell, relate; inf - 891, 1122, 1322

ārīsan stv 1 arise; 3pl pr ind ārīsað 32; 3s pt ind ārās 1101, 1108, 1293; pp ārisene 39

ārlāslīce adv wickedly, impiously; - 565

ārlīc adj fitting; ns - 526

āsānian wkv 2 grow weak; inf - 1175

āscīnan stv 1 shine; 3s pt ind āscān 1308

āsettan wkv 1 place, set down; 2pl pr ind āsettaþ 701

aspringan stv 3 spring out, fall away, fail; 3s pr ind āspringeð 20

āstīgan stv 1 climb, rise; inf - 26; 3s pt ind āstāg 263, 392, 661, 1104

āsundrian wkv 2 separate, sever; 3pl pr subj āsundrien 1177; pp āsundred 515

āswǣman wkv 1 grieve; inf - 1352 (N)

ātēon stv 2 set out upon; 2pl pr ind ātēoð 301

atol adj dire, terrible; nsm sē ātela 116; asn þæt atule 562

āttor n poison, venom; ds āttre 668, 912

ābrēotan stv 2 weary; 3s pt ind ābrēat 844

āwa adv always, forever; - 670; āwo tō ealdre 786; siþþan āwo 1043

āwinnan stv 3 gain; 2s pt ind āwunne 469

āwrecan stv 5 strike; pp nsm āwrecen 1154, 1286

āwreððan wkv 1 support; pp nsm āwreðed 324

āwyrgan wkv 1 curse; pp damned, nplm āwyrgde 255, 911; apl þā āwyrgdan 25

bǣdewēg n drinking vessel, cup; as - 985 (N)

bǣlblæse f blaze of flame; a/ds in bǣlblæsan 676

bām, see bēgen

bān n bone; gs bānes 698; npl bān 380

bāncofa m bone dwelling, body; ns - 954; ds bāncofan 942

bāncoþa m bone disease; ns - 1025 (N)

bānfæt n body; ns - 1265, as - 1193

bānhūs n body; ns - 1367

bānloca m bone enclosure, body; ns - 980

bannan, see ā-

bāt m boat; as - 1328

bēacen n sign, standard; ns - 1309

be-, with hlehhan, hycgan, libban, niman, singan, swīcan, witigan

beald adj bold, brave; nsm - 1025

bealdor m hero, master; ns - 1358

bealonīþ m baleful malice, evil; as - 809

bēam m tree, light; ds bēame 847; gpl bēama 1309

bearn n child; ns - 430, 787, 1076, 1080, 1166; apl - 1097;
gpl bearna 1130; dpl bearnum 854

bearo m grove, wood; ds bearwe 148, 429

bebod (bibod) n command, decree; as bibod 807; apl bebodu 34,
843, bibodu 75

bēgen num both; n būtū 380, 928; g bēga 87, 523; d bām 870

behlehhan stv 6 laugh at, rejoice in; inf - 1357

behycgan 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

bēo, bēoð, see wesan

bēodan stv 2 command, threaten, announce; 3pl pt ind budon 564, 744; 3s pt subj bude 915; also see ā-, for-, bi-

beofian wkv 2 tremble, quake; 3s pt beofode 1325

beorg m hill, mound; as - 148, 262, 429; biorg 175; gs beorges 383; ds beorge 192, 329, 439, 733; beorhge 140; apl beorgas 209, 232

grave; ds beorge 1193

beorgan stv 3 protect (+ d pers, a thing); 3pl pr ind beorgað 809; 3pl pt burgun 730
inf gebeorgan 990

†beorgsebel m/n hill dwelling; as - 102

beorht adj bright; nsm - 854; asm beorhtne 798; asn beorht 843; gpl beorhtra 941; asm bone beorhtan 1106; asf bā- 777; dsf ðære - 1191; cpv nsm beorhtra 1313; spv nsn beorhtast 1309

beorhte adv brightly; - 1284

beorn m man; ns - 1328; gpl beorna 1358

beran stv 4 carry, bear; inf - 345; 3pl pr ind berað 798; 3s pt ind bær 170; 3pl pt bæron 117, 729
inf geberan 497; also see for-, tō-, on-, oð-

besingan stv 3 bewail; inf - 615

beswīcan stv 1 deceive; inf - 568; pp nplm beswicene 625

betran, betre, see gōd adj

bewitigan wkv 2 observe; inf - 199; see witian

bi prep + d by, through, beside; - 70, 1234; bi sæm twēonum 266, 1359; bi hwon 273 (why)

bi-, with bēodan, būgan, cuman, cweðan, dēaglian, drēosan, drifan, fæstan, fēolan, fōn, gongan, gytan, healdan, helian, hōfian, lēosian, līþan, lūcan, mīðan, murnan, mūtian, nēotan, niman, sencan, sēon, sengan, þeccan, þencan, werian

bibēodan stv 2 bid, command; 1s pt ind bibēad 1297; 3s pt ind - 697

bibod, see bebod

bibūgan stv 2 avoid; inf - 868, 990

bicuman stv 4 arrive; 3s pt ind bicwōm 1098

bieweðan stv 5 declare, say; 3s pt ind biewæð 360

bīdan stv 1 stand, remain, endure; inf - 779, 787; 3s pr ind bīdeð 67; 3s pt ind bād 329, 914, 941, 1136, 1284, bād 952

+ g await, wait for; inf bīdan 289; 3s pr subj bīde 236; 3pl pr ind bīdað 84; 3s pt ind bād 550, bād 217

gebīdan + a experience; inf - 835; 2pl pr ind gebīdað 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 bæd 332, 1158

bidēaglian wkv 2 conceal; inf - 1252

bīding f abode; gs bīdinge 209

bidrēosan stv 2 deprive of; pp nplm bidrorene 626, 901

bidrīfan stv 1 drive, constrain; 3s pt ind bidrāf 597

bifæstan wkv 1 secure, bury; 3s pr subj bifæste 1193

bifēolan stv 3 consign to; pp nplm bifolene 626

bifōn stv 7 surround, encompass; pp nsm 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 bigongað 805; 3s pr subj bigonge 28

bigytan stv 5 get, obtain; 3pl pr ind bigytað 25

bihealdan stv 7 behold; inf - 815; 3s pr ind bihealdeð 318; 3s pt ind bihēold 105

bihelian wkv 1 hide, bury; pp asm biheledne 1353

bihōfian wkv 2 + g behove; 3s pr ind bihōfað 361

bilēosan stv 2 + g deprive of; pp nsm biloren 1170, 1327

bilīþan stv 1 depart; pp ism bilidene 1338

bilūcan stv 2 lock up; 3s pr subj bilūce 1194; 3s pt ind bilēac 1245

bimīðan stv 1 hide, conceal; pp bimiþen 147

bimurnan stv 3 mourn for, rock; 3pl pr ind bimurnað 130

†bimūtian wkv 2 change; pp bimūtad 71 (MS bimutað, N)

bindan stv 3 bind; 3s pt ind bond 696; pp nplm gebundne 886

binēotan stv 2 + g deprive of enjoyment or of use; pp nplm binotene 900

biniman stv 4 take from, deprive; 3pl pt ind binōmen 342; pp nplm benumene 625

biorg, see beorg

*bīsacu f dispute; gs bīsmce 217 (N)

biscirian, see byscyrian

bisen, see bysen

bisēon stv 5 look; 3s pt ind biseah 1302

bisencan wkv 1 sink, lower; 3s pt bisenote 666

bisengan wkv 1 singe; pp mplm bisenote 624 (MS biscenote, N)

gebisgad, see bysgian

bittor adj cruel, bitter; nsm - 1025; asn - 985; asm bone bitran 868

bitwēon prep + a/d between; dægwoman - 7 bāre deorcan niht 1218

biđ, biþ, see wesan

biþeccan wkv 1 cover, cover over; 3s pt biþeahte 1281; 2s pr subj - 1377; pp nsm biþeaht 1031

biþencan wkv 1 remember; 2s pr subj biþence 1296

biwerian wkv 1 forbid; pp asm biweredne 848

blāc adj shining, pallid; nsn - 1331

blǣd m prosperity, joy; property; ns - 43, 439; as - 102; gs blǣdes 422, 931, 1374; ds blǣde 497

blēat adj wretched; asm þone blēatan 990

blēd f shoot, fruit; as blēde 847

blēo n form; as - 911

bletsian wkv 2 bless, consecrate; 1s pr ind bletsige 608; 3s pt ind bletsade 178; 3pl pt bletsadon 733

blētsung f blessing; as/pl blētsunga 672

blindnes f blindness; ds blindnesse 628

blis f joy, exultation; ns - 954, 1082; gpl blissa 1374; dpl blissum 1106, 1317

blissian wkv 2 rejoice in (+ d), be glad; 3pl pr ind blissiað 497; pp geblissad 722

blīþe adj happy, blithe; nsm - 439, 787, 942; ism blīðe 335; isn - 608; nsm sē blīþa 944

blōd n blood; ns blōd 380

blōdgyte m bloodshed, pouring out of blood; ds þurh - 305

blōdig adj bloodstained, bloody; nsf - 698; dpl blodgum 289

geblondan stv 7 mingle, blend; pp geblonden 668

blōwan stv 7 flourish, blossom; pp geblōwen 743; nplf geblōwene 1275

bōc f book; npl bēc 528, 878

bodian wkv 2 announce, proclaim; inf - 1115

bold n building, dwelling; ns - 140; gs boldes 84; and cf. botl

bolgenmōd adj enraged in mind; nplm bolgenmōde 557

gebolgne, see belgan

bona m slayer, killer; ns - 87; npl bonan 429; gpl bonena 523

bōt f remedy; as bōte 628

botl n abode, house; gs botles 329, 384; cf. bold

brægdwīs adj wise in deceit, crafty; nsm - 87

breahtm m noise, tumult; ns - 262; breahtem 1325; ds breahtme 1325; gpl breahtma 910

brecan stv 4 force a way into, storm; 3s pt subj brǣce 209 (N)

bregdan stv 3 fling, drag, turn; inf bregdon 676; 3pl pt brugdon 906 (N), 910; see also oð-

gebrēdan stv 3 + d draw; inf - 1165

brēgan wkv 1 frighten, terrify; 3pl pt brēgdon 564

brēme adj famous, renowned; npln - 883

gebrengan wkv 1 bring; 3pl pt gebrōhton 557

bringan stv 3 lead; 3s pr subj bringe 48; 2pl pr ind gebringað 378

*breodwian wkv 2 strike, strike down; 3pl pr ind breodwiað 287 (N)

brēost f/n breast; dpl brēostum 543, 654, 798, 804, 843, 954, 964

brēosthord n treasure of the breast, mind; ns - 944

brēostsefa m mind, spirit; ns - 309, 335

brimwudu m ship; ns - 1331

brōga m terror; ns - 140; as brōgan 84

brondhāt adj ardent, burning; nsf - 964

brosnung f corruption, decay; ns - 828

brōðor m brother; ns - 714, 1358

brōðorsibb f brotherly love; asn brōðersibbe 804

brūcan stv 2 + g enjoy, make use of; inf - 35, 211, 220, 338, 745, 931, 1191; 3s pr ind brūceð 383; 3pl pr ind brūcað 21, 75, 759; 3pl pt bruoan 417; pp gebrocen 422

bryce m breaking, fracture; ns - 698; as - 729

brȳd f wife, woman; ns - 870

bryne m fire, flame; as - 573

brynewylm m surge of flame; as - 672

bryrdan, see in-, on-

bryþen f brewing, drink; ns - 980 (N)

būgan stv 7 occupy, take possession of; inf - 102, 1240; 3pl pr ind būgað 298; pp gebūen 305

būgan 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

burgsæl n city dwelling, dwelling-places; apl ofer burgsalo 1284 (N), 1331

burgstede m city place, citadel; ns - 1317

būtan conj + ind but that; - 132

prep except for, without; + d - 245, 841; + a/d - 678, 1231

būtū, see bēgen

byegan wkv 1 + g buy; 3pl pr ind byegað 76

gebyldan wkv 1 to make bold; pp gebylded 475

byre m child, descendant; npl - 985

byrelian wkv 2 pour out, serve; 3s pt byrelade 870, byrlade 982

gebyrman wkv 1 ferment; 3s pt gebyrmde 981

byrnan stv 3 burn; inf - 192; 3s pt born 938, 964, 980

byscyrian wkv 1 deprive, separate; pp byscyrede 145, 895, biscyrede 673, biscirede 1074

bysen f example; ns - 175; gpl bisena 528

bysgian wkv 2 afflict; 3s pt bysgade 1018; pp gebysged 1013, 1136, gebisged 1197

bysgu f affliction, distress; ns - 714; apl - 546; dpl bysgum 1110

bytla m builder; ns - 148 (N), 733

cearful adj full of care, sorrowful; nplm cearfulle 577; gpl cearfulra 264

†ceargēst m woeful demon; gpl ceargēsta 393 (N)

cearu f grief, sorrow; dpl cearum 223

ceaster f city, castle; dpl ceastrum 17

cempa m champion, warrior; ns - 153, 180, 324, 402, 438, 513, 580, 727, 901; as cempan 558, 576, 688; ds - 889; npl - 797; apl - 91

cennan wkv 1 give birth to; 3pl pr ind cennað 52

ascribe to + d; 1pl pr ind cennað 183 (N); also see ā-

gecēosan stv 2 gain, obtain; 3s pt gecēas 880, 935; pp nplm gecorene 59, 797; asm gecorenne 1004

cild n child; gs cildes 1361

cirm m noise, clamour; ns - 393; as - 264

cirman wkv 1 shriek, yell; 3pl pt cirmdon 908

clǣne adj clean, pure; nsm - 29; nsf - 536; asf - 799; spv dsf bǣre clǣnestan 822

clǣne adv wholly, completely; - 580

cleopian wkv 2 cry, call; cleopedon 264

clom m bond, chain; prison; as - 598; dpl clommum 540

gecnāwan stv 7 perceive; 3s pt gecnēow 957

cnēo n knee; dpl cneowum 1041

cnēoris f generation; dpl cnēorissum 819

cōlian wkv 2 cool, grow cool; 3s pr ind cōlaþ 38; 3s pt cōlode 1307

compian wkv 2 fight; inf - 345; 3s pt campode 643

condel f/n candle, lamp; ns - 1290

corðor n band, company; ds corðre 908

gecostian wkv 2 try, tempt; pp gecostad 153, 536, 580 (MS gecostað 153, N)

costing f temptation, tribulation; ns costung 438; npl costinga 38

cræft m power, skill; as - 87; ds cræfte 198

cuman stv 4 come; inf - 23, 29, 366, 777, 951; 3s pr ind cymeð 10, 510, 1350; 3s pt ind cwōm 140, 148, 185, 684, 732, 747, 1272, 1282, 1291, 1344, cōm 1141; 3pl pt cwōman 212, 350, cwōmun 894; 2s pt cwōme 455; 3s pt subj - 432; 3pl pt subj - 237; see also bi-, ofer-

cunnan prp v know, can; 2s pr ind const 1045, 1377; 3s pr ind conn 721; 2pl pr ind cunnon 479; 3s pt cūðe 295; 1pl pt subj cūþen 751; pp cūð 536, 819

cwealm m/n death, slaying; as - 224, 858; gs cwealmes 223; ds cwealme 23

cwēman wkv 1 + d please, give pleasure to; inf - 306; 3pl pr ind cwēmað 462; 1s pt cwēmde 1085; 3s pt gecwēmde 949

cweðan stv 5 say, speak; 3s pr ind cwið 4; 3s pt ind cwæð 239; 3pl pt cwǣdon 192, 206, 577; see also ā-, bi-, on-

cwic adj alive, living; gpl cwicra 1249

cwide m speech; as - 1223

cwīþan wkv 1 lament; 3pl pr ind cwīþað 223

cyme 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

cyrran wkv 1 turn; 3pl pt cyrdon 908; also see on-

cyst f choice, best; ns - 853

cȳðan wkv 1 reveal, make known; 3s pr ind cȳþeð 769; 3pl pr ind cȳþað 529; 2s pr subj cȳðe 1222; 3pl pt cȳdon 735;

inf tō gecȳdenne 1249; 3s pr ind gecȳdeð 402 (N); 3s pt gecȳdde 403, 1160; imp s gecȳð 1182; pp gecȳþed 94, 448, 531

dǣd f action, deed; apl dǣde 80, 527, 721, 772, dǣda 466; gpl dǣda 123, 254; dpl dǣdum 240, 493, 619, 949, 1085

dæg m day; ns - 1098, 1141; as - 1106, 1151, 1256, 1277; gs dæges 610; npl dagas 969, 1135; apl dagas 772; gpl daga 1001, dagena 949; dpl dagum 51, 618

dæghlūttre adv brightly as day; - 693

dæghwām adv daily; - 80, 386

dægredwōma m herald of dawn; ns - 1292 (N)

dægwōma m dawn; ds dægwōman 1218

dǣl m part, share, portion; ns - 247, 381, 1366, 1368; as - 183, 516; ds dǣle 728; dpl dālum 54

gedǣlan wkv 1 divide, separate; inf - 227, 372; 3s pr ind gedǣleð 3; 3s pt gedǣlde 331, 740; 3pl pt subj gedælde 969 (N); pp gedǣled 54

daru f hurt, harm; e/ds dare 700

dēaglian, see bi-

dearninga adv scarcely; - 1252

dēað m death; ns - 863, 871, 1139, 1162; as - 240, 372, 549, 635, 680; gs dēaðes 224, 379, 524,830, 858, 972, 1067; gs dēaþa 235 (N); ds dēaðe 614, 626, 841, 1101

dēaðberende ptc adj death bringing; asn - 850

dēaðgedāl n separation of death; ns - 963

†dēaðmægen n deadly band; npl - 895

dēaðsele m death hall; ds - 1075

†dēaðwēge n fatal drink; gs dēaðwēges 991 (N)

dēgle, see dȳgol

dēma m judge; ns - 703; as dēman 618; gs dēman 783, 1188

dēman wkv 1 judge; inf - 549, 554; 3s pr ind dēmeð 379; 1pl pr subj dēmen 527; 2pl pt dēmdan 493; pp gedēmed 1059

dēofol m/n devil; gs dēofles 850; gpl dēofla 895

dēop adj deep, profound; asm dēopne 669, asn dēop 1292; gpl dēopra 858, 863; gs wk dēopan 991 (N)

dēope adv deeply, entirely; - 554, 583, 1349

dēophycgende pte adj deep-thinking, wise; nsm - 1112

dēophȳdig adj profound; nsm - 1001

dēoplīc adj profound; nsn - 1130

dēoplīce adv profoundly; 1121

dēor n animal; ns - 276; npl - 907

deorc adj dark; nsn - 1098; dsf bēre deorcan 1218

dēore adj dear, precious; nsm dȳre 693; asf dēore 1059; gsm bæs dēoran 69; dsm bām dēoran 871

dēore adv cruelly; - 969

dēormōd adj bold in mind, brave; nsm - 952

dēorwyrðe adj precious, of great worth; asm dēorwyrðne 183

dim adj dim, wretched; dsf ðāre dimman 1162

dōgor n day; npl - 1038; gpl dōgra 56, 321

dol adj dull, foolish; dsm dolum 464

dōm m judgment, law; ns - 444; as - 601, 610, 669; dōm 135, 706, 772; gs dōmes 972; ds dōme 111, 1362; apl domas 14, 56

dōmēadig adj blessed with power; nsm - 727, 952

dōmfæst adj just, righteous; gpl dōmfæstra 1083

dōn anom v do; 3pl pr ind dōð 61, 129; imp pl dōð 592
inf gedōn 314, 700

dragan stv 6 draw oneself, go; inf - 727

drēam m joy, rejoicing; ns - 11, 669, 1083; as - 195, 495, 1304, 1316; gs drēamas 830; ds drēame 464, 626, 1101; apl drēamas 3, 123; gpl drēama 330, 680; drēamum 740, 901

drēogan stv 2 keep up, endure; inf - 235, 259, 341, 635, 680, 1349; 3s pr ind drēogeð 386, 1355; 1pl or ind drēogað 49; 3pl pr ind drēogað 219; 3s pt drēag 524; 3pl pt drugon 115; 1s pt subj druge 487

drēorig adj mournful, sad; asm drēorigne 1139; asf þās drēorgan 1085

gedrēosan stv 2 fall; inf - 372; also see bi-

drīfan, see bidrīfan

droht m/n? manner of life; gs drohtes 1162 (N)

drohtaþ 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, 134, 224, 321, 379, 516, 554, 592, 703, 788, 1083, 1101; as - 14, 90, 479; gs dryhtnes 116, 123, 159, 240, 259, 314, 386, 444, 579, 583, 652, 684, 693, 727, 893, 901, 963, 1067, 1121, 1135; ds dryhtne 69, 80, 183, 215, 341, 464, 527, 614, 631, 721, 740, 841, 1112

dryhtenbealu n loss of lord; a - 1349 (N)

drȳman wkv 1 be joyful, rejoice; inf - 14

drync m drink, draught; as - 868, 990

dryre m decline, ceasing; ns - 830

gedūfan stv 2 plunge, dive; inf - 583

dugan pry v, impers + d befit; 3s pr subj dūge 384 (MS buge, N)

duguð f excellence, virtue, salvation; ns - 684; gs dugube 479; gpl duguþa 895, duguða 1075

body of retainers, host; gpl duguþa 1061; dpl dugeþum 893, dugeðum 1098

duru f door; as - 991

*durran pt pr v dare; 1s pt dorste 1211

gedȳgan wkv 1 escape, survive; pp gedȳged 436

dȳgle adj secret, hidden; asf - 159; nsf sēo dȳgle 215

dȳgol n darkness; ds dȳgle 466; dēgle 952

dyrne adj hidden, secret; nplm - 493; nslf - 466

ēac adv also; - 300, 1182, 1192, 1374; swylce - 166

prep + d besides; - 206

ēaca m addition, increase; ds ēacan 381

ēad n bliss; gs ēades 1192

ēadig adj happy, blessed; nsm - 176, 441, 745, 880, 1026, 1285, 1294, 1306; gsm ēadges 736, 1319; dsm ēadgum 937, 1005; gpl ēadigra 555; nsm sē ēadga 590, 1105, 1163, 1224; nsf sēo ēadge 2

ēadwela m riches, blessedness; a/ds or apl ēadwelan 1091 (N), 1118

eafora m child, pl men; dpl eaferum 855

ēage n eye; apl ēagan 1301; gpl ēagena 166; dpl ēagum 414, 1254

eahtan wkv 1 + g persecute; inf - 346; 3s pr ind eahteð 88

eahtian wkv 2 think; 3s pt eahtade 336

eahtoða num eighth; ism bisse eahteþan 1037

eald adj old; opv asm yldran 4; gsm yldran 500

yldra opv as sb elder; nplm yldran 750, 973

ealdfēond m old enemy, devil; ns - 365; gs ealdfēondes 203; gpl ealdfēonda 141, 390, 475; npl ealdfēondas 218

ealdian wkv 2 to grow old; 3s pr ind ealdað 43

ealdor m elder, superior; gs ealdres 420 (N)

ealdor n life; eternity (in dative phrases); ds ealdre 636, 786, 1119, 1229

ealdorgewinna m life enemy, deadly enemy; dpl ealdorgewinnum 534

ealdorlegu f death; ds ealdorlege 1260

eall adj and sb all; nsf - 279, 373; eal 325; nsn eall 532, eal 42, 1309; asm ealne 103, 817 (MS ealdne); asf ealle 119, 200, 253; gsf ealra 68; nplm ealle 548, 760 (or f); nplf ealle 50[illegible]; npln eall 96,

753, 1130, eal 194; aplf ealle 1184; apln eal 1296; gpl ealra 17, 528, 606, 638, 832, 892, 1103

eall adv completely, entirely; - 414; eal 1320

ealle adv completely, entirely; - 299, 1171

ealles adv entirely, of all; - 469, 601, 662

ēalond m island; ns - 1325

eam, see wesan

eard m dwelling, land, home; as - 897, 1182, 1372; gs eardes 220, 745, 1366; ds earde 256, 428, 656; npl eardas 297; apl eardas 351; gpl earda 308

eardfæst adj settled, established; nsm - 786

eardian wkv 2 dwell; 3pl pr subj eardien 55

eardwīc n dwelling-place; gpl eardwīca 853

earfeðe n hardship, suffering; ns - 1065; npl earfeþu 194; apl earfeða 225, 1355; gpl earfeþa 207; dpl earfeðum 245, 432, earfeþum 457, 556

earm adj wretched, poor; nsm - 454; nplm earme 210, 575, 912; aplm earme 77, 519; gpl earmra 297, 339, 405, 437, 904; dpl earmum 686

earnian wkv 2 + g earn; 3pl pr ind earniað 795

eart, see wesan

ēastan adv from the east; - 1291

ēastortīd f Easter; as - 1102

ēaðe adv easily; - 242, 250, 457,488, 556

ēaðmēdu f/n humility; apl - 103, 776; dpl ēaðmēdum 328, 480

ēaðmēdum adv humbly; - 920

ēaðmōd adj humble, obedient; nsm - 525, 599, 1301

ēaweð, see ȳwan

ēce adj eternal; nsm - 67, 930, 1100; nsf - 880; asm ēcne 638, 791, 1182, 1267; asn ēce 15, 634; gsm ēces 783, 1188; gsn ēcan 172 (H), 795; nsm sē ēca 381; asn þæt ēce 62, 126; dsm þām lēofestan ēcan 656; dsm/dplm þām ēcan 1079, 1186, 1371

†edergong m beggary, destitution; ns - 11 (H)

edlēan n reward; gpl edlēana 1078 (MS edlea/nan)

edwīt n reproach; as - 488

edwītsprecca m scornful speaker, scoffer; npl edwītsprecan 447

ēfna, see æfen

efne adv even, just; efne swā 592; efne þæs ilcan 973

eft adv afterwards, again; - 196, 281, 355, 365, 390, 428, 687, 908, 910, 920, 924, 1186, 1243

eftcyme m return; as - 736

ege m terror, awe; as - 686

egeslīc adj horrible, fearful; nsm - 141

egle adj hateful, loathsome; nsf - 962 (MS engle); dpl eglum 405

egsa m terror, fear; ns - 72, 167, 420; as egsan 565; ds egsan 203, 692; apl egsan 86; a/ds - 339, 731

ēhtend m persecutor; gpl ēhtendra 525

ellen n courage, strength; ns - 1348; as - 203, 450, 1271; gs 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; nsm - 1165

†ellenspræc f powerful speech; apl ellenspræce 1155

ellenweorc n brave deed; apl - 641

ellorfūs adj ready to depart; asm ellorfūsne 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

endian wkv 2 end, make an end; 3pl pr subj endien 50

enge adj painful; nsm - 997

engel m angel; ns - 2, 4,112, 116, 172, 190, 253,336, 356; as - 315, 1242; gs engles 135, 1124; npl englas 88, 1306; gpl engla 11, 325, 670, 782, 945, 1132, 1314, 1319; dpl englum 607, 681, 1192

†engelound adj angelic; asf engelounde 101

ēode, see gān

eom, see wesan

eorl m man, warrior; ns - 1165; gpl eorla 1108, 1206

eorðe f earth; ns - 373; as eorþan 119, eorðan 647; gs eorþan 2, 43, 381, 388, 795, eorðan 728, 1366; ds eorðan 1377; a/ds eorþan 15, 220, eorðan 333, 428, 525,712, 755, 933, 1102, 1127

eorðlīc adj earthly; nsm - 261; apln - 97

eorðware plm earth's inhabitants; dpl eorðwarum 607

eorðwela m earthly wealth; ns - 62; gs eorðwelan 319

ēow, see gē

ēower poss adj your; nsm - 261; a/dsf ēowere 707; nplf ēowre 466; dpl ēowrum 241

ermþu, see yrmðu

ēst f grace, favour; as - 826

geēðan wkv 1 make easy, alleviate; 2s pr subj geēþe 1206

ēðel m native land, country; ns - 67 (MS eleð), ēþel 261, 852, 1091; ds ēþele 277, ēþle 355, ēðle 801, 844

†ēþelboda m land's apostle, native preacher; as ēþelbodan 1003

ēþellond n native land; ns - 656

ēþelrieht n hereditary right, ancestral domain; ds ēþelriehte 216 (N)

fācen n sin, evil; gs fācnes 1071; gpl fācna 586

fæc 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; gsm fæges 1346; dsm fægum 1058; nplm fæge 560

fæger adj fair, beautiful; nsm - 825; nsf - 743; nsn - 657; asf þā fægran 629; dsm þām fægran 1181; cpv nsm fægerra 748; cpv gsn fægran 383; cpv as/plm fægran 48; spl nsm fægrast 1; spl dsm þām fērestan 836

fægre adv pleasantly, beautifully; - 152, 653

fāhð f hostility, enmity; as fāhðe 186

fāle adj faithful, gracious; nsm - 173

fæmne f woman; ns - 1344

†færhaga m perilous hedge; ds færhagan 960 (M)

færinga adv suddenly; - 939

færscyte m sudden shot; dpl færscytum 186

færspell n sudden message; gs færspelles 1050

fæst adj firm, fast; nsm 955, 1032 (or n); npln fæste 1274

fæste adv firmly; - 960

fæstan, see bifæstan

fæsten n fasting, fast; as - 808

fæstlīc adj firm; nsm - 773

fæðm m embrace; dpl fæðmum 782

faran stv 6 go, journey; 3s pr ind fareð 382; 3s pt fōr 1329; imp s far 291, fyr 1178 (N)

fēa pl adj few; nplm - 59; gpl fēara 173

feallan stv 7 to fall; inf - 283

gefeallan stv 7 fall, light upon; 3s pt him ðæt in gēfeol 1008

†fēalōg adj destitute; nsm fēalōg 246 (N)

fēdan wkv 1 feed; 3s pr ind fēdeð 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

fēolan, see bifēolan

feohtan, see oferfeohtan

gefeōn stv 5 trs rejoice; inf - 13, 421

rejoice in, with in + d; 2pl pr ind gefēoð 508; 3pl pt gefēgon 213, 738

fēond m enemy, devil; ns - 136, 864, 982, as - 803; gs fēondes 442; npl fēondas 421; apl fēond 152, fēondas 748; gpl fēonda 186, 201, 265, 326, 436, 566, 691, 902, 915, 961; dpl fēondum 773

feor adj far; nsf - 216

feor adv far, distant; - 1166, 1200, 1206

feorggedāl n death; as - 1178, 1200

feorh n life; ns - 1036; as - 90, feorg 243, 1058; gs fēores 291, 627; ds fēore 130, 436, 442, 548, 995; gpl fēora 396; ds 'forever' wīdan feorh 817, tō wīdan fēore 840, tō fēore 13

feorhcwealm m death, slaughter; as - 915

feorhgiefa m giver of life; ns - 1239

feorhhord n life's treasure, soul; as - 1144

†feorhloca m life's enclosure, breast; ds feorhlocan 653

feorhneru f sustenance, food; as feorhnere 917

feorweg m distant path, remote journey; as on feorweg 257

fēowere num four; - 1134

fēran wkv 1 go, depart; inf - 6; 2s pt fērde 691; 2s pr subj fēre 1295

ferian wkv 1 carry, bring; 3pl pt feredun 1306

ferð m/n mind, spirit; ns - 1012; as - 1021; gs ferðes 923

ferðwērig adj soul weary, sad; nsm - 1157

†fēðehwearf m host on foot, drove; dpl fēðehwearfum 191 (N)

fīftȳnu cdl num fifteen; - 936

findan stv 3 find, find out; 3s pr ind findeð 59; 3pl pt fundon 270, 349, 628, 889, 913, 918; 3s pt fond 1147, fonde 1007 (N)

fīras plm men; gpl fīra 864, 1250, fȳra 998

firen f crime, wickedness; as fyrene 1071; gpl firena 858, 863; dpl firenum 265, 627, 508

firenful adj sinful; gpl firenfulra 560

firenlust m sinful lust; apl firenlustas 803

flacor adj flickering; nsf - 1144

flǣsc n flesh; ds flǣsce 994

flǣschoma m fleshly covering, body; ns - 1031; as flǣshoman 374 (N); a/ds flǣschoman 586

flānbracu f arrow-clash; ns - 1144

flēon stv 2 flee, fly; 3s pt flēag 917; 3pl pt flugon 737; pl imp flēoð 257; see also ā-

†flygerēow adj wild flying, fierce in flight; npl flygerēowe 349 (N)

geflȳman wkv 1 put to flight; pp geflȳmed 136

folc n people, host; ns - 285; gpl folca 1239; dpl folcum 820

folctoga m folk leader, leader of a host; ns - 902

foldærn n earth house, flesh; ds foldærne 1031

foldbūend m dweller upon earth, man; apl - 872; gpl foldbūendra 64

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 (H)

fōn, see bi-, on-

fōr f journey; as fōre 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 forþon, for ðȳ

for- vb prefix, with bēodan, beran, giefan, gieldan, grīpan, hycgan, lǣtan, lēosan, sēcan, scādan, sēon, sittan, stondan, swelgan, swīðan, þrycoan, wyrnan

forbēodan stv 2 forbid; pp asf forbodene 847

forberan stv 4 bear with, endure; 3pl pr ind forberaþ 804; 1s pt forbær 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

forgrīpan stv 1 grasp, assail; 2pl pr subj forgrīpen 375

forht adj frightened; nsm - 310, 961; cpv nsm forhtra 201

forhtian, see a-

forhycgan wkv 3 neglect, despise; 3s pt forhogde 741

forlǣtan stv 7 leave, surrender; 1s pr ind forlǣte 1174; 3s pr ind forlǣteð 3; 3s pt forlēt 330

forlēosan stv 2 leave, forsake; 3pl pr ind forlēosað 503

forsæcan wkv 1 afflict, punish; 2pl pr subj forsæcan 377 (N)

forscādan stv 7 scatter, rout; pp nplm forscādene 478

forsēon stv 5 scorn, reject; 3s pt forseah 96, 541; 2pl pt forsēgon 630

forsittan stv 5 neglect; 3s pt forsæt 340

forstondan stv 6 + d to protect from; inf - 702

forswelgan stv 3 swallow, devour; inf - 193

forswīðan wkv 1 overcome; 3s pt forswīðde 966

forð adv forth, forward, away; - 36, 75, 841, 1277; before verb - 969, 1039, 1044, 1134

forþon adv therefore, accordingly; - 46, 65, 526, 754; forðon 316, 645; forðan 378

conj because; - 469, 585

forþrycoan wkv 1 oppress, overwhelm; pp forþrycced 1198

forðsīð m journey, departure; as - 1148, 1181, 1346, forðsīð 939; gs forðsīðes 1050

forþum, see furðum

forðweg m onward course, departure; as - 801, 945

for ðȳ conj because; - 1185

forwyrnan wkv 1 + g deprive of; 3s pt forwyrnde 164

fōt m foot; dpl fōtum 285

frætwe plf ornaments; a - 1059, frætwa 1282 (N)

frætwan wkv 1 adorn, decorate; 3pl pr ind frætwað 806

frāsung f temptation; gpl frāsunga 189

frēa m master, lord; ns - 1222; as frēan 1080, 1148; gs - 1200

frēone adj horrible, dangerous; asf - 566; ism - 191

frēone adv horribly, boldly; - 974

frēones f danger, hazard; gpl frēonessa 110, 181

frēfran wkv 1 console, comfort; 3pl pr ind frēfrað 77; see also ā-

fremde adj foreign, strange; nsm - 64

fremman wkv 1 make, bring about; 3pl pr ind fremmað 808; 3s pt fremede 292; 3pl pt fremedan 875

gefremman : 1s pr ind gefremme 715; 2s pr ind gefremedes 586; 3s pt gefremede 207, 893, 1100; 3pl pt gefremedon 859; 2pl pr subj gefremme 466

frēodryhten m noble lord; ns - 1021

frēond m friend; ns - 715; gpl frēonda 291, 453, 1012

frēorig adj chilled, freezing; nsm - 1157

†frēorigferð adj sad in soul; nsm - 1344

†frēorigmōd adj sad in mind; nplm frēorigmōde 888

freoðian wkv 2 keep, protect; 3s pr ind freoþað 243; 3s pt freoðade 396

gefreoðian : 3s pt gefreoþode 152, gefreoðade 442 (+ d); pp gefreoþad 411

†freoðuweard m guardian of peace; ns - 173

frignan stv 3 ask, inquire; inf - 1010, 1211; 2s pr ind frignest 1228

gefrignan : find out by asking, hear; 1pl pt subj gefrūnen 1360

frið m/n peace, truce; ns - 411; as - 257; ds friðe 310

frōfor f comfort, consolation; ns - 1211; as frōfre 888, 923, 1236; gs frōfre 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; asm fromne 349; nplm frome 181

fromlīce adv strongly, boldly; - 453

fruma m beginning; ns - 823; a/ds fruman 982, 988

prince; ns - 773

frumbearn n firstborn; ns - 1071

frymþ f beginning, creation; a/ds frymðe 1; gpl frymþa 820

fugol m bird, fowl; gpl fugla 743, 917

full adj + g full of; nplm fulle 205

fultum m help, aid; ns - 189

fundian wkv 2 go forward, desire; 3s pr ind fundað 1089, 1264;
2s pt fundadest 6

furðor adv further; - 1222

furðum adv at first, indeed; - 1228, 1239; forþum 923 (N)

fūs adj eager, ready to go; nsm - 1050, 1077, 1045, 1214, 1299, 1332, 1375, fūs 945; asm fūsne 801, 1148, 1157, 1228

fūslēoð n death song; as - 1346

fyl m destruction; as - 548

fyllan wkv 1 fill, fulfill; inf - 971; pp gefyllēd 653, 1317;
see also ā-

fȳr n fire; as - 634; gs fȳres 191, 374

fȳra, see fīras

fȳren adj flaming, burning; nsm - 1311

fyrene, see firen

fyrn adv formerly, long ago; - 869, 973, 1258

fyrndagas plm days of old; dpl fyrndagum 629

†fyrngewyrht n ancient decree; as - 971 (N)

fyrst m space of time, period; ns - 110, 326; ds fyrste 836

fyrstgemearc n appointed time; gs fyrstgemearces 1036

fȳsan wkv 1 hasten, depart quickly; 3s pr ind fȳseð 1266

gāst 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 **gāstes** 107, 802, 1115, 1220, 1235; ds **gāste** 36, 170, 188, 226, 544, 591, 643; is - 335; npl **gāstas** 560; apl **gāstas** 25, 519; gpl **gāsta** 89, 297, 339, 405, 437, 756, 904, 1133, 1204; dpl **gāstum** 100, 686 is **gāsta** 1060

gāstcund adj spiritual, divine; asf **gāstcunde** 771

†**gāstcwalu** f death of the soul; ns - 679

gāstgedāl n separation of soul and body, death; as - 862; gs **gāstgedāles** 1138

†**gāstgemynd** f/n inmost thought; dpl **gāstgemyndum** 602

gāstgerȳne n spiritual mystery; dpl **gāstgerȳnum** 248, 1084, 1113

†**gāstgewinn** n soul torment; ds **gāstgewinne** 589

gāsthālig adj holy in spirit; asm **gāsthāligne** 1149, 1241; gpl **gāsthāligra** 873

gāstlīc adj spiritual; asm **gāstlīcne** 630; apln **gāstlīcu** 155; dpl **gāstlīcum** 177

gafulrǣden f tax, tribute; as **gafulrǣdenne** 986

galdor n speech; dpl **galdrum** 1207

gān anom vb go; 3s pt **in ēode** 1005

gegān : get by going, gain, happen; inf - 272; 3s pr ind **gegǣð** 499; 3s pt **geēode** 158; 3pl pt **geēodon** 753

gē pl pron you; n - 240, 256, 299, 301, 308, 313, 370, 374, 376, 377, 377, 378, 463, 465, 465, 466, 478, 479, 482, 483, 505, 505, 509, 510, 594, 613, 614, 623, 623, 628, 629, 631, 632, 635, 636, 648, 663, 664, 671, 673, 674, 679, 700, 701, 701, 702, 704, 712, 718; a **ēow** 597, 666; d **ēow** 243, 300, 481, 494, 592, 612, 658, 661, 665, 667, 677; a/d - 244, 246, 258, 302, 312, 478

gēac m cuckoo; npl **gēacas** 744

geafena, see giefu

gēar n year; as - 744; apl - 936

gēara adv formerly; gēara iū 40; gēnra 630

geard m enclosed space, dwelling, land; as - 791, 1267; dpl geardum 1221

†gēargemearc n year; gs gēargemearces 1241 (N)

gēare, see gēara

gearwe adv readily, completely; - 1045, 889

gearwan wkv 1 prepare; 3s pr ind gearwaþ 100; gearwaþ 802; 3s pt gyrede 177; pp gegearwad 690

gearu adj ready; nsm - 1175, gearo 292; asm gearone 913; nplm gearwe 89, 724

gēað f foolishness; as - 504, 1233

gebēru f behaviour, bearing; a - 416

gebed n prayer; apl gebedu 809

†gebihð (n?) abode, dwelling; dpl gebihþum 874

gecost adj tried, proven; aplm þā gecostan 91

gecynd n kind, variety; npl gecyndu 44

gedāl n parting; as - 235 (N)

gedēfe adj fitting, seemly; nsm - 579; asm gedēfne 610

gedwola m error; apl gedwolan 259

gefēa m joy, bliss; as gefēan 48; a/ds gefēan 382, 691; ds gefēan 837, 1079, 1090, 1181, 1186, 1264, 1307, 1371; gpl gefēana 1, 833

gefēalīc adj joyous; nsn - 657; nsm - 825

gefērscype m brotherhood, fellowship; ds - 1258

gefrēge adj + d famous among; nsn - 820

gegnunga adv directly, certainly; - 813

gehāt n promise, vow; gpl gehāta 941

gehþa f sorrow, anxiety; ns - 1208

gehwā pron + g each; asm gehwone 555; gsn gehwæs 311, 512; dsm gehwām 321, 1242

gehwylc pron + g each, every; asm gehwylcne 1255; asn gehwylc 396, 704, 965, 1244; gsm gehwylces 926, m/n - 45, 587; gsf gehwylcre 43, 1075; dsm gehwylcum 63; dsf gehwylcre 332, 347; isn gehwylce 56

gehygd f/n thought, meditation; dpl gehygdum 473, 807

gelād n way, path; as - 1292

gelāfa m/n belief, faith; as(m) gelāfan 798; ds - 652, 1111

gelīc adj like, similar; nplm gelīce 664; aplf - 117

gelimp n prosperity; ds gelimpe 268 (M)

gelōme adv often; - 7

gelong adj dependent (on on, mē); nsn - 313; nplf gelonge 252

gemāna m society, companionship; ns - 670

gemet n measure, portion; as - 388

gemete adv meetly, in a proper manner; - 501

gemetfæst adj moderate, modest; nsm - 1107

gemōt n meeting, assembly; as - 127; gs gemōtes 236

gemynd f/n remembrance, memory; as - 118, 474 (f); dpl gemyndum 168, 215, 877

gemyndig adj + g mindful of; nsm - 1294; nplm gemyndige 89, 446; adj mindful; gpl gemyndigra 154

gēn adv yet, still; - 521, 538, þā gēn 515

gēna adv still, again; - 155, þā gēna 233, 446, 1270

geneahhe adv frequently, earnestly; - 697, 719

genes n refuge; gs generes 290

genge adj current, prevalent; nsn - 765

genip n mist, darkness; npl genipu 970; apl - 350

genōg adj enough; asn - 295

gēoc f aid, comfort, help; ds gēoce 367; a/ds - 137; g/d/is - 738 (N); gpl gēoca 89

gēocend m preserver, saviour; nsm - 1133

gēocor adj sad, grievous; nsm - 1048; asm gēocorne 1138; asf bā gēocran 976

geofu, geofona, see giefu

geoguð f youth; as geoguðe 495, 499; gs - 419, 504, geogube 21; a/ds geoguðe 104

gēomor adj sad; nsm - 1208, 1354

gēomormōd adj sorrowful; nsm - 1220; gsm gēomormōdes 1060

gēomrian wkv 2 mourn, sigh; pr ptc ism gēomrende 1048

geond prep + a throughout; - 30, 39, 68, 270, 501, 537, 761, 865, 883

geong adj young, recent; nsf - 870; dsm geongum 1048; gplm geongra 490; gplf gingra 1042; epv asm geongran 1062

georn adj + g eager for, desirous of; nsm - 867, 1045, 1078, 1267, 1299

georne adv eagerly, readily; - 107, 124, 177, 552, 805, 815, 1084; epv geornor 138; spv geornast 357

geornlīce adv eagerly, readily; - 602

gēotan stv 2 pour out, tell forth; inf - 1056; 3pl pt (subj?) guton 1233; see also ā-

gerȳne n secret, mystery; as - 1121; apl gerȳnu 644

gesālignes f happiness, blessedness; ns - 12

gesceaft f/n thing created, creature, creation; as - 371, 629, 777, 1117; npl gesceafte 50; apl - 760; gpl gesceafta 638

gesēfte adj soft, mild; nplm - 732

geset n seat, habitation; apl gesetu 1268

gesihð f sight, vision; as gesihðe 816; a/ds - 841, gesihþe 759

gesīð m companion, retainer; ds gesīþe 1295

gestāl n charge, accusation; dpl gestālum 510 (M)

gestrēon n wealth, possession; gpl gestrēona 78

gesund adj sound, unharmed; asm gesundne 701

gesynto f health, salvation; ds gesynta 332

getimbre n building, foundation; npl getimbru 18; apl - 485

getrēowe adj true, faithful; spv aplm getrēoweste 709

geþaca m thatch, wrapping; nplm geþacan 1032

geþeaht f/n counsel; a/ds geþeahte 1216

geþōht m thought; as - 800

geþonc m/n thought; ?npl - 368; dpl geþoncum 1253

gebyld f/n patience; adv use of dpl gebyldum 483, 914

gebyldig adj patient; nsm - 600

gebyncðe f honour, dignity; dpl gebyncðum 605

gewealð n power, control; as - 29, 523; dpl gewealdum 415, 596, 694

geweorc n work; npl - 882; apl - 529

gewin n strife, hardship; ns - 1081; as - 115; gs gewinnes 134, 932; gpl gewinna 961

gewinna m opponent, enemy; npl gewinnan 275

†gewinworuld f world of turmoil; as - 857

gewit n mind, reason; ns - 376

gewita m witness; npl gewitan 752

gewitnes f testimony, cognisance; as gewitnesse 720; npl - 758

gewyrht n work, deed; dpl gewyrhtum 70

giedd n song; dpl gieddum 1233

giefan stv 5 give; 3s pt geaf 869; see also ā-, for-, of-

giefu f gift, grace; ns geofu 530; as giefe 100, 357, 893, 1115, 1246, gife 771; a/gs giefe 124; gpl giefena 606, 765; geafena 1042; geofona 1303

gieldan stv 3 give, repay; inf gyldan 434; 3s pr ind gieldeð 124; 2pl pr ind gieldað 464; see also for-, on-

inf gegyldan 471

gielpan stv 3 + d exult over, boast in; inf - 239; 3pl pt gulpon 265

gielpwide m boasting, boastful speech; as/pl - 1235

gielplīc adj boastful, ostentatious; gsm gielplīces 167; dpl gielplīcum 419

gīeman wkv 1 + g heed, care for; 3s pt gīemde 150

gierela m garb, apparel; gs gierelan 167; dpl gierelum 419

gīet adv yet, still; - 1221

gietan, 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 giefu

gīfre adj greedy, eager; dsm gīfran 375; nplm gīfre 738; dpl gīfrum 407, 996

gim m jewel; ns - 1212; apl gimmas 1302

ginnan, see on-

git dual pron you two; n - 1371

gītsung f covetousness, desire; apl gītsunga 150

glædmōd adj joyful in mind, happy; nsm - 1062, 1303

glēam m splendour, radiance; ns - 1278, 1289

glēaw adj wise, prudent; asm glēawne 914; gms glēawes 1221

glēawmōd adj wise in mind; nsm - 1002

glēawnes f wisdom, prudence; a/ds glēawnesse 802

gnornian wkv 2 lament, mourn; 3s pr ind gnornað 1266; 3pl pt gnornedon 429; pr pte gnornende 232, 679, 1209

gnornsorg f grief, sorrow; as gnornsorge 1335

gnornung f grief, sorrow; npl gnornunga 544

god m God; ns - 202, 242, 292, 395, 407, 449, 470, 495, 552, 606, 756, 820; as - 318, 439, 1081; gs 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; ds gode 28, 102, 151, 206, 258, 304, 345, 367, 461, 643, 775, 1062

gōd adj good; nsm - 170, gōd 580; dsn gōdum 394; gpl gōdra 36; cpv nsn betre 779; gsm betran 217; gsn - 75; dsm - 654; a/ds on - 378

gōd n property, goods; apl gōd 71, 107, 120

godcund adj divine; dsn godcundum 530; dpl - 248

goddrēam m heavenly joy; as - 630; gpl goddrēama 1299

†godscyldig adj guilty against God, impious; nplm godscyldge 862

godspel n gospel; as - 1115

gomen n joy, sport; gs gomenes 1354

gong m going, journeying; npl gongas 731

attack; dpl gongum 1017

fig. stream (of words); dpl gongum 1161

gongan stv 7 go; inf - 571, 1002; 3s pr ind gongeð 42; 3pl pr ind gongað 813; see also ā-, bi-

grēd m hunger, greed; adv use of dpl grēdum 738 (N)

grāp f grasp, clutch; dpl grāpum 407, 996

grēne adj green; aplm - 232; nsm sē grēne 746; asm bone grēnan 477

grēot n earth; ds grēote 1335

†grēothord n earth treasure, body; ns - 1266

grētan wkv 1 approach, speak to, greet; inf - 377, 1157; 3s pr ind grēteð 5; 3s pt grētte 357

gegrētan : assail; 3pl pr ind gegrētað 316

grim adj fierce, cruel; nsf - 679; nplm grimme 547; asm bone grimman 571; spv dsn ðām grimmestan 589

grimme adv terribly, cruelly; - 986

grimnes f severity, harshness; ds grimnysse 578

grindan stv 3 grind against; 3s pt grond 1335

grīpan, see for-

gromheort adj fierce-hearted; nplm gromheorte 569

gromhȳdig adj fierce-minded; nplm gromhȳdge 375

grund m bottom, abyss; apl grundas 563

gryre m terror, dread place; as - 571

guma m man; ns - 35; gpl gumena 495, 1204, 1362

gyfl n food, fruit; as - 850; is gyfle 1301

gyld n giving, payment; as - 765

gyldan, gegyldan, see gieldan

gylp n pride, boasting; as - 662

gylt m guilt, crime; dpl gyltum 461

gyrede, see gearwan

†gynnwīsed ptc adj well-directed, knowledgeable; nsm - 867 (N)

gyrn m/f/n grief, affliction; as - 862 (N); gpl gyrna 446

gyrnan wkv 1 + g desire, want; 1s pr ind gyrne 320

gegyrnan wkv 1 + a obtain by seeking; inf - 258; 3pl pt ge gyrnàd 72

gyrnwræcu f vengeance for injury; as gyrnwræce 434

habban wkv 3 have hold; inf - 584, 617, 1055; 1s pr ind hafu 1067; 3s pr ind hafað 4, 87, 647; 3pl pr ind habbað 800; 3s pr subj hæbbe 389; 2pl pr subj hæbben 672; 3s pt hæfde 694

auxiliary + uninflected pp have; 1s pr ind hæbbe 1207; 2pl pr ind habbað 309; 3s pt hæfde 436, 546, 723, 747, 1113; 3pl pt hæfdon 422, 426

hād m rank, kind; as - 1361, hād 4, 94; gs hādes 60, 500; npl hādas 31; apl - 52

hādre adv clearly; - 1283

hāfentīd, see āfentīd

hæft m captivity, bondage; as - 597

captive; npl hæftas 725

hālan wkv 1 make whole, heal; 3s pt hālde 928

gehālan : 3s pt gehālde 885, 1245; 2pl pt subj gehālde 705

hæle(ð) m hero, warrior, man; ns hæleð 928, hæle 1145; gpl hæleþa 683, 890, 1203; hæleða 1129

hālend m healer, Saviour; ds hālende 604

hælmihtiga, see almihtiga

hālu f salvation, safety; ns - 683; as - 171, 435, hālo 890; a/ds hālo 397

†hærnfloţa m sea-ship; ns - 1333

hālig adj holy, blessed; nsm - 106, 361, 456, 513, 545, 582, 685, 789, 938, 1060, 1283; nsn hālig 1088; asm hāligne 94, 149, 799; asf hālge 617; asn hālig 559; gsm hālges 842, 1006; dsm hālgum 631; aplm hālge 1302; apln hālig 34; gpl hāligra 31, 65, 90, 121, 415, 491, 1316; dplf/n hālgum 807; nsm sē hālga 108, 157, 896, 925, 951, 1049, 1323; asf þā hālgan 812; asn þæt hālge 1290, 1310; gsm þæs hālgan 725, 1276; dsm þām hālgan 10, 922, 1147

halsian wkv 2 entreat, adjure; 1s pr ind halsige 1203

hām m home; ns hām 677; as hām 98, 149, 271; gs hām 69, hāmes 796; ds hām 10, 654, 871; hām 834; apl hāmas 83; gpl hāma 222

hāt adj hot, burning; nsf - 979, 1143, 1209; asf hāte 1336; nplm - 1341; aplm - 1055; spv nsf hātost 1020

hāte adv hotly, intensely; - 1330

hātan stv 7 command, threaten, promise; 3s pt hēt 687, 1370, 1374, hēht 703

gehātan : 2s pr ind gehātest 271; 3s pr ind gehāteð 363; 3pl pr ind gehēton 234, 447, 570, gehēhton 548; 2pl pr subj gehāten 240; 2s pt subj gehēte 456

hē, hēo, hit pers pron he, she, it; nsm hē 15, 27, 48 (N), 51, 56, 58, 59, 80, 101, 104, 123, 127, 150, 153, 158, 159, 163, 168, 170, 174, 184, 192, 195, 208, 235, 236, 243, 294, 315, 328, 331, 333, 340, 341, 347, 354, 359, 364, 372, 382, 389, 396, 398, 399, 399, 404, 414, 428, 450, 472, 474, 515, 518, 521, 524, 532, 539, 541, 546, 571, 639, 702, 709, 711, 721, 736, 741, 766, 771, 774, 778, 785, 831, 833, 868, 880, 884, 892, 914, 924, 931, 935, 940, 957, 959, 961, 991, 1003, 1049, 1050, 1054, 1055, 1101, 1104, 1109, 1118, 1137, 1159, 1161, 1164, 1199, 1225, 1252, 1254, 1301, 1328, 1342, 1345, 1353, 1375; nsf hīe 2, 3, hēo 770, 816, 983, 1193; nsn hit 42, 384, 576, 1124, 1195, 1200; asm hine 99, 105, 114, 133, 138, 177, 190, 292, 331, 342, 356, 358, 363, 377, 395, 404, 412, 427, 549, 557, 564, 701, 701, 716, 729, 730, 733, 886, 918, 927, 958, 995, 999, 1000, 1158, 1162, 1266, hyne 127, 552; asn hit 469, 1321; gsm his 14, 24, 27, 36, 55, 58, 92, 95, 102, 112, 118, 124, 156, 163, 193, 194, 197, 238, 294, 338, 341, 344, 345, 362, 366, 387, 388, 389, 424, 439, 441, 516, 522, 529, 535, 537, 594, 599, 601, 622, 706, 713, 714, 717, 719, 720, 720, 721, 764, 765, 772, 775, 777, 843, 846, 882, 949, 951, 959, 967, 1007, 1010, 1051, 1053, 1110,

1114, 1116, 1151, 1159, 1161, 1202, 1223, 1294, 1295, 1300, 1301, 1303, 1337, 1352, 1376; gsf hyre 849, 984, 1184; dsm him 5, 98, 100, 113, 117, 119, 139, 142, 162, 167, 172, 179, 184, 189, 190, 191, 200, 202, 295, 329, 334, 336, 339, 352, 353, 357, 361, 363, 365, 368 (M), 402, 410, 413, 425, 426, 433, 440, 442, 444, 446, 451, 470, 473, 543, 544, 602, 605, 609, 698, 700, 702, 704, 705, 729, 730, 737, 741, 779, 784, 787, 827, 880, 915, 916, 939, 948, 963, 965, 966, 989, 991, 1008, 1023, 1024, 1059, 1095, 1123, 1127, 1132, 1142, 1160, 1163, 1272, 1339; dsf hyre 1182, 1192; npl hȳ 1, 65, 73, 83, 117, 132, 133, 142, 187, 190, 209 (MS he), 212, 222, 226, 228, 233, 237, 239, 348, 406, 410, 412, 424, 426, 433, 462, 476, 497, 548, 549, 552, 564, 567, 574, 729, 737, 759, 812, 842, 845, 855, 859, 898, 913, 917, hī 220, 219, 230, 327, 806, 814, 873; apl hȳ 221, 411, 430, 466, 844; gpl hyra 80, 89, 90, 142, 225, 288, 417, 553, 731, 794, 854, 968, 1177; dpl him 15, 20, 25, 60, 62, 66, 72, 84, 85, 86, 88, 123, 125, 132, 206, 214, 224, 239, 423, 432, 476, 590, 736, 809, 811, 870, 974

hēaf m lamentation, wailing; ns - 1047; as - 616

heafela m head; as heafelan 1270

hēafod n head; gs hēafdes 1302; dpl hēafdum 73

hēah adj high; asf þē hēan 412; epv nsm hȳra 397; spv nsm hȳhst 63, sē hȳhsta 16; ism þȳ hȳhstan 73

hēahgetimbru npl lofty building; apl hēahgetimbru 584

hēahþrym m exalted glory; ns - 1324

hēahþu 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 healdeð 16, 249, 310, 397; 3pl pr ind healdaþ 90, 157, 810; 3pl pr subj healden 55; 3s pt hēold 736; 3pl pt hēoldon 729

gehealdan : inf - 1058; 3s pt gehēold 542

healf f side; apl healfa 133

hēan adj low, mean, humble; nsm - 454 (MS heam), 925, 1353; gpl hēanra 995

hēanmōd adj humble in mind, abject; nsm - 1379

heard adj brave, strong; nsm - 176, 953, 1109; nsn - 977; nplm hearde 275; nsm sē hearda 545

hearmstæf m harm, affliction; apl hearmstafas 229

hēarsume, see hȳrsum

hebban stv 6 lift, raise; 3pl pt hōfun 412, 899, hōfon 730; pp hafen 262; see also ā-

hefig adj heavy, grievous; nsn - 1009; asf hefige 1052; opv gpl hefigra 885

hefegian wkv 2 make heavy, grow heavy; 3pl pr ind hefegiað 1029; 3pl pt hefegedon 956

hel f hell; gs 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

hēo, see hē

heofon m heaven; as - 647; gs heofenes 1212; apl heofonas 435; gpl heofona 1302; dpl heofonum 16, 31, 52, 66, 98, 106, 121, 251, 334, 510, 584, 685, 711, 747, 1104, 1283, 1316

heofoncund adj heavenly, celestial; asm heofoncundne 171; gen ðæs heofoncundan 83

heofoncyning m heavenly king; gs heofoncyninges 617, 807

heofonlīc adj heavenly, celestial; nsm - 1310; nsn - 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

heoregrim adj war-grim, savage; nsf - 979

heorte f heart; as heortan 799; gs - 368, 1205, 1253; a/ds - 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 stondað 256

†herecirm m war shout; as - 900

†herehlōð f hostile troop; as herehlōðe 1069

herenis f praise; as herenisse 616

herian wkv 1 praise, extol; 1s pr ind herge 611; 3s pt herede 121

hī, see hē

hider adv hither, to here; - 274, 711

hige, see hyge

†hildescūr m war shower, flight of missiles; dpl hildescūrun 1143

him, see hē

hinder adv down; on hinder 676

hine, see hē

hingong m going hence, departure; ds hingonge 811

hinsīþ m journey hence, death; as - 1357

hīo, hit, see hē

hīw n shape, form; as - 710, 909; gs hīwes 900

hladan, see hlōp-

hlæstan wkv 1 load; pp gehlæsted 1333

hlāford m lord, master; ns - 1357; as - 1053

hleahtor m laughter, exultation; as - 229

hlehhan, see be-

hlēo m protector; ns - 1012, 1061, 1365

hlēolēas adj unprotected, cheerless; nplm hlēolēase 222

†hlēonað m shelter; as - 251 (N)

hleonaþ, see hlinian

hleor n cheek, head; as - 334

hlēordropa m tear; npl hlēordropan 1341

hlēotan stv 2 + g gain, obtain; inf - 972, 1041

hlēoþor n sound, speech; ns - 1323; as - 685, 1156; gs hlēoðres 1319; dpl hlēoþrum 906

hlēoþrian wkv 2 speak, cry out; 3s pt hlēoþrade 513

hlinian wkv 2 lean, slope; 3s pr ind hleonaþ 73; pp asm hlingendne 1147

hlīsa m sound, fame; as hlīsan 157; gs - 60

hlōð f company, band; ns - 915; dpl hlōþum 896

hlūd adj loud, ringing; asm hlūdne 900

hlūttor adj clear, pure; asn þæt hlūttre 106

*hnēapan, see ā-

hof n house, dwelling; ds hofe 1147

hōfian, see bi-

hold adj gracious, kind; asm holdne 1353; nplm holde 280

holdlīce adv graciously; - 604

hond f hand; ns - 259, 442; as - 303, 322, 458, 523, 737, 951; ds honda 131, 916; apl - 1300; dpl hondum 283, 410, 647, 705, 730

hrā n body; as - 283

hraðe adv quickly, soon; - 422, eft - 687; spv nsm hrabost 1109

hrēmig adj + d exulting in; nsm - 1106

hrēow f sorrow, penitence; ns - 10

hrēowan stv 2 + d grieve; 3s pr ind hrēoweð 811

gehrēowan stv 2 + a grieve; 3s pt gehrēaw 714

hrēowcearig adj troubled, sorrowful; nsm - 1053

hrēran, see on-

hreðe, see rēþe

hreþer m breast, bosom; ns - 938, 979, 1052, 1129; ds hreþre 1020, 1245, 1341

hreþerloca m breast; ds hreþerlocan 1263

hrēðlēas adj inglorious, joyless; nplm hrēðlēase 906

hrīnan stv 1 + d touch, strike; inf - 283, 410, 520

gehrīnan + a/d touch, reach; 3s pt gehrān 1027

hring m ring, circle; ns - 1339 (M)

hrōf m roof; as - 1312

hrōpan stv 7 shout, cry out; 3pl pt hrēopun 906

hryre m fall; ds - 730

fall, death; ns - 829; a/ds - 1093

hū adv how, in what way; + dir q - 366, 1011; + indir q - 95, 337, 879, 884, 1022, 1161, 1322

+ cpv the more; lenge hū 20 (M), 138

hungor m hunger; ns - 275; ds hungre 916

hungrig adj hungry; nplm hungrige 737

hunigflowende ptc adj flowing with honey; nplf - 1276

hūru adv indeed, truly, however; - 769

excl - 361, 1221, 1234, 1356

hūs n house, dwelling-place; as - 251, 677, 802, 1290, 1310; hūs

hus 271, see under wē

hūsul n host, Eucharist; ds hūsle 1300

†hūsulbearn n communicant; as - 559

†hūsulwer m communicant; npl ðūsulweras 796

hūþ f booty, plunder; as hūþe 131

hwā pron who, what; asn hwæt 1252; is bi hwon 273

hwār adv where; - 55

hwæt adv, excl what, lo; - 108, 517, 752, 1227

hwæt pron, see hwā

hwæbre adv however, yet; - 233, 446, 520, 557

+ indir q whether; - 352

hwearf m crowd, troop; dpl hwearfum 263 (N)

hweorfan stv 3 turn, go, depart; inf - 572, 837, 1354, 1379; 3pl pr ind hweorfað 812

hwider adv + indir q whither, to where; - 26 (N)

hwīl f space of time, time; as hwīle 423, 481; ds - 1225; adv use of dpl hwīlum 86, 907, 908, 910, 916, 919

hwon, see hwā

hwonan adv whence; - 1223

hwonne conj when, until; - 111, 237, 779

hwōpan stv 7 threaten + d; 3pl pt hwōpan 190

hwylc pron who, which, what; nsm - 400, 748

hwyrfan, see ā-

hycgan wkv 3 think, resolve; 3s pt hogde 1253

gehycgan resolve, hope; inf - 47; 2pl pr ind gehycgað 465

hyge m mind, heart; ns - 545, 1048, 1053, 1209; as - 66, 1020, 1061, 1139, 1379, higa 368; a/ds hyge 1253

hygegēomor adj sad in mind, sorrowful; nsm - 1156; asm hygegēomurne 1336; aplm hygegēomre 885, 928

hygerōf adj stout-minded, valiant; nsm - 953

hygesnottor 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-

gehȳnan wkv 1 oppress, humble; 3s pt gehȳnde 592; pp gehȳned 572

hyne, see hē

hȳra, see hēah

hȳran wkv 1 + a hear, learn; 1 pl pt hȳrdon 108

+ d listen to, obey; inf - 280, 454, 604; 3s pr subj hȳre 364

gehȳran + a hear, learn; inf - 1170; pp gehȳred 1316, 1324; 1s pt gehȳrde 1212; 3s pt - 1049, 1120

gehȳran æt + d belong to; inf - 33

hyrcnigan wkv 2 listen to, hear; inf - 1006

hyrdan wkv 1 to make hard, brace; 3s pt hyrde 1270

hyrde m guard, shepherd; ns - 318, 789, heorde 747; gs hyrdes 217; npl hyrdas 550; gpl hyrda 415

hyre, see hē

hȳrsum adj obedient; nplm hēarsume 705, 725; asm hȳrsumne 368

hyrwan wkv 1 despise; 3pl pr ind hyrwað 65

gehyrwan : inf - 491

hȳht(-), see hēah

hȳð f harbour, port; ds hȳðe 1333

†inbend m/f inner chains; dpl inbendum 955 (M)

inbryrdan wkv 1 incite, inspire; pp inbyrded 654

ingong m entrance, entry; as - 562, 993

inlȳhtan wkv 1 enlighten, illumine; pp inlȳhted 655; 3s pt inlȳhte 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

inþryccan wkv 1 press forward, push; 3s pr ind inðriceð 285

is, see wesan

iū adv long ago, formerly; gēara iū 40

ic pers pron I; ns - 7, 243, 244, 246, 246, 250, 257, 302, 306, 307, 314, 319, 367, 373, 378, 485, 487, 488, 494, 599, 600, 608, 618, 637, 642, 645, 651, 680, 703, 707, 708, 709, 715, 716, 717, 719, 720, 1013, 1027, 1040, 1067, 1069, 1077, 1081, 1084, 1086, 1092, 1173, 1183, 1185, 1203, 1207, 1210, 1212, 1216, 1221, 1228, 1234, 1239, 1255, 1257, 1259, 1262, 1268, 1297, 1356, 1378; as **mec** 241, 242, 252, 259, 315, 316, 317, 370, 376, 376, 639, 648, 674, 703, 711, 714, 1208, 1242, **me** 249, 310, 484, 511, 1227; gs **mīn** 482; ds **me** 240, 247, 250, 251, 257, 308, 312, 313, 319, 320, 321, 379, 379, 486, 488, 1016, 1019, 1065, 1069, 1081, 1091, 1092, 1183, 1222, 1234, 1238, 1244, 1245, 1248, 1251, 1254; a/d **me** 253, 1027, 1064, 1070

īdel adj empty, vain; nsf - 216; asn - 662; apln - 86, 308; gpl **īdelra** 166; dpl **īdlum** 418

ides f woman; ds **idese** 983; npl **idesa** 1232

ilca pron (the) same; dsm **þæs ilcan** 973

in prep + d in; - 46, 98, 111, 122, 154, 168, 170, 215, 221, 223, 248, 268, 344, 385, 394, 398, 399, 416, 460, 464, 465, 466, 490, 496, 502, 508, 510, 530, 543, 573, 584, 589, 591, 596, 618, 620, 622, 623, 629, 632, 643, 647, 653, 657, 665, 681, 694, 749, 770, 778, 798, 804, 834, 839, 843, 871, 876, 892, 942, 946, 954, 964, 1028, 1043, 1058, 1072, 1075, 1079, 1113, 1149, 1169, 1185, 1186, 1191, 1196, 1221, 1245, 1248, 1321, 1371, post p 1008, 1024, 1142, **in ānnan** preceded by d 1367;

+ a in, into; - 29, 31, 107, 109, 118, 301, 392, 435, 467, 488, 499, 562, 571, 595, 597, 634, 645, 649, 661, 667, 677, 777, 782, 791, 796, 812, 1085, 1102, 1105,1117, 1304, 1364, 1369; + a/d - 95, 137, 348, 382, 387, 397, 409, 538, 551, 570, 575, 582, 582, 586, 611, 616, 637, 642, 660, 676, 690, 720, 746, 753, 759, 761, 805, 965, 1091, 1099, 1195

adv in, inside; 863, 940, 1005, 1028; **hēr in** 19

inælan wkv 1 burn, kindle; pp **inæled** 668

lāc n battle, struggle; gs lāces 1034

offering, oblation; as lāc 1111

gift, message; as lāc 1298; ds lāce 307, lāce 1343 (N); dpl lācum 79

lād f course, journey; gs lāde 1332

sustenance; as lāde 389 (N)

lǣcan, see nēa-

lǣdan wkv 1 bring, take; inf - 7, 595, 689, lǣdon 721; 3pl pt lǣddun 427, lǣddon 784; 2s pr subj lǣde 1297

gelǣdan : inf - 1343; pp gelǣded 621, 781, 1305; 3s pr ind gelǣdeð 85, 131, 253; 1pl pt gelǣddun 467; 2pl pt gelǣddon 484; 3pl pt gelǣddun 188

lǣl f wound, weal; npl lǣla 699

lēne adj transitory, fleeting; asf - 120; gsm lēnes 151; gpl lēnra 330; asf þās lēnan 371, 967, 1120; apl þās lēnan 3

lēran wkv 1 teach, instruct; 3pl pr ind lērað 24; 3s pt lērde 138

gelēran : inf - 279

lēs, lēsast, see lȳt

lēstan wkv 1 perform, carry out; inf - 843; 3pl pr ind lēstað 24; 1 pl pt lēstan 1259; 3pl pr subj lēsten 845; imp s lēst 1171

gelēstan : last, serve; 3s pr ind gelēsteð 376

læt adj sluggish, late; nsf latu 903, 1265

lētan stv 7 allow, permit; inf - 199, 1259, lēten 520, 948; 3s pt ind lēt 777, 951, 1055; 3s pr subj lēte 364

let alone, give up; inf lētan 126

†lagumearg m sea-horse, ship; ns - 1332

lām n clay, earth; gs lāmes 1032; ds lāme 1194

lande, see lond

lār f teaching, instruction; ns lār 620, 1126; as/pl lāre 1120, 1170; npl - 252; apl - 117, 794, lāra 1006; dpl lārum 364, 453, 846

lāreow m teacher; as - 1004; gs lāreowes 359

lāst m track, foot-print; dpl lāstum 289; lāst weardian 'remain behind' 1338

latu, see læt

late adv slowly; - 1164, 1225

lātteow m leader, lord; gs lātteowes 364

lāð adj hateful, hostile; asm lāðne 85; nplm lāðe 577; asm þone lāðan 595; opv gsn lāþran 236; spv nsn lāþast 588

lāð n evil; gs lāþes wiht 313, 699

laðian wkv 2 invite, call; 3s pr ind laþað 363

lāðspel n hateful message; as - 1343

leahtor m crime, sin; gpl leahtra 832, 947, 1189

frailty; as leahtor 1072

leahterlēas adj faultless; asf leahterlēase 1087

lēan n reward; ns - 784; as - 15, 123, 588, 1087, 1093; apl - 92; gpl lēana 1170; dpl lēanum 1303

lēanian wkv 2 reward, pay; 3s pt lēanode 449

lēas adj + g free from, void of; nsm - 832, 925; asm lēasne 947; nplm lēase 1189

lecgan, see ā-

lēg, lēge, see līg

legerbed n sickness bed, death bed; ds legerbedde 1032

lengu f length; as - 512

lēof adj dear, beloved; nsm - 1062, 1164; asm lēofne 726, 1339; dsm lēofum 1225 / dsf lēofre 1298; nplm lēofe 797; dpl lēofum 1164; nsn mīn bēt lēofe 1076; opv dsn lēofran 304; gsf - 551;

spv nsm lēofost 1203, lēofast 1173, 1257, lēofesta 1014; nsf lēofast 1376; nsm sē lēofesta 689; asm þone lēofestan 1004; asm lēofestan 1063; dsm þām lēofestan 427, 655; dsf þāre - 1180

lēof n love; gs wiht .. lēofes 313

†lēofian wkv 2 to be dear, delight; 3pl pt lēofedan 139 (N)

lēoflīce adv kindly, lovingly; - 784

lēoht n light, glory; eternal life; ns - 8, 486; as - 583, 1369; gs lēohtes 613, 659

heavenly body; ns lēoht 1308; gpl lēohta 1282

lēoht adj bright, heavenly; dsm lēohte 652, 1111; nsm sē lēohta 1289; dsm þām lēohtan 834

light, fast running; nsm lēoht 1332

lēohte adv brightly, clearly; - 768

lēohtfruma m author of light; ns - 593; as lēohtfruman 609

lēoma m light, radiance; ns - 659, 1310; dpl lēomum 655

leomu, leoma, see līm

lēoran, see ofer-

lēosan, see bi, for-

leobede, see libbian

gelettan wkv 1 hinder; inf - 359, 1236

libban, see be-

līc n body; ns - 838, 929, 967, 1176, 1307; as - 1194; gs līces 699, 829, 1072, 1093; ds līce 3, 1298

līcfæt n body vessel, body; ds līcfate 1090, līcfate 1369

līchoma m body-home, body; ns līchoma 371; as līchoman 163, 193, 424, 1376; gs - 389; ds - 462; a/ds - 228, 338, 409, 551, 642, 761, 1099

†līchord n body-hoard; soul (?); ns - 956 (N); as - 1029

lĭf n life; ns - 20, 779; as - 62, lĭf 126; gs lĭfes 74, 85, 99, 163, 172, 363, 417, 524, 593, 609, 659, 756, 794, 795, 829, 834, 838, 929, 932, 1047, 1176; ds lĭfe 238, 268,620, 749, 946, 1248 (MS lifes), 1338

living thing; gpl lĭfa 512

lĭffruma m giver of life, God; a/ds lĭffruman 637

lifgan wkv 3 live; inf - 273, 831; 3pl pr ind lifgað 460; 2pl pt lifdon 624; pr ptc dam lifgendum 1234; gpl lifgendra 818; nsm sē lifgenda 1099

lĭfgedāl n parting from life, death; as - 1046

lĭfweg m life-way, path of life; apl lĭfwegas 768

lĭfwela m life-riches, worldly wealth; gs lĭfwelan 151

lĭg m/n flame; ns - 193; as lēg 595; ds lēge 375, 624; lĭge 1072

ligesearu n lying art, wile, snare; dpl ligesearwum 228

lim n limb; npl leoma 838, 956, 1029, 1032, 1176; gpl leoma 221, 1046

†limhāl adj limb-whole, unharmed; asm limhālne 689

gelimpan stv 3 happen, befall; 3s pt gelomp 520, 665; 3pl pt subj gelumpe 194

liss f mercy, grace; gpl lissa 834, 1076; dpl lissum 613

lĭbe adj pleasant, gentle; aplm - 768; dplm lĭbum 363

lĭban, see bi-

libian wkv 2 release, unloose; 3s pt leobode 392 (H)

lof m/n praise; ns - 393, 963; as - 24, 159, 491, 527, 609, 613

lombor n lamb; ds lomber 1042 (H)

lond n land, country; as - 151, 273, 307; gs londes 139, 146, 467, 818; 1282; ds lande 831; gpl londa 485

long adj long, lasting; nsn - 904, 1046; asm longne 1180; dsf longre 1225; dsm þām longan 1090, 1307; apl þā longan 120; cpv nsm longra 1034

longaþ m desire; ns - 359; npl longeþas 316; apl - 330

longe adv long; - 7, 624, 832, 1171, 1259; cpv leng 236, 261, 424, 1058; lenge hū geornor 138; lenge hū sēl 20 (N)

†longfyrst m long space of time; as - 947

longsum adj long, enduring; aplf longsume 794

lūcan, see bi-, on-

gelufian wkv 2 love, treat with kindness; inf - 620 (N); 3s pr ind lufaþ 499, 761; 3pl pr ind lufiaþ 79, 808; 3s pt lufade 138; 3pl pt lufedon 161

gelufian : inf - 387; 3s pt gelufade 109, 472, 710; see also ā-

lufu f love, favour; ns - 38, 769, 964, 1189; as lufan 92, 1173; ds - 1257; a/ds - 462, 652; gpl lufena 1076

lust m pleasure, joy; as - 417; npl lustes 113; dpl lustum 524

lȳfan wkv 1 + d allow, permit; inf - 593; 3s pt lȳfde 409; pp gelȳfed 214

gelȳfan wkv 1 + a believe, trust in; 1s pr ind gelȳfe 637

lyft m/f/n air, heavens; nsm - 221; asm - 392, 467; asf lyft 412; ds lyfte 120, 427, 485, 761, 1289, 1308, 1315

lyftlācende ptc adj hovering in the air; nplm - 146

lȳhtan, see in-

lyre m loss, damage; ns - 829

lȳsan, see tō-

lȳt adv little, not at all; - 238, 252, 726, 774, lȳt 316; cpv lēs 79; spv lēsast 338, 769; for þȳ lēs 757, þȳ lēs þæt, see sē

lȳtel adj little, small; asf lȳtle 423, 481; asn lȳtel 214

lȳthwōn adv for a little, a while; - 392

mā cpv adv more; - 518

+ g as indecl noun; mā 403

mæcg m kinsman, man; gs mæcges 1209; npl mæcgas 861

mæg, see magan

mǣg m man, kinsman; dpl mǣgum 195

mægen n might, strength; ns - 977; as - 1107; ds magne 46, 260, 282, 325, 531, 591, 1086, 1272; gpl mægna 311, 644

mægenoræft m mighty power; ns - 1132

mægenfæst adj strong, vigorous; asf mægenfæste 474

mægenspēd f strength, might; dpl mægenspēdum 639

†mægenþegn m mighty man; gs mægenþegnes 1126

mægþ f maiden, woman; ds mægð 1342; npl mægð 861; gpl mægða 1376

mǣgð f tribe; apl mǣgðe 762

mǣgwlite m appearance, form, species; ds - 460; npl mǣgwlitas 734

mǣnan wkv 1 lament, mourn; 3pl pt mǣndon 430; 3pl pt subj mǣnden 1233

mǣran wkv 1 celebrate; inf - 507

mǣre adj famous, renowned; npl mǣre 881; apl þā mǣran 71

mǣst, see micel

mǣte adj moderate, poor, mean; aplm - 53; cpv nsf mǣtre 46

mæðlan wkv 1 speak; inf - 1202

magan ppr v can, be able to, have power to; 1s pr ind mæg 244; 2s pr ind meahtes 469, meaht 1015; 3s pr ind mæg 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 meahte 486; 3s pt - 358, 576, 989, 1023, 1055, 1057, 1109, (not aux.), 1154, 1164; 3pl pt meahton 187; 3s pr subj mæge 868, 891, 1321; 3s pt subj 433, 1159, 1225, 1251

magu m young person, servant; ns - 1010

mān n sin, evil; apl mān 96

gemanian wkv 2 admonish, remember; 3s pt gemanode 1208, gemonade 1340

mānsceaba m evil foe; npl mānsceaban 909; npl mānsceaban 650

māra, see micel

māre adv more; - 387 (N)

martyre m martyr; ns martyre 514

martyrhād m martyrdom; as martyrhād 472

meagol adj earnest, firm; dpl meaglum 734, 919

me, mec, see ic

meaht f strength, power; as - 881, 884, 926; apl meahte 413; gpl meahta 185, mihta 1158; dpl meahtum 240, 695

meaht, meahte, meahtes, see magan

meahtig adj mighty; nsm - 788, 1243

mearcland n borderland, waste land; as - 174

mearh m horse; gpl mēara 286

melda m narrator, informer; ns - 1230

mengu f indecl. host, troop; n 185, 279, 326; g - 68; d - 708; a/d - 20, 237

menniscc adj human; asm menniscne 1122; asn mennisc 909; dsm menniscum 168; aplm menniscc 919

meodume adj average, little; cpv nsm/n meodumre 384 (N)

meord f reward, pay; as meorde 1086; gpl meorda 1041

meotud m creator, God; ns - 147, 959, 1132; gs meotudes 358, 576, 708, 1041, 1243; ds meotude 366

gemētan wkv 1 meet, find; pp gemēted 531; 1s pr ind gemētte 1015; 3pl pr ind gemēted 1; 3pl pt gemētton 922

mēde adj weary, sad; nsm - 1110; asm mēdne 1015, 1158, 1261, 1337

mebelcwide m speech, conversation; as - 1219; gpl mebelcwida 1007; dpl mebelcwidum 1015

mēdian wkv 2 grow weary, tire; pp gemēdgad 977

micel adj great, big, large; nsm micle 326; nsn - 531; asf micle 1010, 1342; gsn micles 320; aplm micle 53; dpl ðām miclan 1100; cpv nsm māra 168, 247, 400; nsn māre 384, 521; asf māran 237, 270; dsm - 198; dsn - 282; dpl - 433; spv nsm mæst 1282; nsn - 207, 1127; asm mæstne 1103: ism mæste 910

micle adv much, greatly; swīþor micle 1125; intens. micle monigfealdran þonne 1247; cpv māre .. þonne 387

miclum adv greatly; - 1197

mid prep with, among; + a - 14, 90, 303, 318, 439, 530, 999, 1215, 1372

+ d - 79, 89, 177, 198, 260, 320, 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 midne 1151

middangeard m world; ns - 53; as - 30, 39, 68, 270, 501, 521, 537, 762, 865

mihta, see meaht

milde adj mild, gentle; nsm - 788, 1107; gsm mildes 1007; nsn bæt milde 739

miltse f mercy, kindness; a/ds miltse 331; gpl miltsa 21; dpl miltsum 639, 959

mīn pron, see ic

mín poss adj my; nsm - 258, 260, 309, 318, 366, 371, 376, 379, 714, 1011, 1088, 1211, 1222, 1227, 1238, 1357, mín 1375; frōfor mín 1211;

m/ns mīn 1036; nsn mīn 381, 1076, 1080, 1166; asm mīnne 374, 1020, 1181, 1378; asf mīne 377, 707; asn mīn onsynn 718; am/ns mīn 243; gsm mīnes 1065, 1235, 1236; gsf mīnre 1205; dsm mīnum 306, 604, 643, 653; dsf mīnre 1179, 1261; pln mīn 380, 1039; aplf mīne 322; gpl mīnra 1169; dpl mīnum 618, 1183

minne adj mean, vile; nplm minne 909, mine 650 (N)

mislīc adj various, diverse; ism/n mislīce 898; dpl mislīcum 874

mist m mist; ds miste 1280 (N)

mīþan stv 1 hide, conceal; inf - 708; 2pl pr ind mīþað 465; 1s pt māð 1255; 3s pt māð 1345

mōd n mind, heart; ns - 26, 342, 537, 739, 977, 1132; as - 65, 96, 366, 507, 542 (MS mond), 661, 1110, mód 106; gs mōdes 118, 400; ds mōde 320, 344, 353, 394, 440, 465, 472, 710, 770, 962, 1068, 1086, 1255; is - 608; apl mōd 489, 757

mōdcearu f heart-sorrow; as mōdcearu 195; mōdceare 1010, 1342

mōdgeþanc m/n heart-thought; mind; ns - 1197

mōdgian wkv 2 exult; 3s pt mōdgade 323

†mōdglæd adj glad in mind; asm mōdglædne 1158

mōdig adj brave, courageous; nsm - 695, 1272; gpl mōdigra 267

mōdsefa m mind; as mōdsefan 959, 1337; a/ds - 387

†mōdsēoc adj sick in mind; asm mōdsēocne 1261

mōdsorg f sorrow of mind; as mōdsorge 1051

molde f earth; a/ds moldan 989, 1230

moldweg m way upon earth, earth; ds moldwege 1039

mon n man; ns - 46, 282, 1164, 1247, món 989; gs monnes 26,130, 269, 322, 430, 458, 710, 770, 1126; ds men 384; 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

moncynn n mankind; gs moncynnes 440, 514, 739; ds moncynne 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 mongum 118, 898

pron many; nplm monge 30, 181, 460, monige 264, 501; aplm monge 884; dpl mongum 174, 323, 474

monigfeald adj manifold; gpl monigfealdra 644; cpv asf monigfealdran 1247

†monlufu f love of mankind; a/ds monlufan 353

monþēaw m manner, custom; as - 507

morgen m morning; ds morgne 1219, 1243

morþor m/n death; gs morþres 861

mōs n sustenance, food; ds mōse 274 (N)

mōst, mōste etc., see *mōtan

*mōtan prp v be able, may, be permitted; 1s pr ind mōt 717, 1040; 2s pr ind mōst 6; 3s pr ind mōt 785; 1pl pr ind mōtun 1191; 2pl pr ind - 314, 370, mōtan 377, 595, 648, 675, 700; 3pl pr ind mōtum 13, mōtun 22, 220, 790, mōtum 814, mōtan 132; 3s pt mōste 744, 779 (subj ?), 831; 1pl pt mōstun 1187; 2pl pt - 632; 3pl pt - 226, 840, mōstum 210, mōstan 424, 837, mōston 549; 3s pr subj mōte 28; 2pl pr subj mōten 613; 2pl pt subj mōsten 482, 1371; 3pl pt subj - 410

gemunan 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 mundað 260

murnan stv 3 mourn; pr pto npl murnende 430; see also bi-

mūð m mouth; as - 1122; ds mūðe 1272

mūtian, see bi-

*mynnan wkv 1 intend, urge; 3s pr ind myneð 1089 (N)

mynster n monastery; dpl mynsterum 416

myrcels m sign, mark; ds myrcelse 458 (N)

myrþra m murderer; npl myrþran 650

nǣfre adv never; - 10, 92, 376, 636, 640, 648, 658, 1013, 1170, 1173, 1210

nægan wkv 1 speak to, address; inf nēgan 1063; 2s pr ind nægest 1227

genægan : approach, assail; 1pl pr ind genægað 290; pp genæged 1153, genēged 1013

nǣnig pron not any, none; nsm - 865, 890, 923; gsn nænges 827

næs, see wesan

næss m headland, cliff; apl næssas 563

nales adv by no means, not at all; - 261, 583, 461, 616, 672; nalæs 117; prep phrase nales bȳ 150, see sē

ne adv., neg particle not; - 46, 61, 130, 187, 196, 220, 226, 239, 246, 258, 274, 278, 282, 294, 304, 319, 326, 355, 358, 365, 371, 377, 386, 399, 420, 424, 425, 433, 443, 466, 469, 479, 483, 493, 496, 505, 508, 543, 576, 579, 612, 632, 673, 698, 702, 707, 754, 811, 987, 993, 1023, 1034, 1055, 1057, 1064, 1067, 1077, 1137, 1154, 1200, 1221, 1229, 1251, 1345, 1356

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, nigh; nsm - 172, 189, 336; nsf - 970; nsn - 93; spv dsf bisse nȳhstan 1018; dsn þām - 445; apl þā - 1168

nēah prep postp + d near; - 1143

nēah adv intens hard; - 934, 943, 998

nēalǣcan wkv 1 draw near to, approach; 3s pr ind nēalǣcеð 1033; 3s pt nēalǣcte 1139

nearu adj narrow, oppressive; asm nearone 598; dpl nearwum 540

nearwe adv narrowly, closely; - 1013, 1210

nearwum adv narrowly, hardly; - 1153

nēgan, see nēgan

nelle, see willan

nemnan wkv 1 name, tell; inf - 93; see also ġ-

nemne conj unless; - 367

nēod f/n need, necessity; ns - 329, 1095 (H); as nȳd 697; dpl nȳdum 241

nēol adj deep, bottomless; aplm nēole 563

nēorxnawong m paradise; as - 827 (H)

nēosan wkv 1 + g seek, go to, attack; inf - 350, 719, 1146, 1365; pr pte gsm nēosendes 1217; 3s pt nēosade 958, 1001; 3pl pt nēosedon 920

nēotan stv 2 + g make use of, enjoy; inf - 832, 1373; see also bi-

nergan wkv 1 save, protect; inf - 553; pr pte nsm nergende 598

genergan : inf - 241

nergend m Saviour; ns - 640; ds nergende 658

nēðing f audacity; as nēðinge 128

niht f night; ns - 1281; as - 1287; ds - 1018, 1028, 1218; npl - 1035; gpl nihta 350

nihtes, adv use of gs by night; - 128, 610, 1210

†nihtglōm mf night-gloom, darkness of night; ds nihtglōme 943

nihthelm m cover of night; gpl nihthelma 970

†nihtrīm n a number of nights; npl - 1097

nihtscūa m darkness, shade of night; a/d nihtscūan 998

niman stv 4 take, take up abode in; inf - 1078, 1372

feel (terror); 3pl pt ondan nōman 218

geniman seize, carry away; 3s pt genōm 846; 2pl pt genōman 701

take, feel; 3s pt genōm 741; see also be-, bi-

nis, see wesan

nīð m enmity, violence, contest; ns - 141, 390; as - 525; apl nīþas 49; gpl nīþa 290; dpl nīþum 241, 553, 648

niþer adv down, downward; - 563

*niþþas plm men; g niðða 640, 1097

nīwe adj new; nsm - 742, 823; gpl nīwra 833

genīwian wkv 2 renew, make new; pp genīwad 953

nō emph neg adv not at all, not ever; nō 18 (MS nā); nō 201, 269, 302, 331, 339, 407, 421, 452, 549; nō 492, 506, 833

nōht adv not; - 1171

nolde, see willan

†norðrodor m north firmament, northern sky; ns - 1279

nū 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; nū gēna 155; nū þā 1231

nȳd, see nēod

nȳdcosting f painful trial, affliction; dpl nȳdcostingum 1153

nȳdgedāl n forced dissolution, death; as - 934; gs nȳdgedāles 1168; ds nȳdgedāle 445

nȳdwracu f violence; as nȳdwræce 553

nȳhstan, see nēah

nȳðgist m malicious stranger; gpl nȳðgista 540 (N)

of prep + d from, out of; - 44, 57, 106, 196, 212, 334, 376, 427, 485, 510, 685, 688, 711, 747, 822, 847, 866, 887, 938, 1090, 1101, 1102, 1125, 1263, 1272, 1283, 1298, 1363 (postp), 1369

of- vpref, with -giefan, -tēon, -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 -bīdan, -cuman, feohtan, -lēoran, -sēon, stīgan, -tēon, -þēon, -winnan

oferbīdan stv 1 survive; pp oferbiden 546

ofercuman stv 4 overcome; pp ofercumen 437

oferfeohtan stv 3 conquer, vanquish; 3pl pr ind oferfeohtaþ 803

oferhygd f/n arrogance, pride; apl oferhygdu 269; dpl oferhygdum 634, 661

oferlēoran wkv 1 deviate from; 3pl pt oferlēordun 726

†ofermægca m very strong (or illustrious) man; ns - 692 (M)

ofersēon stv 5 observe; 1pl pt ofersēgon 266

oferstīgan stv 1 defeat; 3s pt oferstāg 230

ofertēon stv 2 draw over, cover; 3s pt ofertēah 1280

oferþēon stv 1 and 3 excel, surpass; 3s pt subj oferþunge 431

oferwinnan stv 3 overcome; 3pl pr ind oferwinnaþ 25; 3s pt oferwon 152, 180

†oferwlencu f ostentation, arrogance; dpl oferwlencum 418

ofestlīce, see ofostlīce

ofestum adv quickly; - 1297

ofgiefan stv 5 give up; inf - 232, 477; 3s pr ind ofgiefeþ 2

ofostlīce adv speedily, quickly; - 1201, ofestlīce 1327

eft adv often, constantly; - 84, 108, 140, 160, 266, 315, 336, 346, 360, 510, 718, 736, 775, 884, 894, 1208, 1217; spv oftost 1348, 1355

oftēon stv 2 + g, thing; + d, person; take away from

oftost, see oft

ofunnan pt prs v + g, thing; + d, person; to begrudge a person anything; 3s pr ind ofonn 85

ombehtþegn m servant; ns - 1000, onbehtþegn 1146; ds ombehtþegne 1199, onbehtþegne 1294

†ombiehthēra 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

+ d - 16, 51, 61, 81, 83, 104, 121, 140, 148, 191, 192, 231, 251, 293, 328, 328, 329, 333, 356, 429, 439, 440, 473, 532, 585, 716, 785, 831, 844, 874, 899, 908, 921, 940, 948, 952, 962, 1018, 1020, 1026, 1037, 1039, 1068, 1099, 1123, 1135, 1136, 1160, 1162, 1187, 1207, 1219, 1229, 1243, 1250, 1255, 1274, 1285, 1315, 1341, 1356

+ a/d - 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; hēr on 256, 373; on hinder 676; on innan 1271

on- vpref, with -ælan, beran, bryrdan, onāwan, owebban, cyrran, fōn, gietan, gyldan, ginnan, hrēran, hyldan, lūcan, sēgan, secgan, sendan, settan, sittan, springan, stellan, tȳnan, wendan, wrēon, wyllan

onælan wkv 1 fire, kindle; pp onæled 955

†onbēru f composure; as - 1054 (M)

onbehtbegn, see ombehtbegn

onberan stv 5 weaken; pp ónboren 944

onbid n waiting; ns - 904, 1046

onbryrdan wkv 1 stimulate, incite; pp onbryrded 335

ongnāwan stv 7 know, recognise; 3s pt ongnēow 1199

ongwæþan stv 5 speak; 3s pt ongwæð 1023

ongyrran wkv 1 turn away; inf - 365

ongȳðig adj + g devoid of; nsm - 1226 (M)

7 conj and; - 2, 3, 7, 8, 12, 12 13, 21, 24, 24, 36, 41, 44, 53, 57, 61, 69, 75, 76, 82, 100, 102, 116, 120, 125, 128, 138, 141, 143, 156, 160, 164, 165, 184, 193, 197, 216, 249, 251, 254, 275, 286, 288, 288, 293, 300, 328, 345, 357, 362, 380, 395, 395, 411, 418, 431, 454, 489, 492, 495, 500, 508, 520, 522, 524, 536, 553, 565, 568, 573, 581, 597, 602, 605, 605, 607, 608, 609, 610, 619, 620, 635, 637, 639, 643, 647, 650, 652, 657, 663, 680, 683, 684, 697, 705, 720, 729, 730, 732, 742, 745, 766, 767, 772, 793, 802, 803, 809, 810, 810, 816, 825, 838, 839, 843, 847, 849, 853, 854, 861, 881, 882, 890, 918, 921, 929, 953, 967, 979, 983, 990, 1005, 1040, 1042, 1047, 1076, 1082, 1086, 1107, 1114, 1116, 1131, 1131, 1132, 1140, 1157, 1172, 1176, 1176, 1182, 1210, 1218, 1219, 1232, 1233, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1258, 1296, 1303, 1318, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1341, 1347, 1358, 1368, 1370, 1374

onda m anger, terror; as ondan 218, 565; a/ds - 346, ónda 773

†ondswia f answer; as - 1026

ondgiet n understanding; ds ondgiete 766

ondgiete f mind; a/ds ondgietan 112

ondlong adj continuous, whole; asm ondlongne 1277; asf ondlonge 1287

ondsaca m adversary; npl ondsacan 210, 233

ondswarian wkv 2 answer; 3s pt ondswarode 590

ondswaru f answer; as ondsware 1163, 1224; a/ds - 293

ondweard adj present; nsm - 1083, 1142

ondwīg m/n resistance; gs ondwīges (MS 7wiges) 176 (N)

onfeng m grasp, attack; dpl onfengum 405, 519

onfōn stv 7 receive, obtain; 3pl pt onfēngon 974

ongēan postp prep + d against; - 239

+ a/d - 302

ongietan stv 5 understand, perceive; pp ongieten 1207; 1s pt ongeat 1220; 3s pt - 1060; 3pl pt ongēaton 552

onginn n undertaking; ns - 277, ongin 355

onginnan stv 3 begin; pp ongunnen 980; imp s ongin 290; 3pl pr ind onginnað 561; 1s pt ongon 1239; 3s pt ongan 101, 1001, 1010, 1061, ongon 726, 1110, 1114, 1156, 1145, 1201; 3pl pt ongunnon 569

ongyldan stv 3 + a or g pay for, be punished for; inf ongyldon 861 (N); 3pl pt onguldon 857, 986

onhȳle adj secret, hidden; nplm - 297; aplm - 351; dpl onhȳlum 534

onhrēran wkv 1 stir up, agitate; pp onhrēred 37

onhyldan wkv 1 bow; 3s pt onhylde 334, 1213, 1270

onlūcan stv 2 unlock; pp onlocen 956; 3s pt onlēac 1029, 1144

onmōd adj steadfast; nsm - 745

onsāgan wkv 1 cause to sink down, prostrate; 3s pt onsāgde 1162

onsecgan wkv 3 offer, sacrifice; 3s pt onsægde 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 onsitte 1070

onspringan stv 3 burst asunder, quake; 3s pt onsprong 1326 (MS onbrong, H)

onstæl m arrangement, disposition; ns - 824

onstælan wkv 1 bring against, accuse of; 1pl pt onstældun 968

onsỹn f lack, want; ns - 828

onsỹn f/n face; as - 143, 500, 707, onsỹnn 718, onsỹne 815, 1184; ds onsỹne 459; a/ds - 783, 1188

onsỹne adj visible; nsm - 1254

ontỹnan wkv 1 open, reveal; pp ontỹned 9, 487; 3s pr ind ontỹneð 992; 3s pt ontỹnde 1301

onwald m authority, power, rule; as - 482

onwald adj mighty; nsm - 1102

onwealda m ruler; as onwealdan 638

onwendan wkv 1 turn away from, change; inf - 469; 2pl pr ind onwendað 376

†onwille adj desired; dsm þām onwillan 728

onwrēon stv 1 reveal; 3s pt onwrāh 147, 162; 3s pt subj onwrige 1161

onwyllan wkv 1 cause to boil, become violent; pp onwylled 391 (MS onwylleð)

geopenian wkv 2 open; 3s pr ind geopenað 993

ord m point, beginning; ds orde 532

ōretta m warrior; ns - 176, 344, 401; as ōrettan 569

orlege n battle, strife; as - 455, 564; ds - 196

oroð m breath, breathing; ns - 1278; as - 1024, 1155, 1271; ds orebe 1165, 1226

orsāwle adj without soul, lifeless; asn - 1194

orwēna adj + g hopeless, despairing of; aplm orwēnan 627

orwēnnys f despair, hopelessness; a/ds orwēnnysse 575

oð prep + a until, to; - 1256, 1277, 1312

oð- vpref, with -**beran**, -**bregdan**

oþ þæt conj until; - 134, 147, 546, 1291; **oð ðæt** 498

oðberan stv 4 bear forth, carry away; inf - 303

oðbregdan stv 3 take away, carry off; pp **oðbröden** 854

ober pron other; nsm - 119, 127

adj other; asm **öberne** 5, 391, 1215; aplf **öðre** 1119

obbe conj or; - 27, 281, 343, 369, 751, 891

öwiht f/n anything; as - 319

gerǣcan wkv 1 attain; 3s pt gerǣhte 171

rǣd m counsel, advice; as - 278

rǣdan stv 7 + d counsel, have the disposal of; inf - 132

rǣfnan wkv 1 do, perform; 3s pr ind rǣfnað 622; 3pl pr ind - 792 (M)

rǣran wkv 1 raise, exalt; inf - 186; 3pl pr ind rǣrað 24; 3s pt rǣrde 160; see also ā-

rǣsan wkv 1 rush; inf tō rǣsanne 406; 3s pr ind rǣseð 995

rǣst f rest; ns - 12; as rǣste 25, rǣste 363; gs rǣste / 1095; dpl rǣstum 221

rēaf m spoil, booty; ds rēafe 132

reccan wkv 1 + g heed, care for; 2s pr subj recce 291

reccan wkv 1 expound; 3s pt reahte 160; see also ā-

gereccan wkv 1 direct, ordain; pp gerahte 768; 3s pt gerehte 96, gereahte 135

regul m rule, standard; apl regulas 489

rēonigmōd adj sad at heart, weary; ds rēonigmōdum 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

rēow adj fierce, cruel; nplm rēowe 406

restan wkv 1 rest; inf - 213 (M)

rētan wkv 1 cheer up; inf - 1062

rēþe adj savage, cruel; nsm hrēðe 1140; apln rēþe 489

rīce adj powerful; gpl rīcra 995

rīce n kingdom; as - 792; ds - 682; a/ds - 660, 1302

rīcsian wkv 2 reign, tyrannize; 3s pt rīxade 864, rīcsade 871

rīm n number; ns - 498; as - 32, rīm 891; ds rīme 1135

gerīsan stv 1, impers + d befit; 3s pt gerāṣ 1114; see also ā-

rīxade, see rīcsian

rōd f cross; as rōde 180

rodor m firmament; pl = heavens; ns - 1096; gpl rodera 682, 792, 1312

rōf adj renowned; nsm - 1095

†rōw f rest, quietness; g/ds rōwe 213

rūm adj lax; aplm rūme 489

rūmmōd adj of liberal mind, liberal in giving; nplm rūmmōde 78 (M)

rūnwita m wise man, counsellor; ns rūnwita 1095

ryht adj true, right, lawful; nsm - 682; gpl ryhtra 78

•reo'; nsf ryht 1312

ryht n law, justice; as - 197, 810

ryht adv rightly; - 32

rȳman wkv 1 manifest, clear a way; 3s pr ind rȳmeð 767

gerȳman + tō clear the way to; 3s pr subj gerȳme 225

†rynebrāg f space of time, period; dpl rynebrāgum 213 (M)

sacu f strife; ns - 678; as sæce 300

sǣ m/f sea; dpl bi sǣm twēonum 266, 1359

sǣcan, see for-

sǣd n seed, fruit; gpl sǣda 45

sǣgan, see on-

sǣl f time, prosperity; gs sǣle 35

gesǣlan wkv 1 bring about; inf - 347

sǣmra cpv adj worse, inferior; aplm bā sǣmran 492

sǣne adj sluggish; nsm - 342

sǣnian, see ā-

sār n pain, suffering; ns - 1027, 1092; as/pl - 408, sǣr 1073; gs sāres 515; apl sār 541; gpl sāra 704, 965, 1244; dpl sārum 377, 433, 957, 1030, 1137

sārbenn f painful wound; dpl sārbennum 1019

sārig adj sad, grieving, sorrowful; dsm sārgum 1356; nplm sārge 887

sārigferð adj sad in soul; nsm - 1352, 1378

sārslege m painful blow, wounding blow; a/ds - 227

†sārstæf m bitter word; dpl sārstafum 234

†sārwylm m surging pain; dpl sārwylmum 1150

†sāwelcund adj spiritual; nsm - 317

sāwelgedāl n parting of soul and body, death; gs sāwelgedāles 1035

†sāwelhūs n soul house, body; ns sāwelhūs 1030; as sāwelhūs 1141

sāwl f soul; ns - 2, 408, 535, sāwul 550, 1089, sāwel 1264; as sāwle 227, 377, 929; ds - 541; npl sāwla 22, I22, 790; apl sāwle 567, 806; gpl sāwla 12, 332, 347; dpl sāwlum 767

scādan, see for-

scæd n shade; as - 675; npl scadu 1288

sceal, scealt, see sculan

sceaþa m enemy; gpl sceaðena 127

scēawian wkv 2 look at, behold; 3s pr ind scēawað 54, 80; 2pl pr ind scēawiað 718; 3s pt scēawode 414

scencan wkv 1 pour out, give to drink; 3s pt scencte 984

scebban stv 6 + d scathe, injure; inf - 226; pr ptc gpl scedþenra 404; 3pl pt scōdun 544; 3s pt subj scōde 443

gescebban : 3s pt gescād 425, gescōd 870

scieppan stv 6 create; pp sceapen 677; 3s pt scōp 495, 945

gescieppan : 3s pt gescōp 606

scildan wkv 1 shield, protect; 3s pt scilde 404

gescildan : inf - 556, gescyldan 242; 3s pt gescilde 457

scīma m radiance, splendour; ns - 1286

scīnan stv 1 shine; inf - 1283; 3s pt scān 1288, 1330, scān 693; see also ā-

scīran wkv 1 make clear, distinguish; 2pl pr ind scīrað 505

scīrwered pte adj clothed with radiance; nsm - 1288 (N)

scolu f host; npl - 204

scrīðan stv 1 go by, pass; pr pte ism scrīþende 1038; pp scriþen 1039; 3pl pt scridun 969, scridon 1097

scomu f shame; as scome 204; a/ds - 633; dpl scomum 856

scond f shame; adv use of ds sconde 675

*scūdan stv 2 hasten, skitter; pr pte nplm scūdende 856 (N)

scūfan stv 2 shove, thrust; inf - 675; pp nplm scofene 633, 856

sculan 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,

344, 366, 372, 386, 670, 702, 1030, 1189, 1195, 1348, 1351, 1353; 2pl pr ind scealan 614, 635, 680; 3pl pr ind - 1072; 3s pt sceolde 104, 192, 235, 341, 515, 571, 971, 1284, 1342; 2pl pt sceoldan 664; 3pl pt - 477, sceoldon 231, 860; 3s pr subj scyle 1022

*scyccan wkv 1 instigate, urge; 3s pt scyhte 127 (N)

scyld f/n guilt, crime; ns - 478; adv use of dpl scyldum 633

gescyldan, see scildan

scyldig adj guilty; gpl scyldigra 204, 505

scyndan wkv 1 hurry; 3s pt scynde 1331

scyppend m creator; as - 1158; ds scyppende 664

scyrian, see by-

sē, sēo, þæt def art. the, that; nsm sē 4, 16, 46, 67, 108, 116, 148, 157, 180, 326, 381, 386, 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; nsf sēo 2, 45, 146, 215, 408, 437, 550, 769, 903, 962, 970, 978, 1265, 1344, 1350; nsn þæt 277, 355, 739, 904, 1076, 1080, 1166, 1309, 1325; asm þone 477, 571, 595, 618, 645, 821, 868, 990, 1004, 1106, 1240, ðone 533; asf þā 109, 301, 412, 499, 629, 716, 758, 777, 812, 926, 976, 992, 1086, 1102, 1105, 1117, 1345, 1372; asn þæt 62, 106, 126, 151, 542, 562, 667, 957, 1290, 1310, 1347; gsm þæs 26, 60, 69, 107, 135, 182, 203, 352, 359, 364, 420, 422, 542, 725, 973, 1067, 1131, 1198, 1216, 1276, 1339; gsf þāre 68, 541; gsn þæs 75, 134, 379, 1050; ðæs 83; dsm þām 10, 91, 192, 203, 427, 443, 458, 460, 496, 654, 655, 688, 728, 733, 834, 836, 871, 889, 899 (or n), 921, 922, 942, 960, 1075, 1079, 1090, 1114, 1181, 1186, 1264, 1269, 1307, 1371, ðām 692; dsf þāre 716, 822, 860, 983, 1180, 1218, 1342, ðāre 1162, 1191; dsn þām 3, 196,

333, 356, 445, 548, 681, 831, 866, 1147, 1167, ðām 589; ism hȳ 73, 132, 702; isn hȳ 1301; npl hā 18, 91, 421, 757, 905, 975, 985; apl hā 25, 49, 56, 61, 71, 92, 120, 298, 492, 492, 541, 546, 702, 1168, 1296, 1355, ðā 851; gpl hāra 528, 606, 709, 892; dpl hām 241, 661, 894, ðām 111

subst pron that one, he, she, it; nsm sē 1, 28, 92, 400 440; nsf sēo 214; emphatic use of hæt 91, 517, 520, 521, 596, 612, 714, 769, 796, 811, 870, 1127, ðæt 18, 819, 1008; asn hæt 72, 271, 483, 505, 637, 715, 947, 1351 dsm hām 98; npl hā 55, 287, 493, 496; apl hā 299; gpl hāra 398 (M); dpl hām 19, 993 (Note hæt 18, 91, 796 with pl verb

as rel pron nsm sē 63, 106, 149, 200, 242, 249, 323, 511 597, 646, 685, 1000, 1242; nsf sēo 965; nsn hæt 93, 851, 1019; asm hone 869; as sē mec (whom) 703; asn hæt 1258; dsm hā 642, 1084, 1099, 1354; gsn hæs 985; npl hā 81, 91, 115, 287, 725; apl hā 162, 1172, ðā 51, 52, 58

as rel + he nsm sē he 85, 99, 241, 311, 385, 441, 512, 747, 1284, 1337, 1351; asm ðone he 104; gsm hæs he 131, 1207, 1228; gsn hæs he 379, 426, 465, 539, 700, 778; dsm hām he 92, 173, 346, 1348; sē he him (him whom) 361; npl hā he 14, 23, 31, 79, 130, 238, 351, 792, ðā he 66; gpl hāra he 268, 417 750, 1360, ðāra he 155; dpl hām he 124, 161, 622, hā he him (over whose) 72

adv use of gsn hæs - 32, 252, 361, 408, 469, 510, 538, 63 754, 1034, 1054; intens adv hæs 867, 1130 as conj + he (the time in which, when) hæs he 341, 1053, 1142; conj hæs (since) 113

adv use of isn hȳ (thereby, therefore) - 201, 491; nales hȳ adv (not that) 150; conj hȳ lēs (lest) 757; hȳ lēs hæt 1232; see also for ðȳ

use of isn hon in adverbs and prep. formulae; tō hon (the upon) 218; wiðhon (against that) 494; see also under æfter, ær, for

sē (hēana), sē (heah), see swā

sealdun adv seldom; - 317 (M)

searo n artifice, guile; as/pl - 850

†searocēg f (or searocēga m) guileful key, insidious attack; dpl searocēgum 1145

searocræft m treacherous art, wile; dpl searocræftum 142, 568, 674

sēcan wkv 1 seek, look for; inf - 480, 561; 1s pr sēce 1082; 3pl pr ind sēcað 82, 809; 3s pt sōhte 128, 1141, 1279, 1370; 2pl pt sōhtun 492; 3pl pt - 878, 927

gesēcan : seek, seek out, visit, sieze; inf - 197, tō gesēcenne 1089; pp gesōht 1019, 1145, gesōhte 957, 1030; 3s pr ind gesēceð 1037; 1pl pr ind gesēcað 281; 3s pt gesōhte 354, 522, 1244; 3pl pt gesōhtun 887

secgan wkv 3 say, tell; inf - 494, 614, 1027, 1116, 1370, tō secgan 531, tō secgenne 539; 2pl pr ind secgað 506; 3pl pr ind - 878; 3s pt sægde 119, 451, 476; 3pl pt sægdon 41, 234; imp s dō ... saga 1192; 1pl pr subj secgen 527

gesecgan : inf - 244, 704; 3s pt gesægde 295; 2s pr subj gesecge 1179; see also on-

sefa m understanding, mind, heart; ns - 1048, 1208; as sefan 1116, 1138; gs - 473; ds - 1123, 1356; a/ds - 570, 965, 1077

sēfte adj soft, comfortable; gpl sēftra 165

seld n seat, throne; as - 585

sele m hall, dwelling; ns - 742

selfe, see sylf

sēlla cpv adj better, greater; asm sēllan 278; aplm - 492; apln - 1268; spv nsn sēlest 1348, nsm sē sēlesta 1359

sellan wkv 1 give; 1s pr sylle 367; 3pl pr ind sellað 77; 3s pr ind syleð 767; 3s pt sealde 100, 112, 184, 202, 357, 473, 849; 3pl pt sealdon 413

gesellan : pp geseald 784; 3s pt gesealde 103

sēmon wkv 1 reconcile; inf - 511 (H)

sencan, see bi-

sendan wkv 1 send; 3s pr ind sendeð 321, 511, 767; see also on-

sēoc adj weak, sad; nsm - 1077; asf þās sēocan 1068 (MS seocnan H)

seofeða num. seventh; sē sēofeða 1141

seofian wkv 2 sigh, lament; 3pl pt seofedon 230

seofon odl num. seven; - 1035

gesēon stv 5 see, behold, look at; inf - 486, 1080, 1187; pp gesewen 1128, 1313; 3s pr ind gesihð 56; 3s pt geseah 712, 1053; 2s pt subj gesāwe 468; see also bi-, for-, ofer-

†sēoslig adj afflicted, troubled; nplm sēoslige 927

sēoðan stv 2 boil, cause to well up; pp seoden 1073, 1150, 1262

setl n seat, dwelling-place; ns - 383, 785; as - 244; gs setles 278; gpl setla 144, 165

setlgong m setting journey, setting; as - 1279; gs setlgonges 1214

settan wkv 1 establish, set; 3s pt sette 434; 2pl pt setton 488

gesettan : inf - 1022; pp geseted 774; 3s pt gesette 51, 58, 535; see also ā-, on-

sib f relationship, peace; ns - 12, 1082; as sibbe 716, 816, 1173, 1262; gs sibbe 197

sibgedryht f peaceful band; as - 1372

sīd adj wide, extensive; dsm sīdum 1123

sīde adv wide(ly); wīde 7 sīde 882

sīdweg m distant way; dpl sīdwegum 887 (MS siðwegum, H)

siex odl num. six; - 51

gesīgan stv 1 sink; 3s pt gesāg 1269

sige m victory; as - 184

sigedryhten m victorious lord, God; ns - 1238, 1375

sigehrēðig adj rejoicing in victory, triumphant; nsm - 732

sigelēas adj without victory, defeated; asm sigelēasne 302; nplm sigelēase 476, 651

sigelēoð n song of victory; as - 1315

†sigetūdor n victorious race; ds sigetūdre 866

sigewong m place of victory; ns - 742; ds sigewonge 921

sigor m victory; gpl sigora 1080

sigorfæst adj victorious, firm in victory; nsm - 1244; nsf - 965

sigorlēan n reward for victory, prize; as - 878, 1370

†sigortāon n sign of victory; dpl sigortāonum 1116

†sigorwuldor n triumphant glory; ds sigorwuldre 122

sihste num. sixth; nsf sihste 1150

gesincan stv 3 sink; 3s pt in gesonc 1142

sincgiefa m giver of treasure; as sincgiefan 1352

sind, sindon, sindan, see wesan

sindrēam m eternal joy; dpl sindrēamum 839, 1043

singales adv continually, always; - 219

singan stv 3 sing; ls pr ind singe 609; 3pl pt sungon 1315; see also be-

sinhīwan mpl couple; n - 968; a - 851

sinnan stv 3 care for; ls pr ind sinne 319

sinneht(e) f unending night, darkness; ns sinnehte 678

sīð adv late, afterwards; ær obbe - 369; ær ne - 1118; sume ær, sume sīð 876; þā sīð 1023

sīð adj after; opv nsf sēo sīþre 45

sīð m journey; as - 144, 302, 726, 1175, sīþ 354; gs sīþes 1045, 1077, 1375

sīðfæt m journey; as - 1378

sīðfrom adj eager to be going; nplm sīðfrome 921

sīðian wkv 2 journey; 3s pt sīðade 924

siððan adv afterwards, since; - 667, 988, sibban 706, 751, 774, 839, 852, 860, 866, 984, 985, 1040, 1196, sibbam 136, sibban ǣwo 1043

conj after that, since; - 504, 1176, sibban 99, 152, 175, 208, 723, 741, 935, 1049, 1239, 1254

sittan stv 5 sit, settle; 3s pr ind sitеð 478

gesittan : trans sit down in, settle; 3pl pr ind gesittað 82, 122; 3s pt gesæt 158, 174; 3pl pt gesǣton 144; see also for-, on-

slǣp m sleep; gpl slǣpa 342

slīðen adj hard, cruel; asf þā slīðnan 992

slūma m slumber; npl slūman 342

smēþe adj smooth; nplm smēþe 732

smolt adj pleasant, calm; nsm - 742

snel adj quick, strong; nsm/n - 1330

snottor adj wise, proud; nsm - 35, 1145

snūde adv at once, quickly; - 704

snyrian wkv 1 hasten; 3s pt snyrede 1332

snyttru f wisdom; as - 163, 473; adv use of dpl snyttrum 764

snyttrucræft m wisdom, prudence; ns - 184, 1128

sōcn f refuge; ds sōcne 716 (M)

somud adv together; - 1372

somud postp prep + a together; - 838

somwist f living together, matrimony; as - 1177, somwiste 968

sōna adv immediately; - 992, 1023

†sondhof n house in sand, grave; ds sondhofe 1196

†sondlond 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

†sorgcearu f sorrowful anxiety; ns - 966

sorgian wkv 2 sorrow; 3pl pt sorgedon 238

sorgwylm m surge of grief; dpl sorgwylmum 1073, sorgwælmum 1262

sōð truth; ns - 764; as - 295, 468, 494, 810, 957; gs sōþes 759; gpl sōþa 244

sōð adj true; asn - 1343; dsm þām sōþan 1264; adv use of asn sōð 816; adv use of cpv sōþra 1123 (N)

sōðfæst adj firm in truth, faithful; gpl sōðfæstra 22, 506, 567, 790

sōðlīce adv truly; - 651

spēd f success; as - 254

spēdig adj + d successful, rich; nsm - 695

spell n discourse; conversation; dpl spellum 1160

spelboda m messenger, prophet; npl spelbodan 40 (N)

*spīowan wkv 2 spit, spew out; 3pl pt spīowdon 912 (N)

spōwan stv 7, impers succeed; pp asf spōwende 254; dsf spōwendre 621

sprǣc f speech, conversation; as sprǣce 1160, 1220; ds - 621, 1005; gpl sprēca 254

sprecan stv 5 speak; 3s pt spræc 200, 692, 1294; 1pl pt sprǣcon 1172

springan, see a-, on-

gespurnan stv 3 tread upon, spurn; 3s pt gespearn 1334

gestǣlan wkv 1 + d, pers., a, thing accuse; inf - 1071

†stalgong m furtive step; dpl stalgongum 1140

staþelian wkv 2 make firm; inf - 1110; 3pl pr ind staþeliað 66

staþol m foundation; dpl staþelum 1274

stedewong m open place, plain; gpl stedewonga 875

stefn f voice, sound; ns - 1322; dpl stefnum 919

stenc m smell; ns - 1322; dpl stencum 1318

stōor f guidance, punishment; ns - 510

steppan stv 6 step, advance; 3s pt stōp 1140

gestīgan stv 1 climb, ascend; inf - 791; 1s pt gestāg 307; 3s pt - 428, 1328; gestāh 175; see also ā-, in-

stihtung f arrangement, direction; ns - 1131

gestillan wkv 1 + g cease from; 3s pt gestilde 1094

stille adv still; modifying lætan 'let be' - 199

stincan stv 3 perfume; 3pl pr ind stincað 1274

standan stv 6 stand; 1s pr ind stande 246, 373; 2pl pr ind standaþ 256, 510; 3pl pr ind - 88; 3s pt stōd 215, 323, 474, stōd 746; 2pl pt stōdan 191, stōdun 724; see also for-, wiþ-ymb-

stōw f place, spot; ns - 146, 215; as stōwe 159; dpl stōwum 875 (MS stopum), 1274

strong adj strong; nsm - 293 (N), 1140

strongliċe adv strongly; - 903

stund f hour, time; ns - 903; adv use of dpl stundum 1271

stȳran wkv 1 steer, govern; 3s pr ind stȳreð 420

sum adj some one, some; + g nsm - 173, 398, 709; asn - 518;
as sb : nplm sume 60, 81, 876, 876, 876

sumor m summer; gs sumeres 1273

sundplega m tossing of the sea; a/d sundplegan 1334

sundrian, see ā-

sunne f sun; ns - 1214; ds sunnan 1313

sūsl n torment; as - 667

swā adv thus, in this manner: - 70, 133, 200, 323, 344, 396, 419, 463, 513, 554, 566, 576, 620, 623, 670, 739, 760, 771, 781, 790, 854, 996, 1105, 1219, 1317, swā 1276;

intens adv so; - 246, 431, 1121
in adv phrases efne swā 592; swā bēah 493, 940, sē bēah 961; swā bēana 110, sē bēana 409

conj so; without clause swā 276, 373, 390, 907
with clause - 129, 210, 246, 974, 1109, 1114, 1118, 1225, 1297
correl. swā bæt ... swā 'even as ... so' 40/42

swēman, see ā-

swēg adj dear, beloved; nsm bæt swēse 1080, 1166; dsm swēsum 984

swāmian wkv 2 move, wander; 3s pt swāmode 1096 (M)

swāt n blood; as - 522

sweart adj dark, dismal; nsf sweart 678; asn bæt swearte 667; nplm swearte 651

swearte adv darkly, miserably; - 625

swebban wkv 1 send to sleep; 3s pr ind swefeð 221

swecc m smell, scent; gpl swecca 1273

swēg m sound; ns - 1315, 1322

swegelcyning m heavenly king; as - 1082

swegl n heaven, sky; ns - 1330; gs swegles 486; ds swegle 585, 625, 785, 1313

†sweglbeorht adj heaven-bright; nsf - 1213

swegldrēam m heavenly joy; dpl swegldrēamum 1125

†sweglwuldor n heavenly glory; ds sweglwuldre 1187

†sweglundor n heavenly wonder; dpl sweglwundrum 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 **swencað** 806

swecrcan stv 3 darken; 3s pt **swearc** 1052, 1279

sweord n sword; as - 302

sweostor f sister; ds - 1179

swedrian wkv 2 weaken, abate; pp **geswedred** 1040; 3s pt **swedrade** 352; 3pl pt **swédradon** 1288; 3pl pt subj **swedraden** 113

swēte adj sweet, pleasant; dpl **swētum** 1318; spv nsm **swētast** 1273

swige m delaying, wait; ns - 1034

geswīcan stv 1 + g give up; imp s **geswīc** 278; see also **be-**

swilc, see **swylc**

swincan stv 3 toil, labour; 3pl pr ind **swincað** 810

swīþ adj strong, harsh; nsm - 142; cpv nsm **swīðra** 230

swīðan, see **for-**

swīþe adv greatly, much, very; - 234, 570, **swīðe** 1070, 1268, 1356; **būs swīðe** 452; **ealles tō swīðe** 662

intens adv - 977, 1166, **swīðe** 1299; cpv **swīþor** 1125

swylc demonstr. such; nsn - 355; nsm - 1128; as/pl **swylce** 1119

adv thus, so; **swilc** 756

swylce adv so, likewise; - 1301

conj such as, like; - 1273, 1311; **swylce ēac** 166

swylt m destruction, death; ds **swylte** 851

swyltcwalu f death pang, death; a/ds **swyltcwale** 561

sȳ, **synd**, see **wesan**

sylf pron self; nsm **sylf** 1234, **sylfa** 107, 522, 535, 539, 468, 991; asm **hine sylfne** 701; gsm **his sylfes** 58, 706; dsm **gode sylfum** 206; **me**

sylfum 1092; gpl sylfra 82; nplm wē selfe 751, hi sylfe 806, hȳ him sylf 142 (N)

symbeldæg 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

synwracu f punishment for sin; ds synwræce 860 (N)

tāon n sign, signal; dpl tāonum 735 (N)

†tælmearc n? measured time, date; ds tælmearce 877

teagor, tēar m tear, weeping; ns teagor 1340 (N); apl tēaras 1056

tempel n temple, church; ds temple 1002, 1113, 1149; dpl templum 490

tēon stv 2 draw, lead, undertake; inf - 649; 3s pt tēah 1271; 3pl pt tugon 144; 3s pt subj tuge 354

getēon : inf - 574, 1024, 1155; 3s pt getēah 851

tēona m injury, hostility; ds tēonan 426

tēoncwide m abusive speech, taunt; dpl tēoncwidum 448

†tēonsmið m evil doer, tormenter; npl tēonsmiðas 205

tergan wkv 1 torment, insult; 3pl pr ind tergað 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; gpl tīda 36, 754, 877; dpl tīdum 118, 154, 401; adv use of dpl - 211

†tīdfara m time server; nsm - 9 (N)

tiht m course, motion; expanse ?; as - 1281 (N)

tīma m time; a/ds or apl tīman 754

getimbran wkv 1 build; 1s pr ind getimbre 250; 3s pr ind getimbreð 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, + infl inf - 406, 539, 1066, 1089, 1249

+ i tō þon 'thereupon' 218

adv phrases : tō þonce 125, tō wundre 370, ā tō fēore 13, tō wīdan ealdre 636, āwo tō ealdre 786, tō worulde 814, tō wīdan fēore 840, āfre tō ealdre 1119

tō adv + adj or adv too; - 585, 662, 844, 1077, 1343

tō vb pref, with -beran, -lȳsan

tōberan stv 4 bear off; 3pl pr ind tōberaþ 289

tōlȳsan wkv 1 unloose, release; pp tōlȳsed 1289

tor m tower; ns - 1311

torht adj bright, beautiful; nsm - 1295; nsn - 9, 487; spv asm þone torhtestan 645

torn n grief, anger; as/pl - 288, 487, 1056; gs tornes 205

torn adj grievous; dpl tornum 448

torncwide m bitter speech; dpl torncwidum 574

torne adv grievously, bitterly; - 1340

†tornmōd adj raging, furious; nplm tornmōde 649

†tornwraou f grievous revenge; as tornwræce 301

tōweard adj approaching, near; nsf - 1114

tredan stv 5 walk on, tread on; 3pl pr ind tredaþ 288

†trēofugol m bird of the trees; gpl trēofugla 735 (N)

trēow f truth, faith; ns - 340, 448, 543

trēowan wkv 1 trust in, believe in; 1s pr ind getrȳwe 645; 3s pt getrēowde 435

trēowe adj true, faithful; dsm

†trumnaþ m strengthening, confirmation; ds trumnaþe 757

truwian wkv 2 + g trust, have faith in; 3s pt truwade 1161

trymman wkv 1 make strong, strengthen onself; inf - 1116; 3s pr ind trymaþ 362; 3s pt trymede 107, 190, 960; 3pl pt trymedon 133

getrȳwe, see trēowan

tūddor n race, kin; npl - 735; gs tūdres 824

twēgen 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 twēoþ 252; 3s pt getwēode 340, 543

twēone distributory num. two; bi sǣm twēonum 'between' 266, 1359

tȳdre adj weak, feeble; apln þā tȳdran 757

tȳdrian wkv 2 grow weak, decay; 3s pr ind tȳdraþ 1265; 3pl pr ind tȳdriaþ 18

tȳnan, see on-

þā pron and def art., see **sē**

þā adv then, thereupon; - 412, 427, 726, 932, 936, 1005, 1007, 1061, 1110, 1147, 1150, 1201, 1278, 1300, 1302, 1303, 1327, 1344; **ðā** 262, 390, 470, 684, 691, 722, 823, 950, 976, 1001, 1010, 1047, 1094, 1108, 1134, 1145, 1156, 1224, 1269, 1282, 1305, 1308, 1326; **þā gēn** 515; **þā gēna** 233, 446, 1270; **stryhte þā** 997, 1152; **þā sīð** 1023; **nū ðā** 1231

þā conj when, as; - 148, 158, 230, 524, 631, 855, 1375; **ðā** 666, 766, 1104; correl. **þā ... ðā** 454/6, 1098/1101, **ðā ... þā** 1197/9

þǣr adv there; - 11, 13, 143, 149, 180, 573, 665, 774, 833, 839, 873, 888, 898, 921, 1082, 1189, 1190, 1308, 1320; **þēr** 421 (N); **þǣr in** 19; 'to there' **þǣr** 140

þǣr 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; **ðǣr** 159, 635, 658; 'to where' **þǣr** 896, 951, 1344

þæs, see **sē**

þæt pron and def art., see **sē**

þæt conj + noun clause that; - 67, 93, 108, 192, 194, 206, 224, 235, 239, 253, 271, 353, 408, 410, 411, 424, 430 (MS **þæ**), 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 þæt .., swā** 40/2

þætte conj that; - 449, 820, 981, 987, 989

gehafian wkv 2 support, obey; inf - 600

þe rel particle who, which, that etc. - 18, 19, 49, 55, 68, 256, 298, 327, 373, 423, 458, 528, 542, 606, 661,

709, 716 (N), 859, 886, 891, 892, 927, 948, 973, 1132, 1248; ðe 501, 1355; with þēah - 240, 377, 466, 481, 516, 872; with sē, sēo, þæt - 14, 23, 31, 66, 71, 79, 85, 92, 99, 104, 124, 130, 131, 155, 161, 173, 238, 241, 268, 311, 341, 346, 351, 361, 379, 385, 417, 426, 441, 465, 512, 539, 700, 747, 750, 778, 792, 1053, 1142, 1208, 1228, 1284, 1337, 1348, 1351, 1360

þēah adv however; swā þēah 493, 940; sē þēah 961

þēah conj usually + subj although; - 273, 299, 487, 915, 967, 1164; ðēah 374, 380, 1064

þēah þe conj + subj although; - 240, 377, 466, 481, 872; ðēah þe 516

gebeahting f counsel; dpl gebeahtingum 646

þēana adv however, yet; sē - 409, swā þēana 110

bearf f need; ds þearfe 1174; a/ds ðearfe 927; apl þearfe 322

þearf, see þurfan

þearfendlīc adj needy, poor; nsm - 431

þearl adj severe, excessive; nsf - 978; nplm/f þearle 547

þēaw m custom, way; ns - 419, 566; apl þēawas 161, 267; dpl þēawum 398, 502, 605

þēgan, see þēow(i)an

þeccan, see bi-

þegn m servant, thane; ns - 693, 708, 1243; as - 1216; ds þegne 1114, 1231; apl þegnas 547, 696

þencan wkv 1 think, intend; 1s pr ind þence 303, 306; 3s pr ind þencest 289; 3pl pt þōhtan 327; see also bi-

þendan conj while, as long as; - 376; þenden 929

þēod f people; ds þēode 1231; gpl þēoda 267; dpl þēodum 502

þēodan, see under-

þēoden m master, prince, lord; ns - 1014, 1174; gs þēodnes 385, 1066, 1198, 1216, 1256; ds þēodne 778, 1114

†þēodengedāl n parting from a master; as - 1350

þēon stv 1 prosper; 3s pr ind þĭhð 398

gedēon : 3s pr gedāh 537; see also ofer-

þēostorcofa m dark chamber; a/ds þēostorcofan 1195

þēostra, see þȳstru

þēow m servant; ns - 157, 314, 386, 579, 600, 896, 951

þēow(i)an wkv 2 and 3 + d serve, devote onself to; inf þēgan 169 (N); 3pl pr ind þeowiað 69, þeowiaþ 80, þeowað 91, þĭgað 461 (N); 3s pt þeowde 740

þĕs, þēos, þis dem adj this; nsm þĕs 53, 296, 304, 1091, 1176 (N); nsf þēos 279, 373, 1022, 1064; nsn þis 1030, 1046, 1265; asm þisne 1256; asf þās 119, 125, 371, 741, 967, 1068, 1085, 1120; asn þis 24, 307, 455, 1193; gsm þisses 383; gsf þisse 337, 946, 1037, ðisse 1028; gsn þisses 74, 278; dsm þissum 256; dsf þisse 47, 1018; npl þās 70; apl - 2, 3, 284; gpl þissa 752; dpl þissum 376

dem pron " ; asn þis 1171; npl þās 753

þicgan stv 5 accept, partake of; inf - 125, 483

ðider adv to there, thither; - 1044

þider conj to where, whither; - 6, 22 (N)

þĭgað, see þĕow(i)an

þĭn poss adj s your; nsm - 1358; asm þĭnne 1223; asf þĭne 1174; asn þĭn 283; gsn þĭnes 291; dsf þĭnre 459, 1257

þingian wkv 2 speak; 3s pt þingode 239

þolian wkv 2 + g thole, endure; inf tō geþolianne 1066; pr pte þoliende 1056; 3pl pr ind þoliað 222

þon, see under æfter, ær, for, tō

þonan adv thence, from there; - 144, 325, 1353

þonc m thought, thanks; as - 471; gs þonces 914; ds þonce 169 (N), tō þonce 125 'thankfully, willingly'

þoncian wkv 2 + g (thing) d (pers.); thank, to give thanks to; inf - 605; 3s pt þoncade 778

þonne adv then; - 190, 511, 1038, ðonne 4

þonne conj when, whenever; - 1, 27, 185, 333, 349, 392, 444, 567, 737, 759, 770, 1212, 1350, ðonne 72, 212, 356, 812

after opv than; + no clause - 126, 279, 388, 400, 1035, 1126
+ clause - 168, 384, 1059, 1247, 1321

þracu f violence; as þræce 267

þrāg f time, season; ns - 1350; as þrāge 1196; apl - 1184

þrēa m/f/n violence, affliction; npl - 547; dpl þrēam 431, 1198

þrēan wkv 2 reprove; pp nplm gebrēade 74

þrēanīedla m powerful constraint, oppression; dpl þrēanīedlum 696 (MS þreamedlum)

þrēat m troop, band; ns - 691; npl þrēatas 1314; gpl ðrēata 1103; dpl þrēatum 286, 902

þrēatian wkv 2 torment; pp gebrēatad 916

þrēotan, see ā-

ðriccan, see for-, in-

þringan stv 3 press forward; throng; inf - 896; 3s pt þrong 1281

geðringan : oppress, gain by pressing forward; - inf - 245 (MS gedringan); 3s pt gebrong 863; pp gebrungen 934, 943

þroht m oppression, hardship; as - 1350

þrōwian wkv 2 suffer; inf - 573; 3s pt þrōwade 408; 3pl pt þrō-wedon 204

þrōwere m sufferer, martyr; gpl þrōwera 161, 182

brōwing f suffering; ds brōwinga 471; dpl brōwingum 385, 778

brym m strength, power, glory; ns - 1103; as - 646, 1364; ds brymme 169; is - 74; gpl brymma 1103

†brymcyme m glorious coming; as - 1256

brȳnes f Trinity; gs brȳnesse 646

bū 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, ðū 271, 271, 280, 291, 291, 579, 1168, 1192; enclitic ðē 272, þē 290; a þec 7, 274, 281, 287, 288, 289, 290, 456, 467, 468, 1203, þē 452, 1013, 1017, 1210, 1259, 1297; d þec 278, 458, þē 8, 275, 280, 282, 467, 587, 588, 1011, 1206, 1231, 1370, 1374; a/d þē 1215, 1262, þē 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 borfte 337, 833; 3pl pt borftan 239, 452, borfton 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, 1158, 1178, 1198, 1204, 1223, 1235, 1361

burhtēon stv 2 accomplish, penetrate; pp burhtogen 426

burst m thirst; ns - 275

bus adv thus, so; - 452, 1011, 1015

bȳ, bȳ læs, see sē

bȳdan wkv 1 join, associate; pp gebȳded 998

byncan wkv 1 impers + d seem, appear; gebūht 1016, 1123; 3s pt būhte 440, 518, 1128

byslīc adj such; asm byslīcne 1014

hȳstru f darkness, cloud; as **hȳstro** 635; gpl **hēostra** 696; dpl **hȳstrum** 1281

ufan adv from, above; - 612, 937, 958

ufancund adj heavenly, celestial; asm ufancundne 686, 1242; gsm ufancundes 1124

uncer dual poss adj our; nsf - 1189

uncūð ptc adj unknown, strange; nsm - 141; gsm uncūþes 1217

uncȳððu f strange place; as uncȳððu 855 (M)

under prep + a, d under, underneath; + a - 563, 598, 675, 710; + d - 31, 52, 120, 415, 540, 761, 1280, 1289, 1308, 1313, 1316, 1330; a/d - 731

underþȳdan wkv 1 + d subject (to); pp underþȳded 603

ungēaro adv quite soon; - 281

ungeblyged ptc adj undismayed; nsm - 941

unhwīlen adj lasting, eternal; asn - 1087, 1093

unhȳðig adj unhappy; nsm - 1328

unlæt adj quick, ready; nsm - 1034;

unnan pt pl v grant; inf - 930; see also of-

unrōt adj sad; nsm - 1064; asm unrōtne 1260

unscyldig adj innocent, guiltless; asm unscyldigne 687

unslāw adj quick; isn unslāwe 950

unsnyttru f folly; adv use of dpl unsnyttrum 859

unsōfte adv severely; - 886, 1107

untrymnes f weakness, infirmity; ns - 1017

unwēne adj hopeless; asm unwēnne 1148

ūp adv up, on high, aloft; - 263, 484, 776, 791, 1024, 1155, 1278, 1311, ūpp 97

ūpeard m dwelling on high; as - 1078

ūplīc adj celestial; dsn þām ūplīcan 681

ūphladan stv 6 draw up; pp ūphlæden 1278

ūprodor m firmament, heaven; as - 782

ūpweg m ascent; as - 1306, 1365

ūre poss adj our; nplm ūsse 750, 973; gpl ūssera 753, ūrra 877; dpl ūssum 401

ūre, ūs, ūsic, see wē

ūt adv out; - 299

ūtsīð m departure; gs ūtsīðes 1267

ūttor cpv adv more utterly; - 126

ūðgenge adj not to be held, alien; nsm - 852

wacian wkv 2 keep watch; 3pl pt wacedon 115

gewadan stv 6 go; 3s pt gewōd 940, 1028

wǣgan wkv 1 afflict; inf wēgan 370

†wǣgdropa m water drop, tear; apl wǣgdropan 1057

wǣghengest m ship; as - 1329

wælan wkv 1 vex, torment, afflict; inf - 425

wælgīfre adj eager for carrion, bloodthirsty; nsm - 999

†wælpīl m deadly dart, death pang; dpl wælpīlum 1154

wælræst f death bed, grave; as wælræste 1033, 1368

†wælstrǣl m/f fatal arrow, mortal pang; dpl wælstrǣlum 1286

wǣpen n weapon; as - 304; gpl wǣpna 284; dpl wǣpnum 89, 178

wǣr f covenant, promise, protection; as wǣre 775, 1172; a/ds - 360, 690, 746

wærc m pain; ns - 1028

wǣre, see wesan

wǣrfæst adj constant; nsf - 1190

wǣrloga m promise breaker; devil; npl wǣrlogan 298, 911, wærlogan 623

wærnys f evil, damnation; as wærnysse 671 (N)

wēron, see wesan

wæstm m/f/n fruitfulness, fruit; asm - 848; gpl wæstma 44

wæterþisa m water-burster, ship; ns - 1329 (MS wæterþiswa)

wāg m wall; ds wāge 1269

waldend m ruler, lord; ns - 594, 666, 763; as - 800; gs waldendes 845

wana m lack; ns - 1354

wānian wkv 2 lament; inf - 1073

warnian wkv 2 deny oneself something; ls pt warnade 1183

wāst, wāt, see witan; gewāt, see gewītan

wāþ f wandering, roving; as wāðe 145; dpl wāþum 212

wē pl pers pron we; n - 32, 34, 49, 93, 108, 182, 266, 269 (MS þe), 280, 284, 290, 452, 467, 468, 526, 587, 751, 752, 763, 1360; a ūsiq 511; g ūre 289; d ūs 48, 280, 766, 878; a/d ūs 93, 528, ūs 764, hūs 271 (N)

wēa m woe, misery; as wēan 615

wealdan stv 7 + a/d rule; inf - 702, 1159; 3s pr ind wealdeð 17, 241, 312, 512; 3pl pt wēoldon 268; 3s pt subj wēlde 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 wearð), 231, 611, 789, 929, 1204; npl weardas 115

wearm adj warm; nsn - 1293

weardian wkv 2 occupy; inf lāst weardian 'remain behind' 1338; 3s pt weardade 897, 1129

weaxan stv 7 grow; 3s pr ind weaxeð 249; 3s pt wēox 395

†wedertācen n weather-sign, sun; ns - 1293

wēdan wkv 1 rave; pp nplm wēdende 907

wefan stv 5 weave, destine; pp wefen 1351

weg m way, path; as - 99, 1180; gs weges 37; apl wegas 8

wegan stv 5 bear, feel; inf - 61; 3s pt wæg 1009, 1051, 1137, 1335, 1341

wel adv well, fully; - 541, 581, well 1171

wela m wealth; gs welan 828

wēn f expectation, hope; a/ds wēne 1016

wēnan wkv 1 + g expect, hope; inf - 673; 2pl pr ind wēnað 508, 3pl pr ind wēnaþ 76; 2pl pt wēndun 663; 2s pr subj wēne 291

172, 189, 201, 214, 292, 326, 328, 329, 336, 355, 390, 398, 400, 423, 437, 439, 448, 470, 486, 514, 521, 530, 667, 722, 742, 748, 773, 781, 784, 823, 825, 827, 865, 923, 932, 936, 942, 944, 953, 954, 970, 976, 978, 980, 987, 996, 1024, 1047, 1049, 1059, 1095, 1123, 1130, 1150, 1151, 1200, 1276, 1289, 1305, 1309, 1315, 1317, 1320, 1324, 1344, 1375 (MS bæs); næs 903, 961, 966; 2pl pt wǣron 706; 3pl pt wǣron 205, 406, 547, 731, 1134; 3s pt subj wǣre 411, 441, 1124; 3pl pt subj wǣre 872

bēon forms : 3s pr ind bið 1, 20, 45, 62, 419, 566, 568, 612, 1034, 1354, bib 11, 1348; 1pl pr ind bēoð 280; 3pl pr ind bēoð 59, 73, 78, 275, 287, 466, 493, 796, 1038, bēoþ 89; imp s bēo þū 1064, 1077, 1175,

other forms : 1s pr ind eom 314, 599, 651, 703, 708, 709, 1077, 1268, eam 246; 2s pr ind eart 9, 272, 579; 3s pr ind is 37, 53, 242, 296, 318, 526, 531, 536, 538, 596, 620, 656, 677, 682, 714, 787, 819, 890, 1016, 1019, 1044, 1046, 1082, 1295, 1298, 1357, nis 277, 309, 312, 379, 383, 769, 1065, 1081, 1091, 1166, 1206, 1248, 1265; 1pl pr ind sindon 752; 2pl pr ind sindon 298, 623, sind 478; 3pl pr ind sindon 8, 30, 1233, sindan 38, sind 18, 251, synd 91; 3s pr subj sȳ 698

west adv west, westward; - 1213

wēsten m/n wilderness, wild place; ns - 296; a/ds wēstenne 208, 935; ds - 899; dpl wēstenmum 81

wēþe adj gentle, mild, pleasant; nplm - 8

wīc n dwelling place, home; apl - 284, 298, 702; gpl wīca 1365; dpl wīcum 894

†wīceard m dwelling place; - 935

wīd adj wide; nsm - 296 (MS wið); in phrases 'forever' ealne wīdan feorh 817, tō wīdan ealdre 636, tō wīdan fēore 840

wendan wkv 1 change, turn; inf - 57, 758; 3pl pr ind wendað 44, see also on-

weorc n work; as - 362; gs weorces 857; ds weorce 1269; apl weorc 61, 720; gpl weorca 1373; dpl weorcum 312, 581, 622, 793, 948, 1304

weorud n host, troop; gs weorudes 247; ds weorude 894; gpl weoroda 134, weoruda 395, 594

weorðan stv 3 become, happen; inf - 305, 1230; 3s pr ind weorþeð 660; 3pl pr ind weorþað 71; 3s pt wearð 153, 174, 262, 534, 535, 691, 852, 879, 1197, 1254, 1326; 3pl pt wurdum 181, wurdon 881, 856; 2pl pt wurdon 633; 3s pr subj weorðe 765; 3s pt subj worde 780

geweorþan : inf - 64, geweorðan 1261; pp geworden 749; 3s pt gewearð 93, 1011; 3pl pr subj geweorþen 380; ?s pr subj geweorðe (after MS gap) 369

weorþian wkv 2 honour, worship; inf - 619; 3pl pr ind weorðiað 156, 800; 3pl pt weorðedon 918

weorðlīce adv worthily, honourably; - 324

weorðmynd f/n/m honour, glory; apl weorðmyndu 463

wēpan stv 7 weep; inf - 1074

wer m man; ns - 108, 590, 925, 1105, 1163, 1224; gs weres 1131; ds were 849, 984; npl weras 503, 1232; gpl wera 749, 819, 1127, 1213

werga wk adj accursed, evil; nsm sē werga 451

wērge, see wērig

wērgenga m stranger; as wērgengan 594 (N); a/ds - 713

gewērgian wkv 2 weary, grow weary; pp gewērgad 1269

werian wkv 1 defend, hold; 3pl pt weredon 351 (N); see also bi-

wērig adj weary; nplm wērge 212; gpl wērigra 1363

wērigmōd adj weary in mind; nplm wērigmōde 255

wesan stv 5 (defective) be; inf - 260, 603, 665, 671, 768; 3s pt wæs 98, 110, 114, 136, 146, 167, 170,

wīde adv far, far and wide; - 145, 536, 819; - 7 wīde 882; cpv wīdor 300

wīdeferh n/a for a long time; as - 603, 671 (H)

wīf n woman, wife; ns - 846

wiga n warrior; ns - 999, 1033

wiht f/n anything; ns - 277, 312, 425, 699; as - 313

†wilboda n messenger of joy, angel; ns - 1246

wilde adj wild; nsn - 276; npln - 907

wildēor n wild beast; dpl wildēorum 741 (H)

willa n wish, desire, will; ns - 749; as willan 385, 845, 873; gs - 828, 867, 1066; ds - 358; a/ds - 95, 348, 362, 538, 622, 780, 805, 879, 1112; gpl wilna 1074, 1190; adv use of dpl willum 82, 199, 1373

willan anom v will, wish, desire, be about to; + inf : 1s pr ind wille 243, 257, 378, 494, 603, 619, 717, 719, 1027, 1263; 2s pr ind wilt 280; 3s pr ind wile 241, 346; 1pl pr ind willaþ 34, 587; 2pl pr ind - 507; 3pl pr ind - 60, 124, 567; 1s pt wolde 1229; 2s pt - 454; 3s pt - 169, 196, 470, 517, 518, 552, 930, 1006; 2pl pt woldan 483, 491; 3pl pt woldun 574, 842; 2s pr subj wille 272, wylle 593; 3s pr subj wille 640; neg 3s pt nolde 945, 1234; 1s pr ind nelle 1259

+ clause : 3s pr ind wile 763; 3s pt wolde 407; 1pl pt woldun 488; 2pl pt woldun 663; 3pl pt -un 353; 3pl pr subj willen 224

willian wkv 2 + g desire; inf - 37

wilnian wkv 2 + g desire, ask for; inf - 290; 3pl pr ind wilniaþ 70; 1s pr ind wilnode 1185

windan stv 3 move; 3s pt wond 294

wine m friend; ns - 1227; as - 1063, 1339; ds - 1347; gpl winiga 1365 (MS wunga, H)

winedryhten m generous lord, friend and lord; ns - 1011; ds winedryhtne 1202

winemēg m kinsman, friend; gpl winemēga 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 ā-ofer-

winter m/n winter, year; gpl wintra 498

wiscað, see wyscan

wīsdōm m wisdom; ns - 1131; as - 503, 529, 763; gs wisdomes 156, 1246

wīse f way, mode; gpl wīsna 1162

wīsian wkv 2 direct, show; 3s pr ind wīsað 362; 3s pt wīsade 444

wist f food, feast; gpl wista 463

wit dual pers pron we two; n - 1172, 1186, 1190, 1258; a unc 1186, a/d unc 1258

witan pt pr v know; 1s pr ind wāt 1086, 1092, 1221; 2s pr ind wāst 1021; 3s pr ind wāt 1351, 1352; 3pl pr ind witon 67, 90; 3s pt wiste 1003, 1339; 3s pr subj wite 891, 1247

gewītan stv 1 depart, go away; pp gewiten 1365, npl gewitene 1134; 2s pr ind gewītest 276; 3s pt gewāt 325, 1327; pl imp gewītað 255

wīte n pain, torment; as/pl - 469, 713; gpl wīta 885; dpl wītum 425, 517

wītedōm m prophecy; as wītedōm 41

witian wkv 2 appoint, assure; pp asf witude 918; see also be-

wið prep + a/d against, with, from; + a - 411, 716, wiþ 371; + d wið 240, 241, 323, 404, 457, 474, 494 (N), 534, 553, 556, 739, 774, 810, 960, 1335; wiþ 3, 203; + a/d wið 228, 331, wiþ 1262

wið v pref, with -hycgan, -stondan

wiþerbreoca m adversary; dpl wiþerbreocum 294 (N)

wiþerhycgende pte adj hostile; malevolent; nplm wiþerhycgende 663

wiðhycgan wkv 3 + d set oneself against; 2pl pt wiðhogdum 631

wiðstondan stv 6 resist, withstand; inf - 994; 3s pt wiðstōd 903

wlencu f pride; as - 503; ds wlence 208

wlite m beauty, splendour; ds - 44, 1314

wlitig adj beautiful, fair; nsf - 817; asm wlitigne 1304; asf þā wlitigan 1117

wlō adv indeed; wlǒ 1154 (N)

wolcen n cloud; dpl wolcnum 1280

wōlde 517, see wealdan

wom m/n impurity, blemish; gpl womma 29, 587

won adj dark; nsm - 1280; dsf þisse 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

wonsǣlig adj wretched; gsf þisse wonsǣlgan 946

wōp m lamentation, weeping; as - 1047, wǒp 636, 905; gs wōpes 1339; ds wōpe 615

word n word, speech, command; ns - 1126, 1131; as - 725, 842, 848, 1347, wórd 58; ds worde 294, 360; apl word 308, 720, 775, 1172, 1198, 1216; gpl worda 1016, 1094, 1161, 1169; dpl wordum 41, 61, 363, 376, 451, 581, 619, 793, 1063, 1183, 1202, 1227

wordcwide m speech, word; gpl wordcwida 1159

woruld 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

†woruldbliss f worldly joy; gpl woruldblissa 164

woruldd*r*ēam m worldly joy; dpl woruldd*r*ēamum 1363

woruldgestr*ē*on n worldly riches; npl - 70

woruldlīc adj worldly; gpl woruldlīcra 403

woruldlīf n worldly life; ds woruldlīfe 1169, 1185

woruldryht n worldly right, law; ds woruldryhte 57 (N)

w*ō*ð f sound, cry; ns - 263, 391 (MS soð); as w*ō*ðe 899

wræcu f punishment, hostility; ns - 1081; as wræce 199

wræcmæcg m banished man, outcast; npl wræcmægcgas 129, 231, 263, 558

†wræcsetl n exile dwelling place; gpl wræcsetla 296

wræcsīð m exile journey, exile; as - 1074; ds wræcsīðe 623, 688; gpl wræcsīða 509

wr*ā*þ adj hostile; nplm wr*ā*ðe 558; ism/n wr*ā*ðe 666

wraþu f help, support; ns - 1363; ds wraþe 249

wrecan stv 5 drive, press, avenge; 3pl pr ind wrecað 288; 3s pt wræc 1329; see also ā-

wr*ē*on, see on-

wr*ō*ht m/f strife; ns - 391

wr*ō*htsmið m strife maker; npl wr*ō*htsmiðas 905

wuldor n glory; gs wuldres 8, 25, 76, 324, 558, 688, 1081, 1246, 1286, 1304, 1345, 1368, 1368; ds wuldre 145, 399, 657, 665, 673, 1117; apl wuldor 86

wuldorcyning m king of glory; gs wuldorcyninges 596, 793, 849

wuldorfæst adj fast in glory, glorious; nsf - 817

wuldorl*ē*an n glorious reward; as - 1373

†wuldormaga m glorious man; ns - 1094, wuldormago 1293 (N)

wund f wound; ns - 698; dpl wundum 284

wundor n wonder, miracle; apl - 156; gpl wundra 403, 517, 529, 752, 882, 892, 1127; adv use of dpl wundrum 1117; ds in adv phrase tō wundre 370

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 wunað 249, 715, 816, 1368; 3pl pr ind wuniað 19, 81; 3s pt wunade 395, 437, 545, 999

gewunian : 3s pt gewunade 137, 360

wyllan, 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; apl - 2, 400, 818, wynna 467; gpl wynna 164, 166, 337; dpl wynnum 105, 463, 498, 814, 1275

†wyncondel f joyful light, i.e. sun; ns - 1213

wyndæg m joyful day, day of gladness; dpl wyndagum 632

wynlīc adj joyful, pleasing; nsm - 824

†wynmāg m beloved kinsman; ns - 1345

wynsum adj pleasant; cpv nsm wynsumra 1321

wyrcan wkv 1, intrs work; 3s pr ind wyrceð 756; 3pl pt worhton 974

gewyrcan wkv 1, trs make, work; 3s pt geworhte 823; 2s pr subj gewyrce 300

wyrd f fate, destiny; ns - 1057; as - 1345

†wyrdstæf m decree of fate; dpl wyrdstafun 1351

wyrged, see a-

wyrm m serpent; gs wyrmes 846, 911

wyrnan, see for-

wyrp f change; improvement; as wyrpe 47, 509, 636

wyrs cpv adv worse; - 665

wyrt f wort, plant; npl wyrta 1275

wýscan wkv 1 + g wish for, desire; 3pl pr ind wýscað 76, wīscað 223

yldran, see eald

ymb prep + a about, around; - 114, 737, 1287, 1290, 1310

ymbstandan stv 6 stand round, encircle; 3pl pt ymbstōdan 262

yrfestōl m hereditary seat, throne; ns - 1319

yrming m wretch; ns - 272

yrmðu f misery, distress; apl ermþu 447; gpl yrmþa 933; dpl yrmðum 11, yrmþum 19

yrre adj angry; nplm - 190

yrringa adv angrily; - 484

yrsian wkv 2 enrage; 3s pt yrsade 200

ȳð f wave; dpl ȳðum 1340

ȳtmest spv adj utmost, final; dsm þām ȳtmestan 443; dsn þām ȳtemestan 1167

ȳwan wkv 2 reveal, show; 3s pr ind ȳaweð 86; 3pl pr ind ȳwaþ 502; 3pl pt ȳwdon 143

P r o p e r n a m e s

Ēdam : n - 826; d Ēdame 853, 869, 981, 983

bartholōmeus : n - 723

bryten f Britain; a - 883; a/d brytene 175

crist : n - 402, 598; gs cristes 23, 38, 153, 180, 393; d criste 306, 577, 797

Ēue : n - 869, 981; d Ēuan 853

engle plm Englishmen; apl - 880, 1360

gūðlāc : n - 95, 170, 206, 239, 292, 434, 581, 879, gūblāc 744; a gūðlāc 348, 530, 813; g gūðlāces 137, 182 (N), 188, 202, 226, 394, 694, 722, 771, 781, 1305; d gūðlāce 111, 327, 449, 578, 976, 996

hierusālem : a - 813

APPENDICES

A p p e n d i x 1

a) Saint Bertellin of Stafford

The first reference to a local patron saint at Stafford occurs in the chronicle of Hugo Candidus[1] :

Et in Stefford[2] 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. Runcorn 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 Thurstaston in the Wirral a fifteenth century stone, originally under the church window, is (according to the latest discussion of it) inscribed :

(?GARDIANI) SANCTI BERTELINI JOHN
WITTMOR WILLIAM HOEL.[3]

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[1] Mellows 1949, p.61 [2] Mellows, op. cit., points out that a later writer who draws upon the chronicle gives Stretforde as the shrine or tomb of this Berthelmus. [3] Oswald 1955, p.8; it should be noted that the inscription is transliterated SANCTI BERTHLMI, IOHN WITTMOR, WILLIAM HOE.. by Beazley (1923) but the plate printed by him should surely be interpreted: SANCTI BART'LMI IOHN WITTMOR WILIAM HO(OK? ... (or perhaps BART'LINI). There is nothing in this photograph of the stone to indicate reading into the inscription GARDIANI. Beazley, in his History of the parish of Thurstaston, nowhere mentions the possibility that the Bartholomew dedication may have superseded an earlier Bertollin dedication.

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 Guthlaci 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 Easter 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.

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[1]Plot 1686, 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)[1]. 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[2], 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[3]; the early forms show no sign of a non-etymological possessive _s_ 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-

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[1] Forster 1899, II. p. 102

[2] _Que petra loco, qui nunc Bertelmesley nuncupatur_ (Horstmann 1901, I. p. 162)

[3] 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[1]. 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[2]), 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 strained 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 Bettelinus[3] (through the misreading of c and t in the insular hand). As

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[1]Forster 1899, II. 99 states that his shrine is still shown at Ilam.

[2]Horstmann 1901, I. p. 167; in AS Sept III. p. 452 the date is wrongly given as 886 (presumably a misprint); Oswald 1955 gives the date 1356.

[3]Fulman 1684, 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[1]. 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 companion[2], 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

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[1]Brie 1906, I. pp. 24-26

[2]Convenient 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 Bettellin 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[1]. 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 Berthelmus 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]

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[1] See appendix 2, II ff.

[2] Oswald 1955, p. 7 (theirs = other saints listed by Hugo Candidus)

b) Story of Belinus 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 gwychlan (Jesus lxi). The other forms recorded by Griscom[1] are: ginchtlacus 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 guthlacingas (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 Guthlaci, qui in fabulis antiquorum valde praedicatur[2].

Tatlock[3] 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), Guichtlacus 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

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1 1929, p. 278

2 Miller 1895, p. 40

3 1950, p. 139

of the West Saxon dynasty and that Guichtlacus is to be connected with the Wihtlæg found in the Mercian genealogies, but notes against this latter identification that the name Withlæg 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 Héðinn, Hǫgni 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.[1]

Tatlock points out that Deutschbein has compared tales of Helgi, and San-Marte the story of Hilda and Godrun, and to these adds the Þiðriks-saga :

> ..... where also the woman's father is named Elsung.[2]

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, Wihtlæg, Guithleg, Wightleag, Wiglac, etc.", forms common enough in early Anglo-Saxon genealogies, in Nennius and the Chronicle, etc. He notes that the names Wiglac, Witlac, Wilac appear repeatedly in Domesday for Lincolnshire and points out that Vigleikr, with such forms as Vigletus (for Viglecus), is common in Scandinavian sources.

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[1] 1950, p. 168 fn. 280

[2] 1950, p. 140

c) Hugo Candidus's St. Berthelmus of Stafford

A. Bell[1] points out that although Hugo used some Old English version of Die Heiligen Englands[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 :

> Et in Barthaneia sanctus Oswaldus rex.[4]

In the Anglo-Norman list of saints' resting-places preserved in the Breviate of Domesday the compiler elaborates the similar brief statement which must have stood in his exemplar :

> S. Oswald fu posez 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.

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[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:

Barthomley (Cheshire) The church is to-day dedicated to St. Bertoline[1]. Oswald points out that St. Bertolin'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"[2]. 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'[3], but elsewhere Forster is less certain of this dedication[4], 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. ccording to Plot this St. Bertram had 'a Well, an Ash, nd a Tomb

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[1]Forster 1899, III, appendix III; and see Crockford [2]Oswald 1955, p. 9, fn. 22 [3]Forster 1899, III, appendix III [4]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 :

> 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 canonicis ibidem Deo regulariter servientibus eandem Runconam 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]

Thurstaston (Cheshire) The church is now dedicated to Bartholomew, but an inscription on a fifteenth century stone includes the words SANCTI BART'LMI misreported apparently by one recent writer on this subject as SANCTI BERTOLINI.[3]

Stafford (Staffordshire) No trace of any church or alter 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

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[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[1]. 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[2]. In the Franche-Comté area of France occurs the form Barthelin[3]. Dauzat notes also the popular Corsican and Italian names Bertolini and Bertolinette which he connects with Barthelemey.

As for Barthomley, 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.[4] His great popularity in mediaeval England may in some part have been due to the arm at Canterbury, taken there by Anselm[5].

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[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 Beccelmus (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 Beccelmua therefore tends to dominate all subsequent Guthlac material compiled within the ambience of Crowland, either as Beccelmus (e.g. in the Harley Roll) or as Beccelinus (in Leland, Mabillon etc.) or as Bettelinus (the name of Guthlac's servant was badly enough known by the time the Historia Ingulphi was put together for the insular c 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-s, 'little'. Redin[1] notes Domesday book forms Biche and Bichus which he thinks Celtic by etymology.

2. The -l- suffix is diminutive.

3. Redin[2] suggests that Beccel is cognate with Bacula, also of obscure origin, and that both are related to Bac(c)a and Old

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[1] 1919, p. 85 fn.1

[2] 1919, p. 82

High German baccho 'Kinnlade, backen'.

4. 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 misreading of minim strokes may explain the forms in -in (which explanation is more likely than the interpretation of -in as a second diminutive suffix).

5. 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 -cca[1].

6. The name is compared with Wds 19 and 115 Becca. Attempts have been made to prove that the etymon of this name is Sibiche. 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 Þiðrikssaga made first by Grimm cannot be supported. Bikki, used as a by-name in Old Norse is cognate with Old English Bicca and with the nouns Old English bicce and Old Norse bikkja 'bitch').[2]

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 praesbyterorum clericorum et monachorum of the Durham Liber Vitæ (e.g. faelfi 95, ultan 100, finan 166, adamnan 195, aethan 255, fergus 307, coloduc 377, etc.[3]). It is interesting that Cissa also, although naturalised in English, is a name most likely of Celtic origin[4].

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[1] e.g. Malone 1936, pp. 127-8
[2] Brady 1943, pp. 57 and 171 fn. 22.
[3] Sweet 1895, pp. 153-166
[4] Hedin 1919, p. 89.

A p p e n d i x 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 Guthlaci
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) Orderious 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. 336) 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/c. 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 ccclxxxix 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^{v} and ends on 107^{r} and not all of 108^{v} can now be read. It is written in Anglo-Saxon miniscule 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 N.R. Ker (1941, p. 56 and p. 115) to a Winchester scriptorium, perhaps either Hyde or Nunnaminster 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^{r}, 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 67^{v} to 84^{v}. 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 crowlansis 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. 30-31). 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 185^{r} to 196^{r}. 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 belonged 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 transcribed by Richard James into his notebooks (Bodleian, MS James 18, pp. 50 ff., the manuscript numbered 3855(6) in Bernard 1697-8, I. p. 260) and that his is most likely the hand which appears on the title-page of this

manuscript (as on the title-page of Vespasian D xxi) and on 29^{v} beside the beginning of the Vita :

Vita Sancti Guthlaci Croilansis
Incip Liber de vita s̃ci Guthlaci strenu/
issimi ac ꝑfectissim anachorit/

DUBLIN (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 columns. It forms part of the remainder of the March to June sections of a legendary from Jervaulx in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The manuscript 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 Cistercian Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Jervaulx.

B. 4. 3 contains prologue, list and life. It occupies folios 73^{r} to 85^{v} 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 eom. 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 sixteenth 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)

Arras MS 1029 (812) is a fragmentary text. The Guthlac material occupies folios 27^{r} to 65^{v} and a pen-proof of the first three words of the prologue appears on 24^{v}. A gathering, if lost before 27^{r}, 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, pp. 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^{r} 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 3^{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.

119 ff.). It had apparently reached France by 1672 when Mabillon and d'Achéry 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 publiques (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 Heraclides etc) attributes the book to Crowland.

Gotha, Herzogliche Bibliothek I, 81 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 104^{v} to 113^{r}, was without prologue and chapter list and is item no. 32 in the index to the manuscript presented by Father Grosjean (1940, p. 96).

1 b) the Miracula and Translatio of the Douai manuscript

Douai, Bibliothèque publique 852 is not the earliest extant manuscript containing Felix's Vita sancti Guthlaci, but its considerable important 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. Guthlaci, folios 32^{v} - 38;

Miracula [B. Guthlaci], folios 38 - 46^{v}.

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.

2 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 xxi : folios 18^{r} - 40^{v} contain 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 133^{v} - 135^{v}. The manuscript is from the latter part of the tenth century. See II.2/f.

Exeter, Cathedral 3501 : the poems now generally entitled Guthlac A and Guthlac B are contained in folios 32^{v} - 52^{v} of this manuscript. See III.1/b.

3 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 297^{v} - 301^{v}, containing a poem of 292 lines;

Corpus Christi College Cambridge 145, folios 210^{v} - 213^{r}, containing a poem of 174 lines (the manuscript is placed by Ker 1964, p. 181 in Southwick, Hampshire);

Oxford, Bodley 779 (2567), folios 163^{r} - 164^{v}, 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;

C. D'Evelyn and A.J. Mill, The South English Legendary, (EETS 235/6), 1956

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. 22-33 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.

4 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 Analecta Bollandiana xx 1901, p. 406) it differs little from the version later inserted by Ordericus into his Historia ecclesiastica (in their words paucis 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. Horstmann, 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 Orderious 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 1, with collations from the legendary printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516. Cotton Tiberius E 1 (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 collectaea Iohanne Capgravio;

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, c. 1220, who was sometimes called Staffordiensem chronographum. For a discussion of the problems presented by this vita see Appendix 1.

5 a) the hexameters of Henry of Avranches

Cambridge, University Library Dd xi 78 : folios 61^{r} - 91^{r} 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 Ashburnam House. A third manuscript, MS Norwic, 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.R. 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 Guthlaci (heroico stylo) from Peter of Blois, should also commission a poem (metrico stylo) 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 :

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge 1856, I. p. 472

Camden, Britannia (Gough edition, London 1806), II. p. 215 prints lines 241-47 and p. 331 lines 1632-39.

Birch 1881, pp. xxiv-xxviii with selections (the rubrics, lines i-xiii, 1-6, 241-62, 445-58, 680-82, 874-90 and the colophon)

Searle 1894, pp. 34-35; prints lines ix-xiii and 1616-55.

J.C. Russell and J.P. Heironimus, The Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches Cambridge (Mass.) 1935, pp. 105-8; the opening 13 lines are printed on p. 108.

W.F. Bolton 1954 edits this poem. A discussion of it is published by him (1959, pp. 47-52).

Colgrave 1956, pp. 22-24.

5 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 92^{v} - 93^{v}, 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).

6 the Harley Roll

Facsimiles and a full account of British Museum, Harley Roll Y 6 are to be found in :

> George Warner, The Guthlac Roll. Scenes from the life of St Guthlac of Crowland by a twelfth-century artist reproduced from the Harley Roll Y 6 in the British Museum. (Roxburghe Club) Oxford 1928.

Among other reproductions and accounts the more important are : Schnebbelie 1800; Nichols 1807, IV. part i, pp. 1-7; Birch 1881, pp. xxxv ff.; Gonser 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 Guthlaci 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 spandrils 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 Ecgburh's gift of a winding-sheet and sarcophagus to Guthlac :

> Cui successit Adulphus, ejus nepos, Annæ filius, cujus filia Eadburga abbatissa in Reopendune famulo Dei Guthlaco sarcophagum plumbeum 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, Lestorie 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 1635-9) :

> En icel tens Gudlac esteit,
> Uns hom ki Dampne Deu serveit.
> Ki la vie de lui vereit,

Mainte miracle i trovereit.
Tucher 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 Ædburga in Rependuna abbatissa famulo Dei Guthlaco sarcofagum plumbeum lintheumque 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, quæ a meditullio terræ orienta, et per centum et eo amplius milia fluentia, in mare cum multis et magnis fluminibus impetu suo præcipitantur. Hic

> Gudlacus non dejecta stirpe oriundus ephebus, spreto usu armorum quo pollebat, eum esset .xxv. annorum solitariam vitam ingressus. xv. deguit. Quibus, assistente Dei gratia, et sacerdotii gradu et signorum honore et vaticiniorum veritate approbatus est. Sed magis virtutem ejus gratia post obitum splenduit, tam sacratissimi corporis post annum incorruptela, quam multorum miraculorum ustensione præeipua. Meritis quoque ejus datur quod, ad corpus ejus ædificato monasterio, inter tot bellorum turbines inter tot temporum volubilitates, nullam erumnam vel detrimentum sui locus ille persenserit. Accessit et novus hospes ..

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 Gale 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 Scotti.. (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, dilectæ Christi virginis Pegiæ germanus, innumerabilem virtutum patrator Guthlacus, indictione xii., quarto lumine festi Paschalis iii. idus Aprilis [11 Apr.] animam ad gaudia perpetuæ emisit exultationis; cui Cissa cui diu paganis ritibus deditus erat, sed post baptismum in Britanniæ perceperat, 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

Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora and (sometimes attributed to Matthew of Westminster) Flores Historiarum

Both have been edited by H.R. Luand for the Rolls Series. For

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 Historiæ Anglicanæ scriptores X 1652. The Guthlac material (columns 797-8) is introduced :

> Rege Oswaldo Northumbri defuncto, Ardulphus, sive Aldulphus rex in regno sibi successit, cujus 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; Edburga'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 Birch (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 arguments 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 genuine Historia Ingulfi lies behind the earliest part of this material but, as Searle points out (1893, p. 208), the text we have shows a considerable dependence upon the works of twelfth century historians. The earliest 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 century, has been edited by Babington and Lumby for the Rolls Series, 1865-86.

The Guthlac material is to be found in volume VI, pp. 166-9. Higden'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 cœpit, miraculis coruscauit, potestatem magnam super inmundos spiritus accepit, adeo quod, sicut vulgus tradit, eos aedificia construere cogeret, et quendam talem 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 pœne loco desunt hospites.

Higden's account of the saint led Foxe into fevered denunciation of 'St. Cuthlake' (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,

p. 42) :

Her forþ ferde Gu lac se halga.

Æthelweard, Chronicon

Three editions of this late tenth century text are available : Savile 1596, Petrie 1848 and, with critical apparatus, Campbell 1962. The Guthlac entry is quoted from Campbell (1962, p. 20) :

Post quadriennium 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 DCCXIIII Sanctus Guthlacus anachorita transiit.

John of Peterborough, Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense

This chronicle has been edited by Sparke 1727 and Giles 1845. The entry for 714 runs (Giles 1845, p. 5) :

A.D. 714. Sanctus Guthlacus obiit: cui successit Ethelbaldus, qui fundavit monasterium Croylandiæ. Ethelredus, quondam rex, factus abbas de Berdeney, obiit.

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. 113) :

> Tempore etiam huius regis, cæli palatia conscenderunt S. Heddi episcopus Wincestrensis, S. Guthlacus heremita Croilandensis, S. Johannes Eboracensis archiepiscopus.

Simeon 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.

3

Hugh Candidus, Peterborough Chronicle

This text is edited by Mellows 1949. The Guthlac entry has affinities with the material printe 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. 63) :

> Et in Crulandia sanctus Guthlacus presbyter.

8 entries in calendars, missals, etc.

CALENDARS

Most of the relevant materials are to be found in :

F. Wormald, English Kalendars Before A.D. 1100. London 1934
English Benedictine Kalendars 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 Pega 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 Pega, Hadda 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 MASSES 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 377^{v} 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 orig-

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 must remain interesting speculation. It is worth noting that folio 377^{r} 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 Wormald 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. 1. 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 recto 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, pp. 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 Collectar, 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 :

> Donne reste ð sancte Guðlac on þære stówe þe is genemned Crúlond, þæt mynster is on middan Girwan fænne.

> Beatus vero Guthlacus in monasterio quod constructum est in mediis paludibus in loco quo vocatur Cruland requieseit.

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) :

> Saint Gulac en Croilande entre plus sus ewes

Obviously, as Bell (1919, p. 282) points out, entre plus sus ewes suggests corruption from en les palus Gireweis. Bell notes also that Gaimar is to some extent dependent on the ancestor of this list for some of his hagiographical material (see 7/a above).

9 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 cuthlaco scilicet dens 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).

10 charter evidence

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 Saxonicum (1883, 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 Heanburg (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 Ecgwine 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 Guthlaci 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 1393, 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.

11 church dedications

The fullest survey of church dedications in England is :

F. Arnold-Forster, Studies in Church Dedications of England's Patron Saints. 3 volumes. London 1899.

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
Fishtoft, Lincolnshire, diocese of Lincoln
Marholm (now St Mary), Northamptonshire, diocese of Peterborough
Passenham, Northamptonshire, diocese of Peterborough
Ponton, Little, Lincolnshire, diocese of Lincoln
Stathern, 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 Pee'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 S Bertoline or Bertram and the latter to S Bertoline. Forster discusses this question in volume II, pp. 99-102. See also Oswald 1955, Colgrave 1956, p. 186 and Appendix 1 (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 Frieston.

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 1898, 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.'

12 popular lore

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 c.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 (1886, 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 X) 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 Gu. three knives erect in fesse, Ar. their handles Or.; second and third, Az. 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) :

> Gu. a cross fleury Or. within a border Az. encaluron of nine cross-crosslets Ar.

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 succes-

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 aforesaid 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 :

Aio / hanc / petram / guhla / cus : h't /
sibi- me / tam /

(recorded by Griesley as quod hanc petram Guthlalcus habet sibi metam). Canham points out that the stone was probably 'renovated' sometime in the eighteenth century. Gough (1783, 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 Narborough, carrying the Fosse Way across a tributary of the river Soar;
>
> Guthlaxton Cap in the Fosse Way; and
>
> Guthlaxton Meadow, in Costey parish and south of Narborough, 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 Thurketel'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 Thurketel'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 Guthlac 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 Guthlac'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 Guthlake'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,

and is to ours partly agreeable.

(Townsend and Catley edition of Foxe's Acts 1887, V. p. 213)

Cook (1898, 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 Cuthbert, Aidan, Dunstan, Swithun, Aethelðryth, Aelfgifu and Sexburh (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 8 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 Croylandensis where it is recorded that Pega gave Kenulph both a psalter and a scourge which had belonged to her brother (see also under SCOURGE below).

ROOF

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 Pege 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 ARMS, COIN, KNIFE and THURKETEL'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.

SWEET 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 Skertchly (1878, p. 77). Bells were cast during the abbacy of Egelric, six named for Bartholomew, Bettelm (i.e. Beccel), Thurketel, Tatwine, Pege and Bega; a larger bell, named for Guthlac, had earlier been cast under Thurketel'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 Croylandiæ insulam a demonibus liberavit, tandemque ibidem obiit, & sepultus est.
>
> S. Cyssa, ex pagano factus Christianus, successit Guthlaco.
>
> Etheldrutha, Offæ regis filia, & uxor Ethelberthi regis & martyris, postea monialis ibidem sepulta:
>
> Beccelinus, S. Gudlaci discipulus, ibidem sepultus.
>
> Ethelbaldus, rex Merciorum, post Gudlaci anachoritæ tempora Croylandiam adduxit monachos, & ecclesiam novam fabricavit, quæ postea per Hinguarum & Hubbam penitus spoliata & destructa fuit.

Ecclesia vero, quæ nunc extat, opus fuit Ingulphi Normanni, 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 Thorney 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 swoln 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 '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 Wolfin 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 Becoel and Pege.

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 leafs, Holdich's summary of the purpose of the quatrefoil (1816, p. 119) is probably the best advanced :

> ... the sculpture, in few, represents his <u>arrival</u> at Croyland; his <u>temptation</u>; his <u>consecration</u>; his <u>death</u>, and <u>apotheosis</u>.

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 B 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 Ecgburh 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 Aelfthryth 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 q. 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 bewilderment 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 discussed in I.1/a. It should however be noted here that Crowland was situated 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, Eogburh, 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/e).

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 Aethelbald 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). Gonser (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 Athelwald; a misunderstanding apparently based also on the insertion made into the continental editions of the Vita. Gonser, however, holds firmly to Aelfwald as Felix's patron.

AETHELBALD is mentioned in the Vita in lines 143, 152, 746, 831, 923, 1033, 1056, 1211, 1232, 1234 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 Aethelbald 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 Aethelbald, 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 Aethelbald were related to one another, for Felix traces the saint's ancestry back to Icel (see Vita 164) who occurs also in Aethelbald's ancestry. When he visited Crowland he was accompanied by friends and retainers, but

only a few of these (Ecga, 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 introduction 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, purporting to give details of his foundation of an abbey at Crowland, is generally 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 c. 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 Abingdon 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 succeeded 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 Bartholomew's feast was celebrated up to the end of the eleventh century. Already 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 contain 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 317, 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. 883-4) 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 cynne 107 is parallelled in Felix's semel cain addressed by Guthlac to demons.

CAMBRIDGE is to be understood by Felix's castello quem dicunt nomine grontę 319; the name granteceaster 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 Grontabricc first recorded c. 745. The modern Grantchester is not, it should be noted, descended from the grantacaestir of

Bede's time but reflects corruption from a name which contained as its second element the word gāte '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 (H.E. 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 (H.E. v. 19 and Eddius c. 57). Eventually, like Aethelred, he abdicated (H.E. 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 patriae et suitae uirtutis haeres clarissima (Arnold 1879, p. 110) and he is depicted not unsympathetically by Eddius (c. 64). His dissoluteness is described twice in Boniface'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.

CISSA 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 Ecgburh questioned Guthlac about his successor, Cissa was still in gentili populo 1023 and had not yet received baptism. In the Historia Croylandensis we are told that Cissa was a man of noble birth who had once been powerful in worldly matters (Fulman 1684, p. 5), that, like Tatwine, Beccel and Ecgberht, 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 Cissa 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 9/a) 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 Cissi anachorite 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 crudam, id est coenosam terram, the first element is to be understood as *crūw- 'bend' (see Ekwall 1960, p. 133).

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.

ECGBURH 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 ecgburh occurs twice in the list Nomina reginarum et abbatissarum of the Durham Liber Vitae (Sweet 1885, pp. 154-5, lines 27 and 47) and Ecgburh of Repton could be identified with either of these women. Epistle 13 of the Boniface correspondence (Tangl 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 Ecgburh, 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 Ecgburh'.

ECGBERHT 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 Ecgberht is described as the donor of a winding-sheet in which Guthlac's body is placed after Pege's translation of it (see further the note for Life 884 on ofre scytan). Ingulf (Fulman 1684, p. 5) names Ecgberht as one of the four anchorites living near Guthlac's cell at the time Aethelbald's monastery was founded (see I.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 Guthlaci are to be found in I.1/d.

GRANTA river is mentioned by Felix when he describes the fens, a gronte 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 Grantanbryege 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 Vølsungar they may have had a saga to themselves. If so, it has been entirely lost, and

> these two references [i.e. from the Guthlac Vita and the Gesta Herewardi] are all that remain.

The problem of the Guthlacingas 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 Hwætred 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 ieles 166 occur 'the ancestor from whom descent is claimed is believed to have reigned in Britain'. Of the generations above Icel, Eomer, Offa and Wærmund 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 æthelbaldi 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.

PEGE is the name of Guthlac's sister; in the manuscript of the Vita followed here her name occurs in the form pegia 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 Pege, but later writers add a few spurious details. In Henry of Avranches' poem a devil is introduced in Pege'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 Croylandensis 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 penuualh 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 nefandas tartari fauces 519, herebi ostia 535, stigie fibre 536 and aest iui acherontis uoragines horrendis 536-7.

PETER is referred to in Felix's observation that Guthlac received misticam 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 Ecgburh, 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 Reaney 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 Wigstan 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, Haedda's secretary, who asserts that as he has lived inter scottorum 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) Tadwinus 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 Guthlaci 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 Tettan monasterium, now Tetbury

(Reaney 1960, p. 144).

WIGFRITH is the name of the secretary who accompanies bishop Headda 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).

A B B R E V I A T I O N S

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):

AEW	Holthausen, Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch 1934
Ass.	Assmann, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie (Dritter Band) 1898
BT	Bosworth and Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary 1898
Btn	Bolton, An Old English Anthology 1963
BTs	Toller, supplement to BT 1921
Bülbring	Bülbring, 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

Ctr	Charter as in Sweet, The Oldest English Texts 1885
CVC	Cleasby, Vigfusson and Craigie, An Icelandic-English Dictionary 1957
de Fries	de Fries, Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch 1962
DOST	Craigie, A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue 1937-
EDD	Wright, The English Dialect Dictionary 1898-1905
EETS	Early English Text Society
Gdn	Goodwin, The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Life of St. Guthlac 1848
GK	Grein and Köhler, Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter 1912
Gsr	Gonser, Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac 1909
H.E.	Bede's Historia as edited by Plummer
Hly, Homily	= Vercelli Book homily edited in this thesis
Jordan	Handbuch der mittelenglischen Grammatik 1934
KD	Krapp and Dobbie, The Exeter Book 1936
Ker	Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon 1957
KG	Kentish Glosses as in Sweet, The Oldest English Texts 1885
Kln	Klipstein, Analecta Anglo-Saxonica 1849
Leechdoms	as in Cockayne 1864-6
Life	= Old English life of Guthlac edited in this thesis
Lind.	Lindisfarne Gospels Gloss as in Skeat 1871-87
Luick	Luick, Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache 1914-40
MED	Kurath and Kuhn, Middle English Dictionary 1954-

NED	Murray, A New English Dictionary
R.Ben.	Benedictine Rule as in Schröer 1885-8
RPs	Regius Psalter as in Roeder 1904
Rushworth[1]	Rushworth Gospels (Mercian gloss to Matthew and small portions of Mark and John) as in Skeat 1871-87
Rushworth[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 Guthlaci 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 :

Ald	Aldhelm (vi.97)	Cæd	Cædmon's Hymn (vi.105)
Alm	Almsgiving (iii.23)	CFB	Capture of the Five Boroughs (vi.20)
And	Andreas (ii.3)	Chr	Christ (iii.3)
Aza	Azarias (iii.88)	Crd	Creed (vi.78)
BCr	Brussels Cross (vi.115)	DAl	Death of Alfred (vi.21)
BDS	Bede's Death Song (vi.107)	Dan	Daniel (i.109)
Brb	Battle of Brunanburh (vi.16)	Deo	Deor (iii.178)
Bwf	Beowulf (iv.3)	DEW	Death of Edward (vi.25)

DHl Descent into Hell (iii.219)

Drm Durham (vi.27)

DrR Dream of the Rood (ii,61)

ECL An Exhortation to Christian Living (vi.67)

EdC Coronation of Edgar (vi.21)

EdD Death of Edgar (vi.22)

Ele Elene (ii.66)

Exo Exodus (i.89)

FAp Fates of the Apostles (ii.51)

FrC Franks Casket (vi.116)

FnB Battle of Finnsburg (vi.3)

FPs Fragments of Psalms (vi.80)

FtM Fortunes of Men (iii.154)

Gen Genesis (i.1)

GfM Gifts of Men (iii.137)

Glc Guthlac (iii.49)
(I use A and B to distinguish from one another the two Guthlac poems)

Glo I Gloria I (vi.74)

Glo II Gloria II (vi.94)

HbM Husband's Message (iii.225)

Hom I Homiletic Fragment I (ii.59)

Hom II Homiletic Fragment II (iii.224)

JgD I Judgment Day I (iii.212)

JgD II Judgment Day II (vi.58)

Jln Juliana (iii.113)

Jud Judith (iv.99)

KtH Kentish Hymn (vi.87)

LdR Leiden Riddle (vi.109)

LEP Latin-English Proverbs (vi.109)

LPr I Lord's Prayer I (iii.223)

LPr II Lord's Prayer II (vi.70)

LPr III Lord's Prayer III (vi.77)

MBo Meters of Boethius (v.151)

MCh Metrical Charms 1-12 (vi.116)

MSp Battle of Maldon (vi.7)

MnL Menologium (vi.49)

MPD Metrical Preface to Gregory's Dialogues (vi.112)

Mxm I Maxims I (iii.156)

Mxm II Maxims II (vi.55)

OrW Order of the World (iii.163)

PCE Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care (vi.111)

PCP Metrical Preface to the Pastoral Care (vi.110)

Phr Pharaoh (iii.223)

Phx Phoenix (iii.94)

Pnt Panther (iii.169)

PPs Paris Psalter (v.1)

Pra A Prayer (vi.94)

Prc Precepts (iii.140)

PrW A Proverb from Winfred's Time (vi.57)

Psm 50 Psalm 50 (vi.88)

Ptg Partridge (iii.174)

RCr Ruthwell Cross (vi.115)

Rdl Riddle (iii.180-)

Rim Riming Poem (iii.166)

Rsg Resignation (iii.215)

Rui Ruin (iii.227)

Run Rune Poem (vi.28)

Sfr Seafarer (iii.143)

SPE Seasons for Fasting (vi.98)

SlB I Soul and Body I (ii.54)

SlB II Soul and Body II (iii.174)

SmP A Summons to Prayer (vi.69)

SnS Solomon and Saturn (vi.31)

Thr Thureth (vi.97)

Vgl Vainglory (iii.147)

Wan Wanderer (iii.134)

Wds Widsith (iii.149)

WfL Wife's Lament (iii.210)

Whl Whale (iii.171)

Wld Waldere (vi.4)

WlE Wulf and Eadwacer (iii.179)

XSt Christ and Satan (i.133)

The following signs and abbreviations are used in the glossaries and language sections of the thesis :

a. acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
anom. vb.	anomalous verb
art.	article
conj.	conjunction
cf., cp.	compare
cpv.	comparative
d., dat.	dative
def.	definite
dem.	demonstrative
dir. q.	direct question
E	emendation (and see Commentary)
f., fem.	feminine
g., gen.	genitive
i.	instrumental
imp.	imperative
ind.	indicative
indir. q.	indirect question
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
L	Latin
m., masc.	masculine
MS	manuscript
n.	initially = nominative; alone or preceded by other abbreviation = neuter.
N	see Commentary
neg.	negative
num.	numeral
obl.	oblique
p.	page
pers.	personal
pl.	plural
post p.	post position
pp	passive participle
pr., pres.	present
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun
prp. v.	preterite-present verb
pt	preterite, past
ptc	participle
ptc adj	participial adjective
s., sg.	singular

sb.	substantive
subj., sj.	subjunctive
spv.	superlative
stv.	strong verb
tr., trs.	transitive
vb	verb, verbal
wk	weak
wkv	weak verb
*	hypothetical forms (marks doubtful headwords only in glossaries)
†	marks <u>hapax legomena</u>

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

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 :

AfdA Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur

Archiv	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen
Beiblatt	Beiblatt zur Anglia
BBA	Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik hrsg. von M. Trautmann
E & S	Essays and Studies by members of The English Association
EETS (OS)	Early English Text Society (Ordinary Series)
EHR	The English Historical Review
ESt	Englische Studien
EStudies	English Studies
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
JEGP	The Journal of (English and) Germanic Philology
EGSt	English and Germanic Studies
MAE	Medium AEvum
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLR	Modern Language Review
MPh	Modern Philology
N & Q	Notes and Queries
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy
PBB	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PQ	Philological Quarterly
RES	The Review of English Studies
RS	Rolls Series (Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores..)
SzeP	Studien zur englischen Philologie hrsg. von L. Morsbach
SP	Studies in Philology
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society

ZfdA	Zeitschrift fur deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur
ZfdP	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie
ZfeP	Anglia. Zeitschrift für englische Philologie

1 MANUSCRIPTS

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, N.R. : Patrick Young, Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Wigorniensis Cambridge 1944

Barfield, S. 'Lord Fingall's Cartulary of Reading Abbey' EHR 3, pp. 113-25 1888

Bernhard, E. Catalogi librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum Collecti, cum indice alphabetico 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 Seiwold de Bath' Revue bénédictine 52, pp. 96-116 1940

'La Bibliothèque de St. Vaast d'Arras au xiie siècle' Revue bénédictine 52, pp. 117-40 1940

Grosjean, P. 'De Codice Hagiographico Gothano' Analecta Bollandiana 58, pp. 90-103 1940

'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum bibliothecarum Dubliniensium' Analecta Bollandiana 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

Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. A list of surviving books. London 1941. Addenda 1946. Revision 1964.

'Salisbury Cathedral manuscripts and Patrick Young's Catalogue' Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine 53 1949

See also under Atkins 1944.

Lowe, E.A. Codices Latini Antiquiores Oxford 1934-55

Nasmith, J. Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum quos Collegio Corporis Christi et B. Mariæ Virginis in Academia Cantabrigiensi legavit reverendissimus in christo pater Matthæus Parker, archiepiscopus cantuariensis Cantabrigiæ 1777

Phillipps, D.T. Catalogus Manuscriptorum Magnæ Britanniæ London 1850

Pits, I. Relationvm Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis Paris 1619

Poole, 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

Tanner, T. Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica London 1748

Warner, G.F. and Gilson, J.P. Catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections London 1921

Wormald, F. 'Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts from A.D. 900 to 1100' Archaeologia 91, pp. 107-35 1945

Wright, C.E. 'Monastic Libraries and the beginning of Anglo-Saxon studies' Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society 1951

b : the Old English life of St Guthlac

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

Wanley, Humphrey Antiquae literaturae Septentrionalis Liber Alter. Seu Humphredi Wanleii Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium, qui in Angliae Bibliothecis extant, nec non multorum Vett. Codd. Septentrionalium alibi extantium Catalogus Historico-Criticus. . Oxford 1705 (See pp. 67 ff. for Laud E 19 and p. 245 for Cotton Vespasian D xxi.)

c : the Old English homily on St Guthlac

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 133^{v} to 135^{v} and is the final text contained in the manuscript.

A reduced facsimile of the codex is generally available :

Foerster, Massimiliano Il Codice Vercellese con Omelia e Poesie in Lingua Anglosassone 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 Homilien der Handschrift' SzeP 1, pp. 20-179 1913

'Die Vercelli-Homilien' Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa XII, 1932 (only first eight homilies printed)

Ker, N.R. 'Maier's Transcript of the Vercelli Book' MAE 19, pp. 17-25 1950

Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon Oxford 1957

Krapp, G.P. 'The First Transcript of the Vercelli Book' MLN 17, pp. 342-4 1902

'The Vercelli Book' The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records II 1932

Wülker, R.P. 'Ueber das Vercellibuch' ZfeP 5, pp. 451-65 1882

'Codex Vercellensis. Die ags handschrift zu Vercelli in getreuer nachbildung' in Bibliothek 1894

d : 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, Robin *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 collated with the manuscript by Sir Frederick Madden sometime in 1831-2, it is now British Museum *Additional 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 Cathedral Library at Exeter' *Archaeologia* 17, pp. 180-197 1812

Holthausen, F. 'Vergleichung des Gūðlāc-Textes mit der Hs.' *ZfeP* 40, pp. 365-6 (a collation of Assmann's text with the manuscript, made by one of Holthausen's pupils) 1916

Keller, Wolfgang 'Angelsächsische Palaeographie' *Palaestra* 43 1906

Ker, N.R. review of *CFF* in *MAE* 2, pp. 224-31 1933

Catalogue of Manuscripts 1957 (where manuscript is number 116)

New Palaeographical Society publications, 'Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts, etc.' First Series, column I and plate 9 1903-12

Philip, A. 'The Exeter Scribe and the Unity of *Christ*' *PMLA* 55, pp. 903-9 1940

Schipper, J. 'Zum Codex Exoniensis' *Germania* 19, pp. 327-38 1874 (should be read with Grein's text)

Sisam, K. review of *CFF* in *RES* 10, pp. 338-42 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 *CFF*) April 20th 1933

Tupper, Frederick 'The British Museum Transcript of the Exeter Book' ZfeP 36, pp. 365-6 1912

Wanley, H. Catalogus Historico-Criticus 1705 (See pp. 279-81)

2 EDITIONS (INCLUDING SELECTIONS)

a : Vita sancti Guthlaci

Birch, W. de G. Memorials 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

Bolton, W.F. An Old English Anthology London 1963 (on pp. 64-66 prints lines 1113-70 of Vita from Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389)

Colgrave, Bertram Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac Cambridge 1956

d'Achéry, 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

Gonser, P. Das angelsächsischen Prosa-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 angelsächsischen Prosa-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

Vleeskruyer, 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 angelsächsischen Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac' (only complete text) Anglestische 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 1141^{b} - 1325^{a}) London 1963

Campbell, Jackson J. and Rosier, James C. Poems in Old English (print 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

Craigie, W.A. Specimens of Anglo-Saxon Poetry .I. Biblical and Classical Themes. (prints lines 819-59) Edinburgh 1923

Specimens of Anglo-Saxon Poetry .II. Early Christian Lore and Legend (prints lines 93-183, 215-261, 393-445, 530-591, 623-636, 663-702, 722-759, 894-932^{a}, 999^{b}-1059 and 1269^{b}-1378^{a}) 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) EETS (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^{b} and 976-996^{a}) 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

Shook, L.K. 'The Prologue of the Old-English Guthlac A' Mediaeval Studies 23, pp. 294-304 (prints lines 1-29) 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 201^{b}-261, 819-871^{b}, 999^{b}-1047^{b}, 1139^{b}-1196 and 1278^{b}-1343) Bangor 1909

Wülker, Richard P. Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie 1 Band Kassel 1881; 2 Band Leipzig 1894; 3 Band (edited by Assmann) Leipzig 1898

Wyatt, Alfred J. An Anglo-Saxon Reader (prints lines 1305-78) Cambridge 1919

3 TRANSLATIONS

Note: Only complete or fairly extensive translations are noted in this section.

a : Vita sancti Guthlaci

Colgrave, Bertram Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac Cambridge 1956

Jones, C.W. Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England (see pp. 125-66) 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. Anglo-Saxon Poetry (lines 1-29 appear as the end of Christ; lines 825^{b}-878^{a} omitted) London and Toronto 1926 also revised edition 1954

Gollancz, Israel The Exeter Book London 1895

Grein, C.W.M. Dichtungen der Angelsachsen stabreimend 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 poemetto anglosassone Guthlac' Memorie della reale accademia delle scienze di Turino 70 Serie II, pp. 223-65 1942

Spaeth, J. Duncan Old English Poetry. Translations into Alliterative Verse. (lines 894^{a}-923^{a}, 932^{b}-940^{a}, 945^{b}-975, 999^{b}-1038^{a}, 1047^{b}-1054^{a}, 1060-1117, 1141^{b}-1250 and 1269^{b}-1379) Princeton 1921

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' EETS (OS 137) 1909

Bethurum, Dorothy The Homilies of Wulfstan Oxford 1957

Brie, Friedrich W.D. 'The Brut, or, The Chronicle of England' EETS (OS 131, 136) 1906-8

Bright, J.W. and Ramsay, R.L. 'The West-Saxon Psalms' The Belles-Lettres Series 1907

Brook, G.L. and Leslie, R.F. 'Layamon : Brut' EETS (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, wortcunning and starcraft of early England' RS 35 1864-6

Conybeare, W.D. J.J. Conybeare's Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry London 1826

Cook, A.S. The Old English Elene, Phoenix, and Physiologus New Haven 1919

The Christ of Cynewulf Boston 1900

Crawford, S.J. 'The Old English Version of The Heptateuch' EETS (OS 160) 1922

D'Evelyn, Charlotte and Mill, Anne J. 'The South English Legendary' EETS (OS 235, 236) 1951, 1952

Dobbie, E.V.K. 'Beowulf and Judith' Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 4 1953

'The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems' Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 6 1942

Earle, John Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel Oxford 1865

Garmonsway, G.N. Ælfric 's Colloquy London 1939

Goolden, Peter The Old English 'Apollonius of Tyre' Oxford 1958

Gordon, E.V. The Battle of Maldon London 1937

Gollancz, Israel Cynewulf's Christ London 1892

Gradon, P.O.E. Cynewulf's 'Elene' London 1958

Grimm, Jacob Andreas und Elene Cassel 1840

Hecht, H. 'Wærferth von Worcester, Bischof, Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors' Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 5, 1901-7

Holthausen, F. 'Vices and Virtues' EETS (OS 89 and 159) 1888 and 1920

Horstmann, C. 'The Early South-English Legendary' EETS (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 Elegies 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

Logeman, H. 'New Aldhelm Glosses' ZfeP 13, pp. 26-41 1891

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' EETS (OS 95, 96, 110, 111) 1890, 1891, 1898

Morris, R. 'Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises' EETS (OS 29, 34, 53) 1867, 1868, 1873

'The Blickling Homilies, 971 A.D.' EETS (OS 58, 63, 73) 1874-80

Napier, A. 'Ein altenglisches Leben des heiligen Chad' ZfeP 10, pp. 130-56 1888

Wulfstan, Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien Berlin 1883

Napier, Arthur S. 'Old English Glosses chiefly unpublished' Anecdota 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

Rawlinson, Christophorus An. Manl. Sever. Boethi 'Consolationis Philosophiae' Libri V. Anglo-Saxonice redditi Ab Alfredo.. Oxoniae 1698

Schlotterose, Otto 'Die altenglische Dichtung Phoenix' BBA 25 1908

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A B S T R A C T

Guthlac: 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 Guthlac cult in England. Emphasis is placed upon the importance of the Vita sancti Guthlaci which dominates most records of the saint. It is shown that, of the Guthlac 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 Thurketyl'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 Guthlac is apparent; it is seen first in the Benedictine calendars. The earliest Guthlac 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 connections with Crowland. In the refurbishing of the abbey muniments one abbot, Henry Longchamp, seems to have been particularly industrious; 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 Pega, and his successor, the hermit Cissa, translated to Thorney, had a small amount of fame of his own. But only Beccel acquired separate acts - and these are most probably spurious. By the time of the dissolution of the monasteries the Guthlac cult was, everywhere 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 apparatus is provided and a transcript from MS Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389 of the Latin Vita is given for comparison. The glossaries for the Old English texts attempt to be exhaustive. The use of a complete text of the Vita sancti Guthlaci 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 Angliæ. Although its author has used much Guthlac material to bolster out his life, it seems obvious that the relationship between Beccel 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 Guthlaci. Finally the abbreviations used throughout the thesis are detailed and a bibliography of the works cited is presented.