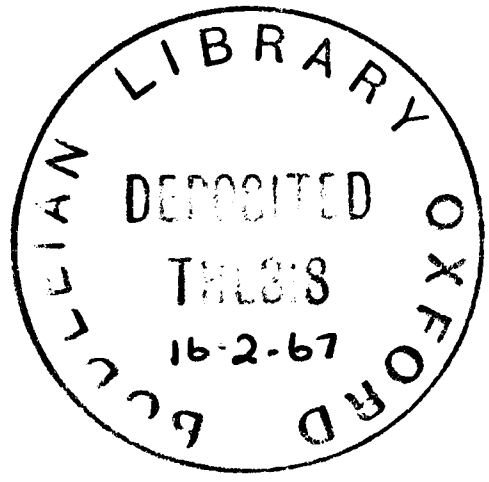
G L O S S A R I E S

for

LIFE and HOMILY



L I F E : GLOSSARY

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

A separate glossary is provided for the Vercelli homily on St Guthlac because it is in many ways so different from the relevant sections of the Vespasian life for it to require individual investigation.

ā adv always; á 148, 214, 302, 744, 899, 900, 902; áá 949;
A WORVLDa woruld 'world without end' 1

A 865, see ac

ā vb prefix, see -beran, -bīdan, -biddan, -blendan, -brēdan, -bysgian, -cennan, -cwellan, -drēogan, -drīfan, -flēon, -flȳman, -fyllan, -fyrhtan, -fyrran, -gēotan, -gifan, -hebban, -hōn, -hwyrfan, -īdlian, -lǣdan, -lifian, -lūtan, -lȳfan, -niman, -rīsan, -scūfan, -secgan, -sōlwan, -settan, -stellan, -streccan, -swellan, -þennan, -þolian, -þwēan, -wacan, -wacian, -wendan, -weorþan, -writan, -wunian

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

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

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

ābīdan stv 1 wait; inf abídan 333

ābiddan stv 5 ask; 2s pt ābǽde (æt) 28

āblendan wkv 1 blind; pp āblend 20

ābrēdan stv 3 withdraw, draw back; pp ābrōden 221; 3s pt ābrǽd 919

ābysgian wkv 2 employ, occupy; pp ābysgod 896

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

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

ācennan wkv 1 bring forth, be born; pp ācenned 59, 66, 69, 71, 428

Ācennednysse f birth; a/ds æt his - 73

acse f ash; npl acsan 359

acsian wkv 2 ask, inquire about; inf tō axianne 811; 3s pt ahsode 382, acsode 507, 762, axode 596; 3pl

pt acsodon 546 (N)

geaxian : inf - 712; pp geaxod 715; 3s pt geacsode 904

ācwellan wkv 1 kill, slay; ls pr ācwelle 414; 3s pt ācwealde 413; 3pl pt ācwealdon 287

ādl f disease, illness; ns sēo adl 757 (N), ādle 562, 571, 761, 767; gs ādle 768; ds ādle 756; a/ds mid ādle 756

ādrēogan stv 2 endure; inf - 181; 3s pt ādrēah 83

æfæstnysse f religion; gs - 672

æfen m evening; as æfen 820; ds æfenne 812

æfre adv ever; - 252

æfter adv after, afterwards; - 928

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

in adv phrases afterwards; æfter þon 261, 329, 339, 397, 398, 453, 486, 749, 793, 842; æfter þan 337; æfter þām 370, 860; æfter þissum 748; æfter þyssum 904

in prep formulae after; æfter þon þe 931; æfter þon þæt 139; æfter þon be ... Þā 91/2; æfter þon be ... þonne 797/8

æfter adj following, next; ism þan æfteran 632, 820; isn Þan æfteran 819

æfterfylgende ptc adj following, next; dsf þære æfterfylgendan 256, 832

æfþanc m offence; apl æfþancas 108

æfweard adj absent; apl æfweardan 824 (N) gpl þāra æfweardra 658 (N)

āghwonon, see ēghwonen

ægðer þāra ge ... ge conj both ... and; - 616/7

ǣht f property, booty; apl ǣhta 110

ælað n ale; a/ds mid - 606

ǣlc adj each, every; nsm - 10, 182; asf ǣlce 315; gsm ǣlces 617; dsm Ælce 236, ǣlce 295

ælmihtig adj almighty; nsm - 218

ǣnig adj any; asn - 508; gsn ǣniges 652

ǣr adv before; - 35, 200, 281, 372, 523, 693, ǽr 113, 134, 188, 348, 380, 584, 602, 696, 817, 853, 867, 916, 943; nǽfre ǽr 810, nǽfre ǽr ne sybban 787; spv 'first' ǣrest 23, 207, 208, 283, 297, 643, 643, 811, Ærost 31, ǽrest 439

ǣr prep before; + a/d ǽr sancte bartholōmeus mæssan 704

in adv phrases before; ǣr hwīlon 121; ǽr hwīlon 396; ǽr bon 219, 906

in prep formulae before; ǣr bon be 75; ǽr bon be 794

ǣr conj before; - 189, ǽr 927, 944

ǣr(en)morgen m early morning, dawn; a/ds on ǣrenmergen 814, on ǣrnemergen 820

ǣrgefremed pte adj previous, already done; apl bā ǽrgefremedan 288

ǣrra cpv adj previous, earlier; apl bā ǽrran 250

æt adv at; bǽr ... æt 879

æt prep at; - + d 503, 527, 598, 752, 848, 914; + a/d - mē 28, æt his ācennednysse 73, æt mē 585

in adv phrases next; æt nēxtan 538, 541, 543, 918

ætgeniman stv 4 take from; 3pl pt ætgenāmon 372

æþele adj noble; gsn æþeles 525; nsm sum æþela 47, sē̆ æþela 217; gsn þæs æþelstan 48, 52

ætȳwan wkv 1 show, lay open; inf - 866; pp ætēowed 58, ætēowod 64, ætȳwed 70, 74, ætȳwod 73; 2s pr ind ætȳwes 449; 3s pt ætȳwde 263

ætȳwnysse f manifestation; npl - 453

āflēon stv 2 fly, fly away; 3s pr ind āflīgeð 465; 3s pt āflēah 649

āflȳman wkv 1 put to flight; 3s pt aflȳmde 726

āfyllan wkv 1 fill, fill up; pp āfylled 397

āfyllan wkv 1 cause to fall down, fall; 3pl pt āfyldon 398

āfyrran wkv 1 make distant, take from; 3s pr ind āfyrreð 740

āfyrht ptc adj afraid; nsm - 352

āgan pt prs vb own, have; inf āgan 414; 3s pt āhte 523; 3pl pt āhton 121; 2pl pt - 359

āgen ptc adj own; asm wg āgene 530, asn his āgen 122; dsf his āgenra 480 (N)

āgēotan stv 2 pour out; 3s pt sj āgute 419

āgifan stv 5 give; inf - 112; 3s pt āgeaf 522

āhebban stv 6 heave up, raise; pp āhafen 293; 2s pr sj āhebbe 295; 2s pt āhōfe 449; 3s pt āhōf 795, 842, āhōf 836; 3pl pt āhōfon 486, 488

āhōn stv 7 hang up, suspend; 3pl pt āhēngon 399; 3s pt sj āhēngee 470

ahsode, see acsian

āht adv at all; - 39

āhwyrfan wkv 1 turn aside; imper s āhwyrf 428

āīdlian wkv 2 vanish; 3s pt āīdlode 305

ālædan wkv 1 take from, lead; inf ālædan 475; pp ālæded 772

ālifian wkv 3 live, spend; inf - 235

ālūtan stv 2 bow, bow down; 3pl pt āluton 132

ālȳfan wkv 1 + d to be permitted; 3pl pr ind ālȳfað 822 (N)

ambrōsie f ambrosia; gs ambrōsie 862

ān odl num one; asf āne 56, 57, 520, āne hwīle 332, āna (N) 51; gsm ānes 520, gsn - 512; dsm þāmānum 187; dsf ānre 607, ds[f] āne 612 (N) dsn ānum 544

ānа wk num one, alone; - 192, 249, 906

in prep form not only; ne ... bæt ān ... obbe ... obbe .. bæt ... ac 294; nalæs bæt ān bæt ... ac swilce 135, ... Ac .. ēac 280, ... ac ēac swā 477, ... Ac ēac swilce 590, ... ac ēac swylce 618, ... ac ēac 531, 929

nalæs bæt ān bæt ... ac ēac swylce 432

ancra m anchorite, hermit; ns - 545, 885; ds ancran 827; dpl ancerum 161

ancersetl n hermitage; as bæt ancersetle 233

and conj and; I 3, 5, 5, 6, 7, 8, 8, 10, 10, 12, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 17, 27, 27, 29, 29, 30, 35, 35, 38, 40, 41, 42, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58, 58, 61, 63, 64, 66, 67, 67, 74, 75, 76, 79, 83, 85, 89, 89, 90, 92, 100, 100, 100, 100, 104, 105, 106, 107, 107, 107, 109, 109, 110, 110, 111, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 126, 127, 128, 129, 129, 131, 132, 136, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 148, 148, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 155, 155, 155, 157, 157, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162, 162, 170, 170, 170, 171, 171, 171, 172, 172, 174, 180, 180, 183, 184, 187, 190, 191, 196, 199, 202, 208, 212, 213, 213, 215, 215, 216, 220, 227, 230, 235, 238, 241, 243, 250, 250, 250, 251, 251, 251, 257, 258, 258, 260, 262, 264, 264, 265, 265, 266, 266, 267, 267, 268, 268, 268, 269, 272, 272, 275, 276, 276, 277, 278, 278, 283, 283, 284, 285, 287, 290, 292, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 301, 302, 303, 307, 307, 308, 310, 311, 314, 315, 316, 316, 316, 317, 318, 318, 318, 319, 319, 319, 320, 321, 321, 322, 322, 322, 323, 324, 327, 327, 328, 329, 333, 335, 338, 339, 343, 344, 346, 346, 348, 348, 350, 350, 353, 355, 355, 356, 358, 358, 359, 359, 360, 361, 365, 369, 371, 373, 373, 374, 374, 376, 377, 382, 383, 384, 386, 390, 392, 394, 394, 395, 396, 398, 398, 400, 402, 405, 408, 409, 411, 412, 413, 413, 414, 415, 421, 421, 422, 422, 426, 427, 431, 437, 438, 438, 439, 441, 442, 442, 442, 443, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 449, 451, 459, 463, 470, 471, 471, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 481, 485, 486, 487, 488, 488,

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940, 941, 941, 944, 944, 944, 946, 947,
947, 948, 948, 948, And 108, 143, 195,
328

andbidian wkv 1 await, wait for; 1s pr ind andbidige 361 (N)

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

andlyfen f/a food; as andlyfene 479; gs þæs andlyfenes 239 (MS andlyfene, N); ds andleofone 592

andswarian wkv 2 answer; 3s pt andswarode 492, 509, 584, 586, 716, 762, 766, 770, 816; 3pl pt andswarodon 393, 595

andsworian wkv 2 answer; 3s pt andswerode 357

andweard adj present; nsm - 360; gsm þisses andweardes 115; gsf þisse andweardan 43; dsn þisum andweardan 291; npl þā andweardan 421, 587; apl þā andweardan 573, þā andweardum 825; gpl þāra andweardra 669 (N)

andwlita m face; ds mid blīþum andwlitan 611; a/ds on his andwlitan 900

andwlite n face; ds mid blīðum andwlite 518

angin n attempt; as ūre - 14

āniman stv 4 take away; pp of ánumene 744

ānnys f loneliness; a/ds for ānnysse 181

ānrǣd adj resolute; nsm ánrǣd 269, ánrǣde 924

ansȳn f countenance, face; as ansȳne 439, 441, 799; ds - 923; a/ds -100, 147, 305, 316, 404, 558, ansīne 146, ánsȳne 800; apl ansȳne 317

ansund adj whole, sound; asm þone lichaman ealne ansúndne 875

anweald m power; as - 734

ānwylnysse f obstinacy, self-will; a/ds on ánwylnysse 11

apostol m apostle; ns - 218, 364, 370; as - 263; gs apostoles 141, 194, 205; ds apostolum 85 (N)

ār f benefit, help; as áre 548

ārfæstlīc adj gracious; nsf ārfæstlīce 865 (N)

arfæstlīc adj autumn; asf on árfæstlīce tíde 704 (N)

ārfæstnysse f faithfulness, piety; ns árfæstnys 897; a/ds mid ārfæstnysse 526

ārīsan stv 1 rise; 3s pt árās 127, 701, ārās 301

ārlēas adj wretched; gpl þāra ārlēasra 350

ārwurð adj honourable; nsm sum ārwurþe 482, sē ārwurða 942; nsf sēo ārwyrðe 707; gsm þæs ārwyrðan 37, gs[n] þæs ārwurðan gemynde 7 (N); gsf þāre ārwurðan gemynde 222, þāre ārwyrðan 713; gs[n] ārwyrðe 712 (N); dsm þām āwurðan 708; dsf árwyrþre 887

ārwurðian wkv 2 revere; 3pl pr ind ārwurðiað 415

ārwurðlīce adv nobly; - 889

ārwurðnysse f honour, dignity; ds - 865, 884

ā́scūfan stv 2 push away; 3s pt ā́scēaf 402

ā́secgan wkv 3 tell, relate; inf - 40, 217

ā́settan wkv 1 set down; 3pl pt ā́setton 379

aspīwan wkv 1 spit out; inf - 425

ā́stellan wkv 1 leave, go out; 3s pr ind ā́stelleþ 649

ā́streccan wkv 1 stretch out, prostrate oneself; 3s pt ā́strehte 691; 3pl pt ā́strehton 63

ā́swellan stv 3 swell out; 3s pt ā́sweoll 638 (N)

ā́þennan wkv 1 stretch, stretch out; 3s pt ā́þenede 840, 843

ā́þer oþþe .. oððe .. oþþe conj either ... or .. or; 621/2

ā́þolian wkv 2 endure; 3s pt ā́þolode 349

ā́þwēan stv 6 wash; inf ā́þwēan 288; pp ā́þwegen 91

ā́ttor p poison; as - 242, 243; gs ā́ttres 425; ds ā́ttre 411

ā́wacan stv 6 waken, awake; 3s pt ā́wōc 119; 3s pt sj ā́wōce 560

ā́wacian wkv 2 awake, waken up; 3s pt ā́wácode 624 (N)

ā́wendan wkv 1 turn; inf - 444

ā́weriged wtc adj accursed; nsm sē ā́wyrigeda 304, sē ā́wyrgeda 410, 412, 528, 529; asm þone ā́wyrgedan 424; gsm þæs ā́werigedan 247, þæs ā́wyrgedan 400, 420, 429, 559, þæs ā́wyrgdan 541, 622; dsm þām ā́wyrgedan 426, 430, 566; npl þā ā́wyrigedan 308, þā ā́werigedan 336, þā ā́wyrgedan 349, 353, 357, 362, 366, dā ā́wyrgedan 387; gpl þāra ā́werigedra 189, 343; þāra ā́werigdra 191, 381, 401, 453, þāra ā́wyrigedra 314, þāra ā́wyrgedra 395, 447; dpl þām ā́werigdum 214, þām ā́wyrgedum 348, þām ā́werigedum 405

ā́weorpan stv 3 throw out; 3s pt ā́wearp 452

ā́wrītan stv 1 write; pp ā́writen 457; 3s pt ā́wrāt 457

ā́wunian wkv 2 remain; 3s pt ā́wunode 313; ā́wunode 557, 834

geaxian, see acsian

bærnan wkv 1 burn; 3s pt bærnde 109

baþian wkv 2 bathe; 3s pt baþode 558

be prep about, by, of; - + d 29, 74, 74, 161, 178, 248, 273, 282, 410, 500, 574, 590, 665, 667, 679, 711, 762, 810, 814, 916; Be 6, 225, 407, 603, 655, 706, 722, 903, BE 226; + a/d be endebyrdnysse 592, be his forðfōre 747, Be .., gefēre 563, 628, Be ... lenge 747

be- vb pref see -bēodan, -byrgan, -clȳsan, -cuman, - dĪglian, -feallan, -fēolan, -flēon, -gān, -gangan, gitan, -gyrdan, - healdan, -hȳdan, -limpan -sencan, -slēan, -swĪcan, -tȳnan, -windan, -wyrpan

bēag m ring, crown; ds beage 90

beard m beard; dpl beardum 318

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

bebēodan stv 2 command; 1s pr ind bebēode 450; 3s pt bebēad 371, 641, 853, 864

commend; 3s pt bebēad 863

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

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

beclȳsan wkv 1 enclose; 3s pt beclȳsde 56 (N)

becuman stv 4 come; 1s pr becume 27; 3s pt becōm 637, 678; 3pl pt becōmon 861; 3s pt sj becōme 644

bedĪglian wkv 2 conceal, hide; pp bedĪgled 423

befēolan stv 3, + d apply oneself to; inf - 498; 3s pt befēal 241, 392, 436, befēall 833

beflēon stv 2 flee; 3s pt sj befluge 182

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

begān anom v practise, use; 3s pr ind begād 99

begangan stv 7 commit, imitate; pr ptc begangende 96, 114, 159

bēgen pl pron both; npl - 184

begitan stv 5 ask, receive, recover; pp begiten 454; 2s or ind begitest 757, begytest 739; 3s pt beget 503

begyrdan wkv 1 begird, girdle; pp begyrd 570; 3s pt begyrde 568

behealdan stv 7 behold, observe; imp s behealt þu 706; 3s pt behēold 490

behȳdan wkv 1 hide; 2pl pt behȳdde git 612

behȳdig adj anxious; asm behȳdigne 814

belimpan stv 3 belong; 3pl pt belumpon 199

bēn f entreaty, prayer; as bēne 734, bēne 571 (N), 925; dpl bēnun 690

bēodan stv 2 command, order; 3s pt bēad 128

bēon and forms, see under wesan

beorg m hill; npl beorhgas 171

beorhtnys f light, radiance; ns - 681, 834, 847; gs beorhtnysse 101; ds byrhtnysse 365, beorhtnesse 834

bēotian wkv 2 boast, threaten; 3s pt bēotode 440; 3pl pt bēotodon 357

bēoting f threat; dpl bēotingum 362

bera m bear; gs beran 441

beran stv 4 carry; inf - 461; 3pl pt bǣron 374, bæron 499

beren adj made of barley; asm berene 237; dsm berenan 307

berhtan wkv 1 shine; 3s pt berhte 868

besencan wkv 1 sink, immerse; 3pl pt besenctan 329

beslēan stv 6 strike, penetrate; 3s pt beslōh 634

beswīcan stv 1 + fram deceive; pp beswicen 426, beswícen 430
+ d pers fail; 3s pt beswāc 728

gebētan wkv 1 make better; inf - 252

betȳnan wkv 1 close; pp betȳned 919

betwȳnan prep between; postp + a betwēonum 581, 679; postp + d betwȳnan 70, betwēonan 606, 670, betwēonum 610

betwyx prep between, among; + a - 192, 582, betwux 330, 339, 349, 672, 844, betweox 630, 663, betwuhx 365; + d betweox 114, 324; postp + d betwux 686

bewindan stv 3 wrap; 3s pt sj bewinde 802, 806; 3s pt bewand 885

bewyrpan stv 3 cast down; 3pl pt bewurpon 329

biddan stv 5 ask, request, command; 1s pr ind bidde 8, 813; 1s pt bæd 733; 3s pt bæd 165, 183, 409, 687, 793, bæd 693; 3pl pt bædon 63, 132, 580, 584, 614, bǣdon 577, 601; imper s bidde 801

gebiddan : 3s pt gebæd 302

bigengea m inhabitant; ns - 364, 671; apl bigengean 176

bigleofa m food; gs bigleofan 236; a/d - 306

†biglēofian wkv 2 sustain, nourish; 3s pt biglēofode 239, bīlēofode 307

bīgnys f bend, joint; dpl bīgnyssum 171, 876

bilwit adj mild; nsm bilwite 101

gebindan stv 3 bind; inf - 534; 3pl pt gebundon 327 (N)

biscēop m bishop; ns - 660, 662, 678, 685, 693; gs biscēoppes 663, biscopes 692, 697; ds biscope 655; npl biscēopas 539, 617

biter adj bitter; gsn þæs biteran 425

blǣco f paleness; a/ds on - 848

blǣwan stv 7 blow; 3s pt blēow 558

gebletsian wkv 2 bless; 3s pt gebletsode 615

bletsung f blessing; as bletsunge 522; ds - 614; a/ds - 593

blind adj blind; gpl blindra 20

blis f joy, gladness; ds blisse 271, 369, 883; a/ds - 843

blissian wkv 2 exult, rejoice; pr pt blissiende 485

blīþe adj glad, joyful; nsm - 264, 370, 470; dsm blīþum 611; dsn blīðum 518, blīþum 651

blōd n blood; as - 419, 842; gs blōdes 785

blōdgian wkv 2 to make bloody; 3s pt blōdgode 530

blōdig adj bloody, blood-covered; dpl blōdigum tuxum 440

blōstm m flower; gpl blōstman 831 (N)

bōc f book; as - 6, 16, bēc 33

bodian wkv 2 proclaim; pp gebodod 13; 3s pt bodode 682, 683

boga m bow; ds bogan 245; a/ds of bogan 649

brecan stv 4 break; 3pl pt brǣcon 230

gebrecan : pp gebrocen 384; 3s pt gebræc 559

brēmel m bramble; gpl brēmela 331

brengan wkv 1 bring; pp brōht 642; 3s pt brōhte 77, 471; 3pl pt brōhton 520, 939

gebrengan : 3pl pt gebrōhton 345, 372

brēost n breast, mind; ds brēoste 424; npl brēost 151; apl brēost 488; dpl brēostum 763, 816, 829, 858, 901

gebringan stv 3 bring; inf - 547

brōga m fear; dpl brōgum 180

brōþor m brother; ns - 464, 698, 851, brōðor 482, 493, 759, 775, 789, 807, 832, 845, 855; as brōþor 463, 855, brōðor 697; ds brōþor 712, brēþer 786; npl brōðra 144, brōþra 594, BROÞRA 604; gpl brōþra 588; dpl brō-þrum 603

brōðorlīc adj brotherly; asm þone brōðorlīcan 871

brūcan stv 2 + g use; inf - 234

brytisc adj British; asn - 388, bryttisc 395

burh f town; ds byrig 220; apl burh 109

būton prep without, except for; + d - 187; + a/d būtan 652, 940

būton conj except, but that; - 21, 237, 826; būton .. būtan .. būtan 896/7

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

byrhto f brightness, light; ds - 845

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

byrnende ptc adj burning; apl þā byrnenda lēga 346 (M)

byrne f coat of mail; ds byrnan 212

bysen f example; as bysene 477; ds - 30

bysmrian wkv 2 revile, mock; inf - 280; pp gebysmrod 385

bysmer n taunt, disgrace; dpl bysmerum 334

bysmornys f mockery, taunt; as/pl þā bysmornysse 311

kālend m calends, beginning of the month; gs kālendes 204

camphād m warfare; ds camphāde 223

campian wkv 2 fight; 3s pt cumpode 215, 405

cantic m canticle, song; apl canticas 155

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

ceald adj cold, icy; apl þā cealdan 340

cempa m champion, warrior; ns - 209, 400; gs cempan 246

cennan wkv 1 give birth to; inf - 55

geceōsan stv 2 choose, select; pp gecóren 893; 3s pt geceās 51

ceren n? must, sweet wine; dpl cerenum 679

cester f fort, castle; ds cestre 168

cecīgan wkv 1 call, name; po cecīged 22

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

clǣne adj clean, pure; nsm clǽne 100, 147; gpl clǣnere 213

clǣnnys f purity; as clǣnnysse 145

clǣnsian wkv 2 cleanse, purify; inf - 540, tō clǣnsienne 296

cleopian wkv 2 call, cry out; 1s pr ind clypige 260; 3s pt cleopode 67, clypode 258, 301; 3pl pt cleopodon 353

cleopung f clamouring; ds cleopunge 353

cnēo n knee; apl cnēowu 322, 489

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

†cnihtlīc adj boyish, childish; nsf cnihtlīcu 99; asf cnihtlīce 96

†cnihtwīse f boy's way; a/ds after cnihtwīsan 94 (Vita 221 pueriliter)

costere m tempter; ns - 427

costian wkv 2 tempt; pp gecostod 89; 1pl pt costodon 278

costung f temptation; gs costunge 245; apl - 190, 446; gpl costunga 242, 311

tcrǣcetung f cawing; as - 442

cræft m power, skill; as - 657, crǽft 669; apl/is mid manigfealde crǽfte 279

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

cuman stv 4 come; inf - 343, 384, 503, 585; pr ptc cumende 57; 3s pr ind cymð 23; 1s pt cōm 925; 3s pt cōm 54, 55, 65, 93, 116, 176, 189, 194, 206, 262, 364, 408, 416, 455, 458, 460, 468, 482, 568, 575, 580, 630, 719, 725, 727, 730, 761, 783, 788, 788, 830, 853, 910, 915; 3pl pt cōmon 185, 275, 314, 326, 375, 376, 485, 496, 505, 517, 549, 551, 594, 603, 608, 630; CŌMON 604; 3s pt aj cōme 34, cōm 717 (N)

cunnan pt prs vb know; 2s pr ind canst 911; 1pl pr ind cunnon 277; 3pl pt ind cūþon 31, 35, cūðon 34, 227

cunnian wkv 2 discern, judge; inf - 671, gecunnian 700

cūð ptc adj known; nsn - 76; npln cūðe 41, 587; apln cūð 509

cūþa m (thing) known; ns sē cūþa 781; dpl þām cūðum 902

cūðlīce adv manifestly; - 276; swā - swā 573

cweþan stv 5 say, proclaim; pr ptc cweþende 85; 2s pt cwǣde 699; 3s pt cwæð 67, 88, 258, 302, 336, 358, 422, 464, 477, 492, 510, 583, 584, 588, 671, 691, 698, 716, 730, 765, 767, 770, 778, 795, 816, 836, 911, 923, cwæþ 611, 670; 3pl pt cwǣdon 71, 377, 595, cwǽdon 276, 354, 383, 668

gecweþan : inf - 857; pp gecweden 140; 3s pt gecwæð 133

cyme m approach, advance; a/ds - 315

kynekynn n royal family; gs kynekynnes 501

kyning m king; ns - 3, 726; gs kyninges 46, 389, 710, cyninges 708; ds kyninge 722, 888, kyningce 903; apl kyningas 2, 119

cynn n kind, tribe; ns - 623 (MS cynnes); gs cynnes 48, 78, 427, 525, kynnes 52

cyriclīc adj ecclesiastical; dsf cyriclīcre 155; gpl cyrclīce 872 (M)

cyrice f oratory, church; as cyrcan 942; gs - 220, 791; a/ds ūt of his - 462, intō his cyrican 556, on his cyrcan 752, on cyrcan 865

cyrran wkv 1 turn; inf - 913; 3s pt cyrde 250; 3pl pt cyrdon 584

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

cyte f cabin, cell; as cytan 920; ds - 328

cyðan wkv 1 make known, make manifest; 3s pt cȳdde 573, 657, 724, 824

gecȳþan : inf - 819; pp gecȳdde 421, gecȳþed 448

dǣd f deed; apl dǣda 105; dpl dǣdum 782, 894

dæg m day; ns - 126, 201, 204, 551, 788, 835; as - 834; ds dæge 240, 416, 557, 632, 756, 758, 761, 864, 873, dǽge 236, 256, 295, 848, 860, dæg 300, 772; gs dæges 789; npl dagas 926; apl dagas 164, 196, 198, 235, 254, 312, 456, 556, 756; gpl daga 294, 299, 863; dpl dagum 46, 297, 389, 704

dæghwāmlīce adv daily; - 123, 479, 526

dǣl m part, portion; as dǽl 112

gedafenian wkv 2 to be seemly, to be fitting; impers + d 3s pr ind gedafenað 298; impers + clause with sj vb 3s pr ind - 773

dagian wkv 2 to dawn, to be day; inf - 379

dēað m death; ns - 746; as - 120; gs dēaþes 542; ds dēaðe 536

dēaþberende pte adj deadly; apl þā dēaþberendan 425

gdelfan stv 3 dig, dig out; pp gedolfen 231; 3pl pt gedulfon 230

dēofol m/n? devil; gs dēofles 669, 677; npl dēoflu 275, dēofla 388, 435

dēofollīc adj diabolical; nsf sēo dēofollice 253; asf þā dēofollīcan 305

dēofolsēoc adj possessed with a devil; nsm nānig - 626

dēoplīce adv deeply; swā swȳþe dēoplīce 786

dēopnys f depth, abyss; gs dēopnysse 347, 355

dēor n animal; npl wilde dēor 478, 494

dēorwyrþe adj precious; apl þā dēorwyrþan 785

dīgol adj secret, hidden; asn dīgle 187, 179; npl þā dīglan 216; apl þā dīglan 509

dīgelnys f solitude; as dīgelnysse 196

dihtere m informant; npl dihteras 31; apl - 39

dimnys f dimness, obscurity; gs dimnysse 365, dymnysse 19; a/ds mid dimnesse 934

dōhtor f daughter; ns - 708

dōm m ordinance; npl dōmas 216

dōn anom vb (1) do; pp gedōn 80; 3s pr ind dēð 677; 3pl pr ind dōð 415; 3s pt dyde 184, 252, 695; 3 pl pt dydon 373

+ prep (2) put; pp gedōn 879; 3s pt dyde 213, 945; 3pl pt dydon 887

+ a (3) make; inf dōn 535; 3s pt gedyde 509

fig. (4) to put to (use); inf tō þon dōn 805

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

gedrēfan wkv 1 trouble, disturb; pp gedrēfed 248

drēman wkv 1 rejoice, carouse; 3pl pt drēmdon 581 (N)

drēogan stv 2 endure, suffer; 2s pr ind drīgast 291; 3s pr ind drēogeð 89; 3s pt drēah 348

drihten m Lord; ns - 736, 739, 740, ūre - 218, Mīn - 259, mīn - god 302, Dryhten 336; gs drihtnes 216, 361, 681, 689, 738, 870; ds tō drihtne mīnum gode 779, ūrum drihtne 948

drohtnung f manner, ordering; ds drohtnunge 29, 273

dropa m drop; as dropan 945

druncennysse f drunkenness; ns - 143

drȳpan wkv 1 drop; 3s pt drȳpte 944

duru f door; a/ds tōforan þes hūses duru 59

dūst n dust, powder; ns - 358

dwelian wkv 2 go astray; 3pl pr sj dwelion 21; 3s pt dwelode 115 (MS weolo 7 welode)

dymnysse, see dimnys

dysig adj foolish; dsn þām dysigan 424

ēa f river; a/ds fram grante ēa 168

ēac adv also, as well; - 277, 530, 534, 579, 683, 703, Ēac 571; ēac swā 'moreover' 718, EAC SWYLCE 604; Swilce ēac 37, 564; swylce ēac 170, 878; Swylce ēac 273, 311, 500, 653, 707; Swylce næs ēac 516, Swylce nys ēac 656, 723

in formulae; (nalæs þæt ān þæt) ... Ac .. ēac 281 'not only ... but also', ... ac ēac swā 478, ... ac ēac swylce 433, 619, ... ac ēac 532, 929, ... Ac ēac swilce ... ge ēac swilce 590/1; Swylce ēac ... nalæs þæt ..... ac 886
(Ne þæt) ... 7 swylce ēac .... 7 ēac swylce 283/5, ... Swylce ēac ..... Swylce ēac 440/1

ēac prep besides; in phrase Ēac þon 'moreover' 571 (N)

gēacnian wkv 2 become pregnant; pp geēacnod 54

ēadig adj blessed; nsm Ēadig 88, sē ēadiga 114, 189, 190, 206, 231, 246, 254, 264, 300, 310, 335, 351, 368, 392, 404, 472, 507, 610, 637, 783, 794, 867, 893, [sē] ēadiga 572 (N); asm þone ēadigan 922, þisne ēadigan 620; gsm þæs ēadigan 33, 40, 151, 248, 419, 580, 704, 761, 860, 874; gsf þāre ēadigan 173; dsm þām ēadigan 38, 363, 416, 680, 948

ēadignys f blessedness; as ēadignysse 84; ds - 72

ēadmōd adj humble; nsm - 148

ēadmōdlīce adj humbly; - 409, 491, 686

ēadnys f cheerfulness; gs ēadnysse 157 (N)

ēage n eye; as - 945; npl ēagan 918, 934; apl - 319, 842, 944; dpl ēagum 39, 293, 675, 868

eagospind n cheek; apl - 776 (N)

eahta odl num eight; ymb eahte niht 77

eahtoða ord num eighth; nsm sē - 204; dsm þām eahtoþan 756, ism þan - 772

ēalā interj adv O, alas; Ealā 423, 447, 731

ēaland n island; ns - 170; as - 179; ds ēalande 194, 197, 228

ēalce, see ēlc

eald adj old, ancient, senior; nsm - 138, 745, sē ealda 241; apl þā ealdan 119; cpv dpl yldran 95; spv gsm þæs yldestan 48; nplm yldest 165

ealdor m elder, parent; dpl ealderum 526

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

eall pron,, adj all; nsm - 331, 650, 848; nsf eal 570; nsn eall 265, 324, 386, 559, 650, 843, 850; asm eallne 139, ealne 341, 398, 875; asf ealle 920; asn eall 75, 137, 315, 397, 833, 845, 930; gsm ealles 22, 284, 297; dsf ealre 373; a/dsn ? mid ealle his magne 891 (M); npl ealle 59, 62, 62, 102, 132, 146, 344, 377, 619, 653, 735; apl m/f ealle 2, 196, 235, 286, 306, 308, 476, 730, 746, 824, 861; apln ealle 112, 122, 217, 420, 586, 743, eall 40, 592, 854; gpl ealra 158, 217, 347, 438, 894, 949; dpl eallum 4, 90, 195, 207, 270, 282, 327, 385, 434, 847, 876

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

eard m native land; as - 136

eardian wkv 2 inhabit, live in; inf - 180, 188, 193, eardigan 237, 239, 249; pr pte eardiende 672; 1s pt eardode 812, 820; 3s pt eardode 225, 637; 3pl pt eardedon 282

eardung f habitation; ds for þære eardunga 189

eardungstōw f dwelling-place; as eardungstōwe 177

ēare n ear; apl ēaran 318

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

earfoðnys f hardship, difficulty; apl earfoðnysse 83, 89

†ēarīþ m stream; npl ēarīþas 170

earm m arm; apl earmas 488, 842

earm adj poor, wretched; nsm þū earma 447; þū nū earma 448; nplm ēow earman 359 (N)

earmlīc adj wretched; asm earmlīcne 120

eart, see wesan

ēasterdæg m Easter Sunday; ns - 783

ēastorwuce f Easter week; ds ēastorwucan 759

ēastre f Easter; a/ds nēhst ēastron 758

ēce adj eternal; gsm þæs ēcan 451; gsf ēcere 5, þāre ēcan 84; gsn ēces 84, þæs ēcan 224; dsm ēcum 90, þām ēcum 843, þām ēcan 450; dsf þāre ēce (N) 72, þāre ēcan 751

ēcnys f eternity; a/ds on ēcnysse 290, 949

† efenhēfdling m equal, comrade; apl efenhēfdlingas 107

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

(2) intensive particle 'even'; - ār þon 75; - blissiende 485

(3) + swā 'even as', just as; efne swā 242, 470; efne swā 257, 304, 387; efne swā swā 660; efne swā swā .... swā 648/9

efstan wkv 1 hasten, draw near; inf - 123; 3s pr ind efesteð 744; 3pl pt efeston 60, efston 620

eft adv again, afterwards, then; - 25, 32, 92, 199, 201, 203, 290, 292, 371, 379, 414, 476, 488, 522, 522, 542, 561, 593, 594, 608, 615, 626, 627, 652, 719, 758, 767, 770, 800, 800, 830, 835, 857, 870, 886, 888

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

egesa m terror, dread; ds þām godcundan egesan 124, for þāra egsan (N) 352; npl egsan 400; dpl egsum 180

egeslīc adj horrible, terrible; nplm egslīce 316; dpl þām egeslīcum 325

ēghwonen adv everywhere, on all sides; - 316, āghwonon 620

ēgland n island; ns Īgland 850, ēgland 468; ds ȳglande 473, 504, 549, ēglande 544, 549, 636, 861, bǣre forespreccenan - 552 (N)

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

egsian wkv 2 frighten; inf - 362

ēhtere m persecutor; ns - 219

ēhtnys f persecution; apl ēhtnysse 113, as/pl - 726

elles adv else; nǣfre elles 896

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

endebyrdnys f order, rank; ds endebyrdnysse 156, 228; a/ds be - 592, æfter - 854; gpl - 872 (N)

engel m angel; as engcel 821; npl englas 496

engellīc adj angelic; asf þā engellīcan 497; dsf engellīcre 263, 682, 922; aplm engcellīce 849; dpl engellīcum 823

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

ēode, see gān

eorðe f earth, ground; ds eorðan 325, eorþan 846; a/ds on eorðan 62, 856, 887, ofer - 229, tō - 691, geond eorþan 110, tō - 701

eorðlīc adj earthly; aplm eorðlīce 2

ēower poss adj your; dpl ēowrum 361

fæc n space, time; as - 720; ds fæce 863; apl faca 340, faco 849

fæder m father; ns mín fæder 768, mín sē lēofa fæder 808, Mín fæder 911; gs fæder 527

fæderlīc adj paternal; dsf bære fæderlīcan 92

fæger adj fair, beautiful; dpl fægerum 15; spv nsf fægerost 52; dsn bām fægerestan 57

fæger adv fairly, beautifully; - 15; cpv fægeror 375

fægernys f fairness; as fægernysse 297; ds - 263, fægernysse 367; a/ds for his fægernysse 847

fæmne f virgin, woman; ns - 707; gs fæmnan 714, 804

færinga adv suddenly; - 117, bā - 919; færinga 342

færlīce adv suddenly; færlīce 64

fæst adj firm; asm fæstne 941

fæstan wkv 1 fast; 3s pt fæste 284; 3pl pt fæston 283

fæste adv firmly; - 272

fæsten n fast, fasting; ns - 294; as - 292, 299; ds fæstene 296

fæstlīce adv firmly; - 257; cpv swā ... fæstlīcor 290

fæstnian wkv 2 secure; 3s pt fæstnode 272

gefæstnian : 3s pt gefæstnode 245

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

faran stv 6 go, journey; inf - 519, 578; imper s far bū 798; 1s pr ind fare 779; 3pl pt fōron 323

farende pte adj journeying; dsm farendum 116

feallan stv 7 fall; 3s pt fēol 430, fēoll 856; 3pl pt fēollon 350, 600; 3s pt sj fēolle 521

fearr m bull: gs fearres 440

fēawe pl adj few, several; nplm - 187 (N); dpl fēawum 81

fēdan wkv 1 feed, nourish, bring up; pp gefēdd 93; 3pl pt fēddon 95

fela indecl adj + g many; - 664, 665

fellan wkv 1 fell, throw down; 3s pt felde 110

fellen adj made of skin; dsm fellenum 234

fenn m/n fen, marsh; ns sum - 167; as on þone sweartan - 328, þone - 459; gs fennas 187; ds fenne 544; apl fennas 185, 465

fenland n fenland, marsh land; apl - 467

fenlīc adj marshy; apl þā fenlīcan 192

feoh n wealth, riches; gs fēos 229

gefēon stv 5 rejoice; 2s pr ind gefehst 292

fēond m enemy; ns - 241, 390, 427, 529; as - 424; npl fȳnd 302; dpl fēondum 108

feor adv far; - 168

feorland n distant land; dpl feorlandum 905

fēower odl num four; - 7 twentig 137; fēowor gēar 536; ymb fēower niht 782

fēran wkv 1 go journey, set out; inf - 199, fēran 165; imper s fēre 837 (N); 3s pr sj fēre 798; 3s pt fērde 139, 201, 220, 561, 576, 593, 626, 627, 652, 660, 661, 853, 907, 947; 3pl pt fērdon 184, 504, 522, 542, 548, 588, 605, 607, 615, 664, fēredon 374, fērdoN 435

gefēran wkv 1 journey, carry; inf - 839; pp gefēred 375; 3s pt gefērde 175, 636

ferian wkv 1 convey, send; 3s pt ferde 844 (N)

fers n verse; as - 403

fīf odl num five; - dagum 704

fīftyne odl num fifteen; - gēar 749

filian wkv 1 follow, serve; + d inf - 774

findan stv 3 find; inf - 177, 548; 3pl pt fundon 128

fisc m fish; npl fixas 478

fiscere m fisher; dpl fiscerum 13

fiðere n wing; dpl fiðerum 339, 374

fixas, see fisc

flaxe f flask; apl flaxan 606, 612

flēo n white spot in the eye; a/ds mid - 7 mid dimnesse 934

flēogan stv 2 fly, flee from; inf - 485; 3pl pr ind flēoð 735
1s pt flēah 799; 3s pt - 514, 727

folc n people; ds folce 219, 716; dpl folcum 4; as/pl folc 672

folclīc adj common; gpl folclīcra 97

fōn stv 7 take, receive; usually + tō : inf fōn 694; 3s pt fēng 108, 142, 470, 521, 561, him tōgēanes fēnge 'clutched at him' 702; + d fēng 306 (N)

for prep for, on account of, before; + d - 23, 32, 49, 131, 143, 180, 189, 229, 352, 355, 366, 545, 629, 732, 921; + a/d - 162, 180, 514, 803; 'compared with' (?) 847 (N)

in prep formulae because, accordingly; for þām 396, for þām þe 305, for þīg þe 880

in formulae why; for hwon 361, 424, 490, 612, For hwon 612, for hwan 382

fōr f journey; ds fōre 633

foran prep before; postp + d - 659

forebēacn n sign; ns bæt - 64

foregenga m predecessor; gpl foregengena 44

foremǣre adj illustrious; nsm sum foremǣra man 501

forescēawian wkv 2 appoint; 3s pt forescēawode 53

foresecgan wkv 3 foretell; 3s pt foresǣde 721, 724, 743

foresǣd pto adj nsm sē foresǣda 460; gsm/n þæs foresǣdan fennas 186

forespreccn pto adj aforesaid; nsm sē forespreccna 177, 678, 724,

775, 789, 807, 832, 844, 904; asm bone forespreccenan 616, 646, 697; gsm þæs forespreccena 933 (N); dsm þām forespreccenan 786, dsf þǣre forespreccenan 551, 594; npl þā - 206

forestihtian wkv 2 ordain; pp forestihtod 72; 3s pt forestihtode 218

forgifan stv 5 grant; 3s pt forgeaf 433

forgifenys f forgiveness; as forgifenysse 601

forgitan stv 5 forget; + g pr pte forgitende 347

forgrīpan stv 1 seize, assail; 3s pr ind forgrīpeð 746

forhabban wkv 3 abstain; pr pte forhæbbende 144

forhæfednys f abstinence; as forhæfdnysse 158, 295; a/ds þurh heora forhæfdnysse 286, þurh - 289

forht adj frightened, afraid; nplm forhte 131, swīðe - 880

forhtlīce adj fearful, afraid; nsm - 919, 921

forhycgan wkv 3 disdain, shun; 3s pt forhogode 190, 311, forhógode 308

forlǣtan stv 7 let go, forsake; inf forlǣtan 810, 838, tō forlǣtenne 656, tō forlǣtanne 723; pp forlǣten 506; 2s pr ind forlǣtst 913; 3s pt forlēt 137, 138, 267; 3pl pt forlēton 121, 508; 3s pt sj forlēte 510, 794

forma ord num first; nsm sē forma 783

fornyman stv 4 destroy; 3s pr ind fornymeð 736

forsēon stv 5 despise; 3s pt forseah 136, 305, 446

forð adv forth, out; - 520

forþan adv accordingly, therefore, on this account; - 8, 182, Forþam 17, forþon 30, 30, 42, 732, 799, 925, Forþon 28, 813

forþon conj because; - 22, 80, 82, 89, 207, 289, 294, 337, 496, 657, 672, 719, 737, 739, 772, 773, 778, 792, 837, 905, 908, 924, 926, 927,

forþan 68, 195, 200, 625
in prep formulae because; forþon þe 70, 303, 383, 867

forðfēred pte adj dead; nsm forðfēred (wæs) 931; asm þone brōþor forðfēredne 855; dsm forðfēredum 877

forðfōr f death; ns forðfōre 873; as forðfōre 760; ds forðfōre 815; a/ds æfter his forðfōre 710, þe his forðfōre 747, æfter his forðfōre 869, geascode ... fōrðfōre 905

forðlǣstan wkv 1 follow out, fulfill; inf - 134

forðgelǣstan wkv 1 fulfill; pr pte forðgelǣstende 235

forwyrd f perdition; gs forwyrde 358

fōt m foot; as - 634, 635; apl fēt 639; dpl fōtum 431, 601

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

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

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

gefrēfrian : 3s pt gefrēfrode 729

fremde adj strange; nsm fremde 25; apl þā fremdan 24; gpl þāra fremdra 26

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

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

frēond m friend; as - 368; gs frēondes 271; npl frȳnd 939

frignan stv 5 ask, inquire; 3s pt fregn 176, 490, fregn 594, frégn 767

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

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

fugel m bird; npl fugelas 477, 490, 494; apl fugelas 489; gpl fugela 98 (MS fugelas), 443, 449

fūl adj filthy, foul; nplm fūle 170; aplm - 319

fūlīc adj foul, filthy; nplm fūlīce 318

gefullian wkv 2 baptise; pp gefullod 717; 3s pt gefullode 720

fulluht m/n ? baptism; gs fulluhtes 92

fulluhtbæþes, see fulwihtebæþ

fūlnys filth; as fūlnysse 346

fultum m aid, help; ns - 728, 729; as - 195, 207; ds fultume 174, 190, 269, 434, 737, 738, 912, 924

fultum m aid, helper; ns - 261 represents an extension of above; bartholomew is described as sē getrēowa fultum of Guthlac. Cf Hly 31

gefultumian wkv 2 help; imper s gefultuma 260; 3s pt gefultomode 733

fulwihtebæþ n baptism; gs fulwihtebæþes 78, fulluhtbæþes 718

fyllan wkv 1 fill; 3pl pt fȳldon 315

gefyllan wkv 1 fill, fulfill, perform; inf - 381; pp gefylled 43, 65, 118, 272, 555, 692, 851, 856, 883, gefyllede 152, gefylde 320, 606, 862, 920;; 1pl pt gefyldon 17

gefylstan wkv 1 help; pp gefylst 174

fȳr n fire; ns - 355; ds fȳre 397

fȳren adj composed of fire; asm fȳrene 846

fyrhto f fear, terror; ds fyrhte 852, 881

*fyrlu f distance; as on bā fyrle 649 (N)

fyrmeste adv first; - 403

fyrst m space of time, time; ns - 294; as - 53; gs fyrstes 296; ds fyrste 748

gegaderian wkv 2 gather together; pp gegaderod 533; 3pl pt gegaderodon 344

gāl adj wicked, evil: nsm gāl 700

gālnys f wantonness, evilness; as gālnysse 92

gān anom v go; 3s pt ēode 75, 394, 458, 462, 466, 517, 528, 553, 557, 633, 635, Ēode 184, ēode 852; 3pl pt ēodon 504, ut ... ēodon 511

gangan stv 7 go; 3pl pr ind gangaþ 378

gāst m spirit, soul; ns - 304, 411, 412, 447, 528, 772, 773, gāst 838; as gāst 299, 843; gs gāstes 211, 247, 401, 420, 429, 541, 559; ds gāste 426, 430, 566, 572, 622; npl gāstas 308, 338, 349, 353, 357, 366, gāstes 362, 387; gpl gāsta 190, 191, 210, 314, 343, 376, 381, 395, 401, 447, 453; dpl gāstum 215, 348, 405

gāstlīc adj spiritual; asn heora - 484; gsf gāstlīcre 101; dsf - 118, 271, 369, gāstlīcere 883; ds[f] on gāstlīcre þoftscipe 483 (N), 576; dpl gāstlīcum 211

gāstlīce adv spiritually, in blessedness; - 890 (Vita 1214 feliciter)

†gæstlīþnes f hospitality; a/ds on gæstlīþnesse 916

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

ge conj and; ge ēac 530; ge ēac swilce 591; egðer þāra ge ... ge 616/7

gēar m/n year; ds gēare 819; apl gēar 154, 537, 749

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

geara adv well, clearly; swā gearā ..... swā 658

gearlīce adv fully; gearlīce 946

gearmung f merit, labour; ns - 472; a/ds þurh ... geearnunge 931

gearu adj ready nsm - 360

geættred pte adj poisoned; dsf þāre geættredan 246

gearwa, gegearwod, gegearwode, see gyrwan

gebed n prayer; as - 65; apl gebeda 155; dpl gebedum 241, 313, 436, 557, 752, 833

gebend pte adj bent; dsm gebendum 246

gebeorh n refuge; ns - 906

geblĪþe adj happy; nsm swȳþe geblĪþe 754 (N)

gebolgen pte adj enraged, angry; nplm gebolgene 441

gebrōðra plm brothers; apl - 200

geceōmlĪcost spv adv so as most to please, most pleasingly; - 274

gecynde f/a nature; ns - 480

gecyrrednys f conversion; a/ds mid gecyrrednysse 84

gedrēfednys f tribulation; ds gedrēfednysse 223

gedwola m error; dpl gedwolum 221

gedyrstig adj bold; nsm - 811

geearmunge, see gearmung

gefēa m joy, bliss; ds gefēan 839, 843; is - 369; a/ds mid - 843

gefeoht n battle; dpl gefeohtum 391

gefēra m companion, follower; ns - 631, gefēre 565; npl gefēran 130; dpl gefērum 128; ?ds Be ... gēfēre 563 (N), 628

gefērscipe m fellowship; gs - 129; ds - 662

gegyrela m clothing, raiment; ds gegyrelan 234

gehālgod pte adj consecrated; dsn gehālgedum 558

gehwilc adj certain, several; dpl be gehwilcum 762

gehȳrsum adj obedient; aplm - 17 (N)

gelēred pte adj .learned; nsm sē gelēreda 745; asm bone gelēredan 8

gelēafa m belief, faith; as gelēafan 4, 272, 742, 941; gs - 11, 212, 277, 446, 780

gelēaful adj believing; asm bone gelēafullan 8; dpl eallum gelēafullum 4

gelīc adj + d like; nsm - 450; nplm gelīce 320; cpv nsm gelīcra 877

gelīce adv likewise, also; - 746, 782, 902; swā gelīce 532; bē gelīce 299 (N)

gelīcnys f likeness; as gelīcnysse 440

gelōmlīce adv frequently, often; - 250, 405, 497, 777

gemæcce f wife; as gemæccan 51

gemetfæst adj moderate, gentle; nsm - 148

gemynd f/n memory; asn nānig gemynd 567; gsf hāre ēadigan gemynde gūðlāc 173; hāre ārwurðan gemynde gūðlāc 222; gsn bes ārwurðan gemynde GVÐLACES 7 (N); dpl tō gemyndum 34

gemyndelīc adj memorable, commemorative; dsf gemyndelīcre 887

gemyndig adj mindful of; nsm - 817 (N)

genēahhor cpv adv more frequently; bīg - 34

genēhlīce adv usually; - 645

geogoð f youth; a/ds on his geogoðe 104

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

geond prep through, throughout; + a 41, 849; + a/d geond eorþan 109

geondscēawian wkv 2 survey; inf - 422; 3s pt geondscēawode 198

geondgēotan stv 2 cover, suffuse; pp geondgoten 845

geondsprengan wkv 1 scatter through; 3s pt geondspregde 412

geong adj young; nsm - 745; cpv dpl gingran 96

geornfullīce adv diligently, eagerly; swā - 895

geornlīce adv earnestly; - 687

geornost spv adv best, most fully; - 31

gerād adj constituted; nsn swā gerād 186, hū gerād 676

gerǣde adj prepared, easy; asm gerǣdne 36

gereord f food, sustenance; ds gereorde 236, 694, 696

gereord n speech, language; a/ds of þæs cynnes gereorde 79; gpl gereorda 396

†gerisen ?.seizing, seizure; a/ds on gerisne 738 (N)

gerisene pln honourable behaviour, dignity; dpl gerisenum 3

gerȳne n mystery, sacrament; apl gerȳnu 718, gerȳne 821

gerȳnelīc adj mystical; asf þā gerȳnelīcan 140

gesegen f saying, narrative; dpl gesegenum 26, 37

gesigefæstod pp crowned with victory; - 310 (N)

gesihþ f sight, vision; ds gesihþe 922; a/ds - onfēnge 938

gesnyttro f wisdom; gpl ealra gesnyttra 894

gesprǣc n speech, conversation; ds gesprǣce 611; dpl gesprǣcum 484

gestæþþig adj grave; nsm - 894

gestrēon n wealth, riches; as/pl - 49, 50, 136

gestund n noise, din; dpl gestundum 323 (N)

gesund adj whole, sound; nsm - 947

gesundfulnys f prosperity; gs gesundfulnysse 5

geswinc n toil; ds mid woruldlicre geswince 83 (N)

geswincnys f tribulation, trial; ds geswincnysse 260; apl - 89

gesȳne adj evident, visible; nsn - 448

getimbre n / getimbru plf building(s); dpl getimbrum 889

getrēow adj faithful; nsm sē getrēowa 261; asm þone getrēowan 368; gsm þæs getrēowan 271

gehanc m/n mind, thought; ns - 265; as - 411; gpl gehanca 213

†gebēot n? howling; as/(pl) - 442

gebofta m comrade, follower; gpl geboftena 107

gebōht m/n thought; gs gebōhtes 428; apl gebōhtas 266; dpl gebōhtum 257

gebyld n patience; as - 157, 277; gs gebyldes 477

gebyldig adj patient; nsm - 148, 737

geunrōtsian wkv 2 become sorrowful, be troubled; pp geunrōtsod 778, geunrōtsod 926

geweald m/n power; as - 359

gewinn n toil, hardship; as - 636; gs gewinnes 823, 909; ds gewinne 750; gpl gewinna 731; dpl gewinnum 390

gewiss adj + g cognisant of; nplm gewisse 276

†gewitfæst adj sane; nsm - 626

gewitt n mind, wits; ds gewitte 528

†gewrid n thicket (?); apl gewrido 192, 330 (Cf. Hly 101 gewridu)

gewrit n text, document; pl = scriptures; ns - 454; as - 43, 457, 457, 466, 467; apl gewritu 582, gewrita 685; gpl gewrita 582; dpl gewrihtum 21, gewritum 81, 493

gewuna m wont, custom; ns - 417

gewunod pp adj resident; nplm gewunode 474 (N)

gewunelīc adj customary, usual; ism þan gewunelīcan 240, 552

gewylde adj subject; asm gewyldne 535 (N)

gif conj if; - + ind 287, 413, 713; - + sj 9, 13, 17, 547, 827; - prob. + sj 125, 334, 937

gifan stv 5 give; 3s pt geaf 702

gīfernys f greed; as gīfernysse 476

gīfre adj greedy; nsm - 474

gifu f gift, grace; ns - 72; as gife 84, 804; gs - 681; ds

- 209; a/ds mid godes gife 152, burh godes gifu 163, 421, burh godes gife 657

gīman wkv 1 + g heed, pay attention to; 3s pt gīmde 133, 335

girnde, see gyrnan

gīt adv still; bā gīt 717; bā gȳt 875

git dual pron you two; n - 598; a/d mid inc 613

glæd adj joyful; nsm - 100

glædnysse f joy; ns glædnysse 901

glæwlīce adv skilfully, clearly; - 15

glōf f glove; as glōfe 512, 516, 520, 523; apl glōfan 499, 506, 510

god m God; as - 53, 90, 218, 297, 586, 750, 820, 869, 909, 924, 925, 930, mīn drihten - 302; as - 63, 272, 654, 733, 742; gs godes 4, 11, 117, 135, 152, 152, 162, 163, 209, 293, 410, 420, 451, 471, 473, 493, 503, 547, 550, 553, 568, 641, 657, 662, 668, 673, 674, 676, 687, 691, 720, 730, 748, 754, 777, 781, 800, 815, 835, 853, 864, 872, 908, gódes 678 (N); ds gode 125, 197, 258, 274, 301, 380, 450, 545, 673, 749, 774, 794, 863, tō drihtne mīnum - 779

gōd adj good; nsm gōd 700; dsm gōde 518; apl bā gōdan 156, gode 673; gpl bāra gōdra 156, 158; dpl gōdum 872

godcund adj divine, heavenly; nsm sē godcunda 729; nsf sēo godcunde 149; asf godcunde 72; ds[f] godcundre 174 (N), dsf bāre godcundan 193, 671; ism ban godcundan 124; apl bā godcundan 685; dpl godcundum 893

godcundlīc adj divine, heavenly; nsn godcundlīc 70; dsf godcundlīcre 79; dsm godcundlīcan 153

godcundlīce adv divinely; - 111, 937

godcundnysse f the Divine Being; ns - 865 (N)

godspellian wkv 2 + d declare the Gospel to, evangelise; inf - 786, tō godspellianne 219

godspellĪc adj evangelical; gsf bēre godspellĪcan 680

goldhord m/n treasury; ns - 894

grēat adj large, thick; aplf grēate 322

grētan wkv 1 salute, take leave of; inf - 200; 3s pt grētte 203

grēting f greeting, salutation; as grētinge 5, grētinge 711, grētinge 714

grimlĪc adj cruel, terrible; apl þā grimlĪcan 349

gegrĪpan stv 1 grasp, seize; inf - 474

grymetigende pte adj roaring, raging; nsm grymetigende 242; apl grymetigenda 437 (N)

grymetung f grunting, roaring; as grymetunge 442

grymnys f cruelty; gs grymnysse 243

gegyldan wkv 1 gild; pp gegylde 15

gylden adj golden; asf ānne gyldenne 58

gylt m crime, sin; dpl gyltum 356

gyrd f rod; a/ds mid gyrde 515

gyrdel m girdle; ds gyrdele 569, 570

gyrnan wkv 1 desire; 3s pt gyrnde 50, girnde 150

gyrstandæg m yesterday; ds gyrstandæge 699

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

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

gyt, see git

habban wkv 3 have; inf - 385; 3s pt hæfde 49; 50, 57, 567, 645, 662, Hæfde 208, hæfde 781; 3pl pt hæfdon 317, 319, 605, 607, hæfdon 321

auxiliary use : 1s pr ind hæbbe 43; 2s pr ind hæfst 385, hafast 423; 3s pr ind hæfð 740, hafað 428; 2s pt hæfdest 281; 3s pt hæfde 154, 251, 457, 506, 593, hæfde 253; 3pl pt hæfdon 692, heafdon 65; 3s pr sj hæbbe 928

hād m rank; gs hādes 616, 617

gehādigan wkv 2 ordain; inf gehādigan 689

hælend m Saviour; ns - 284

gehælan wkv 1 cure; pp gehæled 627

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

hās f command, behest; ds hāse 17

hæþen adj heathen; dsn hæþenum 716

hāl adj whole, sound; nsm - 947

gehālgian wkv 2 ordain, consecrate; pp gehālgod 693; 3s pt gehālgode 944

gehālgod ptc adj consecrated; gsn bæs gehālgodan 943

hālgung f consecration; ns - 703

halh m corner; ds hāle 790

hālig adj holy, blessed; nsm sē hālga 182, 270, 364, 370, 432, 436, 444, 462, 491, 505, 513, 518, 521, 553, 702, 724, 743, 770; asm bone hālgan 326, 344, 507, 546, 631, 694, 764, 863, 883, 909; gsm bæs hālgan 11, 211, 214, 225, 367, 431, 444, 446, 455, 487, 502, 614, 727, 747, 780, 890, 892, 905, 910, 931; gsf bēre hālgan 219; gsn bæs hālgan 92; bæs hāliges tācnes 73 (N); dsm bisum hālgan 500, bām hālgan 505, 652, 655, 665, 709; dsn hālgum 538; dsm/n bām hālgan 77; npln Hālige 378; apl bā hālgan 582; gpl hāligra 376, 582; dpl hālgum 20, 313, 493, 863; apl bā godcundan hāligra 685 (N)

hālsian wkv 2 implore, beseech; 1s pt hālsige 8, 808, 813; 3s pt hālsode 687, 709

hām m home; ds hāme 527, 599; hām 542, 561, 589, 607, 615, 947 (all following fēran)

hancred m cockcrow; ns - 392

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

handþegn m servant; npl handþegnas 577

hangian wkv 2 hang; 3s pt hangode 469

hāsrūnigende ptc adj hoarse muttering, raucous; dpl hāsrūnigendum 323 (N)

hāt adj hot; nsf - 149

hātan stv 7 command, order; 3s pt hēt 112, 268, 370, 712, 755, 855; 3pl pt hēton 333; 3s pt sj hēte 112

gehātan stv 7 command; promise, vow; 1s pt gehēt 837; 3s pt gehēt 90, 196, 409, 433

hāten stv 7 to be named; pp hāten 47, gehāten 52, 178; 3s pr ind hāteð 185; 3s pt hātte 545

hatian wkv 2 hate, treat as an enemy; 3pl pr ind hatiað 735, 740; 3pl pt hatedon 144

hatung f hatred; as/pl hatunge 727

hāwian wkv 2 look, gaze; 3s pt hāwode 394

hē, hēo, hit pers pron he, she, it; nsm hē 9, 9, 16, 32, 48, 50, 50, 63, 80, 83, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 96, 98, 99, 104, 105, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 111, 112, 112, 113, 114, 116, 116, 117, 117, 119, 119, 122, 122, 123, 124, 125, 125, 127, 128, 129, 129, 132, 133, 133, 134, 134, 135, 137, 137, 138, 139, 142, 142, 144, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 153, 154, 154, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 161, 164, 165, 165, 174, 175, 176, 176, 179, 183, 183, 183, 190, 192, 193, 194, 195, 195, 196, 196, 197, 198, 199, 199, 200, 201, 202, 202, 203, 207, 208, 208, 210, 213, 219, 220, 220, 225, 232, 233, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 239, 242, 243, 244,

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hēafod m/n head; as - 213, 828; apl mycele hēafda 317

hēafodgemaca m equal, fellow; apl hēafodgemacan 137

hēah adj high; gsm þæs hēan 152

healdan stv 7 hold, keep; pr pte healdend 3 (Vita 4 regenti); 1s pt hēold 805; 3s pt hēold 719;

gehealdan : imper s. geheald þĪ 825

healf f side, part; as hælfe 315, 337

healf adj half; nsm sē lĪchama efer healf 639

heall f hall, residence; ds healle 92

hēalĪe adj noble, excellent; isn hēalĪce 553

hēan adj low, poor; nsm sē hēana 745; nplm hēane 618

hēannys f height, loftiness; gs heannysse 376; ds - 340; a/ds of .. - 452, tō .. - 846

hēap m/f band, host; ns - 376 (N); dsf on þǣre mǣdena hēaþe 52

heardlīcnys f severity; as heardlīcnysse 666

heardnys f rigour; as heardnysse 823

hefig adj heavy, troublesome; nsm - 94; dsm hefegum 560

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

hefignys f dullness; ds hefignysse 856

†hēahþēod f noble people; ds hēahþēode 47 (N)

heldan wkv 1 bend, incline; 3s pt helde 58

hell f hell; gs helle 366

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

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

heofoncund adj heavenly; gsn þæs heofoncundan 751

heofonlīc adj heavenly; nsm sē̆ heofonlīca 267; gsm þæs heofonlīcan 212, 265; [g]sf heofonlice 683 (N); gsn þæs heofonlīcan 755, 844; dsm heofonlīcum 191, þam heofonlīcan 841; dsf heofenlīcre 209, heofonlīcre 364, 661, 845; ism heofonlīce 369; isn heofonlīce 920; gsf heofonlīcre 222; apl þā̆ heofonlīcan 821; dpl heofonlīcan 823

heolm m helmet; as - 213

heononforð asv henceforth; - 279

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

hēr adv here; - 9, 68, 88, 289, 293, 360, 799, hēr on 36
behold! - 355

heronian wkv 2 listen; 3s pt herenode 394

herian wkv 1 praise; 3pl pt heredon 654

hider adv hither, to here; - 585; - 7 hider 726; - 7 hyder 249, 918

hiht m hope; ns - 624; as - 139, 742; gs hihtes 213

gehihtan wkv 1 to make joyous; 3s pt gehihte 824 (N)

hindan adv behind; - 322

hinder adv behind; on - 302

hīw n form, colour; as hīw 441; ds hīwe 57; apl hīw 439, 449

gehīwian wkv 2 form, fashion; 3s pt gehīwode 297

hīwscipe m family; gs hīwscipes 933 (MS hisscipes)

hīwung f pretence, imitation; a/ds/apl mid heora hīwunge 443

hlāf m loaf, bread; as - 238; ds hlāfe 307

hlāford m lord; ds hlāforde 2

hlāw m mound; ns - 229; gs þes hlāwas 230

hleahtor m laughter; gs hleahtres 19 (N)

hleahterful adj scornful, derisive; gpl hleahterfulra 10

hleahterlīc adj ridiculous; asn - 9 (N)

hleahtrian wkv 2 deride; 2s pr sj hleahtrige 17

hleonian wkv 2 lean; inf - 790

hlēoþrian wkv 2 sound, resound; 3s pt hlēoþrode 325

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

hlīsa m fame; ns - 544

hlūttor adj clear, pure, sincere; nsm - 100; dpl hlūttrum 7

†hlūttorlīcnys f purity, sincerity; as hlūttorlīcnysse 145

hors n horse; gs horses 320

hrædlīce adv quickly, at once; - 266

hrædlīcnys f haste, speediness; as rædlīcnysse 66; a/ds on hrædlīcnysse 122

hræfn, see hrefen

hrægl n garment, clothing; gs hrægles 233; ds hrǽgle 647, 803, 806; apl hrǽgl 878

hrefen m raven; ns - 458, 464; as - 460, hræfn 512, hrefn 513; gs hrefnes 520; npl hrefnas 474, 499; gpl hréfena 442

hrēod n reed; ds hrēode 469; npl hrēod 170

hrēodbed n reed bed; ns - 469

hringc m cycle, circle; as - 927

hrōf m roof; ds hrōfe 765

hrýþer n horned cattle, ox; gpl hrýþera 437

hū adv how, in what way; - 388, Hū 435, 454, 481, 524; qual. adj hū 966; qual. adv hū 676; + indir q hū 225, 274, 282, 388

hundnigontig odl num ninety; - nihta 202

hūs n house; as - 232, 313, 326, 397, 833, 845; gs hūses 59, 512, 515; ds hūse 66, 915, 917; apl hūs 861

hwā pron who, what; + dir q nsm - 359, 913; nsn hwæt 765; + indir q nsm hwā 216, 713; nsn hwæt 63, 215, 947

pron nsn swā hwæt swā 474, 681, 684

[rel]pron þurh hwæt 643 (antecendent is asm); asm mid hwæne 813 (N)

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

hwæt prom, see hwā

hwæt interj adv lo; - 142, 360, 911

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

hwæðer conj whether, if; - 508, hwæþer 597, 671; + + þe, - + oþþe 'whether .. or' : hwæþer ... þe 676, hwæðer ... þe 668, hwæþer .. oþþe 700

hwæþere adv however, nevertheless; - 133, 540, 791; þēah - 475, 717, 729, 793

hweorfan stv 3 proceed, return; 3s pt hwarf 203

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

hwīl f while, space of time; ns - 438, 446, 511, 516, 569, 646, 939; as hwīle 332; a/ds hwīle æfter 928

in prep formulae, while; þā hwīle þe 562, 818; þā hwīle þe 802

hwīlon adv sometimes; ār - 121, ær - 396; hwīlum 916; correl. hwīlon .. hwīlon 169/70

hwistlung f whistling, hissing; as/pl hwistlunge 443

hwon, hwan is. of hwā in formulae; why; + dir q for hwon 361, 424, 612, For hwon 612, for hwan 382, tō hwon 598, tō hwan 423; + indir q for hwon 490

hwylc pron what, who; nsm - 31; asn - 698; asm swa hwylcne swā 'whomsoever' 532

hwylc adj what, what sort of; dsm hwylcum 32, 768

some, any; nsm hwylc 11; asn - 9

gehȳdan wkv 1 hide, conceal; 3pl pt gehȳddon 368, 607

gehyhtan wkv 1 hope; 3s pt gehyhte 908

hȳran wkv 1 hear of; 3pl pt hyrdon 620

+ d obey; 3pl pt hyrdon 479

gehȳran wkv 1 hear, listen to; imper s gehȳr þū 260; 1s pr ind gehȳre 809; 1s pt gehȳrde 812, 227; 3s pt gehȳrde 161, 183, 270, 301, 394, 437, 734, 741, 774, 787, 807, 850, 855, 926, 941; 3pl pt gehȳrdon 69, 130, 131, 654

hyrde m guardian; ns - 713, 715

hyrð f skin; gs bisse andweardan hyrðe 43 (N)

hȳrsumian wkv 2 + d obey, serve; 1s pt hȳrsumode 6, 30, 514; hȳrsumede 42

hȳrsumnys f obedience; as hȳrsumnysse 157

gehyrtan wkv 1 comfort, encourage; pp nplm gehyrte 68; 3s pt hīg gehyrte 878

hȳð f landing-place, jetty; ds hȳðe 28, 517

ic pers pron I; ns - 6, 6, 14, 24, 25, 29, 30, 33, 35, 36, 39, 43, 45, 228, 260, 303, 337, 360, 413, 414, 425, 450, 672, 673, 675, 675, 693, 696, 732, 732, 733, 760, 774, 779, 798, 802, 803, 804, 805, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 813, 817, 818, 818, 819, 837, 912, 915, Ic 8, 30, 42, 226, 670, 808, IC 226; as mē 18, 260, 362, 415, 814, 913, 913; gs mīn 359; ds me 30, 38, 260, 336, 767, 779, 802, 804, 810, 821, 824, 911; a/d mē 28, 585, tō mē 821, mē 912

Idel adj useless, vain; aplf Idele 96, ydele 306; dpl Idelum 12

idel n idleness; ds md Idele 656 'lightly'

idelnys f idleness; a/ds mid Idelnysse 723 'lightly'

Igland, see ēgland

ilce, see ylca

in prep in, into; + a - 150, 944; + d - 45, 72

in adv in bēr in 363; bēr .. inn 458, bēr .. in 485

incuman stv 4 come in, enter; inf - 439 (634 inrumpentes)

indrencan wkv 1 inebriate, saturate; 3pl pt indrencton 679

ingān anom vb enter, penetrate; 3s pt inēode 787

ingang m entrance; ds ingange 755

ingesettan wkv 1 lay in, place in; inf - 711

ingēotan stv 2 pour in; 3pl pt inguton 315

inhrēosan stv 2 fall into; 3pl pt inhruron 350

inn n lodging, house; ds on bām ylcan inne 946 (N); of bām in 511 (N)

innan postp prep + a inside; - 920

innan adv inside, within; - 111, 118, 124, 135, 163, 422, 937

inne adv inside, within; - 917, bēr inne 947

inne prep inside; be ... inne 66 (196 qua); bēr ... inne 942 (1302 quo), 59 (183 qua); inne be 915 (1249 qua)

innewēardum adv inwardly; - 858

insegel n sign, seal; ds insegle 127; dpl inseglum 56 (N)

intimbran wkv 1 instruct; 3s pt intimbrede 609

intinga m cause, affair, business; ns - 585; as intingan 554, 643, 768

intō prep into; a/ds intō his cyricean 556 (820 intra)

Iren n iron; ds Irene 530

Isen adj made of iron, iron; dpl Isenum 338

iū adv once, formerly; - 449, íū 119; iū gēara 282, íū gēara 229 229

iūmann m man of former days; gpl iūmanna 105 (MS ún-)

See under e for :

kalendes 204

kynekynnes 501

kyninges 46, 389, 710, -e 722, 888, -ce 903, -as 2, 119

kynnes 52

lā interj adv lo; lā 17

lāc f sacrifice, oblation; as - 784; lāc 785

lācce m physician; npl lācces 935

lādan wkv 1 lead, conduct, carry; 3s pt lādde 556, 942, lādde 749; 2pl pt lāddon 613; 3pl pt lāddon 327, 328, 339, 674, lāddon 329

gelādan : inf gelādan 751; pp gelādd 93, gelāded 223, 757, gelād 538; 3s pt gelādde 32, 503, 642, 938; 3pl pt gelāddon 344; gelāddon 373, 568

lāfa, see lēaf

lāran wkv 1 teach, learn; pp lāred 111; 3s pt lārde 412, 682

gelāran : pp gelāred 153, gelāred 661; asm gelāredne 663; 3s pt gelārde 684

lās adv used in prep formulae, least; bē lās 24, bȳ lās 25

gelāstan wkv 1 carry out; 3s pt gelāste 132

lætan stv 7 allow, forsake; 3pl pt lēton 332; 2s pr sj lēte 814

lætlīce adv slowly; - 763

land n land, country; ns - 186; as - 42, 76; gs landes 176; ds lande 167, 525

lang adj long; asm langne 317; asf lange 858; dsf langre 763, 815, 829; asn lang 172 (used adverbially)

lange adv for a long time; - 331, 489, 672, 935

lār f teaching, counsel; ds lāre 429; a/ds mid his lāre 609, 787; apl lāre 305, lāra 309, lāra 419; gpl lāra 311; dpl lārum 410

lārēow m teacher; ns - 217

lārēowdōm m instruction; ds lārēowdōme 152

lāttēow m leader; as - 128

lēaden adj leaden; asf lēadene 709

lēaf f leave; a/g/ds ? him lēafe bæd æt þām þēowum 165; hī bædon lēafa æt mē 584; gs lēafe 577 (N)

leahter m crime; apl leahtras 251

lēas adj lying, false; dpl mid ēowrum lēasum 362

†lēaslīcetung f dissimulation; apl lēaslīcetunge 98

leccan wkv 1 water, moisten; 3s pt lechte 777

gelecgan wkv 1 lay, place; 3s pr sj gelecge 807

lēg m flame; ds lēge 320; apl lēga 346, lēge 349

lendenu pln loins, reins; dpl lendenum 639

lenge f length; as - 929; ds lenge 747

leng adv longer; - 280; lenge 25, 543

lēo m/f lion; gsm lēon 439

lēof adj dear, beloved; nsm sē lēofa 748, 808; nsn þæt lēofe 825; gsm/n þæs lēofan westenes 203; spv ds þām lēofestan 1

lēofe 577, see lēaf

lēoht n light; ds lēohte 20, is mid heofonlīce lēohte 920

lēoht adj light; ism mid lēohte slēpe 393

leomu, see līm

leornere m learner, scholar; ns - 17, 23; npl leorneras 81

leornian wkv 2 learn, read; inf tō leornianne 151; pp gpl bāra leornendra 26; 2s pt leornodest 492; 3s pt leornode 161

geleornian : pp geleornod 155; 1s pt geleornode 36

leornung f study, reading; ds leornunge 154; a/ds on - 150

lettan wkv 1 + g hinder, impede from doing; inf - 281

līchama m body; ns - 331, 638, 805, 890, 908, 942; as lichaman 228, 300, 711, 801, 806, 841, 871, 875, 879, 884, hys āgene līchama 530 (N); gs līchaman 158, 621; ds līchaman 759, 771, 797; a/ds on līchaman 147

līf n life; ns - 676; as - 31, 33, 39, 122, 159, 227, 307, 484, 494, 495,750, 759; gs līfes 28, 29, 34, 85, 120, 145, 197, 224, 235, 276, 666, 712,

747, 930, lífes 274; ds lífe 7, 157, 291, 667, 675, 675, 695, LIFE 226; apl líf 283, 599, 673; as/pl líf 163

lim n limb; apl limu 795, leomu 836, limo 838, lima 116; dpl limum 327

gelimpan stv 3 befall, happen; inf - 769; 3s pt gelamp 115, 193, 240, 273, 313, 389, 391, 416, 436, 455, 456, 482, 500, 527, 533, 564, 575, 629, 632, 653, 701, 718, 752, 765, 766, Gelamp 659, gelamp 312, 748, 767; 3s pr sj gelimpe 827

línen adj linen; gsn línenes 234; dsn línenum 803

lítel adj little; asn lítel 720

lib m/n joint; gpl libo 876

líðe gentle; nsm - 148

lõoian wkv 2 regard, look out; 3s pt lõcode 696

lof m/n praise; as - 897, 948

lofsang m song of praise, hymn; dpl lofsangum 863, 884

lufian wkv 2 love; 3pl pr ind lufiað 91; 3pl pt lufedon 146

gelufian : 3s pt gelufode 195

luflíce adv courteously; lúflíce 714

lufu f love; ns - 149, 898; as lufe 900; gs lufan 135, 554; ds lufan 118, 781; a/ds for lufan 803

lũtan stv 2 bow, fall down before one; 3s pt lẽat 701; 3pl pt luton 614

gelũtan : 3s pt gelẽat 687

lybban wkv 3 live, be alive; inf - 274, libban 495, lyfian 410; pp lifigende 818, 876, 885; dsm lifigendum 916; 1s pt leofode 803; 3s pt leofode 159, 494, 562; 1pl pt leofodon 599; 3pl pt leofodan 163, 283

gelỹfan wkv 1 believe; 3s pt gelỹfde 743

lyft f air, sky; as - 399; gs lyfte 340, 340, 375, 849; ds lyfte 275

mā n + g more; apl mā earfoða 291

mēden n maiden, girl; gpl mēdena 51

mæg, see magan

mēg m kinsman, relative; ds mēge 542; npl mēgas 567; gpl mēga 534; dpl magum 538

mægen n might, power, strength; ns - 104, mægn 383, 406, 448, 559; as mægen 379, mégen 243; ds mægene 378, mégne 891, mægne 379; apl mégen 158, mægn 541; dpl mægnum 545

mēgð f race, people; ds mēgða 934

mēre adj famous, illustrious; nsn mére 76; gsm þæs mēran 46; npl þā mēran 285; npln mēre 41

gemērsian wkv 2 extend; pp gemērsod 543

mæsse f mass; as méssan 784; a/ds ār ... mæssan 705

mæsseprēost m priest; ds mæsseprēoste 687; npl mæsseprēostas 539; gpl mæsseprēosta 872

magan pt prs v may; 1s pr ind mæg 414, 670, 675, 774; 3s pr ind - 217, 497; 1s pt mihte 44, 177; 3s pt - 94, 181, 188, 253, 274, 374, 421, 532, 640, 647, 791, 857, 899, 945; 3pl pt mihton 16, 40, 103, 366, 474, 540, 548, 585, 882

mēgister m ruler; gs mēgistres 152

man m man; - 14, 47, 68, 179, 181, 188, 455, 495, 501, 525, 550, 560, 716, 890, 893, 898, 933, mon 88; as man 296, 422, 547, 556, 646, 663; gs mannes 470, 662, 676, 678, 941; ds men 550, 568, 649, 822, 826, 877; npl men 56, 59, 62, 69, 74, 102, 180, 187, 229, 378, 517, 616, 618, 629, 653; apl men 2, 535, 543; gpl manna 97, 350, 427, 497, 533, 623, 675, 675, 868; dpl mannum 58, 67, 110, 112, 476, 518, 519, 573, 724, 866 (MS manna)

man indef pron one, people; - 185, 205, 641, 710, 720, 806, 899, 937, mon 77

mān n crime, perjury; as mán 598

mancynn n mankind; gs mancynnes 241

mānful adj evil, vile; gsn þæs mánfullan 120; apl þā mánfullan 426

manian wkv 2 advise, admonish; pp manod 111, 937; 1s pr ind manige 24

manig, see menig

manigfeald adj manifold, various; as/pln menigfeald 109; ism menigfealde 279; apln manigfeald 177; dpl manigfealdum 180, 351, 889, manigfealdan 171

manigfealdlīc adj manifold, various; aplf manigfealdlīce 88

manung f advice, warning; a/ds mid his manunge 609

mē, see ic

medmycel adj moderate, little; a/dsm tō médmycclan biglēofan 306

mengan wkv 1 stir up, disturb; 3s pt mengde 412

menig adj many, many a; dsf manigre 317 (N); nplm manige 38, 170, 629, 673, menige 17?; aplm menige 14, manige 536; aplf menige 83; apln manig 610, 914, menig 117; dpl manigum 58, 390, 484, 674, 868, menigum 540, 624

menigfeald, see manigfeald

menigo f many, multitude; ns - 533; npl meniu 314

mennisc adj human; nsm sē mennisce 728; asf þā menniscan 244

mere m lake, pool; ds - 468, 469

mergen m morning; a/ds on mergen 201, 379, 551, 835

mergendæg m morrow, next day; gs mergendæges 125

mētan wkv 1 meet, come upon, find; 2s pr ind mētest 465;

gemētan : 3s pt gemētte 174, 790; 3pl pt gemētton 862, 874

mete m food; as - 300; ds - 841

mettrumnysse f infirmity, ill-health; ns - 769; gs - 773, 788; ds - 784

mid adv with; - 459, 536

mid prep with, according to; - + d 3, 3, 15, 18, 26, 38, 44, 54, 56, 61, 83, 85, 91, 117, 118, 123, 133, 152, 171, 174, 191, 193, 202, 203, 209, 210, 213, 221, 240, 246, 254, 255, 268, 271, 278, 285, 309, 334, 336, 338, 350, 353, 361, 364, 373, 390, 390, 396, 397, 398, 411, 431, 439, 445, 512, 513, 518, 529, 530, 530, 531, 537, 542, 550, 552, 569, 570, 589, 605, 608, 611, 623, 639, 646, 651, 656, 661, 679, 694, 738, 756, 760, 763, 776, 776, 801, 803, 806, 815, 823, 829, 833, 845, 850, 852, 856, 863, 881, 883, 884, 888, 891, 910, 919, 935, 945; - + a 65, 662, 685, 813, 841 (N); - + i 369, 393, 553, 683, 920; - + a/d dymnysse bȳstro 19, gecyrrednysse 84, sige 84, godes ege 117, godes gife 151, ormōdnysse 253, manigfealde cræfte 278, heora cyme 315, lēge 320, smyltnysse 372, heora hīwunge 443, gyrde 515, ār-fæstnysse 526, mildheortnysse 555, mlaδ 753, his lāre 608, 787, his manunge 608, inc 613, īdelnysse 723, ādle 753, bē 811, gefēan 7 blisse 843, swētnysse 862, arwurδnysse 865, unrōtnysse 907, flēo 934, dimnesse 934

in prep formulae; adv then; mid þan 244, 535, 559

adv when; mid þām þe 182, mid þan þe 220, mid þȳ 119

conj when; Mid þan 581, mid þām þe 115, 175, mid þan þe 832, mid þȳ 161, 752

correl when .... then; mid þan ... þā 172/4, 663/4; Mid þan .... þā 788/90, 857/8; Mid þan .. Þā 921/2; Mid þan þe ... þā 484, 592/3; mid þan þe ... þā 519/20, 636/7; Mid þan þe ... Þā 609/10; mid þām þe .... þonne 89, 93/4; Mid þām ... þonne 249/52; mid þan þæt .... þa 629/30
Mid þȳ ... þā 126/7, 243/4, 331/2, 404/6, 456/7, 467, 526/7, 640/1, 677/9, 729/30, 830/1; Mid þȳ .... Þā 356/7, 375/6, 868/9, 935/6; mid þȳ ... þā 149/50, 382/3; mid þȳ .... Þā 273/4

correl when ... then ... then; mid þām þe ... þā ... þā 130/1; mid þām þe ... Þā .... þā 153/4/6; Mid þan þe .... þā ... þā 788/90; Mid þan .... Þa .... þā 713/4/5; mid þȳ ... þā .... þā 177/8/9, 593/4/5; Mid þȳ ... þā ... þā 761/2, 913/4/5; mid þȳ þe ... þa ... Þa 197/8/9

midd adj middle, middle of; dsm **middum** 544, 848; dsf **midre** 686

middaneard m world, earth; gs **middaneardes** 12, 115, 284, 297, 427; ds **middaneardе** 68, 799

miht f might, power; ns - 354, **bīn miht** 448; as - 386, 676, 677; ds **mihte** 668, 674; npl **mihte** 216

mildheortnysse f compassion; ns - 473, **mildheortnes** 898; gs **mildheortnysse** 216; a/ds **mid mildheortnysse** 555

miltse f favour, blessing; as **miltse** 702

gemiltsian wkv 2 show mercy, comfort; 1s pt **gemiltsode** 732; 3s pt - 733

mīn poss adj my, mine; nsm - 30, 303, 423, 731, **mín** 768, 796, 808, 825, **MÍn** 259, 778, 816, 836, **MÍn** 911; nsf **mín** 797: asm **mīnne** 801; asf **mīne** 925; gsm **mīnes** 361; gsf **mīnre** 771, 773, **mínre** 821; gsn **mínes** 823; dsm **mīnum** 1, 779; dsf **mīnre** 259, 798, 826; nplm **mīne** 302; aplm **mīne** 39; aplf **mīne** 911; apln **mín** 797, **mín** 825; gpl **mīnra** 44; dpl **mínum** 912, **mīnum** 261; as/plf **mīne bēne** 734

mín 359, see **ic**

†**miscrōcet** pte adj crooked; aplf **miscrōcet** 322 (N)

misdǣd f transgression; apl **misdǣda** 600

mislīc adj various; aplm **mistlīce** 98 (N); aplf **mislīce** 443; gpl **mislīcra** 437

missenlīc adj various, diverse; gsm **missenlīces** 616; dpl **missenlīcum** 390, 545, 623, 629

mōd n mind, wits; ns - 106, 247; as - 444, 870; gs **mōdes** 145, 764; ds **mōde** 100, 117, 147, 245, 250, 519, 651; **mōde** 255, 900, 917

mōnað m month; apl - 869, 873, **mōnð** 935; gpl **mōnða** 927

mōr m moor, bog; npl **mōras** 169

morgengebedtīd f morning prayer, matins; apl **morgengebedtída** 380

*mōtan pt prs v must; 3pl pr ind mōton 384; 3s pt mōste 166, 688, 711; 3pl pt mōston 578

gemunan pt prs v remember; inf - 40; 3s pt gemunde 104, 250; 3s pr sj gemune 10, 12

munuc m monk; npl munecas 285

munuchād m monastic life; ds munuchāde 160

munuclīf n monastic life; ds munuclīfe 142

mūþ m mouth; ds mūþe 257, 520, mūðe 336, 831, 896; apl mūðas 319

mycel adj much, great; nsm - 146, 229, 231; nsf - 780, 901, 533; nsn - 683; asf mycele 27, 780, miccle 65, mycecl 295; asn mycel 395, 636, miccle 106; gsm miccles 647; dsf mycelre 353, 776, 833, 850, 852, 856; dsn mycelum 866; nplf mycele 314; apl þā micclan 121; apln mycele 317, 322; as/pln mycele 49: gpv apl þā māran 251; dpl māran 334; spv as /pln mēst 50

mycele adv much; by far; - 877; swā - swā ... swā 290, swā - swā .... swā - 292 (459, 460 quanto ..... tanto)

mycelnysse f size, quantity; as micelnysse 351; gs mycelnysse 167

mynster n monastery; ds mynstre 140, 199, 201, 538, 605

gemyntan wkv 1 destine, intend; pp gemynt 740

nā adv not, never; - 12, 737, 778

nǣddre f adder, serpent; gpl nǣddrena 441

nǣfre adv never; - 132, nǣfre 188, 814, 896; nǣfre syþþan 561, syþþan nǣfre 571; nǣfre ǣr ne syþþan 787; nǣfre ǣr 810

nānig pron., adj not any, none; nsm - 181, 188 (MS menig), 325, 625, 626; nsf - 466, 510, 569, 646, nǣnig 516, 779, 939; asn nānig 567; gsf nǣnigre 142, 627; dsm nǣnigum 95, 817, nænigum 826, nānegum 822

næs, see under wesan

nāht, see nāwiht

nalæs adv not, not at all; nalæs þæt ..., ac 262; Swylce ēac ... nalæs þæt .... ac 886; nalæs þæt ān þæt ..... ac (ēac swylce) 135, 280, 432, 477, 531, 590, 618, 929

nama m name; ns - 78, 81, 82, 408, 483, 502, 525, 565, 631, 660, 663, 760; ds nama 168 (N), naman 450; a/ds for godes naman 162

f name; as burh þā hālgan naman 710

nān adj not any, none; nsm - 898; nsf - 438; asf nāne 385

nāt 813, see witan

nāðor conj neither; nāðor ne ... ne 233, nāðer þāra ne ... ne 640 'neither ... nor'

nāwiht adv not, not at all; - 94, 936, nāht 168, 881

nāwiht n nought, nothing; as - 237

ne adv not; - 9, 11, 16, 19, 24, 35, 98, 133, 181, 188, 237, 268, 294, 335, 337, 366, 384, 464, 497, 540, 562, 567, 571, 585, 612, 626, 627, 647, 737, 778, 778, 787, 791, 814, 822, 826, 857, 882, 923, 926, 936; Ne 39, 492; pleonastic ne .. ne 374

ne conj neither, not; - 94, 95, 96, 97, 97, 98, 280, 626, 897, 897, 898, 898, Ne 96, 385; nāðor ne ... ne 233/4; nāðer þāra ne .. né 640; nǣfre ǣr ne syþþan 787

nēah prep near; + a/d - 468; + d - 549, postp + d - 796; cpv postp + a nēar 494, 496; spv + a/d nēhst 758

nēah adv near; spv 'then next', 'at length' þā .. æt nēxtan 538, 541, þā .. æt nēxtan 543, þā æt nēxtan 918

nebb n beak, nose; face; ds nebbe 512; as/pl nebb 319 (H)

†nēhfrēond m relation; gpl nēhfrēonda 534

nēhþēod f neighbouring people; ds nēhþēode 619 (MS hehþeode)

nemnan wkv 1 name, call; pp genemnede 49, genemned 80; nemned 168

nēod f/n necessity; ns - 578; ds nēode 16

genēosian wkv 2 visit, seek; inf - 632, 790

neoðan adv beneath; - 316

nēxtan, see nēah

nigon odl num nine; ymbe nigon winter 113

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

nihtlīe adj evening; nsf sēo nihtlīce 915; dpl nihtlīcum 832

nīwnys f newness; ds nīwnysse 878

norðdǣl m northern part; as norðdǣl 341

norðsǣ f northern sea; as on norðsǣ 174

nū adv now; - 27, 279, 281, 384, 415, 448, 699, 796, 803, 819, 837, 888, 913, NŪ 226; with weakened temporal sense nū 215, 698, 825, Nū þonne 450, nū ðā 765

nū conj now that; - 808 (1131 quia)

nȳdþearf f necessary business; dpl nȳdþearfum 596

nyman stv 4 take, seize, carry; inf tō nymanne 51; pp numene 622; 3s pr ind nymð 746; 3s pt nam 118, 211

genymen ; pp gemunen 538; 3s pt genam 459, 535, 934, Genam 555; 3pl pt genāmon 338; 3s pt sj genǣme 409

nyste, nyston, ayton, see witan

genyberian wkv 2 bring low, humble; 3s pr ind genyberað 739

nȳwe adj new; gsn nȳwes 765

of prep from, out of; + d - 55, 57, 66, 79, 79, 106, 110, 116, 221, 223, 236, 245, 275, 333, 377, 378, 394, 515, 520, 528, 560, 581, 605, 618, 649, 675, 682, 750, 759, 763, 771, 797, 811, 816, 829, 830, 846, 858; + a/d geweorde 78, þē 287, 425, handa 480, bogan 648, hēannysse 451; ūt of + d 327, 511, + a/d ūt of his cyrcan 462

ofādrifan stv 1 drive out, expel; inf - 541

ofāslēan stv 6 slay; 3pl pt ofāslōgon 287

ofāniman stv 4 take away; pp ofāmumene 744

ofer prep over, above; + a - 2, 75, 515, 633, 639 (N); + a/d - eorðan 229

oferdrync m drunkenness; ds oferdrynce 589

ofergān anom v cover; pp ofergān 935

oferhergian wkv 2 lay waste, ravage; 3s pt oferhergode 109

oferlīþan stv 1 cross, sail across; 1s pr ind oferlīðe 27

ofersēon stv 5 see, observe; 3pl pt ofersāwon 39

oferswīðan wkv 1 overcome, conquer; pp oferswīðde 310, oferswȳbed 386, 406

offrian wkv 2 offer, offer in sacrifice; 3s pt offrode 785

oflystan wkv 1 fervently desire; pp oflysted 418

ofslēan stv 6 slay, kill; 1s pr ind ofslēa 414; 3s pt ofslōh 536; 3s pt sj ofslōge 413

oft adv often; - 22, 98, 179

ōlēcung f flattery, fawning; apl ōlēcunge 97

on prep on, into; + a - 75, 82, 87, 139, 162, 172, 184, 193, 205, 213, 259, 272, 273, 292, 312, 326, 328, 328, 336, 354, 360, 378, 378, 388, 395, 399, 453, 457, 459, 475, 486, 488, 488, 488, 544, 550, 551, 564, 578, 604, 615, 619, 633, 634, 638, 645, 649, 650, 704, 720, 742, 752, 801, 806, 812, 812, 820, 837, 852, 870, 942, 945, 949; + d - 11, 14, 20, 21, 21, 32, 45, 47, 47, 51, 57, 68, 81, 81, 88, 95, 100, 101, 101,

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on adv on; bār .. on 638 'thereon'; bār .. on 'whereon' 505, 908; þe .. on 'on which' 36, 550; on hinder 'behind' 302

onbærnan wkv 1 kindle, light; 2s pt onbærndest 355

onbyrgan wkv 1 taste, partake of; 3s pt onbyrigde 237

onbīdan stv 1 + g taste; inf onbīdan 143

onbrēdan stv 3 start, rise up; 3s pt onbrēd 393

onbryrdan wkv 1 incite, inspire; pp onbryrd 118, onbryrded 124, onbryrdod 163

oncnāwan stv 7 know; 1s pr ind oncnāwe 303; 3s pt oncnēow 396, 946

oncyrran wkv 1 turn away, change; pp oncyrred 106, 337

ondrēdan stv 7 fear; inf ondrēdan 924 (reflexive)

ondreneam wkv 1 drink; pp ondrenete 589

onfindan stv 3 come across, find; 3s pr sj onfinde 9

onfōn stv 7 take, accept, receive; pp onfangen 593; 3s pr ind + d onfēhð 90; 3s pt onfēnge 85, onfēng 140, 524, 714, + d 830; 3s pt sj onfēngee 688, + d 938

ongēan adv again, back; - 460

ongēan prep towards, against; postp + d - 343, 356

ongenēman wkv 1 take; 3s pt ongenēmde 113

onginn n undertaking; ds onginne 248

onginnan stv 3 undertake, begin; 1s pr ind ONGINNE 226; 3s pr ind onginneð 167; 3s pt ongan 156, 160, 193, 237, 240, 249, 776, 785, Ongan 587; 3pl pt ongunnon 180, 664

ongitan stv 5 perceive, realise; inf - 61, 676, ongytan 900; 1s pr ind ongite 303, 809; 1s pt ongeat 760; 3s pt ongeat 306, 396, 399, 429, 754; 3pl pt ongēatom 145, ongēaton 308, 406, 600

ongitenysse f meaning; ns - 771 (cf. Vita 1095 causam)

ongristlīc adj horrible, dreadful; nplm ongristlīce 321

†ongryrlīc adj horrible; dpl þām ongrylīcan 339

onhyldan wkv 1 bow, bend; 3s pt onhylde 828

onlīhtan wkv 1 illumine; pp onlīhtod 266

onmiddan prep in the middle of, amidst; + d - 186, 375, 469

onsecgan wkv 3 sacrifice, offer; 3s pt onsægde 784

onsendan wkv 1 send out, send; 3s pt onsende 802, 869

onwacan stv 6 awake; 3s pt sj onwōce 106

onwendan wkv 1 change; pp onwende 744

onwrēon stv 1/2 reveal, show; inf - 819; 3s pt onwrēah 587

openian wkv 2 open, disclose; 3pl pr ind openað 356; 3s pt openode 822

geopenian:: 3s pt geopenode 824

openlīce adv plainly; - 866

ord m point; dpl ordum 398

orfyrne adj foul, filthy; nplm - 318

ormōde adj immense, large; adv dpl ormōdum 851 (M)

ormōdnysse f despair; ds - 254; a/ds - 253

orð n breath; as - 763, 816, 829; ds þām orð 830

orweht adj foul, filthy; apl þā orwehtan 329 (M)

oð prep until, to; + a - 53, 639, 834

oþ hwæt prep formulae; until; - 185

ōðer pron other; dsm þæm ōðrum 946; nplm ōðre 38; aplm ōþre 536, 630, þā ōðre 664; aplm ōþer 914; gpl ōþra 534; dpl ōþrum 24, 847, þām ōðrum 35

ōðer adj other, another; nsm ōþer 585; asm ōðerne 128, 578, ōþerne 945; asn þæt ōþer 945; dsm ōþrum 826; aplm ōðre 2; dpl ōþrum 622; a/dsf ōþre 230, 884, ōðre 871

oþþe conj or; - 32, 334, 700, 768; oþþe .. oþþe 'either ... or' 95/6, 294/5; āþer oþþe ... oðþe ... oþþe 621/2 'either .. or'

prēost m priest; ns - 408, 416, 699; gs prēostes 411; ds prēoste 407

gerǣcan wkv 1 reach; 3s pt gerǣhte 516

rædlīcnysse 66, see hrædlīcnys

rǣde adv quickly, soon; rǣde sybban 144

*rǣxan wkv 1 stretch oneself, yawn, sigh; pr pte rǣxende 560 (N)

rēad adj red; dsn þām rēadan 57

rēaf n garment; as - 645 (N)

reccan wkv 1 unfold, unravel; 3s pt rehte 730

gereccan : 3s pt gerehte 592, 730

rest f rest, place of rest; ds reste 751

restan wkv 1 rest; inf - 300; 3s pr ind resteþ 890; 3s pt reste 116, 298

rēþe adj cruel, dread; dpl þām rēðum 330

rēðelīc adj cruel, deadly; apln rēðelīce ēagan 319

rēþnysse f fiercenes; a/ds for his rēþnysse 514

rīce adj mighty, rich; nsm sē rīca 745; npln rīce 618

rīce n power, kingdom; ns - 11 (N); rīce 743; as rīce 3, þæt - 740, þæt - 929, rīce 734, þæt rīce 738, þīn rīce 739; gs rīces 751, 755, 848, 928 (MS rīce); a/ds on þære hēahþēode myrcna rīce 47, on myrcna rīce 501, of þære hēahþēode merena rīce 619, tō heofona rīce 839

riht n right, justice; ds rihte 3

riht adj true, direct; as þone rihtan 4; spv dsm þan rihtestan 175

rihtgelȳfende pte adj orthodox, believing rightly, faithful; dsm RIHTGELYFENDVM 1 (N)

rōd f cross; as rōde 58; gs rōde 127, rōde 445; ds rōde 61

rōmanīsc adj Latin; as rōmānisc 82 (N)

rōwan stv 7 row; imper s rōw 465; 3s pt rēow 467

rūh adj rough, shaggy; apln rūge ðaran 318; apl þā rūgan fennas 185

rūm adj roomy, open; asm rūmne 35

rūmnes f breadth, abundance; ns - 780

sācerdlīce adj priestly; asf sācerdlīce 688

sǣ f sea; ns sǣ 27 (N)

sǣl m time, occasion; as - 273, 564, 604, 752, sǣl 312

semninga, see semninga

samod adv together; - 53, 879

sang m song, singing; as - 486, 487; apl sangas 98, 849

sār n pain, suffering; ns sār 650; as þæt sār 648; gs sāres 653; ds sāre 639; dpl sārum 623

gesārian wkv 2 wound; 3s pt gesārode 536

sārig adj sorrowful; nsm - 464; asm - 463 (N)

sārlīc adj sad, grievous; asm sārlīcne 120

sārlīce adv painfully; swā - 639

sāwl f soul; ns - 797, sāwul 805; apl sāwla 350

sceal, scealt, see sculan

sceanca m shank; apl sceancan 321

sceapen, see scyppan

scearpnys f sharpness; a/ds on his scearpnysse 99

scearu f tonsure; as sceare 140; ds sceare 142

scēawian wkv 2 behold; 3s pt scēawode 264

scēofan stv 2 shove, thrust; inf - 363, to scēofanne 354

sceotian wkv 2 shoot, hurl; 3s pt sceotode 215

sceðnys f hurt, injury; a/ds būtan sceðnysse 652

scīma m splendour, light; ns - 101, 848

scīnan stv 1 shine; pr pte scīnende 102, 365, 681; 3s pt scēan 868; 3pl pt scinon 675

scip n ship, boat; as - 184, 852; ds scipe 374, 466, 503, 506, 508, 510

scolu f troop, host; as scole 107

scotung f missile; dpl scotungum 210

sculan pt prs v shall, be obliged to; auxiliary use 3s pr ind sceal 288, 809; 3s pr ind sceal 294, 771, 838; 2pl pr ind sceolon 361; 3s pt scolde 55, 63, 64, 540, 694, 712, 713, 715, 718; 3pl pt sceoldon 540

sculdor m shoulder; apl sculdra 487

scunian wkv 2 shun; 3s pt scunode 727

scyld m shield; as - 211; ds scylde 445

gescyldan wkv 1 shield, protect; 3s pt gescylde 211

scyndan wkv 1 hurry; inf - 123; 3pl pt scyndon 621

scyppan stv 6 form, make; pp sceapen 78

scyppend m creator; ns - 303

scyran stv 4 cut hair, shave, tonsure; inf - 417

scȳte f sheet; as scȳtan 709; ds scȳtan 802; a/ds on ōbre scȳtan 884 (N)

sē, sēo, þæt def art., dem pron the, that; (1) attrib. nsm sē 22, 32, 54, 81, 82, 101, 114, 172, 182, 189, 190, 204, 205, 208, 217, 218, 231, 241, 246, 254, 261, 264, 267, 270, 284, 300, 304, 310, 331, 351, 364, 364, 368, 370, 392, 399, 404, 410, 412, 416, 432, 436, 444, 459, 462, 464, 467, 472, 491, 495, 504, 507, 513, 514, 518, 521, 528, 529, 544, 550, 553, 560, 571 (N), 579, 580, 592, 610, 624, 634, 634, 637, 638, 648, 650, 662, 670, 685, 693, 699, 702, 716, 719, 720, 725, 726, 728, 729, 743, 744, 745, 745, 745, 746, 748, 770, 772, 773, 775, 777, 781, 781, 783, 783, 788, 794, 805, 807, 808, 815, 832, 835, 838, 844, 851, 853, 854, 864, 867, 885, 889, 890, 904, 942, sē 893, þē 678, 788 (N); nsf sēo 27, 72, 93, 149, 253, 469, 562, 570, 571, 680, 707, 761, 769, 805, 830, 834, 838, 848, 865, 873, 882, 888, 915, sē 757 (N), þē 12 (N), 453, 557, sēo 61; nsn þæt 54, 59, 64, 66, 71, 186,

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dpl hām 15, 35, 46, 67, 112, 131, 161, 165,
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(2) subst. nsf sēo 57; nsn hæt 20, 70,
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308, 309, 334, 409, 425, 475, 640, 668,
684, 691, 882; gsn hes 281, 578, 579;
dsn hām 511; ism han 535; isn hon 654,
804; apl hā 217, 306, 581, 607, 679, 739

(3) relative: nsm sē 47, 451, 483, 821;
nsf sēo 52; nsn hæt 134, 167, 545 (N);
asm hone 218, 760; asf hā 885; asn hæt
134, 179, 355, 892; gsn hes 408, 482,
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gen <u>bæs</u> 281, 847; dsm <u>bām</u> 699; npl <u>bā</u> 285, 286, 822; apl <u>bā</u> 822

(4) rel + <u>bē</u>: nsm <u>sē be</u> 88, 493, 496, 719, 891; gsm <u>bæs be</u> 579, 691; dsm <u>bām be</u> 299, 523; npl <u>bā be</u> 140, 227, 619, 621, 735; dpl <u>bām be</u> 91, 95

(5) rel + <u>ylca</u>: asm <u>bone ylcan</u> 230 (MS <u>bonne</u>); ism <u>bȳ ylcan</u> 168 (N)

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

(7) adv use of ism <u>bȳ</u>: intens adv <u>bȳg</u> 34, <u>bē</u> 299, 494, 496; conj use of <u>bȳ</u> 'because' 144; conj <u>bȳ lǣs</u> 'in case' 25; see also <u>for bȳg be</u>, <u>mid bȳ</u>, <u>mid bȳ be</u>

(8) use of dsm <u>bām</u> and ism <u>bon</u> in adverbs and prep formulae: <u>tō bon</u> 'thereupon' 511, 569, 646 and dsm <u>tō bām</u> 516; <u>Ēac bon</u> 'moreover' 571 (N); <u>after bon</u> 'then' 337, <u>after bon</u> 261, 329, 339, 397, 398, 453, 486, 749, 793, 842, <u>after bām</u> 370, 860; for prep formulae see under <u>after</u>, <u>be</u>, <u>for mid</u>, <u>ǣr</u>, <u>tō</u>

(9) other parts used in prep formulae: asf <u>bē</u>, see under <u>hwīl</u>; gpl <u>bāra</u>, see under <u>ǣgðer</u>, <u>nāðor</u>; n/asn <u>bæt</u>, see under <u>nales</u>

<u>sealf</u> f salve, ointment; dpl <u>sealfum</u> 935

<u>sealm</u> m psalm, song; as - 241, 402; apl <u>sealmas</u> 150, 154; gs <u>sealmes</u> 403

<u>sealmsang</u> m psalmody; gs <u>sealmsanges</u> 214 (N)

<u>sealt</u> n salt; gs <u>saltes</u> 943

<u>searu</u> n wile, art; gs <u>searwes</u> 411

<u>sōað</u> m hole, well; ds <u>sēaðe</u> 231

<u>sēcan</u> wkv 1 seek, look for; 3s pt <u>sōhte</u> 195, 208; 3pl pt <u>sōhton</u> 616, 618

<u>gesēcan</u> : 3s pr ind <u>gesēceð</u> 891

secgan wkv 3 say, tell, relate; inf - 161, 227, 282, 538, 818, **tō secganne** 822; pp **gesǣd** 13, **gesǣde** 659; 1s pr ind **secge** 228; 3pl pr ind **secgaþ** 81; 1s pt **sǣde** 29, 693, **sǽde** 696; 3s pt **sǣde** 129, 602, 641, 642, **sǽde** 179, 472, 590, 683, 854, 859; 3pl pt **sǣdon** 31, 178, 578, **sǽdon** 38, 520, 554, 666, 666; 2s pr sj **secge** 798, 810, 826

sellan wkv 1 give; pp **seald** 658, **geseald** 354; 3s pr ind **sylþ** 734; 3s pt **sealde** 359, 476, 480, 522, 703, 909

semninga adv suddenly; - 19, 314; **bā -** 244, 685, **þā -** 363; **bā .. -** 111, 753, 906, **þā .. -** 275; **bā semninga** 55; **bā .. semninga** 393, 485, **þā .. sæmninga** 123

sendan wkv 1 send, lay; inf **tō sendanne** 360; pp **sended** 754; 3s pt **sende** 708, 759, 804, 821, 886; 3pl pt **sendon** 279

gesendan : 3s pr **gesend** 5; 3s pt **gesende** 413, 711

sēcc adj ill; ism **þan sēccan** 550

seofon edl num seven; + apl - 756; + gpl **- nihta** 296

seofoða ord num seventh; nsm **þē seofoða dæg** 788 (N); dsm **þām seofoþan** 298, **þȳ seofoðan** 300

gesēon stv 5 see, behold; inf - 60, 102, 422, **gesēon** 799, 946; pp **gesegen** used with **is** 'seem' 782 (N), 902; 1s pr ind **gesēo** 425, 809; 1s pt **geseah** 673, 675; 3s pt **geseh** 122, **geseah** 122, 263, 341, 342, 346, 352, 369, 381, 397, 419, 438, 439, 459, 460, 463, 697, 764, 792, 833, 845, 846, 882, 898, 920, 922; 3pl pt **gesāwon** 56, 60, 62, 102, 879, 880, **gesǣwon** 800, **gesēgon** 511

september m September; gs **septembres** 204

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

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

gesettan set down, ordain, place; inf - 871; 1s pt **gesette** 6, 44, 45; 3s pt **gesette** 4, 139

801; 3pl pt gesettom 888; pp gesette 15, geseted 186

sibbe 900, see syb

sīde f side; ds sīdan 230

sige m victory, triumph; a/ds mid sige 84

sigefæst adj triumphant; nsm sē sigefæsta 890

singallīce adv constantly; - 556, ā - 214

singan stv 3 sing; 3s pt sang 241, 258, 402, 403, sáng 784; 3pl pt sungon 377, 481

sīð m journey; as - 588, 635, 837, sīþ 590

sīþ m time; d(i)s sīþe 482, 500, 527, 575, 659, 707, sīþe 533

sīþfæt n time; ds sīðfate 103

sittan stv 5 sit, sit down, continue; 3pl pt sæton 481, 491, 696

gesittan : inf - 640; 3s pt gesæt 233, Gesæt 209 (N)

six odl num six; on - dagum 297; burh - daga fæsten 299; - twentig 208

sixta ord num sixth; def bēre sixtan 789

slēp m sleep; ds slēpe 106, 262, 393, 394, 919, slāpe 560

slēpende pte adj sleeping; dsm slāpendum 877

slēan stv 6 slay, strike; pp geslégen 852, geslégene 881; 3s pt slōh 110; 3pl pt slōgon 517, 552

*slēfan wkv 1 slip on; 3s pt slēfde 645 (N)

slīdan stv 1 glide; inf - 275

smēan wkv 2 consider, discuss; 3s pt + g smēade 274; 3pl pt smēadon 484, 686

smēaung f thought, meditation; apl smēaunge 427

smercian wkv 2 smile; inf tō smerciende 521

smīc m smoke; ns - 304, 387; gs smȳces 346

smylte adj calm, quiet; spv dsf **bære smyltestan** 28

smyltnys f tranquillity, peace; ds **smyltnysse** 373; a/ds **mid** – 372

snyttro f wisdom, prudence; ns – 901; gs – 684 (N)

gesomnian wkv 2 gather together; 3s pt **gesomnode** 106

sōna adv soon, at once; – 183, 190, 265, 301, 353, 459, 521, 651, 753, 852, 883, **hā** – 174, 184, 210, 264, 304, 326, 343, 344, 347, 349, 362, 394, 401, 419, 431, 432, 504, 513, 517, 553, 555, 644, 648, 650, 690, 700, 702, 717, 741, 856; **– hā** 470; **hā .. –** 399, 461, 555, **þā .. –** 164; **þā sōna efter bon** 397, **hā sōna efter bon** 452, **þā wæs sōna efter bon bæt** 261; in correl. **þā .. sōna ... sōna** 429/30; **þā sōna þæs be ... hā** 568, **Sōna þæs be ... hā** 239; **sōna fram fruman ..... hā** 232; **Sōna swā ..... hā** 459/60, **sōna swā ..... hā** 403/4, 458/9; conj **hā sōna hā** 'as soon as' 546; **tō þam sōna swā** 'without delay' 511, 569, **tō þæm sōna swā** 646, **tō þām sōna** 516

sorg f care, grief; dpl **sorgum** 623

sorhful adj sorrowful; asm **sorhfulne** 814

sorhgian wkv 2 grieve; 3pl pt **sorhgedon** 309

spræc 519, see **sprecan**

spǣce 727, see **sprǣc**

spellung f tale, conversation; apl **spellunge** 97

spere n spear; gpl **spera** 398; dpl **sperum** 399

sprǣc f speech, conversation; as **sprǣce** 385, 497; gs **sprǣce** 497; ds **sprǣce** 580, 661, 686, **sprǣce** 678, 682, **spǣce** 727 (N); a/ds **tō..sprǣce** 456, 502; dpl **sprǣcum** 823

sprecan stv 5 speak, talk, discuss; inf – 93, 792, 812, 881; pr pte **sprecende** 395, 808; 3s pt **sprǣc** 652, 828, 840, **sprǽc** 914, **spræc** 519 (N); 3pl pt **sprǣcon** 69, 388, 507, 583, 592, 600, 610, **sprǽcon** 276, 668, 670

gesprecan : 3pl pt **gesprǣcon** 940; 2s pr sj **gesprece** 827

stæf m letter; apl stafas 150; dpl stafum 15

standan stv 6 stand, remain, stop; inf - 381, 640, 923; 3s pr ind standeð 81

gestandan : inf - 333; pp gestanden 753; 3s pt gestōd 757, 762

stabolfæst adj stationary; aplm stabolfeste 67

stefn f voice, sound; gs stefne 222; ds stefne 309; dpl stefnum 323, 325; a/ds on stefne 321

stenc m smell, scent; ns - 831; gs stences 851

gestīgan stv 1 descend, lower oneself; 2s pr ind gestīhst 293

stihtung f dispensation, providence; ns - 547; as stihtunge 72; ds stihtunge 80, 193

gestillan wkv 1 cease; 2s pr sj gestille 452

stilnysse f stillness, silence; a/ds stilnysse 313

sting m stab, prick; ns - 634

gestīðian wkv 2 become hard, strengthen; 3s pt gestīðode 104

stōw f place; ns - 888; as stōwe 174, 183, 414, 719, 861, 891; gs stōwe 196, stówe 713, 715; ds stōwe 185, 198, 203, 206, 372, 853, 887, 907, stówe 225, 937; dpl stōwum 330

strēl m/f arrow, shaft; ns gē .. strēl 253, strēl 648; as strēale 245; ds bōre .. strēale 247; apl strēle 401; dpl strēlum 214

strang adj strong, mighty; nsm - 634, gē strange 399, 746; nsf sēo strange 27 (H); apl bā strangan 105

strangian wkv 2 strengthen, comfort; pp gestrangod 191; 3s pt strangode 268

styrian wkv 1 move, stir up; pp gestyred 907; 3s pt styrede 835

sum adj some, a certain; nsm - 46, 178, 228, 408, 455, 458, 482, 501, 525, 545, 575, 660, 759, 933; nsf - 766; nsn - 65, 469, 535; nsm/n - fenn 167; asm sumne 273, 312, 564, 604, 633, 663, 752; asf sume 115; asn sum 179, 456; gsf sumre 589; dsm sumum

488, 711; dsf sumre 391, 724, sumere 436, 455; dsn sumum 549, 604, 915; ism sume 240, 416, 482, 500, 527, 533, 575, 659, 707; nplm Sume hīg 71, Sume hī 666, sume hī 667

sundorsetl n solitude, hermitage; ds sundorsetle 207; dpl sundorsetlum 162; sundersetle 160 (M)

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

swā adv so, thus, in such a way; - 99, 112, 132, 159, 514, 531, 548, 597, 695, swā 85, 184, 228, 235, 249, 332, 373, 373, 537, 597, 695; ðæs swā 478, ðæs swā 718; intens adv 'so' swā 80, 405, 491, 573, 634, 643, 646, 658, 780, 780, 895, swā 64, 144, 186, 295, 310, 323, 324, 532, 587, 764, 868, 901, eft swā 25; swā swīþe 215, swā swyðe 529, 681, 786, swā swyðe 881, swā swyðe 102, swā swyðe 124, 135

(2) conj so, thus; swā 79, 105, 420, 480, 508, 560, 573, 586, 587, 602, 658, 696, 854, 864, 875, swā 43, 80, 99, 242, 417, 422, 693, 720, 824, 831, swā swā 27, 226, 404, 415, swā swā 35; efne swā 242, 470, efne swā 257, 304, 387, efne swā swā 660, efne swā swā .... swā 'even as .... so' 648/9; sōna swā .... þā 'as soon as .... then' 403/4, 458/9, Sōna swā .... þā 459/60; Swā ..... Swā þonne 'as ... so then' 296/8, Swā .... Swā þonne 217/22, swā .... swā .. þonne 464/5; swā mycele swā .... swā 'so much as ... so' 289/90, swā mycele swā ... swā mycele 291/2

(3) gen rel who, which; swā ?14, 16, 30, 133; swā hwæt swā 'whatsoever' 474, 684, swā hwylone swā 532, swā hwæt swā .... swā 'whatsoever .... so' 681/2; tō þan sōna swā 'when' 511, 569, tō þon sōna swā 646

swalewe f swallow; npl swalawan 481; apl swalewan 485

sweart adj black, dark; nsm sweart 169; asm þone sweartan 328; gsf þāre sweartan 347, 366; isn þan swearten 512; dpl þām sweartum 345; spv dpl þām sweartestan 341

swebban wkv 1 send to sleep, lull; pp swefed 393

swēg n sound; ds swēge 222

sweltan stv 3 die; 3s pt sj swulte 794

swenċan wkv 1 harass, afflict; inf - 280, 334; 3s pt swenċte 529, 793; 3pl pt swenċton 332

geswenċan : pp geswenċed 90, 537, 639, 756, geswenċte 596, 662; 3pl pt geswenċton 391

swēora n neck; as swēoran 317

sweord n sword; ns - 735

swerian stv 6 swear; 2pl pr ind sweriað 598; 3pl pt swōron 597

swētnys f fragrance, sweetness; ns - 830, 900; gs swētnysse 680; ds swētnysse 850; a/ds mid ... swētnysse 862

swingan stv 3 flog, scourge; 2s pr ind swinġst 290 (N); 3pl pt swungon 338

swipa/swipe m/f lash, whip; dpl swipum 338

swīðe adv very, greatly; - 597, swȳðe 613, swȳþe 382, 775, 792; swā swīðe 215, swā swȳþe 135, 566; intens use swīðe 41, 248, 370, 537, 683, 880, swȳþe 74, 130, 264, 796, swȳðe 187, 352, 418, 461, 596, 754, swā - 681, swā - 102; swȳþe 131, 187, swā - 592, 681, 786, swā - 124; cpv adv swȳþor 290, swȳþor 542

swīðlīċ adj very great; gpl swīðlīcra bōostra 342

swōretung f deep breath, gasping; as swōretunge 858; ds - 763, 815, 829

swustor f sister; ds - 798, 826

geswutelian wkv 2 make clear, manifest; inf - 63

swutelīċor cpv adv more clearly; - 60

swylċ pron such; asn - 236, 787

adv likewise; - 188

swylċe adv likewise; - 895; ðæs - 285, 421, ĒAC SWYLCE 604; swylċe ðæs 170, 283, 877, Swilce ðæs 37,

564, Swylce ðæc 311, 500, 653, 707, 273, Swylce .. ðæc 516, 656, 723, Swylce ðæc 440, 441

in prep formulae : (nales þæt ān þæt) .... ac ðæc swylce 433, 619, (nales þæt ān þæt) ... Ac ðæc swilce .... ge ðæc swilce 590/1; Swylce ðæc nalæs þæt .... ac 886

swyle m tumour, swelling; ns - 650

swȳn n pig; gs swȳnes 442

swytelīce adv clearly; - 56

swȳðe, swȳþor, swȳðor, see swīðe

swȳbra cpv adj stronger, right; asf þā swȳbran 336

syb f peace; ns - 898; as sibbe 900

sylf pron self; nsm hē sylfa 255, hū sylfa 355, god sylfa 820, him sylfa 252; gūðlāc ... sylf 944; nsf sēo sunne sylf 848; asm hē sylfne 18, hine sylfne 114, 127, 531, 644, 690, on god sylfne 272, 742; asf hā sylfan tīd 615, 650, 651; gs his sylfes 567; ds him sylf 107; npl hīg ... sylf 16, hīg sylfe 21, hī sylfe 367; apl hā sylfe 581, 679, þā sylfan 136, 591

symble adv always; - 912

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

synderlīce adv especially, extremely; intens use - 179

sybban adv afterwards, since; - 141, 326, 784, hā - 202, næfre - 561, - næfre 571, næfre ær ne - 787; conj - 867

tā f toe; apl tān 322

tācn n sign, prodigy; ns - 55, 64, 70; as tācen 60, 62; gs tācnes 73; ds tācne 74; apl Đās tācna 930; dpl tācnum 7, 674

(2) bell; as tācn 773, tācen 552 (M)

getācnian wkv 2 sign, mark; 3s pt getācnode 127

tācan wkv 1 show, present; 2s pr ind tāhtest 6 (MS ahtest); 1s pt tāhte 36, 188

getācan : 3s pt getāhte 183

tālan wkv 1 blame, reprove, censure; pp getāled 25; 2s pr sj tāle 24; 3s pr sj tāle 14

tālend m slanderer, backbiter; gpl tālendra 10, 18

tālnys f blame, censure; gs tālnysse 26

tēar m tear; dpl tēarum 431, 776, 910

tela intens adv very; - 295

geteohhian wkv 2 consider; pp geteohhod 741

teolian wkv 2 attend to, treat; 3pl pt teolodon 936

tēon stv 2 draw, lead; pp getogen 150; 3s pt tēah 764, 815, 829, 859; 3pl pt tugon 327

getēon wkv 2 appoint, assign; pp getȳd 153

teran stv 4 tear; inf - 512; 3s pt tær 533

tīd f time, hour; ns - 915, tíd 838; as tīd 194, 205, 615, tíd 650, tíde 704; ds tíde 236, 724, 789, 796, 811

tīma m time, hour; ns tíma 54; ds tīman 462

getimbrian wkv 2 construct, build; 3s pt getimbrode 232

tintrega/tintreg m/n torture; gpl tintrega 348

getintregian wkv 2 torture; 3pl pt getintregodon 351

tō prep to, towards; + d - 27, 34, 61, 77, 92, 108, 123, 132, 139, 142, 185, 194, 198, 199, 201, 203,

†tintrehstōw f place of torment; dpl tintrehstōwum 345

206, 206, 207, 220, 223, 236, 258, 275, 275, 275, 301, 306 (not in MS), 307, 345, 362, 408, 409, 416, 422, 430, 439, 440, 466, 468, 471, 471, 482, 503, 504, 505, 517, 518, 536, 538, 549, 551, 553, 567, 568, 575, 580, 583, 594, 598, 601, 604, 608, 611, 620, 624, 636, 641, 642, 651, 660, 661, 670, 678, 686, 689, 694, 695, 696, 698, 725, 727, 729, 731, 744, 751, 755, 757, 765, 768, 779, 781, 794, 795, 798, 828, 836, 838, 840, 842, 843, 853, 861, 885, 899, 907, 909, 937, 940, 940; postp + d - 262, 464, 492, 588, 603, 630, 754, 767, 770, 778; + a/d - bē 384, 925, - hēlo 561, 936, - bēmunge 689, - eorðan 690, - eorþan 701, - mē 821, - rīce 839, - hēannysse 846, - pege 853, seeare 142, - sprǣce 455, 502, - hām 588; postp + a/d bē - 260, 384, + a to bā sylfan tīd 651; + adv bēr ... - 189, byder - 175

in prep formulae : tō hwan 'why' 423, tō hwon 598; tō ban bæt 'until, so that' 466, tō bon bæt 539, 939, tō bām bæt 325, 438; tō ban sōna swā 'until, immediately as' 511, 569, 646, tō bām sōna 516; tō bon 'to that use' 804 (N)

+ d inf - nyxanne 51, - leornianne 150, - wundrianne 215, - godspellianne 218, - elēnsienne 296, - scēawianne 354, - sendanne 360, - forlætenne 656, - forlætenne 723, - axianne 811, - secganne 822

+ pr pte tō smeriende 521

tō adv (1) intens use 'so'; tō bæs gīfre 474

(2) 'also'; - 709

tōdǣlan wkv 1 separate, scatter; 3s pr ind tōdǣleð 243; 3pl pr ind tōdǣleð 805

tōforan prep before; + a/d tōweard tōforan bæs hūses ðuru 59 (183 ante)

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

tōgesomnian wkv 2 assemble, gather together; 3s pt tōgesomnode 872

torr m tower; as torr 846 (MS topp, Vita 1165 turrem)

tōsomne adv together; - 344

tōþ m tooth; npl tōþas 319; dpl tōþum 530, 532

tōweard adj future, coming; gsn þæs tōweardan 68; npl þā tōweardan 420; apl þā tōweardan 573, 586, tōweardе 103

tōweard adv forwards; intens tōweard tōforan 58 (Vita 183 ante)

tōwerdsecgan wkv 3 prophesy; 3s pt tōwerdsæde 929 (Vita 1263 prophetavit)

tōweardnys f future; a/ds on tōweardnysse 292

†trēowgewrid n thicket of trees; npl trēowgewridо 171

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

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

trum adj firm; asm trumne 941

trumnes f strength; as trumnesse 277

getrȳwian wkv 2 trust, believe; 3s pt getrȳwode 741

tuddor n breed, race; ns tuddre 358

tūn m estate; apl tūnas 109

turf f sod, piece of earth; ds tyrf 607, 612 (N)

tūxum, see twūx

twēgen odl num two; ns - 275, 473, 577, 583, TWĒGEN 604; am twēgen 381; an twā 154, 159; af twā 485, 510, 606; g twēgra 294; d twām 204

twelf odl num twelve; + a - 869, 873, 935; + g - 927

twentig odl num twenty; + a/g - nihta 417; fēower 7 twentig 138; + a six 7 twentig 208

twēogan wkv 1 doubt; pr pte dpl þām twēogendum 256; 1s pr ind twēoge 39; 3s pt twēode 269

twibil n. two-edged axe; - 535

twīendlīce adv doubtingly; - 667

tūð m tooth, tusk; dpl tūðum 320, tūðum 440

twyfeald adj base; aplm/n þā twyfealdan 266

tyrf, see turf

<u>þā</u> adv then; - 51, 53, 59, 62, 62, 108, 111, 112, 133, 139, 143, 144, 149, 151, 160, 174, 175, 183, 184, 184, 190, 195, 196, 197, 210, 230, 243, 249, 264, 266, 275, 304, 305, 306, 313, 325, 326, 328, 328, 331, 333, 335, 339, 343, 344, 349, 362, 373, 374, 408, 410, 419, 431, 432, 437, 444, 452, 466, 470, 472, 484, 486, 491, 502, 503, 505, 507, 509, 510, 513, 514, 515, 517, 519, 526, 535, 536, 537, 552, 555, 560, 567, 569, 579, 584, 586, 588, 597, 613, 615, 635, 644, 646, 648, 650, 662, 663, 677, 685, 690, 694, 700, 701, 701, 717, 717, 729, 734, 757, 758, 761, 766, 767, 769, 777, 785, 791, 793, 794, 795, 815, 816, 842, 843, 851, 852, 852, 853, 854, 857, 859, 860, 862, 868, 871, 874, 874, 875, 883, 907, 914, 918, 918, 918, 921, 939, 940, 942, 943, 944, 945, <u>þā</u> 906, <u>þā</u> 123, 127, 164, 193, 255, 261, 337, 342, 352, 363, 370, 386, 397, 429, 458, 533, 541, 543; <u>þā</u> 253; <u>ma þā</u> 765; <u>þā sōna þā</u> 'as soon as' 546

in correl. 'when .... then' : <u>þā .... þā</u> 208, 240/1, 340/1, 393/4, 399/401, 436/7, 468/9, 557/8, 596/7, 600/1, 741, 828, 831/3, 855/6, 879/80; <u>þā .... þā</u> 54/5, 137/8, 200/1, 204/5, 270/1, 300/1, 308/9, 351/2, 368/9, 416/8, 416/8, 568, 748/50, 752/3, 782/3, 807; <u>þā .... þā</u> 77/8, 158/63; <u>þā .... þā</u> 113/5; <u>þā .... 7 þā .... þā</u> 202/3; <u>þā .... þā .... þā</u> 834/5/6; <u>þā .... þā .... þā</u> 103/4, 391/2/3, 461/2, 632/3/4; <u>þā þā .... þā</u> 669/70, <u>þā þā .... ðā</u> 50; <u>ðā .... þā þā</u> 727/8; <u>þā .. þā .... þā</u> 457, 551, 554, 567/8, 642, 692/3, 704/5, 774/5, 909/10; <u>þā .. þā .... þā</u> 65, 69, 345/6/7, 379, 380/1, 505/6, 608, 882, 916/7; <u>þā .. þā .... þā</u> 246/7; <u>þā .. þā .... þā</u> 489/70; <u>þā .. þā .... þā .... þā</u> 505/6, 697/8

adv 'then' following formulae containing <u>after</u>: <u>þā</u> 92; containing <u>mid</u> : <u>þā</u> 127, 130, 131, 150, 156, 174, 178, 179, 198, 244, 332, 383, 406, 457, 467, 484, 520, 527, 593, 594, 595, 630, 637, 641, 664, 679, 715, 730, 762, 762, 788, 790, 831, 858, <u>þā</u> 154, 199, 274, 610, 714, 922; containing <u>sōna</u> : <u>þā</u> 233, 403, 459, 460, 461, 511, 647

bæc n thatch, roof; ds bæce 513

bær adv there; - 19, 52, 70, 71, 74, 93, 131, 140, 169, 174, 188, 197, 198, 202, 228, 230, 279, 343, 346, 350, 367, 381, 455, 456, 468, 470, 482, 487, 517, 533, 546, 548, 550, 556, 575, 580, 589, 591, 599, 600, 638, 675, 683, 720, 834, 846, 861, 880, bær 165, 285; bær 'to there' 65, 314, 517, 547, 588, 630; bær .. tō 709; bær .. in 363; bær .. inn 458; bær in 485, bær inne 947

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

bæs, see sē

bæt conj (1) 'that' at head of noun clause; - 11 (MS ba), 19, 24, 28, 40, 63, 70, 71, 80, 81, 102, 103, 125, 128, 129, 132, 164, 179, 181, 183, 196, 199, 233, 234, 252, 256, 257, 261, 268, 269, 269, 287, 308, 309, 310, 312, 314, 324, 333, 359 (N), 371, 371, 400, 406, 409, 409, 412, 418, 426, 430, 433, 452, 455, 456, 462, 472, 482, 503, 510, 520, 527, 533, 537, 544, 547, 548, 566, 575, 578, 578, 597, 601, 616, 641, 653, 656, 659, 668, 687, 688, 691, 694, 699, 699, 707, 710, 712, 716, 717, 723, 725, 748, 754, 769, 771, 773, 792, 793, 798, 801, 809, 810, 813, 827, 838, 870, 909; with pleonastic anticipatory bæt : 9/9, 53/4, 193/4, 294/5, 389/90/91, 416/436, 493/4, 544/5, 564/5, 937/8

(2) 'that, so that'; - 15, 54, 60, 93, 111, 124, 146, 152, 164, 237, 254, 324, 331, 374, 417, 418, 449, 476, 528, 529, 532, 549, 585, 587, 606, 607, 620, 635, 640, 658, 661, 681, 733, 774, 779, 781, 787, 789, 800, 806, 857,873, 876, 881, 896, 902; with pleonastic anticipatory bæt : 33/4, 135/7, 474/5, 684/684

(3) 'but', almost bæt hē 'who' : bæt hē 625, 626, 627

(4) pleonastic bæt either at head or within clause : 99, 134, 160, 192, 210, 220, 242, 244 (N), 278, 443, 475, 494, 496, 534, 631, 820, 848

(5) bæt occurs also in prepositional formulae where the more usual relative particle þe might be expected : mid þan bæt 629, tō þām bæt 326, tō þon bæt 539, 939. It occurs also in the phrase oþ bæt 185.

gehafian wkv 2 consent to; + d 3s pt gehafode 690

hanc m thought; thanks; as - 25; as - 859; dpl hancum 13

hanon, see honan

þe rel particle who, which; - 6, 31, 35, 36, 38, 48, 52, 59, 62, 64, 70, 73, 74, 102, 103, 112, 119, 120, 121, 131, 140, 143, 161, 165, 185, 188, 198, 204, 236, 239, 248, 253, 282, 348, 372, 467, 468, 495, 499, 545, 549, 550, 575, 582, 583, 591, 603, 620, 623, 624, 645, 653, 659, 667, 675, 686, 723, 739, 743, 749, 761, 802, 804, 805, 810, 811, 817, 819, 824, 837, 853, 873, 878, 879, 915, 928, 943, þe .. inne 66; for pron + þe see sē, þe with adverbs and conjunctions see æfter, ær, be, for, hwæder, hwīl, mid, þæs

þe conj, adv or; - 669, 677

þē, see þēs; also for possible þē 299, 678, 788 see under sē

þēah conj although; - + ind 83; - + sj 695

adv yet, however; - 84; þēah hwæbere 475, 717, 729, 793

heaht f counsel; ds heahte 661

hearf f need; ns - 579

hēaw m custom, manner, way; ns - 20; ds hēawe 18, 240, 552; apl hēawas 156; dpl hēawum 101, 895

hegen m retainer, servant; apl hegnas 664; dpl hegnum 697

hencan wkv 1 think, contemplate; pr pte nsm hencende 918; 3s pt hōhte 117, 199; 3pl pt hōhton 546

gehencan : pp gehōht 13, 281; 3s pt gehōhte 119, 134, 233; imper s gehence 10, 12

hennan wkv 1 stretch; 3s pr ind heneð 172 (N)

bēnung f service, ministry; as bēnunge 688; ds - 886; apl - 692; a/ds - 689

bēod f people; ns - 389; gs bēode 735; ds - 79; gpl bēoda 217

bēodan wkv 1 join; pp gebēoded 483, 576

bēodscipe n service; as þæt - 544; ds - 153; a/ds on godes - 673

bēostru, see bȳstro

bēow m servant; ns - 126, 130, 748; as - 750; gpl bēowa 872; dpl bēowum 165

bēowe f servant; ns - 882; gs bēowan 870, 940

bēowdōm m service; ds bēowdōme 410, 899, bēowdōme 895

bēowian wkv 2 serve; + d inf - 197

bes dem pron this; nsm - 723; nsf - 770 (N); asm bisne 620; asf bās 16, 33, 121, 135, 809; asn bis 819; gsm bisses 40, 114, 676; gsf bisse 43, 355, 599, 750, bissere 223; gsn bisses 928; dsm bisum 68, 500, 771; dsf bisse 766, 767, 814; dsn bisum 291; dsm/n bisum westene 811; apl bās 130, 138, 301, 354, 360, 653, 669, 741, 774, 807, 817, 828, 839, 879, 914, ðās 930, þās 36; dpl bisum 23, 32, 357, 452, 599; dpl in adverbial phrase 'afterwards' æfter bisum 748, Æfter bysum 904

biecce adj thick; apl bā biccan 330

biegan wkv 1 take, eat; inf - 300; 3s pt bigede 238 (N), 307

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

bīg, see sē

bīn poss adj your; nsf - 448; nsn - 448, 735; asm bīnne 288; asf bīne 809, 925; asn bīn 42, 277, 294, 448, 739; gsm bīnes 277; gsf bīnre 427, 734, 768, 815; gsn bīnes 276; aplm bīne 736; gpl bīnra 731, 927; dpl bīnum 5, 42, 356, 732

bince, see byncan

bing n thing, cause; as - 508; npl - 420; apl - 117, 132, 177,

198, 586, 610, 654, 669, 669, 743, 807, 817, 854, 879, 914, binge 36, 509, 840, 844; gpl binga 665, 665, 738; dpl bingum 23, 33, 143, 207, 385, 540, 629, 762, 876

bingung f intercession; as bingunge 892, 925

boftscipe [m] fellowship; ds on gastlīcre boftscipe 483, 576 (N)

bolemōdnys f endurance, longanimity; as bolemōdnysse 157

gebolian wkv 2 endure; 3s pt gebolode 476

bonan adv thence; - 23; banon 652

bonne adv then, when; - 71, 299, 414, 415, 465, Swā - 222, Swā bonne 298; with weakened temporal sense 'therefore' bonne 16, 23, 34, 227, Nū bonne 450 (Vita 648 Ideirco)

bonne conj then, when; - 20, 441, 607, 805, 891; correl. bonne .... bonne 238, 287/8, 292/3, 666/7; for bonne in formulae see after, for, mid

bonne adv than; gelīcra mycele bonne + d 877

conj rather than; bonne 543

born m thorn; ns - 634, bórn 648; as bórn 633; gs bornes 635

brēstan wkv 1 torment; pp gebrēst 643

brēan wkv 2 reprove, rebuke; 3s pt brēade 514

brī cdl num three; nm brȳ 517; am brī 254, brȳ 535, 556; g brēora 294, 863

bridda ord num third; asm briddan 112; ds bām briddan 557, 864; ism bȳ bryddan 256

brote f throat; npl brotan 320

brūh f coffin; as - 709, 806, 886, brúh 801

bū pers pron you; ns bu 6, 17, 18, 19, 19, 24, 24, 28, 260, 281, 287, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 295, 303, 355, 385, 423, 424, 426, 448, 449, 450, 452, 464, 465, 466, 492, 699, 699, 737, 737, 739, 768, 769, 778, 796, 798, 809, 810, 814, 817, 825, 826, 827,

837, 911, 911, 913, 923, 924, 926, 928, 928, þū leornere 18, þū mīn beccel 423, þū earma widerweardā 447 as þē 24, 30, 280, 280, 289, 295, 303, 354, 429, 449, 450, 451, 451, 732, 733, 739, 740, 808, 811, 812, 813, 837, 837, þē sylfne 18; ge þīn 278; ds þē 19, 29, 281, 698, 734, 736, 765, 818, 924; a/ds þē tō 260, wið þē 279, of þē 287, 425, from þē 337, 584, on þē 355, 428, þē ongēan 356, þurh þē 384, þē .. tō 384, tō þē 384, 925, beforan þē 735, mid þē 811

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

þurhcuman stv 4 stem from; 3s pt sj þurhcōme 143

þurhtēon stv 2 carry through, achieve; 3s pr ind þurhtȳhþ 892

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

þwēal n cleansing, bath; ds þwēale 78, þwēale 91

þwēan stv 6 wash; inf - 418, 539

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

þyderweard, see **þiderweard**

þyncan wkv 1, impers + d appear; 3s pr sj þince þe 698 (M); 3s pt him þūhte 324

þȳstre adj dark; dpl þām þȳstrum 221

þȳstro f/n darkness; a/ds mid dymnysse þȳstro 20, on þēostre 367; npl þȳstro 126; apl þēostru 366; gpl þēostra 342, 358; dpl þēostrum 21

þȳstrung f gloom, darkness; ds þȳstrunge 332

ufan adv above; - 231, 316

ūhtgebed n matins; dpl ūhtgebedum 392

†*unāblinn n persistence; apl bā unāblinnu 428 (N)

unblīþe adj sorrowful, sad; nsm - 461

uncer dual poss adj our; nsn - 383

unclānysse f uncleanness, impurity; ns - 570

uncūþ pte adj unknown; nsm sē uncūþa 781; dpl bām uncūþum 902

uncyst f fault, vice; apl uncyste 286

under prep under; - + d 141, 160, 423, 607, under ēne tyrf 612 (N)

underbēodan wkv 1 subject, subjugate; pp underbēodde 371, 478, underbēoded 526

unēaðe adv with difficulty, laboriously; - 635

unēðnysse f difficulty, grief; ns unēþnysse 779; ds unēðnysse 776; dpl unēðnyssum 912

†unforgitende pte adj unforgetting, mindful; nsm unforgitende 732

unforhtlīce adv fearlessly; adv - 401, 486

ungearu adj unprepared, uncultivated; asf bā ungearawan 173

ungeendod pte adj endless, eternal; dsm bām ungeendodan 839

†ungegrēt pte adj ungreeted, unsaluted; nsm - 200

†ungelācnod pte adj uncured; nsm - 625

ungelārēd pte adj ignorant, unlearned; nsm sē ungelārda 745

ungelēafulnys f unbelief, error; gs ungelēafulnysse 221

ungelīc adj unlike, different; nsf ungelīc + d 847

ungelīclīc adj unseemly, improper; aplf ungelīclīce 97

ungemetlīc adj immense, very great; [dpl] ungemetlīcre gestundum 323 (N)

ungeornful adj remiss, negligent; asm ungeornfulne 899

†ungebǣwe adj not customary; nsn - 695

ungebwǣrnys f discord; ds fram þisum ungebwǣrnysse 452 (N)

ungewunelīc adj unwonted, unusual; dsf þǣre ungewunelīcan 921

ungyrwan wkv 1 strip, divest; 3s pt ungyrede 644

†unhȳrsum adj disobedient; nsm - 94

unmǣte adj immense; gsf unmǣtre 167; npln unmǣtre 169 (N); apl unmǣta 342, þā unmǣttre 252 (N)

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

unmētlic adj excessive; ds[m] unmētlīcre ege 324 (N)

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

geunnan : inf - 125; 3s pt geūþe 579

unoferswȳþed pte adj invincible; asn unoferswȳþed 278

unrōt adj sad, troubled; gsn unrōtes 764; dsn þām unrōtan 917; npln unrōte 542

unrōtnys f sadness, grief; a/ds mid unrōtnysse 907

unstille adj troubled; nsm - 566

untrum adj weak, ill; nsm nēnig - 625; asm þone untruman 555

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

untȳnan wkv 1 reveal, display; 3pl pt untȳndon 874 (N)

unwīsdōm m ignorance, stupidity; ns - 22

unȳðnys, see unēðnys

up adv up, upwards; modifying prep up tō + d 61, up of + d 846, up on + a 486; quasi-inseparable - ēode 557; - āhōfon 487, - āhōf 836, úp ahofon 488; upp Æflīgeð 465

uppe adv up, on high; uppe on Ænes hūses hēce 512

upplīc adj heavenly; gsm þæs upplīcan 710

ūre pron adj our; nsm - 218; nsf - 386; asn - 14; gsm ūres 216; dsm VKVM 1, ūrum 947; gpl ūre 279

ūt adv out, outside; - 458, ūt 394, 518; ūt of + d 327, 462, 511

ūtan adv around, without; - 422, 623, 833, 927

ūtgang m exit, death; as - 120

wā interj adv woe!; Wā + d 358

wǣccan wkv 1 afflict, oppress; inf - 289

weccan wkv 1 watch, wake; pr pte weccende 263, 312

wæl n slaughter, carnage; apl - 110

wælhrēow adj cruel, bloodthirsty; dpl bām wælhrēowum 531

wǣpen n weapon, arms; ds wǣpne 445; apl wǣpna 279; dpl wǣpnum 108, 211

gewǣpnian wkv 2 arm; 3s pt gewǣpnede 445

wæstmberende pte adj fruitful; npl bā wæstmberendan 151

wētan wkv 1 moisten; 3s pt wētte 944

wēte f liquid, moisture; gs wētan 142

weter n water; as - 238; ds wetre 558; apl weter 329, 425

wetersēab m water-pit, cistern; ns wetersēad 231

†wetersteal m standing water, pool; ns - 169 (M)

wāg m wall; ds wāge 795, 828

warnian wkv 2 take heed of, beware; imper s. warna be sylfne 18

wāst, wāt, see witan

wē pers pron we; n - 277, 277, 278, 278, 280, 281, 384, Wē 276, 279; dpl ūs 9, 16, 354

wealdan stv 7 rule; 2s pr ind + g wealdest 928

wealdend m controller, ruler; ds WEALDENDE 1, wealdende 859

weaxan stv 7 grow; 3s pt wēox 99, 104, 572; 3s pt sj wēohse 546

weg m way; as - 35, 578, on weg 453, 475; ds wege 116, 175

wel adv well, very; - 673; intens - 468, 549, 626

wela m wealth; apl welan 121

welig adj rich, prosperous; nsm - 49; spv nsm welegost 50

wēnan wkv 1 + g suppose, expect; 2s pr ind wēnest 769; 3s pt

wēnde 252; 2s pr sj wēne 19

gewendan wkv 1 turn, go; 3s pt gewende 61

wēofod n altar; gs wēofodes 689; ds wēofode 791, 840

weolcan, see wolcen

wēopon stv 7 weep, wail; inf - 382 (N); pr pte wēpende 554, 910, 914; dsf wēpendre 309; 3pl pr ind wēpaḍ 383; 3s pt wēop 775; 3pl pt wēopon 382

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

weorḍan stv 3 become; 3s pt wearḍ 100, 106, 191, 310, 528, 857; 2s pt sj wurḍe 19

geweorḍan : pp geworden 921; impers + d 'agree', 3s pt geweard 606

wer m man; ns - 172, 182, 189, 190, 206, 232, 246, 254, 264, 301, 310, 335, 368, 392, 404, 432, 436, 448, 462, 472, 492, 505, 507, 513, 518, 521, 553, 572, 610, 637, 702, 720, 724, 743, 770, 777, 783, 794, 815, 835, 853, 864, 867, 893; as - 326, 344, 507, 546, 616, 620, 694, 764, 863, 909, 922; gs weres 33, 41, 151, 248, 419, 431, 444, 455, 487, 502, 581, 614, 647, 704, 728, 747, 761, 860, 874, 890, 892, 905, 908, 910, 931, WERES 226; ds were 38, 225, 408, 416, 471, 501, 503, 505, 641, 652, 665, 680, 687, 708, 730, 948

werig adj accursed; gpl bāra werigra 210

wērig adj weary; apl bā wērigan 116, 795, bā wēregan 836, 838

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

wesan def stv 5 be; 1s pt wæs 247; 2s pt wǣre 911; 3s pt wæs 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 52, 54, 58, 59, 64, 66, 70, 71, 73, 75, 75, 78, 91, 92, 94, 101, 103, 111, 113, 114, 117, 123, 127, 137, 144, 147, 148, 149, 153, 154, 158, 163, 164, 174, 175, 178, 185, 198, 201, 202, 204, 219, 220, 223, 228, 230, 235, 236, 238, 247, 254, 255, 261, 264, 266, 271, 307, 331, 340, 347, 352, 369, 392, 393, 396, 406, 408, 417, 418, 430, 454, 461, 461, 468, 468, 480, 483, 483, 501,

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west adv westward, west; - 515

wēsten n waste, wilderness; as - 237, 239, 249, 515, 820; gs wēstenes 160, 164, 173, 178, 181, 192, 203, 330, 478, 491; ds wēstene 162, 177, 186, 209, 284, 333, 812; apl wēstene 282; dpl wēstenum 285

wīde adv widely, on all sides; wīde 41, 109, 242, 726

wīdgill adj vast, wide-spreading; gen þæs wīdgillan 173, þæs wīdgillan 181, 192, 491

wīdgille adv widely, wide; ns - 171

wīdgilnys f vastness; ds wīdgilnysse 178

wīf n woman; ns - 65; as - 54

wiht f/n creature; gpl wihta 438

wildēor n wild animal, beast; gpl wildēora 437, 438, 449

wilde adj wild; npl þā wildan 490; npln wilde 478, 494

willa m will, command; ns - 691; as willan 42, 361; ds willan 582; a/ds on godes willan 493

willan anom v will; pr pte willigende 749; 3s pt wolde 691, 859; 3pl pt woldon 363; negated forms 3s pt nolde 143, 334

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wilnian wkv 2 want, desire; inf - 160; 2s pr ind wilnast 287; 3s pr ind wilnaþ 497, 893; 3pl pt wilnodon 162

gewilnian : 3s pt gewilnode 164

wilnung f desire; ds wilnunge 230

winnan stv 3 strive, gain; 3s pt wann 405; 2s pt sj wunne 928

winter m/n winter; pl 'years'; apl - 113, 159; gpl wintra 138, 208

wīs adj wise; npl þā wīsan 80

wīsdōm m knowledge, wisdom; ns wīsdōm 683; ds wīsdōme 44

wīse f thing, affair; ds wīsan 74, 810, wīsan 814

wit dual pron we two; n - 383, wyt 800; a unc 385, 800

wītan stv 1 blame; + a charge and d person : 3s pr sj wīte 10, 16

witan pt prs v know; 1s pr ind wāt 14; 2s pr ind wāst 768; 1pl pr ind witon 277; 3s pt wiste 179, 657, 658; 3pl pt wiston 187; negated forms 1s pr ind nāt 813; 3pl pr ind nyton 21; 3s pt nyste 255; 3pl pt nyston 668

gewitan : inf - 671

wīte n torment, punishment, pain; npl wītu 400; apl - 354; gpl wīta 348, 352; dpl wītum 351

gewītan stv 1 go, depart; inf gewītan 122; pp gewitene 926; 3s pt gewāt 200, 459, 650, gewāt 453, 571, 649; 3pl pt gewiton 126, gewiton 386, 404, 583; 3s pt sj gewite 333

wītedōm m prophecy; gs wītedōmes 657

†wītedōmlīc adj prophetical; nsn wītedōmlīce 500 (N); ism - 257, 572; compare Hly 28 -

wītega m wise man, prophet; ns - 670

wītgian wkv 2 prophesy; pr pte ism wītegiende 336

wið prep against, to, with; - + a 506, 539, 791, 827; - + d 210, 214, 405, 519, 791; - + a/d wið þē 279

wiðerweard adj hostile, adverse; nsm þū earma wiðerwearda 447; apl þā wiþerwearðan 736

wiþgespreccan stv 5 speak with; inf - 632

wiðstandan stv 6 stand against, resist; + d 3s pt wiðstōd 257

wlitig adj fair; nsm - 147

wōdnesdæg m Wednesday; ds - 758

wōdnyss f madness; as wōdnysse 539; ds - 529, 537

wōh adj twisted, crooked; as/pln wōh nebb 319; aplm wōge 321

weleen m/n cloud; dpl weolcan 115 (MS weole 7 welode), wolcnum 342

word n word, command; as - 9, 17, 42, 69; ds worde 11 (E), 148, 513, worda 514; apl word 111, 130, 183, 270, 301, 591, 658, 682, 741, 774, 793, 825, 828, 857; gpl worda 133, 335, 613; dpl wordum 5, 7, 95, 131, 133, 268, 304, 357, 386, 600

woruld f world; as - 1, 121, 135, 809, 949; gs worulde 223, 751; ds worulde 49, 88, 289, 923; gpl - A WORVLDa woruld 1, on ealra woruldá woruld 949 (N)

†woruldfruma m (church) father, patriarch; gpl woruldfrumena 105

woruldgleng m worldly pomp; apl woruldgrenge 138

woruldlīc adj of the world, earthly; ds[f] woruldlīcre geswince 83 (N); gpl woruldlīcra 496; 738

woruldman m man upon earth, man; ds woruldmen 818; npl woruldmen 45; dpl woruldmannum 495

wræc n exile; ds on wræce 397

wræcca m exile; ns - 725, 904; gs wræccan 564, 630, 933

wrecan stv 5 avenge, wreak; 3s pt wræc 108

wrītan stv 1 write; 1s pr ind wrīte 30, 36; 3s pt wrāt 467; 1s pt sj write 29

wuldor n glory, wonder; ns - 948; gs wuldres 68; ds wuldre 365, 866

wuldrian wkv 2 glorify, admire; + on 3pl pt wuldredon 654

wulf m wolf; gpl wulfa 442

wundian wkv 2 wound; pp gewundod 247, 254, 331; asm gewundodne 253; 3s pt wundode 244, 531, 532

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

wunderlīc adj wonderful; gsm wunderlīces 850

wundrian wkv 2 marvel, admire; inf - tō wundrianne 215; pt pte wundriende 74, 131, 471, 389; 3pl pt wundredon + g 613, wundrodon 653

wunian wkv 2 remain, stay; pp npln gewunode 'resident' 474 (H); 3s pr ind wuneð 11 (E), 172; 3s pt wunode 456, 916; 3pl pt wunedon 286; 2s pr sj wunne 928

wurm m serpent; gpl wurma 438, wyrma 449

wurðmynt f glory; ns - 948

wurðigan wkv 2 venerate, celebrate; inf - 156; pp geweorðod 209, gewurþod 889; 3s pr ind wurðað 205; 3s pt wurþode 98

wydewe f widow; gs wydewan 589, 599

wyllen adj of wool, woollen; gsn wylleneg 233

wynsum adj pleasant; nsm - 147; gpl þ̄ra wynsumesta 831 (H)

wyrcan wkv 1 work, do, make; 3s pr ind wyrceð 677; 3s pt worhte 451, 667, 669

gewyrcan: pp gewerht 229, 251; 3s pt geworhte 930

wyrma, see wurm

gewyrpan wkv 1 recover; 3s pt gewyrpte 830

wyrt f wort, herb; gs wyrte 862

ȳdele, see īdel

yfel n evil, ill; gs yfeles 23; dpl yfelum 623

yfel adj evil, bad; gsm/n þæs yfelan gebōhtes 428; dsf þǣre yfelan 429; apl þā yfelan 266, 541

yfelnys f evil, wickedness; gs yfelnysse 243

ȳglande, see ēgland

ylca pron., wk adj same; nsm sē ylca 416, 467, 560, 648, 719; asf þā ylcan 414; asm bone ylcan (MS bonne) 229; asn þæt ilce 134; gsm þæs ylcan 411; dsm þām ylcan 462, isn þan - 758, þȳ - 873; dsf þǣre ylcan 372, 878; isf ðȳ ylcan (oestre) 168 (N); dsn þām ylcan 473, 946

yld, ylde f time, age; ns yld 93, ylde 99; a/ds on ylde 208

†yldend m delay; ns - 325

yldest, see eald

yldra plm elders, parents; gpl yldrena 44, 136; dpl yldrum 95

yldran, see eald

ymb, ymbe prep after; ymb + a 312, 719; ymbe + a 77, 113, 159, 164, 417, 782, 873; (2) 'about' ymb + a 499, ymbe + a 878

ymbgān anom v go round, revolve; pp ymbgān 927

ymbsellan wkv 1 surround; pp ymbseald 342, 624, 834

ymen m hymn; apl ymnas 155

yncer dual poss adj your; asn - 599

yrmþu f misery, hardship; apl yrmþa 911; gpl - 751, yrmða 927

yrnan stv 3 run; inf - 66; pr pte yrnende 170

yrre adj angry; asm yrne 898 (MS yrre)

ys, see wesan

yste f cinder, ash; npl yscla 359

ȳtemest spv adj utmost, last; dsn þām ȳtemestan 757; apl þā ȳtemestan 797

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æbelbald : m - 502, æbelbald 725, 741, 904; g æbelbaldes 631, æbelbaldes 565, 628, 933; d æðelbalde 722, ÆÐELBALDE 888, æbelbalde 903

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angelcyn n Angles, people of the Angles; as angelcynne 391; gs angelcynnes 41, angelcynnes 390; ds angelcynne 14, 81

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ecgburh : n - 802, ECGBVRH 707; d ecgburhe 701

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hædda : n - 660; d hædde 655 (N)

hēliag : n - 283

hrypadūn : n hrypadūn 140

hwætred : n - 524, 525

icling m a man of Icel's tribe; npl iclingas 48

jūdeas pl Jews; gpl jūdea 221

Moyses : n - 283

myrce : Mercians; gpl myrcna 46, 47, 501, mercna 389, 619

middelengle : Middle Angles; gpl middelengla

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wiuua : the Wiuuae; gpl wiuua 934

Latin words used in Life

accipiet 'he shall receive' 86; bipenne 'two-edged sword' over twibil 535; Beatus 'blessed' 85; belli 'of war' 82; cum 'when' 86; coronam 'crown' 86; de 'from' 377; diligentibus 'to diligent men' 87; deus 'God' 87, 402; dissipentur 'may they be dispelled' 402; dominum 'God' 259; et 'and' 259, 377, 402, 403; Exurgat 'Let (God) arise' 402; fuerit 'he will be' 86; Ibunt 'they shall go' 377; in + d 'in' 258; + a 'to' 377; inuocaui 'I have called' 258; mea def 'my' 258; munus 'reward' 82; probatus 'tested' 86; qui 'who' 85, quem asf 'which' 87; quia 'because' 86; reliquia 'so on' (phrase et -) 259, 378, 403; repromisit 'promised' 87; sanctus 'saint' 217, 262, 267, 364, 370; sanctis gs 194, 205, 705, 905, Sancte 141; sancte ds 655, 948;

sē 'to him' 87; suffert 'endures' 86; temptationem 'temptation' as 86; tribulatione 'distress' ds 258; uir 'man 85; uirtute 'from strength' 377; uirtutem 'strength' as 377; uite 'of life' 87

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H O M I L Y : GLOSSARY

A separate register of the forms of the Cuthlac Homily has been drawn up, for the Homily, though derived ultimately from the same original as the Vespasian Life, differs from the corresponding portion of the Life (lines 228-370) sufficiently both in vocabulary and syntax to make its own glossary necessary. It must indeed be remembered that, within the Vergelli Book, this homily is treated as a complete unit, and that it is rounded off in four final lines which are unparallelled in the Vespasian Life.

ā adv always; ā on hinder 72; ā butan ende 145

a 64, see on

ac conj but, and; - 29, 36, 49, 66, 106, nalæs þæt .... ac 32, nāwðer þāra ne .... ne .... ac 7; Ac 76, 139, nales þæt ān þæt .... Ac 50

ācwellan wkv 1 kill; 3pl pt ācwealdon 56

æfre adv ever; - 23

æfter prep + d along; - 100
in adv phrases : æfter þām 'then' 100, 109, 142, æfter ðām 108; sōna æfter ðām 30

æfterfyllende pte adj following; dsf þære æfterfyllendan 26

æghwænon adv everywhere; - 87

ælc adj each, either; asf ælce 86; dsm ælce 9, 65

ær adv before; - 52, 54, 119; spv ærest 10, 67

ærra cpv adj earlier, previous; as ðā ærran 57; apl þā ærran 23

ætfēolan stv 3 apply oneself to; 3s pt ætfealh 12

ætȳwan wkv 1 show, display; 3s pt ætȳwde 32

āfyllan wkv 1 fill up, fill; pp āfylled 91, 113

āgan pt prs v have; 2pl pt āhton 132

āīdlian wkv 2 disappear, vanish; 3s pr āīdlode 75

āhebban stv 6 heave up, raise; pp āhafen 63; 2s pr sj āhebbe 65

ālifigean wkv 3 live, spend; inf - 8

ān edl num one; in prep formulae : nales þæt ān þæt .... Ac 'not only' 50, nalas þæt ān þæt .... 7 ēac 120 (M)

āna wk num one, alone; - 21, 104

ancersetl n hermitage; as - 5

7 conj and; - 2, 4, 8, 11, 14, 16, 21, 22, 22, 23, 27, 28, 28, 29, 29, 31, 33, 33, 35, 35, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 52, 52, 53, 54 (not

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109, 109, 114, 115, 117, 119, 120, 122,
124, 126, 127, 127, 129, 130, 132, 132,
137, 142, 142, 143, 143, 143, ond 97

andswarian wkv 2 answer; 3s pt andswarude 129

andweard adj present; nsm - 132; dsn þyssan andweardan 61

ānrēde adj adamant; nsm - 36

apostel m apostle; ns - 136; as - 32; ds apostole 143

ārīsan stv 1 rise; 3s pt ārās 71

ārlēas adj wretched; gpl ārleāsra manna 123

æsce f ash, cinder; npl æscan 131

āstreccan wkv 1 stretch out, prostrate; pp āstreaht 63

āttor n poison; as - 13, 14; ds þȳ ātre 15

āwyrged pte adj accursed; nsm sē āwyrgeda 74

bærnan wkv 1 inflame, burn; 2s pt ind berndest 127

be prep + d about; - 20, 51

beard m beard; ds bearde 89

bearn n child; dpl bearnum 130

†bigferian wkv 1 encompass, nourish; 3s pt bigferede 78 (N)

beforan prep before, in front of; + a/d - his onsȳne 74

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

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

bend m/f bond, fetter; dpl bendum 16

beorhtnes f brightness, radiance; ds beorhtnesse 137

bēotian wkv 2 boast; 3pl pt bēotodon 128

bēoting f boast, threat; dpl bēotingum 134

beran stv 4 carry; 3pl pt bǣron 100

beren adj made of barley, barley; dsm þǣm berenan 77

gebētan wkv 1 make better; inf - 23

besencan wkv 1 immerse; 3pl pt besencton 100

betweoh prep between, from; betuh 'between' + a - 101, 110, 122; betweoh 'from' + d - 95

bīdan stv 1 remain, endure; inf - 103; 1s pr ind bīde 133

gebiddan stv 5 request, command; 3s pt gebæd 72

biggenga m inhabitant; ns - 136

blis f joy; dsf blisse 142, 38

brēgdan wkv 1 frighten; inf - 134 (H)

brȳmel m bramble; gpl brȳmela 101

brōga m fear, terror; a/dpl of brōgan 16; mid brōgan 49, mid māran brogan 105

brūcan stv 2 use, enjoy; + g inf - 7

breocan stv 4 break, breach; 3pl pt brēcon 2

būtan prep + d without; ā būtan ende 145

byrnende pto adj burning; gpl þāra byrnendra 117

bysmornes f taunt, mockery; apl bysmornesse 81

bysmrian wkv 2 revile, taunt; inf - 49, bysmrigan 104

cempa m champion, warrior; gs cempan 18

cald adj cold; apl ðā caldan 110

cīgan wkv 1 cry upon, call; 1s pr ind cīge 29

clǣnsiàn wkv 2 cleanse, purify; inf tō clǣnsigeanne 66

clypian wkv 2 cry upon, call; 1s pr ind clypige 29; 3s pt cleopode 28, 71; 3pl pt clypedon 125

clypung f call, clamour; ds clypunge 125; a/ds on heora cleopunge 94

cnēo n knee; apl cnēowo 92

costung f temptation; ns costunge 16 (N); gpl costunga 13

costian wkv 2 test; 1pl pt costedon 47

cyrran wkv 1 turn; inf - 26; pp gecyrred 73; 3s pt cyrde 22

cræft m skill; ds cræfte 47

cuma m guest, visitor; gs cuman 34, 139

cuman stv 4 come; inf - 114; 3s pt cōm 31, 85, 136; 3pl pt cōman 43, cōmon 96

cunnan pt prs v know; 1pl pr ind cunnon 46; 1pl pt cunnedon 47

cūðlīc adj knowledgeable, friendly; dpl cūðlīcum 44

cwedan stv 5 speak, say; 3s pt cwæð 28, 72, 107, 130; 3pl pt cwǣdon 44, 126

cyrm m noise, clamour; ds cyrme 86

cyte f cell; ds cytan 98

dæg m day; ds dæge 9, 10, 26, 65, 70; apl dagas 8, 82; gpl daga 64, 69; dpl dagum 67

gedafenian wkv 2 to be seemly, befit; impers + a 3s pr ind gedafenað 68 (465 hominem decet) N

delfan stv 3 dig, delve; pp gedolfen 3; 3pl pt dulfon 3

dēofol n devil; ns hēt - 41; npl tū dēoflu 44

dēofollīc adj diabolical; apl þā dēofollīcan 75

dim adj dim, obscure; apl þā dimman þȳstro 138

dēn anom v do; 3s pt him for naht dyde 882 (476 contempsit) H

drēfan wkv 1 suffer; pp gedrēfed 20, 25; 3s pt drēfde 119

drēogan stv 2 endure; 2s pr ind dreogest 61; 3s pt drēah 119,

drihten m Lord; ns - 28, dryhten 72, 107; gs dryhtnes 133

drohtung f manner, ordering; apl drohtunga 42

dūst n dust; gs dūstes 131

ðæg adv also; - 46, 50; swylce ðæg 'so also, likewise' 42, 53, 54; nalas þæt ān þæt ..... 7 ðæg 120 (H)

ðædig adj blessed; nsm sē ðædiga 4, 18, 24, 33, 70, 106, 123, 140, se gēdiga 80 (H)

ðæge n eye; apl ðægan 63, 90

eald adj old; nsm sē ealda 12

eall pron., adj all; nsm eal 102; nsn eall 95; asm ealne 112; asn eal 85; gsm ealles 53, 67; apln ealle 8; aplf ealle 76; gpl ealra bāra tintrega 118; dpl be ðām eallum 51; dpl eallum 37, 98

ealle adv completely; - 81

eallum adv completely; - 55

†earhwinnende pte adj cowardly conquering; asf þā earhwinnendan 17 (H)

ðare n ear; apl ðaran 89

ðenes f eternity; dpl ðenesgum 60; a/ds on ðenesse 145

egeslīc adj horrible, terrible; asf egeslīce 87; apln egeslīce 90; dpl þām egeslīcum 96

eardigean wkv 2 inhabit, dwell; inf - 10, eardigan 20; 3pl pt eardodan 55, geardodan 51

eardungstōw f dwelling-place; as eardungstōwe 4

earfeð n hardship; gpl eorfeða 61; dpl eorfeðum 30, 37

earo adj ready; nsm - 133

efne adv even; efne swā 'even as' 74

eft adv again; - 41, 60, 62, 82, eft swā 27

ege m fear, dread; as - 117; is bȳ - 124

egesa m terror, dread; dpl egesum 95

ende m end; ds ā būtan - 145

engellīc adj angel; dsf engelīcre 32, MS geliore (N)

eorð f earth; a/ds of eorþan 1, betweoh heofone 7 eorðan 96

ēower poss adj your; dpl ēowrum 133

fæc n space; apl facu 110

fægernes f fairness, beauty; as fægernesse 67; ds - 32, 139

fæstan wkv 1 fast; 3s pt fæste 53; 3pl pt fæston 52

fæste adv firmly; - 27, 39

fæsten n fast, fasting; ns - 64, 66; as - 62, 69

fæstlīcor cpv adv more firmly; - 60

fæstnian wkv 2 secure; 3s pt fæstnode 40

gefæstnian : 3s pt gefæstnode 17

faran stv 6 travel, journey; 3pl pt fōran 94

feallan stv 7 fall; 3pl pt fēollon 122

fellen adj made of skin, skin; dsm fellenum 7

fenn n fen; as - 99

feoh n wealth, riches; gs fēos 2

fēon stv 5 rejoice; pr pte fēonde 33, gefēonde 39 (MS gefeode), 142; 2s pr ind gefīst (MS forgifest N)

fēond m enemy; ns - 12, 74; npl fȳnd 72

feorh m/n life; as - 78

fiðere n wing; apl fiðeru 114; dpl fiðerum 110

flēogan stv 2 fly; 3s pt flēah 142

fōn stv 7 take, grasp; + tō, 3s pt fēng 76

for prep fer, as; for nāht 81; for hwan 'why' 133

because of; + d for 2, 124, 127, for (not in MS) 139

before; + a/d for godes ēagan 63

forgifenes f forgiveness; a/ds tō forgifenesse 59

forhæfdnes f abstinence; ds forhæfdnesse 65; (burh) forhæfednesse 55, 58

forhtlīc adj terrifying, fearful; dpl forhtlīcum 95

forhycgan wkv 3 disdain, shun; 3s pt forhogode 79, 81

forþan conj because; - 58, forðan 64, 73, 75, forðām 108

forðgelǣstan wkv 1 carry through, perform; 3s pt forðgelǣste 8

forsēon stv 5 despise; 3s pt forseah 75

forwyrd f perdition; gs forwyrde 130

frætewigean wkv 2 adorn; inf - 69

fram prep from, by; + d 119

frēfrian wkv 1 comfort; 3s pt frēfrede 34

fremman wkv 1 do, make; pp gefremede 23

fremednes f making, accomplishment; apl ðā ǣrran fremednesse 57

frēond m friend; as - 141; gs frēondes 38

fruma m beginning; a/ds on fruman 5 (395 ab illo tempore)

fūl adj foul, filthy; as þā fūlan 120

fūlīc adj filthy, foul; nplm fūlīce 89

fultum m aid, helper; ns - 31; ds fultume 36

gefultumian wkv 2 help, aid; ipper s gefultuma 30

furðor cpv adv further, more; - 48

gefȳllan wkv 1 fill; 3pl pt gefȳldon 86

fȳr n fire; ns - 127; gs fȳres 120

fyren f crime, sin; npl fyrena 23

fyrst m space of time, time; ns - 64; ds fyrste 66

gāst m spirit, soul; as - 69; gs gāstes 19; npl gāstas 78, 108, 125, 128, 134; 138; gpl gāsta 81, 85, 114; dpl gāstum 119

gāstlīc adj spiritual, divine; dsf gāstlīcre 38, 141

gē pers pron you; npl gē 130, 131; dpl ēow 130, 130

gēadiga, see ēadig

gēara adv formerly, once; iū gēara 2, 51

gegearwan wkv 1/2 prepare; 3pl pt gegearwodon 135

gegiftred pte adj poisoned; dsf bēre gegiftredan 18

gebed n prayer; dpl gebēdum 12, 84

gebunden pte adj bound; dpl gebundenum 98

gecwēmlīcost spv adv so as most to please; - 43

†gefēanes f bliss, rejoicing; ds gefēannesse 142

gegyrla m raiment, clothing; ds on fellenum gegyrlan 7

gelēafa m belief; as gelēafan 39; gs gelēafan 45

gelīc adj like, similar; nplm gelīce 91

gelīce adv likewise; - 69

gelōmlice adv frequently; - 21

genip n cloud; gpl genipa 113

gemetegung f moderation, temperance; ns - 9

gengan wkv 1 go; 3s pt gengde 12

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

geondstregdan wkv 1 scatter over; 3s pt geondstregde 14

gesigefæstan wkv 1 crown with victory; pp gesigefæsted 80

geswencendnes f toil, tribulation; ds geswencendnesse 29

gebōht m/n thought; dpl gebōhtum 27

gebyld n patience; as - 46

getrȳw adj true, faithful; nsm sē getrȳwa 31; as þone getrȳwan 141; gs þæs getrȳwen 38

geweald n power; as - 132

gewiss adj + d cognizant of; nplm gewisse 45

†gewrid n thicket; apl gewridu 101 (cf Life 192, 330 gewrido)

gewunelīc adj customary, usual; ism þȳ gewunelīcan 11, 83

gif conj if; - 56, 105

gifan stv 5 give; 3s pt geaf 131

gifu f grace, gift; ds gife 39

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

gōma m jaw, mouth; dpl gōmum 116 (N)

grœswang n as þæt grœswang 13 (N)

grēat adj large, great; aplf grēate 93

grimlīc adj cruel, terrible; aplm ðā grimlīcan 122

grimnes f cruelty; gs grimnesse 14

grymetende pte adj nsm grymetende 13

gylt m crime, sin; gpl gylta 59

gȳman wkv 1 heed; + g 3s pt gȳmde 106

habban wkv 3 have; 3pl pt hæfdon 87, 89, 92

auxiliary + pp : 2s pt hæfdest 50; 3s pt hæfde 23

hǣlend m Saviour; ns - 53, 144

hālig adj holy; nsm sē hāliga 136, 143; þone hāligan 97, 116; gsm þæs hāligan 139; dpl hālegum 83

hās adj hoarse; nplm - 93

hātan stv 7 command; 3s pt hēt 35; 3pl pt hēton 104

hē, hēo, hit pers pron he, she, it; nsm hē 5, 6, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 16, 18, 20, 22, 22, 23, 23, 25, 25, 27, 27, 31, 32, 33, 36, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43, 53, 70, 71, 76, 78, 80, 83, 104, 105, 106, 106, 111, 111, 112, 113, 116, 118, 119, 119, 123, 129, 140, 141, 144, Hē 21, hē, MS hīe 76; nsn hit 10, 95, 95; asm hine 21, 34, 35, 35, 41, 41, 68, 71, 98, 99, 99, 103, 104, 109, 109, 109, 124, 134, 135, 144; asn hit 8; gsm his 11, 11, 13, 14, 16, 19, 22, 25, 30, 37, 39, 42, 70, 75, 78, 140; gsn his 8, 9; dsm him 4, 20, 31, 31, 35, 36, 86, 129; npl hīe 52, 52, 79, 85, 87, 91, 92, 94, 97, 97, 99, 102, 103, 105, 115, 121, 125, 134, 138; apl hīe 23, 79, hīe sylfe 139; gpl heora 58, 55, 79, 86, 89, 90, 93, 106, hyra 114; dpl him 55, 81, 91, 129, 130

heafod m/n head; apl heafdu 88

healf f side; as healfe 86, 108

hēanness f height, loftiness; ds hēannesse 111

hell f hell; gs helle 138

helleduru f gate of hell, hell-door; npl helleduru 128; gsm/n ? helledures 116 (H)

heofon m heaven; gs heofones 112, 136; ds heofone 95; gpl heofona 143, 145

heofoncund adj heavenly; dsf heofoncundre 39, 142

heofonlīc adj heavenly; gsm þæs heofonlīcan 34; dsf heofonlīcre

heolster n darkness; ds heolstre 140

heorte f heart, breast, mind; apl heortan 15

hēr adj here; hēr on worulde 59, 63; behold!, hēr 127

hider adv hither; hider 7 hyder 21

hindan adv behind; - 93

hinder adv behind; on - 72

gehīwian wkv 2 form, fashion; 3s pt gehīwode 67

hlēw m mound; ns - 1; as - 2; gs hlēwes 3

hlāf m loaf, bread; ds hlāfe 77

hlēoðrian wkv 2 sound, resound; 3s pt hlēoðrode 96

hors n horse; gs horses 91

horwiht adj foul, filthy; apl þā horwihtan 99

hraca m throat; npl hracan 91

hrægl n garment, clothing; gs hrægles 7

hrȳmman wkv 1 clamour; 3pl pt hrȳmedon 93, hrȳmdon 94

hū adv how, in what way; + indir q - 43, 51

hūs n house; as - 4, 85, 97

hȳdan wkv 1 hide; 3pl pt hȳddon 140

gehȳran wkv 1 listen, hear; impers gehȳr ðū 29; 3s pt gehȳrde 37, 71

hwā pron who, what; + dir q nsm - 131

hwæt interj adv lo; Hwæt 132

hwan is. of hwā in formulae; for hwan 'why' 133

hwider adv whither, to what place; + indir q - 25

hȳð f wave; apl hȳðe 120 (M)

ic pers pron I; n ic 29, 48, 73, 108, 132; a mē 29, 29, 134; g mīn 131; d mē 107

īdel adj useless, vain; aplf īdle 76

Īgland n island; ds Īglande 1

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

in adv in; bēr in 135

ingēotan stv 2 pour in; 3pl pt inguton 86

inhrēosan stv 2 fall into; 3pl pt inhruron 122

Īsen adj made of iron, iron; dpl Īsenum 109

iū adv once, formerly; iū gēara 2, 51

lǣdan wkv 1 lead, carry, conduct; 3pl pt lǣddon 98, 99, 100, 103, 110

gelǣdan wkv 1 lead, conduct, carry; pp gelǣded 111; 3pl pt gelǣddon 116

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

land n land, country; as - 80

lār f teaching, counsel; apl lāre 75, 79

lang adj long; aplm lange 88

lange adv for a long time; - 102

leahter m crime; apl leahteras 23; gpl leahtra 57

lēas adj lying, false; dpl ēowrum lēasum 133

†lēglīc adj burning; apl þā lēglīcan 120

leng cpv adv longer; - 49

lēo m/f lion; ns - 13

libban wkv 3 live; inf supplied at 43 (N); 3s pr ind leofaþ 144; 3pl pt lifdon 52

līf n life; as - 52; gs līfes 8, 43, 45; ds līfe 60

līchama m body; ns - 102; as līchaman 58, līchoman 70

gelimpan stv 3 befall, happen; 3s pt gelamp 10, 42, 82, 84

līg m flame; ds līge 91; apl līgeas 122; gpl līga 117

līnen adj made of linen, linen; gsn līneneş 7

lim n limb; dpl limum 98

lyft f air, sky; gs lyfte 110, 111; ds - 44

mā + g more; apl mā earfeþa 61

mægen n might, power; as - 14

mænegu f many, multitude; ns - 85

mænig adj many; def mænigre 88 (N)

mēre adj famous, illustrious; npl þā mēran 54

magan pt prs v may; 3s pt meahte 24, mihte 43; 3pl pt meahton 138

man m man; as sē man 66, þane man 68; npl men 2; gpl manna 123

(2) ns as indef pron 'one' man 135

mancynn n mankind; gs mancynnes 12

manigfeald adj manifold, various; dsm manigfealdum 47; dpl manigfealdum tintregum 123

mennisc adj human; apl þā menniscean 15

mete m food; as - 70

micel adj, see mycel

micelnes f size, quantity; as micelnesse 124

miclę adv much; swā miclę swīþor swā ..... swā miclę 61/2

mid prep with; + d - 18, 24, 25, 29, 35, 44, 47, 54, 79, 86, 96, 105, 109, 133, 137, 143, + i 15, 107; + a/d mid brōgan 49;

in prep. formulae 'when' mid þȳ þe 11

correl. 'when ..... then' Mid þȳ ... þā 14, mid þȳ..ðā.. ..þā 102, mid þȳ þe ... 128

middangeard m world, earth; gs middangeardes 53, 67

miht f power, might; ns - 126

mīn poss adj my, mine; nsm - 28, 73, MĪn 72; gsm mīnes 133; dsf mīnre 29; npim mīne 72; dpl mīnum 30

†missceronce adj withered; apis missceronce 93 (M)

mōd n mind; ns - 19; ds mōde 17, 22, 25

geman pt prs v remember; 3s pt gemunde 22

munuc m monk; npl munecas 54

mūð m mouth; ds mūðe 28, 107; apl mūðas 90

mycel adj much, great; nsm mycel 3; nsf micel 85; nsn mycel 1; dsf micelre 65, 125, bāre tealā mycelan 77; apin micle 92; opv dpl māran 105

nāfre adv never; - 40

nānig adj not any, none; nsf - 96

næs, see under wesan

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

nalas adv not, not at all; nalas þæt .... ac 31, nales þæt ān þæt .... Ac 49, nalas þæt ān þæt ..... 7 ēac 120 (N)

nāwðer conj neither; nāwðer bāra ne .... ne .... ac 6

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

ne conj neither, nor; - 49; nāwðer ne ... ne .... ac 6

nebb n beak, nose; as/pl - 89

nellaþ, see willan

neoþan adv beneath; - 87

neowolnesse, see nywylnes

niht f night; as - 83; gs nihte 84, 103; ds nihte 26; gpl nihta 66

geniman stv 4 take, seize, carry; 3pl pt genāmon 109

nō adv not, never; - 36

nolde, see willan

norðdǣl m northern part; as - 112

nū adv now; - 50

nywylnes f gulf, abyss; gs nywylnesse 118, neowolnesse 127

nyste, see witan

of prep from, out of; + d - 9, 16, 16, 44; + a/d of eorðan 1; + d ūt of 98

ofāþwēan stv 6 cleanse of, purify; 2s pr sj ofāðwēa 57

ofergeotol adj forgetful of; + g nsm - 118

ofslēan stv 6 slay; 3pl pt ofslōgon 56

on prep on, into; + a 41, 42, 62, 86, 99, 99, 126, a 64 (H); + d 3, 4, 7, 17, 20, 22, 32, 32, 38, 59, 60, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 82, 89, 92, 102, 107, 111, 142; postp + d - 36; + a/d on fruman 5, on .. stilnesse 84, on onsȳne 87, on .. cleopunge 94, on ēonesse 145; + adv on hinder 72

oncyrran wkv 1 turn away; pp oncyrred 108

ondleofen n food; gs ondleofenes 9; gsf bēre ... 7leofene 77 (H)

ondrysenlīc adj horrible, vile; nplm ondrysenlīce 92; aplm - 90; apl ðā ondrysenlīcan 114; dpl bām andrysenlīcum 110

onfōn anom v receive, take; 3s pt + a onfēng 144

ongēn prep against, towards; + a/d ongēn þē 128

ongēn adv again, back; - 114

onginn n undertaking; ds onginne 20

onginnan stv 3 undertake, begin; 3s pt ongan 20

ongitan stv 5 perceive, realise; 1s pr ind ongite 73; 3s pt ongeat 76; 3pl pt ongēaton 78

onsȳn f face, countenance; a/ds beforan his onsȳne 75, on - 87; ds manigre onsȳne 88 (M)

*†onbrigan stv 5 grow frightened; 3s pt onbrec 125 (529 horrescerat)M

openian wkv 2 open, disclose; 3pl pr ind openað 128

orfyrme adj foul, filthy; nplm - 89

ormōdnes f despair; gs ormōdnesse 41; ds - 24

ōðer adj other; dsf ōðre 3

oððe conj or; - 105; oððe .... oððe 'either ... or' 64

rēc m smoke; ns - 74

rescetunge f coruscation; apl rescetunge 121 (M)

restan wkv 1 rest; inf - 70; 3s pt reste 68

rēðe adj cruel, dread; dpl rēðum 101

rīce n kingdom; gs rīces 144, 145

rīxian wkv 2 reign, rule; 3s pr ind rīxaþ 145

rūh adj rough, shaggy; apln ruge 89

sǣl m time, occasion; as - 42; ds sǣle 82

sǣwl f soul; apl sǣwla 122

sceanca m shank; apl sceancan 92

sceotian wkv 2 shoot, hurl; 3s pt sceotode 41

scīnan stv 1 shine; pr pte scīnende 137

scūfan stv 2 shove, thrust; inf - 135, tō scūfanne 126

sculan pt prs v shall, be obliged to; auxiliary use 2s pr ind scealt 57; 3s pr ind sceal 64

scyppend m creator; ns - 74

sē, sēo, þæt def art., dem pron the, that; (1) attrib nsm sē 4, 12, 18, 24, 30, 33, 37, 53, 70, 75, 80, 102, 123, 136, 136, 140, 143, 144; nsf sēo 40; nsn þæt 40, 127; asm þone 32, 69, 97, 115, 117, 140, þane 68, sē 66; asf þā 56, 83, 120, 124, ðā 107, þām 17; nsn þæt 5, 10, 12, 21, 80, 85, 97, 99; gsm þæs 17, 19, 20, 34, 38, 139; gsf þǣre 41, 84, 110, 111, 111, 117, 138; gsn þæs 101, ðæs 3, 120; dsm þām 4, 68, 77, 143; dsf þǣre 9, 18, 24, 26, 44, 76, 98, 102, 139; dsn þām 1, 17, 20, ðām 104; isn þȳ 11, 69, 83, 124, ðȳ 26; isn þȳ 15; npl þā 78, 91, 108, 125, 134, 138, ðā 54, 128; apl þā 15, 23, 75, 76, 81, 99, 101, 117, 120, 121, 122, 137, ðā 42, 110, 113, 122; gpl þāra 81, 85, 101, 114, 117, 124, þǣra 118; dpl ðām 27, 51, 116, þām 96, 110, 112, 119

(2) subst asm þone 77; asn þæt 79, 105; gsn þæs 56; npl þā 54

(3) rel asn þæt 127; gsn þæs (MS þær) 50;

(4) rel + þe : npl þā ðe 55;

(5) rel + ylca : asm þone ylcan hlēw 2;

(6) adv use of gsn þæs : correl 'when ... then' þæs þe .... þā 6, 84

(7) adv use of isn þȳ : see under mid

(8) use of dsn and isn in formulae containing after

(9) other parts used in formulae : bāra, see nāwðer

sealm m psalm; apl sealmas 11

seegan wkv 3 say, tell; inf - 51

sellan wkv 1 give; pp seald 126

semninga adv immediately; - 43, 84, 113, bā - 16, 135

sendan wkv 1 send; inf tō sendanne 132; 1pl pt sendan 48

seofon odl num seven; on - nihta fyrste 66

seofoða ord num seventh; dsm bām sēofoðan 68, ism bȳ seofeðan 69

sēab m hole, well; ns - 4; ds sēabe 4

geseōon stv 5 behold, see; 3s pt geseah 33, 111, 113, 117, 121, 124, 141

sīde f side; ds sīdan 3

singan stv 3 sing; 3s pt sang 11, 28

gesittan stv 5 sit down, inhabit; 3s pt gesæt 6

slāp m sleep; ds slāpe 32

slīdan stv 1 glide; inf - 44

smēan wkv 1 consider, discuss; 3s pt smēade 42

smīcende pte adj smoking; apl bā smīcendan 117

sōna adv at once, soon; - 5, 71, 115, 125; ðā - 97, 115, 118, bā - 33, 75, 76, 120, ðā,, sōna 30;

sprecan stv 5 speak; 3pl pt sprǣcon 129

sprecen pte adj aforesaid; dsm bām sprecenan Iglande 1

gestandan stv 6 remain, stand; inf - 104

stefen f voice, sound; ds stefne 79, 92; dpl stefnum 96

stilneg f stillness, silence; a/ds on bāre nihte stilnesse 84

stōw f place; dpl stōwum 101

strǣl m/f arrow; asm bām earhwinnendan strǣle 17; dsf bære geǽtredan strǣle 18; gpl strǣla 48

strangian skv 2 strengthen, comfort; 3s pt strangode 35

sum adj a certain, some; nsm - 1; asm sumne 42; dsm sumum 82, ism sume 10

swā adv so, thus, in such a way; - 8, 21, 103, 129, eft - 27; intens adv 'so' - 24, 65, 80, 94

swā conj so, as; - 13, 16, efne - 74; swā ..... swā 66/8; swīðor swā ..... swā 58/60; swā miele swīðor swā ..... swā miele 61/2

sweart adj black, dark; asn þæt swearte 99; gsf bāre sweartan 118, 138; dpl ðām sweartum 116; spv dpl þām sweartestum 112

swefel m sulphur, brimstone; gs swefles 121

swencan wkv 1 toil, labour; inf - 49; 3pl pt swenctan 103

sweora m neck; apl sweoran 88

swingan stv 3 flog, scourge; 3pl pt swungon 109

swipu m/f lash, whip; dpl swipum 109

swīð adj strong, harsh; gpl swīðra 113; opv asf ðā swīðran 107 'right'

swīðe adv very; intens use : - 20, 33, 39, 142; opv swīððor 'the more strongly' : swīððor swā ..... swā 58, swā miele swīðor swā .... swā miele 61

swīðlīce adv severely; - 123

swylc adj such; nsf - 9

swylce adj likewise; swylce ēac 42, 52, 53, Swylce ēac 82 'so likewise'

swylce conj as if; - 3, 112, 135

sylf pron self; nsm sylfa 25, 127; asm god sylfne 40; aplm hīe sylfe 140

syn f sin, crime; dpl synnum 128

syððan adv afterwards, since; - 40; conj tō þām - 97

syx cdl num six; on syx dagum 67; syx daga 69

tō f toe; apl tān 93

tealæ adv such, so; intens use - 65, 76

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

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

tīd f time; ns - 40; ds tīde 9

getimbrian wkv 2 build; 3 pt getimbrode 5

tintrega m / tintreg n torture; gs tintreges 116; gpl tintrega 118; dpl tintregum 123

tintregian wkv 2 torture; 3pl pt tintregudon 123 (MS tintregud)

tō prep to, towards; + d - 28, 71, 76, 77, 116, 143; postp + d - 31, 129, 130; + a/d tō forgifenesse 59;

in adv phrases tō bām sybban 'to then when' 96, tō ðām 135; + d inf - elān-sīgeanne 66, - scūfanne 126, - sendanne 132

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

tōsomne adv together; - 115

tōð m tooth; npl tēð 90

trumnes f strength; gs trumnesse 45

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

getrymman : pp getrymed 60; 3s pt getrymede 40

tōwyrdnes f future; a/ds in tōwyrdnesse 62

tū, see twēgen

tuddor n breed, race; ns - 130

tūx m tusk, tooth; dpl tūxum 91

twēgen odl num two; an tū dēoflu 44; gm twēga daga 64

twēogan wkv 1 doubt; 3s pt twēode 36

þā adv then; - 24, 26, 33, 34, 44, 76, 96, 104, 109, 113, 121, 142; ðā 3, 21, 30, 78, 102, 106, 115, 138;

in correl. 'when .... then'; þā .... þā 10/2, 74/5, þā .... ðā 42/3, 123/5, ðā .... ðā 37/8; þā .. ðā .... þā 18/9, 111, ðā .. ðā .... ðā 16/7/8, ðā .. ðā .... þā 70/1

adv 'then' following formulae : Mid þȳ ..... þā 15; mid þȳ ..... þā 103; mid þȳ þe .... þā 129; tō þām syððan .... ðā 97; þæs ðe .... þā 6, 84; þā þe ðā .... ðā 140/1

þǣr adv there; - 1, 3, 46, 113, 120, 121, 122, 139, 144, 144, ðǣr 50; 'to there' þǣr 43, 85, 115; þǣr .. tōgēnes 114; þǣr in 135

þæs, þæs þe, see sē

þæt conj that, so that; - 6, 7, 13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 30, 31, 35, 36, 40, 46, 48, 56, 63, 64, 78, 84, 95, 95, 102, 104, 105, þæt ðæt 131; þæt wæs 77 'that was'

in phrase nales þæt ān þæt 'not only that' 49, nalas þæt ān þæt 120

þē rel particle; who, which; - 9, 20, 22, 51, 54, 119; for pron + þē see sē; þe with adverbs and conjunctions, see mid, þā and þæs (under sē).

þencan wkv 1 think, contemplate; 3s pt þōhte 6

gebencan : pp geðōht 50; 1s pr ind gebence 73

þēowdōm m custom (N); ds þȳ gewunelīcan þēowdōme 11, þȳ gewunelīcan þēowdōm 83

þes dem pron this; asn þis 78; gsf þysse 126; dsn þyssan 61; apl þās 37, 71, 126, 132; dpl þyssum 129

þicce adj thick; apl þā biccan 101

þīn poss adj your; nsn - 104; asm þīnne 58; asn þīn 46; gsm þīnes 45; gsn þīnes 45; gpl hīnra 59; dpl þīnum 127

þing n thing, affair; gs for fēos þingum 2 (N) (391 erga causam lucri)

þonne adv then; - 60, 68, 69; correl. 'when .... then' þonne .... þonne 55/6, þanne .... þonne 63/3

þrī odl num three; gm þrēora daga 64

þridda ord num third; ism ðȳ ðriddan 25

þrosm m cloud; aol þrosmas 117 (MS þismas)

þū pers pron you; ns ðū 29, 50, 56, 56, 58, 60, 61, 63, 66, 127, þū 57, 62, 62, 73; as þēe 48, ðē 48, 49, 50, 66, þē 59, 73, 126; gs þīn 47; ds ðē 50, 56; a/ds in þē 127; ongēn þē 128

þurh prep through; + a/d - heora forhæfednesse 55, - forhæfdnesse 58

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

þȳ, see sē

þyegan wkv 1 take, receive; inf - 70
gebyegan : 3s pt gebygde 77

gebȳdan wkv 1 join; 3pl pt gebȳddon 115

þyder adv thither; hider 7 - 21

þyncan wkv 1 seem, appear; impers + d 3s pt him þūhte 95

þȳstre adj dark; dsf þære þȳstran 103

þȳstro f/n darkness, cloud; apl - 138; gpl þȳstra 130

ufan adv above; - 4, 87

uncyst f fault, vice; apl uncysta 55

ungemetlīce adv greatly, hugely; swā - 94

ungeþwǣrnes f discord; dpl ungeþwǣrnessum 95

unmēte adj immense; npln - 114

unmanig adj not many, few; aplm unmanega 82

unnyt adj useless; aplf unnytte 76

unoferswīðed pte adj unvanquished; asn unoferswīðde 46 (MS nu oferswiðde)

up adv up, upwards; up gelāded 111

upgeotan stv 2 pour upwards; inf - 121

upbȳddan wkv 1 press up; inf - 120

ūsse poss adj our; gpl ūssa 48

ūt adv out, outside; ūt of ðāre cytan 98 (499 extra)

wā interj adv woe!; wā + d 130

wācan wkv 1 make weak, weaken; inf wācan 106

wæccan wkv 1 wake, watch; pr pte wæccende 32, 83

wāpen n weapon, arms; gpl wāpna 48; dpl wāpnum 41

wæter n water; apl - 99

wāðan wkv 1 hunt, (wander); 3pl pt wāðdon 80 (N)

wē pers pron we; n - 45, 46, 46, 47, 47, 48, 49, 50; d ūs 126

wēcean wkv 1 afflict, oppress; inf - 58; 2s or ind wēcst 7 wēcest 59 (N)

wēnan wkv 1 suppose, expect; 1s pr ind wēne 48; 3s pt wēnde 23

weorod n host, troop; npl - 114

weorpan stv 3 throw; 3pl pt wurpon 100

wēpende pte adj weeping; dsf wēpendre 79

wer m man; ns - 4, 18, 24, 33, 70, 80, 106, 124, 140; as - 97, 116

werig adj accursed; gsm þæs werigan 19; npl þā werigan 78, 108, 125, 134, 138, ðā werigea 128; gpl þāra weregra 81, 85, 114; dpl þām werigum 119

wesan def stv 5 be; 3s pt wæs 3, 9, 16, 19, 19, 24, 26, 30, 33, 38,

40, 77, 102, Wæs 1; 3pl pt wǣron 54, 87, 88, 90, 91, 91; 3s pt sj wǣre 36, 112; negated form 3s pt næs 96; eom anom v 1s pr ind eom 132; 2s pr ind eart 73; 3s pr ind is 106, 126; 1pl pr ind syndon 45; 2pl pr ind syndon 131; imper pl sȳn 72;

bēon forms : inf - 36, 64; 1s pr ind bēo 108; 2s pr ind bist 60, 62, byst 63; 3s pr ind bið

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

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

wille m will, command; a/g/ds (bīde) ..... willan 133

wīte n torment, punishment; apl wītu 126, 132; gpl wȳta 124 (N)

gewītan stv 1 go, depart; 3s pr sj gewīte 104

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

witigende pte adj knowing, prophesying; ism witigende 107

†wītedōmlīc adj prophetical; ism wītedōmlīce 28

wið prep against; + a wið hine 41, wiþ þēc 48

wiðstandan stv 6 stand against, resist; 3s pt + d wiðstōd 27

wōh adj twisted, crooked; as/pl - 89; aplm wō 92

wōlberende pte adj pestilential, deadly; dpl ðām wōlberendan 27

wolcen f cloud; dpl wolcnum 112

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

woruld f world; ds worulde 59, 63

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

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

wunian wkv 2 remain stay; 3s pt wunode 84

gewunigean : inf - 139

wyllan anom v will; auxiliary use : 1 pl pr ind wyllaþ 51; 3s pt wolde 7, 7, 25, 36, 135; 3pl pt woldon 105; 1 pl pr sj ne wyllan 48; negated forms 1pl pr ind nellaþ 50; 3s pt nolde 105

wyllen adj of wool, woollen; gsn wylleneg 7

wyrcan wkv 1 make, work; pp geworht 1, 23

yfel adj evil, bad; gpl yfelra 57

yfelneg f evil, ill; gs yfelneg 14

ylca adj same; asm þone ylcan hlm̃w 2 (rel use : 391 quem)

ylding f delay; - 96

ymb prep + a after (time); - 82
about; - 42

yrming m poor thing, wretched creature; dpl ẽow yrmingum 131

bartholōmeus : n - 31, 34, 136; d barthōlomei 143

orist : g oristes 17

ẽgipti n Egyptians; dpl ẽgiptum 54

ēliag : n - 52

gūðlāc : n - 4, 24, 37, 83, 124, 143

Moyses : n - 52

amen 'Amen' 145; fiat 'let it be done' 146; sanctus nsm 'saint' 31, 34, 136, sancte dsm 143

XXI

THE

GUTHLAC

POEMS

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

a : Earlier editions of the Cuthlac poems

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

> .i. mycel Englisc boc be gehwilcum þingum
> on leodwisan geworht[1]

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

> a moehel englys boke of meny thyngs[2]

Apparently the book was not recognised as a collection of verse in Middle English times. In the sixteenth century too it attracted little attention. Laurence Nowell must have looked through it when he visited the cathedral, for he is thought responsible for the brief interlinear glossing on folio 9[r];[3] he did not however use any poetic texts for his lexicographical work.[4] It is likely also that John Josselyn, Archbishop Parker's secretary, consulted the manuscript in

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[1] CPP p. 28, line 38 Flower 1935, p. 70
[2] CPP p. 31, line 35
[3] CPP p. 91;
[4] Marckwardt 1952, p. 8

Exeter, for he uses some of the preliminary matter in his preface to Parker's A testimonie of antiquitie (1566).[1] However, Josselyn and his contemporaries were interested in finding and examining books and charters concerned with law, customs, the church and English history, and the book remains virtually unknown outside catalogues of the cathedral's possessions until 1705.

From Wanley's Catalogue[2] we learn that the Exeter Book was already bound and foliated as it was to remain until its rebinding in 1930 when the beautiful facsimile edition was put in hand. Wanley gives a fairly full account of the preliminary pages which had interested Josselyn, but his description of the following material is less clear. He divides this material into ten major parts, according to the large capitals which run right across the manuscript page. For the first ten or so folios he notes also the beginning and end of each section of the manuscript, a laborious process which would have taken many pages if followed through. Some runic passages from the Exeter Book were reproduced by Hickes in the third part of the Thesaurus and the pencil marks he made to mark these out for reproduction are still visible in the manuscript. Evidently the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral had lent him the book.[3]

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

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[1] CFF p. 91; Ker 1957, number 116 [2] Wanley 1705, pp. 279-81
[3] CFF 1933, p. 34

> ... a Saxon Manuscript preserved in the Cathedral Library at Exeter

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

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

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[1] Conybeare 1812, pp. 180-97 [2] Conybeare 1826

was eventually published : two riddles and the opening lines of Christ appeared in Müller's Collectanea Anglo-Saxonica and Grundtvig himself put out an edition of The Phoenix.[2]

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

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

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

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[1]Müller 1835 [2]Grundtvig 1840

> by one ill-qualified for the task; and this I suspect to be a chief cause of the numerous obscurities attending similar productions in Anglo-Saxon.[1]

Thorpe's third poem, 'The Legend of Saint Guthlac', begins with line 93. He recognises that something, he suggests a leaf[2], has been lost after gebonne 368, the last word on folio 38^{v}. However, he makes no further division of the material from line 93 to 1379, for the heavy capitals of line 819 which had caused Wanley[3] to label the material from folio 45^{r} a new book, do not stop Thorpe from treating it as the continuation of a single poem. The first section of Guthlac B, which Wanley describes as de Creatione Hominis 7 lapsu ejus, elicits this explanation from Thorpe :

> This digression, though in appearance a clumsy interpolation, is, nevertheless, a portion of the poem, as is evident from lines 29 and 30, page 154 [= line 878], where it is connected with the rest by the alliterating words sigorlean sohtun, and seegad.[4]

At the end of the Guthlac material he notes :

> Here the upper part of the leaf of the MS. is cut off.[5]

In his commentary he adds :

> The rest of the legend, which is void of interest, may be seen in Felix.[6]

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

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[1]Thorpe 1842, p. 503 [2]Thorpe 1842, p. 124, fn. 14 [3]Wanley 1705, p. 281 [4]Thorpe 1842, p. 505 [5]Thorpe 1842, p. 184 [6]Thorpe 1842, p. 507

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

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

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[1]Gollancz 1892, p. xix [2]Bosworth and Toller 1898 and 1921
[3]Köhler 1912

posed on this text the divisions and numberings made in the Bibliothek. The latter dictionary is Köhler's revision of an earlier dictionary issued under Grein's direction in 1861 and 1864.

It is interesting to note that some of the emendations Grein suggested for readings given by Thorpe were later to prove the manuscript readings, although where he attempted to fill in lacunae he was less successful. For some time German scholars followed his lead in trying to fill up inductively the gaps in the damaged parts of the Exeter Book. With the publication of Schipper's notes from his collation of the manuscript and the two printed editions of its contents[1], a fairly detailed account of the manuscript, together with corrections for many things misreported by Thorpe, became available. So far as other parts of the Exeter Book are concerned, it is unfortunate that Schipper did not use Chambers's transcript which could have provided a few readings that had since his day been obscured by binding strips; for the 1379 lines of Guthlac material, however, Schipper notes only a few incorrect readings, a few misplaced accents and occasional emendations made within the manuscript itself. To note these he did not need the help of the British Museum transcript.

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

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[1]Schipper 1874

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

Gollancz, in his edition of poems from the Exeter Book, gives both his own new consecutive numbering for the Guthlac poems and references to Grein's numbering, a practice followed also in the 1933 facsimile of the manuscript. Both systems are widely used today, generally inconsistently. The long-standing state of indecision as to where Guthlac A begins (or where Christ III ends) is well illustrated in a general history of Old English literature published as recently as 1949 in which the older lineation is followed within the text and the newer in the notes[1]. It is noteworthy that such confusion has continued despite the appearance of The Exeter Book (as the third volume of The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records series in 1936) in which only the newer line references are given. The results of this confusion

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[1] C.K. Anderson 1949, p. 126 and p. 151

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

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

b : The manuscript

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

The manuscript is generally ascribed to the latter half of the tenth century, as are the other great codices which contain the bulk of surviving Old English poetry. It now consists of 131 folios, of which the first 8 are later than the 123 folios (numbered 8 to 130) which remain from the original collection of Old English verse. The 8 additional folios, the first containing a title given the book in post-mediaeval times and the number 3501 and the other seven containing eleventh and twelfth century materials in both English and Latin from Cambridge University MS Ii.ii.11, are reproduced in the facsimile edition of the manuscript, together with a discussion of them by M. Förster. Only the 123 leaves numbered 8 to 130 therefore constitute the Anglo-Saxon poetic manuscript.

These leaves were apparently written by one scribe who was perhaps responsible also for two other manuscripts at one time in Exeter, MS Lambeth 149 (which left Exeter in 1018) and MS Bodley 319 (given

by the cathedral Chapter to Oxford in 1602). The folios are on an average 12.5" by 8.6", with 21 to 23 long lines of writing per page (approximately 36 verse lines). The manuscript is imperfect at the beginning, single leaves have been lost after folios 37, 69, 73, 97, 105 and 111, and the top part of folio 53 has been cut away, with loss of four lines of script (that is, about six verse lines). The seventeen gatherings of the manuscript now vary in size from five to eight folios and are not provided with signatures as are the gatherings of the Vercelli Book. The Guthlac material, filling folios 32^{v} to 52^{v}, appears in the gatherings numbered IV, V and VI by Förster. Gatherings IV and VI are among those gatherings of the manuscript still made up of eight folios; VI, containing three full sheets and two half sheets folded in, is the only complete gathering of the manuscript not made up of the usual four folded sheets. Gathering V, once complete, is now without its first folio. It has often been suggested that a whole gathering has fallen out between folios 52 and 53, that is between gatherings VI and VII, as in this part of the manuscript the beginning of a new poem is normally marked by one or two free lines and a line filled with capitals.[1] The excised portion of folio 53 is therefore insufficient for the ending of Guthlac B and the opening of Azarias, a conclusion supported by the appearance of the lower tips of two letters from what must have been the fourth line of script on folio 53^{r}. It is impossible to estimate how much may have been lost from the end of the second Guthlac poem

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[1] See Ker 1933, p. 228.

in these circumstances. For Guthlac A it is a fair guess that some seventy lines have been lost between lines 368 and 369 where a folio is missing from the manuscript.

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

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[1] Ker 1933, p. 228

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

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

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[1] Flower 1935, p. 70 [2] Gollancz 1895

The present edition of the Guthlac poems is conservative. In it the forms of the manuscript are retained so far as is possible : 'accents' are marked, foliation is noted, the sectional divisions are given and attention is drawn both to the expansion of abbreviations and to textual emendations. Below are listed a few details which particularly affect the modern interpretation of the Guthlac poems.

SUMMARY

sectional divisions within the Guthlac poems

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

Guthlac B - lines 819-93 (introduced by a line for the most part filled with large bold capitals), 894-975, 976-1059, 1060-1133, 1134-1223, 1234-1304 and 1305-79 (with loss of the end of this poem).

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

small capitals

The small capitals, because they often differ only very slightly in size from other letters, cannot be distinguished with any certainty.

Gollancz attempts a careful distinction, using a small clarendon type to indicate that in the manuscript certain letters are 'intermediate between ordinary small and capital letters'[1]. A more ambitious list of all the small capitals of the Exeter Book is given by Krapp and Dobbie[2] who include, among the eight hundred instances cited, words which begin with the tall i so often used by the scribe, such words accounting for approximately half the examples given by them. They themselves point out that this graph is not an unequivocal capital and that it serves to give the letter a readily distinguishable appearance[3].

There is considerable disagreement between Gollancz and Krapp and Dobbie in the recognition of small capitals. For example, Gollancz indicates that he recognises six on folio 34^{r} (Sone 104, Hwæt 108, Tid 114, nales 117, ober 119 and Ober 127), whereas the American editors list twelve (Sibban 99, Inlyhte 99, Sone 104, In 107, Hwæt 108, In 109, In 111, Tid 114, Nales 117, In 118, Ober 119 and Ober 127), a list differing not only in their inclusion of the long i. On the following folio 34^{v} Gollancz lists seven small capitals (Swa 133, obbet 134, feond 136, obbet 147, nales 150, Sara 155 and Sar 130), whereas Krapp and Dobbie note only five (Swa 133, In 137, Obbet 147, Nales 150 and In 154). For the recto of this folio I would follow the Krapp and Dobbie listing except in their inclusion of the long i, but for the verso I should prefer Gollancz's interpretation of the letter forms; it must be noted that I was undecided as to the inter-

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[1] Gollancz 1895, preface [2] Krapp and Dobbie 1936, pp. lxxvi ff.
[3] ibid., p. xviii

pretation of f in feond 136 until I had seen that Gollancz had also taken it as a small capital.

The gradation in size of initial letters is often so little that it cannot easily be represented in typescript or print. It is worth noting however that most of the more obvious small capitals follow a low dot and appear in connective words. Although Förster concludes that 'any kind of logical or purely syntactical punctuation is unknown to our scribe'[1], it is likely therefore that the dot is not merely a 'metrical point'. The verse units are for the most part sentence units at the level of word, phrase or clause and sometimes the stops seem to serve to mark off larger units than those contained within a verse or series of verses. The pointing is perhaps better described as more rhetorical than syntactical.

'accents'

The 'accents' of the manuscript, in form a very thin acute, are placed over vowels and occur rather less frequently in the Exeter Book than in many other Old English manuscripts. Lists of the accents of the Exeter Book have been drawn up by Assmann[2] and Krapp and Dobbie[3]. The latter list is rather fuller than Assmann's, except that in it the low dots which generally accompany a 'law' when it is marked off by an accent are not recorded.

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

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[1] OTP 1933, p. 62 [2] Assmann 1897, pp. 239-43 [3] Krapp and Dobbie 1936, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv

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

contractions

The abbreviations are those commonly found in Old English manuscripts. Most used is the tilde or macron. Its chief use is to indicate the omission of a nasal consonant from the script, very often at the end of a line where a suitable division of material is sought. Although editors generally expand the tilde in this position to m[4], it must be remembered that the dative inflexion -um appears also as -un

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[1]Keller 1908 [2]Krapp and Dobbie 1936, pp. xxiv-xxv [3]Thornley 1954 [4]See Schlutter 1929, pp. 264-65.

in this manuscript and that silent expansion of g in such pieces would conceal the true proportions of these alternative forms of the inflexion to be found in the texts. The tilde is sometimes used to indicate the omission of g (for example above the g of Gle 368 *ge-bong*) or of -(n)e (as in the various abbreviations for *bonne*). The usual contraction for *þæt*, whether on its own or with the enclitic *-te*, appears throughout the manuscript, as does 7 for both conjunction and prefix (found only as *ond* where written out) and once for the first element of Hdl 5.8 *hondweorc* (7weorc). A few common Latin abbreviations are to be found in the manuscript but are not represented in the Guthlac poems.

c : The extent of the two Guthlac poems

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

The views of the nineteenth century critics are usefully summarised by Karl Jansen in his Die Cynewulf-Forschung which, although published in 1908, is understandably less full for the first years of this century[1]. There is no comparable summary of standpoints taken up in the last half-century on the Cynewulf question[2], probably because few would dispute Jansen's definition of the Cynewulf canon (Juliana, Christ II, Elene and Andreas), except to remove Andreas from among the signed poems. (The statistical work of S.K. Das is, however, important, for its results limit the Cynewulf canon definitely

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[1] Jansen 1908. The list is incomplete even for the nineteenth century (e.g. omitted is Liebermann's article in Neues Archiv 1892), as well as for the early years of this century (e.g. Adams 1906). [2] Most who deal with this question refer the reader back to Jansen's work: e.g. Tupper 1911, Sisam 1933, Dubois 1942, Schaar 1949.

to this group of signed poems.[1]) For Jansen the Fates of the Apostles seemed to be der schluss des Andreas and consequently Andreas was indisputably by Cynewulf[2]. Otherwise, general assumptions about the extent of the Cynewulf canon have altered little since the publication of Jansen's monograph. Opinions have, however, varied as to the number of Cynewulfian poems contained in the Exeter and Vercelli books, although here again Jansen's conclusions provide a useful introduction to assumptions general in recent notes upon this question. He thinks that Guthlac B should be placed in the canon of signed poems :

> Für ein wahrscheinliches werk Cynewulfs muss ich mit den meisten forschern das gedicht Guðlacs Tod halten. Der schluss desselben fehlt; wäre er nicht verloren, so würden wir wohl eine fünfte runenstelle mit des dichters namen haben.

He is not prepared to admit into the canon The Phoenix, finding in it too great differences in sprachlich-metrischen dingen and he points out that other poems often attributed to Cynewulf, like the Physiologus, are too short for any conclusions about their authorship to be drawn[3].

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

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[1]Das 1942 [2]Jansen 1908, p. 122 [3]Jansen 1908, p. 123

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

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

> Liber IV, octo constans Capitibus, agit de Gaudiis quæ paravit Deus pro iis qui amaverunt eum & mandata ejus impleverunt: cum narratione Poetica eorum quæ in spiritu viderit in cœlos raptus Guthlacus. (Vid. visiones Guthlaci Anachoretæ.)
> Incip. Liber sic. Se bið gefeana fægrest þonne hy fyrnðe [sic] gemetað engel.
> Expl. Liber Wuldor-fæst ealdne widan ferh on lifigendra. londes wynne.

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

> Liber V. novem constans Capp. Agit autem de Creatione Hominis & lapsu ejus; de supra memorato Guthlaco; de tribus pueris Annania, Azaria & Misaele, iisdem fere verbis ac in impresso Cædmone pag. 81. de Cantico eorundem; & de Nabuchdonosore Rege Chaldæorum. Ab istis etiam verbis [1]

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[1] Wanley 1705, p. 281

These extracts from Wanley's account of the Exeter Book comprise the fullest account of the Guthlac portion of the manuscript available until the publication of Schipper's collations of Thorpe's Codex Exoniensis with the manuscript in 1874.

The notion that the Exeter Book contains one Guthlac poem by Cynewulf appears first in an early paper on runes by Kemble[1] who must at this time have been helping Thorpe with the preparation of his edition of the Exeter Book poems for press, for many of his opinions are to be found also in Thorpe's Codex Exoniensis. This volume appeared shortly after Kemble's paper. In it Thorpe prints as The Legend of Saint Guthlac continuously from the second section of Guthlac A (line 93) to the end of Guthlac B (line 1379). He recognises no break in this material, observing only in a note on line 819 that there here occurs a digression which :

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

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

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[1] Kemble 1840, pp.360 ff.
[2] Thorpe 1842, p. 505, note for 151.6
[3] Thorpe 1842, p. 91
[4] Thorpe 1842, p. 501, note for 50.8.

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

What is now recognised as the first section of Guthlac A is presented by Thorpe in two parts, lines 1 to 29 as the second half of a poem entitled 'Of Souls after Death etc.' and lines 30-92 as a separate and complete poem to which he gives the title 'Poem Moral and Religious'. This division of the Guthlac material of the manuscript is followed by Klipstein who prints in his reader Thorpe's 'Poem Moral and Religious'[2]. It is first questioned by Dietrich who, in his discussion of the Christ poems which appear immediately before the Guthlac poems, suggests that the third of these ends with Thorpe's 'Of Souls after Death etc.' (i.e. a Christ trilogy of 1693 lines) or with the first half of this poem if the second part is taken as an introduction to the Guthlac material (i.e. a Christ trilogy of 1664 lines)[3]. Grein, when including the Exeter Book poems available to him through Thorpe's Codex Exoniensis, falls in with the former of the alternative endings proposed by Dietrich for the third Christ poem. So the opening twenty-nine lines of Guthlac A appear at the end of the Christ poems in the first volume of his Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie[4] and the rest of the first section of this poem in the second volume of the Bibliothek. He recognises that Thorpe's 'Poem Moral and Religious' belongs properly to the following Guthlac material and prints it as the opening[5] of a poem 1353 lines long about this saint.

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[1] Thorpe 1844, II. p. 622, note for 108.13
[2] Klipstein 1849, II. p. 205
[3] Dietrich 1853, pp. 193-214
[4] Grein 1857 I. pp. 190-91
[5] ibid. 1858, II. p. 71

This arrangement of the first section of Guthlac A is to be found reflected also in Grein's translations from Old English poetry of the same decade[1].

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

Two poems within the 1353 lines of the Guthlac presented by Grein are first distinguished by Rieger[2] who describes the first one in this way :

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

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[1] Grein 1857 (D), p. 194 and 1859, pp. 67 ff. [2] Rieger 1869, p. 325 fn. 1

Rieger suggests that the two poems are independent of one another and notes, moreover, that whereas the first poem seems in no way dependent on the Vita by Felix, the second is obviously based on it. He does not, however, wish to remove either poem from those at that time attributed to Cynewulf, but cites verbal parallels from both poems and other poems then attributed to Cynewulf as an indication of his authorship of them. The concluding sentence of his note on the Guthlac poems deserves emphasis in this discussion :

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

Similar distinctions are often to be found in later notes upon these poems. The contrast in source material for the two poems is discussed elsewhere in this introduction[1]. Important here is the suggestion that Cynewulf first made a poem from oral traditions about Guthlac and that he later, having come to know the Vita by Felix, made another on the death of the saint. This second distinction enables later critics to contrast these two poems in discussion of the development of Cynewulf's art. The first instance of this I have found is in the first edition of Ten Brink's Geschichte der englischen Literatur[2] where the second Guthlac poem is treated as a later continuation of the first and where both are attributed to Cynewulf. Remarks made by Sweet[3] and Wülcker[4] in the 1870s suggest that both

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[1] See XXI. 2/a. [2] Ten Brink 1877, I. pp. 64-75 [3] Sweet 1871, p. 16 [4] Wülcker 1878, pp. 506-7

still accept Grein's poem of 1353 lines. They are, however, no more guarded than Rieger and Ten Brink in their attribution of this material to Cynewulf. Sweet argues that there are in the Exeter Book certain poems (other than those which contain signatures) :

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

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

> Er dichtete Juliane, wahrscheinlich auch Guðlac, dann Crist und zuletzt Elene. So wartete er, der welt ganz entfremdet, auf die zeit, da er das irdische leben mit dem ewigen vertauschen könne.

Charitius's Über die angelsächsischen Gedichte vom Hl. Guðlac[1] is the first paper to appear concerned only with the Guthlac poems. Like Rieger he recognises that what had hitherto been thought one poem is in reality two (the first for him is still 790 lines long, i.e. Glg 30-818). He compares these two poems with one another and with what is for him the undisputed Cynewulf canon, Juliana, Elene and Christ (for him a poem of 1694 lines), showing the uselessness as evidence of authorship of the verbal parallels cited by Rieger. Although many of Charitius's findings in this article are invalidated

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[1] Charitius 1879, pp. 265-308

by his misunderstanding of the Cynewulf canon, the evidence amassed by him was at the time convincing. One of his generalisations is still widely accepted :

> Guthlac B ist durchaus streng in seinem versbau und steht den Cynewulfschen dichtungen in dieser beziehung viel näher als der metrisch viel freier und nachlässiger gebaute Guthlac A.[1]

He ascribes the composition of Guthlac B to Cynewulf who he suggests knew and was influenced by the earlier author of Guthlac A[2]. In this way he attempts to explain the striking parallels between the two poems without being forced to admit Guthlac A to the Cynewulf canon on their evidence.

Some further observations on the Guthlac poems appear in an article by Fritzsche[3] published in the same year as Charitius's discussion of them. This article contains a thorough examination of Andreas which leads Fritzsche to conclude that that poem is not by Cynewulf but :

> .. ist von einem schüler oder nachahmer Cynewulfs, der neben den werken desselben auch andere erzeugnisse der Ags. lit. kannt.[4]

His plan necessitated that some comparison of Andreas and the Guthlac poems should be made and, as well as noting verbal parallels, he looks briefly at the source(s) available to the Guthlac poets[5]. This question is not discussed in Charitius's article, and Fritzsche's observation that ignorance of the Vita cannot be argued beyond Glo 529 is

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[1]Charitius 1879, p. 273 [2]ibid. p. 306 [3]Fritzsche 1879, pp. 441-500 [4]ibid. p. 500 [5]ibid. p. 496

therefore to be set against Rieger's assumption that the A poem is independent of Felix. Unfortunately Fritzsche postpones giving an explanation (which never appeared) of why he has reached this conclusion.

In the second edition of his history of English literature Ten Brink no longer argues that both Guthlac poems are by Cynewulf but now holds the same opinion as Charitius, that only Guthlac B may be ascribed to Cynewulf and that Guthlac A is to be regarded as the work of an earlier poet[1]. This simple contrasting of the poems might well have become a commonplace of literary histories and of writings on Cynewulf for some time, had not Fritzsche's suggestion given rise to new examinations of the poem and to attempts to show how one man (usually Cynewulf) knitted together oral tales and material from the Vita into a poem of 1353 lines. The material is now divided into three chunks (lines 30-529, 530-818 and 819-1379) in some discussions. Although D'Ham[2] is unable to find any evidence to support Fritzsche's observation that independence of the Vita cannot be argued beyond the first of these divisions, he apparently accepts this interpretation of the relationship of the poems to the Vita and ascribes all 1353 lines as printed by Grein to Cynewulf. A fuller examination of Fritzsche's argument is made by Lefèvre[3] who can find close parallels between the Vita and the poetic material only in the third section examined by him (i.e. Guthlac B). Yet, he too follows Fritzsche in arguing that behind both second and third sections lies the Vita. He

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[1] Ten Brink 1879, p. 62 [2] D'Ham 1883, p.25 [3] Lefèvre 1883, pp.181-240

presents quite a detailed examination of the poem, concluding :

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

His Guthlac III is distinguished also from the earlier I and II by the way rhyme is used, but this Lefèvre regards as further evidence that this part of the poem was written at a different period from the rest[2]. Lefèvre's views seem at first to have been favourably received and we find Kirkland is prepared to accept that he has proved the existence of only one Guthlac poem 'by his application of Fritzsche's "set of laws" to the poem'[3].

For the next dozen or so years opinions swing back and forwards and no observations of any note are made on the problems now presented by the Guthlac poems. Soon Holtbuer denies on syntactical grounds the authorship of any part of Guthlac A or Guthlac B to Cynewulf and as well the Andreas, The Phoenix, the Dream of the Rood and The Descent into Hell[4]; but Wülcker's suggestion that a runic signature may have disappeared with the lost ending of Guthlac B[5] means the reopening of the whole discussion. His hypothesis proves popular and thereafter appears in the theories of all who argue that Cynewulf was responsible either for Guthlac B alone[6] or for both Guthlac poems[7]. Still others

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[1] Lefèvre 1883, p. 231 [2] ibid. pp. 233 ff. [3] Kirkland 1885, p. 20 [4] Holtbuer 1884, p. 40 [5] Wülcker 1885, p. 183; he restates this hypothesis in his Geschichte der englischen Literatur 1896, p. 43 [6] e.g. Ebert 1887, p. 63; Cremer 1888, p. 50; Price 1896, p. 50; Trautmann 1896, p. 388; Jansen 1906, p. 123 [7] e.g. Sarrazin 1886, p. 191.

continue to accept Cynewulfian authorship for one Guthlac poem, without discussion of any of these points[1].

The results of his new investigation of the Cynewulf question from a metrical point of view are presented by Mather in 1892[2]. He reconsiders the evidence sifted by Cremer in his discussion on whether or not Andreas, The Phoenix and the Guthlac poems belong to the Cynewulf canon and, like Cremer, excludes Andreas, The Phoenix and Guthlac A from it. Although Cremer accepts Guthlac B as by the same author as Christ II, Juliana and Elene, Mather is unable to find sufficient proof either for or against such a conclusion. He shows that Guthlac A and Guthlac B are unlikely to have been written by the same man, noting :

> Aesthetically the first part of the 'Guthlac' has been judged inferior to the second. The metrical differences will show that they cannot be by the same author.[3]

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

> It is a tempting hypothesis, that the Vercelli fragment may be the epilogue to the unfinished poem Guthlac B.[4]

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

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[1] e.g. Herzfeld 1890, p.413 et passim. [2] Mather 1892, pp. 97-107
[3] ibid. p. 103 [4] ibid. p. 103

The methods of amassing and examining detail used by Mather are interesting and some differences noted by him significant, but unfortunately his division of the Christ poems and the placing of the first twenty-nine lines of Guthlac A with Christ III throw out the figures in his comparative tables.

From 1892 discussion of the extent and relationship of the two Guthlac poems is further complicated by the need to consider Gollancz's suggestion that the twenty-nine lines usually treated as the final section of Christ III by earlier scholars are in reality the opening of Guthlac A.[1] Gollancz relegates these lines to an appendix in his edition of Christ, stating :

> .. there is absolutely no break in the manuscript between the lines and the passage usually printed as the first section of the latter poem. [Christ] I make bold to suggest that the whole section is a prelude to 'St. Guthlac', with motives derived from the concluding portions of the 'Christ'. Thorpe, the first editor of the Exeter manuscript, is no doubt answerable for this error, which even the ingenuity of Dietrich and Grein did not detect.[2]

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

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

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[1] Gollancz 1892, p. xix [2] ibid. p. 103

> from oral tradition, and then, much later in life, when his imagination was delivered by the peace in his soul, took up his old work again, after the production of the Life of Guthlac, and added to it an end, with a special account of the anchorite's death.[1]

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

> It is more than probable that Mr. Gollancz is right in tagging on these twenty-nine lines to the Guthlac, but I think he will have to say that they were placed there many years after the first part was written, when Guthlac B was added - about the time, that is, when Cynewulf wrote the Christ.[2]

These quotations from Brook show also his belief that Guthlac A is dependent upon oral traditions; as yet evidence to support Fritzsche's conclusions has not been recognised. However, Liebermann in that same year questions the still widely held opinion that the poem is not related to Felix's Vita, starting from the arguments of Charitius. He points out the parallels between Vita 391 : Glg 151, Vita 553 : Glg 699, Vita 558 : Glg 732 and suggests that the poet's account of Guthlac's home on einem Bergen recalls Felix's tumulo[3]. As well he notes less striking similarities, for example the often cited resemblance between St. Guthlac's swallows in Felix's Vita and the birds in the triumphant scene of the poem (lines 733-8), but

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[1] Brook 1892, p. 242 [2] ibid. p. 243 [3] Liebermann 1892, p. 247

confines these to a footnote as of less importance[1]. The next full examination of this problem does not appear until 1902 and in the interval both Brooke[2] and Wülcker[3] accept that both poems are based upon the Vita, Brooke observing that the second follows its source 'closely', and that the attribution to Cynewulf strengthens "the supposition that he was a Northumbrian of the sea-coast" (because the fen-land voyage is turned into a sea-voyage). In 1902 Forstmann is apparently unaware of Liebermann's observations and, for the most part piling up negative evidence by detailing the Felix material not used by the A-poet, he asserts :

> Das Ergebnis unserer Untersuchungen ist also, 1. dass 'Guthlac der Einsiedler' unabhängig von der Vita des Felix ist, und dass 2, die wenigen verkommenden Ähnlichkeiten sich aus der Behandlung desselben Stoffes ergeben oder eine Folge der gleichartigen Quellen ist, aus denen Felix und der Dichter schöpften.[4]

One reviewer finds the evidence he collects for the independence of Guthlac A 'weighty'[5].

In his edition of the first part of the Exeter Book for the Early English Text Society in 1895 Gollancz attached to the opening of a poem Saint Guthlac.A. of 818 lines length the lines which a few years earlier he had relegated to an appendix in his edition of Christ. This arrangement entails a new numbering of the poems and for the convenience of readers Gollancz gives Grein's numbering as well as his own. He continues also the practice of numbering the poems consec-

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[1] Liebermann 1892, p. 247, fn. 1 [2] Brooke 1898, p. 193 [3] Wülcker 1896, pp. 39 ff. [4] Forstmann 1902, p. 17 [5] Gerould 1904, p. 96

utively. His placing of the disputed twenty-nine lines within Guthlac A is approved by Blackburn in his examination of Gollancz's divisions of Christ[1], but it does not gain the support of most German scholars[2]. In the third volume of the revised Bibliothek Assmann prints the Guthlac material with Monge sindon 30 as the opening words, just as Grein had done. He does however add a new footnote at the break between the two poems (for the word wynne 818) :

> .. auf einer seile allein, dann 2 seilen frei.[3]

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

> ... ein selbständiges stück über das schicksal der frommen seele. ... Lächerlich scheint es mir, ein umfangreiches gedicht Cynewulfs v. 1694 mit fragezeichen endigen zu lassen; ganz verwerflich ist Gollancz' meinung dass der Guþlac v. 1666 anfängt, statt mit dem feierlichen Manige sindon, wie der Heland mit mânega weren und der Panther mit demselben verse.[4]

It is not surprising to find A.S. Cook observing a few years later in his edition of Christ that Mr. Gollancz's placing of these twenty-lines at the beginning of Guthlac A 'is likely to meet with scant approval'[5]. A certain amount of hindsight may have inspired both this remark and his decision to print the lines at the end of Christ. His remarks on the composition of the poem are inconclusive :

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[1]Blackburn 1897, pp. 89-98 [2]An exception is Glede, 1894, p. 260 in his review of Gollancz's edition of Christ. [3]Assmann 1898, p. 78 [4]Cosijn 1898, pp. 114-15 [5]Cook 1900, p. lxii

> If either Guthlac B or the whole was written by Cynewulf, a good deal of it must be 'rentice-work, touched up when he had attained the fulness of his power and art.

He goes on to argue against Cynewulf's authorship of Guthlac A because of the references within it to hearsay, contrasting these with the appeal to the testimony of books that appears in Guthlac B. Certain passages he identifies as 'most nearly Cynewulfian in thought and tone' (819-871[a], 1094-1104 and 1278[b]-1343), adding that although these contain non-Cynewulfian phraseology

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

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

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[b] Cook 1900, p. lxiii [2] Adams 1906, p. 240 [3] Grau 1908, pp. 84 ff.

E.J. Howard who tries to establish, again by quoting parallels, that the twenty-nine lines are more closely linked to Christ III than to Guthlac A :

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

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

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

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

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

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[1] Howard 1930, p. 360 [2] ibid, p. 360

> for believing that it is not. And as the reasons for believing that Christ IV is the conclusion of Christ III are better than those for believing that it is not, there seems to be no valid reason why Christ IV should not be ascribed to Cynewulf.[1]

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

> These lines might be added to the end of CHRIST without too great violence to logical continuity, though they would form somewhat of an anticlimax for that poem; they are certainly only very remotely connected with the narrative of the life of Guthlac which begins with Monge sindon, GUTHLAC 30. In subject matter, therefore, they do not clearly attach themselves either to CHRIST or to GUTHLAC, and it is not impossible that, as Cosijn suggested, they formed originally an independent poem or fragment.[2]

In these circumstances, the editors choose to follow the intent of the compiler of the Exeter Book. Not until the last few years, with the publication of L.F. Shook's articles in which he examines the subject-matter and unity of Guthlac A and demonstrates that these lines belong to that poem, has there appeared any discussion on the content of the passage and of Guthlac A fuller than the brief note by Adams on verbal parallels between the two.[3]

Although most critics writing in the twentieth century distinguish

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[1] Howard 1930, p. 367 [2] Krapp & Dobbie 1936, p. xxx [3] Shook 1960, 1961

two Guthlac poems[1], attributing the earlier Guthlac A to some poet other than Cynewulf and regarding the later Guthlac B as written by Cynewulf or some one of his near contemporaries, some have argued that the material in lines 30-1379 are one poem. This notion perhaps derives ultimately from the many attempts made to explain Cynewulf's authorship of both poems, but it owes much to explanations which show Cynewulf as the last shaper of both poems and author of the second. For example, Brandl, after describing Guthlac A, begins his account of the later poems :

> Später fügte vermutlich Kynewulf dieser Dichtung ein Gegenstück hinzu, (791-1353) in der er an der Hand einer lateinischen Vita sancti Guthlaci aus der Feder des Mönches Felix von Croyland nochmals die Versuchungen und den Tod des Heiligen, seinen letzten Auftrag an einen treuen Gefährten und die Ausrichtung desselben darstellt.[2]

For Legouis and Casamian Guthlac is

> made up of two badly joined parts of which the first is confused and mediocre ..[3]

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

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[1] Tupper 1911, Gerould 1916, 1917, Sievers 1925, Kurtz 1926, Hotchner 1934, Dubois 1942, Schaar 1949, Young 1950, Anderson 1950, etc.

[2] Brandl 1899, p. 67 [3] Legouis & Casamian 1926, p. 28

[4] Thompson, [1931] p. 10 [5] ibid, p. 39

theme of the first. For her this poem is a 'psychological study' and very different in purpose from the Vita which she describes as 'practical, an historical narrative'[1]. Such arguments must underlie E.V. Gordon's remarks on the structure of Guthlac :

> There can be no doubt of the essential unity of Beowulf: the whole poem is carefully planned to show the tragedy and importance of its elegiac theme. A very similar structure is used to present an ecclesiastical hero in the poem on Saint Guthlac.[2]

It is, however, impossible to say if Gordon considers the significance of lines 1 to 29 in arriving at such a judgment.

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

> Guthlac A has little to recommend it to anyone other than the antiquarian and student of Old English language and poetry; but Guthlac B shows marked resemblances to the four signed poems of Cynewulf, and may well be from the hand of that author.[3]

Anderson's own references to these poems reveal his indecision as to the disputed 29 lines, for at one time he describes Guthlac A as having 790 lines[4] and at another 818 lines[5]. Such inconsistencies are likely to mark essays upon Old English literature for some time to come. Until the production of a definitive edition of these poems the two systems of numbering will probably continue side by side.

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

2 Introduction to the poems

a : The sources of Guthlac A

VITA

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

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

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

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

This is a good account of the ways in which the greater part of the poem (lines 93-748) resembles Felix's Vita. Unfortunately it does not obviate the need to sift and examine the more considered attempts that

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[1] Wolpers 1964, p. 112

have been made to decide whether or not the poem is based on the Vita.

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

> Das gedicht ist auch in der that ganz unabhängig von der vita des Felix: während ihm sehr vieles von diesem erzählte fehlt, hat es 383–484 [i.e. 412–512] eine erzählung, von der Felix nichts weiss, und ist die übereinstimmung in den gemeinsamen partien von der art, dass sie nichts beweist.[1]

His suggestion that instead the poet owed much to mundliche überlieferung is to be found in many later notes on the sources of Guthlac A.[2] Rieger's statement that Guthlac A is independent of the Vita was not seriously opposed for some time. Fritzsche first points out that the poet's ignorance of the Vita cannot be argued much beyond line 529 of the poem, but he postpones giving an account (which never did appear) of his reasons for this conclusion[3]. Following Fritzsche's observation that the poet may draw on the Vita from line 529 onwards, both D'Ham and Lefèvre examine and contrast two parts of Guthlac A. D'Ham[4] is unable to identify any of the parallels between the latter part of the poem and the Vita inferred by Fritzsche and Lefèvre[5] can find close

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[1] Rieger 1869, p. 325 fn. 1
[2] – discussed later in this chapter
[3] Fritzsche 1879, p. 496
[4] D'Ham 1883, p. 25 and p. 45
[5] Lefèvre 1883, pp. 227 ff.

parallels only between the Vita and Guthlac B. He does note that the descriptions of the arrival of Bartholomew (lines 685-89) and of the terror of the demons (lines 692-95) may owe something to the Vita, without pointing to passages in the life from which these may stem.

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

> nales by he giemde burh gitsunga
> lenes lifwelan 151

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

> quem olim auari solitudinis frequentatores, erga causam
> lucri illic defodientes adquirendi scindebat. 391

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

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[1] Liebermann 1892, p. 247

Ne sy him banes bryce ne blodig wund,
lices lala ne labes wiht 699

Liebermann here compares with the phrase ne labes wiht a phrase in the Vita's report of the instructions given by Bartholomew to the demons :

.. ut illum in locum suum cum magna quietudine sine ulla offensionis molestia reducerent. 553

The third of Liebermann's parallels occurs in the poet's account of how Guthlac was returned to his dwelling-place. The demons carry him carefully, guarding him from falling :

Weron hyra gongas under godes egesan
smeþe 7 gesefte. 732

The wording here is at once simpler and more dramatic than in the passage of the Vita compared :

Nam illum reuehentes cum nimia suauitate. uelut quietissimo alarum remigio. ita ut nec in curru. nec in naui modestius duci potuisset subuolabant; 558

It is evident that the poet echoes neither the structure nor imagery of the Vita in this place.

The next examination of the relationship between Guthlac A and the Vita to contain any detail is found in Forstmann's dissertation upon this problem[1]. Forstmann begins by summarising both Guthlac A (for him a poem of 790 lines) and the Vita, detailing in a running commentary what Felix material is not used by the poet and then adding notes on five features of the poem not present in the Latin life[2]. These five features are Guthlac's home auf einem einsamen Berge, the

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[1] Forstmann 1901; this is printed again as the first section of Forstmann 1902. [2] Forstmann 1902, pp. 15-16

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

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

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

> .. evidence for the independence of Guthlac A, when collected, is weighty; and it is reinforced by the close imitation of the Vita found in Guthlac B.[2]

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

> .. throughout dependent on a literary source. Not only does it contain nothing, save part of the prologue and one expository passage, for which parallel is not furnished by Felix, but in phrase it frequently recalls the Latin.[3]

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[1] Forstmann 1902, p. 17 [2] Gerould 1904, p. 96 [3] Gerould 1916, p. 80

So far his arguments are straightforward, though advanced without any supporting evidence, for presumably his 'part of the prologue' refers to some if not all of lines 30-92 and his 'one expository passage' unparalleled in Felix is the account of monastic life which is without parallel indeed in any other Old English poem. Gerould's following conclusions about the poet's debt to the Vita are less easy to understand :

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

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

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

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[1] Gerould 1916, p. 80 [2] Gerould 1917, pp. 77-89

to the poet[1], a judgment which contrasts curiously with his own earlier suggestion that the poem 'in phrase... frequently recalls the Latin'[2]. The comparison itself reveals more dissimilarities than similarities between these two accounts of Guthlac's life. Most of the parallels noted by Gerould seem no more than coincidental correspondences of phrasing. An example of the close resemblances seen by him between the two should explain this criticism of his method. He compares[3]:

> bonne mongu owom
> feonda fareoytum fahde rarem 185

and

> tunc ueluti ab extenso arcu uenenifluam desperationis
> sagittam totis uiribus iaculauit. 411

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

> .. consistent with the purpose of the poem, of course, for it deals with the life of the saint in the Fens rather than with the glories of his transit to eternity.[4]

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

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[1] Gerould 1917, p. 78 [2] - quoted more fully above from Gerould 1916, p. 80 [3] Gerould 1917, p. 81 [4] ibid, p. 82

that, although Felix is concerned only with Guthlac, the spirit is in both Vita and poem similar[1]. It must be concluded that Gerould is apparently prepared to allow the poet enormous powers of 'moulding and organisation' in his use of the Vita.

Nothing in Gerould's comparison of lines 93-818 of Guthlac A with the Vita either proves or disproves that the poet based his poem upon the Vita. He does not indeed note the verbal parallels adduced by Liebermann and, ironically, these are more convincing than the similarities he himself finds between the two texts. It is worth noting at this point that Liebermann's discussion of this question does not seem to have been consulted by Forstmann and that it is not (more understandably) listed in Jansen's bibliography[2] of writings on the Cynewulf question. Although Grau also does not mention the parallels put forward by Liebermann, he may well have considered both these and the examination of the problem made by Forstmann before deciding that lines 30-818 are 'unabhängig von Felix von Croylands Erzählung'[3].

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

> ... no proof has been adduced to show that A could not have been derived in part, at least, from Felix, or that any part of it must have been derived from him.[4]

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[1] Gerould 1917, p. 84 [2] Jansen 1908, pp. 3-53 [3] Grau 1908 p. 91 [4] Kurts 1926, p. 142

He adds a note on Gerould's lengthy attempt to relate the poem to the Vita text :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[1] Kurtz 1926, p. 142 fn. 63 [2] ibid, p. 145 [3] ibid, p. 145

a poem of 818 lines) and the Vita the parallels put forward by Liebermann must have been considered, for reference is made to Liebermann[1]. In any case Schaar, after giving a brief account of the poem, concludes that the poet's treatment of themes common to both Guthlac A and the Vita is 'wholly different' from Felix's. He can find a resemblance between the two only in the St. Bartholomew passage of the poem and in the arrival of Bartholomew in the Vita and in recognising this agrees rather with the impressions of Fritzsche and Lefèvre than with the more forcefully presented evidence of Liebermann. He does not appear to have read Kurts's interpretation of the problem[2] and his opinion that the source for Guthlac A is 'some other biography than Felix's' may perhaps be an independent conclusion.

The question of the dependence of this poem upon the Vita is only briefly considered in the definitive edition of the Vita made by B. Colgrave[3]. It is curious that Colgrave should devote much of his summary of the problem to a consideration of the points advanced by Liebermann and refer the reader in a footnote to Forstmann's work for 'a summary of the conflicting opinions' on this subject. Elsewhere in his edition of the Vita Colgrave refers to Kurts's article on the source material of the Vita, but no attention is directed to Kurts's view of this question. However, this omission of references (it is obvious the introductory material of this edition has been much curtailed and

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[1] He may have found this reference in Krapp and Dobbie 1936, p. xxxii

[2] It may be significant that Kurts's article is not listed in the Krapp and Dobbie bibliography for the Exeter Book and that it is not mentioned in their discussion of this question in the introduction to the poems (on p. xxxii ; contrast the preceding note).

[3] Colgrave 1956, p. 20 and fn. 3

condensed) cannot be emphasised, for Colgrave is impartial in omitting both those who agree with his conclusions and those who disagree[1]. He finds that 'several of the main facts' from Felix's account of the saint appear in the poem :

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

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

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

Of the'main facts' cited by Colgrave, perhaps only in the gates of hell episode can more than a very vague relationship be recognised. It cannot be assumed that the poet visualised Guthlac's dwelling-place as 'on a barrow'[2] and Colgrave's observation of other similarities reminds one of the parallels found between Vita and poem by Gerould. The poet knows, or chooses to reveal, much less about the saint's earlier life than is related by Felix, for he tells us only that Guthlac had once loved freonessa fela 110. There is nothing in the poem about

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[1] e.g. against him Gerould 1904 as well as Kurtz and Schaar and agreeing with him Gerould 1916 and 1917

[2] See furth r commentary 140.

Guthlac's nine successful years as the leader of a warband and the poet must indeed be given the credit of having developed his own account of the saint's conversion, unless this whole section of the poem be regarded as an elaboration of the spiritalis flamma 251 which, according to Felix, pierced Guthlac's breast as he thought over the transitory nature of all upon earth and the shameful deaths of his heroic predecessors. Colgrave singles out also as common to both 'the attention of an angel'; presumably he here thinks of the visitant explained in the Vita by Guthlac in his dying conversation with Beccel (chapter 51) and considers this the source for the poet's account of two spirits in his treatment of Guthlac's conversion. We are told how two guardians watched over the young Guthlac, an angel of the lord and an angel of the devil, by no means giving him the same advice, until God adjudged victory to the angel and the devil was put to flight : and thereafter the frofre gæst remained in gudlaces geoce (lines 116 ff.). It is difficult to see behind the poet's treatment of this theme even 'a vague knowledge of Felix's work'[1].

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

> .. the work of a poet who knew Felix's Vita Sancti Guthlagi and consequently could not be assigned a relatively early date of composition.[2]

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

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

[2] Shook 1960, pp. 3-4

assumption is not examined for Shook's main concern is with presenting an interpretation of the poem itself. He observes that Felix's account of the saint's life is matter of fact in its approach, whereas the poet, uninterested in supporting detail, produces a poem 'basically and essentially abstract' and in the debate tradition, its theme the possession of the barrow on which Guthlac has his home[1]. In this paper Shook emphasises the struggle for the preservation of this barrow as the central theme of the poem and it is possible that this interpretation of the poem owes something to Colgrave's suggestion that Guthlac in the poem has 'his dwelling on a barrow'. The identification of the hermitage in the poem with the barrow of the Vita is by no means new in discussion of this poem, but two verbal similarities not advanced elsewhere are put forward in this article. In both cases Shook interprets some phrase in the poem by linking it with something in the Vita. He suggests that the manuscript form bugo 384 may be retained without emendation, translating it by 'bows' or 'makes stooped' and arguing that Guthlac's sleeping quarters would have been the miserable and low-roofed shelter of the barrow.[2] This explanation of bugo 384 is dependent upon the recognition of a barrow in the poem; as well it produces a sentence curious syntactically[3]. Shook's other new verbal parallel is his tentative translation of the oblique form mone 274 by 'in the marsh'[4]. This ingenious suggestion might be used as a detail of setting taken by the poet from Felix, if the generally accepted translation 'with food' were unsatisfactory. Instead the new reading produces a

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[1] Shook 1960, p. 9 [2] ibid, p. 7 [3] See commentary 384
[4] Shook 1960, p. 5

verse unsatisfactory metrically, for mos 'bog' cannot provide the long syllable and dip demanded in this A-type verse[1]. In a second paper[2] Shook deals with the important part played by angels in Guthlac A and has therefore no need to retrace and examine his assumption that the poem is based upon the Vita by Felix.

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

ORAL SOURCES

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

Us secgad bee 878

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

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1 See commentary 274 [2] Shook 1961, pp. 294-304 [3] Rieger 1869, p. 325 fn. 1; Kurtz 1926, p. 144; Hotchner 1939, p. 97; these have given more space to a discussion of this argument than most who mention it

sources available to the A-poet.

The saint is described four times in Guthlac A as a hero ussum tidum (401) or as a man whose history was widely known and often told. It is possible to emphasise these allusions too strongly, for they may be no more than conventional formulae. The first occurs in line 106 where the a-verse :

Hwæt we hyrdon

is reminiscent of many other verses in Old English poetry. In such verses hwæt may sometimes be regarded as extra-metrical (as, for example, in the first line of Beowulf where it apparently acted as a signal to draw the listeners' attention), but sometimes it is necessary to the stressed parts of the verse if it is to be placed within the Sievers system of scansion. At any rate, this word seems to have been linked with verbs of hearing and asking in an Anglo-Saxon verse-maker's mind and the phrase is therefore by itself hardly sufficient proof that the poet drew on oral traditions rather than written materials. Two further passages generally cited as evidence that the Guthlac A poet was 'a Mercian, who knew Crowland well'[1] are also formulaic in quality, for both turn upon a b-verse whose second measure is filled by tidum[2] :

An orette usæum tidum
ecmpa geeyðed 402

and

Se geeostad weard
in geeyndigra monna tidum 153.

The fourth passage recalls these in wording :

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[1] Tupper 1911, p. 262

[2] cf. Xpt 45, Clo 118, Ps1 39.2, 58.6 and Mbo 257, all b-verses.

Hwæt we þissa wundra gewitan sindon
eall þas geeodon in ussera
tida timan 754

However, the verse-base here is timan and the verse is therefore better compared with one a-verse[1] which ends similarly than with frequent examples of the genitive plural form tida in the first measure of a b-verse.[2]

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

Forþon is nu orlic þæt we afrætra
dæde demen, secgen dryhtne lof
ealra þara bisena þe us beo fore
þurh his wundra geweore wisdom cyþað 529

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

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[1] Phx 246 on ryhtes timan
[2] Gen 2307, Chr 107, 235, Glg 877
[3] Rieger 1869, p. 325 fn. 1

demons from popular oral traditions.

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

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

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[1] Kurtz 1926, p. 113 [2] Kurtz 1926, p. 113 fn. 19; it should be noted that a fuller discussion of all these things will be found in I.l/c

do so however, until we have considered what other sources may have been used by the poet, either consciously or unconsciously, in his composition of Guthlac A.

OPENING SECTION

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

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

> Et quis est, qui haec bona parare et acquirere sibi velit?[2]

This question is regarded as the basis for :

> Hwider sceal þes monnes mod astigan,
> oþþe after, ponne he his anne her

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[1] Grau 1908, pp. 81-99 [2] Migne, PL vi, 820; and see Grau 1908, p.85

> gæst bigonge þæt se gode mote
> womma clæne in geweald cuman. Glo 29

The correspondence is by no means close, and becomes less convincing when Grau's explanation of it within its context is explained :

> Er antwortet sie mit der Güðlâcererzählung, während Lactanz einen kurzen, positiven, ermahnenden Schlussabsatz folgen lässt.[1]

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

> In den Inst. div war keine deutlichere Personifikation des Engels und keine Spur von einer Anrede an die Seele vorhanden. Diese ist wohl einer Visio Pauli entnommen.[2]

It is interesting to note that the firmest piece of evidence adduced by Grau for regarding Chr 1349 to Glo 92 as linked is the similarity he finds through relating both to the sources he selects for them. More important even is his observation that similar themes to those of the opening section of Guthlac A appear again towards the end of the poem (in lines 790 ff.).[3]

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[1] Grau 1908, p. 84 [2] ibid, p. 87 [3] ibid, p. 92

Possible source material for the opening of the first Guthlac poem of the Exeter Book is next considered by Gerould. He, it must be remembered, was convinced that this poem is based on the Vita and his conviction explains his method of approaching the opening of the poem :

> There is even the possibility that he used a copy of Felix's Vita with a prologue unlike the one extant, but resembling in content the prologue of the Old English poem. We know very little about the textual history of Felix, but we do know that double prologues were not unusual in such works.[1]

For Gerould an alternative prologue must provide the source material for Gle 30-92 and he does not discuss the twenty-nine lines now generally regarded as the true beginning of the poem, obviously treating them as an integral part of the Christ III.

Gerould suggests that this second prologue might have been derived either from the tenth chapter of the Vitae Patrum of Gregory of Tours[2] or from the second book of Lactantius's De ira dei[3]. Both open in much the same way as Gle 30 ff. :

> Monge sindon geond middangeard
> hadas under heofonum þa þe in haligra
> rim ariseð ... 32

> Multi variique sunt gradus per quos ad coelorum
> regna conscenditur ... [Gregory]

> Nam cum sint gradus multi per quos ad domicilium
> veritatis ascenditur ... [Lactantius]

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[1] Gerould 1917, p. 79 commentary 30

[2] Migne, PL lxxi, columns 1054-55 and see

[3] Brandt and Laubmann 1893, II. p. 69

Either Latin passage, or similar phraseology in another writer, could have prompted the poet. He continues

> we þas ryht magun
> et eghwylcum anra gehyran
> gif we halig bebodu healdan willað 34

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

> .. non est facile cuilibet euehi ad summum, caligantibus enim ueritatis fulgore luminibus qui stabilem gressum tenere non possunt, reuoluuntur in planum . primus autem gradus est intellegere falsas religiones et abicere impios cultus humana manu fabricatorum, secundus ...

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

> Nam si ad martyrium mens accensa est, hujus adjutorii opem poposcit martyr ut vinceret; si jejunii observantiam adhibere studiit, ut ab eo confortaretur afflictus est; si castitati artus reservare voluit impollutos, ut ab illo muniretur orevit; si post ignorantium poenitendo converti desideravit, ut ab eo nihilominus sublevaretur cum lacrymis flagibavit, et si quid operis boni exercere eorum quispiam meditatus est, ut ab hoc adjutorio juvaretur expetiit.

This is in tune with the poet's view of Guthlac as a man who <u>martyrhad mode gelufade</u> (472) and as a <u>martyre</u> who was <u>from monegynnes gynnum</u> asundrad (514-15). His Guthlac does not endure passively the persecutions which come upon him, but he fights to continue in his chosen dwelling-place as a champion of God.

The similarities between the true beginning of Guthlac A and its ending have long been recognised. Adams[1] seems first to have noted the similarities in phraseology which are to be found in the opening twenty-nine lines and in the rest, particularly the closing section, of the poem. Although some of these are no more than the coincidental parallels to be expected in a formulaic tradition of verse-making, certain of the phrases compared by Adams indicate the Gle 1-29 and 30-818 touch upon the same themes (lines 1:228, 2:500, 3:160, 4:487, 8:790 and 9:159 for example). Grau, as noted above, also recognises the presence of similar themes at the beginning and end of the poem, though attributing them rather to the general influence of Lactantius which he thinks lies behind such passages. Tentative observations of this sort have for the most part, despite the appearance of two editions of the Exeter Book with Guthlac A a poem of 818 lines, remained unexplored. Indeed no separate attention is directed to this problem until recently, when two articles by L.K. Shook have appeared.

In the earlier of these articles Shook notes a resemblance in tone and content between Guthlac A and the De divina institutione of Lactantius (book II, chapter xv) so far as the figure of the angel at the beginning of the poem is concerned, but he makes no firm identification of the sources used by the poet (other than Felix's Vita) and suggests only that he had access to such hagiographic materials as the Visio sancti Pauli, the tales of St. Patrick's purgatory or the legends of St. Brendan's voyages[2]. These writings are compared rather for their

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[1] Adams 1906, p. 240 [2] Shook 1960, pp. 1-10; the similarity of his views at this time to Grau's should be noted.

general similarity in approach and content than for any closer parallels. In his later paper Shook identifies as the dominant theological theme of Guthlac A 'the function of angels in the salvation of man's soul'[1] and he looks at the poem against patristic traditions of the psychopompe[2]. He develops the suggestion earlier put forward by Grau[3] and his examination deserves a close reading.

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

> There is the joyful meeting of the angel and the soul (ll.1-2). Words are addressed to the soul by an angel, with the soul remaining silent. There is reference to the soul's striving for salvation (ll.6-7), and to its having done God's will on earth (ll.14-15), and probably also to its successful conflict with the wicked powers which beset it as it begins the journey to heaven (l.25). One has to wait until the end of the poem - which thus becomes a long flashback on Guthlac's life - for the final carrying of the soul to heaven by psychopompe.[4]

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

> Donne cwið se engel : "Hafað yldran hēd!"
> Grēteð gēst ðperne, Ābēoded him godes ārende :
> 'Nū þu ... etc."

and translates :

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[1]Shook 1961, p. 295 [2]Ibid. p. 297 [3]Grau 1908, p. 87
[4]Shook 1961, p. 300

> Then the soul says : "Receive ye higher rank! The spirit greets the other (i.e. the soul), declares to it God's message : "Now thou ... etc."

However, Shook himself admits that this interpretation of the Old English text is unlikely, as it entails a curious use of the imperative plural for singular address as well as the transfer of the psychopomp's function from the angel to the spiritus[1]. Despite this awkwardness of the poem in fitting the source provided for it he suggests that 'occasional coincidences of arrangement and expression' can be noted w'en the two important long Latin texts of the Visio sancti Pauli and the opening of Guthlac A are compared.

He tries to isolate and tabulate the themes which he thinks are shared by these texts. It is unnecessary here to present the extracts from the two major Visio Pauli traditions examined by Shook, for these are to be found both in his article and in the works from which he drew them[2]. Instead a short summary will be given of the similarities he finds between these passages and Guthlac A[3]. In all he finds five 'general correspondences' :

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

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

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[1] Shook 1961, p. 300; see also commentary 1 and M.R. James 1893, pp. 16-17, Silverstein 1935, c. xiv [2] ibid. pp. 301-32 [3] ibid. pp. 300-302

the soul', comparing Glo 4-5 with the Visio account on which he has remodelled the Old English.

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

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

5. Finally he tries to demonstrate that 'The soul's freedom from sin overcomes challengers', citing from the poem Glo 25 and 813. Again he draws comparisons with the Visio texts, but he is here dissatisfied with the correspondence, adding in a footnote "The 'witnesses' become vaguely an angel, and the form of the challenge itself is highly condensed."

Four of Shook's five general correspondences do not stand up to close examination and he is wise in concluding (rather less firmly than his preceding manner of argument might have led one to expect) :

> This episode of the departure of a just soul from its body exhausts the indebtedness of the Prologue to the tradition represented by the Visio Sancti Pauli.[1]

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

> A dominant theological theme running through Guthlac A is the function of angels in the salvation of man's soul.[2]

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[1] Shook 1961, p. 302 [2] ibid. p. 295

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

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

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[1] The Soul and Body poems of the Exeter and Vercelli books are, as Bloomfield 1952, p. 20 points out, within this tradition

[2] See the homilies discussed by Willard 1935.

[3] Bloomfield 1952, p. 14

[4] Dudley 1911, p. 44

[5] See Harley Roll, xiv and Dudley 1911, p. 171

[6] Bloomfield 1952, p. 17

[7] Willard 1935, pp. 31 ff.

in another Old English work. It is probable that the words *gæst* and *sāwl* are used here as so often in Old English verse in variation.

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

Willard brings together five homilies, in Latin, Irish and late Old English, and he suggests that these share features which presuppose a brief and well known narrative of the events which occur between the

soul's separation from the body and its judgment by God. All the texts assembled by him contain utterances which obviously stem from one source ultimately, although they differ from version to version in order and form :

> Certainly there has been much freedom, not only in the order of the utterances, but in the wording, as well, and in the association of response to utterance. In each of our texts the story of the Three Utterances is inserted as an exemplum; it is there to make a point. It is not used twice in the same way or under the same circumstances. It is a short, easily apprehended piece, which is not hard to remember in its main outline.[1]

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

> Magnum est lumen! ... Magna est letitia!
> ... Suave est iter![2]

These are typical of the short exclamations generally made by the soul of a good man in these homilies, and the angel (or angels) replies with longer affirmative and joyful answers. Light, joy and a pleasant path seem to have been the archetypal utterances made by the just soul, but the wicked soul exclaims at <u>angustia</u>, <u>asperium</u> and <u>tenebree</u>[3].

At the beginning of <u>Cuthlac A</u> we are told :

> Se bið gefeasna fægrast þonne he æt fryndo gesetað,
> engel 7 seo eadge sawl; ofgiefeþ hio þæs eorþan wynne,
> forlæteð þas læenan dreamas 7 hio wiþ þam lice gedæled;
> þonne owið se engel - hafað yldrum hæld -
> greteð gæst operne, abeodeð him godes ærende : 5

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[1] Willard 1935, p. 125 [2] Dudley 1911, p. 165 (Willard takes text of <u>Bibl. Nat. Ms. Latin 2628</u> from this edition). [3] Willard 1935, pp. 113 ff. summarises the utterances as they appear in the five texts.

A good man is dying, his soul leaves his body, and so it comes about that soul and angel first meet. The angel speaks, as befits his more senior rank, and gives God's message to the blessed soul. (Does the poet perhaps know some version of the three utterances and wish therefore to explain why the angel speaks first?) The angel tells the soul

> Wegas þe sindon wepe 7 wuldres leoht
> torht ontyned. Eart nu tidfara
> to þam halgan hám þær nafre hreow cyned,
> edengong fore yrmþum, ac þær bið engla dream,
> eáb 7 gesælignes ...[1]

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

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

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[1] A discussion of where this speech ends appears in the commentary.

Quando vero boni angeli inveniunt animam iustam suam esse
sociam gaudent omnes et demones contristantur. Angeli
dicunt: Noster est ille ver quia in bello fortis est,
stabilis in acie, arma pauli custodiens, id est scutum
fidei, et gladium spiritus sancti, loricam iusticiae et
galeam salutis et nunquam inermis fuit. Fidelis est et
lenis est: amans dominum valde misericors est. Omnia
sustinuit propter dominum omnipotentem, sperans futura.
Tunc dicunt angeli: Suscitate eam leniter de suo corpore,
ut quod ei apparavit dominus videat bonus. Tunc dicit
anima hominis iusti: Magnum est lumen! Angeli dicunt:
Maius tibi futurum est. Videbis claritatem domini facie
ad faciem non per speculum neque per velum quemamodum
videbant filii israelis faciem moysi. Dicit denuo anima:
Magna est letitia; Cui respondetur ab angelis: Maior tibi
futura est. Tunc videt angelorum multitudinem in obviam
sibi venientium et canentium. Hi sunt qui venerunt ex magna
tribulatione et laverunt stolas suas in sanguine agni.
Dicit tercio anima: Suave est iter. Angeli respondent:
Suavius tibi est futurum. Deduximus te ad tabernacula
sanctorum carentia in iustorum habitatione. Tunc dicunt
angeli: Suscitate eam leniter de suo corpore, et ut nichil
timoris, nichil doloris videat. Dividite, vos in duos
choros, ut alius sit proveniens, alius consequens, et
cantate illi de canticulis david ubi manifesta ... ...
beatitudinem anime intrantis in domo domini dicit: Beatus
quem elegisti et assumpsisti domine, inhabitabat in
tabernaculis tuis. Replebimus in bonis domus tue: sanctum
est templum tuum, mirabile in equitate. Non est acceptio
personarum ibi et nobilitas generis, sed reddit dominis
unicuique secundum opera sua. Et ibunt impii in ignem
eternum, iusti autem in vitam eternam in seculo seculorum. Amen.[1]

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[1]Dudley 1911, p. 165

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

> It is not clear when the archangel appears, or at what moment the soul passes into his custody. Certainly his introduction mars the effect of the escort of the soul, with the dual choir and the chanting of the psalm.[1]

The psychopomp is not, it seems, a fundamental part of the exemplum, but his appearance in the Visio sancti Pauli, the most influential of the Christian otherworld journeys, must have made him an obvious optional feature in such writings. It must be noted that the angel who takes the soul into the presence of God is not named in the earliest versions of the Visio sancti Pauli; he is only later identified with Michael[2] and in other apocrypha with Gabriel[3].

Shook[4] points out that elsewhere in the poem than the opening section there are indications of the poet's knowledge of apocryphal materials, citing lines 577-68 as 'strong evidence' that there were available to him sources which 'Felix either did not know or preferred not to employ'. Although he singles out as particularly noteworthy lines 560-63, the following passage is perhaps more interesting :

> Hy hine bregdon, budon orlege,
> egsan 7 ondan arleaslice,
> freone fore: swa bið feonda þeaw
> þonne hy soðfæstra sawle willað
> synnum besmitan 7 searocræftum. 568

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[1] Willard 1935, p. 134 [2] ibid. p. 72 fn. 53 [3] James 1892, p.57
[4] Shook 1961, p. 302

Guthlac's journey to hell door is surely to be contrasted with the poet's opening account of the greeting given to the blessed soul, an impression reinforced by the content of the speech of accusation made by the demons to Guthlac (lines 579-89). This account of the further journey offered him by the demons may owe something to the utterances of the wicked soul in the soul journey tradition. It can at least be said that both Grau and Shook are right in placing this poem within the otherworld tradition.

OTHER SOURCES

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

Ceowic þisses setles 278

just as Anthony is advised :

> abscede a finibus alienis, non potes nostras insidias sustinere.

Again, when Guthlac has undergone many temptations from these demons and has withstood them all, the poet tells us :

wes seo sreste earmra gesta
costung ofercumen. 437

The words are reminiscent of Evagrius's account of Anthony's first victory :

Hæc autem Antonii contra diabolum fuit prima victoria ..
(chapter vii)

Even the poet's description of Guthlac's hermitage recalls Evagrius's picture of Anthony's dwelling place - at the foot of a mountain, by a clear running spring, in a plain which held a few uncared for trees (chapter xlix) - rather than the marshy Crowland countryside of Felix's Vita.

Wolpers[1] finds resemblances between Guthlac A and other hagiographic writings, but they are of much the same sort as these, the coincidental parallels due to the similarity of subject matter and the repetitions of the writers of saints' lives. Towards the end of the poem he finds the tone reminiscent des lobpreisenden Psalmisten und der 'Vita Pauli' des Hieronymous but, though he suggests that Gle 748b-751 is reminiscent of the final chapter of the Vita Pauli, he is unwilling to press this similarity any farther : ein direkter Einfluss wäre denkbar. He notes also that the poet might have looked to chapter xxii of the Sulpicius Severus Vita sancti Martini for inspiration for the section of his poem on monastic corruption, but he could as easily have found hints for this from St. Anthony's sermon to his monks. According to Evagrius Anthony warned his followers that demons attack all Christians and especially monks (chapter xxiii),

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[1] Wolpers 1964, pp. 114-15

sometimes indeed taking on the appearance and speech of holy men so that they may deceive and drag their victims where they will (chapter xxv). Wolpers suggests :

> Ein ähnlicher Gedanke erscheint bei Felix, wenn er Verständnis für die kriegerischen Gelüste des heranwachsenden Guthlac aufbringt.

However, although no satisfactory source for this episode has been found, it need not be regarded as inspired by some phrases in the Vita for it looks back to lines 60-61 in the introductory section of the poem itself.

No single source has been found for Guthlac A as a whole and it is probable that it never had one. Resemblances of the sort summarised in the last few paragraphs could be multiplied considerably, but observation of themes and materials common to many religious writings of the age does little to illuminate either the poet or the composition of this poem. Such similarities cannot be given any great weight in a discussion of the sources for the poem, but are occasionally noted in the commentary. For example, it is there pointed out that the shaping of Guthlac's two unalike guardians in his early life (114 ff.) may owe something to the doctrine of the two angels, but we do not know in what form the author knew this doctrine. Indeed, we do not know if he knew this patristic doctrine at all, for he might just as well be remembering something like Evagrius's account of how the devil attacked the young St. Anthony when he first dwelt as a hermit outside his own village :

> nam et ille cogitationes sordidas conabatur inserere .

et hic eas oratu submovebat assiduo : ille titill-
abat sensus naturali carnis ardore : hic fide,
jejuniis corpus omne vallabat : (chapter v)

Further investigation of the materials common to this poem and to other religious early mediaeval writings, whether in Latin or some vernacular, is therefore not made in this chapter.

FINAL NOTES

Both the Exeter Book and the Vercelli Book are most likely of western provenance[1], and the mention of a miscellany in a mediaeval catalogue from Glastonbury with contents rather similar to the material of the Exeter Book[2] has made Glastonbury a popular candidate for the original composition of all these miscellanies[3], for parallels between the contents of the Exeter and Vercelli collections are widely recognised. Certainly each contains signed poems of Cynewulf as well as differing versions of the Soul and Body poem preserved only in these manuscripts and there are more similarities between them than these most obvious ones. Behind the tenth homily in the Vercelli Book and The Wanderer may lie a common source[4], if these texts are not more closely related to one another, and the relationship of the eighth homily with Christ III has also been pointed out[5]. In view of these correspondences it may well be significant that these codices share accounts of Guthlac's journey to the gates of hell. Of course an identity of origin for

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[1]Hotchner 1939, p. 69; Gradon 1958, p. 4 [2]Hearne 1726, p. 436
[3]See CHECKLIST under CALENDARS and RELICS for Glastonbury interest in Guthlac [4]Gradon 1958, p. 4 [5]Willard 1927, pp. 314-30

the Exeter Book and the Vercelli Book cannot be assumed on the grounds of their similar contents - after all the Azarias appears both in the Exeter Book and Junius 11 - but a common interest in the life of Guthlac must be granted their compilers. It is perhaps more than a curious coincidence that neither the Guthlac A poet nor the Vercelli homilist draws any detail from Felix's account of the saint's death. So far as the poet is concerned, this is not surprising, for this work shows few if any signs of his knowledge of the Vita, but the homilist has taken his material from a fuller translation of the Vita. Apparently the stylised death scene presented by Felix held few attractions for him.

Felix may, in putting together his Vita of the saint, have modified earlier traditions which told, as the chief episode in the life, how demons took Guthlac to hell gates and how someone was sent by God to rescue him - that is, essentially the story narrated and explained in Guthlac A. This hypothesis cannot be substantiated, but it is interesting to note that the Vercelli homily which opens after Felix's reiteration of his authorities concludes with Bartholomew's arrival, as if, for the homilist, the full tale of St. Guthlac were complete. In his tale Bartholomew arrives just in time to carry Guthlac away from hell to everlasting glory. The poet has chosen to fit his account of the saint's struggles against his persecutors into a frame which deals with the voyage of good souls to heaven, so his story's ending is more elaborate. Both writers, however, treat the same context episodes, the tempting of Guthlac and his being trailed to the

gates of hell by evil spirits. Yet, it cannot be argued that the poet need know nothing else of the Vita than those chapters which appear in the Vercelli Book, for the homily lacks the most striking similarities to be found between poem and Vita, Bartholomew's instructions to the demons. It would indeed be easier to argue that the homilist knew that the poem Guthlac A had been included in one great collection of popular vernacular pieces and that he wished to preserve also the received Felix-based account of the saint's temptation; but this is idle speculation.

It cannot be concluded that the Guthlac A poet did not know Felix's life of St. Guthlac, any more than it can be shown that he used some other source, and it must be remembered that he could have drawn from elsewhere those features often identified as common to the poem and the Vita. This can be demonstrated simply without swelling this chapter any further, for the exemplum of the three utterances also contains instructions that an animam iustam should be handled smoothly and gently, description of the armour of a champion of God, and bands of escorting angels. The arma pauli figure common to this exemplum and the Vita is a commonplace of hagiographic writing, for the biographers of the saints often used Paul's words to the Ephesians (vi. 11-13) in their accounts of how the insidiae diaboli (vi.11) were combatted[1]. The poet could easily have used the imagery of Guthlac as a champion of God without any knowledge of the Vita and there is no need to assume that, because Guthlac's arming of himself is described in the Vita, he

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[1] e.g. the Evagrian Anthony or Jerome's life of Paul as well as Felix's Guthlac

necessarily follows that account. On the contrary, both Forstmann[1] and Shook[2] have pointed out that the poem lacks the detail given by Felix and incorporates, in the cross set up him to stæstelle (179), a striking original feature. Bartholomew's instructions to the demons (Vita 553 and 556) are no nearer to Glg 699 and Glc 731 than the words sung by one choir of angels in the exemplum of the three utterances :

> Suscitate eum leniter de suo corpore, et ut nichil timoris, nichil doloris videat. 23

The poet, unlike the homilist, allows Guthlac a scene of triumphant return to his hermitage[3] but he too has nothing of significance to tell us of the saint's life after his journey to hell-gates. We learn that Guthlac was steadfast in his worship of God, giving him thanks :

> þus þe he in þrowingum
> bidan moste hwonne him betre lif
> þurh godes willan agyfen worde. 780

The following lines recall to us again the opening section of the poem:

> Swa wæs guðlaces gæst gelæded
> engla feðmum in upredor
> fore onsyne eces deman 783

It is the turn of angelic hosts, who appear in the Vita or in the life of almost any saint or in some homilies which use the exemplum of the three utterances, to lead Guthlac before the Creator[4]. It cannot be proved that the Guthlac A poet depended on Felix's Vita any more than it can be proved he knew some version of the three utterances exemplum,

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[1] Forstmann 1902, p. 15 [2] Shook 1960, p. 6 [3] See commentary 744

[4] Angelic song greets Guthlac while the demons are returning him to his hermitage (Vita 558–60) and later fills the air when he is dying (Vita 1168–70). In the Vercelli homily Guthlac fleah ... mid þam apostole sancte bartholomei to heofona rices wuldre (143–44). The account in Guthlac A need not be regarded as stemming from either of these.

but it is likely that the poem, like lines 385-564 of the Vita and the Vercelli homily, is within the otherworld tradition and that the poem contains traits of the soul journey manifestation of that larger conception. We can only say that this poet, just as much as the biographer Felix who put together an account of Guthlac's life for Aelfwald of East Anglia, found his knowledge of many religious works useful to him. If he had any close sources, as had the poet of Guthlac B, these have disappeared. It is however more likely that he was a man of much greater originality than the B-poet and that he worked without some one source by his elbow.

b : The Unity of Guthlac A

The poet's main concern is the soul of just men and he chooses Guthlac in illustration of one of the many ways in which a man may aspire to the kingdom of heaven. Although the greater part of the poem describes Guthlac's encounters with demons, he never loses sight of his theme. His purpose is didactic and Guthlac is his hyrsch. There is little element of suspense and the outcome of the struggles is never in doubt. Various temptations are described, Guthlac answers them and the poet reflects at length upon each episode. The poem is so filled with the poet's discursive reflections that these slow the narrative, for the poet wishes to make it clear that he is dealing with the temptations and trials that beset all men. His poem cannot be regarded as truly in the mediaeval debate tradition; if it were, better arguments could have been given the devils and Guthlac's replies shortened with advantage. The demons attack and are repulsed, and there is no need to identify the demons as Guthlac's 'negative thoughts', for the conflicts are not portrayed as solely with the saint's mind, as one writer has interestingly suggested :

> Here the adversary is not fate in the shape of the outward circumstances of a man's life but the saint's own divided mind. Like the Icelandic hero Gisli he is at the mercy of two opposite forces. The demons that come to plague him are his own negative thoughts tempting him to self-indulgence and despair. When he has achieved integration through entire surrender to drihten Christ, "blessed and single-hearted", he

enjoys his dwelling-place.[1]

This interpretation misinterprets the nature of demonic attacks in early lives of the saints and compares the poem with a saga far out of the period in which Guthlac A was written. Guthlac's devils are not depicted as the product of one part of the 'saint's own divided mind' nor as the result of agues and malaria that beset all fen-dwellers[2], but as creatures possessed by the devil.

The opening twenty-nine lines of Guthlac A have only grudgingly been recognised as part of the poem. They are not 'an unnecessary prelude to a prelude'[3], nor do they bear 'a closer verbal resemblance to Christ III than to Guthlac A'[4], for they introduce themes which pervade the whole poem. The parallels[5] noted between these lines and other parts of the poem are many of them stock phraseology of a religious poet, but some important correspondences in matter are often overlooked. These occur not only between the opening twenty-nine lines and the closing lines 742-818 (5:781, 8:768, 10:811, 12:816, 22:790), but within the rest of the poem too (18:485, 24:130, 22:567, 6 ff.: 579 ff.). Yet, whether or not these lines form part of Guthlac A has so dominated discussion of them that a smaller and curious point of interpretation within them has gone unnoticed. The editors and translators mostly agree that the angel's speech opens at line 6[6], but there is considerable and tacit disagreement among them as to where this speech ends. The favourite ending-places are mid-line in 10[7] or

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[1] Young 1950, p. 287, but Guthlac is master of his mind from 136 onwards.
[2] e.g. Miller and Skeatchly 1878, p. 72 [3] Howard 1930, p. 354
[4] ibid. p. 362 [5] they are noted by Adams 1906, p. 240
[6] only Shook 1961 disagrees, giving the angel 4[a] also. [7] as in Grein, Assmann or Krapp & Dobbie

mid-line in 11[1], but neither of these is entirely satisfactory. Perhaps as a result of dissatisfaction with these solutions we find one translator closing his inverted commas twice, both in the middle of line 11 and at the end of line 17[2]. The inference to be drawn from this editorial confusion is that as the poet expands on the great happiness the soul will have, he loses sight of the angel. The excursus, and very likely the speech also[3], ends at line 25, for in lines 25-9 the poet asks a question which is answered in the following sentences :

> Hwider sceal þes monnes mod astigan
> er ofþe after þonne he his onne her
> gæst bigonge þæt se gode wote
> womma clæne in gewealdcumam ?

In sixty or so lines, probably with Gregory's account of the Multi variique ... gradus per quos ad coelorum regna conscenditur[4] in his mind, the poet discusses many ways of serving God upon earth, answering this question and at the same time preparing for his introduction of Guthlac. Lines 35-58 contain many of the conventional ideas of Old English 'elegiac' verse (the passing and failing of eorþan blæd 43, the unrest of the world and a falling off in God's worship 38 and the impossibility of improvement before the end of creation 50) and comparable passages occur, for example, in The Wanderer :

> Swa þes middangeard
> ealra dogra gehwam dreoseð ond fealleþ,
> forþon ne mæg weorþan wis wer, ær he age
> wintra dæl in woruldriice. 65

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[1]Gollancz 1895, but see note 8 [2]Gollancz 1895 [3]See commentary 10 [4]Migne, PL lxxi column 1054

Ongietan sceal gleaw hele bu gastlic bið,
þonne ealra þisse worulde wela weste stondeð,
swa nu missenlice geond þisne middangeard
winde bewaune weallas stondaþ.. 76

Eall is earfeðlic eorþan rice,
onwendeð wyrda gesceaft weoruld under heofonum 107

But the lines are not inapposite, for they lead naturally into :

he fela findeð, fea beod gecorene. 59

with which the poet returns to his consideration of the ways in which the chosen few serve God. After this long passage on that familiar Old English theme, the transience of all things upon earth, men who place <u>gorðwela</u> above <u>hyt ece lif</u> 62 are unfavourably contrasted with those who yearn for <u>þa soðan god</u> 71, whether in daily life or as anchorites. Such men, the poet declares, are God's chosen warriors, a statement he is to use effectively again in his final section (lines 790 ff.).

At line 93 the poet points out :

Magun we nu nemnan þat us neah geweard
þurh haligne hád geceyped, 94

Guthlac's struggles with demons will now serve to illustrate one way in which a man

.. his ænne her
gæst bigonge þæt se gode mote
wunna elene in geweald cuman ? 29

At first, after Guthlac settled in his <u>beorgsæbel</u> 102, he listened to both his good and evil guardians (114), and his mind was torn between his desire for <u>þa langan god</u> 120 and love of worldly possessions (129)

until

Feond wæs geflymed; siþþan frofre gæst
in guðlacan geeode gewunade,
lufade hine 7 lærde, lenge hu geornor,
þæt him leofedan landes wynne,
bold on beorhge. 140

He is not, however, left at peace in his lonely life of prayer, for although his chosen dwelling-place was beniþen fore monnum 147 :

Oft þær broga ewom,
egeslic 7 uncuð ealdfeonda nið,
searocræftum swiþ; hy him sylf hyra
onsyn ywdon 7 þær ær fela
setla gesæton þonan sið tugon
wide wæde wuldre bysgyrede
lyftlacende. 146

These creatures could not

æfeste anforlætan
ac to guðlacan gaste gelæddun
fræcnunga fela ; 189

but Guthlac had with him a frofre gæst 136 (and compare 190, 252, 315, 317, 356 etc.) whenever they came to tempt him.

They tried in many ways to regain the eorðlic æbel 261 which Guthlac claimed. They crowded around him, threatening that he would burn upon that hill and that his kinsmen should suffer on his account, unless he returned to a life among men (192-9), but they were unable to injure his spirit, to part his soul from his body and Guthlac answered their threats, resolutely declaring the disputed land his and theirs no longer (239-61). They accused him of arrogance, asked how he

thought he should deal with hunger and thirst and offered not to wound and kill him, not to level his home and tear him to bits, if he would give up to them that place (266-91). In reply (296-322) Guthlac observed that, no matter how bitterly they attacked him, they could not gain victory, for he would not fight against them with weapons as he had no desire for eorðwelan 319 or indeed anything much other than

.. dogra gehwam dryhten sendeð
þurh monnes hond mine þearfe. 322

Guthlac remained steadfast in his devotion to God and his solitary home and often, in discussion with his guardian angel, described the behaviour he thought befitted a man hopeful of a place in the kingdom of heaven :

Hu sceal min cuman
gast to geoce nemne ic gode sylle
hyrsumne hige þæt him heortan gepone .. 368

Although the text breaks off here, these few verses are sufficient to show that the poet recalls his question of lines 26-9.

About seventy lines of text have been lost, if as seems likely only one folio has been removed from the manuscript, and after this gap, at the next line (the numbering carries on without interruption in most editions of the poem) we return to words of Guthlac, now addressed to demons. There is little in this incomplete speech (..- 389) beyond the themes which have already been tossed about in the speeches between Guthlac and his tempters, and whether or not it is in reply to actual torture by fire and weapons we can only guess. Whatever was its occasion, Guthlac was resolute, maintaining that at worst his

oppressors could help his soul to a better world (378). His enemies became enraged (390) and wished to rush upon him with gifrum grapum 407, but God would allow them only to lay hold on him with their hands, not to injure him so that he would suffer greatly. They lifted him up into the air in the little time that was given to them to touch his body and revealed to him the unworthy life led by many in monasteries (412-26). After that they had to take him back to his dwelling-place and they knew themselves defeated, unless

.. hy him ne meahte maran sarum
gyldan gyrnwrace. 434

Guthlac had escaped their grasp and had overcome the first temptation with which they assailed him. He thought himself blessed, because he had so protected his life that fiends would not be able to harm him on the day of his death (440-5).

His attackers were resentful and, though beaten, tried subtler arguments, telling him that he had gained their enmity because he had not listened to their friendly advice but had instead declared himself safe from afflictions for hem myrcelse 458. Many men with that same sign upon them, se werga geat (451) reminded Guthlac, betray it in their lives (and the poet suddenly for a few lines directs his accusations outside the poem), and they, wishing that Guthlac should recognise the truth in their accusations, had therefore raised him into the air, withdrawing from him londes wynna 467. However, God gave Guthlac the strength and wisdom to answer these words and, declaring that they must renounce bone grenan wong 477, he described to them their guilt and defeat and explained why he had remained unmoved by the lax behaviour

shown him of men in God's service (478–512).

Guthlac had cut himself off from the sins of men, but he had still to endure his share of suffering,

> ðeah þe dryhten his
> witum wolde. 517

It seemed incredible that God should allow him to suffer any more the attacks of these fiends – 7 þæt hwæbre gelomp 520. But then, God's own death which he endured upon earth was by far a greater action. Although his attackers now knew that God had Guthlac in His care, they took him to hell's door, that place where the journey of doomed souls begins, and they offered to him

> .. orlege,
> egsan 7 ondan arleaslice,
> freone fore : 566

They showed him the horrors of hell and with words tried to betray him into orwennysse 575 (accidia), accusing him of being an unworthy follower of God :

> nu þu in helle scealt
> deope gedufan, nales dryhtnes leoht
> habban in heofonum, heahgetimbru,
> seld on swegle, forþon ... 585

(The poet surely recalls and contrasts here the message brought by the angel to a departing soul at the beginning of the poem.) Guthlac was not moved by these accusations, but in his answer revealed his true submission to God. His long speech (lines 592 – 684^{a}, with only a short interruption from the poet 620^{b}– 622), a profession of faith, is filled with his love of God and hatred of His rebellious

angels.

At the end of his final answer to the attacks of Christ's enemies Guthlac told them that they must give up hope of ensnaring him into hell; whereas they will suffer torments and agonies there, he will possess dreama wyn 680 in the kingdom of heaven. He did not fall into despair, and God sent a messenger who saw Guthlac safely out of þam wræcsiðe 688,

> þæt se leofesta
> gæst gegearwad in godes wære
> on gefean ferde. 691

Bartholomew had Guthlac in his protection. He bound those beostra begnas 696 in evil torments, instructed them to return, unscathed, Guthlac to that place from which they had taken him and announced his intention to visit and help Guthlac there often. This message rejoiced Guthlac, and his enemies (now called by the poet hæftas hearsume 725) carefully carried him back to þam onwillan eorðan dæle 728. His arrival there is a triumphal scene, and Guthlac's victory is emphasised in pathetic fallacy :

> Smolt wæs se sigewong 7 sele niwe,
> fæger fugla reord, folde geblowen;
> geacas gear budon; guþlac moste,
> eadig 7 onmod, eardes brucan. 745

The grene wong 746 was now in God's protection and His messenger, Bartholomew, had banished from it the fiends.

The rest of the poem is explanatory. The poet asks if his audience have heard of any nobler accomplishments

in were life
þara þe yldran usse gemunde
oþþe we selfe siþþan cuþen ? 751

These things, he reminds them, happened in their own time and cannot be doubted. They reveal God's love for <u>ealle gesceafte</u> 760. Guthlac abode thereafter in God's service, until a better life was granted him, and he was led on <u>engla fæðmum</u> 782 into His presence and a seat in heaven was given him, <u>awo to ealdre</u> 786. And in the same way just souls will earn their places in heaven because they follow God's teachings here on earth (790-818).

The careful construction of the poem has, I hope, been made clear in this interpretation of it. What its occasion was will never now be known, but it is unique among Old English poems for the great emphasis it places upon the religious life. The passages on monastic life are unparalleled in contemporary verse. The poet criticises laxity in discipline, but he is sympathetic in his criticisms, explaining youth as the cause of the offences he describes, and he forecasts that time will bring greater wisdom to erring monks. In one place he addresses such offenders directly and for once it can be asserted that we have proof that an Old English poem was directed at a monastic audience.

A note on the date of Cuthlac A

Recently attempts to construct chronologies of Old English verse use literary discussion as the chief means of arriving at satisfactory groupings of texts and the tests suggested by nineteenth century scholars have for the most part been discarded. The great bulk of what is generally considered important Old English poetry is regarded as having been written in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries and, as our most valuable criteria for the study of Old English dialects derive from late ninth and tenth century prose texts, the long accepted indications of dialect origins are given less weight in the discussion of verse texts than formerly[1]. The mainstays of today's groupings are a few vague phrases and overworked names. The period of Cædmon's active verse-making is dated to c. 658-80[2], 'Cædmonian' verse to the end of the seventh century and Exodus and Beowulf to the 'age of Bede' (or, more guardedly, to somewhere between the so-called Cædmonian and Cynewulfian schools). The poetry of Cynewulf and his school are placed at the latest in the ninth century (generally earlier rather than later in that century) and at any rate sometime between the 'age of Bede' poets and the composers of the dated chronicle poems. This scale, though never stated so bluntly, can be glimpsed behind most recent writings in which the problems of dating Anglo-Saxon verse are discussed[3].

Although the old dating tests have mostly been discredited, even

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[1] See particularly the papers by Wrenn 1933 and 1943 and Sisam 1953, pp. 119-39 (published originally in 1944). [2] Wrenn 1946, p. 288

[3] e.g. Lawrence 1930, pp. 264 ff.; Whitelock 1951, pp. 22 ff

the skeleton scale for the composition of Old English verse outlined above depends greatly upon the recognition of one of them. Professor Whitelock has pointed out that the loss of the intervocalic -h- is scarcely safe for dating purposes because Guthlac A, one of a small group of poems distinguished by this metrical test, is derived from Felix's Vita which she considers not earlier than 730 A.D.[1] The loss of intervocalic -h- is thought to have occurred not much before 700 A.D. and those poems in which the metre requires decontracted forms are therefore generally placed to either side of that date. Her assumptions about the date of Guthlac A enable Professor Whitelock to disrupt the small group of poems recognised as earlier than the other extant long Old English poems and to plead that 750 A.D. is too early an estimate as the final date for the composition of Beowulf : she suggests that the poem might have been written anywhere in England sometime before 835 A.D. Although Professor Whitelock continues to rely on the evidence of the intervocalic -h- to some extent (for she still assumes that Beowulf was written before the Cynewulfian canon, largely on its evidence), her suggestions have been effective in re-opening the whole matter of the dating of Anglo-Saxon verse.

More recently F.P. Magoun, in restating the possibility that Anglo-Saxon makers of verse were conservative, appears to reinforce Professor Whitelock's arguments :

> A poet held onto a phrase as long as possible, down, in fact, to the time when the contraction process had long since been completed. This would suggest

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[1] Whitelock 1951, p. 27

> that later day singers and their audiences had become habituated to such metrical irregularities and accepted these deficient verses as traditional.[1]

A more considered view of this problem is taken by Professor Wrenn in the introduction to his edition of Beowulf. He agrees that the examination of contracted forms does not provide sufficient evidence for the exact dating of Old English verse, but points out :

> But we may at least think that the presence of implicit uncontracted forms like dōan for the MS. don in Beowulf, as shown by the metrical patterns, does point to a relatively early date. As explained earlier, however, the use by the poet of both the fuller and the contracted forms suggests that he had a choice between the more archaic and the more colloquial, according to the needs of his metre; and it seems also likely that the older forms would continue to be traditionally in use a considerable time after they had ceased to be a part of the living language.[2]

It should be noted that the particular problems presented by Guthlac A have been quietly overlooked in discussions of the dating of Old English verse which have appeared since the publication of Professor Whitelock's The Audience of 'Beowulf'. Because her arguments about the date of this poem may have contributed to the reasons for the present general distrust of the value of contracted forms in dating Anglo-Saxon poetry, it is necessary to point out two things :

> 1. the terminus a quo for Felix's Vita is not so definite as 730 (the date given by B. Colgrave[3] who may have communicated it to Professor Whitelock) and can be pushed back to 721 A.D.

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[1] Magoun 1933, p. 462 [2] Wrenn 1957, pp. 35–36 [3] Colgrave 1956, p. 19

2. It still cannot be proved that the author of Guthlac A was dependent upon the Vita - it is at least possible that he may have known some different, maybe earlier, account of the saint than the extant Vita.

When these doubtful inconclusions, achieved earlier in this introductory material[1], are considered, it becomes obvious that the loss of the intervocalic -h- can no longer be thought unsafe for dating purposes on the grounds that it marks Guthlac A which derives from Felix who wrote not earlier than 730 A.D.

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[1] See particularly I.1 and III.2/a

d : Guthlac B

The second of the Guthlac poems in the Exeter Book, an account of the saint's death, is incomplete. At the end of folio 52^{v}, which is also the final leaf in a gathering, a manuscript break occurs and the text is abruptly interrupted[1]. It is often assumed that only a few lines of script, the amount which might have filled the excised top portion of folio 53^{r}, have been lost from Guthlac B. For the earlier critics these lines contained the end of Beccel's message to Pege, or the poem was considered unfinished or fragmentary, but from 1885 Wülcker's suggestion that the 'lost lines' held a Cynewulf signature is an important factor in all discussions of the Cynewulf question, with the result that Guthlac B is still today the poem most likely to be placed in the Cynewulf canon with Elene, Juliana, Christ II and the Fates of the Apostles[2]. The general acceptance of such views has meant that Guthlac B is usually discussed as if the poem were virtually complete. Yet, a gathering (or more) may well have dropped out of the manuscript between folios 52 and 53, for in this part of the Exeter Book a long line of capitals marks the appearance of new material, whereas the first section of Azarias is presented on folio 53^{r} only as a new section within a poem. It is likely therefore that the four lines of script missing from folio 53^{r} (i.e. probably six verse lines, in any case short for a Cynewulf signature) belonged to some earlier part of the Azarias.

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[1] For a fuller account of the relevant manuscript details see the final note in the commentary and III.1/c.

[2] See III.2/c passim.

How much of Guthlac B has disappeared is impossible to say. We can, however, guess from the poet's use of the fiftieth chapter of Felix's Vita that after such a treatment of Beccel's grief he would not have spared us an account of Pege's swoon, of his return to Crowland with Pege, of the ambrosial odours they found there in all the buildings and of Guthlac's burial, after prayer and praise, on the third day after his death. Indeed, the poet's use of the sigut morg in eðam dæge eall (1069) theme from the opening of this chapter of the Vita might have made the following chapter, which tells of the discovery a year later of Guthlac's incorrupt body, attractive to him, but to speculate on this is idle when we are without proof that he followed the Vita even to the end of chapter 50.

There is, in contrast with the great amount of dispute as to whether or not Guthlac A is dependent or not on the Vita, general agreement that Guthlac B is :

> .. eine treue Bearbeitung des V. Kapitels [i.e. chapter 50] von Felix.[1]

The themes of the creation and fall, dominating the opening sections of the poem, have long been recognised as prompted by the first sentences of this chapter (Vita 1064-72)[2]. The development of these themes accounts for about a sixth of the extant poem and the remaining five sixths stem mostly from the poet's working of chapter 50 of the Vita. In his summary of Guthlac's life (Gle 894-932a) the poet draws upon some episodes related by Felix in earlier chapters of the Vita, but

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[1] Grau 1908, p. 93 [2] Rieger 1869, p. 325 fn. 1

from line 932b he keeps closely to Vita 1073 ff. for details of the last days of the saint's life, sometimes imitating his original quite slavishly, sometimes adapting his source material freely.

The poem has rarely been examined closely, but those who describe it generally agree with its first editor that it is :

> .. expressed with great beauty of diction, and is highly poetic.[1]

Admiring reference is often made to the elegaic strain of Beccel's speech to Pege[2] or to the poet's presentation of the relationship between Guthlac and his servant (too often accompanied by a comparison of Beccel's sorrow with the sorrow expressed by Wiglaf at the death of Beowulf)[3]. Most critics, perhaps because the shadow of Cynewulf lies over the poem, give Guthlac B much praise. Gerould, for example, declares that the poet treated his sources :

> .. with a directness that befitted the theme, making no attempt to deck it out with borrowed verbiage or to romance about serious things. Although the subject matter was expanded with the utmost freedom, there is almost nothing superfluous throughout the poem. The impression that it gives is one of compactness.[4]

The passage is indeed typical of the sort of adultion this poem has so often received. Yet recently lines 1330-35, from a much anthologised part of the poem[5], have been singled out as 'representative of any

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[1] Thorpe 1842, p. vi [2] Ten Brink (Brandl) 1899, p. 67; Gerould 1916, p. 84; Kennedy 1943, p. 258; Schaar 1949, p. 42 [3] For a summary of the excessive praise given this theme by the early critics see Price 1896, p. 51. A more recent example is to be found in Gerould 1916, p. 84 [4] Gerould 1916, p. 83 [5] These lines appear in Williams 1909, Wyatt 1919, Craigie 1926, Campbell and Rosier 1962, Bolton 1963

pedestrian passage of Old English poetry' and have been censured because :

> There is nothing here beyond a number of kennings strung together - kennings of the most ordinary kind for, or about, ships.[1]

Once a full account of the poem has been given, and examination made of the poet's use of his sources, it may be possible to judge which of these extreme attitudes gives a fair picture of Guthlac B.

As translation, the poem is diffuse. The poet does not try to reproduce the straightforward and concise narrative of Felix's biography, but instead explains, elaborates and dramatises his source material. His intention may have been other than biographical, for it is possible that his long expansion of the opening phrases from chapter 50 of the Vita played a much greater part in the structure of his presentation of Guthlac's death than is evidenced by the truncated form of the extant poem. Already in the opening lines of the poem the simple platitudes of Felix have been transmuted and become an effective account of the reason for death in this world. Certain of Felix's words may have inspired the poet's use of the poculum mortis figure :

> Nam sicut mors in adam data est: ita et in omnes dominabitur: quisquis enim huius uitæ saporem gustauerit. amaritudinem mortis euitare ne quit; 1072

The collocation of the verb gustauerit with the phrase amaritudinem mortis perhaps called to the poet's mind :

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[1] Collins 1959, p. 15

Þone bitran dryne
Þone eue fyrn adame geaf 869

and the clause ita et in omnes dominabitur allowed him to move smoothly into a brief account of the life of Guthlac, over whom death inevitably prevailed, although he was among fela ... gesthaligra (873).

Although he places the poet's development of the poculum mortis image beside other examples of this figure in mediaeval Latin writings, in Old English and in Old High German verse, C. Brown[1] does not note that one other instance given by him is in many ways similar to the Guthlac B passages which deal with this theme. He quotes from the Durham Chapter Library version of the Rex aeterne domine, together with its eleventh century English gloss, this stanza :

Per pomum ligni vetiti	þurh æppel treowes þes ealdan
Mortis propinans poculum.	deaðes scencende drenc
Quique clausis in tenebris	se ðe beclesed on þeostrum
Gemebat in suppliciis.	geomrode on witum.[2]

This stanza appears also in versions of the Rex aeterne domine found in an eighth century St Gall manuscript. It could therefore, Brown points out, have been present in versions of the hymn current in England in the Guthlac B poet's day, although it does not occur in the Vespasian Psalter version :

> Rex aeterne Domine rerum creator omnium qui eras ante saecula semper cum Patre Filius Qui mundi in primordio Adam plasmasti hominem qui tuae imaginis vultum dedisti similem Quem diabolus deceperat hostis humani generis cujus tu formam corporis adsumere dignatus es[3]

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[1] Brown 1940, pp. 389-99 [2] Stevenson 1851, p. 31, the first third of the hymn is given in the commentary [3] Sweet 1885, p. 419

The extra stanza of the Durham and St. Gall versions should occur between _generis_ and _cujus_. If a text containing it is read, it becomes readily apparent that the _Guthlac B_ poet is working with the themes present in the opening stanzas of the hymn.

It is at any rate possible to set against phrases from this hymn passages from the Old English poem and to find between them more verbal resemblances than can be found in a comparison of _Guthlac B_ with the _Carmen de resurrectione mortuorum_, the source identified by Grau[1]. If Felix's words called into the poet's mind the figure of the _poculum mortis_ and with it this hymn, he would then have had available to him the main features of the creation and fall theme used in the opening sections of the poem :

Domine rerum creator omnium	frymþa god 820
Rex aeterne	cyning ælmihtig 822
Cui mundi in primordio Adam plasmasti hominem	þone æresten elda cynnes/ of þære ylmeestan .. /foldan geworhte 823 Þa wæs fruma niwe,/ elda tudres, etc.
	Feder wæs acenned/ adam æreest 826
diabolus deceperat hostis humani	wyrmes larum 846
Per pomum ligni vetiti	blede forbodene 7 of beame ahneop wæstm biwerodne 848

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[1] Grau 1908, pp. 94–98; the versions in PL iv, 1033–60 (see especially c.III), ii, 1147–56, and lix, 1004–6 have been consulted, as have clxxi, 1715–16 and lxxxix 297–300.

Mortis propinans poculum	deadberende gyfl/ þæt ða sinhiwan	
	to swylte geteah	851
	þone bitran dryne	868
Quique clausis in tenebris	Siþþan se æpel udgenge weard/	852
Gemebat in supplicijs.	eardwica cyst/ beorht odbroden	854
	þa hy on uneyðu,/ seomum	
	seudende, seofene wurdon/ on	
	gewinwruld.	857

When the poet later takes up the theme of the bitter taste of death (lines 969 ff.), he once more relates the effect on humanity of the poculum mortis

	þætte adame	eue gebyrnde
	æt fruman worulde.	982

Again correspondences can be traced between the wording of the Rex æeterne domine and Guthlac B, although this time the poet draws most from the stanza printed by Brown. Guthlac's death is near :

Mortis propinans poculum	bryben wæs ongunnen	980
	bittor bædeweg	984
	þone bleatan dryne	990
	deopan deaðweges	991

Here, as in the poet's earlier use of this image, Eve's part in bringing death into the world is described. In the first passage the actual plucking of the fruit at the devil's instigation (lines 846 ff.) is narrated, but in the second figurative terms only are used. The theme has been sufficiently developed for it to be used in this more striking fashion.

Often compared with these two passages in Guthlac B is the account of the fall in The Phoenix (lines 393-424) and attempts have been made

to show the derivation of one from the other. Shearin suggests that the account in The Phoenix could have been written from a knowledge of the Guthlac B passages :

> If they convince anyone that the passages are independent, he would probably make the further inference that the author of the Phoenix had before him the more detailed and expanded statement in the Guthlac.[1]

Yet, the treatment of the fall and redemption is differently slanted in The Phoenix. The tree and its fruit are described and, as a tree is important in the structure of this poem, its poet may identify with the tree of knowledge the phoenix's home. Certainly the fruits of the phoenix's tree symbolise the good deeds by which man can achieve salvation[2]. The forbidden fruit is emphasised, but the figurative extension common to the Guthlac B poem and the Rex aeterne domine does not follow. The poet is concerned more with redemption than death and he moves on to consider the significance of Christ's coming. The Guthlac B poet, however, develops metaphorically the forbidden fruit theme, in the way prompted by phrases which occur in the opening sentences of chapter 50 of the Vita, in the way illustrated in the Rex aeterne domine, and then emphasises death, the warrior who is coming to claim Guthlac. Both poets, it seems, are using and adapting to contextual needs, themes which must have been drawn on again and again by mediaeval religious writers.

The poem opens with an account of the beauty of creation, the bliss of paradise, the deception of Eve, the plucking of the fruit and

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[1] Shearin 1907, p. 263 [2] Blake 1964, p. 80

loss of Eden. Death now ruled over men - death, the bitter drink poured by Eve - and over even the blessed who :

sume mr, sume sið, sume in urra
efter tolmearce tida gemyndum
sigorleas sohtun. 878

These phrases provide a suitable pretext for introducing one such man :

Us seegað bec
hu guðlac wearð þurh godes willan
eadig on engle. 880

The poet moves easily into his life of Guthlac material[1]. Yet, before taking up the matter of chapter 50 of the Vita again he gives a brief account of the reasons for Guthlac's fame geond bryten innan (883). Lines 878 to 893 are eulogistic in tone and contain little specific detail of Guthlac's life. They tell how Guthlac helped and comforted and healed all who came to him, and could be interpreted as referring to almost any or indeed all of the miracles in the Vita. If a close parallel is sought for them, Vita 906-20 might be advanced as their source, but it is however more likely that the poet here uses no particular source, depending instead on his memory and invention. If he were working from this passage of the Vita for lines 878-93 of the poem, his powers of summary must have been greater than any other part of Guthlac B suggests.

In lines 894-915 the poet deals with the material of chapter 36 (Vita 625-30), following the Latin quite closely in some places :

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[1]The linkage of these passages by the two halves of line 878 is first noted by Thorpe 1842, p. 505

Nes seo stund latu
earmra gnata ne þæt onbid long
þæt þa wrohtamiðas wop ahofun,
hreopun hredlease, hleoþrum brugdon. 906

The correlative construction of the first clauses in this sentence may owe something to the wording of lines 631-35 in the Vita :

> Deinde parui temporis interuallo succedente, ecce subito uelut concurrentium armentorum crepitum cum magno terre tremore domui succedere exaudiebat; Nec mora domum ab undique inrumpentes, uariorum monstrorum diuersas figuras introire prospicit;

However, the poet does not describe the particular shapes which the demons took (the same in the Evagrian life of Anthony), but recalls how they at times assumed human shape, at times serpent form, and he emphasises Guthlac's patience through all such attacks, even when threatened with death. It seems that here too the poet is not so much dependent upon one particular part of the life as on his knowledge of all its contents. Lines 916-19a also recall many episodes in the Vita chapters which centre upon birds, but more specifically the two swallows of chapter 39 (Vita 713-41) who obeyed Guthlac's commands as to where they should build their nest. Lines 919b-32a contain more praise for the help and comfort given by the saint to all who visited him and, through their similarity to lines 878-93, clearly round off this passage (Glc 878-932) in which the saint is introduced.

It is possible that the Guthlac B poet knew the Guthlac A poem and was providing a companion piece for it from Felix's life of the saint[1].

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[1] Suggested first by Mather 1892, p. 103

In Guthlac A the description of Guthlac's death is brief :

Swa wæs guðlæces gæst gelæded
engla fæðmum in uprodor
fore onsyne eces deman ;
leddon leoflice. Him wæs lean gesceald,
setl on swegle, þær he symle mot
awo to ealdre eardfæst wesan ,
bliðe bidan : is him bearn godes,
milde mundbora ... 788

These lines must have seemed woefully inadequate to anyone familiar with the Vita in which the striking death scene occupies eleven per cent of the entire text[1]. Those parts of the first two sections of Guthlac B which deal with events of the saint's life show similarities in phrasing and content with Guthlac A. Although such resemblances are to be expected between any two Old English poems, we cannot rule out the possibility that the B-poet had heard or read Guthlac A. The most interesting of the verbal similarities traced between the two poems is the B-poet's use of sigewong in line 921 :

hwilum mennisce
æras eaðmedum eft neosedon
7 þær siðfroma on þam sigewonge
æt þam halgan þeowon helpe gemetton
forðpes frefre. 923

The use of this kenning for Guthlac's dwelling-place apparently derives not from the Vita but from the Guthlac A account of the saint's return to his hermitage after his journey to the door of hell (Glc 732 ff.). The A-poet, in his description of the sigewong, tells first of the

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[1] Kurtz 1926, p. 122 fn. 42 gives this figure, pointing out that Felix has developed this aspect of his subject further than the hints given by his models (Evagrius 5%, Bede's Cuthbert 9%) and notes also that this chapter continues in its appeal to mediaeval readers of the life (Middle English verse life 12% and Tynemouth epitome 8).

welcome given Guthlac by birds and then states that he could now live undisturbed in his chosen home :

> Smolt wæs se sigewong 7 sele niwe,
> fæger fugla reord, folde geblowen;
> geæcas gear budon: guðlac moste,
> eadig 7 onmod, eardes brucan. 745

Yet, if the earlier poem suggested to the B-poet the themes by which he should illustrate Guthlac's life, these were supplemented from and shaped by his knowledge of the Vita. The hosts of devils who crowd in upon the saint are described as fallen angels, hiwes binotene (900), and resemble those of Guthlac A, but their taking on of different shapes is in the Antonian tradition and is based on Felix. The miracles performed by Guthlac after his victory over the hosts of devils, entirely neglected in Guthlac A, are brought in in two rather general passages of eulogy in these introductory sections of Guthlac B. Occasionally the B-poet echoes words and phrases from the Vita, but never with the exactness with which he reproduces Felix's narrative from line 932b onwards.

Lines 932b-1379, that is all that remain of the poem, correspond to lines 1072-1173 of the Vita, except for the poet's return in Glc 969-96a to the themes developed from the sicut mors in adam data est passage of the Vita (lines 1070 ff.). At times the poet follows Felix closely, even on occasion reproducing the structures of his Latin source, but often he changes and elaborates the account given in the Vita. His expansions occur most of all in speeches and in the description of Beccel's journey to Pege with the news of her brother's death.

Sources outside the Vita have not been found for such passages, but there is nothing in them which might not have been suggested by some phrase or clause in the Latin narrative. These 'original' passages are those in which the poet draws most freely upon formulaic phrases and ornamental kennings. Indeed, it is the journey scene and Beccel's speech to Pega in particular which have led critics to assert that Guthlac B is clearly in the vernacular tradition of Anglo-Saxon verse. C. Schaar, for example, states :

> Anyhow, it seems clear that in Guthlac B the vernacular tradition is a much stronger element than in Guthlac A. This also appears from an analysis of parallels in the poem.[1]

He recognises that the final lines are in 'an elegiac strain' and sees reminiscences of Beowulf and The Seafarer in this speech[2]. However, the 'angle-saxonisms independent of the Latin original' and 'in the Anglo-Saxon poetic tradition' identified by him (lines 1096 ff., 1278b ff., 1330b ff., 1271b ff. and 1308b ff., all descriptions of natural phenomena) seem rather more literary and in the spirit of Felix. It should be added that the tables of parallels between Anglo-Saxon poems presented by Schaar scarcely support the conclusions he bases on them, for he plays down the evidence of stock formulae in Guthlac A.

As the poet's dependence upon the Vita has not been examined in any article upon the poem I have seen, a brief comparison of Vita 1072-1175 with those parts of Guthlac B which derive from it will now be presented. A table is given first :

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[1] Schaar 1949, p. 42 [2] A comparison of the final section of the poem with The Wanderer is made by Rieger 1869, pp. 326-27.

Guthlac B	Vita
935 Siþþan	1072 Contigit
939 him feringa	1077 subito illum
999 Hine wunade mid	1086 Habitabat
1010 Ongan	1091 Cui
1023 Him þa eiđ onewed	1096 cui
1047 Þa wæs wop	1101 His auditis
1060 Ongeat	1103 Quem
1096 Rodor	1108 Interea
1141 Com se aecefeda dæg	1113 Denique
1166 Min þæt swæse bearn	1121 fili mi
1197 Þa wearđ	1130 Audiens
1224 Þa	1136 Tunc
1269 Þa to þam wage	1148 Dixerat
1295 Tiđ is	1157 fili mi
1308 Þa þær leoht	1163 Inter hæc
1326 Þa afyrhted	1160 Deinde
1344 Cwom..; from line 1348 an unfinished speech is given Beowel.	1174 Deuenience ... narrauit; poem breaks off before all the material of this chapter exhausted.

This skeleton of correspondences is useful for two reasons; it shows how fully the poet uses the words of the Vita and it reveals also that he follows closely the order of events given by Felix. An examination of the poet's use of these passages of the Vita will be found in the commentary for the poem under the line references given in the first column of this table.

Certain important changes are made by the poet in his use of this source material. His method is narrative, and he does not think to mention Beccel as the authority from which his account of Guthlac's death is derived :

> cuius relatione hæc de obitu uiri dei guthlaci
> descripsimus; 1088

In some ways he simplifies the account given in the Vita. The references to Eagburh (Vita 1127) and Eagberht (Vita 1146) are, for example, omitted and, though it could be argued that these omissions are made because of a self-contradiction implicit within his source[1], this argument may misinterpret the poet's intention. For him there is only one important person in the story he tells, Guthlac, and only he is named. Beccel is reduced to a faithful servant and messenger, and the absence of his name is surely indicative of this change. His words and feelings are retained and developed, because they are relevant to the fact of Guthlac's death, but his identity is not made clear. Eagburh and Eagberht disappear as persons, together with circumstantial winding-sheets and descriptions, and Guthlac's message to his sister becomes simple and direct :

> ðu hyre eac sagæ
> þæt heo þis banfæt beorge bifæste
> lame biluce lic ormæte
> in þeostorcofan þær hit þrage sceal
> in eorðhofe oðþæm wunian. 1196

Even Pega remains anonymous, alluded to as Guthlac's sister or in poetic periphrases such as wuldres wynne (1345) or leofæt mægða

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[1] See commentary for Life 889

(1376), and the saint's instructions to Beccel, to keep secret from all nisi pegie, aut eegberhto anachorite (1146) that God had sent him every morning and evening an angelum consolationis, are omitted.

Beside the central matter of Guthlac's death the poet does, however, develop one theme, the inevitability of death. He personifies death and skilfully weaves this figure into the structure of his poem. Just as Felix's use of a well known phrase from Corinthians[1] may have inspired him to introduce and elaborate the poculum mortis figure of the first two sections of the poem, so the context in which Felix has placed these words may have prompted his personification of death[2]. The poet describes how death achieves dominion over Guthlac, as over all men. Death is an enemy (feond 864) who rules mankind, he presses in upon men (863) and prevails over them (871) :

ne mægænig þam
flæsce bifongen feore wiðstondan
ricra ne heanra ac hine ræseð on
gifrum grapum : 996

The character of death as Guthlac's protagonist is well established. The poet makes him an enge anhoga (997), a wiga wælgifre (999) and Guthlac himself refers to him in these terms :

Wiga nealæceð,
unlæt læces :

Yet, the speech in the Vita on which this speech of Guthlac's is based contains no mention of the warrior death :

> fili mi, langoris mei causa est ut ab his membris spiritus reputetur; Finis autem infirmitatis meę erit octauus dies.

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[1] I Corinthians xv. 22 [2] See also commentary, note for 1154

in quo peracto huius uitę cursu debeo dissolui. et esse cum
cristo; 1100

The poet has already told us that four days of Guthlac's illness have passed by and he now reminds us that death is drawing nearer to the saint :

Deað nealæcte,
stop stælgongum, strong 7 hreðe
sohte sawelhus. 1141

The seventh day of Guthlac's illness comes and, in the poet's narrative, death now attacks :

Com se seofeða dæg
ældum 7weard þæs þe him in gesonc
hat heortan neah hildesceurun
flæcor flanþræcu feorhhord onleac
searocræftum gesceht. 1145

Behind this passage lies one clause :

Denique cum septimus dies infirmitatis ipsius deuenisset : 1114

Except for the intimorum stimulatio (1078) which signalled the onset of the saint's death, there is nothing in this chapter of the Vita from which the poet might have derived inspiration for his use of the figure of the darts of death. Yet, the image occurs three times in Guthlac B (Gla 1144-45, 1154 and 1286) and continues the battle theme introduced by the poet. The shafts of illness and the arrows of death perhaps derive ultimately from another verse in the same chapter of Corinthians :

Nouissima autem inimica destruetur mors; omnia enim subjecit sub pedibus ejus.[1]

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[1] I Corinthians xv. 26

The personification of death appears only twice elsewhere in Old English poetry, in The Phoenix and in the Meters of Boethius, and only in Guthlac B is it sufficiently developed to include the darts of death[1].

Other innovations made by the poet have less effect upon the structure of his poem, for they are not carried beyond the passages in which they are first developed. We cannot, of course, know if the poet introduced new themes in Beccel's speech to Pege, but the thirty or so remaining lines contain little that could not have been suggested by Felix's narrative and the poet's own working of this source. Too much emphasis is sometimes placed on the 'elegiac' traits of this speech[2], particularly in the first nine or ten lines of it[3], for, as one recent writer has pointed out, it is 'not an elegy, but a messenger's report'[4]. Sometimes the passage which describes Beccel's journey to Pege is singled out for admiration by commentators as illustrative of the poet's facility in formulaic composition[5]. However, it must be remembered that in such passages, as everywhere else in the poem, the Guthlac B poet adapts and elaborates his source freely.

Guthlac B is by no means the simple straightforward translation it is sometimes assumed to be, but is instead diffuse and repetitive. The poet is at his best in narrative and in speeches. His descriptions

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[1] See further commentary, note for 1154 and Sehaar 1949, p. 42. See also commentary for 1348 ff. and especially note for agwuman 1352.

[2] e.g. Kennedy 1912, p.258

[3] e.g. Price 1896, pp. 51-52 suggests that five passages relating 'to the sorrow and grief of Beccelin' incorporate much material that is the poet's own: 1008 ff., 1047 ff., 1197 ff., 1335 ff. and 1345 ff.

[4] Pilch 1964, p.213

[5] Colli s 1959, p. 15

of natural phenomena, so widely admired, are by no means independent of the Vita as Sohaar has suggested[1], but the poet has elaborated and decorated his source material so lavishly that we have difficulty in disentangling and understanding the long rambling sentences of these passages. In them the poet seems determined to please an audience which loved ornament, both in imagery and in sound. He has a facile command of the poetic vocabulary typical of Cynewulfian poems and Andreas and The Phoenix, of the longer Old English religious poems, most closely resemble Guthlac B in these respects. These three poems may indeed have come from the same literary background, for they share with one another and with the signed poems of Cynewulf certain motifs and descriptive passages not found in any great concentration outside the verse of the Exeter and Vercelli books[2]. For some readers today, this period of Old English versemaking has great attractions. For others the expressions used by Cynewulf and his followers seem to have:

> for the most part, in the translation from one poetic tradition to another lost almost all their intrinsic effectiveness.[3]

The relative simplicity of the earlier Anglo-Saxon poets whose work is preserved has disappeared and these later writers have evolved their own 'fixed apparatus of stylistic devices'[4]. Yet, without its passages of metaphor and decoration and without its rhyme and assonance, Guthlac B would indeed be 'flat' and 'pedestrian' (the disparaging

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[1] Sohaar 1949, p. 41 [2] See further I.3; as can be seen from the commentary these three poems share in particular similar accounts of the creation and fall - cf. Thx 193-423 and And 1586 ff. [3] Collins 1959, p. 17 [4] 'The Wolds are Smithers' in 1951, p. 73

adjectives levelled at the poem by Collins). It is by his ornamentation of his source, whether in vocabulary, in matter or in feeling, that the maker of Guthlac B has managed to create a poem which still commands respect even in handbooks of English literature.

Metre of the poems

Previous investigation[1] of the metre of these two poems has done little to display differences between them, for the differences occur often in those verses which can be accommodated within a two-stress system scansion of Old English poetry but can as well be differentiated from the basic two stress patterns of Old English verse. S.K. Das has gone furthest in distinguishing significant variations whilst following the traditional method of scanning Old English poetry. Using Sievers's five types as the basis of his work on the metre of the Cynewulf canon, he subdivides these classes according to the structure of the verse. He thus finds four main varieties of each type : verses containing a single word, verses made up of two words, verses where the two arses are joined by a preposition or the copula and verses where there is some other connecting link. As well he indicates the part played by alliteration within each verse. His factual coding of the many poems attributed to Cynewulf provides much evidence from which can be drawn rough and ready inferences, but it is a summary rather than a detailed work and falls down especially where the Guthlac poems are concerned. Like those critics who before him attempted to examine the evidence for authorship within the metre of the poems, he does not recognise the true beginning of Guthlac A.

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[1] Lefevre 1883; Cremer 1888; Mather 1892; Das 1942

The criteria put forward by A.J. Bliss[1] do much to eliminate the great part played by subjective decision in the scansion of Old English verse. In The Metre of Beowulf he sets out the findings of a new statistical approach to Old English metre and, using them, supplies a full guide to his idea of the metre of Beowulf. This new interpretation is, as A.J. Bliss himself points out, a vindication of Sievers's work and for that reason alone it deserves close attention. Yet, because he does not use Sievers's five types as the starting-point for his examination, Bliss is able to identify certain features of this verse which should be noted in any detailed scansion of Old English poetry. A few paragraphs on early and late verse (112 to 121) show how much can be learned about the construction of a poem through a detailed approach to its metre and suggest how valuable such an examination of the two Guthlac poems might prove.

Among the features of Old English verse which A.J. Bliss emphasises, he places prime importance on alliteration as a guide to the first full stress in every verse. This, and his insistance that the position of the caesura within each verse must be noted, force him into providing within his system of scansion terminology for one-stress verses. These light verses are of two kinds, either one word fills a verse (Daa's first category) or there is only one word in a verse of sufficient strength to bear

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[1]Bliss 1958

a full stress. Among the second group of light verses is Sievers's A3, where now there is no need to choose at random an earlier stress to make this pattern conform to the base A1. For the normal two-stress verses Bliss uses the five letters made familiar by Sievers, prefixing to them large Arabic numerals to indicate the position of the cæsura. Small numerals, letters and asterisks after these capitals provide information about the distribution and number of dip syllables. Although a clear method of classifying hypermetric verses is offered, the premises on which he bases his interpretation of three stress hypermetric verses are complicated and do not convince. The system is disappointing also in its failure to present any new evidence about the nature of the short three stress verses which are arbitrarily distributed among types A, D and E.

Before presenting this interpretation of the scansion of the two Guthlac poems it is necessary to note a few departures from Bliss's suggested terminology. These are :

(i) anacrusis is indicated by prefixing a small letter to his symbol :

æt þam halgan þeowon 922 b2Aia

(ii) similarly the number of lead-in syllables preceding the first stress in two stress hypermetric verses is indicated by a small letter :

bad hine þurh mihta scyppend 1158 d2Aia

This amounts only to a simplification of Bliss's aid

(2Aia), but it indicates how very little these hypermetric verses differ from normal verses with anacrusis, except in distribution.

(iii) three stress hypermetric verses are represented as having two cesuras and as ending in a normal two stress verse. The syllables before the first cesura are for convenience scanned in the same terminology as light verses :

oferwinnað þa awyrgdan gastas 25 aib(b2Aia)
onwrige worda gongum 1161 eia(2Aia)

(iv) heavy verses are distinguished from normal verses, for the B-poet uses a far greater proportion than does the A-poet. Because of the nature of types D and E, it has seemed preferable to find some other way of describing the heavy verses which are usually accommodated within these patterns by lessening the strength on one of the three stresses. As these verses resemble three stress hypermetric verses in having two cesuras, it is possible to mark the pattern in similar terminology :

colaþ oristes lufu 38 ai(3Bi)
leoht lade fus 1332 ei(3Bi)

But because verses of type D usually end with a trisyllabic thesis and those of type E begin with a trisyllabic thesis, it is difficult to believe that a poet composing for recitation would equate with them short three stress verses composed for the most part of monosyllables and disyllables. It is also gratifying to find that all the three stress D and E verses can be described in terms of B verse with an extra stress prefixed.

The rest of the heavy verses are generally related to Sievers types A2, again with little consideration of

their essentially different structure. These verses fall into two main groups, the first ending always with a dip syllable, the second with a stress. It is simple enough to find alternative symbols for expressing the pattern of verses of the first group - Sievers's A2l can be described as a heavy verse ending with (2Cl) and his A2k as a heavy verse ending with (2C2) :

wiste wine leofne 1339 ai(2Cl)

geecas gear budon 744 ai(2C2)

Unfortunately the second group which Sievers describes in terms of A2 cannot be explained in the same way as are those which he places in classes A2l, A2k, D and E. They may in fact represent a conversion of final secondary stress to a full stress or the wedging of stresses into either thesis of a normal type A verse. However, rather than create more terminology when the only two verses ending in two stresses which occur in the Guthlac poems in any case appear odd, these are here treated as remainders :

hyrelade bryd geong 870

gladmod gode leof 1062

(v) 2E provides a useful label for verses with the sequence / x / (x) x / , but this measure is most likely a sixth basic type. Alternatively it can be presented as a variety of Bliss's 3B*i without its initial dip syllables, in which case the frequency of secondary stress can be viewed as compensating for the initial loss.

(vi) for the sake of consistency certain rather arbitrary rules are laid down by Bliss for the scansion of those verses which contain a finite verb unpreceded by a stressed element and seemingly sharing in the alliteration. Although to follow him here would serve to

> increase the great disproportion of ai-verses between the two poems, it seems better to reconsider this question on the evidence within these two poems.

Tables following this chapter present a full scansion of the two poems, a summary of the distribution of different verse types and a separate analysis of the distribution of anacrusis. These present a key to the evidence on which are based the conclusions of this discussion and the following examination of verse patterns is therefore divided into sections following the numerical order of the summary of distribution.

1 - ai/Sievers A3

The A-poet makes far greater use of this verse type than does the B-poet. In Guthlac A one in every six a-verses will be of this kind, whereas in Guthlac B the proportion will be so low as one in thirty-one. It should also be noted that the average number of initial dip syllables for Guthlac A is 3.7 and for Guthlac B 3.5.

The whole question of accidental alliteration in those verses which contain a finite verb unpreceded by a stressed element and sharing in the alliteration has been reopened by Bliss, who believes that many of these verses may be light. It is difficult to agree with all the conclusions he draws from his examination of such clauses in Beowulf, but the nine categories he establishes provide

an excellent basis for examining this question in relation to the two Outhlag poems. The auxiliary and semi-auxiliary verbs will be dealt with separately.

(i) the verb is preceded by a stressed element:

In both poems the finite verb invariably shares in the alliteration in these circumstances, except for 1163b, 1224b and the two stress hypermetric verses 5b, 25b, 363b, 1198b, 1294b and 1302b. The normal verses are in Outhlag A all a-verses: 2, 5, 15, 16, 24, 38, 70, 73, 76, 79, 82, 88, 90, 121, 129, 160, 229, 234, 249, 260, 329, 330, 362, 395, 396, 397, 398, 413, 476, 492, 493, 499, 502, 508, 603, 611, 647, 681, 761, 767, 778, 784, 795, 798, 800, 802, 804, 806, 808, 814; and in the B poem normal verses are found in both halves of the line: 885a, 903a, 908a, 927b, 928b, 964a, 1015a, 1060a, 1082a, 1141a, 1206a, 1220a, 1245a, 1265a, 1274a, 1281b, 1288a, 1339a, 1368a. In two of these b-verses, the verb carries the alliteration even though the verse also contains a noun, e.g. 927, 1281, but such licences are sporadic in most long poems.[1]

(ii) the verb is in apposition to a verb in group (i) which immediately precedes it :

As in group (i) the finite verb shares in the alliteration, except for the two stress hypermetric verses 239b and 467b. The normal verses of the A-poem all occur in the first half of the line : 25, 77, 138, 257, 288, 289, 363, 430, 473, 527, 730, 809, 810; and in

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[1] Campbell 1962, p. 18

the B-poem normal verses are found in both halves of the line : 870a, 906a, 980a, 1140a, 1161a, 1270b.

(iii) the verb is the only particle before the first stressed element

In Guthlac A the verb in this position shares in the alliteration at 43a, 278a, 577a, 763a and 264b. In Guthlac B the verb does not share in the alliteration :

Aras se wuldormago 1293b

but in 1178b and 1325b the verb alliterates.

(iv) the verb is the last particle before the first stressed element :

In both poems the verb generally alliterates : 6b, 42a, 50a, 51a, 58a, 65a, 81a, 113a, 130a,133a/139a, 150a, 266a, 276a, 300a, 301a, 404a, 409b, 481a, 497b, 513a, 543a, 557a, 592a, 608a, 631a, 637a, 645a, 733b, 792b, 811a, 812a, 878b, 908b, 910b, 989b, 999b. The only exceptions are :

ðonne owiþ se engel 4a

swa doð wræcmecgas 129b

(v) the verb is the last particle but one before the first stressed element

In Guthlac A there are four a-verses of this sort in which the verb seems to join in the alliteration :

Gyrede hine georne 177a

Gewitað nu awyrgde 255a

ne wond he for worde 294a

ne won he after worulde 399a

Of these only 177a does not offend against Kuhn's Satzpartikelgesetz.[1] In the B-poet's four verses of this sort (1021b, 1108b, 1147b, 1352b) the verb does not join in the alliteration. In the A-poem it does not share in the alliteration in 56a, 440a, 479a, 488a, 673a, nor in the extended 741a.

Three instances of the verb in this position in Guthlac A are all two stress hypermetric verses : 2b, 90b, 191b. In Guthlac B one verse presents a problem :

Læst ealle well 1171b

but as ealle is used substantively this verse properly belongs to group (iii).

(vi) the verb is the last particle but two before the first stressed element

Two verses in Guthlac A have their verb in this position without offending against Kuhn's Satzpartikelgesetz :

Wendun ge 7 woldun 663

leddon hine þa of lyfte 427

but in Guthlac B two verses which seem to have alliteration offend against this law :

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[1] Kuhn 1933

Ahof þa his honda 1300a

Hu geweard þe þus 1011a

and in a third the verb does not share in the alliteration :

fonde þa his mondryhten 1007b

as would be expected in a b-verse. In 1011a it is essential for the verb to take part in the alliteration.

(vii) the verb forms a whole clause in itself

The verb shares in the alliteration in :

far þær ðu freonda wene 291a

Bad se þe sceolde 1284b;

291a also falls into group (i).

There are in Guthlac A six light verses where the verb opens a line without sharing in the alliteration; all can also be regarded as belonging to other groups :

(i) ewædon þæt he on þam beorge 192a

ewædon þæt him guðlac 206a

(ii) witon þæt se æþel 67a

willen þæt him dryhten 224a

geseah þæt ge on eorðan 712a

(vi) Woldun þæt him to mode 353a

(viii) the verb is the last particle in a clause which contains no stressed elements

In all the examples of this group the finite verb alliterates :

18b, 55a, 72, 99a, 127a, 200a, 287b, 271a, 323a, 361a, 456a, 505a, 511a, 564a, 597a, 715a, 729a, 859b, 1049a, 1185b, 1212a.

(ix) <u>the verb is the last particle but one in a clause which contains no stressed elements</u> :

In the only example in the two poems the verse cannot be scanned unless the verb is stressed :

Hwæt we hyrdon oft 108

Of the exceptions in groups (i) and (ii) where alliteration is general, nine verses are b-halves of hypermetric lines which normally have extended anacrusis; the verb's lack of alliteration shows that it was here regarded as unstressed. Two verses in <u>Guthlac B</u> fall into group (i), but their verb does not share in the alliteration :

Him se eadge wer ageaf ondsware 1163

Þa se eadge wer ageaf ondsware 1224

D. Slay[1] points out that this formula occurs frequently in <u>Andreas</u> and <u>Juliana</u> and is found also in <u>Elene</u> and in <u>The Battle of Maldon</u>. He suggests that the instance in <u>Maldon</u> 'could be rectified by re-punctuation'. In E.V. Gordon's edition the relevant passage runs:

Byrhtnoð maþelode, bord hafenode,

wand wacne wæg, wordum mælde,

yrre 7 anræd ageaf him andsware : 44

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[1]Slay 1952, p. 13

Repunctuation would place 44b in group (v) of the categories identified by Bliss and in this way the difficulty is overcome; if the flow of short co-ordinate clauses is not thus interrupted, this verse would seem to indicate that ageaf ondsware had become a stock second half line formula for late Old English poets.

The verb generally alliterates in group (iv), but there are two exceptions in Guthlac A. The first (4a) should be discounted, for the verb cweþan is never stressed in its simplex form. In line 129b doð is not essential to the syntax and may have crept in, either at any stage of transmission or, because of its unimportance, even in composition. Groups (viii) and (ix) have regular alliteration.

In group (iii) the verb stands in the normal position for a particle and, although it usually shares in the alliteration, need not do so (v. Bliss 15) as in 1293b.

The verses which fall into groups (v) and (vi) bear out Bliss's observation that in these positions it is not necessary for the verb to share in the alliteration, although it is difficult to agree with him that the alliteration in these verses is ornamental and non-functional. Kuhn himself allows as exceptions from his law alliteration in these verse-clauses where the first stress falls on a particle. Slay, in his re-examination of this

problem, suggests that where the first lift is preceded by a dip, a sentence particle may also occur between the two stresses when it '... is a word which is a sentence particle when not stressed'. It may give greater satisfaction to follow a system of scansion which involves no breaches of Kuhn's law, but in view of Kuhn's own doubts it seems preferable to look again at the verses where alliteration does occur. In all of them the sentence particle is either the very common adverb ba or else a pronoun; where ba occurs, the dip preceding the first lift is an unstressed prefix, but where pronouns occur it may be either an unstressed prefix or some other particle. In the Guthlac poems 255a (with the common adverb nu dipped) and 1300a can be placed in the first of these divisions, 294a, 399a and 1011a in the second.

Of the thirteen instances of group (vii) which Bliss cites for Beowulf, ten are b-verses similar to Gle 1284b and the verb must be stressed. One verse (161a) which he includes only tentatively in this group is better viewed as falling into the first group where similarly constructed verses are found. One b-verse (Nah, hwa sweord wege 2252b) in which the finite verb does not alliterate has for its finite verb a verb very often unstressed in Old English metre. There remains one a-verse :

mynte þæt he gedælde 731a [1]

in which the first finite verb does not alliterate. With it can

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[1] Bliss does not note that Bwf 3096a is similar.

be compared seven verses in Guthlac A. The hypermetric context of 291a may be responsible for the alliteration of its first particle, but the other six instances are light verses. Editors of Beowulf give heavy punctuation at the end of line 730, but light punctuation seems preferable (and is preferred by Olivero in his translation). With heavy punctuation the verse can be regarded as alternatively falling into group (vi) where alliteration is not general; with light punctuation it falls into group (ii). Whichever way it is viewed, the Guthlac evidence suggests that in the second half of a line the finite verb is normally stressed, but that in the first half it is more likely to be unstressed.

The common auxiliary verbs wesan, sculan, weorðan, magan, willan, habban and motan have for the most part been left out of the above discussion, together with onginnan, lætan, cuman and hatan. In Guthlac A the finite verb joins in the alliteration in:

(i) sceoldan gelice · 664b

wille wideferh 603a

(iii) hæfde se heorde 747a

Onguanen gromheorte 569a

(iv) þæt hine ne meahte 358a

gif hy him ne meahte 433a

hit ne meahte swa 576b

We þe nu willað 587a

(v) Beoð þa gebolgne 687a

Eom ic cadmod 599a

In only four places does the finite verb not alliterate while in the first two groups :

(i) hafað yldran hud 4b

hafað bega craft 87b

habbað wisne geþoht 800b

where, although the word is fully meaningful, the light stress of the auxiliary use may have been transferred. Of these, 4b is an aside and can therefore be better regarded as belonging to class (iii); for 87b Slay[1] suggests repunctuation to preserve parallelism, producing very awkward syntax; 800b he does not note. One verse shows the auxiliary unstressed when in group (ii) :

hæfde feonda feng 436a

It should be noted that the infinitive lætan, dependent upon the same auxiliary as the verb which precedes it, is allowed to fill the initial dip of 199b :

lætan wræce stille 199b.

The E-poet seems to have taken more care to avoid using these verbs in the alliterative patterns. Only magan forms share in the alliteration :

(iv) þætte meahte him 989b

þæt me no meahte 1251a

and only once is any of these verbs used in either positions (i) or (ii) :

(i) let his hond cuman 951.

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[1] 1952, p. 14

One line in this poem is without alliteration :

bi me lifgendum. Huru ic nolde sylf 1234

although in the tables it is scanned as if some liquid assonance were felt. It should therefore be mentioned as a possible example of a b-verse in group (iv).

2 - a2/Sievers a3b

There are not enough examples of this verse type in either poem to make any judgment as to their distribution. However, as should be expected, the A-poet uses it more than does the B-poet and the average number of dip syllables is considerably higher in Guthlac A than in Guthlac B.

3 - di/Sievers C 1 and C 2 where both stresses are in one word, the second being supplied by tertiary stress

The A-poet makes far more use of this pattern than does the B-poet. Rough equivalences show that in Guthlac A one in eleven a-verses and one in fourteen b-verses will be of this type, whereas in Guthlac B the proportions are one in fifteen a-verses and one in thirty-three b-verses. The great difference in the distribution of b-verses is probably consequent upon the A-poet's far greater use of light ai/A3 verses.

Among the di verses four in particular are noteworthy :

aeanian 1175a

aeundrien 1177a

bideaglian 1252 a

aeennedne 1361a

They occur only in Cuthlac B and are unparallelled in Beowulf.

4 - d2/Sievers C1 and C2 where both stresses are in one word, the second being supplied by secondary stress

Proportionately more a-verses of this type are used by the B-poet than the A-poet, but in the second half line there is no appreciable difference in their distribution.

5 - d3/Sievers C3 where both stresses are in one word, the second being supplied by a short open syllable with secondary stress

Again the B-poet uses more a-verses of this type than does the A-poet. On the other hand, the type is more frequent in the second part of the line in Cuthlac A than in Cuthlac B.

6 and 7 - d4 and d5/Sievers B when both stresses in one word

The B-poet makes considerably greater use of these patterns in

the first half of the line than does the A-poet, whereas he uses it rather less often to fill his b-verses than does the A-poet.

8 - ai/Sievers B3, and A3 with exceptional stressed open short syllable

Only four verses which can be labelled thus occur, all in Guthlac A :

ge her ætsoð 301a

ne hy hine to deaþ 549a

Woldun hy geteon 574a

þæs þe ge him to dare 700a

At 549a an emendation deaðe, although not dictated by syntax, presents no difficulty. 301a and 574a seem to indicate that the A-poet is familiar at least with the poetic use of uncontracted forms in contracted verbs. 700a can be described as an example of ai/A3 where a short open syllable is exceptionally stressed. If these explanations are accepted, these four verses will further increase the great disproportion in use of ai verses between the two poets, but 700a suggests that 549a can be allowed to stand unchanged.

9 - 1A1/Sievers A filled by one word
10 - 1D1/Sievers D filled by one word
11 - 2A1/Sievers A filled by one word

As the four one word examples of dia quoted above suggest, the

tables here show that the B-poet is fonder of filling his measures with one word than is the A-poet. This is particularly marked in the a-verses where the ratio between Guthlac A and Guthlac B is 1 : 5, but in the b-verses the difference is not so marked.

12 - 1Aia/Sievers A1

A greater proportion of these verses is used in the A-poem than in the B-poem (roughly 3 : 1) in the a-verses with double alliteration. There are insufficient a-verses with single alliteration for any inferences to be drawn. In the b-verse the distribution of this verse type does not differ much between the two poems.

13 - 1A2/Sievers A2b

In both poems these are all a-verses with double alliteration; the B-poem has proportionately more but the total number involved is very small.

14 - 1A*1/Sievers A1

Significant variation between Guthlac A and Guthlac B in the distribution of this pattern is to be found only in a-verses with

single alliteration, of which there are far more in the B-poem than in the A-poem.

15 - 1A*2/Sievers A2b

The distribution is much as in §.13; it should be noted that two of these verses occur in the second part of the line in Guthlac B :

tydrað þis banfæt 1265

Beofode þæt sealond 1325.

16 - 1A*3/Sievers A*1

These are all a-verses with double alliteration; Guthlac B has proportionately far more than Guthlac A.

17 - 1A*4/Sievers A*

Guthlac A has one a-verse of this type :

onsyn 7 atwist 500

18 - 1D1/Sievers D1

19 - 1D2/Sievers D1

The variety with tertiary stress occurs with single allitera-

tion in the a-verse in both poems. The B-poet uses these verses twice as frequently as does the A-poet. One verse in Guthlac A lacks double alliteration in the first part of the line, and it seems likely that the second element of the compound onsyn was no longer fully meaningful :

godes onsyne 815a

If this is so there are no examples of 1A*4 (§.17) in either poem.

20 - 1D3/Sievers D2 and D3

The figures here are small, but again it may be inferred that the B-poet uses this verse type more frequently than the A-poet.

21 - 1D4/Sievers D4

22 - 1D5/Sievers D4

The first of these varieties is found only in four a-verses and one b-verse of Guthlac B (1046, 1200, 1220 and 1350). The second occurs in both poems, twice in Guthlac A and four times in Guthlac B.

23 - 1D*1/Sievers D*1

24 - 1D*2/Sievers D*1

Each poem has an example of single alliteration in the variety

with tertiary stress. All the instances of these types occur in the first half of the line except for feores orwenan 627b. The B-poet uses them more often than the A-poet (roughly 3 : 2).

25 - 1D*3/Sievers D*2

Again the proportion used by the B-poet is slightly higher than for the A-poet. All the instances are a-verses with double alliteration.

26 - 1D*5/Sievers D*4

The total number of verses here is very small and all are a-verses with double alliteration : in Guthlac A two verses, in Guthlac B five verses.

27 - 2Aia/Sievers A

There is no significant difference between the two poems in the frequency of these verses in the first half of the line, although the B-poet uses considerably less double alliteration than does the A-poet (this tendency also to be seen in §.14). In the second half-line there are in Guthlac A proportionately twice as many verses of this kind as in Guthlac B.

28 - 2A2/Sievers A2b

The very small number of these verses shows the same tendencies as are observed in §.13 and §.15.

29 - 2A3/Sievers A2l

Here three significant differences in distribution can be noted. These verses are roughly twice as frequent in the B-poet's first verse, ten times as frequent in his b-verse and occur twice without double alliteration in his a-verse (1078, 1378).

30 - 2B1/Sievers B1 and B2
31 - 2B2/Sievers B1 and B2

There is no significant difference between the two poems in the distribution of these verses. One verse in Guthlac B is regarded as having elision :

noht lenge ofer þis 1171a

32 - 2C1/Sievers C1 and C2

These verses occur more often in Guthlac A than in Guthlac B; in the a-verse there are proportionately over twice as many and in the b-verse a rough ratio is 3 : 2. It is worth noting that in

Guthlac A two thirds of the a-verses have double alliteration, whereas in Guthlac B only one third of the a-verses has double alliteration.

33 - 2C2/Sievers C3

There is no significant difference between the two poems in the distribution of these verses.

34 - 2E1/ -
35 - 2E2/

The first of these 'catalectic' types occurs in Guthlac A :

leofes gelong 313a

egsa ne styreð 420b

blæde geberan 497a

wyrpe gebiden 509b

However, of these the last three could be regarded as exceptional forms of 1A* verses, and there is only one example of 2E2 in this poem :

mearelond geseat 174a

In Guthlac B two a-verses and six b-verses occur, all with secondary stress :

lichord onleas 1029a

foldwong ompprong 1326a

wicsard geceas 935b

longfyrst ofer þæt 947b

ondcwis ageaf 1026b

feorhhord onleac 1144b

sondlond gespeorn 1334b

ladspel to soð 1343b

36 - 3A/Sievers A*

Two verses in Guthlac A represent this variety. One has long been singled out for comment :

genom him to wildeorum wynne 741a

and is the only hypermetric verse in Old English poetry to end with this particular sequence. For this reason Cosijn[1] suggests reading wildrum. However, this hypermetric verse reading is supported by :

gastlicne goddream 630a

a verse which parallels The Battle of Maldon

grædigne guðhafoc 64a.

A few more verses at first sight display a similar opening, but all can be resolved more normal varieties of A :

2Aia eagena wynne 166b

þoncede þeodne 778b

weorðiað waldend 800a

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[1]Cosijn 1898, p. 119

1A*1a eadigra gehwone 555b

þeowiað in þeawum 502a

earniað on eorþan 795a

1A*1b wilniað bi gewyrhtum 70

37 - 3B1/Sievers B1 and B2

In the first half of the line the B-poet uses these verses twice as frequently as the A-poet, with a markedly lower amount of double alliteration. There is no significant difference in the distribution of b-verses of this variety.

38 - 3B*/Sievers E with anacrusis

There is no significant variation in the distribution of these verses between the two poems. Three verses from Guthlac A require comment :

þer se oempa oferwon 180b

þa hi swiðra oferstag 230b

hwylc wæs mara þonne se 400b.

With elision the first two can be regarded as falling into group 2B2. 400b, if the less usual þon were used for the adverb, would fall into group 3B1b; for further discussion of this verse, see the commentary; in the tables the symbol 3B*1b is used.

39 - 3E/Sievers E

40 - 3E*/

In Guthlac B these verses occur over twice as often in the second half of the line as in Guthlac A, and for the first half-line rough proportions are 3 : 2. It is worth noting that the A-poet uses double alliteration in a-verses to a very much greater extent than does the B-poet.

The sub-type of 3E with a short second syllable does not occur, unless

Swa se burgetede wes 1317a

can be taken as an example of this with two syllable anacrusis. The inclusion of wes in the b-verse would make it equally unsatisfactory. It seems better to regard this verse as anomalous, noting that the finite verb may have become displaced from among the opening particles.

41 - heavy verses/Sievers A2, D and E

The classification of these verses as three stress verses ending in either a C or B pattern eliminates the ambiguities present in deciding whether a verse is either a D4 or E pattern or other such alternations in interpretation, but it cannot account for the heavy varieties corresponding to Sievers's A2b and A2ab. Thus rather than depart here from traditional methods of scansion, all

the heavy verses are indicated in terms of normal verses which may have secondary stress, and in the tables they can be spotted quickly as their descriptions are enclosed in brackets. Pliss points out that for Beowulf :

> "... there is no real need to distinguish heavy verses from normal verses, since their distribution does not differ substantially from that of normal verses."

However, within the two Guthlac poems there seem to be decided differences in the use of sporadic heavy verses. Most striking is the ratio Guthlac A to Guthlac B, 1 : 5. Of the ten Guthlac A verses, the six a-verses all fall into D patterns except for

fole in dricod 285b

which is regarded as 2A3b. The D verses all open stress dip except perhaps

fæger fugla reord 743a

where fæger can be interpreted either as one or two syllables. In Guthlac B there are two a-verses corresponding to Sievers's A2b and A2Ab :

byrelade bryd gong 870a (with syncope)

and glædmod gode leof 1062a

Two heavy b-verses have an extra dip syllable :

woruld miste oferteah 1280b (and elision)

þrong niht ofer tiht 1281b

and one a-verse :

godes willan þes georn 876a

Three a-verses (1080a, 1206a and 1365a) have anacrusis.

42 - hypermetric verses

These verses can be divided into two groups, the first of normal verses introduced by a long anacrusis, the second of normal verses introduced by an extra stress or stress plus some unstressed syllable(s). The second group may of course have initial anacrusis. In Guthlac A verses from either group may appear in the first half-line, where the B-poet uses only three stress hypermetric verses. In the b-verse both poets use the two stress variety. The A-poet uses hypermetric verse well over twice as often as does the B-poet.

43 - remainders

Guthlac A

widor sæce 300b scanned as 2Aia with short unresolved second stress. This pattern well attested as a sporadic feature of Old English verse.[1]

ær obbe siþ 369a regarded as 1Ei. For discussion on whether or not this verse is complete see note for this line in commentary.

Doþ efne swa 592a scanned 1Ei. This highly problematical verse type represented also by 1178b.

wæpnum [7 wæðum] 178a. Unclassified. R for remainder appears

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[1]Schabram 1960, pp. 220-41

in tables.

[gesunde] þes sundboran 542a. The MS þes sundboran is classified as dia but should perhaps be counted a remainder. The amended verse would be 1D*3 with anacrusis.

þe eow in mod astag 661b. Also unclassified, with R in tables. If this is a heavy verse, it shows anacrusis unparalleled in a b-verse of this type, as well as most unusual placing of stress upon an attributive dative pronoun in normal syntactical position. This verse might be better regarded as having defective alliteration.

Four verses :

in orwennysse 575b

his ombihthera 599b

siþþan bartholomeus 723a

to hierusalem 813b

can be regarded as light one word verses with anacrusis. Thus 575b can be described as aiD1 and 599b as 2Aia. 723a and 813b are unclassified, as the secondary or tertiary stressing within these words is uncertain.

Guthlac B

The line

bi se lifgendum. Huru, is nolde sylf 1234

is apparently without alliteration, but is scanned as if assonance between the initial consonant in lifgendum and the medial consonant group in nolde were felt.

Swa se burgstede wæs 1317a : unclassified.

Four verses

þonne seofon niht 1035b

þæt wit unc eft 1186a

ær þu me, frea min 1222a

Hwæt, þu me, wine min 1227a

all seem to present the pattern (x x) x x / /, which for the a-verses could be termed (a4). As light A type verses do not occur in the second half-line, 1035b can only be regarded as an example of 3Bib with a short open syllable occupying the first stressed position.

44 - anacrusis

In Guthlac A anacrusis occurs in :

1Aia - 258a, 473b, 508a, 774a, 804a; 1Aib - 147a, 255a, 278a, 294a, 499a; 1Aic - 389a; 1Di - 232a, 324a; 1D2 - 375a; 1D*2 - 229a, 335a; 2Aia - 71b, 305b; a1Di - 575b; a2Ai - 599b; and in two unclassified verses 723a and 813b (disyllable).

In Guthlac B anacrusis occurs in :

1Aib - 1300, 1308, 1313; 1A*ia - 1015, 1333; 1A*ib - 990,

1289, 1316; 1A*2a - 989; 1D1 - 903; 1D2 - 1154; 1D4 - 1220; 1D*3 - 911; 1D*5 - 1352; 2A1a - 840 and disyllable in 922, 1041; heavy verses (1D5) 1082, 1365; (1D*5) 1206. All are a-verses. The anomalous 1317a is omitted.

The B-poet uses more anacruses than does the A-poet, but the difference is not so great that much emphasis can be laid on it. Two things are worth noting :

(i) All the a-verses with anacrusis have double alliteration in Guthlac A, but in Guthlac B there are two without double alliteration -

æt þem halgan þeowon 922a

fore meotudes oneowum 1041a.

(ii) There are no b-verses with anacrusis in Guthlac B, whereas in Guthlac A there are certainly three and probably five.

45 - contraction and syncopation

(i) In a few places uncontracted forms are required, instead of contractions (§.8 should also be consulted) :

d1b þær se hyhsta 16b

þær he fægran 382b

fore efstum 712b

d1c sume in urra 876b

1Di ealdfeonda 475a

1Aia gæst aflihð 504b

2Aia hyhta hyst 63a

3Bib on þa hean lyft 412b

Three of these contractions are in forms of the adjective hēah, and could either be late analogical formations or due to the knowledge of how this word was used in earlier poetry. 382b and 712b are contractions of words otherwise copied by the scribe as disyllables where a disyllable form is necessary. Line 504b aflihð suggests disyllable pronunciation is necessary in this contracted third person singular; again this need not be an indication of earliness, for the poet rarely uses a syncopated form for the 3rd person singular of verbs. The common poetic compound ealdfeonda is the only other word in this poem to suggest a preservation of morphological suture, and for this reason emendations have often been suggested for this verse (see commentary). It is worth noting, however, that the two other verses of this type in Guthlac A are :

foldbuendra 64a

lyftlacende 146a,

a pattern found elsewhere in Old English poetry, and that the analogical reformation feogendra occurs at PPs cv. 10.

In Guthlac B the g alliteration in 876 is ornamental and the line should be stressed :

sume ór, sume síð, sume in úrre

with the alliteration on the vowels. The possessive adjective should be expended to the general poetic ussera (compare line 735).

(ii) The syllabic consonants or svarabhakti vowels present an insoluble problem for all who try to scan English poetry. In the scansion of these poems the following principles are observed :

(a) A short syllable followed by a syllabic consonant is resolved.

except bonne seofon niht 1035b

(b) A long syllable and following syllabic consonant are normally scanned as two syllables, except in those verses where there is confusion between 2C2 and 3B1 varieties.

except when a compound word of more than three syllables may be reduced to suit a normal verse pattern

e.g. ebelriehte for 216a = 3E2

One verse in Guthlac A could be scanned with monosyllabic tuddor as 3E2 but should rather be taken as another example of 3A2

treofugla tuddor 735a

(iii) Medial vowels in open syllables are throughout the poem syncopated after short root syllables.

(iv) There can be no certainty as to whether or not a medial vowel is syncopated after a long syllable in Guthlac A, but save where its retention is necessary metrically (as for the inflected

forms of eorfoð in lines 207, 457, 556 and 1065) it is syncopated. When the medial vowel is in a closed syllable, there is metrically no syncopation and this explains the apparently anomalous ber he fægran 382, fore eowere 707 and in uccera 753. (See Campbell 457 (2)).

(v) The formative element -i- in weak verbs of class II is treated as a syllable following long or disyllabic stems and is resolved after a short stem; the medial vowel of the preterite is similarly treated. In five Guthlac A verses there is syncopation following a long stem - 70a, 502a, 778b, 795a and 800a (see §.36). In Guthlac B the heavy verse

byrelade bryd geong 870a

may require similar syncopation.

46 - alliteration

(i) For possible examples of ei/Sievers B3 in Guthlac A see §.8.

(ii) In a few places h seems to alliterate with vowels :

elne unslawe. Ða se hælmihtiga 950

on hafentid, oþerne mid þee 1215.

This intrusion of h before an initial vowel which is doubtless merely scribal (compare note for 271), is paralleled in :

Du þæt gehatest þæt ðu ham on hus 271.

(iii) At line 813 the A-poet uses h to represent the semi-vowel j :

gongað gegnunga to hierusalem 813

This is, however, a common Vulgate spelling.

(iv) One line seems to lack alliteration :

bi me lifgendum. Huru ic nolde sylf 1234

In another the heavy b-verse has unusual anacrusis and may be defective :

for þam oferhygdum þe eow in mod astag 661

For a discussion of these lines see §.8 and relevant notes in the commentary.

(v) Double alliteration in the b-verse is regarded as non-functional in

gemette þus medne. Meaht þu medelowidum 1015

and as accidental in

þegne on þeode, butan þe nu ða 1231.

(vi) Verbal prefixes do not join in the alliteration, except in such verbs as anforleton, nealæcan and ondswarian. Before nouns and adjectives prefixes are usually stressed. With un- two exceptions occur in Guthlac B, in the participial adjective ungeblyged 941a and in the adjective unlæt 1034a.

47 - crossed alliteration

The lists prepared by R. Troike[1] make no distinction between lines with the pattern ab/ab and those with ab/ba. Of the 25 lines listed for Guthlac A 5 (421, 426, 573, 648 and 729) have the ab/ba pattern, a number which could be greatly magnified by including the many lines in this poem where unstressed particles could be regarded as echoing the initial letter of the second stressed element in the b-verse. From the 19 examples of ab/ab patterns listed, one should be subtracted as

Eom ic eaðmod his ombihthera 599

with his in the second half-line, rather than in the first, eliminates the crossed alliteration. The remaining 18 lines can be divided into

(i) lines where both verses consist of two full stresses - 29, 126, 326, 408, 422, 520, 524, 598, 746, 780 (and with these the hypermetric lines 3, 5 and 239 should be compared)

(ii) lines where one verse is light - 33, 188, 198, 385, 389, 449, 453 and 781 (to which should be added 257 and 817).

Of the 18 lines cited for Guthlac B one requires a special note :

sume ær, sume sið, sume in urra 876.

It would be an example of ab/ab alliteration if the consonant were felt to dominate in scansion, but is the only instance of ab/ba

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[1] v. Lehmann and Bailey 1960

alliteration cited by Troike for this poem if, as the sense clearly suggests, the vowel dominates and therefore carries the alliteration. This ab/ba crossing is very much rarer in Guthlac B (examples occur at 934, 995).

The remaining 17 lines can again be divided into

(i) lines where both verses have two full stresses - 819, 842, 879, 896, 936, 992, 1061, 1093, 1136, 1264, 1267 (with which should be compared the hypermetric line 1164).

(ii) lines where one verse is light - 827, 907, 987, 1090, 1151, 1305, to which can be added 903, 956, 1014, 1029, 1193, 1239, 1315 and 1327.

Another form of crossed alliteration, when the second stress of a b-verse foreshadows the alliteration of the following line, is found in both poems. In most cases the second stress of a b-verse is echoed : 33, 60, 105, 236, 247, 275, 450, 454, 454, 477, 508, 565, 614, 624, 626, 628, 664, 676, 697, 704, 716, 720, 722, 738, 784, 809, 816, 821, 827, 832, 856, 861, 862, 881, 891, 899, 905, 973, 990, 991, 1024, 1034, 1039, 1073, 1125, 1224, 1226, 1228, 1244, 1338, 1344 and in the hypermetric verse 1109. In a few cases the secondary or tertiary stress of a b-verse is echoed : 129, 233, 652, 1033, 1087, 1292. Though this variety of crossed alliteration is less often noted than the ab/ab and ab/ba types, it occurs very much more frequently.

48 - successive alliteration

Successive alliteration is much rarer in Guthlac A than in Guthlac B. It occurs in Guthlac A 232/3, 616/7, 782/3 and 811/2 and Guthlac B 845/6, 849/50, 852/3, 941/2, 960/1, 965/6, 1052/3, 1064/5, 1078/9, 1095/6, 1118/9, 1170/1, 1207/8, 1220/31, 1277/8, 1296/7, 1307/8, 1319/20, 1364/5 (rough proportions 1 : 9).

49 - rhyme

Lefèvre's work[1] is still the best description of rhyme in these two poems, but is unfortunately marred by his division of the Guthlac material into four parts - 1-29 he puts at the end of Christ and the remaining material is broken into three separate poems (I - 30-529, II - 530-818 and III - 819-1379) and by his conclusion that all three were by Cynewulf, the third being of a later period than the other two.

In Guthlac A rhyme is found within verses in such formulaic phrases as :

ealra cynings eyning 17a

swa is lar 7 ar 620b

but in

7 þær ar fela 143b

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[1] Lefèvre 1883, pp. 181-240

is doubtless accidental, as hyr does not carry any metrical stress. The half verses 106b and 107a end respectively in mod and god, but otherwise only inflexional tail-rhyme is found in this poem. The verses of line 92 end in alegeð and adreogeð, but Thorpe's suggested emendation of the first of these to aleogeð is not generally accepted (see commentary). They may however rhyme on ē instead of Thorpe's ēo.

Rhyme within the verse is found in Guthlac B :

wide 7 side 882b

eard weardade 897b

ealra þrymma þrym 1103a

leof mon leofum 1164a

æþele ymb æþelne 1287a

breahtem æfter breahtme. Beofode þæt ealond,
foldwong ofgrong. 1326a

æfter sundplegan sondlond geæpearn,
grond wið greote. 1335a

In line 876

sume er, sume sið, sume in urra

the rhyme-words are all within dip portions of the line. Lines 1235 and 1236 are linked together, both ending in mineg. The a-verses of 1079 and 1080 rhyme together in gefean and fream, and in one place three verses are linked by end-rhyme :

ne lifes lyre ne lices hryre,
ne dreames dryre 830a

(Compare Phx 15 and And 857.)

Sporadic inflexional rhyme is found throughout Old English poetry, but it is worth examining how certain groups of verses are bound together by it. Both poets mass verses composed of dative followed by passive participle :

lage biscenete,
swearte beswicene, swegle bemumene,
dreame bidrorene, deade bifolene,
firenum bifongne 627

hiwes binotene,
dreamum bidrorene. 901

The A-poet uses one pattern not found in Guthlac B, joining two finite verbs by the simple connective ond in the a-verse and more often than not following this up with a series of clauses containing co-ordinate verbs :

lærað 7 læstað 7 his lof rærað
oferwinnað þa awyrgdan gæstas,
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c.2Aia
ai(b.2Aia)
aia(a.2Aia)
aid
ai(1D1)
aic
1A*1b
1Aic
1Aia
3B1b
1A*4b
1A*1b
aid
1A*ia
1A*ia
1A*ia
3B1b
aid
a.1A1b
1Aia
2Aia
d2b
1A1b
1A*ia
aib(b.2Aia)
aid
1A1b
1Aia
2Aia
2Aia
1A*1b
1Aia
dib
3B*1b
3B1b
2Aia
1D1
(1D*3)
d5a
3B1b
2Aia
aib
(1D*3)
2C1b
3B1b
1A*ia
aic
aic
aic
dib
d.1A*ia
e.2Aia
d.1A*ia
3B1b
d.1D1
dic
3B1b
3B1a
d5b
2C2c
3B1c
3B1a
2C1a
3B1c
3B1b
dib
2Aia
dib
1A1b
3B*1c
2C1a
2Aia
3B1c
2C1b
d. 2Aia
1Aia
3B1d
2C1b
2C2b
d5a
dic
2C2b
1A*1a
2Aia
2Aia
3B1b
1A1b
dib
1A*1a
1D3
d5b
2C1b
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
2B1c
1A*1a
2C1a
2C1b
1A*1a
aic
aid
1A*1a
1A*1a
2C1b
1A*1a
dib
d2a
1A*1a
ai(2Aia)
dic
1A*1b
1A*1a
2Aia
1A*1a
1Aia
2A3b
ai(1D1)
ai(a.2Aia)
ai(3B1)
d.2Aia
d.1Aia
2C1c
dia
3B1a
1Aia
2Aia
1Aia
aic
2Aia
2C2a
2Aia
d5b
2Aia
2C1b
1A*1a
d2a
3B1b
1A1b
2Aia
2Aia
3B1b
1A*1a
3B1
1D1
2Aia
d5b
3B1b
d4b
a.2Aia
2C1c
3B1b
2Aia
1A*1a
2C1b
e.2Aia
dia
2Aia
dib
3B1b
3B*1c
2C1b
3B1b
c.2Aia
c.1A*1a
d.1Aia
b.2Aia
e.1Aia
2B1b
1Aia
2C1a
(2E2a)
1Aia
2B1b
3B1b
2C1b

2A1
2A3
d1a
a1a
2A1a
1A*1a
3B1b
3B1b
d1b
3B1
2C1a
d3b
d1b
1A1b
2A1a
2A1a
a1c
3B*1b
1A*1b
1A*1b
1A*1a
1A*1a
2A1a
2A1a
a1d
2A1a
1A*1b
a1d
a1d
a1d
a1d
2B1b
1A1b
d1a
1A*1c
d1b
1A1a
1A*2
3E2
2A3a
1A*1a
2A1a
1D1
a.1A1b
1A1a
d1b
a1d

105

110

115

120

125

130

135

140

145

150

3B*1b
2C2b
1A*1a
2C1a
2B1b
3B1b
2A1a
3B1b
1A*1a
1A1b
d1b
2A1a
2A1a
3B1b
2C2b
3B1b
2A1a
2A1a
3B1b
d1a
d2a
3B1b
2C1c
2C2b
3B1c
3B*1b
d1b
d2b
2A1a
1A*1a
2A1a
2C1a
2A1a
1A*1a
3B1b
1A*1a
1A*1a
2A1a
3B1b
3E2
2C2b
2C2b
2C2b
1A*1a
3B1b
2B1b
3B1b
1A1a
d1a

1D*3
1A*1a
2A1a
d1b
a1d
1D*1
R1a
1A*1a
2A1a
1A*1a
d1b
1D1
2A1a
1A*1a
2A1a
2C1b
1D*1
1A*1b
1A*1b
1A1a
3B1
2A1a
2A2
2E2
1A1a
1D*1
1A*1b
R
d2b
2A1a
3B1
1D1
3E2
2C1b
2A3a
1D*3
d1d
d1b
3B1
a1(b.2A1a)
a1(2A1a)
a1f
d3b
d1b
2A3a
d1b
1A*1a
d2a
1A*1a
d1b

155

160

165

170

175

180

185

190

195

200

2C2b
2B2b
3B1b
2A1a
d1a
d2b
3B1b
3B*1b
3B1b
3B*1b
2A1a
2B1b
d3c
d2a
d3a
2A1a
2C2b
d1c
2A1a
3B1b
1A*1a
3B1b
3B1b
3B1b
2B1b
3E2
d1a
1D1
1A*1a
3B*2b
1A1b
d1b
2A1a
d3a
3B1b
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2A1
1A*1a
3B1b
d.1A1a
d2d
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1A1a
1A1a
3B1b
1A1a
3B1b
2A1a
2C1b
3B1b

2A1a
3E2
1A*1b
3E1
d3b
a1d
3E1
a1d
2A1a
1D*3
d1b
a1d
1D*2
a1d
3B1b
1A*2
1D3
d2b
d1b
a1e
2C2b
d1b
2C1a
a1d
d1e
d1d
d3b
d3a
a.1D*3
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1A*1a
a.1D1
a1d
1D*3
3B*1b
2C2b
a1d
a1d
a1(b.1D1)
a1(a.2A1a)
e.1A*1a
e1(a.3E2)
2C2b
1A*1a
d1b
a1d
2A1a
d1a
1A1a
3B1b

205

210

215

220

225

230

235

240

245

250

3B1b
2C2b
d2b
1D1
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2C1a
1A*1a
d1a
d1b
2A1a
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1A*1b
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2C1a
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e.1A*1a
d.1A1a
d.2A1a
e.1A*1a
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2C1b
1A*1a

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1A*1a
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2C2b
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1D3
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d2b
d3a
a1e
2C1a
a1d
2C2b
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a.1A1b
1A1a
a1e
d3e
2A1a
2A1a
2A1a
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2A1a
1A*1b
1A*1b
e1a(a.2A1a)
b.1A*1a
e1a(a.2A1a)
1A1a
d1a
a.1A1b
1A*1a
1A*1b
1D1
d3b
a1e
a1d

255

260

265

270

275

280

285

290

295

300

3B1b
2C1b
1A*1a
1A*1a
2A1
2C1c
2C1b
2B1c
3B1b
2C2b
3B1b
1A1a
(2E2a)
2A1a
2A1a
2C1a
1D1
2A1a
2A1a
2A1a
2B1b
2C1b
2C1b
2A1a
1A*1a
3B1a
3B1b
3B1c
3B1c
3B1c
1A1a
2B1b
2C1b
2C2b
(2A3b)
d3a
d1b
2C2c
d.2A1a
d.1D1
d.2A1a
2C1b
3B1b
d3b
2B1c
3E2
2A1a
2C1b
1A1a
2A1a

```
e1c
3E2
3B1b
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2A1a
a1d
2C1a
1A1a
3B1b
2A1a
2E1
2C1a
a1c
d1c
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1A*1a
d3c
a1c
3D*1b
3B1a
d1a
a.1D1
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2A1a
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a1c
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d1b
a1c
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a1d
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a1c
d1c
2A1a
d1b
1D1
1A1a
1A*1a
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2A1a
3B*1a

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2B1c
2C1a
2C2c
a.2A1a
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2B1c
3B1a
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2C1b
3B*1b
2B1b
3B1c
3B1b
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1A1a
d4b
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2A1a
2A1a
3B1b
2A1a
2A1a
3B1b
2A1a
2A1a
2B1b
2A1a
1A*1a
3B1b
1A1b
2C2b
3B1b
3B1c
2C1a
d2b
2A1a

d2b
a1d
a1c
1A1a
1A1a
a1d
2A1a
a1d
1A*1a
1A*1b
a1d
1A*1a
a1(b.2A1a)
d1c
a2d
1A1b
1A1a
3E1
1E1
a1d
d3c
1A1a
3B1b
d3d
a.1D2
g.1A*1a
f.1A*1a
e.1A*1a
d.2A1a
2B1b
1A*1a
2C1b
2A1a
1A*1a
d1c
2A1a
d3b
1D*3
d3c
2B1b
1A1a
2A1a
3E2
d1a
1A1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A1a
a.1A1c
2A1a

2A1a
1D1
d3b
2C2b
3B1c
d1b
2C1b
2A1a
d1d
3B*1a
3B1c
2C2b
d.2A1a
2A1a
1A1a
2C2b
2C1c
3B*1b
1A*1a
2A1a
3B*1b
3B1c
2C1c
2A1a
2A1a
e.1A1a
f.2A1a
d.2A1a
3B1c
1A*1a
3B1b
d1b
3B1c
2C2c
2A1a
3B1c
1A*1a
3B*1c
2A1a
3E2
1D1
2B1c
3B1b
2A1a
3B1c
3B*1b
3B1b
3B1b
3B*1c
3B*2b
```

```
1D1
1A*1a
3E1
a1c
1D1
a1c
2A1a
2B1b
d3a
a1d
2B1b
a1d
a1c
a1d
d1b
d1a
a1c
2A1a
1D*1
a1b
a1c
3B1b
3B1c
d3c
2A1a
a1c
1A1c
1A*1a
1A1a
1D*1
1A1b
d1b
a1d
1D*3
1A1a
3B1b
d1b
1A*1b
1A*1a
a1d
2A1a
a1d
2A1
1D*3
d1b
1A*1a
```

```
2A1a
2C2b
1A*1a
d1a
2A1a
2C1a
1D1
1A*1a
2A1a
2C1a
3B1b
3B1b
1D1
1A*1a
1A*1a
2C1a
d2a
3B1b
1A*1a
2C1a
2C1a
2A1a
1A1a
2B1b
2C1a
d1b
2B1b
1D1
3B1b
d1b
2A1a
2A1a
2A1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
2A1a
2A1a
2B1b
d2b
3B1c
3B1b
1A*1a
1D1
1A1
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A1b
1D1
3B*1b
```

```
3B1b
a1d
d1b
2A1a
d1b
a1c
d1a
d1b
d3c
d3b
1A*1a
d3b
2A1a
2C1a
d.2A1a
d.2A1a
d.2A1a
d.1A*1a
d.1A*1a
a1c
d1b
d3b
1A*1a
3E*2
1D1
1A*1b
3B1b
d1c
a1d
d1b
a1d
a1c
a1d
d1b
a1c
2C1a
1A1a
d1b
2A1a
2A1a
2A1a
2A1a
1A1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
2A1a
1A*1a
2C1a
1A1a
a1d
2A1a
2A1a
d5d
2E1
2A1a
a.1A1b
1A*4
```

```
2A1a
2A1a
2A1a
2B1b
2A1a
3B1b
1A*1a
3B1b
1A*1a
2A1a
2C1b
2C1b
d2b
2A1a
d.1A*1a
e.1A*1a
d.2A1a
e.1A1a
e.1A*1a
2C1b
1A1a
1A*1a
a.1A1a
3B1b
1A*1a
d1b
2C1a
2C2b
2A1a
2A1a
2A1a
2A1a
2A1a
1A1a
1A*1a
3B1b
2C2b
3B1a
3B*1b
2C1a
3E1
3B1b
3B*1c
2A1a
3B1a
d1b
d1b
3B1b
2C2b
2A1a
```

2C1a
1A*1a
2A3b
3B1b
a1c
2A1a
1A2a
a.1A1a
d2b
d.2A1a
a1c
3B*1b
d1a
d1b
1A*1a
1A1a
2A1a
2A1a
1D1
2A1a
a1c
1A*1a
3B1a
1A*1a
1A*3
a1d
2A1a
a1d
3B*1b
1A1b
1A*1a
1A1b
d2b
d2a
1A*1a
1A*1b
d3a
2C1a
d1a
d2b
2B1b
d3a'
a1d
d1b
3B1b
a1d
1A1b
a1d
e1e
2A1a

d3a
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1A1a
d1b
3E2
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e.1A1a
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2A1a
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3C1b
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3B*1b
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3B1
d2b
3B1b
2C2b
2A3
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3B*1e
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3B1b
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2B1b
2C2b
3B*1e
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3B1e
2B1b
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2A1a
2A1a
2C1b
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2A1a
3B1b

d3a
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1A*1a
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1D*2
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a1e
1D*2
1D*3
d1a
d3b
2A3a
1A1b
a1e
1A*1a
2A1a
d2e
1A*1a
a.1D*2
2C1a
3B1e
1A*1a
a1e
e1d
1D*1
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d1a
a1d
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1A*1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A1a
1A*1a
a1e
1A1a
d1b
3B1b
1A*1a
1E1
1D*3
2A1a
2B1e
a1d
a1e
3B1b
1A2a
1A1a

2A1a
2C1e
d3e
3B1a
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1A*1a
2A1
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1A*1a
3B1b
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1D3
1D1
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1D1
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d3a
1D1
d3a
a.1D1
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2A1a
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3B1a
3B1a
1A1a
3B1e
3B1b
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d3a
1A*1a
3B1b
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1D1
2C1a
3B1b
2A1a
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2A1
2B1b
3E1
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3B1b

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1D*3
1D*1
1A*1b
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2A1a
d1b
1D*3
3B1b
1A*1a
3B*1b
2A1a
2A1a
3E1
1A1a
2A1a
a1c
1D*1
1A*1a
d1a
a1d
d3c
2A1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
d1b
3B*1b
3A2
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a1c
2C1b
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a1d
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a1d
1D*2
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a1b
a1d
d1a
a1d
3E1
1A1a
a1d
3E2
2A1a

3B1a
1A1
1A1b
d1b
d1b
2B1b
d3a
2A1a
2C1b
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3E2
1A1a
2C1b
3B1b
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2B1b
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3B1a
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d3a
1A*1a
d2a
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d3a
1D1
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d1c
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2A1a
d3a

1D*1
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2C1b
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1D2
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1A*1a
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1A1a
1A*1a
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d2b
1D*2
1A1a
2C1b
1A1b
(1D*3)
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3B1c
2A1a
e1c

d1b
2C1b
d3c
3B1b
d1b
d3b
2C1a
d1b
3B1a
2C1a
R
1A*1a
1D1
1A*1a
2B1b
1A*1a
3B1b
1A*1a
1A1a
3B1b
d1b
d1b
1A*1a
d2a
2A1a
1A1b
d1b
2C2c
1A1b
d1b
3B1b
d1b
2C2b
2A1a
3B1b
3B*1b
2A1a
1D1
2A1a
d1b
2C1a
3B1b
3E2
(3E2)
1A1a
2A1a
3E2
3B*1b
3B1a
3B1a
2C1a

e.1A*1a
e.2A1a
a1e
1A*1a
1A*1a
3B1b
a1e
2A1a
3B1d
3B1b
a1e
a1e
d2b
a1e
a1e
a1e
2A1a
a1e
a1d
2B2e
2A1a
d1b
R
1D1
1D*1
1A1b
1D2
d2b
a1e
1A*1b
a1d
1A*1b
1A*1b
1D*3
3A3a
1D*3
d1d
2A1a
3B1b
1A*1a
d.3A1
1A2a
(1D3)
(1D*3)
1A*2
3B1b
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
a1e

d.1A*1a
f.1A1a
3B1b
3B*1e
d1b
2A1a
d1b
3B1b
d1e
1A*1a
1A1a
d1b
2A1a
3B*1b
2C2b
3B*1e
3B1e
1D1
2A1a
d1b
3B1b
1A1a
2C1a
2A1a
3B1b
3B1e
2A1a
2C1b
2C1b
3E2
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2A1a
2A1a
3B1e
2C2a
1A*1a
d2a
2A1a
d.1A1a
2C1a
1A*1a
3B1e
2C1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
a1e

a1e
a1d
1A1b
2A1a
1A*1b
2C1b
d1a
d1b
a1e
d2b
1A1b
2A1a
1A*1a
2A1a
3B1b
a1d
1A1a
1D*3
a1d
a1d
3E1
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2C1b
a.1A1a
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2A1a
2A1a
2C1a
d1b
2A1a
d3b
1D*1
1A1a
1A*1a
2A1a
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1D*2
3B1a
2A1a
1A*1a
1D*1
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A1a
3E1
2A1a

2A1a
2C1a
d1a
3B*1e
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2A1a
3B1e
2A1a
2A1a
1A*1a
d3a
d5a
3B1b
2B2b
2A1a
d3b
2A1a
1A*1a
2C1b
1A*1a
d1b
2B1b
1A*1a
3B*1b
d1d
3B1e
2C1a
1A1a
d3a
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2A1a
3E2
2A1a
1A1a
3B1b
2A1
3B1e
2A1a
d3b
2A1a
1A*1a
2A1a
3B*1b

1A*2
(1D*3)
1A1b
a.1A1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A*2
1A*1a
aic
aic
1D*1
aic
1D2
1A*1b
1D3
d1a
3B1b
1A*1a
d1b
d1c
1A*1a
2A1a
1A*1b
2A1a
d5a
2A1a
3B1a
3B1a
a1d
3B1b
1A*1a
1A*1a
3B1a
aic
3E*2
(1D3)
3B1b
a.2A1a
1A*1b
3B1b
1A1a
1A*1a
d1b
2B1b
1A*1a
1A*1a
2A1
3B1a

2C1a
d1b
d2a
2A1
2C1a
2A1a
3E*2
2A1a
2C1b
2B1b
d1b
3B1b
R
2A1a
1A*1a
2C2b
3B1b
2A1a
1D1
3B1b
2A1a
1D2
2C1b
2A3
1A1b
2C2a
2C1a
3B1b
3B1a
3B1a
2A1a
2A1a
2C1b
3B1b
1A*1a
d1b
2A1a
3B1a
d2a
2A1a
3B1b
2A1a
2C1c
2B1b
2A1a
2A1a
3B*1b
2C2b
2C1c
3E2

d2b
a1c
1A*1a
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2A1a
1D1
d3b
2A1a
d2b
d3b
1A1a
3E2
2A1a
2A1a
d5a
d2b
(3E*2)
3B1c
3B1b
(2A2)
3B1b
d2b
1D1
d1a
d2b
(2A4)
d2b
2A3a
3B1a
1A*1a
1A2a
3B*1a
1A*1b
3B1b
a.1D*2
d2b
1A*1a
2A1
2C1b
1A*1a
3B1b
1D*3
2A1a
1D*2
d1b
d1b
2A2

3B*1a
3E2
3E2
3B1c
d2c
2A1a
1A*1a
3B1a
1A*1a
2A1a
d4a
1D4
1D1
3B1b
2A1a
d2a
3B1b
3E1
2B1b
1D1
2C1b
2C1b
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2A1a
1A1a
1A*1a
3B1a
2C1a
3B*1b
2A1a
1A*1a
2C1a
2C2a
2A1a
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3B1b
2A1a
3B1b
2C2b
3B1c
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1A*1a
3B1b
1D1
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2A1a
1A*1a

1A*1a
1D2
a.1D1
2A1a
d3b
1D*1
d1b
1A*1a
1D*3
2A1a
a.1D*3
1D*3
a1c
2A1a
3B1b
a1d
(1D5)
2A1a
2A1a
1D*1
d3b
b.2A1a
2A1a
d3b
(1D5)
1A*1a
d1c
1D2
1A1a
1D*2
3B1b
2A1a
1A*1a
d4a
d1d
3E1
1D*3
1A*1a
a.1A*2a
(1D4)
3B1b
1A*1a
d2b
1A*3b
1A2a
d2c
2A1a
2A1a
3B1b
2A1a
1A*1a
d1c
1D2
1A1a
1D*2
3B1b
2A1a
3B1b
1A*1a
d2b
1A*1a
3B1b
1D1
3B1b
1A*1a
1A*1a
2A1a
3B1b
2A1a
2A1a
3B1b
2A1
1A1a
2E2a
3B1b
1A1a
(3E2)
d1a
3B*1b
1A*1a
d3b
d1c
d1b
1D1
d2b
1A*1a
3B1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
d1a
d1b
1A*1a
1D*2
1A2a
1A1a
1A*1a
1A*3b
1A*1a
d3b
d4a
1A1a
1A*3b
1A*1a
3B1b
d2b
1A*1a
3E*2
d4b
3B1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
2C2b
1A*3a
1A2a
1A1a
1A*1a
1A*3b
1A*1a
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d3b
1A*1a
d3b
d4a
1A1a
1A*3b
1A*1a
3B1b
d2b
1A*1a
3E*2
d4b
3B1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
2C2b
1A*3a
1A2a
1A1a
1A*1a
1A*3b
1A*1a
d2c
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d3b
1A*1a
d3b
d4a
1A1a
1A*3b
1A*1a
3B1b
d2b
1A*1a
3E*2
d4b
3B1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
d1a
d1b
1A*1a
1D*2
1A2a
1D2
d1b
2C1a
1A*1b
3E1b
1D*5
1A*1a
d4a
2A1a
1A1a
a.1A*1b
1D*2
3B1b
1A*3a
1A*1a
1A*1a
2A1a
1D*3
d2b
1D2
1D5
3B1b
3E2
1A1b
d3b
3E2a
1D1
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1D1
d3b
2A1a
2B1b
1A*1a
3B1b
2A3b
3B*1b
d3b
2B1b
3E2
(1D3)
2B1a
2A1a
2A1a
3B1c
2C1c
2A1a
3F1b
(3E2)
3B1b
(3E2)
1A1b
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1D1
d1b
2A1a
2C1b
1D1
2B1b
2C1a
3B1b
3B1b
2C1b
1A*1a
3B1b
1A*1a
3B1c
d1b
3E2
1A1a
3B1b
d1c

1D1
2A3a
d3b
d1b
2C1b
d1b
1D*3
1D1
1A1a
1D*3
2B1b
(1D5)
1A*1a
1D*1
a.1A*1a
1A*1a
d2b
a1c
3B*2
1A*1a
1A1a
2C2b
2B1b
(1D4)
1D*3
1A*1a
a1c
(2E2a)
2E2a
1A*1a
1D*3
(1D6)
1D*2
2C1a
1A1
1A1
d1c
1D1
d3a
1A1a
b.2A1a
2A1a
d2a
1D1
(3E2)
1D4
2A1a
(1D*3)
a1d
3E2

d2c
2C1a
2A1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
2A1a
d2d
2B1b
3E2
2C1d
3E2
1A1a
3B1a
3E1
d2b
3B*1c
2A1a
1D1
3B1b
2C1b
d2b
1A*1a
1A*1a
2C2b
1D1
2E2a
2B1b
3B1c
1D1
d3b
3E*2
3E2
1D1
3B1c
3B1b
2C2b
1A*1a
3B1b
(1D3)
3B1b
2A1a
2C1a
2A1a
2C2b
3B1b
1A1b
2B1b
3E1
3B1b
d2b

d2c
1A*1a
1D3
2A1
1A*1a
1D1
1D*3
3B1a
2A1a
e1a(2A1a)
3E1
2A4
1D1
a2c
2A1a
d1b
2A1a
3B1b
d2c
1A*1a
2A2
2A1a
3B2
2A3a
d3b
1A*1a
2B1d
2A3b
3B*1b
(a.1D3)
2B2b
1D*3
3E2
a1b
3B1b
1A*1a
2A1
1A*1a
d1b
d3a
d3a
2B1a
3B1b
d3b
1D3
2A1
3B1b
1A1b
d1c
1D*2

3E2
(3E2)
3B*1c
d2b
3B1b
2A1a
1A1a
1A1a
3B1c
2A1
3B1c
2A1a
2A1a
3B1b
d1b
2A1a
3B1c
1A*1a
2A1
3B*1b
1A*1a
3B1b
1D1
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1A*1a
3B1b
3B1b
3E2
1A1
3B1b
3B1b
2B1b
2A1a
1A1
2A1a
3B1b
1D1
2C2b
2A1a
3B*1b
3B1b
3B1b
1D1
1A*1a
3B1b
1D1
2A3b
2B1b
d3a
1A*1a

1A*1a
1A*3a
3B1b
3B*1a
3B1b
3B1c
1A*2b
1A*1a
1D2
a1(b.2A1a
1A*1a
1D1
1A1
3B*1b
3B1a
1D*2
1A*1a
d3a
1A*1a
3B1b
d1b
d1a
3B1a
d1b
d2a
3E2
1A1b
2C1a
3B1b
2A1a
1A2a
4A2a
2A1a
3B2b
1A1a
3B1a
1A*1a
3E1
3E1
1D2
1D*5
2A1a
(1D5)
1D3
3E*2
1D5
3B1b
1A*2a
1D1
1D2

1105 1110 1115 1120 1125 1130 1135 1140 1145 1150

3B*1c
d3b
2A1a
3B*1c
3B1b
2A1a
1D2
3B1c
2C1b
d.1D1
1A1a
1A*1a
2C1a
3B*1b
2A3a
2C1b
3B*1b
2B1b
2A1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A1a
3B1b
2B1c
2A1a
3B1c
d3b
2C1b
2C1b
2C1a
1A1a
3B1b
1A*1a
3B1b
1A1
1D1
1A1a
3B1b
2B1c
2A1
2B2a
2C2c
2A1a
d1b
1D2
2C1a
3B1b

1155 1160 1165 1170 1175 1180 1185 1190 1195 1200

3B1a
2A1
1A*1a
a.1D2
(1D4)
1A*1c
1A*2a
1D*2
d3c
1A*1a
e1a(2A1a)
e1(c.2A1a)
3B1b
2A3a
3B1b
1D3
d1a
1A1
d2a
3B*1b
2B2a
1A*2a
2A1a
1A*1a
d1a
2B1b
d1a
d4a
a1c
d1b
3B*1b
3B1a
2A1a
d1b
d2c
a4b
d2a
d1b
2A1a
2A3a
3B1c
1A*1a
a2c
1A*1a
d3a
d3a
d4b
1A*1a
2A1
1D4

d2b
3E2
1D1
1A1a
2A1
d2b
2A1a
d.2A1a
2A1a
c.1A*1a
c.2A1a
d.2A1a
d3b
2C1b
1A*1a
3B1b
2A1
3B1c
2A1a
1A*1a
(3E2)
1A1b
2C1c
1A*1a
2C2c
3B1b
2A3b
3E1
2A1a
3B1a
2A3a
2B1c
d1c
2A1a
d1c
3B*1b
2C1a
2A1a
2C1b
3B1b
2A1a
2C2c
1A*1a
1D2
3B1b
2A1a
1A*1a
3B1b
3B*1b
2B1b

2A1
d2b
d1b
2A1a
d2b
(a.1D*5)
a1d
3B1b
1A1a
2A1a
(1D5)
a1d
3E2
2A3a
d4a
1A1b
1D*2
3E*2
2A3a
a.1D4
1A*1a
a4c
2C1a
3B1b
a1(b.2A1a)
1D*2
a4c
2A1a
1A*1a
1A*1b
1A*1a
d1c
2C2b
d1b
d3a
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A*1b
1D*3
d1c
1A1
1D*1
(1D*5)
1A*3a
a.1D*2
1D*3
1D*1
3B1a
d1a
d3a

1205
1210
1215
1220
1225
1230
1235
1240
1245
1250

d1c
2A1a
2A1a
3B1a
2A1a
3B1b
2C1a
1A*1a
1D1
3B1b
2A1a
3B1b
1A1a
3E2
3E*1
3B1b
1D1
3B1c
3B1b
2A1a
2B1c
2A1a
2C1c
d1b
2C1b
1A*1a
2A1a
2B1b
1A1a
2A1a
3B1c
2A1a
2C1a
2A3b
3E2
3B*1c
2A3a
1D1
3B*1b
3B1b
3B*1b
3B*1c
3E2
2C2d
3B1c
2A1a
2A1a

a1c
d1a
2C1a
a1f
3B1c
1D*3
2A1a
d1b
2A1a
1D*2
1D*2
1D2
2A1a
3B*1b
2C2b
2A3a
3B1a
3B*1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
1A*1a
2A1a
2A1a
1A*1a
1A*1b
1A*1a
1A*2b
1A*1a
a.1D*2
1A*1a
1D3
a.1A*1b
3E1b
d2a
2B1b
3E3
a1(1A*1a)
e1(b.1A*1a)
d1b
2A1a
1A1a
3B2
a.1A1b

1255
1260
1265
1270
1275
1280
1285
1290
1295
1300

2A1a
d1b
1A*1a
3E2
1A*1a
3B1a
2C1c
2B1b
3B1c
d3b
1A*1a
3B*1b
d3b
2A1a
1A*2a
1A1b
3E2
3B1b
3B*1c
1A*1a
(3E2)
3B1b
3B1c
2A1a
1A*2a
3B1b
3B1a
3B1b
1D3
(2E2b)
(2E2b)
3B1b
2A1a
1A1b
2A1
2A1a
3E2
1D1
3B1b
2A1a
3B1b
2A1
d3e
c.2A1
1A1c
1A1a
2B1c
3B1b
(3E2)
1A*1a

a2(a.2A1a)
a1(2A1a)
a2(a.2A1a)
2A1a
d1b
1A*2a
3B*1b
a.1A1b
2A1a
3B1b
3B1a
1A1a
a.1A1b
3E2
2A3a
a.1A*1b
R
2A1a
1D*5
1D5
d1a
1A1a
2A1a
3B1a
1A*1b
2E2a
(1D6)
1A1a
3E2
1A1b
1A2b
(1D5)
a.1A*1a
d3b
1A1a
1A*1a
1D*3
1A*1a
(1D*5)
1A*1a
1D*2
1D*2
1A*1a
d5b
2A2
2A2
1D1
1A*1a
1D*3
1D4

d.1A*1a
d.2A1a
c.1A1a
3B1a
1A1a
2A1a
1D1
2B1b
3B1b
2A1a
3B1b
3B1a
2A1a
2A1a
1A1b
3E1
1A*1a
d2a
2A1a
d1b
3B1d
2B2b
3B1b
2A3b
1A*2a
3B1b
d1c
2B1b
3E2
(3E2)
2A3a
2A3a
d3b
2E2a
3E2
1D1
d2c
1D1
3B1b
(3E2)
3B1b
2C1c
2E2a
3B1b
2B1b
2A3b
2B1b
3B1b
1A*1a
2C2c

1D3
a.1D*3
1A*1a
2A1a
d1b
3B1a
1A*3a
2A1a
d1a
a1c
d1a
2A1a
3E1
3E2
(a.1D3)
1A*2a
1A*3b
1D2
d3a
2A3b
2C1b
d4b
1D*5
1A*1a
3E2
d3c
1A*1a
2A3a
2A3a

2B2a
d3b
2C2b
3B1b
2A1a
3B*1c
3B1a
2B1a
2C1a
1A*1a
3B1a
2C1a
3E2
3B1a
2A1a
3B1b
1A*1a
3B1b
2C2a
3B1b
3B*1b
2A3b
2A1a
3B1c
3B1c
2A1a
3B1b
d5b
1D1

Summary

The first table summarises the distribution of the types of verse found in these texts. Of the six columns to the right hand side of the page three are for Cuthlac A and three for Cuthlac B. In each set of columns the first two give the number of a-verses, with and without double alliteration respectively, and the third gives the number of b-verses.

		Cuthlac A			Cuthlac B		
1	a1b	5			1		
	a1c	45			8		
	a1d	75			6		
	a1e	14			1		
	a1f	1			1		
2	a2c	2			2		
	a2d	3					
	a2e	1					
	(a2b)				1		
	(a2e)				2		
3	d1a	19	12		11	1	
	d1b	43	40		20	10	
	d1c	8	5		6	6	
	d1d	3	2		1		
4	d2a	3	10		6	3	
	d2b	15	9		13	8	
	d2c	1	2		4	3	
	d2d		1			1	
5	d3a	5	14		9	2	
	d3b	13	7		12	9	
	d3c	7	3		2	1	
	d3d	1					
6	d4a				4	1	
	d4b		2		3		
7	d5a	4	4		3		
	d5b	1	5		2	4	
	d5c						
	d5d	1					

		Cuthl&c A			Cuthlac B		
8	e1c	.	1	.	.	.	.
	e1d	.	1	.	.	.	.
	e1e	.	2	.	.	.	.
9	1A1	.	.	6	.	5	3
10	1D1	.	3	6	.	5	4
11	2A1	.	2	8	.	8	8
12	1A1a	47	5	32	14	3	19
	1A1b	21	.	9	8	1	8
	1A1c	3	.	.	.	.	1
13	1A2a	3	.	.	6	.	.
	1A2b	1	.	.	1	.	.
14	1A*1a	90	3	85	65	10	52
	1A*1b	30	.	2	10	1	.
	1A*1c	1	.	.	.	.	.
15	1A*2a	5	.	.	6	.	2
	1A2b	.	.	.	2	.	.
16	1A*3a	2	.	.	5	.	.
	1A*3b	.	.	.	4	.	.
17	1A*4	1	.	.	.	.	.
18	1B1	8	4	16	3	5	25
19	1D2	3	1	1	8	.	4
20	1D3	3	.	3	7	.	1
21	1D4	.	.	.	4	.	1
22	1D5	2	.	.	4	.	.
23	1D*1	14	1	.	4	1	.
24	1D*2	7	.	1	18	.	

		Guthlaq A			Guthlaq B		
25	1D*3	16	.	.	17	.	.
26	1D*5	2	.	.	5	.	.
27	2A1a	64	27	157	22	29	85
28	2A2	.	.	.	4	.	.
29	2A3a	7	.	1	10	2	7
	2A3b	2	.	1	1	.	7
30	2B1a	.	.	1	1	.	1
	2B1b	3	4	25	1	4	19
	2B1c	1	.	7	.	.	4
	2B1d	.	.	.	1	.	.
31	2B2a	.	.	.	.	1	1
	2B2b	.	.	4	1	.	1
	2B2c	1	.	.	.	.	.
32	2C1a	6	8	34	2	3	14
	2C1b	10	1	34	1	2	15
	2C1c	1	.	8	.	.	7
	2C1d	.	.	.	.	.	1
33	2C2a	.	1	2	.	.	3
	2C2b	1	7	29	1	4	8
	2C2c	.	.	5	.	.	4
	2C2d	.	.	.	.	.	1
34	2E1a	2	.	1	.	.	.
35	2E2a	.	1	.	1	1	5
	2E2b	.	.	.	.	.	1
36	3A2	1	.	.	.	.	.
37	3B1a	2	5	16	6	12	19
	3B1b	16	13	93	7	23	84
	3B1c	1	1	28	2	2	20
	3B1d	.	1	1	.	.	1
	3B1e	1	.	.	.	.	1

		Cuthlac A			Cuthlac B		
38	3B*1a	.	1	1	3	.	1
	3B*1b	3	6	17	2	4	15
	3B*1c	.	.	12	.	.	8
	3B*2b	.	.	1	.	.	.
39	3E1	13	2	4	1	4	4
	3E2	7	.	11	9	4	22
40	3E*1	.	.	.	.	.	1
	3E*2	1	.	1	3	2	1
41	(2A2)	.	.	.	1	.	.
	(2A3a)	.	.	.	1	.	.
	(2A3b)	.	.	1	.	.	.
	(2A4)	.	.	.	2	.	.
	(1D3)	.	.	.	2	.	2
	(1D4)	.	.	.	3	.	.
	(1D5)	1	.	.	8	.	.
	(1D6)	.	.	.	2	.	.
	(1D*3)	1	.	.	1	.	.
	(1D*5)	4	.	.	3	.	.
	(2E2a)	.	.	2	1	.	.
	(2E2b)	.	.	.	.	.	2
	(3E2)	.	.	1	1	.	9
	(3E*2)	.	.	.	1	.	.
42							
(1)	c(1A1a)	.	.	3	.	.	1
	d(1A1a)	2	.	4	.	.	1
	e(1A1a)	.	.	1	.	.	.
	f(1A1a)	.	.	1	.	.	.
	b(1A*1a)	1	.	.	.	.	.
	c(1A*1a)	1	.	3	.	.	1
	d(1A*1a)	2	.	5	.	.	1
	e(1A*1a)	2	.	2	.	.	.
	f(1A*1a)	1	.	.	.	.	.
	g(1A*1a)	1	.	.	.	.	.
	d(1D1)	.	.	2	.	.	1
	b(2A1a)	.	.	1	.	.	.
	c(2A1a)	2	.	2	.	.	1
	d(2A1a)	5	.	7	.	.	2
	e(2A1a)	.	.	1	.	.	.
	f(2A1a)	.	.	1	.	.	.
	d(3A1)	1	.	.	.	.	.
	c(2A1)	.	.	.	.	.	1

		Guthlac A			Guthlac B		
42 (2)	a1(1E1)	1	.	.	.	.	.
	a1(1D1)	1	.	.	.	.	.
	a1(b 1D1)	1	.	.	.	.	.
	a1(1a*1a)	.	.	.	1	.	.
	e1(b 1A*1a)	.	.	.	1	.	.
	a1(2A1a)	2	.	.	1	.	.
	a1(a 2A1a)	2	.	.	.	.	.
	a1a(2A1a)	1	.	.	.	.	.
	a1(b 2A1a)	3	.	.	2	.	.
	a1b(b 2A1a)	1	.	.	.	.	.
	a2(a 2A1a)	.	.	.	2	.	.
	e1(a 2A1a)	1	.	.	.	.	.
	e1a(2A1a)	.	.	.	2	.	.
	e1a(a 2A1a)	1	.	.	.	.	.
	e1c(2A1a)	.	.	.	1	.	.
	e1(b 2A1a)	1	.	.	.	.	.
	a1(3E1)	1	.	.	.	.	.
	e1(a 3E2)	1	.	.	.	.	.
43	1E1	.	2	.	.	.	1
	R	.	2	2	.	1	.
		443	375	818	307	254	561

Crossed alliteration

This table summarises the contents of §47.

		Guthlac A	Guthlac B	
ab/ab	(i) full	10	9	
	(ii) light	9	14	
introductory	(i)	27	23 + 1	hypermetric line
	(ii)	3	3	
successive pairs		4	19	

4 Language

A : Introductory remarks on some general tendencies of the Exeter Book present in the verse texts.

The dialect of both Guthlac A and Guthlac B is predominantly late West Saxon, but a few Anglianisms and early West Saxon features are found in them. The whole Exeter Book is marked by a strong tendency to linguistic conformity. Dr. Sisam (1953, pp. 100-3) notes some distinctive characteristics found in all parts of this manuscript and those which appear in these poems are summarised here :

i The appearance of the past tense forms gwom, cwomon, etc. throughout the manuscript is noted by Sisam. He states that forms with -w- are found without exception, but cannot have noticed Glg 1141 gom.

ii For a/o before a nasal consonant in stressed syllables o is general, e.g. bond 696, bona 87, bonan 429, bonena 523, brondhat 964. In the Guthlac poems the exceptions are bancoba 1025, campode 643, gemanode 1208, lande 831, manna 1173, ongan 101, 1001, 1010 and wana 1354. By the later part of the tenth century a was usual in this position in the dialects of southern England, except in the South-West

Midlands. The forms may therefore reflect the variation found in early West Saxon or Kentish, but they are more probably a sign of Anglian colouring in the manuscript. See Campbell 130 and fn.2.

iii[a] The pronoun form hie which occurs sporadically throughout the manuscript does not appear in these texts. The form hy is general, hi occurring six times.

iii[b] The ie digraph considered distinctive of early West Saxon is found frequently in these poems as throughout the manuscript. The digraph is found most often in the group gie-, e.g. agiefen 660, feorhgiefa 1239, forgiefan 327, forgiefen 1133. Forms containing ie not the result of initial palatalisation are represented in these poems by :

ebelriehte 216 and siex 51 which show West Saxon or Kentish palatal umlaut of ea (see Campbell 304 ff.);

ombiehthere 599 which reflects the West Saxon i-umlaut of ea (see Campbell 200 (3));

and breaniedlum 696, MS breamedlum (compare Jln 128 breamiedlig and see Sisam 1953, p. 102), reflecting early West Saxon i-umlaut and discussed at more length in section F below.

Many other features found throughout the manuscript could be added to those discussed by Dr. Sisam, for example the many late West Saxon traits and a large number of the non-West Saxon features

which appear in these texts, but here will be mentioned only two scribal features because they seem peculiar to this of the four major verse codices : the apparent confusion of o and u (see further note for line 18) and the use of se for enclitic swa (see D and note for line 409).

In the following sections attention will be directed to features of particular importance under the main headings Vowels of Accented Syllables, Vowels of Unaccented Syllables, Consonants and Vocabulary. A further section summarises in alphabetical order unusual forms not covered in the preceding sections. These sections are labelled B, C, D, E and F; in section G some syntactical notes are made and a few remarks of a summary nature will be found under the letter H. Cross references made within this chapter will not usually have the prefix II.4, but will begin with the appropriate sectional letter.

B : Vowels of Accented Syllables.

I early West Saxon features

(a) The early West Saxon digraph ie is described in A. iii.b.

(b) The spelling i for ie after palatal consonants may be an early West Saxon feature (see Campbell 300), e.g. cirm 264,

393, hereciræ 900, nyðgiesta 1150, and similarly ĭ for ĭe, e.g. gifran 375, gifre 738, gifrum 407, 996 and gitsunge 150. The ĭ in gife 771, the only occurrence of ĭ among the forms of both the noun giefu and the verb giefan in these texts, most likely also represents ĭe, but it should be noted that the verb may have had an alternative root *gif- which may appear too in the noun (see Campbell 300 fn.1). The comparative form gingra 1042 could appear already in early West Saxon texts which have ĭ as the usual vowel of the comparative and superlative forms of geong (Campbell 178).

(c) The other main phonological types in which ĭ is found already in early West Saxon are less well represented in the poems. The West Saxon ĭ-umlaut of ēa is reflected in lig 193, lige 1072, and of the diphthong īu in hiw 710, 909, hiwes 900, niwe 742, 823, niwra 833, geniwad 953, sinhiwan 851, 968.

(d) The forms meahte (occurring 10 times) and meahton 187 are either early West Saxon or Kentish in character.

(e) The digraph ie appears four times in all, in biorg 175 (described by Sisam 1953, p. 105 fn.1 as 'the only clear example of ie for eo after Chr I'), in hie 2, 3 and in spiowdon 912. This digraph is found mostly in the pronouns hie and sie in the Exeter Book, otherwise appearing sparsely and unevenly. The forms are

unsatisfactory as evidence for dialect origin. Their absence is a peculiarity of late West Saxon, but they are found in Kentish and in 'Saxon patois' so need not be restricted to non-West Saxon (see Bülbring 253, 298 n.2 and Campbell 296). The appearance of ie for etymological eo in biorg 175 is not restricted to Kent, but occurs to a greater or lesser degree in early West Saxon and also in Mercian. The poetical preterite spiowdon 912 is non-West Saxon (see Campbell 120 (2) and fn.6). The forms hie 2 and 3 are found frequently in early West Saxon (see Campbell 704).

(f) The loss of g after a front vowel with compensatory lengthening, a common feature of late West Saxon, is already not infrequent in early West Saxon (see Campbell 243 and fn.2, 267). Examples are anhydig 897, 978, gebredan 1165, deophydig 1001, forestan 836, gromhydge 375, ongean 239, 302, unhydig 1328 and by analogy gefrunen 1360 and oðbreden 854.

2 late West Saxon features

Late West Saxon features are dominant in these texts as throughout the miscellany. Other evidence precludes the poems from having been written at so late a date and these traits are unlikely therefore to have appeared in the dialect in which these poems were originally written. No attempt is made to list all the late West Saxon features of the texts, but a few of the more important of them are listed.

(a) In adjectives where g is the root vowel a is restored not only before back vowels in the inflexional syllables, but generally before -e : late 1164, 1225, hrade 422, 687. This is a West Saxon development (see Campbell 643 (1)).

(b) In the gel- group the late West Saxon change to syl- is general, except in selfa 751 where y is placed below the first e in the manuscript. This change is found only sporadically outside the West Saxon dialect of Old English (see Campbell 325, 326).

(c) The ny- resulting in all dialects from the contraction of the negative adverb ni with a following accented wi- is not represented in these poems. The only negated form of willan in which this spelling might appear is nelle 1259 which shows the vowel developed in low sentence stress. Such forms appear frequently in late West Saxon texts, but are already a feature of early West Saxon and appear also in Kentish (see Campbell 265).

(d) Late West Saxon unrounding of y is found in indriceð 285 and ligesearwum 228 and of ȳ in wigeað 223 (in these examples y̆ < mutated ū̆).

(e) Late West Saxon rounding of i in the neighbourhood of labials and before r is well represented in these texts, e.g. bryten 883, brytene 175, bysen 175, dryng 868, 990, fyrene 1071, fyrst 110, 326. The rounding seems to occur sporadically in other

positions, e.g. gynnwised 867, hyne 127, 552, synd 91, but in such forms the y may only be a late spelling variant used to escape the similarity or confusion likely among a succession of minim strokes: in this case the graph may reflect continental influences apparent in Old English manuscripts from the late tenth century. Rounding of ī in conditions similar to those described for the rounding of i is also found, e.g. fyra 988. In nydgista 540, where the rounding is less to be expected, it is interesting that an original i has been changed to y in the manuscript. In both this word and in brynesse 646 (see Campbell 282 for lengthened vowels in composition forms of numerals) where the vowel of the accented syllable may alternatively be interpreted as the reflection of the early West Saxon contraction of ī + g (see Campbell 237 (3)), the y graph may again be due to continental scribal influences.

(f) The retraction of primitive Germanic ǣ before u is a characteristic of West Saxon and is represented in geaawe 486. Its breaking is shown in neah- forms (11 times) and its mutation in nyhstan 1018, 445, 1168 (Campbell 151).

(g) The West Saxon restoration of ǣ (< ǣ) before all single consonants followed by a back vowel except dentals is found in dalum 54 and gestalum 510 (see Campbell 162); a glide is developed before it in geara 40 and gearo 630 (see Campbell 172).

(h) The dative form gehwam 321, 1242 is a peculiarity of

West Saxon (see Campbell 716).

(i) The preterite gerehte 171 shows the levelling of ē from the present system found already in early West Saxon texts. In Anglian dialects the etymologically correct ǣ is retained (see Campbell 753 (9) b.2).

(j) Late West Saxon smoothing of ea (broken from æ) appears in gerehte 96.

(k) West Saxon or Kentish palatal umlaut of eo is reflected in sihste 1150 and stryhte 997, 1152, ryht- (6 times) and woruld-ryht 57. The early West Saxon ie appears in ebelriehte 216 and siex 51 (see A.iii.b and Campbell 304).

3 non-West Saxon features

(a) Before l + consonant the Anglian failure of the breaking of æ and its retraction to a appears in galdrum 1207, onwald 482, 1102, waldend 594, 666, 763, 800, waldendes 845 and halsige 1203. In both places where onwald occurs the scribe first wrote onweald, afterwards subpuncting the e. This could be taken as an indication that a before l + consonant is a scribal feature, but it is likely that the e was subpuncted because retraction is normal in Old English in unaccented syllables (as in nalæs 117 and the 6 examples of nales where the retraction arises because these words often stand in low sentence stress). See Campbell 338.

(b) The i-umlaut of the a restored in Anglian dialects before the velar group l + consonant is found in ældu 109, ælda 755, 821, 835, 926, 975, ældum 1142 and sorgwælmum 1262 (see Campbell 193 (a)). Before r + consonant æ is sometimes found in Northumbrian for a whin i stood originally in the next syllable. The only example in these texts, wæro 1028, is in a noun which penetrates West Saxon texts in this form (see Campbell 193 (a) fn.4).

(c) The non-West Saxon i-umlaut of ea (broken from æ before r) is represented in ermbu 447, tergað 288, wergæ 541. The ea developed by breaking of æ before ȝ shows non-West Saxon umlaut in behlehhan 1357, onbehtbegn 1146, -e 1294, ombehtbegn 1000 and -e 678. See Campbell 200 (2). Such forms are not however restricted to non-West Saxon texts, for they are found in Aelfric writings.

The umlaut may also appear in sinnehte 678, but the e of this word may reflect the levelling of such a mutation rather than the mutation itself (see Campbell 628 (3)).

(d) The hooked e occurs twice for a short vowel in accented syllables, in ælda 824 and reste 363, and may represent the scribe's emendation of the forms of his exemplar. If so, ælda 824 may point to the presence of a Kentish colouring in the exemplar (see Campbell 200 (3) for e, the Kentish i-umlaut of ea before l + consonant). The form reste 363 is without dialect significance (see Campbell 194). (The change from e to e in metre is discussed in C).

(e) Forms with ē for West Saxon ēa are bedeweg 985, bledo 847 (but possibly i-umlaut of ō), eargesta 393 (see note in commentary), deadweges 991, efna 1242, forsegon 630, gefegon 213, 738, lete 364, leton 520, 948, negan 1063, ofersegon 266, sprecæ 254, þer 421 and in the first element of wergengan 594, 713. In forsegen 377 the ē may be a back-spelling for ō. The hooked ę in wegan 370 may represent a conscious scribal emendation from ē to ēa.

(f) Irregular front mutation is found in mecges 1219, mecgas 861, wrmonecgas 129, 231, 264, 558 (see Campbell 193 (c)). Such mutation, although frequent in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth gospels, is not uncommon in West Saxon texts.

(g) Second fronting occurs in mebelowide 1219, mebelowidæ 1007, mebelowidum 1015 and may be either a Mercian or Kentish feature (see Campbell 164, 288). The vowel of þeg 1176, even if regarded as the genitive singular of the definite article (and for an alternative explanation see note for this line in the commentary), cannot be regarded as an example of raising for the word stands normally in low sentence stress (see Campbell 166).

(h) The Anglian smoothing of ea appears in gerahte 142 and wærnysse 671 (see Campbell 222, 223). Smoothing is absent from teager 1340.

(i) The forms scebban 226 and sceðþenra 404 reflect mutation

of an g which has not undergone initial palatalisation and may therefore be regarded as either Kentish or Mercian. They are however without much dialect significance as these forms invade West Saxon prose (see Campbell 188 and fn.3).

(j) The Anglian smoothing of eo (broken from e) appears in gebba 1208 (see Campbell 227). The vowel of wideferh 603, 671 cannot be regarded as such smoothing, for -ferh shows half stress in the second element of a compound. Smoothing appears also in began 169 and bigad 461.

(k) The imperative singular fyr 1178 may reflect the Anglian second fronting of g and Kentish back spelling of e. Contrast the West Saxon far 291 and see further note in commentary.

(l) A back mutation of g possible only in dialects with second fronting appears in eaferum 855 and heafelan 1270 (Campbell 206). In sceadena 127 (and probably also in manscaban 650, 909) ea may be regarded as the back umlaut of g (see Campbell 207) or as the development of a glide vowel between palatal sc- and a following back vowel (Campbell 179). Back umlaut of g is seen also in the Mercian genitive plural pronoun heara 708 (see Campbell 708 fn. 5). Although examples of this back umlaut are extremely rare in West Saxon texts, they are widespread in the West Saxon transcripts of old English verse.

(m) The non-West Saxon i-umlaut of io (broken from i) is reflected in heorde 747 (see Campbell 154 (3) fn.4, 201).

(n) The non-West Saxon i-umlaut of ēa (from au) appears in geebe 1206 (see Campbell 200 (5)). If m is regarded as a mistake for n in breaniedlum 696 (MS breamedlum) the word may be cited as shwoing this mutation. Compare A.iii.b.

(o) The Anglian smoothing of ēa (from au) appears in leg 595, lege 375, 624, degle 952 (see Campbell 204 (8)).

(p) The back umlaut of e is general in Anglian except before e and g (Campbell 210 (2)). Non-West Saxon are heolstrum 83, meotud- forms (9 times), meodumre 384, etc. and, with analogical extension of this umlaut, breodwiað 287. The back umlaut of e is found before all consonants in Kentish (see Campbell 210 (3)) and occurs in wiberbreocum 294. Similar forms may be found in the Vespasian Psalter dialect of Anglian where widespread analogical extension of eo to all positions before back consonants may be found.

(q) The non-West Saxon back umlaut of i appears in freobað 243, freoðade 396, gefreobode 152, gefreoðade 422, gefreobad 411, freoduweard 173, leobade 392, heonan 1036, hleonab 73 (see Campbell 212). Such forms can appear in Saxon patois (Bülbring 235 note).

(r) The vowel of geofu 530 and geofona 1303 is generally

described as due to Anglian back umlaut of e. It is also possible to see reflected in these forms the West Saxon back umlaut of ie to io (see Campbell 220). The second element of the diphthong has been lowered in geafena 1042. The appearance of ea for eo is particularly frequent in ninth century Kentish texts, but is sporadic also in West Saxon and Mercian (Campbell 280, 281).

(s) The Anglian i-umlaut of Ie (from iu) is reflected in steor 510, þeostorcofan 1195, þeostra 696 (see Campbell 201 (3)). This Anglian feature is seen most clearly in the Vespasian Psalter Gloss. The verb neosan (forms occur 8 times in the texts) may also be explained in this way (see Campbell 416 and fn.2).

4 late Old English features

(a) æ in sæd 675 appears to lack the effects of initial palatalisation and could therefore be regarded as a Mercian form (see Campbell 185 and SP 271). As the Exeter Book has, however, many forms demonstrably late, the æ in this word may represent late Old English monophthongisation of ea (see Campbell 329 (2)). This interpretation is supported by the otherwise uniform development in the poems of initial palatalisation of æ. Compare Weightman 1907, II. 19-21

The æ in the second syllables of stæfelle 179 and onætæl 824 is best explained as late Old English monophthongisation also.

(b) The effects of late Old English monophthongisation are perhaps again to be seen in wolds 517 where however this form for the normal weolde may show only scribal omission of a letter. Comparable are Jln 562 wolde, Mxm I 85 lof, Mxm I 139 lofes and, with o for ēo, Sfr 71 feorh where e is a manuscript insertion. See also the note for wolde 517 in the commentary. As the rounding of these sounds to [œ] is not reflected graphically until the early Middle English period, for example in the earlier lines particularly of the Owl and the Nightingale in the Cotton manuscript, it is probably better to regard such sporadic forms as these as due to scribal error. A few possible examples of this spelling are cited from manuscripts of the late eleventh to the early thirteenth centuries by C. Sisam (1959, p. 30).

C : Vowels of Unaccented Syllables

Because these are poetic texts this section is presented in two parts for convenience. Those features of metrical significance are treated in the first and in the second are given notes on other unaccented syllables.

1 Unaccented Syllables and Scansion

Certain grammatical features, in which Old English scribes show little consistency, are important for the scansion of Old English verse. It is, therefore, necessary to describe the treatment of such features in an attempt to discover if any principles were

strictly observed. In the following paragraphs three aspects of the problem will be examined : contraction, the syncopation of medial vowels and the behaviour of vocalic consonants. The customary 'five types' of Sievers will be used in this discussion and the principles observed in III.3.45 will be examined.

(a) The metre demands that in 23 out of 35 instances of the second and third person present indicative forms of strong verbs the forms be uncontracted and in the remaining 12 the metrical evidence points neither to short nor long form. Syncope is found only in gwiđ 4, a form found often in Anglian texts (see Campbell 733 (a)). It is not significant that only 2 of the 23 forms shown by the metre to be uncontracted occur in Guthlac B, for while the A-poet uses the present tense frequently, it is seldom required by the B-poet's narrative. The forms are for the most part unaffected by i-umlaut (e.g. aspringeđ 20, bideđ 67, bruceđ 383, dreogeđ 386, etc.) but in one example the mutated vowel appears (gymeđ 1350). The use of long forms cannot be considered evidence of the Anglian origin of early poems, but shows only that they were unlikely to have been written by the 'late composers of prosaic verse' (see Sisam 1953, p. 125 and fn. 3).

It should be noted that the second and third person singular present indicative forms of class III weak verbs are represented only by hafađ 4, 87 and 647; all these instances are without metrical importance.

(b) Morphological suture is active in the present tense forms of the contracted strong verbs tweoh 252, steoð 301 and a-flihð 504. Uncontracted forms are also necessary metrically in ealdfeonda 475, heah 412 and hyhst 63. For the syncopated forms hyhsta 16, fægran 382 and æfstum 712 see C.1.b. below. In line 877 the metre demands the form of the possessive adjective found usually in verse, ussera (compare 753) for urra. An uncontracted form should perhaps be restored in frea 1222, but see III.3.43 for other verses in Guthlac B with similar patterns.

It has long been accepted that 'decontraction' cannot be used as a valid dating test for Old English verse (e.g. Norman 1933, pp. 6-7, Girvan 1935, p. 17) for original hiatus can be restored sporadically in Old as in Modern English (Quirk 1950, p. 5). More recently the persistence of metrical formulae has been shown to be the source for many metrically deficient phrases (Magoun 1953, pp. 461 ff.). The forms cited above seem to indicate that the author of Guthlac A worked within the older narrative traditions, but that the B-poet was either unaccustomed to the accepted 'deficient' verse or writing at a time uncontracted forms were less used. See further III.2.c.

(c) The principles observed as to the treatment of medial vowels in the scansion of these poems are to be found in III.3.45 (iv), but a few observations are necessary here.

Medial vowels in open syllables may throughout the poems be syncopated after short root syllables. The metre for the most part neither demands nor rules out syncope (e.g. _sbele_ 1287, _sbeles_ 1146, _sbela_ 1278, etc.), but syncopated forms can sometimes be established (e.g. _arisene_ 39, _beswicene_ 625, _bifongne_ 627, _biheledne_ 1353, etc.). The scribe is by no means a consistent guide in these things.

There is again little positive proof either way for the treatment of medial vowels in open syllables after long root syllables. Even where syncope is necessary the scribe often writes an unsyncopated form (e.g. _almihtiga_ 760, 950, _angum_ 1229, 1249, _gebundne_ 886, _blodgum_ 289, etc, illustrate his inconsistency). Non-syncopated inflected forms of _earfod_ are necessary in lines 207, 457, 556 and 1065.

Metrical evidence appears to indicate inconsistency in the treatment of a medial vowel in a closed syllable after a short root syllable. The restoration of the medial syllable is demanded in _gifstum_ 712 and _fægran_ 382. Syncopation may appear in these circumstances in _deadberende_ 850.

The metre nowhere demands syncope where a medial vowel in a closed syllable follows a long root syllable. Only in later Old English verse, for example the Alfredian _Metres_, can such half stress be neglected (see Campbell 457, fn.2). A medial syllable

should be given to the scribe's hyhsta 16 when reading the verse aloud. The apparently anomalous verses fore eowere 707 and in ussera 753 retain this half stress and it is to be posited for urra 877 (which in reading should be replaced by the form ussera, see C.1.b above).

(d) The principles observed as to the treatment of svara-bhakti vowels in the scansion of these texts are to be found in III. 3.45 (ii).

Following a short root syllable two syllables are necessary in seofon 1035, an exceptional verse form considered in III.3.43. It is often undemonstrable metrically whether one or two syllables are to be sounded (e.g. beorgsebel 102, bryben 980, deadmægen 895, egle 962, fæder 825 etc.). Words for which the metre indicates one syllable are gyfl 850, sbeltungla 1314, firenfulra 560, firen-lustas 803, gafulrædenne 986, etc.

Following a long root syllable two syllables are necessary in sdl 948, 1064, sdle 1022, sfen 1277, beacen 1309, bealdor 1358, breahtm 262, etc. In tuddor 735 a two syllable form is preferable metrically, but a one syllable form can be defended (see III.3.45 (ii)). Either one or two syllables may be read in sdl 940, bittor 985, 1025, breahtem 1325, etc. When such words form the first element in a compound the vocalic consonant may either be regarded as a syllable (e.g. bolgenmode 557, eastortid 1102, ellenheard 1165,

ellengprace 1155, ellenweorc 641) or be completely ignored (e.g. efenglome 1291, dryhtenbealu 1349, ealdorgewinnum 534, ealdorlege 1260). From these examples it is readily apparent that the traditional monosyllabic value of forms with syllabic r, l, m and n is used by both poets at will.

2 Other Unaccented Syllables

(a) Inflexional Syllables of Nouns, Adjectives and Adverbs

a-nouns : gs. dreames 830 shows late -as for -es; dæg 1038 and ham 10, 654 and 834 are endingless locatives; gesta 1060 may be dative singular but see commentary; apl. burgsalo 1284, 1331 show -a for -u; dagena 949 is the weak genitive plural form found in many Old English texts (see commentary and compare the poetical gpl. winiga 1365); dpl. wyrdstafun 1351, hildescurun 1143 may show the early West Saxon inflexion (see Campbell 378) but can otherwise be cited as examples of the inflexional levelling found throughout the Exeter Book; in dpl. ongengum 405 the ending has been corrected from -on (the inflexion found frequently for the dative plural in late West Saxon texts) in the manuscript; apl. earfeda 225, 1355 has -a for -u; -o appears for -u in the first element of the compound bealonib 809.

ō-nouns : gs. gilda 835 with -a for -e (see note in commentary); ds. browinga 471 has -a for -e (an extension of -a found already in early West Saxon texts according to Campbell 589 (8)); ds. gesynta

332 with -a for -u (the levelling of -u through singular cases and into nominative and accusative plural already found in early texts, see Campbell 589 (6)); similar levelling is reflected in as. healu 171, 435, healo 890, a/ds. healo 397, as. hyctro 635, as. snyttru 163, 473, as. geberu 416, etc. The nominative singular -u is generally retained in the first element of compounds and it is interesting to note that the scribe has written y above his medial o, line 1128 (in text snyttrucraft given).

i-nouns : gpl. winiga 1365 (see commentary for note on this reading of manuscript form) is a form found only in poetical texts (see Campbell 600). Accusative singular forms of feminine nouns of this declension appear 9 times : in 8 places without an inflexion; and sonwiste 968. This accusative ending is formed within the Old English period by analogy with ō-nouns and is already fairly frequent in early West Saxon texts and the dialect of the Vespasian Psalter (see Campbell 604).

u-nouns : The nominative singular forms wuldormago 1293 and wuldormaga 1094 may be interpreted either as u-nouns (with -o and -a for -u) or as weak nouns (with -o for -a); gs. deapa 235 may be a u-stem remainder.

weak nouns : ds. beowon 922 has -on for -an.

-ea/-eo declension : ds. endedogor 1167 has inflexion typical of

the declension; the poetical form lomber 1042 may also be dative singular (but see further commentary).

adjectives : def. ealra 68 has -a for -e; dem. gifran 375 may have -an for -um, but see note for that line for alternative explanation; comparative nsm. mara 384, 521, gnliora 1320, wynsumra 1321 show levelling of -e and -a (in all these examples the adjective is used predicatively); similar levelling is seen in comparative asn. sobre 1123 used adverbially.

adverbs : In forbon forms -on appears 8 times and -an only in forbon 378. Final -an is general in sibbon forms, except in sibbam 136. At line 1066 final -m has been corrected to -n in the manuscript in hwilen. The adverb geare 630 has -e for -a.

(b) Inflexional Syllables of Verbs

forms ending in a nasal consonant : Final -on appears 5 times in infinitive forms : bregdon 676, leton 520, 948, ongyldon 861 and semon 511. In finite forms -on appears often as -an, e.g. binoman 342, brucan 417, cwoman 212, 350, deman 493 and even in weak verb class II forms leofedan 139 and wundredan 1232. Forms with -un also occur frequently, e.g. agun 79, ahofun 229, 905, burgun 730, cwomun 894, feredun 1306. It should be noted that in feredun 1306 -e- is a correction made within the manuscript from o. A few forms in -um are found, mostum 210, motum 13, widhogdum 631, woldum 663 and wurdum 181. The plural subjunctive ending -en is often retained

(e.g. gebiden 509, guþan 751, demen 527, eardian 55) beside the rarer -g (e.g. gwome 237, gehete 456, gelimpe 194, gemunde 750, were 194 and the emendation gedealde 969). Although such forms occur sporadically in late manuscripts, they may point either to transmission from early West Saxon or to affinities with the dialect of Hughworth[1] (see Campbell 473, 735 (g)). It is of course difficult to decide in many places whether a verb form is indicative or subjunctive. Therefore it seems worth noting that in perhaps 5 places an inflexion with back vowel may represent the plural subjunctive : sorgedon 238, onetsldun 468, gutan 1233, secoldan 664 and, with a weak medial syllable, wundredan 1232.

other forms : In the preterite forms of second class weak verbs the medial -ad- and participial -ad forms are prevalent. These are a feature particularly of Anglian and Kentish texts but are found often in late West Saxon and can be described as Saxon patois traits. Medial -o- occurs some 12 times, e.g. beofode 1325, campode 643, colode 1307. Late weakening of o/a to e appears in leofedan 139, wandredan 1232 and perhaps gynnwised 867 (see also note for this form in commentary). The pp. belifd 1308 reflects a more radical weakening (see note in commentary).

Singular present tense forms of habban common in Anglian and poetical texts are hafu 1067 and hafad 4, 87 and 647 (SB 416 note 1). The form hafad occurs also occasionally in West Saxon prose texts (see Campbell 762). Twice -æ appears for more usual -æt in meahtes

469 and gefremedes 586.

(e) Note on Vowels found in Affixes

be- prefix : This generally appears as bi- in both poems and, although be- occurs occasionally, bi is the only form in which the preposition itself is found. In two places by- appears : by-scyrede 145, 895 (to be explained either as the rounding influence of the labial consonant or as anticipation of the vowel of the following accented syllable or as the late Old English tendency e > y in unaccented syllables). The 10 examples of be- are to be found in lines 34, 199, 568, 615, 625, 843, 1308, 1349 and 1357. Because different stressing is usual in nouns and verbs the form be- (the usual unaccented form) should appear in verbs and bi- in nouns (see Campbell 73, 74). The prevalent use of bi- in these texts both in nouns and verbs would seem to indicate the use of bi- for both stressed and unstressed forms, a surmise supported by metrical evidence. Only bisnce 217 is therefore marked with a long vowel in the glossary.

-nes suffix : The usual West Saxon -nes forms appear 8 times. The -nis forms typical of Anglian texts are represented by here-nisse 616 and perhaps by orwennysse 575, wernysse 671, grimmysse 578 (but these forms may show a late Old English tendency found particularly in late West Saxon, the transition of e in unaccented syllables to y; see Bülbring 360 note).

-ung/-ing suffix : The -ing forms are preferred (11 times to 8 ung). The change of -ung- to -ing- before back vowels (costinga 38, browinga 471 etc.) obscures the systematic interchange common in Old English between -ing for derivatives of weak verbs of the first class and -ung for class II weak verbs.

wineœype 1172 : late Old English transition of i to y in unaccented syllables (Dâlbring 360 note).

D : Consonants

1 Treatment of g

(a) initial g : In Old English verse of the latest period velar ȝ has become a stop initially and no longer alliterates with j (see Campbell 1938, p. 33). These sounds alliterate together in both poems : for example see lines 21, 40, 72, 155, etc. in Guthlac A and 889, 913, 976, etc. in Guthlac B. The prosthetic g-, subpuncted in the manuscript, of eadwelan 1091 is a feature sometimes thought indicative of Kentish colouring (SB 212 note 2, Dâlbring 492 note 1), but it reflects the late southern levelling of initial ea- and gea- (see Campbell 303).

(b) Final unvoicing, a fairly common trait of both Anglian and late West Saxon texts, appears in geotah 175. Examples of in-

verted spellings with g for h are feorg 243, 1058, feorggedal 1178, 1200 (see Campbell 446). The compromise consonant symbol of beorhge 140 appears in late West Saxon, late Northumbrian and Rushworth[1] (see Campbell 58 and SB 214 note 6).

(c) For the West Saxon loss of palatal g between a front vowel and following consonant see B.1.f above.

(d) The appearance of medial -ig- in bewitigian 199 and hyrcnigan 1006 is due to the early West Saxon interchange of -ig- and -i- in weak verbs of the second class (see Campbell 267). The change is not however restricted to West Saxon texts but is also a feature of Rushworth[1] (Campbell 757).

(e) The poetical present participles of class II weak verbs gnornende 232, 679, 1209, drusendne 1061, 1379 and perhaps neosendes 1217 (but see Sievers 1885, p. 233) show loss of i between main and secondary stress after a long syllable. Such forms are not a feature of West Saxon texts where -iende is generally levelled and they are rare also in West Mercian (see Campbell 757).

(f) In class I weak verbs of the herian type g often appears for i, e.g. herge 611, nergan 553, nergende 598, genergan 241, nergend 640 and nergende 658. These forms are of no dialect significance.

(g) The medial consonant in teagor 1340 may be regarded either as an unusual retention of g for ȝ (see Campbell 57 (3) for this use of the symbol g in early texts) or as the late West Saxon confusion of h and g. The latter explanation is perhaps to be accepted, as the opposite substitution of h for g is a recognised feature of this manuscript (see Blake 1962, pp. 45–47). A note on this form will be found in section F.

(h) Lack of w and reversion of ƿ to ȝ before a back vowel is reflected in began 169 and bigað 461. These forms of the Old English verb 'to serve' are more fully discussed in the commentary.

2 Treatment of initial h

(a) Initial h is lost before r in rebe 489 (contrast hreðe 1140). The fall of initial h before a liquid is found frequently in later Northumbrian texts and in all texts of the transition period (see SB 217 note 2).

(b) Scribal insertion of initial h before a vowel is found in accented syllables in hus 271, hæfentid 1215 and hælmihtiga 950. In the first of these instances the syllable is without metrical stress (compare Jln 545 his), but in the others the alliteration is on vowels. See further note for line 271.

3 The nasal consonants.

Considerable levelling of inflexions ending in a nasal consonant is illustrated in C.2 above.

The spellings onbehtbegn 1146 and onbehtbegne 1294 may show substitution of on- for less usual prefix om- (which is however retained twice in the texts).

A mistaken m for n occurs in heam 454 and may also occur in the manuscript form breamedlum 696 which is however generally regarded as mistaken m for ni.

4 The confusion of b/ð and d is widely considered a Mercian feature. Wrenn (1943, p. 18) suggests that the confusion points to an archetype of the early eighth century as the symbol ð was used first in the latter part of that century. Many signs of this confusion are to be found throughout the Exeter Book (see note for bimutad 71) and in the Guthlac poems ð appears for d in lines 71, 105, 153, 296, 867, 887, d for ð in 245, 1040 and an emendation has been made within the manuscript in line 285. It should however be noted that the confusion of these letters, common in the other poetic codices, is found also in other late Old English texts.

5 Loss of w

(a) The consonant is retained in the preterite tense forms

of ouman except in com 1141, a form missed by Sisam who points out that the -w- forms are general throughout the manuscript (1953, p. 103). Forms of ouman showing this loss outnumber th se retaining the consonant in West Saxon texts, whereas the consonant is retained in Anglian (SB 390 note 3).

(b) In neole 563 -w- has been lost between back vowels which have contracted.

(c) Proclitic swa appears twice in the form se 409, 961 and again in other Exeter Book poems (Chr 211, FoM 22, Rog 29, 49, 52, Rdl 35.11, 39.27, 65.1 and 87.7). Pulbring (562) recognises this reduction of swa as a Kentish feature, because he finds five examples of enclitic se in Kentish charters. His examples are here quoted from Sweet 1886 : Ctr 39.9 suelc mon se, 39.13 suelc man se, 41.28 swelc monn se, 31 swelc monn se and 40 swelcum se. It is however possible to regard these five instances of se as introducing a normal relative clause (see Campbell 720), and the forms must therefore be considered ambiguous, despite the appearance of other examples of this phrase where the form swa is indisputable (e.g. Ctr 39.14 suilc man sue). The other Old English instances of se for swa are sporadic. Examples are recorded from VsP 124.1 swe se, PPs 82.10 swa se and BlH I. 235.32 swa se; of these only the third is an unambiguous example of the reduced swa, for in context the first two instances may be regarded as the definite article. The form appears only as a proclitic or enclitic use in Old English and in this use is greatly

extended in Middle English (<u>alse, hwæt se</u>, etc.); in Middle English texts it is used also on its own in correlatives (<u>swa miche þe...se, eauer se mare ... se</u>, etc.). As the reduction is so rarely found in Old English it cannot confidently be ascribed to the tenth century scribe of the miscellany, but should perhaps be considered a reflection of the transmission of the collection. In this case the form <u>se</u> may point to the poems' having been already collected together in some ninth century Kentish scriptorium.

6 <u>Metathesis</u>

(a) The forms <u>foldærne</u> 1031 and <u>hærnflota</u> 1333 are to be explained by the movement of <u>r</u> from before to behind after the period of breaking (see Campbell 459 (1)). This, the commoner metathesis of <u>r</u>, happens also in low stress (e.g. <u>tintergu</u> 649, <u>tingergum</u> 211).

(b) The metathesis of <u>hl</u> through [ðl] with voiced spirant to <u>ld</u> (predominantly Anglian according to Bülbring 522 and SB 196 (2) and common in poetical texts, see Campbell 425) is found in <u>angeld</u> 1240, <u>bold</u> 140, <u>boldeg</u> 84, <u>meldæ</u> 1230 and <u>geld</u> 585. The retention of <u>hl</u> with voicing of the spirant after a short vowel occurs in Anglian (see Campbell 420) and is found in <u>beorgsebel</u> 102, <u>meðlan</u> 1202, <u>mebelowide</u> 1219, <u>mebelowida</u> 1007, <u>mebelowidum</u> 1015, <u>stabelum</u> 1274, <u>stabelian</u> 1110 and <u>stebelað</u> 66. Examples of West Saxon <u>tl</u> after a short vowel (see Campbell 419) also occur, e.g. <u>botles</u>

329, 384, bytla 148, 733 etc.

7 Assimilation, simplification, etc.

(a) Assimilation in groups consisting of a consonant followed or preceded by a liquid or nasal is found sporadically. This assimilation is very often without dialect significance, e.g. larcow 1004, larcowes 359, ussa 750, 973, ussum 401. The genitive and dative singular feminine forms bisse (6 times) and the genitive plural bissa 752 are found mostly in West Saxon, Mercian and Kentish texts. The comparative forms sellan 278, 492 and 1268 are typical of late West Saxon and appear also in late northern texts (see Campbell 484). Other common assimilations are bs > ss (bliss- and liss- forms) and db > tt (latteowes 364).

(b) Simplification in a consonant cluster with loss of the second of three successive consonants is seen in flæshomen 374, sæedbenra 404, wærysse 671 and in both simplex and compounded forms of ferð (the simplification has no dialect significance; see Dülbring 347 ff., Campbell 477).

8 Consonant doubling and simplification of double consonants.

The doubling of t before r usual in early West Saxon appears in attre 668, 912, uttor 126 (Dülbring 344, Campbell 453). The doubling of d in tuddor 735 is a late West Saxon change (Campbell 453). The doubling after a short vowel of final l occurs in well

1171 (Hälbring 547). A curious doubling of post tonic ð appears in ferðþes 923.

Medial rr is simplified in comparatives, e.g. æfteran 1240, fægran 48, 383, uæsera 753 (see Campbell 457). A similar simplification of medial nn is also frequent.

9 The treatment of sc before a back vowel

A glide vowel has developed only in the preterite forms of sculan (there are 12 examples of sceold- forms) and in the present indicative (4 instances of sceolon) where sceo- appears for scu-. Otherwise there are no examples of the glide vowel which develops in early West Saxon and appears also in northern texts (see Campbell 179-181). The digraph ea of sceapen 677, sceaðena 127 and mansceaban 650, 909 and may be attributed to other influences (sceapen may show initial palatalisation of the alternative vowel æ possible in this passive participle and for the other forms see B.3. 1). A list of the forms without a glide vowel before a following back vowel is given : scadu 1288, scan 693, 1288, 1330, ascan 1308, forscadene 478; scome 204, 633, scomum 856, sconde 675, scolu 204, scofene 633, 856, scodun 544, scode 443, gescod 425, 870, scop 495, 945, gescop 606; scufan 675 and scudende 856. The lack of glide vowel in such forms is a feature of Mercian and Kentish texts (Campbell 183 and fn. 4).

N O T E

In the preceding sections many phonological features of the texts have been noted, but these tell us little about the place of origin of the poems. They do indicate an earlier rather than later time of composition within the Angle-Saxon period, particularly for the A poem which contains features believed old on metrical grounds (see particularly the uncontracted forms listed in C.1 (b)). For the most part however the metrical evidence points only to the common origin of both poems in the earlier Old English period. A few things suggest that the B poem is later than Guthlac A : As well as the apparent lack of 'decontracted forms' this poet's use of dagena 949 (see commentary) suggests that he worked within Cynewulf's generation rather than in the age of Bede.

The other phonological features indicate a long shared transmission history for these poems. Both show many of the traits typical of the poetic koinē in which the great bulk of Old English verse was written. The Anglian characteristics in the development of vowels of accented syllables (B.3 passim) are reinforced by the appearance of present participles of second class weak verbs with loss of -i- (D.1 (e)) and of uncontracted second and third person singular present indicative forms of strong verbs (C.1 (a)). Yet, such details tend only to strengthen the metrical evidence, confirming that the poems are unlikely to have been written much beyond

the Alfredian period. Indeed, from the linguistic conformity of the Exeter Book, this statement is probably true of most of the verse which it contains. Early West Saxon features, such as the pervasive and distinctive ie digraph, just as much as the 'Anglian' forms of language, suggest that the miscellany was first put together by Alfred's time. Late West Saxon forms (B.2) predominate and indicate that the manuscript we have is from a West Saxon scriptorium. A few very late tendencies of Old English (B.4) do not belie this assumption.

A simple history from the drawing together of the collection by the Alfredian period cannot however be assumed. The collection contains traits common to early West Saxon and Kentish texts (therefore called features of the 'Saxon patois' by Dibbring). Such features need not, for the most part, be restricted to non-West Saxon dialects and some could at any rate have entered the manuscript together with the Mercian forms to be found in it (for example B.3 (g) and B.3 (p). More interesting are the Kentish back-spelling found in Fyr 1178 (B.3 (k)) and the form se 409, 961 for proclitic swa (D.5 (c)) : these suggest that a ninth century Kentish scriptorium played an important part in the transmission of the miscellany. Weightmann (1907, pp. 61 ff.) shows that Kentish traces are to be found throughout the manuscript and it is likely therefore that the collection was at some time in the hands of Kentish scribes. Whether this was before or after its accretion of early West Saxon forms must be left an open question.

E - Vocabulary

In this section the forms from each poem are listed separately, except in the first paragraph which summarises features (held by some to have dialect significance) of the 'general Old English poetic dialect' (the phrase is from Sisam 1953, p. 138). For fuller accounts of individual words the commentary should be consulted.

1 Conservative forms which in prose texts indicate Anglian provenance.

Jordan (1901, p. 63) summarises the Anglian elements of vocabulary he finds in the Guthlac poems : gen 515, 521, 538, gena 155, 233, 446 and 1270; nemne 367; oferleordun 726; wære 1028; wælan 425; wiberbreocum 294 and wlǽ 1154. (It should be noted that he records only 6 instances of gen(a) forms.) To these must be added webe 8 (which he gives as one of two instances of the word in Christ because Glc 1-29 were still regarded as part of the earlier material). Two of these words (wælan 425 and wlǽ 1154) belong to Jordan's small group of words found otherwise only in North Germanic dialects (see Jordan 1901, pp. 118-19). Sisam (1953, pp. 119-39) re-examines the use of such forms in determining the dialect origins of the earlier Old English verse, concluding :

> ... vocabulary remains unsatisfactory or inconclusive as evidence of the original dialect of poems presumed to be early; and too many favourable hypotheses are used to produce the result that all the earlier poetry

> is Anglian. No doubt some of it is, if only because more than half the country and perhaps more than half the population were under Anglian rule for most of the early period. Still, it is safer to work with no prepossession against West Saxon or Kentish origin. (p. 131)

Jordan does not however argue that the appearance of such forms in poetic texts is proof of their provenance, suggesting only that sufficient of them indicate the composition of a poem to be earlier rather than late. Of the fourteen forms abstracted from his summary for these poems, eleven occur in Guthlac A and three in Guthlac B, but the amount of material involved and the greater length of the A poem preclude using this difference on its own as an indication of the greater age of the A poem. The difference loses significance when it is remembered that many other 'Anglian' features of Old English are found indifferently in both poems (e.g. the prepositions in and on beside one another in roughly equal proportions; the use of mid with the accusative; the older accusative -g forms of personal pronouns mec, bec, usic and twice levelled into the dative bec 278, 458; lack of syncope in present indicative forms of the second and third person in strong verbs; a few forms like heht 703, meorde 1086, meorda 1041).

2 The hapax legomena of the poems, listed alphabetically.

Guthlac A : æfteryld 496 (cf. æfteryldo), anbuendra 88, beorg-sebel 102 (cf. beorges setl 383), bimutad 71, biscc 217, ceargesta

393, edorgong 11, fealeg 246, feorhlocan 625, feðehwearfum 191, flygereowe 349, freoðuweard 173, gæstcwalu 679, gæstgemyndum 602, gæstgewinne 589, grædum 738, hleonað 251, husulbearn 559, husulweras 796, leofedan 139, limhalne 689, monlufan 353, ofermæga 692 (cf. ON ofrmenni), oferwlencum 418 (cf. onwlenced), ombiehthera 599, onwillan 728, row 213, rynebragum 213, sarstafum 234, sawelcund 317, sigorwuldre 122, teonsmiðas 205, tidfara 9, tornmode 649 (cf. OHG zornmuot), toruwræce 301, treofugla 735, trumnaþe 757, woruldblissa 164, and wræcsetla 296. A great many of these are poetic compounds, with their elements recorded in other similar compounds; compounds of unclear etymology and meaning are discussed in the commentary. The noun grædum 738 is not elsewhere recorded in Old English and has for that reason often been emended out of the text. In both hleonað 251 and trumnaþe 757 we may see that -noþ was still a living suffix for the poet. Notes are to be found also for the loan-word bimutad 71 and the verb leofedan 139.

Guthlac B : adloman 912, adlbracu 962, adlwerigne 1008, æ.boda 937, æbylg 1237, æfenglome 1291 (cf. æfengloma, æfenglommang-), ahneop 847, deaðmægen 895, deaðweges 991, engelcunde 101, ellenspræce 1155, æbelbodan 1003, færhagan 960, freorigferð 1344, freorigmode 888, fyrngewyrht 971, geargemearces 1241, gebihþum 874, gewinworuld 857, godscyldge 862 (cf. Jln 204 godscyld 'impiety'), greothord 1266, gynnwised 867, hærnflota 1333, hellebegna 1069, herecirm 900, herehloðe 1069, hildescurun 1143, hleordrepan 1341, inbendum 955, lagumearg 1332, lichord 956 and 1029, longfyrst 947,

mægenþegn 1126, modgeþonc 1158, nihtrim 1097 (cf. nihtgerim forms), nihtglome 943, norðrodor 1279, onbaru 1054, ondswis 1026, searwylmum 1150, sawelhūs 1030 and sawelhus 1141, scudende 856(?), searocræftum 1145, sæcslige 927, sigetudre 866, sigerūnonum 1116 (cf. sigetacn forms), sondhofe 1196, sondlond 1335, sorgceare 966 (cf. sorgceariz forms), stalgongum 1140, sweglbeorht 1213, sweglwuldre 1187, sweglwundrum 1318, tolmearce 877, þeodengedal 1350, þrymsyne 1256, upgeard 1078, wægdropan 1057, walpilum 1154, walstrælum 1286, wedertacen 1293, wicgeard 935, wilboda 1246, wuldormago 1094 and wuldormage 1293, wyncondel 1213, wynnæg 1345 and wyrdstafun 1351.

The list for a shorter piece of verse, is considerably longer than the Guthlac A list, and the proportion of poetic forms is considerably higher. Most of the poetic compounds present little difficulty, but where the sense is not immediately apparent or where the form needs discussion notes will be found in the commentary. Perhaps lacan 1034 should be added to this list as a poetical usage because the simplex with the sense 'struggle' is not otherwise found in Old English. A few of these words may not have been specifically literary in character (gebihþum 874, onbaru 1054, scudende 856 and sæcslige).

3 In Guthlac A two groups of specialised vocabulary not general in Old English verse may be distinguished :

(a) legal : bisnes 217, æþelriehte 216, edergong 11, fealdg 246, gestalum 510, on his sylfes dōm 706, sibbe ryht 197, sōcne 716,

wergengan 594, 713 and woruldriht 57. It is possible that words containing the element wrag- should also be included here.

This small group of technical words may be advanced only tentatively. Two of the forms (edergong 11 and fealg 246) are not recorded elsewhere in Old English but are used in legal texts in other Germanic languages. They may point to the conservative nature of the poet. The interpretation of goone advanced in the commentary can be paralleled from Beowulf. The phrase on his sylfes dóm 706 is paralleled by Chron 755 hiera agenne dom, BoM 38 on hyra sylfra dom and the Old Norse sjálfdœmi. A comparison with words found in Old English laws and charters shows how bismoe 217 may be interpreted, making emendation unnecessary. The compound wergengan 594, 713 can be paralleled in the laws of other Germanic peoples and occurs otherwise in Old English only in Dal 663. Similarly ebelriehte 216 is otherwise recorded for Old English only from the earliest verse, Exo 211 and Dwf 2198. The compound woruldriht appears again in Edgar's laws and in a homily (not from the Wulfstan canon, but included in Napier's edition). More examples could be given, but these words are the most striking and for further discussion of them and other possible specialised legal words see the commentary.

(b) religious : almessan 77, anbuendra 88, beorgsebel 102, ealdres 420, hades 60, hyrda 415, husulbearn 558, husulwerag 796, martyre 514, martyrhád 472, mynsterum 416, ombiehthere 599, regulas 489, spelbodan 40, beow in phrases in lines 314, 368, 579, 600 and

693, *meotudes hegn* 708, *browere* 161, 182, *after browinga* 471, *in browingum* 385, 778, *in godes templum* 490.

Keiser (1919, p. 36) is unwilling to recognise any monastic terms in this poem other than *synsterum* 416 which he suggests (1919, p. 41) retains the original meaning 'dwelling-place of monks' whereas the word in its two other poetic occurrences (*Mnl* 106 and *Drm* 17) may be glossed 'church'. He excludes 'the clergy proper' from the *rume regulas* 489 allusion, interprets *in godes templum* 490 with the sense 'building' and concludes that save for the general statements found in lines 60–61 and 790–811 no other monastic terms occur in the poem.

Among the words listed here are a few poetic coinages, found only in this poem, but transparent in meaning : *anbuendra* 88, *beorgsnebel* 102, *husulbearn* 558, *husulwerag* 796, *ombihthere* 599. Poetic also is *spelboden* 49, a word quite widely recorded. The learned word *martyre* 514 does not have much currency in verse texts and *martyrhad*, though found in prose writings, penetrates the extant poetry only here (see further note for line 472). Native words and phrases showing extension in meaning due to Christian influence are numerous in the poem (e.g. *had* 4, 31, 52, 94, 500, *hegn* 708, *heow* 3, 4, 368, 579, 600, 693, *browinga* 471, *Browingum* 385, 778), but such words can for the most part be interpreted without knowledge of the specialised application involved. Sometimes the extension is less simple and the presence of religious termin-

ology must be recognised, e.g. husul- 558, 796, -hora 599, hirda 415, browere 161, 182 and perhaps saldres 420 and hades 60. Restricted meaning must also be recognised for the continental period borrowings mynsterum 415 and regulas 489. These examples show that the A poet throughout uses unselfconsciously religious terminology of a sort not often found in Old English verse.

F

Some of the forms found in these poems have been much discussed and disagreement has arisen over their interpretation. The more important of such words are here listed in alphabetical order, together with brief remarks on the explanation accepted in the glossary and commentary. These remarks are for the most part summary and reference should be made to the appropriate notes in the commentary wherever further elucidation is necessary. Hapax legomena are not included as these are to be found in E.2.

abonne 299, MS abunne 'summon' : The emendation is necessary for the sense and may have some graphical support.

æreste 342 'resurrection' : The form shows levelling to e in the vowel of a medial unaccented syllable.

æstælle 179 'station' : Meanings generally given to this word are more closely restricted than the contexts allow.

alegeð 92 'withhold' : Thorpe's alegeð is difficult to justify

syntactically and is indeed unnecessary even to obtain rhyme.

anhoga 997 'solitary' : The base word is regarded as haga.

agewman 1352 'grieve' : This interpretation is preferred but 'wander' is also possible.

biscencte 624 'served' : The manuscript reading is retained, as the presence of 'a rather violent metaphor' is insufficient grounds for emendation.

breodwiad 287 'strike, strike down' : This sense seems most suited to the contexts in which this rare verb appears.

gedælde 969, MS ge dæled : Scribal transposition of two letters is argued and the form described as a plural preterite subjunctive.

edleana, MS edlea nan : Dittography of n is assumed and emendation to the genitive plural edleana made.

fondie 1007 'find' : The manuscript form, though unparalleled in Old English, is retained because it may have some graphical support.

fyr 1178 'go' : The manuscript form is retained as a non-West Saxon imperative singular from faran.

gestalum 510 'charge, accusation' : This word was not otherwise

known to the earliest editors who therefore found interpretation of the passage difficult.

hwearfum 263 : The adverbial dative must stand in the introductory dip of this verse.

leoðode 390 'relax, unloose' : The ghost word lēoþian 'resound, sing' (built on lēoð 'song' and compared with cognate verbs in other Germanic languages) necessitates much ingenuity and emendation for an interpretation of the passage.

mine 650 'mean, vile' : It is suggested that this line draws upon a formula otherwise seen only in Guthlac B 909.

oncyðig 1226 'devoid of' : The prefix is regarded as privative and the adjective related to cȳþan 'make known'.

onsprong 1326, MS onbrong 'spring asunder, quake' : The emendation suggested in BT is accepted because the manuscript form is difficult to explain in this context.

sealdun 317 'seldom' : Scribal substitution of ea for e due to anticipation of a verb rather than the adverb of the exemplar is argued.

seocan 1068, MS seocnan : Dittography of n is assumed as an -n- stem is not found in this adjective in Germanic languages.

slæpa 343 : The manuscript reading is retained, the noun being

interpreted in the genitive plural with the sense 'periods of sleep'.

spiowdon 912 : An infinitive *spīowan with īe from West Germanic iu lies behind this non-West Saxon form. Sievers (1885, p. 486) points out that similar forms appear in Chr 1122 speowdun, Ele 297 speowdun and JLM 476 spiowedan.

swamode 1096 'move, wander' : The form is compared with Gen 376 aswamad.

synwræce 860 'punishment for sins' : The compound appears three times in the Exeter Book and the interpretation 'crime' is preferred to 'everlasting' in each example.

teagor 1340 : This form without smoothing is unparalleled, but the breaking can be shown to have taken place by Anglian use of tēar.

tergad 288 'insult; torment' : This form is regarded as part of the weak verb tirwan; compare And 963 tyrgdon.

eart ðe 272 : ðe is regarded as a reduction of ðu because the pronoun is used enclitically.

began 169 and bigad 461 'serve, devote oneself to' : The lack of w (beowian) and appearance of i as g is paralleled in the form beogende cited from the Old English Bede by Campbell 764.

þer 421 'there' : No emendation is necessary as the form may reflect Kentish ē for Primitive Germanic ē.

unhyðig 1328 'hapless' : The manuscript form is retained as the adjective occurs also in And 1078.

unwenne 1148 'without hope' : The adjective is satisfactory in its context and emendation to unwemne is therefore unnecessary.

wærgysse 671 'evil, damnation' : The form shows Anglian smoothing and the loss of g due to simplification in a consonant cluster.

wergengan 594 and 713 'stranger' : The limiting element is wēr- and the noun, used also to describe Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 663, may well be an old legal term.

weredon 351 'hold, defend' : There is no need to accept the ingenious suggestion put forward by Cosijn that we have here a verb otherwise unrecorded in Old English.

winiga 1365, MS wunga or wiinga : Minim confusion obscures the poetic genitive plural. The emendation sometimes made to wonga is unnecessary.

wiþ þon 494 : The adverbial phrase is found frequently in Old English and there is no need to suppose that here it is a scribal error for the adverb siþþon.

wlō 1154 'indeed' : Adverbial use is accepted.

woruldryhte 57 'worldly law' : Although loss of d could easily arise in the consonant cluster found between the elements of this compound, Grein's suggestion that we should here read worulddriht is not followed.

Syntactically there is little that is unusual in these poems. A few features are however worth attention and, although dealt with in rather more detail in the relevant parts of the commentary, are here drawn together.

Guthlac A

Most noteworthy is the relative se mec 702, paralleled only three times in Old English verse. It may be a pointer towards early rather than late dating for the poem. A few other relative forms deserve comment. The relative is completed by a dative pronoun in se be him 72 and þa be him 361. A discontinuous relative, rare in Old English verse texts, completed by the genitive pronoun appears in be ... his 716. Some translators treat gec 213 as a relative pronoun, although by position it is to be regarded as a pronoun in a contact clause. In lines 48 and 51 the pronoun he anticipates the first specific mention of the subject

dryhten 54, but in contexts that should present little difficulty to the understanding.

A marked feature of the A poem absent from the B poem is the use of alliterating finite verbs in an a-verse, often with following co-ordinate verbs in following verses, as in lines 24, 76, 82, 138, 160, 249, 289, 395, 633 and 767 (so well as the commentary, see also III.3/49). In lines 155-56 two parallel transitive verbs apparently share the same subject, despite the formal clause boundaries customarily respected : ... wordlad 7 his wisdomes / hligan healdad. The verb bycgad 76 is most likely to be explained as followed by a partitive genitive. The graphically simpler emendation from nā to nō is accepted in line 18. Although this adverb does not appear before the finite verb in Old English prose, ten instances occur in verse texts, others in these poems being 492, 506 and 833.

The two examples of the phrase ecan lifes in lines 172 and 795 may indicate that the poet was familiar with the use of weak adjectives unpreceded by a demonstrative. However, the fact that this construction appears only in one phrase repeated twice, apart from the stereotyped phrases which mean 'forever' and which contain the form widan in lines 636 and 817, suggests that little weight can be placed upon it as an indication of the age of this poem. In any case, the value of this dating test for Old English poetry is nowadays generally given less authority than it once held.

In three places the article agrees not with the dependent genitive before which it stands but with the following noun : *geo londes stow* 146, *se dryhtnes beow* 386 and *se dryhtnes dom* 444. The construction is by no means unusual in verse texts (for example compare *Bwf* 2059 *se fæmnan begn*). It is worth noting that in the third of these inntances the phrase supplies both alliterative elements which join line 444.

Involved commentary has gathered around a few words and phrases unnecessarily. No one now doubts the phrase *lenge hu sel* 20, paralleled in *lenge hu geornor* 138, despite the unusual appearance of *hu* with a comparative adverb. This construction is to be found also in the *Vespasian Psalter Gloss*. In line 26 the problem presented by *Hwider* is resolved by treating this word as the opening of a question; the preceding lines are regarded as the continuation and end of the angel's speech which begins in line 6. The numeral *anum* 441 modifies *feore* rather than the possessive pronoun *his*, but it is unnecessary to emend the form as the passage is clearly intelligible without change. The adverbial phrase *wih hon* 494 was for a long time unrecognised and afterwards disputed, probably because most nineteenth century editors report *aibbon* as the manuscript reading. Metrical reasons have sometimes been advanced to explain the emendation fron *to dead* 549 to *to deade* (see further III.3/8).

Some passages remain confusing syntactically and the comments

on lines 311, 397, 541, 663, 693 and 737 should particularly be noted. In a few places the poet seems however to have used poetic ambiguity to heighten his narrative, for examples see lines 36, 69 and 444, and it is probable therefore that in clauses and sentences which are now obscure the modern reader is less adept in such matters than a contemporary of the poet.

Guthlac B

Few specific notes need be made here about the syntax of this poem. Difficulties of word and sentence division will generally be discussed in the commentary, but it is worth drawing attention to the ambiguities found in lines 1308 and 1352. In both these places an alternative word division can be justified syntactically. With the long sentences used by the poet it is sometimes difficult to judge exactly where one sense block ends and another begins; see especially the notes for lines 873, 942b–44a and 1320. The interruption of a phrase in lines 1037–38 and in lines 1239b–42a has led to considerable editorial confusion, particularly among English scholars. Interpretation of lines 860–63a is difficult.

Two examples of a weak adjective without a preceding article occur in the poem. The first of these is in the conventional poetic formula found in poems of all periods, to widan feore 840. In the other instance the adjective appears qualifying a dependent genitive in a phrase headed by the definite article, bone bleatan

dryno / deopan deadweges 990–1. In at least three and probably four places an article agrees not with the dependent genitive before which it stands but with the following noun, lines 1135, 1176, 1366 and 1368. The inconsistency of the relative bara be 1360, noted by Andrew (1940,p. 122), is in part explained by Mitchell (1965, p. 183) as common poetic usage.

Often the syntactical problems isolated by a modern editor in an Old English poem coincide with unusual examples of variation. The poet's use of parallel phrases has been examined at some length by Kook (1920, pp. 253 ff.)and seethe notes for lines 1032, 1155, 1195 and 1350. Parallel phraseology need not however imply similarity of content, as the note for line 1158 shows. Though parallels need not be similar syntactically, the variation of the phrase frean feorhgedal 1200 by a clause is unusual. One example of an uninflected adjective in variation occurs in the poem, geocht in line 1019, but sporadic instances can be found in verse from all periods. A second participle, soden in line 1150, is perhaps another instance of this usage but see the note for this line.

In a poem so clearly dependent upon a Latin source one might expect to find traces of the original upon its syntax. It is worth noting that the succession of prepositions in line 1291 is paralleled only three times in the corpus of Old English poetry and may indeed reflect the a ... usque phrase of the Vita. Otherwise the source cannot be held responsible for syntactical peculiarities of

the poem. The phrase burh ælda tid 835 is often explained as a calque upon the familiar Latin per secula seculorum (not in any case present in the relevant sections of the Vita), but is better suited in its context if ælda is regarded as the genitive singular of ald 'life'.

H

From what has gone before it is obvious that the dialect of these two poems is remarkable not for interesting philological phenomena but for features characteristic of the literary language of the other codices of Old English verse. An important distinction is to be drawn between the poems on grounds of metre, the continuance of 'uncontracted' forms in Guthlac A but not in Guthlac B. Other metrical differences between the poems show them to have been written most likely by different poets and, although these are discussed in a separate chapter, it should be noted here certain verses in the B poem may be described as later than the period of the early Junius Biblical poems and Beowulf (e.g. the pattern (xx)xx// found in 1035b, 1186a, 1222a, 1227a, the pattern x / xx in 1175a, 1177a, 1252a, 1361a or the lack of alliteration in 1234).

In both poems however late West Saxon forms of language predominate. The presence of a great many indications of early West

Saxon within these poems as throughout the manuscript suggests that the collection had by the ninth century found its way into some scriptorium where West Saxon forms were in use. Many forms can be described as Anglian, some as Kentish and, although until recently it has been customary to regard such forms as evidence of originally Anglian texts, the recognition of a poetic koine has shown that such forms are taken by themselves inconclusive. Dr. Sisam (1953, p. 134) concludes that none of the extant Old English verse is proved Mercian by linguistic evidence but adds of these Guthlac poems :

> ... the two long poems on Guthlac, the hermit of Crowland in the Lincolnshire fens, are presumptively Mercian, probably from East Mercia like Felix's Latin Life (circa 740) on which they depend. Such compositions are signs of an active cult, and there is no evidence that Guthlac was popular outside Mercia before the late ninth century. These poems, especially Guthlac B, are remarkably like the signed poems of Cynewulf in language and style. It may be inferred either that the Anglian dialect of Cynewulf was Mercian, which fits the available data very well; or that in his time Northumbrian poetry and the poetry of Guthlac's country, cut off by the Humber and the fens, were uniform: in which case little is to be hoped for from stylistic and linguistic studies.

Two observations must be made. First, it is by no means certain that both poems are based upon the Felix Vita (whose composition anyway can be placed a little earlier than c. 740). Secondly,

the lack of evidence for an active Guthlac cult outside Mercia before the late ninth century is scarcely surprising, when it is remembered how little material there is on which such negative conclusions can be based. Absence from Bede cannot be allowed sufficient grounds for these inferences. Indeed it should be added that Guthlac and his sister Pege are both included in the Old English martyrology drawn up in the mid-ninth century and retained in the late ninth century West Saxon recensions of this Mercian document.

Because both poems deal with the life of a Crowland saint it is indeed likely that they were composed in that area ; for the Guthlac A poem it can be added that sources and stories other than the Vita are used, perhaps an indication of a local interest in the life. With Guthlac B, as the source for the saint's death is the Vita which became known outside the Mercian area certainly at a period later than the composition of these poems, the probability of local composition is diminished. In these circumstances it would be churlish to neglect the few linguistic pointers found within the manuscript as to the transmission of the poems. The Exeter miscellany has many features which show its contents to have been assembled together at least in one scriptorium if not in the same manuscript by the Alfredian period. A few traits suggest that ninth century Kentish features of language are present. Beyond this, nothing definite can be advanced ; for the provenance of the transmitted texts is not known, except that they, like so much other Old English literature, are in late West Saxon manuscripts.

TEXTS

Outline A

and

Outline B

The text is presented with as few departures from the manuscript as seemed possible. These, and words whose manuscript form is doubtful, are marked with a dagger. Expansions are underlined. The footnotes present the readings and emendations of those who have printed full versions of the two poems, though the spellings normalised by these earlier editors are not generally treated as variants. The opinions of other collators and annotators are to be found either in the section upon textual history or in relevant parts of the commentary.

The scribe's punctuation seems to lack consistency and is thin. It has as well been supplemented occasionally by a sixteenth century hand. I have therefore given the text a modern punctuation. The sectional divisions are retained and the capital letters at the beginning of each section stand for the large capitals of the manuscript. Otherwise capitals are used only to mark the opening of sentences. No attempt is made to reflect the small capitals of the manuscript as it is often impossible to decide if these are really no more than overlarge miniscules. The sporadic accents are printed as it is easiest to judge their value when reading aloud from the text. A note on the scribe's punctuation may be found in the introductory material. Foliation is marked by an asterisk.

G u t h l a c A

SE BIÐ GEFEANA FæGrast þonne hy æt frymðe gemetað, 32[v]
engel 7 seo eadge sawl; ofgiefeþ hio þas eorþan wynne,
forlæteð þas lænan dreamas 7 hio wiþ þam lice gedæleð;
ðonne owið se engel - hafað yldran hád -
greteð gæst eþerne, abeodeð him godes ærende : 5
"Nu þu most feran þider þu fundadest
longe 7 gelome : ic þec lædan sceal.
Wegas þe sindon wepe 7 wuldres leoht
torht ontyned. Eart nu tidfara
to þam halgan hám þær nænfre hreow cymeð, 10
edergong fore yrmþum, ac þær biþ engla dream,
sib 7 gesæligness 7 sawla ræst,
7 þær á to feore gefeon motum,
dryman mid dryhten, þa þe his domas her
æfnað on eorþan. He him ece lean 15
healdeð on heofonum þær se hyhsta,
ealra cyninga cyning, ceastrum wealdeð.
Ómt sind þa getimbru þe nó[þ] tydriað,
ne þam fore yrmþum þe þær in wuniað
lif aspringeð ac him bið lenge hu sel; 20

At the top of f.32[v] a sixteenth century hand has written : Of the Ioyes prepared for them that serve god & keepe his commandementes. v.III.1.b
1 SE BIÐ GEFEANA FæGrast : the first line on f.32[v], it is all in capitals except for æ (written within F) and rest 3 wiþ þam : Coll. wiþ ham 13 motum : Th., Coll., Ass., KD em. motun 17 ealra : Th., Gr., Coll., Ass. place at end of line 16 18 þe : Coll. þé; nó : MS nn, Th. em. ne, Gr., Coll., Ass., KD em. no 20 lenge hu sel : Th. em. lengþu, sin-geogube bruceð; Gr., Ass. lenge husel

geogube brucað 7 godes miltsa;
þider soðfæstra sawla motun
cuman æfter cwealme þa þe her cristes
lærað 7 læstað 7 his lof rærað,
oferwinnað þa awyrgdan gæstas, bigytað him wuldres ræste."25
Hwider sceal þæs monnes mod astigan
ær oþþe æfter þonne he his ænne her
gæst bigonge þæt se gode mote
womma clæne * in geweald cuman? 33r
Monge sindon geond middangeard
hadas under heofonum þa þe in haligra
rim arisað; we þæs ryht magun
æt eghwylcum anra gehyran
gif we halig bebodu healdan willað.
Mæg nu gnottor guma eale brucan
godra tida 7 his gæste ford
weges willian; woruld is onhrered,
colaþ cristes lufu; sindan eastinga
geond middangeard monige arisene
swa þæt geara iu godes spelbodan
wordum sægdon 7 þurh witedom
eal anemdon swa hit nu gen-eð.

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25 gæstas : MS gæ^tas 27 ænne : Th. footn. ?agenne 31 in haligra : Th. unhaligra which Cr. em. on haligra 32 rim : Th. footn. rime 40 geara : Th. gearu

Ealdað eorþan blæd mþela gehwylcre
7 of wlite wendað wæstma gecyndu;
bið seo sibre tíd sæda gehwylces
mætre in mægne. Forþon se mon ne þearf
to þisse worulde wyrpe gehycgan
þæt he us fægran gefean bringe
ofer þa niþas þe we nú dreogað
orþon endien ealle gesceafte
ða he gesette on siex dagum,
ða nu under heofonum hadas cenn: ð
miele 7 mæte. Is þes middangeard
dalum gedæled; dryhten sceawað
hwær þa eardien þe his é healden;
gesihð he þa domas dogra gehwylce
wonian 7 wendan of woruldryhte
ða he gesette þurh his sylfes wórd :
he fela findeð, fea beoð gecorene.
Sume him þæs hædes hlisan willað
wegan on wordum 7 þa weoro ne doð:
bið him eorðwela ofer þæt ece lif
hyhta hyhst se gehwylcum * sceal
foldbuendra fremde geweorþan.

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45 bið : Th., Goll. bib 46 mætre : Th. mætrum which Gr. em. mætre; Ass. mætrum; Goll., K® note MS e and print mætrum 51 ða : Th., Gr. ðe 57 woruldryhte : Gr. footn. woruld-dryhte 63 se gehwylcum sceal : Th. footn. ?hi gehwylcum sceolon

Forþon hy mé hyrwaþ haligra mod
ða þe him to heofonum hyge staþeliaþ;
witon þæt se eðel† ece bideð
ealra þæra mengu þe geond middangeard
dryhtne þeowiaþ 7 þas deoran ham
wilniaþ bi gewyrhtum : swa þas woruldgestreon
on þa maran géd bimutad† weorþaþ
ðonne þæt gegyrnaþ þa þe him godes egsa
hleonaþ ofer heafdum. Hy þy hyhstan beoð
þrymme gebreade, þisses lifes
þurh bibodu brucaþ 7 þas betran forð
wyscaþ 7 wenaþ, wuldres byegaþ,
sellaþ almessan, earme frefraþ,
beoð rúmmode ryhtra gestreona,
lufiaþ mid lacum þa þe læs agun,
dæghwam dryhtne þeowiaþ : he hyra dæde soceawaþ.
Sume þa wuniaþ on westennum
secaþ 7 gesittaþ sylfra willum
hamas on heolstrum, hy ðæs heofoncundan
boldes bidaþ. Oft him brogan tó
laðne gelæded se þe him lifes ofónn,

---

65 mod : Th. mód 67 eðel : MS eleð; Th. eleð, footn. "for hæleð for sake of alliteration"; Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. eðel 68 ealra : Gr. ealre 71 bimutad : MS bimutaþ; Th. "shall be hidden", footn. beniden, em. bimutad; Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. bimutad 76 byegaþ : Th. em. hyregaþ 77 frefraþ : Th. footn. r. frefriaþ 83 heofoncundan : Th. read heofoncundum which he and Gr. em. heofoncundan
84 brogan : Gr. broga 85 ofónn : Th. footn. of-an?

eawed him egsan, hwilum idel wuldor -
brægdwis bona hafad bega cræft -
eahted ánbuendra; fore him englas stondad
gearwe mid gæsta wæpnum, beob hyra geoca gemyndge,
healdad haligra feorh, witon hyra hyht mid dryhten : 90
þæt synd þa gecostan cempan þa þam cyninge þeowad
se mæfre þa lean alegeð þam þe his lufan adreogeð.

MAgun we nu nemnan þæt us neah gewearð
þurh haligne * hád gecyþed, 34r
hu guðlac his in godes willan 95
mod gerehte, mán eall forseah,
eorðlic æþelu úpp gemunde,
ham in heofonum: him wæs hyht to þam
siþþan hine inlyhte se þe lifes weg
gæstum gearwað 7 him giefe sealde 100
engelcunde þæt he ana ongan
beorgsæþel bugan 7 his blæd gode
þurh eadmedu ealne gesealde
done þe ón geogude bigan sceolde
worulde wynnum; hine weard† biheold, 105
halig of heononum, se þæt hluttre mód

---

86 egsan : Th. read esan which he and Gr. em. egsan 89 geoca : Th. footn. geoce? 91 beowað : Th. footn. r.beowiað; synd : Ass. sind 92 MS, a line empty except for adreogeð at end; alegeð : Th., Gr., em. aleogeð; adreogeð : Th. footn. r.adreogað 93 MAgun : in MS MA are large capitals 96 mán : beside this, the last word of first line on 34r a sixteenth century hand has written Guðlac 105 weard : MS weard, Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. weard

in þæs gæstes gód georne trymede.
Hwæt we hyrdon oft þæt se halga wer
in þa ærestan ældu gelufade
freonessa fela; fyrst wæs swa þeanra
in godes dome hwonne guðlace
on his ondgietan engel sealde
þæt him sweðraden synna lustas.
Tid wæs toweard; hine twegen ymb
weardas wacedon þa gewin drugon -
engel dryhtnes 7 se átela gæst;
nalæs hy him gelice lare bæron
in his mod es gemynd mongum tidum:
oþer him þæs eorþan ealle sægde
læne under lyfte 7 þa longan gód
herede on heofonum þær haligra
sawla gesittað in sigorwuldre
dryhtnes dreamas - he him dæda lean
georne gieldeð þam þe his giefe willað
þiegan to þonce 7 him þas woruld
utter lætan þonne þæt ece líf;
oþer hyne seyhte þæt he seeaðena gemot
nihtes sohte 7 þurh nebinge
wunne efter worulde swa doð wræcmægas
þa þe ne bimurnað * monnes feore 34[v]

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123 dreamas : Th. footn. dreames? 128 nebinge : Th. footn. r.nibinge

þæs þe him to hondæ hube gelæded
butan hy by reafe rædan mœtan.
Swa hy hine trymedon on twa healfa
oþþæt þæs geweanedæ weorodæ dryhten
on þæs engles dóm ende gereahte.
Feond wæs geflymed; siþþan frofre gæst
in guðlacæs geoce gewunade,
lufade hine 7 lærde, lenge hu geornor,
þæt him leofedan londes wynne,
bold on beorhge. Oft þær broga ewom,
egeslic 7 uncuð ealdfeonda nið,
searocræftum swiþ; hy him sylf hyra
onsyn ywdon 7 þær ær fela
setla gesæton þonan sið tugon
wide wæde wuldre byscyrede
lyftlacende. Wæs seo londes stow
bimiþen fore monnum oþþæt mœtud onwrah
beorg ón bearwe þa se bytla cwom
se þær haligne hám árærde;
nales þy he giemde þurh gitsunga
lænes lifwelan ac þæt lond gode
fægre gefreoþode siþþan feond oferwon
cristes cempa. He gecostad† wearð

---

136 siþþæn : Gr. em. siððan 138 lenge hu : Gr. footn. leng hy
140 beorhge : Gr. em. beorge 153 gecostad : MS gecostað, Th. Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. gecostad

in gemyndigre monna tidum
ðara þe nu gena þurh gæstlicu
wundor weorðiað 7 his wisdomes
hlisan healdað þæt se halga þeow
elne geeode þa he ana gesæt
dygle stowe ðær he dryhtnes lof
reahte 7 rærde. Oft þurh reorde abead
þam þe þrowera þeawas lufedon,
godes ærendu† þa him gæst onwrah,
lifes snyttru, þæt he his lichoman
wynna forwyrnde 7 woruldblissa,
seftra setla 7 symbeldaga,
swylce eac idelra eagena wynna,
gierelan gielplices* : him wæs godes egsa 35r
mara in gemyndum þonne he menniscum
þrymme æfter þonce þegan wolde.

God wæs guðlac! He in gaste bær
heofoncundne hyht, halu gerahte
ecan lifes; him wæs engel neah,
fæle freoðuweard, þam þe feara sum
mearcland gesæt þær he mongum wearð

---

155 ðara þe nu : Th. footn. "hine seems wanting after þe" 156 wundor weorðiað Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. wundor hine weorðiað 162 ærendu : MS has o turned into u, Th., Gr. ærendo 169 MS has heavy punctuation after wolde and following line free; æfter þonce : Th. em. æfþonce 171 MS has Guðlac in outer margin against fourth line, sixteenth century (?) hand.

bysen on brytene siþþan biorg gestah.
Eadig oretta ondwiges heard
gyrede hine georne mid gæstlicum
wæpnum [7 wædum], wong bletsade,
him to etstalle erest arærde
cristes rode ; þær se cempa oferwon
freenessa fela. Frome wurdum monge
godes þrowera : we þæs guðlaces†
deorwyrðne dæl dryhtne cennað.
He him sige sealde 7 snyttrucraft,
mundbyrd meahta, þonne mengu cwom
feonda færcytum fæhðe ræran;
ne meahton hy æfeste anforlætan
ac to guðlaces gæste geladdun
fræsunga fela : him wæs fultum neah,
engel hine elne trymede. þonne hy him yrre hweopan
freene fyres wylme, stoðan him on feðehwearfum,
cwædon þæt he on þam beorge byrnan sceolde
7 his liichoman lig forswelgan
þæt his earfeþu eal gelumpe
mödcearu mægum gif he monna dream

---

175 brytene : Th. read bryhtone which he em. to brytene 176 ond-wiges : Th. 7 wiges heard "bold in war"; Goll. and-wiges 177/8 no break in MS; older editors place wæpnum at end of 177 and surmise loss of half line or more; KD wæpnum * * * wong bletsade 178 181 Frome wurdum : Th. "by his bold words", footn. from-wordum; Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. wurdun 182 browera : Th. footn. browere?; guðlaces, MS guðlace : KD em. Guðlaces 188 gæste : Th., Gr., gaste 190 hweopan : MS hwoopan, first o altered to e

of þam orlege eft ne wolde
sylfa geseczn 7 his sybbe ryht
_id moncynne * maran cræfte 35v
willum bewitigan, lætan wræce stille.
Swa him yrsade se for ealle sprec 200
feonda mengu; no by forhtra wæs
guðlacea gæst ac him god sealde
ellen wiþ þam egesan þæt þæs ealdfeondes
scyldigra sceolu sceome þrowedon;
weron teonsmiðas tornes fulle, 205
cwædon þæt him guðlac esc gode sylfum
earfeþa mæst ana gefremede
siþþan he for wlence on westenne
beorgas bræce; þær hy† bidinge
earme ondsacan æror mostum 210
æfter tintergum tidum brucan
ðonne hy of wæpum werge cwoman
restan rynebragum; rowe gefegon :
wæs him seo gelyfed þurh lytel fæc.
Stod seo dygle stow dryhtne in gemyndum 215
idel 7 æmen æþelriehte feor,
bad biesce betran hyrdes.

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209 beorgas bræce : Th. footn. beorges bræce?; hy : MS he, Th., Gr. read MS as hy, Goll., Ass., KD em. hy 210 ondsacan : Goll. and-sacan; mostum : Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. mostun 212 ðonne : Th. ðōn

To þon ealdfeondas onðan noman
swa hi singales sorge ðreogað;
ne motun hi on eorþan eardes brucan
ne hy lyft swefeð in leoma restum
ac hy hleolease hama þoliað,
in oearum cwiþað, cwealmes wiscað,
willen þæt him dryhten þurh deaðes cwealm
to hyra earfeða ende geryme;
ne mostun hy guðlaces gæste seeþþan
ne þurh earslege sawle gedælan
wið lichoman ac hy ligeearwum
ahofun hearmetafas, hleahtor alegdon,
sorge seofedon þa hi swiðra oferstag
weard on wonge; sceoldon wræcmecgas
ofgiefan gnornende grene beorgas.
Hwæþre hy þa* gena godes ondsacan 36r
sægdon sarstafum, swiþe geheton
þæt he deaþa gedal ðreogan sceolde
gif he leng bide laþran geniotes
hwonne hy mid mengu maran cwome
þa þe for his life lyt sorgedon.
Guðlac him ongean þingode, owaþ þæt hy gielpan ne þorftan

---

221 in leoma restum : Th. in leoma-festum "its embraces", footn. leoma?; Gr. in leoma festum, footn. leoma-festum? fatum? 224 willen : Th. footn. willað 225 earfeða : Gr. em. earfeðum 233 ondsacan : Goll. andsacan; hy : Gr. em. hym 239 owaþ : Th. owað

dædum wiþ dryhtnes meahtum : "þeah þe ge me deað gehaten
mec wile wiþ þam niþum genergan se þe eowrum nydum wealdeð.
An is ælmihtig god se mec mæg eaðe gescyldan,
he min feorg freoþaþ. Ic eow feia wille
soþa gesecgan: mæg ic þis setl on eow
butan earfeðum ana gedringan†;
ne eam ic swa fealóg, swa ic eow fore stonde,
monna weorudes ac me mara del
in godcundum geatgerynum
wunað 7 weaxeð se me wraþe healdeð.
Ic me anum her eaðe getimbre
hus 7 hleonaþ; me on heofonum sind
lare gelonge : mec þæs lyt tweoþ
þæt me engel tó ealle gelæsteð
spowende sped spreca 7 dæda.
Gewitaþ nu swyrgde. werigmode,
from þissum earde þe ge her on stondaþ,
fleoþ on feorweg. Ic me friþ wille
æt gode gegyrnan; ne sceal min gæst mid eow
gedwolan dreogan ac mec dryhtnes hond
mundaþ mid mægne. Her sceal min wesan
eorðlic æbel, nales eower leng."

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241 ge þe eowrum : Gr. se eowrum 242 An : Th. ón 245 gedringan : MS gedringan, second g altered from o; Th. gedringan "press", footn. gebringan?; Gr. em. gebringen; Coll., Ass., ED em. gedringan 252 tweoþ : MS þ em. from w 261 les eower leng alone at right hand side of line dividing sections

ÐA weard breahtm hefan; beorg ymbstodan
hwearfum wrmcmecgas; wod up astag,
cearfulra cirm; cleopedon* monige 36v
feonda forespreccan, firenum gulpon : 265
"Oft we ofersegon bi sam tweonum
þeoda þeawas þrsce modigra
þara þe in gelimpe life weoldon,
no we† oferhygdu anes monnes
geond middangeard maran fundon. 270
Ðu þæt gehatest þæt ðu ham on hus
gegan wille : eart ðe godes yrming.
Bi hwon scealt þu lifgan þeah þu lond age ?
Ne þec mon hider mose fedeð;
beoð þe hungor 7 þurst hearde gewinnan 275
gif þu gewitest swa wilde deor
ana from epele : nis þæt onginn wiht.
Geswic þisses setles. Ne mag þec sellan rad
mon gelmran þonne þeos mengu eall.
We þe beoð holde gif ðu us hyran wilt 280
oþþe þec ungearo eft gesecað
maran magne þæt þe mon ne þearf
hondum hrinan ne þin hra feallan

---

262 ÐA : large capital Ð and smaller capital A mark section opening. 264 cleopedon : MS has pedon below ruled lines 266 bi : Th., Gr., Goll. be 269 we : MS be; Th. read MS ðe, footn. we for ðe?, Gr. em. we; Goll., Ass., KD em. we 269 anes : Th. footn. enigres? 271 hus : Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. us 272 ðe : Th. footn. ðu?; Gr. eart þe; KD em. ðe eart 281 ungearo : Gr. footn. ungeara

wepna wundum; we þas wic magun
fotun afyllan : folc inðriceð
mearra þreatum 7 monfarum.
Beoð þa gebolgne þa þec breodwiað,
tredað þec 7 tergað 7 hyra torn wreccað,
toberað þec blodgum lastum; gif þu ure bidan þencest
we þec niþa genægað. Ongin þe generes wilniam,
far þær ðu freonda wene gif ðu þines feores recce."
Gearo was guðlac - hine god fremede -
on ondsware 7 on elne strong,
ne wond he for word ac his wiþerbreccum
sorge gesægde, cuðe him sið genog :
"Wid† is þes westen, wræcsetla fela,
eardas onhæle earmra gæsta;
sindon wærlogan þe þa* wic bugað :
þeah ge þa ealle ut abonne†
7 eow eac gewyrce widor sæce
ge her ateoð in þa tornwræce
sigeleasne sið. Ne ic eow sweord ongean
mid gebolgne hond oðberan þence,
worulde wæpen, ne sceal þes wong gode
þurh blodgyte gebuen weorðan

---

285 inðriceð : MS has erasure after second i and first ð em. from d 288 tergað : Th. em. terað 290 niþa : Th. footn. niþe? 291 recce : Gr., Ass. em. ræce 292 fremede : Th. footn. trymede - K? 294 wond he : Th. "feared", footn. wondode 296 Wid : MS wið, Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. wid 299 abonne : MS abunne; Gr., Goll., KD em. abanne, Ass. em. abonne 300 widor sæce : Th. 'hostility', footn. wider-sæce?; Gr. em. widorsæce; Goll. widor-sæce; 7 eow eac : Gr. footn. 'ic eow? oder and prep. (gegen)?'

ac ic minum criste cweman þence
leofran lace nu ic þis lond gestag.
Fela ge me earda þurh idel word
aboden habbað; nis min breostsefa
forht ne fæge ac me friðe healdeð
ofer monna oyn se þe mægna gehwæs
weorcum wealdeð; nis me wiht æt eow
leofes gelong ne ge me labes wiht
gedon motun : ic eom dryhtnes þeow,
he mec þurh engel oft afrefreð.
Forðon mec longeþas lyt gegretað
sorge sealdun; nu mec sawelcund
hyrde tihealdeð is min hyht mid god
ne ic me eorðwelan owiht sinne
ne me mid mode micles gyrne
ac me dogra gehwam dryhten sendeð
þurh monnes hond mine þearfe."
Swa modgade se wið monnum stod
awreded weorðlice wuldres eempa
engla mægne. Gewat eal þonan
feonda mengu : ne wæs se fyrst micel
þe hi guðlace forgiefan þohtan.
He wæs on elne 7 on eaðmedum,

---

316 longeþas : Th. em. longe þæs 317 sealdun : Cr. footn. seldan (raro)? 328 eaðmedum : Cr. eaðmednm

bad on beorge - wæs him botles need -
forlet longeþas lænra dreama;
no he hine wið monna miltse gedalde
se gesynta bæd sawla gehwylcre
þonne he to eorðan on þam anede
hleor* onhylde : him of heofonum weard 37v
onbryrded breostsefa bliðe gaste.
Oft eahtede - wæs him engel neah -
hu þisse worulde wynna þorfte
mid his lichoman læsest brucan:
no his fore eagan earmra gasta
treow getweode no he tid forsæt
þæs þe he for his dryhtne dreogan sceolde
þæt hine æreste elne binoman
slæpa sluman oþþe sane mod.
Swa sceal oretta 6 in his mode
gode compian 7 his gæst beran
eft on ondan þam þe eahtan wile
sawla gehwylcre þær he geæslan mæg.
Symle hy guðlac in godes willan
fromne fundon þonne flygereowe
þurh nihta genipu neosan cwoman
þa þe onhæle eardas weredon,

---

330 longeþas : Th. longe þæs 342 æreste : Gr. footn. i.e. æriste (genitiv) 343 slæpa : Th. footn. slæpes? 346 eahtan : Th. footn. eahtian or ehtian?

hwæþre him þæs wonges wyn swedrade.
Woldun þæt him to mode fore monlufan
sorg gesohte þæt he sið ture
eft to eþle ; ne wæs þæt ongin swylc
ðonne hine engel on þam anade
georneet grette 7 him giefe sealde
þæt hine meahte meotudes willan
lengað gelettan ac he on þæs lareowes
wære gewunade. Oft worde biewæð :
"huru þæs bihofað se þe him halig gæst
wisað on willan 7 his weorc trymað,
laþað hine liþum wordum, gehateð him lifes ræste
þæt he þæs latteowes larum hyre
ne lete him ealdfeond eft oncyrran
mod from his meotude. Hu sceal min cuman
gæst to geoce neenne ic gode sylle
hyreumne hige þæt him heortan gebonc *
ær oþþe sið ende geweorðe
þæt ge mec to wundre wegan motun.
Ne mæg min lichoma wið bas lænan geceaft
deað gedælan ac he gedreosan sceal

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352 hwæþre : Goll. hwæbere 355 þæt : Th., Goll. bæt 362 trymað : Gr. em. trymeð 363 ræste : Th., Gr. print ræste without comment; Ass., KD print ræste and give footn. ræste 368 gebonc : Th. gebonc; here all editors recognise that part of text is missing 370 wegan : Th., Gr. wægan, Goll., Ass., KD print wegan, give wegan in footn.; to wundre : Th. "to glory", footn. wuldre? 372 deað : Th. "by death", footn. deaðe?

ewa þeos eorðe eall þe ic her on stonde.

Þeah ge minne flæshoman fyres wylme

forgripen grombydge gifran lege

nafre ge mec of þissum wordum onwendað
þendan mec min gewit gelæsteð

þeah þe ge hine earum forneman ;
ne moten ge mine sawle gretan

ne ge on betran gebringað. Forðan ic gebidan wille

þæs þe min dryhten demeð; nis me þæs deaþes sorg.

Ðeah min bán 7 blód butu geweorþen

eorþan to eacan, min ee ecn dæl

in gefean fareð þær he fægran

botles bruceð. Nis þisses beorges setl

meodumre ne mara þonne hit men dugeþ

se þe in þrowingum þeodnes willan

dæghwam dreogeð; ne sceal se dryhtnes þeow

in his modsefan mare gelufian

eorþan ahtwelan þonne his æses gemet

þet he his lichoman læde hæbbe."

Ða was eft swa er ealdfeonda nið

wroht onwylled†, wod† oberne

lythwon leodode þonne in lyft astag

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374 flæshoman : Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. flæschoman 376 hendan : Gr. bendan 377 forneman : Th. footn. K-forsten? 384 meodumre : Th. r.meodumra; mara : Gr. em. mare; duge : MS buge, Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. duge; Th. "when it a man inhabits", footn. hine man? 387 mare : Gr. footn. ma ne? 390 Ða : Goll. Þa 391 onwylled : MS onwylleð; Th. em. onweced; Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. onwylled; wod : MS god, Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD. em. wod; oberne : Gr., Goll., Ass., KD treat ne as at beginning of 392, Goll. inserting her at end of 391

eeargesta cirm. Symle cristes lof
in guðlaces godum mode
weox 7 wunade 7 hine weoruda god
freoðade on foldan; swa he feora gehwylc
healdeð in hælo þær se hyra gæst
þihð in þeawum. He wæs þeara sum;
ne won he* after worulde ac he in wuldre ahof
modes wynne. Hwylc wæs mara þonne se?
An oretta ussum tidum,
cempa, geceyðeð þæt him crist fore
woruldliora mâ wundra geceyðde.

HE hine scilde wið sceaðþenra
eglum onfengum earnra gesta;
waron hy reowe to reosanne
gifrum grapum. Ne god wolde
þæt seo sawl þæs sær þrowade
in lichoman; lyfde se þeana
þæt hy him mid hondum hrinan mosten
7 þæt frið wið hy gefreoþad wære.
Hy hine þa hofun on þa hean lyft,

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393 gearegsta : Th. r.gearegsta 397 þær se : Th. footn. þara þeT-R 400 se : Th., Gorr. place se at beginning of 401, as do Gr., Ass. who insert he at end of 400 402 geceyðeð : Th. "ye call", ge cyðeð; Gr., Coll. em. geceyðed 403 geceyðde is only word on line dividing sections 404 HE : large capital H followed by smaller E; sceaðþenra : Gr. em. sceaðdendra, Coll., Ass., KD em. sceaðþendra 405 onfengum : Th. onfengom, which Gr. em. onfengum; in MS u em. from o

sealdon him meahte ofer monna cynn
þæt he fore eagum eall eceawode
under haligra hyrda gewealdum 415
in mynsterum monna geberu
bara þe hyra lifes þurh lust brucan
idlum ehtum 7 oferwlencum,
gierelum gielplicum: swa bið geogude þeaw
þer þæs ealdres egsa ne styreð. 420
Ne þer þa feondas gefeon þorfton
ac þæs bleddes hraðe gebrocen hæfdon
þe him alyfed wæs lytle hwile
þæt hy his lichoman leng ne mostan
witum wælan; ne him wiht gescod 425
þæs þe hy him to teonan þurhtogen hæfdon.
Læddun hine þa of lyfte to þam leofestan
earde on eorðan þæt he eft gestag
beorg on bearwe; bonan gnornedon,
mændon murnende þæt† hy monnes bearn 430
þream oferþunge 7 swa þearfendlic
him to earfedum * ana ewome 39r
gif hy him ne meahte meran earum
gyldan gyrnwræce. Guðlac sette
hyht in heofonas, hælu getreowde, 435

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421 þer : Cr., Ase., KD hær 430 þæt : MS þæs; Th., Cr., Goll., Ass., KD em. þet

hæfde feonda feng feore gedyged;
wæs seo æreste earmra gæsta
ecetung ofercumen; oempa wunade
bliþe on beorge : wæs his blæd mid god.
Ouhte him on mode þæt se monncynnes
eadig wære se þe his anum hær
feore gefreoðade þæt him feondes hond
æt þam ytmestan ende ne æcode
þonne him se dryhtnes dom wisade
to þam nyhstan nydgedale.
Hwæþre him þa gena gyrna gemyndge
edwitspræcan ermþu geheton
tormum teonewidum. Treow wæs gecyþed
þætte guðlace god leanode
ellen mid arum þæt he ana gewon.
Him se werga gæst wordum sægde :
"Ne we þe þus swiðe swencan þorftan
þær þu fromlice freonda larum
hyran wolde; þa þu heanᵗ 7 earm
on þis orlege æræst cwome
ða þu gehete þæt þec halig gæst
wið earfeþum eaðe gescilde

---

446 gyrna : Th. "earnestly", footn. gyrne? grynna "of snares"?-K
447 edwitspræcan : Th. "They spake reproach", footn. r.spræcon
448 Treow : Th. treowð? 453 þær : Th. footn. an error for gif?
454 heanᵗ : MS heam; Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. heanᵗ

for þam myrcelse þe þec monnes hond
from þinre onsyne æþelum áhwyrfde."
(In þam magwlite monge lifgað
gyltum forgiefene, nales gode þigað,
ac hy lichoman fore lufan cwemað
wieta wynnum; swa ge weorðmyndu
in dolum dremme dryhtne gieldað.
Fela ge fore monnum miþað þæs þe ge in mode gehycgað,
ne beoð eowre* dæde dyrne
þeah þe ge hy in dygle gefremme.) 39v
"We þec in lyft geleddun, oftugon þe londes wynna,
woldun þu þe sylfa gesawe þæt we þec soð onstældun;
ealles þu þæs wite awunne
forþon þu hit onwendan ne meahtes."
Da was agongen þæt him god wolde
after þrowinga þone gegyldan
þæt he martyrhád mode gelufade;
sealde him snyttru on sefan gehygdum,
magenfæste gemynd. He wið mongum stod
ealdfeonda elne gebylded,
sægde him to sorge þæt hy sigelease
þone grene wong ofgiefan sceoldan:
"Ge sind forscadene ! On eow scyld sitеð !
Ne cunnon ge dryhten dugube biddan

---

458 þæs : omitted by Gr. and Goll. as em.; Th. thinks a "couplet" missing 461 bigað : Gr. footn. = bihað

ne mid eadmedum are eecan
þeah þe eow alyfde lytle hwile
þæt ge min onwald agan moston;
ne ge þæt gehyldum þicgan woldan
ac me yrringa up geladdon
þæt ic of lyfte lenda getimbru
geseon meahte. Wæs me sweglas leoht
torht ontyned þeah ic torn druge.
Setton me in edwit þæt ic eade forbær
rune regulas 7 reþe mod
geongre monna in godes templum;
woldan þy gehyrwan haligra lof,
sohtun þa sæmran 7 þa sellan mé
deedum efter dædum. Me beeð þa dyrne swa þeah.
Ic eow sceð wiþ þon secgan wille :
god scop geogude 7 gumena dream;
ne magun þa efteryld in þam ærestan
blade geberan ac hy blisciað
worulde wynnum oððæt wintra rim
gegað* in þa geogude þæt se gæst lufað
onsyn 7 atwist yldran hadum
ðe genete monige geond middangeard

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481 þeah þe : Gr. footn. þeah þa 482 onwald : MS onweald with e subpuncted; Th., Gr. onweald 488 Setton : Th. "ye said", footn. gædon? 491 hy : Th. em. ge 494 wiþ þon : Th., Goll. sibbon, Gr. siddon; Ass., KD em. sibbon 496 efteryld : Gr. footn. efter ylde

þeowiað in þeawum; þeodum ywaþ
wisdom weras, wlencu forleosað,
siþþan geoguðe geað gæst afliheð.
Þæt ge ne scirað ac ge scyldigra
synne secgað, sothfæstra nó
mod 7 monþeaw mæran willað,
gefeoð in firenum, frofre ne wenað
þæt ge wræcsiða wyrne gebiden.
Oft ge in gestalum standað; þæs cymeð steor of heofonum;
me þonne sendeð se usic semon mæg,
se þe lifa gehwæs lengu wealdeð."
Swa hleoþrade halig oempa :
wæs se martyre from monegynnes
synnum asundrad; sceolde he sares þa gen
dæl adreogan ðeah þe dryhten his
witum wolde. Hwæt þæt wundra sum
monnum þuhte þæt he ma wolde
afrum onfengum earme gæstas
brinan leton 7 þæt hwæþre gelomp.
Wæs þæt gen mara þæt he middangeard
sylfa gesohte 7 his swæt ægeat
on bonena hond; ahte bega geweald,

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504 geað : Th. "goeth", footn. gæð 507 mæran : Th. "ye will magnify", em. mærian 511 se þonne sendeð : Gr. em. adds mund after þonne; se usic semon mæg : Th. read wæg, tr. "he who's to us man's way", footn. usic or us is? mon-wæg=lif-weg; Gr. se us is se monweg; Coll., Ass. se usic se mon wæg; KD as above 517 wolde : Th. footn. r.woelde?; Gr., Ass., KD em. woelde 520 leton : Gr., Ass. em. lætan 521 mara : Gr. em. mare

lifes 7 deades, þa he lustum dreag
eadmod on eorðan ehtendra nið.
Forþon is nu arlic þæt we ǽfnestra
dæde demen, seegen dryhtne lof
ealra þara bisena þe us bec fore
þurh his wundra geweore wisdóm cyþað.

Geofu wes mid guðlan in godcundum
mægne gemeted.* Micel is to seegan,
eall after orde, þæt he on elne adreag;
done foregengen fæder almihtig
wið onhalum ealdorgewinnum
sylfa gesette þær his sawl wearð
elnes 7 geeostad. Cuð is wide
geond middangeard þæt his mod gepah
in gedeon willan; Is þes gen fela
to seegenne þæs þe he sylfa adreag
under nyðgiesta† nearwum elennum.
He þa ǽr forseah, a þære saule wel
[gemunde] þæs mundboran þe þæt mod† geheold,
þæt him ne getweode treow in breostum

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529 cyþað is last word of its line in MS, following line free 533 foregengen : Th. "a forth goer", footn. forð-gengan? 540 nyðgiesta : MS g altered from i; Th., Gr. niðgyesta 541/2 mod : MS mond; Th. em. wel to hwile, þe þæt to he þa and tr. "He the pain despis'd of the soul ever while in the Protector, who held him in his care.."; Gr. inserts a line and em. mod; Goll. notes a line omission; Ass., KD em. mod and leave a free line 542 [gemunde] : not in MS 543 þæt : Th. þæt

ne him gnornunga gneste secodun,
ac se hearda hyge halig wunade
obbat he ba hyegu oferbiden hæfde.
Þrea waron þearle, þegnes grimme,
ealle hy þam feore fyl gehehton;
no hy hine to deað deman moston
synna hyrdas ac seo sawul bád
in liohoman leofran tide.
Georne hy ongeaton þæt hyne god wolde
nergan wið niþum 7 hyra nýdwræce
deope deman. Swa dryhten mag,
ana almihtig, eadigra gehwone
wið earfeþum eaðe gescildan.
Hwæðre hine gebrohton bolgenmode
wraðe wrecmecgas wuldres ceempan
halig husulbearn æt Ealdore
þær firenfulra fæge gæstas
after swyltcwale siþan onginnað
ingong wrest in þæt atule hús
niþer under næssas neole grundas.
Hy hine bregdon, budon orlege,
egesan 7 ondan arleaslice,
freone fore : swa bið feonda þeaw

---

549 deað : Th., Gr., Ass., KD em. deaðe 556 eaðe : Th., Gr. eað

þonne hy sodfæstra sawle willað 41r
synnum beswican 7 searocræftum.
Ongunnon gromheorte godes orettan
in sefan swencan, swiþe geheton
þæt he in þone grimman gryre gongan sceolde,
hweorfan gehyned to helwarum
7 þær in bendum bryne þrowian.
Woldun hy geteon mid tornowidum
earme aglæcan in orwennysse
meotudes cempan - hit ne meahte swa;
ewædon cearfulle cristes laðe
to guðlace mid grimmysse :
"Ne eart ðu gedefe ne dryhtnes þeow
clæne gecostad ne cempa gód
wordum 7 weorcum wel gecyþed,
halig in heortan : nu þu in helle scealt
deope gedufan, nales dryhtnes leoht
habban in heofonum, heahgetimbru,
seld on swegle, forþon þu synna to fela
fæcna gefremedes in flæschoman.
We þe nu willað womma gehwylces
lean forgieldan þær þe laþast bið,
in ðam grimmestan gæstgewinne."

---

579 ðu : Th. þu 583 nales : Gr. nalæs 588 þær : Th. em. þæt

Him se eadga wer ondswarode
guðlac in gwste mid godes magne :
"Doð efne swa gif eow dryhten crist
lifes leohtfruma lyfan wylle
weoruda waldend þæt ge his wergengan
in þone laðan leg laðan motan.
Þæt is in gewealdum wuldorcyninges
se eow gehynde 7 in hæft bedraf
under nearone clom nergende crist.
Eom ic eaðmod his ombihthera,
þeow geþyldig. Ic geþafian sceal
eghwær ealles his anne dom
7 him geornlice gastgemyndum
wille * wideferh wesan underþyded, 41v
hyran holdlice minum hælende
beawum 7 geþynoðum 7 him þoncian
ealra þara giefena þe god gesceop
englum ærest 7 eorðwarum
7 ic bletsige blíðe mode
lifes leohtfruman 7 him lof singe
þurh gedefne dom, dages 7 nihtes
herge in heortan heofonrices weard.

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592 efne : Th., Gr. efen 600 sceal : Th. read scaal 605 gehynoðum : Th. em. gebeahtum, Gr. geþynoðum 606 giefena : Th., Gr. gifena 611 heortan : Th. reads heortum, footn. r, heortan; Gr. heortum

þæt eow æfre ne bið ufan alyfed
leohtes lissum þæt ge lof moten
dryhtne secgan ac ge deaðe scealon
wealleadne wean wope besingan,
heaf in helle, nales herenisse
halge habban heofoncyninges.

IC þone deman in dagum minum
wille weorþian wordum 7 dædum,
lufian in life." (Swa is lar 7 ar
to spowendre sprece gelæded
þam þe in his weoroum willan refnað.)
"Sindon ge wærlogan : swa ge in wræsiðe
longe lifdon, lege bisenete†,
ewearte beswicene, swegle benumene,
dreame bidrorene, deaðe bifolene,
firenum bifongne feores orwenan
þæt ge blindnesse bote fundon.
Ge þa fægran gesceaft in fyrndagum
gæstlicne goddream gearo forsegon
þa ge widhogdum halgum dryhtne.
Ne mostun ge a wunian in wyndagum

---

614 deaðe : Gr. footn. deade? 615 wealleadne : Th., Gr. wealleade 616 heaf : Th. footn. heafe? 618 IC : large capital I followed by smaller C; one line empty marks opening of a new section. 622 in his : Gr. em. his in 624 bisencte, MS biscenete : Gr., KD em. bisenete 630 gæstlicne : Th., Gr. gæstlicne 631 widhogdum : Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. widhogdun

ac mid scome scyldum scofene wurdon
fore oferhygdum in ece fyr
þær ge sceolon dreogan deað 7 þystro,
wop to widan aldre - nefre ge þas wyrpe gebidað - 42r
7 ic þæt gelyfe in liffruman,
eone onwealdan ealra geseceafta,
þæt he mec for miltsum 7 mægenspedum
niðða nergend nefre wille
þurh ellenweorc anforlætan
þam ic longe in lichoman
7 in minum gaste gode campode
þurh monigfealdra magna gerynu.
Forðon ic getrywe in þone torhtestan
þrymnesse þrym se gesæhtingum
hafað in hondum heofon 7 eorðan
þæt ge mec mid niþum nefre motan
tormode teon in tintergu
mine wyrðran 7 mænsceaþan,
swearte, nigelease. Eom ic soðlice
leohte geleafan 7 mid lufan dryhtnes
fægre gefylled in minum feorhlocan,
breostum inbryrded to þam betran hame,

---

633 scome scyldum : Th. "shameful crimes", footn. scoma-scyldum?
636 widan : Th. wídan

leomum inlyhted to þam leofestan
ecan earde þær is ebellond
fæger 7 gefealic in fæder wuldre,
ðær eow nefre fore nergende
leohtes leoma ne lifes hyht
in godes rice agiefen weorþeð
for þam oferhygdum þe eow in mod astag
þurh idel gylp ealles to swiðe.
Wendun ge 7 woldum wiþerhycgende
þæt ge scyppende sceoldan gelice
wesan in wuldre. Eow þær wyrs gelomp
ða eow se waldend wraðe bisenete
in þæt swearte susl þær eow siþþan wæs
ad inæled attre geblonden
þurh deopne dom dream afyrred
engla gemana. Swa nu awa sceal
wesan wideferh þæt ge warnysse
brynewylm hæbban, nales bletsunga; 42v
ne þurfon ge wenan wuldre biscyrede
þæt ge mec synfulle mid searocræftum
under sceat sconde scufan motan
ne in bælblæsan bregdon on hinder

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655 þæm : Th. þam 661 þam : Gr. omits 663 woldum : Th., Gr., Coll., Ass., KD em. woldun 668 ad inæled : Th. ad æled em. by Gr. ad inæled 667 þær : Ass., Coll. þær 671 warnysse : Th. footn. r.werinesse or werignes 676 bregdon : Gr. em. bregden

in helle hus þær eow is hám scеapen,
sweart sinnehte, sacu butan ende,
grim gæstcwalu, þær ge gnornende
deað sceolon dreogan 7 ic dreama wyn
agen mid englum in þam uplican
rodera rice þær is ryht cyning,
help 7 hælu hælepa cynne,
duguð 7 drohtað." Ða cwom dryhtnes ár,
halig of heofonum, se burh hleoþor abead
ufancundne ege earmum gæstum,
het eft hraðe unscyldigne
of þam wræcsiðe wuldres ceapan
lædan limhalne þæt se leofesta
gæst gegearwad in godes were
on gefean ferde. Óa wearð feonda breat
scol for ðam egesan. Ofermæcga sorhc,
dyre dryhtnes þegn, daghluttre scán,
hæfde guðlaces gæst in gewealdum,
modig mundbora mæhtum spedig,
beostra þegnas þreaniedlum† bond,
nyd onsette 7 geneahhe bibead :
"Ne sy him banes bryce ne blodig wund,

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692 Ofermæcga : Th. ofer mæcga "proudly", footn. ofermettum?; Gr. footn. ?ofermettum, ?ofermægne 696 þreaniedlum : MS þreamedlum; Th. reads þreaniedlum which Gr. pr. without comment; Coll., Ass., KD em. þreaniedlum

lices læla ne laþes wiht
þæs þe ge him to dare gedon motan
ac ge hine gesundne ǽsettaþ þær ge hine sylfne genoman :
he sceal þy wonge wealdan,
ne magon ge him þa wic forstondan.
Ic eom se dema se mec dryhten heht
snude gesecgan þæt ge him sara gehwylc
hondum gehælde 7 him hearsume
on his sylfes dóm siþþan wæron;
ne sceal ic mine onsyn fore eowere
mengu miþan : ic eom meotudes þegn.
Eom ic þara twelfa sum þe he getreoweste
under monnes hiw mode gelufade.
He mec of heofonum hider onsende;
geseah þæt ge on eorðan fore æfstum†
on his wergengan wite legdon.
Is þæt min broþor, mec his bysgu gehreaw.
Ic þæt gefremme, þær se freond wunað
on þære socne þe ic þa sibbe wið hine
healdan wille nu ic his helpan mot,
þæt ge min onsynn oft sceawiað;
nu ic his geneahhe neosan wille,
sceal ic his word 7 weorc in gewitnesse
dryhtne lædon : he his dæde conn."

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703 se mec : Gr. footn. þe mec? 712 æfstum : MS æftum; Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. æfstum 721 lædon : Gr., Ass. em. lædan; conn : at end of line otherwise empty, marks end of section

Ða was guðlacces gæst geblissad
siþþan bartholomeus ahoden hæfde
godes ærendu. Cesrve stodun
hæftas hearsume þa þæs halgan word
lyt oferleordun. Ongan þa leofne sið
drægan domeadig dryhtnes eempa
to þam onwillan eorðan dele.
Hy hine bæron 7 him bryce healdon,
hofon hine hondum 7 him hryre burgun;
wæron hyra gongan under godes egesan
smeþe 7 gesefte. Sigehreðig ewom
hytla to þam beorge; hine bletsadon
monge mægwlitas mæglum reordum,
treofugla tuddor tæcnum cyðdon
eadges eftoyme; oft he him ute heold
þonne hy him hungrige ymb hond flugon,
grædum gifre geoce * gefegon.
Swa þæt milde mod wið moncynnes
dreamum gedælde, dryhtne þeowde,
genom him to wildeorum wynne
siþþan he þas woruld forhogde.
Smolt wæs se sigewong 7 sele niwe,
fæger fugla reord, folde geblowen;
geacas gear budon; guðlac moste,

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722 Ða : large Ð followed by smaller A 734 reordum : Th. wordum for which Gr. footn. reordum? 738 grædum : Th. footn. grædgum (grædigum
744 guþlac : Th. guðlac

eadig 7 onmod, earfes brucan.
Stód se grena wong in godes were,
hæfde se heorde se þe of heofonum owom
feondas afyrde. Hwylc wæs fægerra
willa geworden in were life
þara þe yldran usse gemunde
oþþe we selfe† siþþan cuþen?
Hwæt we þissa wundra gewitan sindon;
eall þas geeodon in ussera
tida timan. Forþon þæs tweogan ne þearf
ænig ofer eorðan ælda cynnes
ac swilc god wyrceð geesta lifes
to trummaþe þy les þa tydran mod
þa gewitnesse wendan þurfe
þonne hy in gesihþe soþes brucað.
Swa se almihtiga ealle geseceafte
lufað under lyfte in lichoman
monna mægðe geond middangeard.
Wile† se waldend þæt we wisdom a
snyttrum swelgen þæt his soð fore ús
on his giefena gyld genge weorðe
ða he us to ere 7 to ondgiete

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750 gemunde : Th. footn. r.gemunden(gemundon) 751 selfe : in MS y placed below first e, Th., Gr. sylfe 756 swilc : MS has y below i 759 brucað : Goll. brucaþ 763 Wile : in MS an i erased before l; Goll. Wille

syleð 7 sendeð, sawlum rymeð
liðe lifwegas leohte gerahte.
Wis þæt hurh lesest þæt seo lufu cyþeð
þonne heo in monnes mode getimbreð
gæstcunde* gife : swa he guðlaces
dagas 7 dæde þurh his dóm ahóf.
Wæs se fruma fæstlic feondum ón ðndan
geseted wið synnum; þær he siþþan lyt
wære gewonade; oft his word gode
þurh eadmedu up onsende,
læt his ben cuman in þa heorhtan gesceaft,
þoncade þeodne þæs þe he in þrowingum
biden moste hwonne him betre lif
þurh godes willan agyfen worde.
Swa wæs guðlaces gæst gelæded
engla fæðmum in uprodor
fore onsyne eces deman :
leddon leoflice. Him wæs lean gesceald,
setl on swegle, þær he symle mot
awo to ealdre eardfæst wesan,
bliðe biden : is him bearn godes,
milde mundbora, meahtig dryhten,
halig hyrde, heofonrices weard.

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768 gerahte : Gr. footn. gereahte? 776 eaðmedu : Th., Gr. eadmedu
780 agyfen : WS y changed from i; worde : Th., Coll., worde, Gr., Ass., KD em. wurde

Swa soðfæstra sawla motun
in eone geard up gestigan
roðera rice þa þe rædnað her
wordum 7 weorcum wuldorcyninges
lare longsume on hyra lifes tid,
earniað on eorðan ecan lifes
hames in heahþu : þæt beoð huselweras,
cempan gecorene criste leofe;
berað in breostum beorhtne geleafan,
haligne hyht, heortan clæne;
weorðiað waldend; habbað wisne geþoht
fusne on forðweg to fæder eðle;
gearwaþ gastes hus 7 mid gleawnesse
feond oferfechtað 7 firenlustas;
forberað* in breostum broþorsibbe; 44v
georne bigongað in godes willan;
swencað hi sylfe; sawle frætwað
halgum gehygdum; heofoncyninges bibod
fremmað on foldan; fæsten lufiað;
beorgað him bealoniþ 7 gebedu secað;
swincað wið synnum; healdað soð 7 ryht.
Him þæt ne hreowað after hingonge

---

796 heahþu : Gr. heahþum; huselweras : Gr., Coll. huselweras
802 gearwaþ : Th. gearweþ which Gr. em. gearwað, Coll. gearweþ;
806 hi : Gr. hy (on p. 416 mistake noted and heo given)

donne hy hweorfað in þa halgan burg,
gongað gegnunga to hierusalem
þær hi to worulde wynnum motum
godes onsyne georne bibeælden,
sibbe 7 gesihðe, þær heo soð wunað
wlitig wuldorfæst ealne† widan ferh
on lifgendra londes wynne.

814 motum : Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. motum 816 soð wunað : Th. footn. siððan wunlað?; gesihðe : Th. geæelðe which Gr. em. gesihðe 817 ealne : MS ealdne, Th., Gr., Ass., Coll., KD em. ealne 818 wynne at end of otherwise empty line, marks division of material

G u t h l a c I

ÐÆT IS WIDE CVÐ WEra oneorissum,
folcum gefrege, þætte frymþa god
þone wrestan ælda cynnes
of þære clænestan cyning ælmihtig
foldan geworhte. Ða wæs fruma niwe
ylda tudres, onstæl wynlic,
fæger 7 gefealic. Fæder wæs scenned
adam wrest þurh est godes
on neorxnawong þær him nænges wæs
willan onsyn ne welan brosnung
ne lifes lyre ne lices hryre
ne dreames dryre ne deaðes cyme
ac he on þam lande lifgan moste
ealra leahtra leas, longe neotan
niwra gefeana; þær he* nó þorfte 45r
lifes ne lisse in þam leohtan ham
þurh ælda tid ende gebidan
ac æfter fyrste to þam forestan
heofonrices gefean hweorfan mostan
leomu lic somud 7 lifes gæst

After wunne 818 at end of otherwise empty line there are two free lines; within this space a sixteenth century hand has written Of the creacion of man & of his falle 819 ÐÆT IS WIDE CVÐ WE : large capitals, the first Þ very large 821 ælda : Goll., Ass. ylda 824 ylda : Th., Gr., Ass. ælda, Goll., KD ælda, footn. MS ylda 827 þær : Th. Ðær 835 ælda tid : Th. footn. r.ælde tide 836 forestan : Th., Gr., Goll., Ass. em. fægrestan

7 þær siþþan á in sindreamum
to widan feore wunian mostum
dryhtne on gesihðe butan deaðe forð
gif hy halges word healdan woldun,
beorht in breostum, 7 his bebodu læstan,
efnan on eðle; hy to ar ahreat
þæt hy waldendes willan læsten;
ac his wif genom wyrmes larum
bleðe forbodene 7 of beame ahneop
wæstm† biweredne ofer word godes,
wuldorcyninges, 7 hyre were sealde
þurh deofles searo deaðberende gyfl
þæt ða sinhiwan to swylte geteah.
Siþþan se æþel uðgenge weard
adame 7 euan eardwica cyst
beorht oðbroden 7 hyra bearnum swa
eaferum efter þa hy ón únceyððu
scomum scudende scofene wurdon
on gewinworuld; weorces onguldon
deopra firena þurh deaðes cwealm
þe hy unsnyttrum ar gefremedon;
þære synwræce siþþan sceoldon

---

848 wæstm : MS wæsten with m written above en 853 eardwica : Th., Gr. eardrica, Gr. footn. eardwica? 856 scudende : Th. footn. sceadende? sceridende K 860 þære : Gr. þer

mægð 7 mægeſ morþres ongyldon
godscyldge gyrn þurh gæstgedal
deopra firena. Deað in geþrong
fira cynne, feond rixade
geond middangeard. Nænig monna wæs 865
of þam sigetudre siþþan æfre
godes willan þæs georn ne gynnwised†
þæt he bibugan mæge þone bitran dryne* 45v
þone eue fyrn adame geaf,
byrelade bryd geong: þæt him bam geæcð 870
in þam deoran hám. Deað ricsade
ofer foldbuend þeah þe fela wære
gæsthaligra; þær hi godes willan
on misliçum monna gebihþum
after stedewonga stowum† fremedon, 875
sume sr, sume sið, sume in urra
after tælmearce tida gemyndum,
sigorlean sohtun. Us secgað bec
hu gæðlic wearð þurh godes willan
esdig on engle - he him ece geceas 880
mesht 7 mundbyrd, mære wurdon
his wundra geweorc wide 7 side

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861 ongyldon : Gr., Ass. em. ongyldan 862 gæstgedal : Th., Gr. gæstgedal 867 gynnwised : MS gynnwisedð, Th. em. gen wisod, Gr. em. gynn-wised, footn. gen wisod Th? gin-wisod?, Goll., Ass., KD em. gynn-wised 874 gebihþum : Th. footn. gesihðum K 875 stedewonga : Th. em. stede-wongum; stowum : MS stopum, Th. stopum "journeying"; Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. stowum

breme efter burgum geond bryten innan,
hu he monge oft þurh meaht godes
gehealde hygegeomre hefigra wita
þe hine unsofte adle gebundne
sarge gesohtun of sidwegum†
freorigmode. Symle frofre þær
æt þam godes cempan gearwe fundon
helpe 7 hælo. Nænig hæleþa is
þe areccan mæge oþþe rim wite
ealra þara wundra þe he in worulde her
þurh dryhtnes giefe dugeþum gefremede.

OFT to þam wicum weorude owomum
deofla deaðmægen duguþa byscyrede
hloþum þringan þær se halga þeow
elnes anhydig eard weardade;
þær hy mislice mongum reordum
on þam westenne wode hofun
hludne herecirm hiwes binotene,
dreamum* bidrorene. Dryhtnes cempa, 46r
from foletoga feonda þreatum
wiðstod stronglice. Næs seo stund latu

---

887 sidwegum : MS siðwegum : em. proposed by Thorpe but not incorporated into any text 892 gefremede : at end of line and next line free 894 OFT : in capitals 895 byscyrede : Th., Gr. bescyrede

earmra gæsta ne þæt onbid long
þæt þa wrohtsmiðas wöp áhofun,
hreopun hreðlease, hleoþrum brugdon.
Hwilum wedende swa wilde deor
cirmdon on corðre, hwilum cyrdon eft
minne mansceaþan on mennisc hiw
breahtma mæste, hwilum brugdon eft
awyrgde wærlogan on wyrmes bleo
earme aðloman; attre spiowdon.
Symle hy guðlac gearene fundon
þonces gleawne; he geþyldum bad
þeah him feonda hloð feorhcwealm bude.
Hwilum him to honda hungre gebreatad
fleag fugla cyn þær hy feorhnere
witude fundon 7 hine weorðedon
meaglum stefnum, hwilum menniscc
aras eaðmedum eft neosedon
7 þær siðfrome on þam sigewonge
æt þam halgan þeowon helpe gemetton
ferðþes frofre. Nahig forþum wæs
þæt he æwiscmód eft siðade
hean hyhte leas ac se halga wer

---

909 minne : Th. footn. mæne? 912 aðloman : Th. em. andloman? 913 gearene : Th., Gr. em. gearone 922 þeowon : Th., Gr., Gell., Ass., KD em. þeowan 923 forþum : Gr. em. furðum? 924 þæt : Th., Gr. þæt

ælda gehwylces þurh þa æþelan mæaht
þe hine æenlige æohtun on ðearfe
hæleð hygegeomre hælde butu
lic 7 sawle þenden lifes weard
ece ælmihtig unnan wolde
þæt he blædes her brucan [moste]†
worulde lifes. Wæs gewinnes þa
yrmþa for eorðan endedogor
þurh nydgedal neah geþrungen
siþþan he on westenne wiceard geceas
fiftynu gear; þa wæs frofre gæst
eadgum ábodan ufan onsended
halig of heahþu, hreþer innan born,
afysed on forðsið. Him færinga
adl in gewod - he on elne swa þeah
ungeblyged bad beorhtra gehæta
bliþe in burgum, wæs þam bancofan
æfter nihtglome neah gehrungen,
breosthord ónboren : wæs se bliþa gæst
fús on forðweg. Nolde fæder engla
in þisse wonsælgan worulde life
leahtra leasne longfyrst ofer þæt

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931 [moste] : Th., Gr., Gell., Ass., KD supply moste 938 heahþu : Th. heahþum, Gr. headum 942 bancofan : after bancofan Gr. inserts one line untrymnes sdle-gongum, Ass. numbers as for something missing
944 se : omitted by Gr. but among errata page 416

wunian leton þe him on weoroum her
on his dagena tid dædum geewemde
elne unslawe. Öa se hælmihtiga
let his hond cuman þær se halga þeow
deormod on degle domeadig bæd,
heard 7 hygerof. Hyht wæs geniwad,
blis in breostum; wæs se bancofa
edle onæled, inbendum fæst
lichord onlocen; leomu hefegeden,
særum gesohte. He þæt soð geoneow
þæt hine ælmihtig ufan neosade
meotud fore miltsum; he his modsefan
wið þam farhagan fæste trymede
feonda gewinna. Næs he forht se þeah
ne seo adlþræce egle† on mode
ne deaðgedal se him dryhtnes lof
born in breostum, brondhat lufu
sigorfæst in sefan, seo him sare gehwyle
æmle forswiðde†; næs him sorgcearu
on þas lænan tid þeah his lic 7 gæst
hyra sæmwiste sinhiwan tó
deore gedælde†. Dagas forð scridun, 47r

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948 leton : Th. footn. r.lætan, Gr., Ass. em. lætan 950 hælmihtiga : Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em.ælmihtiga 960 wið : Th. þið, Gr. em. wið 962 egle : MS engle; Th. footn. enge? egle? -K, Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. egle 966 forswiðde : MS forswiðede, first e subpunoted; Th., Gr. forswiðede 969 gedælde : MS ge dæled, Th. footn. gedældon, Gr., Ass., KD. em. gedælden, Goll. em. gedæled

nihthelma genipu. Wæs neah seo tid
þæt he fyrngewyrht fyllan sceolde
þurh deaðes cyme, domes hleotan,
efne þæs ilcan þe usse yldran fyrn
freone onfengon swa him biforan worhton
þa wrestan ælda cynnes.

ÞA wæs guðlace on þa geocran tid
mægen gemeðgad, mod swiþe heard,
elnes anhydig: wæs seo adl þearl,
hat 7 heorogrim, hreþer innan weol,
born banloca; bryþen wæs ongunnen
þætte adame eue gebyrmde
æt fruman worulde. Feond byrlade
wrest þære idese 7 heo adame
hyre swæsum were siþþan scenote
bittor bædeweg þæs þa byre siþþan
grimme enguldon gafulrædenne
þurh wrgewyrht þætteænig ne wæs
fyra cynnes from fruman siððan
mðm ðn moldan þætte meahte him
gebeorgan 7 bibugan þone bleatan dryne

---

973 usse : Gr. ussa 974 onfengon : Gr. enfengon 975 cynnes : last word in line, half of which is empty 976 ÐA in capitals marks new section; Goll. ÞA 980 bryþen : Th. em. brywen

deopan deaðweges ac him duru sylfa
on þa sliðnan tid sona ontyneð,
ingong geopenað; ne magænig þam
flæsce bifongen feore wiðstondan
ricra ne heanra ac hine reseð on
gifrum grapum : swa wæs guðlace
enge anhoga etryhte þa
efter nihtscuan neah gebyded
wiga welgifre. Hine wunade mid
an ombehtþegn se hine aghwylce
daga neosade. Ongan ða deophydig
gleawmod gongan to godes temple
þær he ebelbodan* inne wiste 47v
þone leofestan lareow gecorenne
7 þa in eode eadgum to sprece -
wolde hyrenigan halges lara,
mildes mebelewida; fonde þa his mondryhten
adlwerigne; him ðæt in gefeol
hefig æt heortan, hygesorge weg,
micle modceare. Ongan ða his magu frignan :
"Hu gewearð þe þus, winedryhten min,
fæder freonda hleo, ferð gebysgad,
nearwe genæged. Io næfre þe

---

991 sylfa : Th. r.sylf 1003 inne : Gr. innan 1007 fonde : Gr. em. fond, footn. funde ? 1010 ða : Th., Goll. þa 1013 : genæged : Th., Gr. genæged, Goll., Ass. KD genæged, footn. MS genæged

þeoden leofesta þysliene mr
gemette þus neðne. Meaht þu mæðelowidum
worda gewealdan ? Is me on wene gepuht
þæt þe untrymmes adle gongum
on þisse nyhstan niht bysgade,
sarbennum gesoht: þæt me sorgna is
hatost on hreþre mr þu hyge minne
ferð afrefre. Wast þu, freodryhten,
hu þeos adle seyle ende gesettan ?"
Him þa eið onowð, sona ne meahte
orð up geteon: wæs him in bogen
bittor bancofa. Beald reordade,
eadig on elne ondswis ageaf :
"Ic wille secgan þæt me sar gehran,
wæro in gewod in ðisse wonnan niht,
liehord onleac; leomu hefegiað,
sarum gesohte. Sceal þis sawelhus,
fage flæschoma folderne bipeaht,
leomu, lames gehacan, legerbedde fæst
wunian wælreste. Wiga nealæcð,
unlæt læces : ne bið þæs lengra swice
sawelgedales þonne seofon niht

1017 þæt : Goll. as expansion 1019 þæt : Goll. as expansion; sorgna : MS n altered from a 1026 ondswis : MS ?owis, Goll. and-swis 1032 leomu, læces : Th. leomu-læces 1033 wælreste : Gr. wælreste

fyrstgemearces þæt min feorh heonan
on þisse eahteþan ende gesæced,
dæg scriþende. Þonne dogor* beoð 48r
on moldwege min ford scriþen,
sorg geswedrad†, 7 ic siþþan mot 1040
fore meotudes eneowum meorda hleotan,
gingra geafena, 7 godes lomber
in sindreamum siþþan swo
ford folgian. Is nu fus dider
gæst siþes georn, nu þu gearwe const 1045
leoma lifgedal : long is þis onbid
worulde lifes." Ða wæs wop 7 heaf,
geongum geocor sefa, geomrende hyge
siþþan he gehyrde þæt se halga wæs
fordsiþes fus; he þæs farspelles 1050
fore his mondryhtne modsorge wæg
hefige æt heortan - hreþer innan swearc,
hyge hreowcearig, þæs þe his hlaford geseah
ellorfusne; he þæs onberu
habban ne mæhte ac he hate let 1055
torn þoliende tearas geotan,
wæallan wægdropan. Wyrd ne meahte
in fægum leng feorg gehealdan

1040 gesweðrad : MS geswedrad, Th., Gr. geswæðrad, Goll., Ass., KD em. geswæðrad 1053 þe his : Th., Gr., Goll., Ass. em. þe (he) his; geseah : Goll. places in following verse

deore frætwe þonne him gedemed wæs.

OÞgeat gæsta halig geomormodes
drusendne† hyge. Ongan þa duguþa hleo
gleadmod gode leof geongran retan,
wine leofestan wordum negan :
"Ne beo þu unrot deah þeos adl me
innan sie. Nis me earfeðe
to gebolianne þeodnes willan
dryhtnes mines ne ic þæs deaðes hafu
on þas seocan† tid sorge on mode
ne ic me herehloðe helleþegna
swiðe onsitte ne mæg synne on me
faones frumbearn fyrene gestælan
lices leahtor* ac in lige sceolon
sorgwylmum soden sár wanian,
wræcsið wepan wilna biscirede
in þam deaðsele duguða gehwylcre
lufena 7 lissa. Min þæt leofe bearn,
ne beo þu on sefan to seoc. Ic eom sibes fus
upeard niman, edleana† georn
in þam ecan gefean ærgewyrhtum

1059 wæs : last word of line, a free line follows 1060 ON : capitals for new section; gæsta : Th. r.gæste 1061 drusendne : MS drusende, Th. r.drusendne, Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. drusendne 1062 retan : Th. reccan which Gr. em. retan 1068 seocan : MS seocnan, Th. footn. seocan? 1078 edleana : MS edlea/nan as Th., Gr., Goll., Ass.; KD em. edleana

geseon sigora frean. Min þæt swæse bearn,
nis me wracu ne gewin þæt ic wuldres god
æece swegeleyning þær is sib 7 blis,
domfæstra dream, dryhten ondweard
þam ic georne gæstgerynum
in þas dreorgan tid dædum ewemde
mode 7 mægne. Ic þa meorde wat
leahtorlease lean unhwilen
halig on heahþu þær min hyht myneð
to gesecenne; sawul fundað
of licfate to þam longan gefean
in eadwelan. Nis þes æbel me
ne sar ne sorg. Ic me sylfum wat
efter lices hryre lean unhwilen."
Ða se wuldormaga worda gestilde
rof rúnwita : wæs him reste neod
reonigmodum. Rodor swamode
ofer nidda bearn, nihtrim scridon
deore ofer dugeðum. Þa† se dæg bigwom
on þam se lifgenda in lichoman
ece almihtig æriæt gefremede
dryhten mid dreame, ða he of deaðe aras,

1088 heahþu : Gr. heahðum 1091 eadwelan : MS geadwelan, g super- and subpunctod; þes æbel : Gr. footn. þeos adl? 1094 ða : Coll. Þa 1098 dugeðum : Th. dugeþum; þa : MS e changed into a

onwald of eorðan in þa eastortid,
ealra þrymma þrym - ðreata mæstne
to heofonum ahóf, ða he from helle astag.
Swa se eadga wer in þa æþelan tid
on þone beorhtan dæg blissum hremig
milde 7 gemetfæst mægen unsofte* 49r
elne gemunde; aras þa eorla wynn
heard hygesnottor swa he hraþost meahte
mode for ðam miclan byrgum; ongon þa his mod staþelian
lechte geleafan, lac ónsægde
deophycgende dryhtne to willan
gæstgerynum in godes temple
7 his þegne ongon swa þam þeodne geræs
þurh gæstes giefe godspel bodian,
secgan sigortacnum 7 his sefan trymman
wundrum to wuldre in þa wlitigan gesceaft
to eadwelan swa he ær ne sið
æfre to ealdre oðre swylce
on þas lænan tid lare gehyrde
ne swa deoplice dryhtnes geryne
þurh mennisene mið areccan
on sidum sefan. Him wæs sobra geþuht

1102 onwald : MS onweald, e subpunoted 1110 miclan : Gr. mielum; ongon : Gr. ongan 1117 wlitigan : Th., Gr. wlitegan 1120 þas : Goll. ðas 1123 sobra : Th. em. sobor 'more truely', Gr. em. soðre, foetn. MS sohre

þæt hit ufancundes engles wære
of swegldreamum swiþor micle
mægenþegnes word þonne æniges monnes lar
wera ofer eorðan; him þæt wundra mæst
gesewen þuhte þæt swyle æmttruor-ft
ænges healeða her hreþer wearðade
dryhta bearna, wæs þæs deoplic eall
word 7 wisdom 7 þæs weres stihtung,
mod 7 mægenoræft, þe him meotud engla
gæsta geocend forgiefen hæfde.

WÆRon feowere ða forð gewitene
dagas on rime þæs se dryhtnes [þegn]†
on elne bad adle gebysgad,
sarum geswenced; ne he sorge wæg
geocorne sefan gæstgedales
dreorigne hyge. Deað nealæhte,
stop stalgongum,* strong 7 hreðe 49v
sohte sawelhus. Com se seofeða dæg
ældum ondweard þæs þe him in gesceaft
hæt heortan neah hildescurun,
flacor flanþræcu, feorhhord onleac,

1126 æniges : Th., Gr. ænges 1128 æmttruoræft : MS æmttrooræft, o em. to u; Th., Gr. æmttrooræft 1129 healeða : Th. healeþa 1133 forgiefen hæfde : only words in line 1134 WÆR : MS capitals mark new section 1135 se : Gr. þe; [þegn] : inserted by Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD 1137 sarum : Th. sarum 1143 hildescurun : Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. hildescurum

searocmgum gesoht. Ongon ða snottor hæle
ár onbehtþegn æþeles neosan
to þam halgan hofe; fond þa hlingendne
fusne on forðsiþ frean unwenne
gesthaligne ær godes temple
soden sarwylmum : wæs þa sihste tid
on midne dæg, wæs his mondryhtne
endedogor æstryhte þa;
nearwum genæged nydcostingum,
awrecen wælpilum, wlð ne meahte
orð up geteon, ellenspræce,
hleoþor ahebban. Ongon ða hygegeomor
freorig 7 ferðwerig fusne gretan
mæðne modgiedne; bæd hine þurh mihta scyppend
gif he his wordcwida wealdan meahte,
sprece ahebban, þæt him on spellum geeyðde,
onwrigde worda gongum hu he his wisna truwade
drohtes on ðære dimman adle ærðon hine deað onemgde.
Him se eadga wer afeaf ondsware,
leof mon leofum, þeah he late meahte
eorl ellenheard orepe gebredan :
"Min þæt swæse bearn, nis nu swiþe feor
þam ytemestan endedogor

1146 onbehtþegn : Gr. ombehtþegn 1148 unwenne : Th., Goll. em. unwemme 1154 wlð ne : Th. em. wlone ne 1156 ongon : Gr. ongan

nydgedales þæt ðu þa nyhstan scealt
in woruldlife worda minra
nmfre leana biloren lare gehyran
noht lenge ofer þis. Læst ealle well
were 7 winescype word* þa wit sprecon 50r
leofast manna." "Nmfre ic lufan sibbe
þeoden et þearfe þine forlete
seanian." "Beo þu on sið gearu
siþþan lic 7 leomu 7 þes lifes gæst
asundrien sceawist hyra
þurh feorggedal. Fyr efter þon
þæt þu gesecge sweostor minre
þere leofestan on longne weg
to þam fægran gefean forðsið minne
on eone eard 7 hyre eac gecyð
wordum minum þæt ic me warnade
hyre onsyne ealle þrage
in woruldlife, for ðy ic wilnode
þæt wit unc eft in þam ecan gefean
on sweglwuldre geseon mostun
fore onsyne eces deman
leahtra lease : þær sceal lufu uncer
werfæst wunian, þær wit wilna &

1174 þeoden et þearfe : Th. em. þeodnes þearfe 1175 seanian : Th. em. aswanian, Gr. footn. a sanian? 1178 Fyr : Th. em. fer, Gr., Ass., D em. fyr; feorggedal : Gr. em. feorhgedal

in ðære beorhtan byrig brucan motun
eades mid englum. Ðu hyre eac saga
þæt heo þis banfæt beorge bifæste,
lame biluce lic orsawle
in þeostorcofan þær hit þrage sceal
in sondhofe siþþan wunian."
Ða wearð modgeþanc miclum gebisgad,
þream forþrycced þurh þæs þeodnes word
ombehtþegne þa he ædre oncneow
frean feorhgedal, þæt hit feor ne wæs
endedogor; ongon þa ofostlice
to his winedryhtne wordum mæðlan :
"Iċ þec halsige hæleþa leofost
gumena cynnes þurh gæsta weard
þæt þu hygesorge heortan minre
geeþe eorla wyn. Nis þe ende feor
þæs þe ic on galdrum ongieten hæbbe.
Oft mec geomor sefa gehþa gemanode
hat æt heortan* hyge gnornende 50v
nihtes nearwe 7 ic næfre þe
fæder frofor min frignan dorste.
Symle ic gehyrde þonne heofones gim
wynsendel wera west onhylde

1194 orsawle : Th. on sawle which Th., Gr. em. orsawle 1207 ongieten : Gr. ongiten 1208 gehþa : Th. footn. gehþu?

sweglbeorht sunne setlgonges fus
on hæfentid oberne mid þec
þegn æt gebeahte. Ic þæs beadnes word
áres uncuþes oft neosendes
dagwoman bitweon 7 þære deoroan niht
mebelewide mecges 7 on morgne swa
ongeat geomormód gæstes spræce
gleawes in geardum. Huru ic giet ne wát
ær þu me frea min furþor eyðe
þurh ewide þinne hwonan his eyme sindon."

ÞÁ se endga wer ageaf ondsware
leofum efter longre hwile, swa he late meahte
elnes oneyðig orebe gewealdan :
"Hwæt, þu me wine min wordum nægest,
fusne frignest þæs þe ic furþum ær
æfre on ealdre ængum ne wolde
monna ofer moldan melda wearðan
þegne on þeode butan þe nu ða
þy læs þæt wundredan weras 7 ideas
7 on geað gutan, gieddum mænden,
bi me lifgendum. Huru ic nolde sylf

1215 hæfentid : Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. æfentid 1223 sindon : Th. em. sy; sindon is at end of line and next line free 1224 ÞÁ ; capitals mark new section 1226 oneyðig : Th., Gr. uncuðig 1229 on : Gr. in 1233 geað : Th. em. gehþum 1234 Gr. makes up two b-verses, Ass. leaves two empty b-verses

þurh gielpwidle gæstes mines
frofre geleotan no fæder mines
æfre gefrunan ebylg godes.
Symle me onsende sigedryhten min,
folca feorhgiefa siþþan ic furþum ongon
on þone æfteran ánweald bugan
geargemearces gæsthaligne
engel ufancundne se mec efna gehwam
mihtig meotudes þegn 7 on morgne eft
sigor*fæst gesohte 7 me sara gehwylc 51r
gehealde hygesorge 7 me in hreþre bilees
wuldres wilboda wisdomes giefe -
micle monigfealdran þonne enig mon wite
in life† her - þe me alyfed nis
to gecyþenne ewicra engum
on foldwege fira cynnes
þæt me ne meahte monna enig
bideaglian hwæt he dearninga
on hyge hogde heortan geþoncum
siþþan he me fore eagum onsyne weard.
Á ic on mode mæð monna gehwylene
þeednes þrymcyme oð þisne dæg,
leofast monna. Nu ic for lufan þinre

1248 life : MS lifes, Th., Gr., Coll., Ass., KD em. life
bideaglian : Gr. bedeaglian

7 geferscype þæt wit fyrn mid unc
longe læstan nelle ic letan þe
efre unrotne efter ealdorlege
mæðne modgeccne minre geweorðan
eoden earwelmum. Á ic sibbe wiþ þe
healdan wille. Nu of hreþerlocan
to þam soþan gefean sawel fundað.
Wis seo tid latu; tydrað þis banfæt,
greothord gnornað, gæst hine fysed
on ecne geard, utsiþes georn
on sellan gesetu. Nu ic ewiðe eom
weorce gewergad," Óa to þam wage gesag,
heafelan onhylde, hyrde þa gena
ellen on innan; oroð stundum teah
mægne modig. Him of muðe ewom
swecca swetast swylce on sumeres tid
stincað on stowum staþelum fæste
wynnum efter wongum wyrta geblowene
hunigflowende. Swa þæs halgan wæs
ondlongne dæg oþ efen forð
oroð uphleden. Þa se* æþela gleam
setlgong sohte; swearc norðrodor,
won under wolcnum, woruld miste oferteah,

1270 heafelan : Gr. hafelan 1280 woruld : Th. em. worulde; miste : Gr. em. mist

þystrum biþeahte; þrong niht ofer tiht
londes frætwa; ða cwom leohta mæst
halig of heofonum hádre scinan
beorhte ofer burgsalu. Bad se þe sceolde
eadig on elne endedogor
awrecen wælstralum. Wuldres scima
æþele ymb æþelne ondlonge niht
scan scirwered; scadu sweþredon
tolysed under lyfte : wæs se leohta gliom
ymb þæt halge hus heofonlic condel
from æfenlome oþþæt eastan cwom
ofer deop gelad dægredwoma,
wedertacen wearm. Aras se wuldormago,
eadig elnes gemyndig, spræc to his onbehtþegne,
torht to his treowum gesiþe : "Tid is þæt þu fere
7 þa ærendu eal biþence,
ofestum læde, swa ic þe ær bibead
lac to leofre. Nu of lice is
goddreama georn gæst swiðe fus."
Ahof þa his honda husle gerecorded
eaðmod þy æþelan gyfle; swylce he his eagan ontynde,
halge heafdes gimmas, biseah þa to heofona rice

1281 tiht : Th. takes with first word of next verse tiht-londes; Gr. em. tihte and places in next verse, alternatively suggesting liht
1284 beorhte : Th., Gr. beorht 1287 ondlonge : Goll. andlonge
1290 halge : Gr. halige 1294 onbehtþegne : Gr. ombehtþegne

glædmod to geofona leamum 7 þa his gæst onsende
wæroum wlitigne in wuldres dream.

ÐA wæs guðlacee gæst gelæded
eadig on upweg; englas feredun
to þam longan gefean; lic colode,
belifd under lyfte. Öa þær leoht æscan,
beama beorhtast; eal þæt beacen wæs
ymb þæt halge hus heofonlic* leoma
from foldan up swylce fyren tor
ryht aræred ,oð rodera hrof,
gesewen under swegle sunnan beorhtra
æpeltungla wlite. Engla þreatas
sigeleoð sungon, sweg wæs on lyfte,
gehyred under heofonum haligra dream.
Swa se burgstede wæs blissum gefylled,
swetum stencum 7 sweglwundrum,
eadges yrfestol engla hleoðres;
eal innanweard þær wæs anliora
7 wynsumra þonne hit in worulde mæge
stefn æreccan hu se stenc 7 se sweg
heofonlic hleoþor 7 se halga song

1304 dream : at end of line, next line free 1305 ÐA : capitals mark new section 1306 eadig on upweg : Th., Gr. omit eadig, Th. em. on upwege, Gr. em. a on upweg; feredun : MS o changed to u, Th., Gr. feredon 1308 belifd : Th. em. belifen; leoht æscan : Th. leohta scan 'shone of lights' 1310 halge : Gr. halige 1320 anliora : Gr. em. anlicre 1321 wynsumra : Gr. em. wynsumre

gehyred wæs, heahþrym godes
breahtem æfter breahtme. Beofode þæt ealond, 1325
foldwong onsprong†. Ða afyrhted weard
ar elnes biloren; gewat þa ofestlice
beorn unhydig þæt he bat gestag;
waghengest wræc; weterþisa fór
snel under sorgum. Swegl hate scan 1330
blac ofer burgsalo; brimwudu seynde
leoht lade fus; lagumearg gnyrede
gehlæsted to hyde þæt se hærnflota
æfter sundplegan sondlond gespeærn
grond wið greote. Gnornsorge wæg 1335
hate æt heortan hygegeomurne,
seðne modsefan, se þe his mondryhten
life bilidene læst weardian
wiste wine leofne. Him þæs wopes hring
torne gemonede, teagor ydum weol 1340
hate hleordropan, 7 on hreþre wæg
micle modceare : he þære mægð sceolde
lâce gelædan ladspel* to sod. 52 v
Gwom þa freorigferð þær seo femne wæs,
wuldres wynnæg; he þa wyrd ne mâd 1345

1326 onsprong, MS onbrong : Gr. em. onbrom 1328 unhydig : Th., Gr. unhydig 1329 weterbisa : MS weterbiswa, w subpunoted; Th. em. weterbissa, Gr. weterþiswa 1330 sorgum : Gr. em. sargum 1338 bilidene : Th., Gr., Goll., Ass., KD em. bilidenne 1344 þa : Gr. þær; þær : Th. þa which Th., Gr. em. þær

fæges forðsið fusleoð agol
wine þearfende 7 þæt word acwæð :
"Ellen bið selast þam þe oftost sceal
dreogan dryhtenbealu, deope behycgan
þroht þeodengedal, þonne seo þrag cymeð
wefen wyrdstafun. Þæt wat se þe sceal
æwuman earigferð, wat his sinegiefan
holdne biheledne; he sceal hean þonan
geomor hweorfan þam bið gomenes wana
ðe þa earfeða oftost dreogeð
on sargum sefan. Huru ic swiðe ne þearf
hinsiþ behlehhan. Is hlaford min,
beorna bealdor 7 broþor þin,
se selesta bi sæm tweonum
þara þe we on engle æfre gefrunen
sceonnedne þurh cildes had
gumena cynnes to godes dome,
werigra wraþu worulddreamum of,
winemæga wyn in wuldres þrym,
gewiten winiga† hleo wica neosan
eardes on upweg. Nu se eorðan dæl,
banhus abrocen, burgum in innan

1351 wyrdstafun : Th., Gr., Goll. wyrdstafum; Ass., KD em. wyrdstafum
1357 hinsiþ : Th., Gr. hinsið; behlehhan : Gr. bihlehhan
1365 winiga, MS wunga(?) : Th., Gr. em. wonga, Goll., Ass., KD em. winiga
1367 in : Gr. on

wunað wælræste 7 se wuldres dæl
of licfæte in leoht godes
sigorlean sohte 7 þe secgan het
þæt git á mosten in þam ecan gefean
mid þa sibgedryht somud eard niman,
weorca wuldorlean willum neotan,
blædes 7 blissa. Eac þe abeodan het
sigedryhten mín þa he wæs† siþes fus
þæt þu his lichoman leofast mægða
eorðan biðeahte. Nu þu ædre const
siðfæt minne. Ic sceal sarigferð
heanmod hweorfan hyge drusendne
...

1375 **wæs** : MS bæs, Th., Gr. wæs, Goll., Ass., KD em. wæs
end of 52^{v}