

ANDREAS
AND
THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES



KRAPP

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ANDREAS

AND

THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

TWO ANGLO-SAXON NARRATIVE POEMS

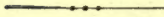
EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

BY

GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP

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TO
JAMES WILSON BRIGHT
SCHOLAR AND GUIDE OF SCHOLARS
THIS VOLUME
IS
GRATEFULLY DEDICATED

PREFACE

Although editions of the text of *Andreas* have been made from time to time, no comprehensive treatment of the poem on its various sides of interest has appeared since Grimm published his *Andreas und Elene* in 1840. In the meantime our knowledge of the language and the literature of the Anglo-Saxon period has not remained stationary, and a new endeavor to present the poem in its proper linguistic and historical setting needs no apology. *The Fates of the Apostles* is here edited for the first time in its entirety and with explanatory comment.

The text of both poems is based upon Wülker's *Codex Vercellensis*, a photographic reproduction of the poetical parts of the Vercelli Book. This volume is referred to in the textual notes as MS. Where the readings of the reproduction are uncertain, which happens but rarely, recourse has been had to the *Bibliothek* and to Napier's collation of the text of the *Bibliothek* with the manuscript. Readings derived from either of the two latter sources are always specifically indicated. In the Text all departures from the manuscript readings which originate with the present editor are printed in italics; readings suggested by earlier editors or commentators which are incorporated into the text are printed in Roman type. Additions of a complete word or of several words are enclosed within square brackets.

With the exception of a few of the commoner forms of the pronoun, the article, and the conjunctions, the Glossary is intended to be a complete verbal and grammatical index to both poems. No space has been given, in the Introduction, to a formal discussion of grammar or metre. What little of special importance there was to say about these subjects has been said in the Notes.

The editor regrets that the results of his chapter on authorship, in the Introduction, could not be more conclusive than they are. In the end, however, the chief gain in such discussions consists in determining the differences and similarities of various works, not in tagging each with an author's name. The present discussion will have attained its end if it carry back the question of the authorship of *Andreas* to a

sounder if less dogmatic position than that to which much recent theorizing has been hurrying it. To some it would seem a simple solution of the matter to combine *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* into a single poem, and to assign this poem to Cynewulf; but reasons why this disposition of the two poems cannot be permitted will be found fully discussed in the Introduction. The importance, however, of *The Fates of the Apostles* in the discussion of the authorship of *Andreas*, as well as the general similarity of the poems in subject matter, rendered it advisable that they should be treated together.

To the various friends who by counsel and encouragement have assisted the editor in the preparation of this volume grateful acknowledgments are made, especially to Professor Hart for surrendering the *Andreas* into less skilful and experienced hands than his own after he had made considerable collections towards an edition of the poem; to Dr. Alma Blount for the use of her thorough and scholarly study of the language and vocabulary of *Andreas*; and to Professor Fred. Tupper, Jr., for his comments on some troublesome passages of the text. Above all, however, the editor is indebted to Professors Bright and Kittredge, the general editors of the series. Whenever it was possible to do so, specific acknowledgment has been made of this indebtedness, but in most instances the editor has been compelled to profit by their generosity in silence.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
October, 1905

G. P. K.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION :	PAGE
I. THE MANUSCRIPT AND EDITIONS	ix
II. SOURCE OF ANDREAS	xxi
III. SOURCE OF THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES	xxix
IV. AUTHORSHIP OF ANDREAS AND THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES	xxxiii
V. POETIC ELABORATION IN ANDREAS	li
VI. THE LEGEND OF ST. ANDREW	lix
BIBLIOGRAPHY	lxxiii
TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS	lxxix
TEXT :	
I. ANDREAS	I
II. THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES	69
NOTES :	
I. NOTES ON ANDREAS	75
II. NOTES ON THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES	160
GLOSSARY	173

INTRODUCTION

I

THE MANUSCRIPT AND EDITIONS

The poems *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* are both contained in the *Vercelli Book* or *Codex Vercellensis*. This famous volume is preserved in the cathedral library at Vercelli, in northern Italy, where it has probably rested for some six or seven centuries. Various attempts have been made to explain the appearance of this book, made up entirely of Anglo-Saxon texts, in so unexpected a place; and, as the most plausible of the theories brought forward derives much of its probability from the presence in the volume of a poem on St. Andrew, the discussion has here a special interest and importance.

The opinion of the Italian scholar Gazzera,¹ that the manuscript was brought to Vercelli by John Scotus Erigena, is untenable, since John Scotus died about the year 875, and the handwriting of the manuscript is indisputably above a century later. Equally unfounded is Earle's theory² that the manuscript was taken to Vercelli by Cyneweard, bishop of Wells. Cyneweard is mentioned in the *Chronicle* under the years 964 and 975. The entry for the latter year states that he "left Britain" (*of Brytene gewāt*). Although this phrase differs slightly from the common euphemistic form of expression for recording a death, it seems probable that this is its meaning, since no further mention of Cyneweard is made in the *Chronicle*.³ Even though the phrase be taken literally, however, it offers no foundation for Earle's hypothesis that Cyneweard was the son of the poet Cynewulf, that he was himself a poet and the author of the poetical account of the battle of Brunanburh given in the *Chronicle* under the year 937, and that in the year 975 he

¹ *Anglia* V, 452. ² *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, p. xxii.

³ Cf. *Chronicle* (Parker MS.) 790, 794, 870 (cf. MS. D), and 961, and Earle and Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles* II, 163. Cf. also Klaeber, *MLN.* XX, 32, who calls attention to the amplifying phrase *burh gecyndne craft*.

left England, carrying with him a volume of his father's poetry which he left behind him in his journeyings at Vercelli.

Much more plausible is Wülker's theory,¹ based upon an oral tradition with which he became acquainted at the time of his visits to Vercelli (in 1881 and 1885), to the effect that there formerly existed at Vercelli a hospital for Anglo-Saxon pilgrims on their way to Rome.² At this hospital, Wülker thinks, a library of religious works may gradually have collected, and among them may have been the volume which we know as the *Vercelli Book*. Many Anglo-Saxons undoubtedly passed through Vercelli on their way to Rome. There is no reason to believe, however, that they established a library at Vercelli, and this explanation of the origin of the *Vercelli Book* is too uncircumstantial to merit more than a passing notice.

The most convincing theory of the history of the manuscript was first set forth in an unsigned contribution to the *Quarterly Review* for 1845.³ The principal purpose of this article is the criticism of an essay by H. G. Knight, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy*. In his discussion of the churches of Italy, Knight had called attention to the markedly English characteristics of the church of St. Andrew at Vercelli.⁴ It is in the endeavor to explain the presence of this English church in Italy that the reviewer brings forward his theory to account for the presence of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript at Vercelli. His words are as follows:—

If the traveller inquires who was the founder of this magnificent structure [the church of Sant' Andrea at Vercelli], he will hear a name which often occurs in the pages of Matthew Paris. It is that of the Legate, Cardinal Wala, or Guala, who appears as an influential statesman in English affairs during the eventful period of the last years of John and the accession of Henry III, when it seemed as if the crown of England might be transferred to a foreign dynasty.

Guala Bicchiere, born of a distinguished family, was raised to the purple by Innocent III, and despatched by him as legate to France in 1208. In

¹ First enounced in *Anglia* V, 454, note; stated again in *Grundriss*, p. 237, in *Cod. Ver.*, p. vi, and *Anglia* XII, 629.

² This tradition probably rests on the fact that a part of Guala's foundation at Vercelli was a hospital richly endowed with money obtained from Henry III of England. This hospital, founded in 1224, is still in existence. See Gesell Fels, *Ober-Italien*⁵, p. 702.

³ LXXV, 398-399.

⁴ See Freeman, *Historical and Architectural Sketches, chiefly Italian*, pp. 295-304, for an interesting account of this church.

1215 the cardinal was again sent to France, when Innocent used his influence to dissuade Philip the Fair from attempting the conquest of England. For this purpose Guala crossed over with Louis, the better to oppose him. In England Guala strenuously supported John with all his influence, cursing the French prince and Stephen Langton with bell, book, and candle.

On the death of King John, Guala took an active part in the great council of Gloucester, and mainly assisted in establishing the claims of Henry III. The gratitude of the new monarch bestowed upon Guala much preferment, and amongst other benefices, the priory of *St. Andrew* at Chester. The object of his mission being successfully accomplished by the cessation of hostilities, Guala returned to his native city, where founding a Collegiate Church, he dedicated the new structure to *St. Andrew*, doubtless with reference to his English benefice. Guala employed as his architect a French ecclesiastic Thomas, who afterwards became the first abbot of the convent;¹ but the style is so truly English that it is impossible to doubt that the working drawings were brought from England. Upon this point the form of the choir is conclusive.

Guala, mixed as he must have been with various classes of society in England, had evidently acquired strong English feelings. He makes many bequests in his will in *sterlings*, of which he possessed so good store. Relics of English saints were bestowed by him upon his foundation; and a most curious and important collection of Anglo-Saxon poetry, now in the Cathedral library in Vercelli — and of which the chief piece, the metrical legend of *St. Andrew*, is about to be published by Mr. Kemble — results without doubt from the collection which Guala had formed.

¹ Fergusson, *History of Architecture* II, 199, says that the architect of the church was an Englishman, named Brigwithe, but I know no other authority for this statement. According to Street, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, London, 1874, pp. 333-334, in the gable of the church "is the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, below a figure kneeling before her, and said to represent the architect of the church, who died in 1246, being Abbat as well as architect." That the first abbot of the church was a Frenchman, named Thomas, we learn from Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* IV, 464. An interesting letter is preserved (Brewer, *Monumenta Franciscana* I, 206) from Adam Marsh (d. circa 1257) to his friend Thomas, abbot of *St. Andrews* at Vercelli, in which the great Oxford scholar urges upon the abbot the evils of non-residence. Thomas appears to have held a benefice in England, though no mention is made of any specific place. In Frova's life of Guala (p. 175), also, we learn that it was to Thomas as abbot that the possessions of the church of *St. Andrew* at Vercelli were consigned at the death of Guala. A late and unfounded tradition is recorded in Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*, in the account of the life of Guala, to the effect that the church of *St. Andrew* at Vercelli was built after the plans of an English church at Winchester.

This account of Guala as given by the reviewer was corrected in one particular by Pauli,¹ who pointed out that the benefice bestowed upon Guala was not the church of St. Andrew at Chester, but that of St. Andrew at Chesterton in Cambridgeshire. The evidence for this is contained in a document,² dated January 22 in the 22d year of Henry III (A.D. 1238), which confirms a grant made during the king's minority "de ecclesia de Cestreton, in diocesi Elyensi" to God and the church of Blessed Andrew of Vercelli at the instance of Cardinal Guala, then papal legate in England.³

Some further circumstantial evidence in support of the theory of the reviewer may be derived from several of the statements in Frova's life of Guala.⁴ We learn from this source that Guala was a scholar, a lover

¹ *History of England*, Hamburg, 1853, p. 512; also *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1866, p. 1412. See Cook, *MLN*, IV, 212.

² Printed in the *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, ed. Williams, Rolls Series, London, 1872, II, 344.

³ The document is preserved in Bekynton in a copy dated October 20, 1420. The advowson of the church afterwards lapsed to Henry VI through the adhesion of the abbot and chapter of St. Andrews Vercellensis to the antipope, Felix V. In 1440 (see Bekynton, I, lxxix-lxxxi; II, 346 ff.) it was assigned to King's Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards it fell to Trinity College, Cambridge (1546), which college succeeded to all the property of King's Hall (Bekynton, I, lxxx). The church remains at present in the possession of Trinity College; its annual income in the first half of the fifteenth century was variously estimated as eighty marks and as forty pounds; it now amounts to between six hundred and seven hundred pounds sterling (Bekynton, I, lxxxi). Britton and Brayley, *The Beauties of England* II, 113, mention Chesterton as a large village one mile north of Cambridge. The church is described as "ancient and spacious." St. Andrew appears to have been held in special respect in Cambridgeshire. Of the twenty-five churches within five miles of Cambridge, eight are consecrated in his name, Barnwell, Cherry Hinton, Chesterton, Grantchester, Histon, Impington, Oakington, and Stapleford. See *Churches of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, Cambridge Camden Society, 1845, p. 68.

⁴ *Gualae Bicherii, Presbyteri Cardinalis S. Martini in montibus, vita et gesta collecta a Philadelfo Libico* [pseud. of Giuseppe Frova], Mediolani, 1767. This volume has not been accessible to me. It was used, however, by the author of the brief biography in Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*, and by Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* IV, 1, iv, in the preparation of his longer account of Guala. Professor Cook, in "Cardinal Guala and the Vercelli Book," *University of California Library Bulletin*, No. 10, has given a very complete summary of those facts in the life of Guala which may have bearing on the history of the *Vercelli Book*. But Professor Cook knew Frova's life of Guala only through the medium of Tiraboschi. I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Herbert, of the British Museum, for kindly

and collector of books: That some of his books were of English origin is evident from the fact that at least two of them were written in an English character.¹ One is described² as follows: "item bibliotheca de littera Anglicana qua D. Cardinalis utebatur in capella."³ The second book is described⁴ as "Omeliarium de Capella D. Cardinalis de bona littera Anglicana." It is interesting to observe that these two manuscripts in English script are distinguished from the rest as being more especially the personal property of Cardinal Guala. At his death in 1227, Guala bequeathed his rich collection of books to the church which he had founded at Vercelli.⁵

One naturally asks, however, what use Cardinal Guala could have for a manuscript written in a language which was hardly intelligible even to an Englishman of the thirteenth century. To this Professor Cook replies⁶ that "Guala, like other strong natures of whom we are told, may have been somewhat superstitious, and have believed that his life was somehow under the influence of St. Andrew. Not only did he leave England on or about St. Andrew's Day [Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* iii, 42], Pandulf arriving on the Monday following, but King John, while under Guala's protection as legate, won a victory over his rebellious barons at Rochester on the vigil of St. Andrew, perhaps assisted by the saint himself, the patron of that city, according to Higden (*Polych.* 7: 50)." Some such superstitious reverence would serve to account for

providing me with transcripts of those passages of Frova's life, particularly of the list of books which Guala bequeathed to his church at Vercelli, which are important for the present discussion.

¹ Only one is mentioned by Tiraboschi, IV, 124-125.

² Frova's life, p. 175.

³ The word *bibliotheca* is used here, as frequently in mediæval Latin (see Ducange, s.v.), with the meaning Bible. That the phrase *de littera Anglicana* means "in English characters," i.e. characters such as the English scribes used, not "in the English language," is evident from other occurrences of the phrase in Frova's list, e.g. *de littera Parisiensi, de littera Boloniensi, de littera antiqua*, etc. For other examples, see Ducange s.v. *littera*.

⁴ Frova's life, p. 175.

⁵ A list of the books which he gave to St. Andrews is printed in Frova's life, pp. 175-178, from an inventory made at the time of Guala's death. The books are chiefly copies of various parts of the Bible, of the writings of Augustine, Gregory, and other fathers, decrees of various councils of the church, and similar works. On p. 176, however, a work of Bede's is listed: "Item Jeronimus contra Jovinianum et Beda super actus Apostolorum in uno volumine."

⁶ l. c., pp. 7-8.

Guala's possession and preservation of an Anglo-Saxon volume containing a poem on St. Andrew.¹

This evidence, circumstantial and indirect as it is, does not of course show conclusively that the *Vercelli Book* was brought to Italy by Cardinal Guala. It has, however, removed a great deal of the feeling of strangeness and unexpectedness at the presence of an Anglo-Saxon manuscript in this remote Italian library. There can, indeed, be little doubt that, either directly or indirectly through his foundations at that place, Cardinal Guala is responsible for the long journey of the manuscript from its home in England to its present resting-place at Vercelli.

Like the *Exeter Book* the *Vercelli Book* is a miscellany. It differs, however, from the *Exeter Book*, which contains only poetry, in that it is made up of works in both prose and verse. The handwriting of the manuscript is that of the beginning of the eleventh century.² According to Wülker³ at least two and possibly three different hands are to be distinguished in the writing of the manuscript. Napier,⁴ however, sees only one handwriting in the volume. So far as one can judge from the photographic reproduction of the poetical parts of the manuscript, the differences in handwriting are very slight and such as might occur in the writing of any scribe as his materials — parchment, ink, and pen — changed from time to time. Furthermore, in its mechanical details the book is made on a single plan, the same system of punctuation and sectional division being maintained throughout. There are indications, also, it is interesting to note, that the form in which the manuscript has come down to us is that in which it left the hands of its first compiler.⁵

¹ There are indications that sympathetic relations existed between Vercelli and England in connection with a monastery school which grew up at St. Andrews. Englishmen are mentioned as being present at this school in 1228 (Tiraboschi, IV, 82-83). According to a credible tradition Adam Marsh himself was at one time a student in this school (Tiraboschi, IV, 464).

² Wülker, *Cod. Ver.*, p. viii; see also Wülker, *Grundriss*, pp. 237-243, and *Anglia*, V, 451-465; Körting, *Grundriss z. Gesch. d. eng. Lit.*, p. 20. Grimm, p. xlv, dates the writing of the manuscript a century too early.

³ *Cod. Ver.*, p. vii; *Grundriss*, p. 239.

⁴ *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 67.

⁵ These indications are the following: Each signature of the volume is numbered by the scribe, in figures at the beginning of the signature and in letters of the alphabet at the end. In the case of several signatures where the numbering is omitted, the numbering of the following signatures indicates that they were counted in. On the first folio, which has been so much worn and injured that

The volume contains altogether 135 folios. From its appearance one might infer that occasional folios had been cut out; but, as Napier has remarked, the presence of a narrow strip of parchment between two folios is not always proof of the excision of a folio.¹ The writing is

very little of it is now decipherable, no number can be distinguished; but at the foot of fol. 9^b is written the letter A, an indication that the first signature of the manuscript, as we have it, was the first signature of the volume as it was planned. According to Wülker (*Anglia* V, 454) only a few letters are legible on the first folio; on fol. 2^a, however, the writing is quite plain, beginning in the middle of a sentence and the middle of a word. The first number, a prose sermon, extends to the bottom of fol. 9^a; as this is somewhat longer than most of the prose works of the manuscript, and as the usual number of folios in a signature is eight or nine, we may suppose that the first folio of the volume as it now stands was its original opening folio. At the top, fol. 10^a is numbered two; fol. 18^b, bottom, is marked B. The third signature, C, comprises fol. 19^a–24^b; the fourth, D, fol. 25^a–32^b; the fifth, E, fol. 33^a–40^b; the sixth, F, fol. 41^a–47^b; the seventh, G, fol. 48^a–55^b; all these signatures are numbered on the first folio and lettered on the last. The eighth signature, which is neither numbered nor lettered, comprises fol. 56^a–63^b. The ninth signature is numbered on fol. 64^a and lettered I on fol. 71^b; the tenth, K, comprises fol. 72^a–79^b. The eleventh signature is numbered on fol. 80^a, but it is not lettered at the end. The twelfth signature is numbered on fol. 86^a and lettered M on fol. 91^b. The thirteenth signature, N, comprises fol. 92^a–98^b; the fourteenth, O, fol. 99^a–104^b; the fifteenth, P, fol. 105^a–111^b. The sixteenth signature, neither numbered nor lettered, comprises fol. 112^a–118^b, as is proved by the numbering of the seventeenth signature on fol. 119^a. The seventeenth signature, which is not lettered at the close, comprises only two folios, fol. 119^a–120^b; this short signature of only two leaves was made because the scribe needed only two leaves to finish a homily which closed one of the prose sections of the volume. On fol. 121^a, which is numbered eighteen, begins the poem *Elene*; this signature is lettered S on fol. 128^b, showing that two letters designating signatures sixteen and seventeen must be counted in in the reckoning. Signature nineteen, numbered on fol. 129^a, extends, according to Wülker (*Grundriss*, p. 238), only to fol. 130^b, without lettering; signature twenty, according to Wülker, consists of fol. 131^a–134^b, with neither numbering nor lettering; fol. 135, with which the manuscript ends, Wülker thinks is tacked on to the end of the last signature. But Napier (*Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 67) has pointed out that Wülker is in error in his account of the manuscript from fol. 129^a to the end. The nineteenth signature, according to Napier, comprises fol. 129^a–135^b; fol. 135 is not tacked on to the end of the signature but is the corresponding half of fol. 130. It is probable that one folio, the corresponding half of fol. 129, has been lost from this signature. This lost folio would make the nineteenth a signature of eight folios, which is the normal number in the manuscript.

¹ The scribe may have used sheets of parchment not large enough to double so as to form two folios, and in order to get a purchase for sewing this single-sheet

plain and legible. In several places, however, notably on fol. 36^b, 37^b, 38^a, 38^b, 39^a, 42^b, and 54^a, it has suffered injury, apparently from the application of some acid. The only passage which is thereby rendered completely illegible is that on fol. 54^a. Since the handwriting of the manuscript is always very clear and distinct, there is no apparent reason why these occasional passages should have been treated with acids.

The prose pieces occupy 92 folios, the sections in verse 43 folios, of the volume. The following is a complete list of the contents of the manuscript: ¹

- (1) Prose sermon on the Passion, the Entombment, and the Descent into Hell, fol. 1^a-9^a.
- (2) Sermon on the Last Judgment, fol. 9^b-12^a.
- (3) Sermon on the Christian virtues, fol. 12^b-16^a.
- (4) Sermon on the Last Judgment, including a dialogue between the soul and the body, fol. 16^b-24^b.
- (5) Sermon on the birth of Christ, fol. 25^a-29^a.
- (6) *Andreas*, fol. 29^b-52^b.
- (7) *The Fates of the Apostles*, fol. 52^b-53^b.
- (8) Runic passage, containing the name Cynwulf, fol. 54^a.²
- (9) Prose sermon on the miracles preceding Christ's birth and the Flight into Egypt, fol. 54^b-56^a.
- (10) Sermon against extravagance and gluttony, fol. 56^b-59^a.
- (11) Sermon on the Last Judgment and the punishments of Hell, fol. 59^a-61^a.
- (12) Sermon on the suddenness of death, fol. 61^a-65^a.
- (13) Sermon on the transitoriness of the world and its joys, fol. 65^a-71^a.
- (14) Three sermons for the three *gangdagas*, or Rogation Days, fol. 71^b-76^b.
- (15) Sermon entitled *Larspel to swylcere tide swa man wile*, fol. 76^b-80^b.
- (16) Sermon on the Judgment Day, fol. 80^b-85^b.

folio in, he may have bent over the inner edge of the folio, which would then show up between two folios as a narrow strip. This Napier takes to be the case after fol. 29, 35, 38, 50, and 53; on the other hand, after fol. 42 and 103 Napier thinks a folio has been cut out of the volume. Morley, *English Writers* II, 195, amusingly blunders into ascribing the composition of the *Vercelli Book* to Eusebius, and says that leaves were torn out of it, "often from among the poetry, as precious gifts for favored persons." But Blume, *Iter Italicum* I, 99-100, from whom Morley evidently derived his information, makes this statement not with reference to our codex, but with reference to a famous manuscript of the Gospels preserved at Vercelli. Robinson, *Introduction to our Early English Literature*, pp. 211-212, repeats Morley's mistake.

¹ As given by Wülker, *Anglia* V, 451-465, and *Grundriss*, pp. 485-492.

² Unnoticed by Wülker, first pointed out by Napier, *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 70.

- (17) Sermon on the Epiphany, fol. 85^b-90^b.
- (18) Sermon on the Purification, fol. 90^b-94^b.
- (19) Sermon on St. Martin, fol. 94^b-101^a.
- (20) Poetical dialogue between the soul and the body, fol. 101^b-103^b.
- (21) Fragment of a sermon in verse on Psalm XXVIII, fol. 104^a-104^b.
- (22) *Vision of the Cross*, fol. 104^b-106^a.
- (23) Prose homily, fol. 106^b-109^b.¹
- (24) Sermon on the deadly sins, fol. 109^b-112^a.
- (25) Prose homily, fol. 112^a-116^b.¹
- (26) Sermon on the Christian virtues, fol. 116^b-120^b.
- (27) *Elene*, fol. 121^a-133^b.
- (28) Prose life of St. Guthlac, fol. 133^b-135^b.

The existence of the *Vercelli Book* was first pointed out by Dr. Friedrich Blume, a German law-professor and bibliographer. In 1822 and 1823 Dr. Blume made a tour of investigation through the chief Italian libraries, the first purpose of which was the acquisition of material for the study of the sources of Roman law. In the course of his investigations, however, he was drawn into a consideration of manuscripts of literary as well as those of legal interest. It was during his examination of the manuscripts of the cathedral library at Vercelli, from October 27 to November 19, 1822, that he discovered the *Codex Vercellensis*. On his return to Germany he published an account of his researches in Italy, in a work in four volumes entitled *Iter Italicum*.²

The account of our codex given in the first volume is very brief; it is evident that Dr. Blume was not aware of the importance of the manuscript he had discovered.³ The discovery appears to have aroused little interest. Aside from several brief notices of the existence of the volume,⁴ practically no attention was paid to it until a dozen years after

¹ No title or description of the content of numbers 23 and 25 is given by Wülker.

² Vol. I, Berlin and Stettin, 1824; Vol. II, Halle, 1827; Vol. III, Halle, 1830; Vol. IV, Halle, 1836.

³ He gives the library number of the volume as Cod. CXVII, and says merely that it contains "Legenden oder Homilien in angelsächsischer Sprache. Dies ist um so merkwürdiger, da keine Kapitular-bibliothek in Italien andere als lateinische oder italienische Handschriften enthält; selbst griechische finden sich nur in Verona und vielleicht in Ravenna."

⁴ By Pertz, who follows Blume, in *Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichte* V, 535 ff., Hannover, 1824; by Blume again, in *Rheinisches Museum für Jurisprudenz*, Jahrg. 1832, Göttingen, 1833, IV, p. 234 ff., and in *Bibliotheca Librorum*

its discovery. In the fourth volume of his *Iter Italicum*, p. 133, Dr. Blume returns to the subject: "Das angelsächsische Homiliarium ist vor kurzem auf Veranstaltung englischer Geschichtsforscher, von (dem nun schon verstorbenen) Dr. Maier vollständig abgeschrieben worden; es haben sich wichtige angelsächsische Lieder darin gefunden (Jac. Grimm)." From this passage it will be seen that, contrary to the generally accepted opinion,¹ the first transcript of the *Vercelli Book* was not made by its discoverer, who indeed seems to have been ill prepared for such a task, but by one who has received slight credit for a very meritorious piece of work.

It was this copy of the manuscript by Dr. Maier that furnished the basis for the first printed edition of the text of any part of the manuscript. This edition, usually referred to as *Appendix B*, was published under the direction of the Record Commission of Great Britain, in the year 1836, as an appendix (*Appendix B*) to a *Report* by Charles Purton Cooper, secretary of the Record Commission, on the *Foedera* of Rymer. The edition, which contains only a bare text of the poetical parts of the manuscript, with neither introduction, translation, glossary, notes (except a few textual emendations), nor account of the attendant circumstances of its publication, was printed, according to Kemble (p. v), under the direction of Thorpe.² The *Report*, of which the *Appendices* were to form a part, was never made, and on the expiration of the Record Commission in 1837 the *Appendices* were placed in store, where they remained until the year 1869. In that year the Master of the Rolls directed the *Appendices*, although imperfect, to be distributed in such a manner as might render them most useful for literary and historical purposes.³

A few copies of *Appendix B* appear to have got abroad, however, at the time of its first publication in 1836. Grimm, who apparently had

Manuscriptorum Italica, Göttingen, 1834, p. 6; at the latter place Blume gives a transcription of a few lines from the opening of the homily on the purification of the Virgin (fol. 90^b), from which one may judge that his comprehension of Anglo-Saxon must have been very scanty. For this passage, and the above references, see Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 240.

¹ Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 420; Kemble, p. v; for fuller references see my note, *MLN*. XVII, 171-172.

² Three plates are given reproducing fol. 75^b, fol. 43^a (ll. 1025-1060), and the large capital on fol. 49^a (l. 1478).

³ See the note prefixed to the volume by the Master of the Rolls.

seen Dr. Maier's manuscript copy of the text, was greatly disappointed at the inaccessibility of this first printed edition. It was not until 1839 that, through the kindness of Lappenberg, the historian, he had at his disposal a copy of the *Appendix*. In 1840 appeared his edition of *Andreas* and *Elene*, which he characterizes as, after *Beowulf*, "the oldest and most instructive examples of Anglo-Saxon poetry."¹ Grimm's edition may fairly be called the first edition of any portion of the manuscript. His texts are preceded by an introduction in which there is a discussion of the sources, the date, and the authorship of the two poems printed, and he gives numerous elaborate and scholarly notes.

Grimm's edition was followed by Kemble's, Part I, containing *Andreas*, appearing in 1843, and Part II, containing *Elene* and the minor poems, including *The Fates of the Apostles*, appearing in 1846.² In 1858 appeared the second volume of Grein's *Bibliothek*, which contains *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas*. In the preparation of his edition Grein made use of Thorpe (quoting his text as manuscript), Grimm, and Kemble; neither the original manuscript nor the transcript by Dr. Maier was consulted by him. First-hand reference to the manuscript was apparently not made again for many years, and then only to *Elene*.³ But in 1881, and again in 1884, Professor Wülker visited Vercelli and made a new and careful study of the manuscript. The results of his observations appeared, first, in a description of the prose pieces of the manuscript,⁴ and, second, in an entirely new text of the poetical portions of the volume.⁵ In the meantime, however, Baskervill's separate edition

¹ P. iv.

² A brief introduction precedes the text, but nothing is added to Grimm's discussion of the poems. Kemble's text is also derived entirely from Grimm, without reference even to the text of *Appendix B*, though in the Preface, p. vii, he speaks of making use of the labors of his "two learned friends and predecessors." This is proved by such readings as l. 67, where Th. reads as the MS. *dæde*, Gm. without remark and K. *dæda*; l. 261, Th. as MS. *se ðe bæs*, Gm. without remark and K. *se bæs*; l. 337, Th. as MS. *ðurfan*, Gm. *durfon*, the MS. reading in the note given as *durfan*; K. without remark *durfon*. K's departures from Gm. are all either individual emendations or corrections of obvious misprints, e.g., l. 112, Gm. *alysed*, K. *alysed*; l. 219, Th. and Gm. *wyrðeð*, K. *wyrðeð*.

³ *Cynewulf's Elene*, herausgegeben von Julius Zupitza, Berlin, 1877 (fourth edition, 1899).

⁴ *Anglia* V, 451 ff.

⁵ Grein-Wülker, *Bibl. d. angels. Poesie* III, 1 ff., 1888.

of *Andreas* had appeared in 1885.¹ In 1889 Napier² printed a collation of the poetical parts of the manuscript, pointing out at the same time the important passage on fol. 54^a containing the name Cynwulf, which had theretofore remained unnoticed. Finally, in 1894, Wülker³ made the original of the poetical parts of the manuscript accessible to all by means of an excellent photographic reproduction of those sections.⁴ Besides the complete editions of the poem, extracts from *Andreas* have also appeared in various reading-books.⁵

The Fates of the Apostles was first printed in *Appendix B*.⁶ It was omitted by Grimm in his edition of *Andreas* and *Elene*, but was included by Kemble in his edition of the poetry of the *Vercelli Book*.⁷ The text appears again in Grein's edition,⁸ and in Wülker's revision of Grein.⁹ The passage on fol. 54^a (*Ap.* 96-122) appears in none of these editions.¹⁰

¹ Baskervill announced his text, on the title-page, as based on the manuscript. But in his introduction, pp. v-vi, we are told that the new manuscript readings are "a collation of the manuscript with the printed text," made by Wülker, apparently in 1881, on the basis of Grein's text. Besides these collations, which were entrusted to the editor for use in the preparation of his edition, Baskervill used Grimm, Kemble, and Grein, but not Thorpe.

² *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 66-73.

³ *Cod. Ver.*, Leipzig, 1894.

⁴ Although the poetical parts of the *Vercelli Book* have all been printed a number of times, the prose pieces, which constitute much the larger half of the volume, still await the hand of the editor. An edition of these homilies by Professor Napier is among the announcements of the Early English Text Society.

⁵ Ettmüller, *Engla and Seaxna Scopas*, pp. 148-156, gives a passage corresponding to Grimm, ll. 1068-1606. Theodor Müller's *Lesebuch*, a work which was never published and which has been accessible to me only in the readings from it recorded by Wülker, contains an extract from *Andreas* on pp. 159-167. Ebeling, *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, pp. 124-126, gives an extract corresponding to Grimm, ll. 1156-1258. Ebeling's text is an exact copy of Grimm's, the misprint (l. 1174) *ist* for *is* being repeated without remark; his notes also are merely abbreviated extracts from Grimm. Cook's extracts in *A First Book in Old English*, pp. 211-231, correspond to Wülker, ll. 235-536; ll. 818-825; and ll. 831-874^a.

⁶ It follows *Andreas* immediately, but has this separate heading: *The Fates of the Twelve Apostles, A Fragment, e cod. vercell.*

⁷ Kemble uses the same title as *Appendix B*. He separates the poem from *Andreas*, placing it among a group of the minor poems of the *Vercelli Book*.

⁸ With the title *Fata Apostolorum*. It immediately precedes *Andreas*.

⁹ With the title *Die Schicksale der Apostel*. It is placed immediately after *Andreas*.

¹⁰ It is given by Wülker, however, *Bibl.* II, 566, in his Nachträge. It was first printed by Napier, *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 70 ff. A literal transcript of the passage is given by Wülker, *Cod. Ver.*, p. viii.

II

SOURCE OF ANDREAS

It has long been recognized that the ultimate source of *Andreas* is the Greek Πράξεις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Μαθθεία εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων.¹ None of the extant manuscripts of the Πράξεις, however, can stand as the immediate source of the poem.² It is necessary to assume, therefore, an intermediate version or versions, differing from all the Greek manuscripts. That this hypothetical intermediate form of the legend was a Latin translation of the Πράξεις — a theory inherently probable in itself — is capable of almost certain proof, although no complete Latin translation has been discovered.³

The chief argument for the former existence of a complete Latin translation of the Πράξεις is the fact that we have preserved to us fragments of a Latin translation. The first of these fragments is a passage of three or four lines inserted in the body of the text of one of the manuscripts of an Anglo-Saxon prose version of the legend of St. Andrew.⁴ This passage, with the corresponding passage from the Πράξεις, is as follows :

¹ First edited by Thilo, *Acta SS. Apostolorum Andreae et Matthiae*, Halle, 1846; again by Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1851, pp. 132-166; and again by Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha post Const. Tischendorf ed. Lipsius et Bonnet*, Vol. I, Part 2, ed. Max. Bonnet, pp. 65-116, Leipzig, 1898. Tischendorf's text has been translated into English by Alex. Walker, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, ed. Roberts and Donaldson, Vol. XVI, pp. 348-368.

² As shown by Lipsius, I, 547; Bourauel, pp. 107-117.

³ That the poem was derived from a Latin source is the opinion of Lipsius, I, 547; of Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte* III, 63; of Glöde, *Anglia* IX, 274; of Zupitza, *Haupt's Zs.* XXX, 175 ff.; and of many others. Ten Brink, *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, p. 58, thinks the source of the poem was a Greek text of the Πράξεις, which, he says, must have been inaccessible to Cynewulf, the author of the poem, save through the help of learned monks. Bourauel, pp. 116-117, thinks it possible that the poet may have used both Greek and Latin versions of the Πράξεις.

⁴ Preserved in two MSS., MS. 198 Corp. Christ. Col., Camb., and the MS. of the Blickling Homilies, preserved at Blickling Hall in Norfolk. The legend was first edited by Goodwin, *The Anglo-Saxon Legends of St. Andrew and St. Veronica*, Cambridge, 1851; it was again edited by Morris, E. E. T. S. IV, 229-249. A third edition, based upon new readings of the MSS., appeared in Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, New York, 1894 (3d ed.), pp. 113-128. According to A. K. Hardy, *Die Sprache der Blickling Homilien*, p. 125, the collection to which the prose legend belongs was of northern origin.

Blickling Homilies, ed. Morris,
p. 231.

Tunc sanctus Andreas surgens
mane abiit ad mare cum discipulis
suis et uidit nauiculam in litore et
intra naue sedentes tres uiros.¹

Πράξεις, p. 69, ll. 14-17.

Ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἀνδρέας τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐπο-
ρεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἅμα τοῖς
μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν
αἰγιαλὸν εἶδεν πλοιάριον μικρὸν καὶ ἐπὶ
τὸ πλοιάριον τρεῖς ἄνδρας καθεζομέ-
νους.

The corresponding passage in the Anglo-Saxon prose reads as follows :

Sē hāliga Andrēas bā ārās on mergen, and hē ēode tō bære sǣ mid his
discipulum, and hē geseah scip on bām waroðe and brȳ weras on bām
sittende.²

The equivalent passage in *Andreas* is ll. 235-247.

These passages, it will be observed, repeat each other almost word
for word. The only variation of importance is that *naviculam*, which
translates the Greek πλοιάριον μικρὸν, appears in the Anglo-Saxon prose
simply as *scip*, in *Andreas*, however, as *wīdfwōðme scip*, l. 240. But
that *naviculam* was the word which lay before the homilist we may
be sure from his phrase *medmiclum scipe* (p. 116, l. 5), in the passage
which immediately follows the lines quoted. The phrase of *Andreas* is
to be regarded as nothing more than a poetic heightening of the lan-
guage of its source. Aside, therefore, from the inference that the homi-
list is here quoting from his original, nothing can be determined from
the comparison of these short passages.

The second Latin fragment is larger and more important. It was
discovered by Bonnet at Rome in a palimpsest of the eleventh century,³
the original writing of which had not been entirely destroyed. The
whole of it is printed by Bonnet in his edition of the Πράξεις,⁴ and as
the passage is little short of decisive of the question of the Latin
source of *Andreas* and the Anglo-Saxon prose, it is given here, in a

¹ Goodwin, p. vii, note, thinks that this passage of Latin crept into the Anglo-
Saxon text through inadvertence; Zupitza, *Haupt's Zs.* XXX, 181, and Förster,
Ueber die Quellen von Aelfrics Hom. Cath., p. 46, look upon this, as on all similar
passages, as an intentional learned insertion made by the translator from the lan-
guage of the original which he was translating. Zupitza's explanation is the more
probable one.

² Bright, *Reader*, p. 116, ll. 1-3.

³ Cod. Vallicell., plut. I, tom. III, fol. 44^a-44^b.

⁴ II, 1, pp. 85-88. A part of the passage was printed by Förster, *Herrig's Archiv*
XCI, 202, for the purpose of comparison with the Anglo-Saxon prose.

post uos

unumquemque

et audiimus dominum Iesum di-
 35 centes ad angelos: Audide apos-
 tolos meos in omnibus que p
 a uobis. Haec sunt que (p. 87,
 l. 14) uidimus pater Andreas. et
 40 cum nos resuscitasti, tunc reddite
 sunt animae nostrae in corpore
 nostro.

(Cap. 18). Et cum haec audiset
 sanctus Andreandreas, letus
 factus est, qui digni fuerant disci-
 45 pulari eius haec mirabilia uidere.
 Tunc respiciens sanctus Andreas
 in caelum et dixit: Domine meus
 Iesu Christe, ego enim scio quia
 non est longe a seruis tuis. unde
 50 obsecro te indulgeas michi in unc-
 locum. Haec dicentem sanctum
 Andream uenit ad eum dominus
 Iesus Christus in effigia pulceri-
 rimi pueri et dixit ei: Gaudeas
 55 cum tuis discipulis. Et cum ui-
 (p. 88, l. 11)disset sanctum And-
 ream, procidens in terra adora-
 uit eum dicens: Indulge michi
 domine Iesu Christe quia ut
 60 hominem te extirmaui in mari et
 ita tibi locutus sum. quid enim
 peccauit domine ut non te michi
 manifestasti in mare? Et domi-
 nus Iesus ait illi: Andreas, nichil

καὶ Δαυὶδ ἄδων ψῶδην ἐν τῇ κιθάρα
 αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἔθεασάμεθα ἐκεῖ ὑμᾶς

35 τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους παρεστη-
 κότας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐξῶθεν ὑμῶν
 ἀγγέλους δώδεκα κυκλοῦντας ὑμᾶς,
 καὶ ἕκαστος ἄγγελος ὅπισθεν ἐκά-
 40 στοῦ ὑμῶν ἐστηκώς, καὶ ἦσαν ὅμοιοι
 ὑμῶν τῇ ἰδέᾳ. καὶ ἠκούσαμεν τοῦ
 κυρίου λέγοντος τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ὅτι
 Ἄκούετε τῶν ἀποστόλων κατὰ
 πάντα ὅσα ἂν ἐρωτῶσιν (p. 87)
 45 ὑμᾶς. Ταῦτά εἰσιν ἃ εἶδαμεν πάτερ
 Ἀνδρέα ἕως οὗ διύπνισας ἡμᾶς·
 καὶ ἤνεγκαν τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ
 σώματι ἡμῶν.

(Cap. 18). Τότε Ἀνδρέας ἀκού-
 50 σας ἐχάρη χαρὰν μεγάλην ὅτι κατη-
 ξιώθησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ
 θυνμάσια ταῦτα θεάσασθαι. καὶ
 ἀναβλέψας Ἀνδρέας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν
 εἶπεν· Ἐμφάνηθί μοι κύριε Ἰησοῦ
 55 Χριστέ· ἐγὼ γὰρ γινώσκω ὅτι οὐκ
 εἰ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῶν σῶν δούλων.
 συγχώρησόν μοι κύριε ὃ ἐποίησα·
 ὡς γὰρ ἄνθρωπὸν σε τεθέαμαι ἐν
 τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ σοι ὠμί-
 60 λησα. νῦν οὖν κύριε φανέρωσόν
 μοι σεαντὸν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ.
 Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀνδρέου
 παρεγένετο ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτόν,
 γενόμενος ὅμοιος μικρῷ παιδίῳ
 65 ὠραιοτάτῳ εὐεϊδέ. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς
 ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· Χαίρει Ἀνδρέα
 ἡμέτερε. Ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρέας θεασάμενος
 αὐτὸν πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν προσεκύ-
 νησεν αὐτὸν (p. 88) λέγων· Συγ-
 70 χώρησόν μοι κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ·
 ὡς γὰρ ἄνθρωπὸν σε εἶδον ἐν τῇ

36. petent?—43. Read Andreas.—44. Read quia.—47. Omit et?—49. Read
 es.—56. Read sanctus Andreas.—62. Read peccauit.

65 michi peccasti, set ideo hoc tibi
fecit quia dissisti: Non possum
proficere in triduo in anc ciuitate.
Propterea hoc tibi hostendi qui
potens sum et omnia possum
70 facere et unicuique aperire sicut
michi placet. et nunc surge, in-
gredere in ciuitatem ad Matheum
fratrem tuum et erue eum de car-
cere et omnes qui cum eo sunt
75 peregrini. ecce enim dico tibi
quia multa tormenta tibi habent
inferre isti nequissimi ut carnes
tuas in plateas ciuitatis et uicos
expurgant. ita sanguis tuis fluent
80 in terra sicut aqua, ita ut

θαλάσση καὶ ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ ὁμίλησά
σοι. τί οὖν ἐστὶν ὃ τι ἡμέρτηκα
κύριέ μου Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐφανερω-
75 σάς μοι σεαυτὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάσση;
Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν τῷ
Ἀνδρέᾳ· Οὐχ ἡμαρτες, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά
σοι ἐποίησα ὅτι εἶπας· Οὐδυνήσο-
μαι πορευθῆναι εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν
80 ἀνθρωποφάγων ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις.
καὶ ὑπέδειξά σοι ὅτι πάντα δυνατός
εἰμι καὶ ἐκάστῳ φανῆναι καθὼς
βούλομαι. νῦν οὖν ἀνάστα, εἰσελθε
πρὸς Ματθεῖαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ
85 ἐξάγαγε αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς
καὶ πάντας τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντας
ξένους. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὑπο-(ρ. 89)δείκνυμί
σοι Ἀνδρέα πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν σε
ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῶν· ἐνδείξονται σοι
90 ὕβρεις πολλὰς καὶ δεινὰς καὶ ἐπά-
ξουσίν σοι βασάνους καὶ σκορπί-
σουσίν σου τὰς σάρκας ἐν ταῖς πλα-
τείαις καὶ ῥύμαις τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν,
καὶ τὸ αἷμά σου ρέουσι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν
95 ὥσπερ ὕδωρ· εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸν θάνα-
τον οὐ δύνανταί σοι παρασχεῖν·

66. *Read feci.* — 68. *Read quia.* — 70. *apparere?* — 77. *et?* — 79. *Read expargunt (i.e. expurgant for experspent)?* *Read tuus fluet.*

For the sake of convenience in comparison, the Anglo-Saxon prose may also be cited here :

pā sē mergen geworden wæs, þā sē hāliga Andrēas licgende wæs
beforan Marmadonia ceastre, and his discipulōs þær slæpende wæron
mid him; and hē hīc āweahte, and cwæð, ‘Ārīsað gē, mīne bearn, and
ongitað Godes mildheortnesse sīo is nū mid ūs geworden. Wē witon
5 þæt ūre Drihten mid ūs wæs on þām scipe, and wē hine ne ongēaton;
hē hine geēaðmēdde swā stēorrēbra, and hē hine ætēowde swā man ūs
tō costienne.’ Sē hāga Andrēas þā lōcode tō heofonum, and hē cwæð,
‘Mīn Drihten Hāelend Crīst, ic wāt þæt þū ne eart feor fram þīnum
þēowum, and ic þē behēold on þām scype, and ic wæs tō þē sprecende
10 swā tō men. Nū þonne, Drihten, ic þē bidde þæt þū mē þē onȳwe on
bisse stōwe.’ þā þis gecweden wæs, þā Drihten him ætȳwde his onsȳne

on (p. 119) fægeres cildes hīwe, and him tō cwæð, ‘Andrēas, gefeoh mid þinum discipulum.’ Sē hāлга Andrēas þā hine gebæd and cwæð, ‘Forgif mē, mīn Drihten, þæt ic tō þē sprecende wæs swā tō men; and
 15 wēn is þæt ic gefirnode, for þon þe ic þē ne ongeat.’ Drihten him þā tō cwæð, ‘Andrēas, nānig wuht þū gefirnodest, ac for þon ic swā dyde, for þon þū swā cwāde þæt þū hit ne meahtes on ðrīm dagum þider gefēran; for þon ic þē swā ætēowde, for þon ic eom mihtig mid worde swā eall tō dōnne, and ānra gehwilcum tō ætēowenne swā hwæt swā mē līcað. Nū
 20 þonne arīs, and gā on þā ceastre tō Mathēum þinum brēþer, and læt þonne hine of þære ceastre, and ealle þā þe mid him syndon. Eno ic þē gecyþe, Andrēas, for þon þe manega tintrega hīe þē on bringað, and þinne licha-man geond þisse ceastre lonan hīe tostencaþ swā þæt þīn blōd flōwð ofer eorðan swā swā wæter. Tō deāþe hīe þē willaþ gelædan, ac hī ne magon.¹

An examination of these four passages shows, first of all, that the Latin is almost word for word a translation of the Greek. The inference is therefore unavoidable that we have here a fragment of a version which, in its complete form, must have been a close and entire translation of the *Πράξεις*. There are, however, some instructive differences between the Latin and the Greek. In the first place, some form of the name Mermedonia stood at least twice in the Latin translation, though it appears neither in the corresponding passage of the Greek nor elsewhere in that version. The name of Andrew’s companion in the Latin is Matthew (cf. l. 72), not Matthias.²

The phrase *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν*, l. 4, is omitted in the Latin. In l. 66 the words *Ἀνδρέα ἡμέτερε* are wanting in the Latin; in their stead, however, the Latin has, l. 55, *cum tuis discipulis*, which is found in none of the Greek MSS. In l. 73 the Latin fragment adds *fratrem tuum*, in l. 77 *isti nequissimi*, neither phrase being found in any of the Greek MSS.

Comparing the Latin now with the Anglo-Saxon prose, it will be observed that the Anglo-Saxon has omitted a connected passage of the Latin, ll. 16–45, in which the vision of the disciples of Andrew is related. This, however, as further comparison of the prose with the Greek version and *Andreas* shows, is quite in keeping with the usual method of the Anglo-Saxon prose in omitting the episodes of the action. In matters of detail it will be noted that Marmadonia is mentioned twice (the first

¹ Bright, *Reader*, p. 118, l. 14 — p. 119, l. 17.

² Of the nine MSS. of the *Πράξεις*, six read regularly Matthias, two regularly Matthew, and one varies between the two forms of the name. Cf. Bonnet, p. xxi and p. 65, and Lipsius, II, part 2, p. 136.

time on p. 118, l. 10, just preceding the opening lines of the passage quoted; the second time, in the passage quoted, l. 2) as it is in the Latin fragment, and, significantly, in the same context as the Latin. The name of the apostle is of course Matthew in the Anglo-Saxon version. The phrase ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν is omitted in the Anglo-Saxon as it is in the Latin. Again, in l. 66, Ἀνδρέα ἡμέτερε has no equivalent in the Latin or the Anglo-Saxon prose. In l. 13 the prose adds with the Latin the phrase *mid bīnum discipulum*, which is wanting in the Greek. In l. 20 of the prose, *bīnum brēðer* corresponds to the Latin, l. 73, *fratrem tuum*. Though the passages available for comparison are very brief, yet the evidence shows beyond a doubt that the Anglo-Saxon prose and the Latin are to be held together apart from the Greek; and we may reasonably suppose that if the whole of the Latin text had been preserved, it would consistently account for the variations of the Anglo-Saxon prose from the Πράξεις.

As is to be expected from the free nature of verse, the agreements between the Latin fragment and *Andreas* are less striking than those between the Latin and the prose. The most important parallels between the Latin and the prose, however, are also found in the verse. Thus, l. 844, Marmadonia is mentioned in the same context as in the Latin and the prose; it is, however, mentioned only once instead of twice as in the other two versions. The name of the apostle is again, throughout, Matthew. In l. 914, *mid bās willgedryht* corresponds to the Latin l. 55, and Anglo-Saxon prose l. 13. In l. 940, *bær bīn brēðor is* corresponds to Latin l. 73, Anglo-Saxon prose l. 20.¹ That the Anglo-Saxon prose could not have been the source of the poem is evident

¹ On the other hand, *Andreas* differs from the prose and the Latin in the following details: in l. 927 the name Achaia occurs, not found in the Greek version at all, or the Latin fragment so far as it has been preserved, or in the corresponding passage of the Anglo-Saxon prose. It is not necessary to suppose, however, that the name must have stood in the source of the poem at this place; we may allow the poet sufficient intelligence to have remembered it from its earlier occurrence in l. 169, in which context it also appears in the Anglo-Saxon prose. In l. 847, *Geseh hē bā on grēote* is a fairly close equivalent of ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, l. 4 of the Greek, a phrase omitted in the Latin and the prose. Certain phrases contained in the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon prose are omitted in *Andreas*: e.g. the phrase *ad tentandum nos*, l. 12 = Greek l. 13 = Anglo-Saxon prose ll. 6-7; *non cognovimus eum*, l. 9 = Greek ll. 9-10 = Anglo-Saxon prose l. 5; the sentence *Domine . . . mari*, ll. 17-20 = Greek ll. 19-22, a part of the connected passage omitted by the prose, is wanting in *Andreas*, although the rest of the passage is found there.

from the fact that there are numerous episodes of *Andreas* which are found in the Πράξεις but are omitted in the Anglo-Saxon prose. It is probable that the original of *Andreas* presented readings differing somewhat from those of the original of the prose version of the legend. The prose version is important, however, as presenting, in approximately complete form, those readings which hold *Andreas* and the prose together with the hypothetical Latin version, otherwise only fragmentarily preserved. For further detailed comparison of *Andreas* and the Πράξεις, see Bourauel, pp. 74-85.

This argument for a Latin original of *Andreas* may be strengthened by evidence of a somewhat less direct character. To the group consisting of *Andreas*, the Anglo-Saxon prose, and the Latin fragments representing a lost Latin original, designated by Zupitza¹ the Western group, as distinguished from the Greek or Eastern group, belong also two later redactions of the legend. The first of these, contained in the pseudo-Abdias,² is very much compressed, the greater part of the story of the *anthropophagi* being omitted. Its affinity to the other versions of the Western group, however, is attested by the fact that Achaia is mentioned as Andrew's province, and Myrmidon (*Myrmidoni urbi, Myrmidonem civitatem, apud Myrmidonem*) is the city in which Matthew was made prisoner. The name of the apostle is always Matthew, and the phrase *tuum fratrem*, l. 73 of the Latin fragment, found also in the two Anglo-Saxon versions but wanting in the Greek, occurs likewise in the Abdias: *ut in Myrmidonem civitatem maturaret et fratrem Mathaeum de squalore carceris erueret monuit.*³

The second of the later adaptations belonging to the Western group is a complete but very free Latin manuscript version of the Greek, which represents a different form of the legend from the Latin fragments printed above.⁴ This complete Latin version is so free that according to Förster it cannot be the source of the Anglo-Saxon prose form of the legend; and, according to Bonnet, for the same reason it affords little help in the construction of the Greek text. It agrees, however, with the Anglo-Saxon prose (and consequently with the other members

¹ *Haupt's Zs.* XXX, 175-185.

² Fabricius, *Lib. III*, pp. 457-460.

³ Fabricius, *III*, 458.

⁴ *Cod. Vaticanus lat.* 1274, fol. 119^b-160^a. See Förster, *Herrig's Archiv* XCI, 202 ff., and Bonnet, *II*, 1, p. xxi. It has not been printed, but the contents are briefly described by Förster.

of the Western group) in giving the name of the apostle as Matthew, the country in which Andrew was teaching as Achaia, and the name of the city of the *anthropophagi* as Mirmidonia (*provincia* or *urbs*). A fuller report of the contents of this version would probably show further agreement with the other representatives of the Western group.

Thus there exist these various forms of the legend, held together by features, common to all, which are not found in any of the numerous manuscripts of the Greek version of the legend. As these versions all originated in Western Europe, it is an extremely probable inference that there once existed a complete Latin translation of the Greek from which the versions of the Western group were derived.¹

III

SOURCE OF THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

No immediate source for *The Fates of the Apostles* has been discovered. In the short personal introduction with which the poem opens the author speaks of gathering his materials from afar,² and in the progress of the narrative he refers several times to sources.³ These allusions we may look upon as hardly more than conventional poetic formulæ. For an examination of the type of narrative to which this short poem belongs, and a comparison of it with some of the representative examples of the type, lead to the inference that the author has exaggerated his difficulty in arriving at the information contained in his poem. Probably but a single version of what was in his day a well-known form of composition lay before him as he wrote.

¹ On the other hand, the list of the Greek or Eastern group is increased by a Syriac version (Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1871, Vol. I, the Syriac text, Vol. II, pp. 93-115, an English translation), an Ethiopic version (Malan, *Certamen Apostolorum*, London, 1871, pp. 147-163; cf. Lipsius, I, 546 f.), and a Coptic version (von Lemm, *Koptische apokryphe Apostelacten*, I, pp. 148-166, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, Tom. X, Liv. 1, St. Petersburg, 1890), all of which are fairly close adaptations of the *Ἠράξεις*. To these should probably be added an Old-Slavonic version cited by Harnack, I, 905, from Novaković in *Starine* VIII, 55-69; this version has not been accessible to me, and the description of it by Harnack is too brief to enable one to determine its relation to the other versions.

² Ll. 1-2.

³ Ll. 23, 63, 70.

As early as the fifth century complete lists of the Twelve Apostles were current, held together by brief accounts of their missions, their sufferings, and the places of their death. It was evidently some such list as this that the poet of *The Fates of the Apostles* followed in the composition of his poem.¹ That it was a list written in Latin is evident² from the case forms of the proper names in the poem, e.g. *Georopolim, Albano, Nerones*. But it has also been shown³ that none of the extant versions of the Latin lists is the single source of the poem. All the details of it, however, as may be seen from the following extracts, may be derived, with but one exception, from the martyrology of Bede⁴ and from the *Breviarium Apostolorum*.⁵ Both Bede and the *Breviarium* give numerous details (omitted in the analysis) which are not found in *The Fates of the Apostles*; but the poem, with the one exception to be noticed later and a few passages of a personal character, contains nothing that is not also in these two Latin lists. In the martyrology of Bede the order of the names is chronological, the notices of the various apostles being thus distributed over the whole calendar; the order in the *Breviarium*, as compared with *The Fates of the Apostles*, is indicated by the numbers prefixed to the names.

Bede's *Martyrologium*.

III Kalend. Jul. Romae natale . . .
Petri et Pauli . . . sub Nerone.

Prid. Kalend. Decemb. In civitate Patras provinciae Achaiae, natale . . . Andreae . . . Egea proconsule emittens spiritum perrexit ad Dominum.

VI Kalend. Jan. Natale . . . Joannis . . . quem Dominus Jesus amavit

Breviarium.

1-2. Simon Petrus . . . Romam pervenit . . . sub Nerone Caesare . . . cruce suspensus est . . . Paulus . . . sub Nerone eodem die quo et Petrus capite truncatus.

3. Andreas . . . praedicavit per Scythiam et Achaiam, ibique in civitate Patras cruce suspensus occubuit pridie Kal. Decembris.

5. Joannes . . . dilectus Domini, praedicator Asiae et in Epheso.

¹ For a discussion of the origin and history of this form of apocryphal literature, see Lipsius, I, 192 ff.

² Sarrazin, *Anglia* XII, 381.

³ Sarrazin, *Anglia* XII, 379-382; Bourauel, pp. 101-107.

⁴ Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* XCIV, col. 797 ff.

⁵ Described by Lipsius from numerous MSS., I, 211-212. A complete text may be found in Gerbert, *Monumenta veteris Liturgiae Allemanicae*, 1777. It is also quoted in detail by Bourauel, p. 101 ff., from whom my citations are made.

plurimum . . . rediit Ephesum . . . totas Asiae fundavit rexitque Ecclesias . . . aetatis autem suae nonagesimo nono mortuus, juxta eandem urbem est sepultus.

VIII Kalend. Aug. Natale . . . Jacobi . . . filii Zebedaei. In Cilicia . . . sub Dagno rege . . . martyrium capitis obruncatione complevit.

Kalend. Maii. Natale . . . Philippi et Jacobi . . . Philippus . . . reversus est ad Asiam, et apud Hierapolim dormivit in pace. (For James see below.)

IX Kalend. Septem. Natale . . . Bartholomaei . . . apud Indiam . . . praedicans, vivus a barbaris decoratus est, atque jussu regis Astragis decollatus . . .

XII Kalend. Jan. Natale . . . Thomae . . . qui Parthis et Medis . . . praedicans, passus est in India.

XI Kalend. Oct. Natale . . . Matthaei . . . qui primus in Judaea Evangelium . . . Hebraeo sermone conscripsit . . . apud Aethiopiam praedicavit . . . missus est spiculator ab Hirtaco rege, qui eum gladio feriebat efficiens martyrem Christi.

Kalend. Maii. Jacobus . . . qui et frater domini legitur . . . ab apostolis Hierosolymorum episcopus ordinatus est. . . Hunc scribae et pharisaei praecipitaverunt de pinna templi, fullonis in cerebro percussus fuste occubuit.

V Kalend. Novemb. Natale . . . Simonis Chananaei, qui et Zelotes scribitur, et Thadaei, qui etiam Judas

4. Jacobus . . . filius Zebedaei, frater Joannis. Hic . . . sub Herode gladio caesus occubuit.

7. Philippus . . . Gallis praedicavit Christum: deinde in Hierapoli Phrygiae provinciae crucifixus et lapidatus obiit . . .

9. Bartholomaeus apostolus . . . ad ultimum in Albano maioris Armeniae urbe . . . per iussum regis Astryagis decollatur, sicque terra conditur IX Kal. Sept.

6. Thomas . . . Parthis et Medis praedicator . . . ad orientalem plagam. Lancea . . . ibi transfixus occubuit in Calaminice, Indiae civitate, ibi sepultus est in honore XII Kal. Jan.

10. Matthaeus apost. et evang. . . . primum quidem in Judaea evangelizavit, postmodum in Macedonia; et passus in Persida requiescit in montibus Portorum, XI Kal. Oct.

8. Jacobus, frater Domini Hierosolymorum primus Episcopus, . . . de templo a Judaeis praecipitatur, ibique . . . humatur.

11-12. Simon Zelotes . . . accepit Aegypti principatum . . . cathedram dicitur tenuisse Hierosolymorum . . .

Jacobi legitur, et alibi appellatur Lebbaeus . . . Thadaeus apud Mesopotamiam, Simon vero apud Aegyptum traditur praedicasse: inde simul Persidam ingressi . . . martyrium ibi . . . beato certamine consummaverunt.

meruit sub Adriano per crucem sustinere martyrii passionem. Jacet in Portoforo. Judas . . . in Mesopotamia atque in interioribus Ponti praedicavit: sepultus est in Merito Armeniae urbe.

A comparison of these passages from Bede's *Martyrologium* and the *Breviarium* with *The Fates of the Apostles* will show that all the incidents of the poem which relate to the various apostles might have been derived from Bede, except the account of the death of the fifth apostle, James, the brother of John, which agrees with the account of the *Breviarium*,¹ and the allusion to the awakening of Gad, in the notice of the eighth apostle, Thomas, an incident mentioned neither in Bede nor the *Breviarium*. It will be observed, also, that *The Fates of the Apostles* agrees frequently with Bede when Bede differs from the *Breviarium*. It seems extremely probable, therefore, that the author of *The Fates of the Apostles* had before him not, presumably, Bede's *Martyrologium*, but the list or lists which Bede used in the preparation of his *Martyrologium*. The items of these lists were probably arranged not as they are in Bede, according to the calendar, but somewhat as they are presented in the poem and the *Breviarium*.

The one important addition of *The Fates of the Apostles*, the allusion to the awakening of Gad, may have been in the common sources of Bede and *The Fates of the Apostles*, or, more likely, it may have been added from the author's own stock of information. Its ultimate origin is the longer apocryphal narrative of the Acts of Thomas, the Πράξεις Θωμᾶ,² one of the group of apocryphal narratives from which the lists of the apostles were originally made.

The poem cannot have had any of the practical purpose of the *Martyrologium* or *Breviarium*, or of the Anglo-Saxon *Menologium*,³ since it gives none of the dates of the feasts of the various apostles. The motive which inspired its composition was, therefore, purely literary and devotional.

¹ See ll. 33^b-37^a, note, for the source of the account of the death of this James.

² Tischendorf, *Acta Apost. Apoc.*, p. 190 ff.; Bonnet, Part 2, Vol. II., pp. 99-287. The story of Gad is mentioned in the account of Thomas given in the *Old English Martyrology*, ed. Herzfeld, E. E. T. S., CXVI, 220; but the name Gad does not occur, nor is the phrasing of the narrative at all similar to that of *The Fates of the Apostles*. Cf. also Lipsius, I, 253.

³ See Imelmann, *Das altenglische Menologium*, pp. 38-40.

IV

AUTHORSHIP OF ANDREAS AND THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

No Anglo-Saxon poem has been the subject of more widely divergent discussion with respect to authorship than *Andreas*. The earlier critics generally assigned the poem, without much hesitation but on very insufficient grounds, to Cynewulf. Thus Grimm¹ (1840) thought first that *Andreas* and *Elene* were by the same author, since they are preserved in the same manuscript, are similar in spirit and contents, and have similar characteristics of language. He adds later, however, that it is at most only possible, not highly probable, that the poems are from the same hand. If *Andreas* is not to be assigned to the author of *Elene*, he inclines toward the alternative opinion that it was composed by Aldhelm. Kemble² (1843) speaks more dogmatically than Grimm: "There cannot be a doubt that this Cynewulf [who signs his name to *Elene*] was the author of the poem *Elene*, probably of all the rest [of the poems in the Vercelli book] and those likewise which occur in the other collection [the Exeter book], and it becomes a matter of much interest to decide who he was." He fixes upon Cynewulf, abbot of Peterborough (d. 1014), as most probably the author.³

¹ P. 1 ff.² P. viii.

³ Thorpe (1844), *Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, The First Part, containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric* I, 622, repeats Kemble's opinion. Ettmüller (1847, 1850), *Handbuch* I, 132 ff., *Engla and Seaxna Scopas*, p. xi, assigns *Andreas* with probability to the same author as *Elene*, basing his opinion on the similarity of language between the two poems. Dietrich (1853), *Haupt's Zs.* XI, 210, assigns *Andreas* tentatively to Cynewulf. In a second study, *Kynewulfi Poetae Aetas*, Marburg, 1860, p. 5, after commenting on Grimm's list of parallels and differences between *Andreas* and *Elene*, he endeavors to show that by bringing into the discussion other poems of Cynewulf's, as *Juliana* and *Christ*, the differences are explained and Cynewulf's authorship of *Andreas* is confirmed. Rieger (1869), *Zacher's Zs.* I, 319, follows Dietrich in assigning the longer poems of the Exeter and Vercelli manuscripts to Cynewulf. Sweet (1871), in Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry* II, 16, assigns *Andreas*, together with numerous other pieces, to Cynewulf. He thinks it most probable that the conclusion of *Andreas* is wanting and that, in its complete state, it contained an epilogue similar to that in *Elene*. The two poems are by the same author, he concludes, "from their marked resemblance of language and style." Grein (1874), *Kurzgefasste angels. Gram.*, Kassel, 1880 (published from lectures delivered in 1874), p. 12, assigns *Andreas*, *Juliana*,

The first detailed attempt to establish the authorship of *Andreas* was Fritzsche's¹ (1879). Fritzsche studied the poem from various points of view: (1) its relation to its source; (2) the nature of the subject matter, which he takes to be more legendary and marvelous than one would expect in Cynewulf; (3) the metre; (4) style and language; (5) vocabulary; (6) parallelisms between *Andreas* and other Anglo-Saxon poems. His conclusions are (p. 57) that the author of *Andreas* modeled his poem chiefly after *Beowulf* and the poems of Cynewulf; that the poet was an imitator or pupil of Cynewulf; and that, while the works of Cynewulf belong to the flowering period of Anglo-Saxon poetry, *Andreas* belongs to a later time when poetry was passing into a period of decay. Fritzsche's discussion has considerable power of conviction, and its influence is strongly felt in succeeding expressions of opinion.² On the other hand, Ramhorst³ (1885), taking up Fritzsche's argument point by point, endeavors (in most instances unsuccessfully) to disprove it, and arrives at the opposite conclusion, that *Andreas* was composed by Cynewulf. The argument shifts to the other side again with Sievers⁴ (1885), who points out that the dative *fæder*, required by the metre in l. 1410, cannot be paralleled in

Guðlac, and *Elene* to Cynewulf, but gives no reasons for his decision. Hammerich (1874), *Aelteste christliche Epik*, tr. Michelsen, p. 97, sees no decisive reason for giving either *Andreas* or *Guðlac* to Cynewulf. Ten Brink (1877), *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, tr. Kennedy, p. 58, gives *Andreas* to Cynewulf. But Wülker (1878), *Anglia* I, 506, and Charitius (1879), *Anglia* II, 265, do not include the poem in their list of Cynewulf's works.

¹ *Das angels. Gedicht Andreas und Cynewulf*, Halle, 1879; also *Anglia* II, 441-496.

² Thus in the appendix to Ten Brink, p. 389, written after the appearance of Fritzsche's essay, the argument is said to be "calculated to raise serious doubts concerning Cynewulf's authorship." And Müller (1883), *Angels. Gram.*, p. 26, Lefevre (1883), *Anglia* VI, 184, and Ebert (1887), *Allgemeine Geschichte d. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, p. 69, accept Fritzsche's conclusions more or less unreservedly. Holtbuer, *Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Genetivus in Andreas, Guðlac, etc.*, Halle, 1884, also in *Anglia* VIII, 1-40, as the result of his own investigations, denies *Andreas* to Cynewulf. Earle (1884), *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, p. 226, returns to the old view that all the poems of the Vercelli book are by Cynewulf; the fact, he says, that *Elene* is the last poem of the volume, and is signed, "naturally suggests the inference, which indeed is generally accepted, that all the poems in the Vercelli book are by Cynewulf."

³ *Das altenglische Gedicht vom heiligen Andreas*, Berlin, 1885.

⁴ *PBB.* X, 483.

Cynewulf's works. Cremer¹ (1888) and Mather² (1892) find also that the metre and language incline slightly towards the theory of non-Cynewulfian authorship of *Andreas*.

A new and important element was added to the discussion in 1888 by Napier's discovery of the runic passage on fol. 54^a of the manuscript.³ Napier sees in this passage a conclusion to *The Fates of the Apostles*, and assigns that poem without question to Cynewulf. He draws no inferences, however, as to the authorship of *Andreas*. Sarrazin⁴ (1889), who on the basis of comparisons of phraseology had assigned *Andreas* to Cynewulf before the discovery of the runic fragment,⁵ was the first to regard⁶ *The Fates of the Apostles* as the conclusion of *Andreas*, and, in consequence, the whole as the work of Cynewulf. This opinion, in slightly varying forms, has been enounced by numerous others.⁷ But it has by no means passed without question. Wülker⁸ (1888, 1896) regards *The Fates of the Apostles* as a separate and distinct poem from *Andreas*; the latter poem he ascribes, as Fritzsche had done, not to Cynewulf, but to an imitator. Sievers⁹ (1891), returning to the subject, denies *Andreas* to Cynewulf, and in this negation sees one of the few undoubted results of investigations concerning questions of authorship in Anglo-Saxon literature. Brooke¹⁰ (1892) is inclined, for stylistic reasons, to follow Fritzsche's opinion; in the note to his text, however, he shifts ground to the position that though it is "extremely likely that the *Andreas* is by Cynewulf, we have as yet no evidence for that opinion." In a later

¹ *Metrische und sprachliche Untersuchungen der alteng. Ged. Andreas, Guðlac, Phœnix*, Bonn, 1888.

² *MLN.* VII, 106.

³ First announced in the *Academy*, September 8, 1888. The passage is printed and discussed by Napier in *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 66-73.

⁴ *Anglia* XII, 375-387.

⁵ *Beowulf-Studien*, Berlin, 1888, p. 114.

⁶ Cf. *Angl. Beibl.* VII, 372, *Wer hat die 'Schicksale der Apostel' zuerst für den schluss des Andreas erklärt?*

⁷ By Gollancz (1892), *Cynewulf's Christ*, p. 173; by Trautmann (1895, 1898), in *Angl. Beibl.* VI, 17 ff., *Bonn. Beitr.* I, 9; by Kölbing (1899), *Eng. Stud.* XXVI, 99-101; by Simons (1899), "Cynewulf's Wortschatz," in *Bonn. Beitr.* III, 1; by Bourauel (1900), p. 132; and by Skeat (1901), *English Miscellany*, pp. 408-420.

⁸ *Berichte d. Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Classe*, 1888, p. 212; *Geschichte d. eng. Lit.*, pp. 39, 45.

⁹ *Anglia* XIII, 25.

¹⁰ *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, p. 413, p. 489.

utterance¹ he is inclined to give credence to the views of Sarrazin. Brandl² (1898) refuses to connect *The Fates of the Apostles* with *Andreas*, but regards the former as a separate poem, the subject of which is a traveler's charm.³ Professor Cook, who first declared that "there can hardly be much doubt that the *Andreas* is to be given to Cynewulf,"⁴ later modified his opinions, saying, "I am strongly inclined to assign the *Andreas* to Cynewulf, though I hesitate to express a positive opinion, in the present state of our knowledge, especially against Fritzsche's hypothesis of a close imitation."⁵

Manifestly the first thing to be done in order to clear the ground for a just estimate of the mass of argumentation represented by the above-mentioned discussions is to determine the relation of the runic signature to *The Fates of the Apostles* and the relation of *The Fates of the Apostles* to *Andreas*. For if *The Fates of the Apostles*, with the runic signature, is merely an epilogue or concluding section of *Andreas*, we have indication of the first importance as to the authorship of the poem. The evidence which must be weighed here is of two sorts: first, the mere mechanical arrangement of the poems in the manuscript; and second, the evidence of the internal relation of subject matter in the two poems.

According to Skeat,⁶ "if we go by the testimony of the MS. itself, we must allow that the first poem in the MS. occupies the back of fol. 29, fol. 30-53, and fol. 54, recto, where it ends with the word FINIT, below which is a blank space sufficient to contain six more lines. And further that this poem consists of 1840 lines, disposed in 16 Fits, of about 115 lines apiece, on an average." The record of the manuscript is briefly as follows: the *Andreas*, which, as Skeat says, begins the first section of poetry in the manuscript, extends from the first line of fol. 29^b to the middle of fol. 52^b. It is divided into fifteen sections of approximately equal length.⁷ The sections are separated from each

¹ *Eng. Lit. from the Beginning*, p. 187. ² *Herrig's Archiv C*, 330-334.

³ Arnold (1898), *Notes on Beowulf*, pp. 121-126, Bottenwieser (1899), *Studien*, p. 86, and Binz, *Eng. Stud.* XXVI, 389, are all convinced that *Andreas* is not by Cynewulf.

⁴ *MLN.* IV, 7 (January, 1889).

⁵ *The Christ of Cynewulf*, 1900, p. lxii.

⁶ *l.c.*, p. 412.

⁷ These sections are as follows: (1) fol. 29^b top-fol. 30^b bot.; (2) fol. 30^b bot.-fol. 32^a top; (3) fol. 32^a top-fol. 33^b mid.; (4) fol. 33^b mid.-fol. 35^a bot.; (5) fol. 35^a bot.-fol. 37^a mid.; (6) fol. 37^a mid.-fol. 38^b top; (7) fol. 38^b top-fol. 40^a mid.; (8) fol. 40^a mid.-fol. 41^b bot.; (9) fol. 42^a top-fol. 43^a bot.; (10) fol.

other by a blank space sufficient to contain one line. Each section begins with a large capital letter, the remaining letters of the first word being written in smaller capitals; these large capitals are all written out in the manuscript, except the opening letter of the twelfth section, fol. 46^a, where the letter A stands alone, S, miswritten for Ð, having been erased, though the right letter was not afterwards inserted. Each section also ends with a distinctive mark of punctuation, usually a colon with a hook-shaped dash following it.

The Fates of the Apostles follows immediately after the conclusion of *Andreas*, the usual blank space being left between *Andreas* and the opening of *The Fates of the Apostles*. The first letter of the first word (*Hwæt*) is wanting, though space is left, extending down through five lines, for its insertion; the remaining letters of the word are given in smaller capitals. The narrative begins at the middle of fol. 52^b and extends without interruption in the manuscript to about three fourths of the way down fol. 54^a, where it ends with FINIT and a period. The remainder of the page, sufficient to contain six lines, is left blank. The runic passage stands on this last folio (fol. 54^a) by itself, beginning with the words, *Hēr mæg findan*, etc. It begins on the first line of the folio, without a capital or any other indication of a new beginning, nor is there any punctuation after the last word of fol. 53^b.

From this examination it will be seen that there is no indication in the manuscript that the runic passage is anything other than a direct and uninterrupted continuation of *The Fates of the Apostles*, or that *The Fates of the Apostles*, together with this passage, stands in any other relation to *Andreas* than do the sections of *Andreas* to each other. A further examination, however, of the scribe's method of ordering other groups of poems in the manuscript, will show that there is no indication that *The Fates of the Apostles* must be taken as a part of a larger whole. On fol. 101^b-fol. 106^a there is a group of three poems that no one has ever thought of uniting. The first (*Dialogue between the Soul and the Body*) begins with a large capital on the first line of fol. 101^b; on fol. 103^a, near the bottom of the page, there is a sectional division, the last word of the section ending with the same mark of punctuation as that used in the first poem or poems of the

43^a bot.-fol. 44^b mid.; (11) fol. 44^b mid.-fol. 46^a mid.; (12) fol. 46^a mid.-fol. 47^b top; (13) fol. 47^b top-fol. 49^a bot.; (14) fol. 49^a bot.-fol. 51^a top; (15) fol. 51^a top-fol. 52^b mid.

manuscript, and followed by the usual blank space. The second section begins with a capital Ð. The conclusion of this second section, and of the poem, is wanting in the manuscript, as the poem breaks off abruptly at the end of fol. 103^b. The same missing folio must have contained the opening of the second poem of the group (*Sermon in verse on Ps. XXVIII*), for fol. 104^a opens abruptly with no indication that a new subject has been introduced. This fragmentary poem concludes on fol. 104^b, near the top, with the usual mark of punctuation and the usual blank space. The third poem of the group (*Vision of the Cross*) begins with a large capital near the top of fol. 104^b and continues without break to the foot of fol. 106^a, where it ends with the usual mark of punctuation; the poem fills up the whole page, only a part of the last line being left blank. On fol. 106^b then begins a group of prose selections. It will be seen, therefore, that if we observe merely the mechanical ordering of the poems in the manuscript, there is quite as much justification for declaring the three poems of the second group a single poem as for declaring *The Fates of the Apostles* a necessary part of *Andreas*; for the scribe uses exactly the same method in marking off sections of a poem that he uses in separating entirely different poems. The fact that a space of six lines is left vacant on fol. 54^a is no indication that the scribe wishes to mark the end of a poem; for the second group of poems in the manuscript shows that it is not his usual method thus to mark the end of a poem. The space is left blank, we may suppose, first of all because it is a short space, and second because the next section of the manuscript was to be devoted to prose and not to verse selections. At the conclusion of *Elene*, fol. 133^b, which is followed immediately by the prose life of St. Guthlac, the scribe did not leave the rest of the page blank as he had done at the end of *The Fates of the Apostles*, fol. 54^a, but the reason is plain. On fol. 54^a it required nineteen lines of his page in order to finish the poem in hand, leaving space for only six lines; on fol. 133^b only six lines of the page were needed in order to finish the poem, leaving space for twenty-five lines (the writing here being much finer than in the earlier part of the manuscript). The wasting of twenty-five lines must have seemed a needless extravagance to the scribe.

The third and last section of poetry in the manuscript, extending from the first line of fol. 121^a down through the sixth line of fol. 133^b, contains the single poem *Elene*. The poem is divided into sections

just as *Andreas* is divided, each section beginning with capitals, ending with the usual mark of punctuation, and separated from the preceding and following sections by the usual blank space. The sections here, however, are numbered with roman numerals from one to fifteen inclusive,¹ apparently by the original scribe of the manuscript. Section fourteen, which concludes the actual narrative of the poem, ends with FINIT and the usual mark of punctuation. Section fifteen is a sort of personal epilogue in which occurs the passage containing the runes that form the name Cynewulf. This section concludes with a second ending, AMEN, followed by the usual punctuation. Immediately following the conclusion of the section, but separated from it by the usual blank space, comes the opening of the prose life of St. Guthlac, which is without number. Sarrazin² is therefore not exact when he says that the epilogue of *Elene* stands "äusserlich und innerlich" in the same relation to the body of the poem as *The Fates of the Apostles* to *Andreas*. In the manuscript record of *Elene* there is distinct evidence, in the consecutive numbering of the sections, that they are to be taken as parts of a single poem. The double colophon is also peculiar to *Elene*. The ending of section fourteen with FINIT may be a mere reflection of the source of the poem, for indeed the actual narrative does end with that section. After the epilogue was added, the poet, not wishing to repeat his former ending, finishes with AMEN. Fortunately, in the case of *Elene* the testimony of the subject matter leaves no doubt that the fifteenth section is an integral part of the poem; in this respect also Sarrazin makes too much of the parallel between *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* on the one hand and *Elene* and its concluding section on the other.

We cannot agree, therefore, with Professor Skeat and others, that the manuscript speaks decisively in favor of accepting *The Fates of the Apostles* as an integral part of *Andreas*. At the most the manuscript merely permits the theory but speaks decisively neither one way nor the other. All that it allows us to say is that from fol. 29^b to fol. 54^a we have a poem or a group of poems, written out in orderly fashion and ending with a FINIT and a blank space on the last page.

An examination of the subject matter of the two poems in their relation to each other results in a somewhat more positive conclusion. In

¹ The numbers are omitted in sections eleven and twelve.

² *Angl. Beibl.* VI, 205.

general two main theories have been proposed by which *The Fates of the Apostles* is to be united to *Andreas*. According to the first (supported chiefly by Sarrazin, Trautmann, and Gollancz) *The Fates of the Apostles* is not an integral part of the narrative of *Andreas*, but an addition or epilogue, standing in the same relation to *Andreas* as the epilogue of *Elene* to that poem. According to the second theory, supported chiefly by Skeat,¹ *The Fates of the Apostles* is a necessary part of the plot and action of *Andreas*.

The title of this longer poem (to take up the second theory first), consisting of *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas* united, should be, Professor Skeat contends, not *Andreas*, but *The Twelve Apostles*. The writer of the poem announces his subject in the opening lines: *twelfe undertunglum*. Of these twelve he takes up St. Matthew first, St. Andrew being mentioned for the first time in l. 169. "When St. Matthew is thus happily disposed of [but St. Matthew is not disposed of until ll. 1050 ff.], the story of St. Andrew, henceforth considered as the *principal* hero, really begins" (p. 414). When he has finished the special story of St. Andrew, continues Skeat, the poet reverts to his original theme. "But finding by this time that the apostles cannot all be discoursed of at the same length as St. Matthew and St. Andrew, he cuts the story short by the ingenious device of giving, not their whole legends, but merely a brief account of how each one came to his end. As neither St. Matthew nor St. Andrew were killed off in Fits 1-15, it became necessary to give each of these a few lines more. We thus learn that St. Matthew was executed (put to sleep by weapons) and that St. Andrew was crucified (was extended on the gallows)."

One hesitates to take all this seriously. For, accepting this theory, we have a poem on a great topic so loosely put together that it can hardly be said to have any coherence or unity at all; and such inarticulate work Professor Skeat would have us ascribe to Cypewulf. Furthermore, a glance at the sources of the two poems shows that the theory supposes a degree of unification and adaptation of these sources either beyond the powers or the purpose of the author or authors who composed the poems. In neither poem is there any indication that the poet thought he was composing a great epic on the Twelve Apostles; he was simply retelling a story as he had found it. The poet of *Andreas* mentioned the twelve in opening his poem because his source mentioned

¹ *English Miscellany*, pp. 408-420.

them ; but even if this were not true, we need no more suppose that he intended writing in detail on each of the twelve, than that the poet of *Beowulf* intended giving us the life-histories of those heroes — *Heorogār and Hrōðgār and Hālga til* — and the others who are mentioned before the real action of the poem begins. The author of *Andreas* treated of Matthew first because his source did so ; he gave most of his attention to Andrew because he followed his source, and when he had finished the story of St. Andrew he stopped because his source stopped. And indeed it was an appropriate ending. The narrative had brought Andrew out of the land of Achaia, had related his adventures in the city of the *anthropophagi*, and had closed with the return of the saint to the place from which he had set out. One feels that the story is closed, it has its peroration and nothing more is needed or expected. The poet of *The Fates of the Apostles*, whether the same person as the poet of *Andreas* or not, we may be sure followed his source quite as closely.¹

The fact that the opening passages of the two poems are very much alike, and are evidently fashioned either on the same model or one on the other, is rather an indication that the passages introduce two separate poems than two sections of the same poem ; the allusion to the twelve at the opening of *The Fates of the Apostles* cannot be taken, as Professor Skeat would take it, as a resumption and repetition of the subject as announced in the opening lines of *Andreas*, for the introduction to *The Fates of the Apostles* actually gives the subject of the narrative that follows, whereas the introduction to *Andreas* is purely preliminary and outside the real narrative of the poem. There is, in short, not the slightest indication in either poem of an endeavor to fuse the old material into a single tale of the fates of all Twelve Apostles. If the scribe of the *Vercelli Book* had happened to place *The Fates of the Apostles* in the second or third section of poetry in the manuscript, instead of in the first and immediately following *Andreas*, I doubt if it would ever have occurred to the ingenuity of any one to look upon it as a part of the story of *Andreas*.

The contents of *The Fates of the Apostles* in relation to the narrative of *Andreas* must now be examined ; for if *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas* are not to be taken as one long poem on the Twelve Apostles, it is still possible, as Gollancz suggests, that *The Fates of the Apostles* is an appendix or epilogue to *Andreas*. As opposed to such

¹ Cf. above, pp. xxix ff.

a theory it is to be noted, first, that *Andreas* ends with a definite and appropriate conclusion, with no indication of anything to follow; and, second, that *The Fates of the Apostles* opens with an entirely new beginning, followed by a regularly developed narrative and conclusion which is dependent in no respect on any preceding narrative. The opening of *The Fates of the Apostles* is not merely the exclamation *hwæt*, followed by an immediate resumption of the narrative, as in *Andreas*, l. 1478, but an elaborate formal beginning parallel to the opening of *Andreas* itself. Sievers¹ first pointed out the likeness between these two openings, showing that both are imitations of the opening lines of *Beowulf*. Such similarity is, of course, no indication that the two passages belong to the same poem; for, granted that they are by the same author, it is less likely that an author would repeat himself so plainly within the bounds of a single poem than in two separate poems.

In these opening lines of *The Fates of the Apostles*, ll. 1-11², the poet announces his subject. In the first line of this passage, *lysne sang* is logically inseparable from what follows — *hū þā æðelingas*, l. 3, and its elaboration. It cannot be translated 'the above or preceding song,'² because the phrases with which it is coördinate in ll. 3 ff. do not describe the action of *Andreas*, though they do describe very closely the action of *The Fates of the Apostles*. The poem begins, therefore, without any allusion to preceding action, either to the *Andreas* or to any other subject. Again, in the narrative which follows immediately after this introductory passage, Andrew comes third in the list, as is usual in such compositions, whereas Matthew, entirely disconnected from him, comes ninth. Nowhere is there any allusion to the narrative of *Andreas*, or any indication that the author knew the story of *Andreas* or that he had treated of these two apostles elsewhere. In the account of Andrew stress is laid upon his death at the hands of Egeas, a name and incident unknown to *Andreas*; in the account of Matthew we are told of his death at the hands of Irtacus, also unknown to *Andreas*. Matthew is said to have preached *mid Sigelwarum*, l. 64, i.e. in Ethiopia (cf. note to *Ap.* 64); in *Andreas*, Andrew announces the end of their journey to his followers as *on Ælmyrcna ēðelrīce*, l. 432. The allusion in *The Fates of the Apostles* is evidently derived from its source (cf. p. xxxi); no equivalent is found in the *Πράξεις* for the statement of l. 432 of *Andreas*.

¹ *PBB.* IX, 135.

² Bourauel, p. 132, 'das obige Gedicht.'

It might easily be derived, however, from common stock of tradition, and at the most indicates, not that the author of *The Fates of the Apostles* wrote also *Andreas*, but that the author of *Andreas* may possibly have known *The Fates of the Apostles*. The name Mermedonia is not mentioned in *The Fates of the Apostles*. Finally, after the list of the Twelve Apostles is completed, *The Fates of the Apostles* ends with an appropriate conclusion, which, freely translated, runs as follows: 'Thus these noble ones, the great-minded twelve, perished; fame unending these thanes of glory won in the spirit. Now then I pray that he who loves the study of this song petition that holy throng [i.e. the twelve] for help for me, sad of heart, for protection and for aid. Alas! I shall have need of friends, of kindly disposed ones, on my journey, when, alone, I seek my long home, that strange habitation, leave behind me my body, this portion of earth, this corpse as a feast for worms.' After this passage, ll. 85-95, follows a second conclusion in which the poet gives the runes which form his name. Here, he says, the skilled in perception may find, he who takes pleasure in songs, who made this poem (*þās fitte*, l. 98). The runes then follow, in a passage the thought of which is the transitoriness of earthly possessions. In a few concluding lines (ll. 107 ff.) the poet returns to the request of the preceding passage, ll. 88 ff.: 'Be mindful of this, he who loves the study of this poem, that he beseech for me comfort and aid. Far hence must I, all alone, seek a new habitation, undertake a journey, I know not myself whither, out of this world. Those dwellings are unknown to me, that land and that home. It is so with every man unless he be partaker of the holy spirit. But let us the more zealously cry unto God, let us send our prayers into the bright heaven (*gesceaft*, l. 116), that we may enjoy that habitation, that home on high, where are the greatest of joys, where the King of angels yields to the poor unending reward. Now his praise remain forever great and glorious, together with his power eternal and ever renewed, throughout all creation!' It will be noted that in the passage which might be called the first conclusion (i.e. ll. 88-95) there is specific reference to the subject matter of *The Fates of the Apostles*, but no reference is made to the action of *Andreas*. In the second ending, however, there is direct allusion neither to *The Fates of the Apostles* nor to *Andreas*. The passage is entirely disconnected from any preceding narrative, and might easily belong to *The Fates of the Apostles*, or to *Andreas*, or to neither. In *The Fates of the Apostles*,

therefore, as in *Andreas*, a single narrative is appropriately introduced, is consistently developed, and (except for the double ending, which will be discussed later) is brought to a satisfactory conclusion; nothing in the one is needed to explain the details of the action of the other.

Certain expressions of *The Fates of the Apostles* have been supposed to refer back to *Andreas*. Thus, (1) according to Trautmann,¹ the phrases *Þysses giddes begang*, *Ap.* l. 89, and *Þisses galdres begang*, *Ap.* l. 108, cannot refer to *The Fates of the Apostles*, because the word *begang* connotes the meaning 'long, extended,' the whole phrase meaning 'this long poem,' a description which cannot apply to the 130 lines of *The Fates of the Apostles*, but which applies very aptly to *The Fates of the Apostles* as a part of *Andreas*. The meaning 'long' or 'extended' which Trautmann finds in the word *begang* he derives from its use in such combinations as *swegles begang*, *gārsecges b.*, *flōða b.*, *geofones b.*, *holma b.*, *wyrða b.*, and others. But the idea of wide extent in these phrases comes not from the meaning of the word *begang*, but from the word with which it is united; by itself *begang* means only 'extent, space, circuit,' as the dictionaries define it. When combined with the name of an object of small extent it means no more than when combined with the name of an object of great extent.² (2) Bourauel³ sees a verbal allusion to *Andreas* in the words *þās fitte*, l. 98, which he takes to be accusative plural — 'these sections.' The sections, according to Bourauel, are three, *An.* 1-1477, *An.* 1478-1722, and *Ap.* 1 ff., each section being indicated by the exclamation *hwæt* at the beginning. It is true that mere grammar permits *þās fitte* to be taken as accusative plural, but it is equally true that the words may be taken as accusative singular. If the poet had been speaking to us of "sections," or even of a long poem on St. Andrew, there might be some reason for taking *þās fitte* as accusative plural; but he has been speaking to us only of his little poem on the Twelve Apostles, he knows nothing about *Andreas* or at least says nothing about it. Surely then the natural and unconstrained rendering of *þās fitte* is as accusative singular, 'this poem,'

¹ *Angl. Beibl.* VI, 21.

² Barnouw, *Herrig's Archiv* CVIII, 371-375, after showing that *gong* and *begong* are used interchangeably (cf. *El.* 648, 1123, 1255; *Chr.* 1035, 235) cites *Gu.* 1134: *worda gongum*, describing a speech of Guthlac's of 30 lines; the phrase *on geald-rum*, l. 1180, is used in allusion to the same speech. But it may be seriously questioned whether 'extent, space, circuit' is the right definition of the word as it occurs in the two passages in *Ap.* See B-T., s. v. *begang*, II. ³ Pp. 129-130.

an equivalent expression to *þysses giddes* or *galdres begang*. (3) Again Trautmann¹ insists that the double ending of *The Fates of the Apostles* already mentioned, though out of keeping in such a short poem as *The Fates of the Apostles*, becomes quite appropriate when we look upon this ending as the conclusion of the long story of St. Andrew. But, after all, the important point with regard to the double ending is not its length, but the fact that it is a double ending, the one part repeating, at times verbally, the other. It is difficult to see how such an irregularity is explained away by uniting *The Fates of the Apostles* to *Andreas*. As to the right explanation of this double ending there may reasonably be a difference of opinion. Sievers² hesitates to ascribe such inartistic work to Cynewulf, and proposes the theory that all the passage contained on fol. 54^a, that is ll. 96–122, does not belong to *The Fates of the Apostles*, but to some other poem, and that it has been accidentally separated from its right connection and placed here at the end of a poem already provided with a complete ending. This theory, Sievers thinks, may explain the blot upon this folio as the mark of the scribe conscious of his error in placing the passage at this place. Where the passage actually belongs Sievers does not attempt to determine, though he denies emphatically that it has been separated from *Andreas* by the insertion of *The Fates of the Apostles*. Skeat³ proposes a somewhat different explanation. The double ending, he says, consists of the two passages ll. 88–106 and ll. 107 to the end. The first passage, which contains the runes, he calls epilogue B, and the second passage epilogue A. "The author's first intention was to end with epilogue A. But he afterwards determined to compose an epilogue containing runes, so as to give a clue to his name. Consequently he composed epilogue B in its stead and placed it in its right position at the end of the poem. But by some chance the scribe had access to a copy of the original epilogue A; and, thinking it too good to be lost—for which he is not to be blamed—he inartistically tacked it on to the end of the poem." Neither Skeat's nor Sievers' hypothesis seems very convincing. Perhaps the simplest explanation is here the best. Though the double ending appears to be unnecessary and inartistic to our modern sense, it may not have seemed so much so to the author of the poem;

¹ *Angl. Beibl.* VI, 21.

² *Anglia* XIII, 21–25.

³ *English Miscellany*, pp. 419–420.

he may thus have added the second ending as an afterthought without considering it necessary to remove or change the other.¹

To sum up, then, we are forced to the conclusion that neither in the manuscript transmission nor in their contents is there any sufficient indication that *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* are to be taken as a single poem. The evidence of the manuscript permits such a supposition, but it affords no positive evidence in support of it; the evidence of subject matter is distinctly opposed to the theory, for each poem has its individual source and its own internal development. As to *The Fates of the Apostles*, the evidence of the manuscript points conclusively to Cynewulf as its author. Doubts are raised, however, by a consideration of the subject matter — especially the irregular double conclusion. But until some explanation of this peculiarity has been offered that carries more conviction than those so far brought forward, we may accept the testimony of the manuscript, and assign the poem to Cynewulf.

It remains to examine the evidence of metre, language, and style in *Andreas* as compared with the poems of undoubted Cynewulfian origin.² This has been carefully done for the metre by Cremer³ and Mather.⁴ Cremer concludes, as a result of his investigations, that though there are numerous differences between *Andreas* and the accepted poems of Cynewulf, these differences are too slight to justify a positive denial of the poem to him. Mather, working independently of Cremer but along similar lines, arrives at the same conclusion. He finds, for example, that double alliteration in the first half-line is one fourth more frequent in *Andreas* than in Cynewulf (i.e. *Juliana*, *Elene*, and *Christ* I, II, III). The D and E types of the second half-line, the distinctively epic verse-form, which Mather considers as most important in his comparative tests, are one fifth more frequent in *Andreas* than in the poem of Cynewulf containing the largest number (*Christ* III), and one third more frequent than in the poem containing the smallest number (*Juliana*). In this respect *Andreas* stands nearer to the *Beowulf*, as

¹ A similar double ending occurs in *Widsið*, ll. 131-134 and ll. 135-143. Müllenhoff, *Haupt's Zs.* XI, 293, regards the first of these two passages as an interpolation.

² In the present discussion the following poems are accepted as undoubtedly Cynewulf's: *Elene*, *Juliana*, *Christ* I, II, III, *The Fates of the Apostles*. By combining the glossary to *Christ* I and III, in Professor Cook's edition, with Simons, *Cynewulf's Wortschatz*, a complete verbal index to these poems is obtained.

³ Pp. 4-41.

⁴ *MLN.* VII, 97-107.

Mather points out, than to the poems of the Cynewulf group. The number of hypermetric lines in *Andreas* (given by Mather as ten) is much less than in Cynewulf (in the *Elene* alone there are seventy-one); in this respect also *Andreas* stands nearer to the *Beowulf* (which contains twelve hypermetric lines) than to the Cynewulfian poems. The evidence of the metre on the whole, Mather concludes, is not decisive. There is insufficient ground either for positively ascribing or denying *Andreas* to Cynewulf. The chief result of the metrical comparisons is that which establishes a special relationship between *Andreas* and *Beowulf*.

The evidence of language and vocabulary is more positive than that of metre. It should be remembered, however, that striking differences in language are not to be expected between two poems, though by different authors, of approximately the same time and place of origin; such differences as do appear are consequently of the more significance.¹ A few of the more noteworthy differences in language between *Andreas* and the accepted works of Cynewulf may be mentioned:²

(1) Certain forms in *An.*, Fritzsche thinks (pp. 42-43) still preserve traces of the original writer's individual usage: thus the forms *mec* and *þec* do not appear at all in *An.*, though they appear interchangeably with *mē* and *þē* in the poems of Cynewulf. That the usage in *An.* is not due entirely to the scribe of the MS. is indicated by the appearance of *mec* and *þec* in other parts of the *Vercelli Book*, as, for example, in *El.* The forms *cōm*, *cōmon* occur eighteen times in *An.*; the forms *cwōm*, *cwōmon* occur twice (ll. 738, 1278). The reverse is true of Cynewulf; the forms *cōm*, *cōmon* occur in *El.* 150 and *Riddles* LXXXVIII, 12 (if we regard the *Riddles* as non-Cynewulfian, only once in Cynewulf), beside numerous occurrences of *cwōm*, *cwōmon*. Fritzsche points out that as the poems of Cynewulf are preserved partly in the *Vercelli* and partly in the *Exeter Codex* this uniformity is the more striking. Such forms as *āgef*, *An.* 189, 285, 572, etc., *geseh*, *An.* 847, 992, 1004, beside the regular *āgeaf*, *geseah*, though not entirely unknown

¹ Thus Wack, "Artikel und demonstrativpronomen in *Andreas* und *Elene*," *Anglia* XV, 209-219, finds no appreciable difference between *Andreas* and *Elene* in the use of the forms studied. Holtbuer, *Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Genetives in Andreas, Guðlac, Phönix, dem Heiligen Kreuz und der Höllenfahrt*, Halle, 1884, denies *Andreas* to Cynewulf, though his data do not justify so positive a conclusion. Barnouw, *Der bestimmte Artikel im Altenglischen*, p. 150, thinks that the use of the definite article in *Andreas* points to a pre-Cynewulfian period; he would place *Andreas* between *Gen. A* and *Daniel*; but again the argument is weak.

² Unless otherwise indicated the observations are my own.

in Cynewulf (cf. *El.* 587, *āgefon*; *El.* 841, *geseh*) are there exceptional, whereas in *An.* they are the more frequent forms.

(2) The dative of *fæder* in Cynewulf is *fædere* (cf. Sievers, *PBB.* X, 1483); *An.* 1346, 1410, prove the form *fæder* for that poem.

(3) The use of the periphrastic preterit, formed by the preterit of *onginnan*, *cuman*, *gewitan*, + an infinitive, Fritzsche points out (pp. 38–39) is more frequent in *An.* than in Cynewulf. Thus the form *cōm(on)* + infinitive occurs only five times in Cynewulf, twice, *Jul.* 563, *Chr.* 549, being with verbs of motion; in *An.* alone the construction occurs eight times with the infinitive of verbs of motion, once with another verb. The preterit of *gewitan* + infinitive of a verb of motion occurs only once in Cynewulf, *Chr.* 533; the construction is common (see Glossary) in *An.*, occurring thirteen times.

(4) Though in general differences of vocabulary are best explained as arising from differences in subject matter, yet the following variations in the use of words and particles of common occurrence seem to have some significance:

(a) *butan*, conj. and prep., occurs only three times in *An.*, but twenty times in *Chr.*, ten times in *El.*, and six times in *Jul.*

(b) *æninga*, adv., found four times in *An.*, does not occur in Cynewulf.

(c) *Ðā gēn*, 'then, again,' is found twice in *An.*, ll. 601, 727. In Cynewulf *gēn* and *ðā gēn* occur frequently (six times in *Chr.* I–III, seven times in *El.*, nine times in *Jul.*), not only in the sense 'then, again,' but also with the meaning 'yet, furthermore.' On the other hand *ðā gīt*, *gīt* (once *nū gyl*), occurs nine times in *An.*; it occurs in Cynewulf only in *Chr.* I, ll. 318, 351. *Ðā gīt*, *gīt*, in *An.* fills largely the place which *ðā gēn*, *gēn*, occupies in Cynewulf.

(d) *lyt* occurs five times in *An.*, in Cynewulf only in *El.*, l. 63 (cf. *El.* 142 *lythwon*). *Lytel*, the regular form in Cynewulf, occurring eight times (*Chr.* 1400, MS. *lyt*, must read *lytel*, as is proved by the metre), occurs only once in *An.*, l. 1488.

(e) *sum* is found in *An.* always with a gen. plural, never absolutely as in Cynewulf (*El.* 131 ff., 548; *Chr.* 664 ff., etc.). Note also the absolute use in *Ap.* 11.¹

(f) *sīð* = 'afterwards.' In Cynewulf the form *sīð* varies with *sīððan*, the shorter form appearing twelve times. In *An.* the shorter form does not appear (*syð* of the MS., *An.* 1704, is manifestly to be read *syððan*), though *sīððan* is found twenty-two times. The phrase *sīð ond ær*, *sīð oððe ær*, etc., occurs ten times in Cynewulf (*El.* four times, *Jul.* three times, and *Chr.* three times); but it does not occur once in *An.* On the other hand,

¹ Noted also by Fritzsche, p. 53.

the phrase *eft swā āer* is found three times in *An.*, but not at all in Cynewulf.

(g) *ācweðan* is found eight times in Cynewulf, — four times in *Jul.*, three in *Chr.*, once in *El.*; it does not occur in *An.* *Becweðan* occurs four times in *An.*, but does not appear in Cynewulf.

(h) *feor*, adj., occurs five times in *An.*, but as adjective the word is not found in Cynewulf.

(i) *geare*, adv., with the verbs *cunnan* and *witan*, does not occur in the positive in *An.*, and only once in the comparative, l. 932. In Cynewulf in such phrases the positive occurs nine times, the comparative twice, and the superlative once. The verbs *cunnan* and *witan* are, however, of frequent occurrence in *An.*

(j) The phrase *æfter þam (byssum) wordum*, *An.* 88, 761, 1026, 1219 (cf. *æfter wordcwidum*, 1447), at the end of a passage of direct discourse, is not found in Cynewulf.¹ The poet of *An.* also had the habit of introducing speeches with the phrase *wordum cweðan*, 62, 173, 354, 539, or *worde cweðan*, 716, 727, 743, 850, 913, 1206, 1280, 1450. This phrase is found only once in Cynewulf, *Jul.* 92: *worde cwæð*, as introductory to a passage of direct discourse. Other phrases, e.g. *wordum mælan*, *gesecgan*, *frignan*, are occasionally but infrequently used by both Cynewulf and the poet of *An.* The frequent use of *wordum*, *worde cweðan* must be counted a mannerism of *An.*

(5) Fritzsche, p. 50, points out that neither the word for Bible nor that for book occurs in *An.*; and that the poet nowhere alludes to any written sources. In this respect he is strikingly different from Cynewulf, who very frequently refers to sources; cf. *El.* 204, 290, 826, 1255; *Chr.* 453, 701, 785, 793. It is noteworthy that the poet of *Ap.* refers to his sources in the manner of Cynewulf; cf. *Ap.* 1-2, 23, 63, 70.

The similarity in style between *Andreas* and the Cynewulfian poems, particularly *Elene*, which to the early commentators seemed a strong argument for assigning *Andreas* to Cynewulf, cannot be allowed much weight in determining the question of authorship. That *Andreas* belongs to the general school of Cynewulfian poetry is evident. But when one recalls the very homogeneous character of the poetry of this school, — as homogeneous in its way as the poetry of the English Augustan period, — it will be seen that the same verse-form, similar subject matter, and similar general tone, might all be the common characteristics of a number of different poets.

A discriminating observation will, however, bring to light some important differences between *Andreas* and the other poems of the

¹ Cf. Barnouw, p. 136.

Cynewulf group. Sarrazin,¹ bringing together all the parallelisms in expression which he could find between *Beowulf* and the Cynewulfian poems (including *Andreas*, *Guðlac*, *Phœnix*, and *Riddles*), attempts to establish a special connection between *Beowulf* and Cynewulf, — to prove, in short, that *Beowulf*, in its present form, was composed by Cynewulf. With this main purpose of Sarrazin we are at present not concerned.² It should be observed, however, how easily Sarrazin's argument for the Cynewulfian authorship of *Andreas* may be turned against him. In *Elene* Sarrazin finds 37 parallels to *Beowulf*, in *Christ* 14, in *Juliana* 9, in *Guðlac* (both parts) 14, in *Phœnix* 7, in *Riddles* 14; but in *Andreas* alone he finds 68 parallels, and this number in his second study he increases to 180. The chief result, therefore, of Sarrazin's investigations, so far as *Andreas* is concerned, is to show that that poem occupies a peculiar position in the group of Cynewulfian poems, by reason of the fact that it has carried the systematic borrowing from *Beowulf* to a much greater extent than any other Cynewulfian poem. The argument which establishes this special relation between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* does so at the cost of separating *Andreas* from the other poems of the Cynewulf group — a conclusion which confirms Mather's observations on the metre of *Andreas*.

But the borrowings and adaptations of *Andreas* from the heroic verse are not only more numerous than in the poems of Cynewulf, they are also different in tone and feeling. The contrast between the language and phraseology of the heroic verse and the thought of the Christian legend is more violent in *Andreas* than in the poems of Cynewulf, — than it is even in *Elene*, the poem which, in this respect, stands nearest to *Andreas*. There is in general a lack of restraint, a conscious and often labored use of the devices of Anglo-Saxon poetic style in *Andreas*, which set that poem sharply off from the poems of Cynewulf.³

¹ *Beowulf-Studien*, Berlin, 1888, pp. 114 ff.; "Neue Beowulf-Studien," *Eng. Stud.* XXIII, 221-267.

² For some discussion of Sarrazin's argument from parallels, see Kölbing, *Eng. Stud.* XIII, 472-480; Kail, *Anglia* XII, 21-40.

³ Cf. Brooke, *History of Early English Literature*, p. 424: "The constant use of phrases borrowed from *Beowulf*, from Cynewulf himself, the effort to be specially heroic in description, to import more of the heathen elements of Saga into a Christian song than even the *Elene* dared to do — the use of strange words, even the elaborate invention of words — point to a poet who was departing from a temperate style, and suggest, if they do not prove, that he [the author of *Andreas*] wrote at a time when Cynewulf was growing old."

It seems impossible, in the light of these considerations, to assign *Andreas* to Cynewulf. In its external history there is nothing to justify such a disposition of the poem, and in metre, language, and style it reveals characteristics that hold it distinctly apart from the assuredly genuine poems of Cynewulf. On the other hand, it is perhaps going too far absolutely to deny the poem to him; the evidence at present available does not justify so dogmatic an assertion. Without entering the field of merely possible hypothesis, we shall perhaps be going as far as our warrant permits if we say that the poem, although it follows the general traditions of Cynewulfian poetry, is too unlike *Christ*, *Juliana*, and *Elene* to be held in the same group with them.

V

POETIC ELABORATION IN ANDREAS

Andreas, "the Christian *Beowulf*" as it has been called,¹ is representative of that group of Anglo-Saxon poems in which Christian themes are treated in the spirit of the secular, heroic poetry. Its great companion-piece in this group is *Elene*. The subject matter in both poems is late Christian legend, — in the one the adventures of Andrew and Matthew in the strange land of Mermedonia; in the other the story of St. Helena and her discovery of the Cross in distant Palestine. In spite of their subject, however, both are in spirit romantic stories of incident and adventure.²

The framework of the story of both poems was given in their sources, and, so far as the action is concerned, the authors show little or no power of invention. There is not a single incident in the action of *Andreas* which was not suggested by its source.³ In his adaptation and elaboration of themes and allusions in his source, however, the author of *Andreas* was original. Such elaboration occurs chiefly in descriptions of nature, of towns and buildings, of spiritual struggles

¹ Garnett, *English Literature* I, 27.

² Cf. Ker, *Epic and Romance*, p. 376; *The Dark Ages*, pp. 263-264.

³ See above, pp. xxi ff.; and for *Elene*, see Glöde, *Anglia* IX, 271-318; Holt-hausen, *Zft. f. deutsche Phil.* XXXVII, 1-19. Brooke, p. 424, remarks that "the writer of the *Andreas* has one power Cynewulf had not, inventiveness in incident"; and see further his remarks on p. 414 and p. 420.

conceived as actual battles, of the relations existing between lord and retainer; and it is by the effective use of details of this character that he has succeeded in transmuting the fantastic, Oriental situations of his original into a narrative of true English action and feeling.

The poem opens with the conventional formula of the epic, citing tradition as the source of the story, although it is all plainly of literary origin.¹ The heroic note is struck in the very opening lines, in the words with which the characters of the poem are designated. The apostles are the *begnas*, they constitute the *comitatus*, of the Lord, who is their prince and king.² This conception of a sort of theocratic kingdom parallel to human political institutions is consistently maintained in the various names which are applied to the Lord.³ Christ, when distinguished from the Father, is the *Æðeling*, the son of the reigning Prince,⁴ accused by Satan of being a usurper.⁵ As their king the Lord commands the apostles to go wherever it is his will that they should go; and so it happens that Matthew suffers the hardest fate a retainer can suffer—he is sent into a strange land, away from the comfort and support of his lord.⁶

This relation of the Lord as commander, over-lord, and his followers as retainers, becomes structurally important in the body of the poem. On the one side are Andrew and his companions, who, with Matthew, are the Christian warriors, thanes, *folctogan*,⁷ under the leadership of the Lord; on the other side are the warrior Mermedonians under the leadership of Satan.⁸ By this device of dividing all the actors in the story into these two opposing camps the action of the whole poem is closely knit and unified. The story becomes thus one of the struggle between two organized forces, a story literally of the Christian warfare. When the heathen Mermedonians ride forth to the attack, they come with all the tumult and apparatus of battle, even though their foe is but a solitary person.⁹ In other ways, also, this heroic conception of the action of the poem is kept in mind. When Andrew is in Satan's

¹ See l. 1, note.

² L. 3, note; cf. also 323-325; 726, note.

³ See Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities in the Andreas and Elene*, pp. 13, 21, for a list of them.

⁴ 568, 649, 911.

⁵ 680, note.

⁶ Ll. 5, 6; 11 ff.; note the stress placed on the fact that it was a strange land to which Matthew was sent, ll. 16, 24, 26, 63, etc., and in 189 ff. the extremely personal tone of Andrew's remonstrance when a similar journey is proposed to him.

⁷ L. 8.

⁸ See 43^b; 141; 1170^b (cf. 822^b); 1296-1299; 1328 ff.

⁹ See 45 ff.; 125 ff.; 138; 652 ff.; 1067 ff.; 1094 ff.; 1201 ff.; 1269 ff.

power, the latter exults over him much as a warrior might exult over his defeated foe; ¹ when the heathen are in distress they call a council, a *witenagemot*, to discuss affairs, just as a Saxon army might do under similar circumstances; ² when Andrew's companions are given the privilege of turning back from the journey they have undertaken, in the true spirit of the *comitatus* they prefer the risk of death to the disgrace of deserting their leader; ³ and in bargaining with the disguised sailors Andrew speaks of paying them with gifts of rings, ⁴ and even of land, ⁵ as a Saxon prince might speak of rewarding his retainers.

Andreas also follows the traditions of native heroic verse in its dignified treatment and elaboration of allusions to cities and buildings. ⁶ With epic impartiality commendatory epithets are used even of the heathen city of the Mermedonians; it is the *wīnburg*, ⁷ the *goldburg*, ⁸ the *wederburg*, ⁹ the *māran byrig*, ¹⁰ the *beorhtan byrig*, ¹¹ the *breogostōl brēme*. ¹² Bare allusions are also amplified into full descriptions. The brief statement of the prose version, which is here a literal translation of the Πράξις, *þā se mergen geworden wæs, þā se hāliga Andreas licgende wæs beforan Marmadonia ceastre*, ¹³ becomes in *Andreas* the detailed description of ll. 831-846. In ll. 1155-1160 a description of grief and sorrow is emphasized by a picture of the city deserted and desolate; a contrasting description of joy is given in ll. 1655-1657 and 1672-1673, with their picture of the gold-adorned hall of feasting. The passage ll. 1229-1236, with its description of the streets of the city, is elaborated from a bare allusion, in the prose merely *þurh þisse ceastre lanan*. ¹⁴ Likewise ll. 773-778 (part of a connected passage omitted by the prose version, but see the Greek version, Bonnet, p. 82, l. 7) are, so far as the details are concerned, a poetic amplification of a colorless statement of the original. So also allusions to buildings in the city are elaborated. The prison in which Matthew is held, mentioned merely as *carcern* in the prose version, ¹⁵ is described in the corresponding passage of the poem ¹⁶ by the aid of various epithets. In this prison,

¹ 1315 ff.

² 157; 1093 ff.; 1161 ff.

³ Ll. 396-414; see l. 3, note.

⁴ L. 271; 302-303; 476.

⁵ L. 303.

⁶ Cf. l. 1236, note.

⁷ Ll. 1637, 1672.

⁸ L. 1655.

⁹ L. 1697.

¹⁰ Ll. 40, 287, 973.

¹¹ L. 1649.

¹² L. 209.

¹³ Bright, *Reader*, p. 118, ll. 14-15.

¹⁴ Bright, *Reader*, p. 123, l. 1.

¹⁵ *Reader*, p. 120, l. 12.

¹⁶ Ll. 1004-1008.

according to the prose version,¹ there stood a column, and upon the column a stone image. In the poem this single column is multiplied and magnified.² A similar heightening of an allusion of the original occurs in the mention of the ship in which Andrew sailed to Mermedonia.³ The description of the temple in the poem⁴ is part of a passage which is omitted by the prose version. The Greek version, however, in the corresponding passage says merely that the Lord entered a temple of the Gentiles, *εἰς ἱερὸν τῶν ἔθνῶν* (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 10). Apparently the Anglo-Saxon poet has in mind the Jewish temple at Jerusalem,⁵ which he describes in the same terms that the author of the *Beowulf* uses in describing the great hall Heorot.⁶

Among the passages of the poem descriptive of natural phenomena, the epic elaborations of allusions to dawn⁷ and to sunset and night⁸ are noteworthy. Particularly interesting is the symbolic description in ll. 1253 ff., where the allusion to the night passes over into a description of the winter, the primitive mythic matter of night and winter being thus fused into one theme.

The most vivid and real descriptions of the poem are those of the sea, especially of the disturbed sea.⁹ The eagerness with which the poet seizes the opportunity of introducing the description in ll. 369 ff. is noteworthy. The corresponding passage of the prose version says merely: *Ic gesæo hæð hās brōðor synt geswencede of þisse sēwe hrēohnesse* (*Reader*, p. 117, ll. 4-5); and in the Greek version¹⁰ it is made quite plain that the boat has not yet been cast off from land. In the Greek version and the prose the frightened disciples are offered the chance of leaving the ship before the voyage begins, whereas in *Andreas* the question of leaving the ship is not raised until the ship is on the open sea.¹¹ Somewhat similar and equally vigorous descriptions are the accounts of the water-flood on land¹² and of the circle of fire with which Andrew surrounds the city of the Mermedonians.¹³ Several of the personifications in these sections of the poem are strikingly imaginative and vivid. Cold and frost are represented as hoary warriors

¹ *Reader*, p. 125, l. 15.

² Ll. 1492-1495; the allusion to the image is omitted in the poem, perhaps because the columns were thought of as holding up the roof of the prison.

³ Cf. l. 240, note.

⁴ Ll. 666-669.

⁵ Cf. *tō þām cynestōle*, l. 666.

⁶ See l. 668, note.

⁷ Ll. 123 ff.; 241 ff.; 835 ff.; 1268-1269; 1388.

⁸ Ll. 1253 ff.; 1304 ff.; 1456.

⁹ Ll. 369 ff.; 435 ff.; 489 ff.; 511 ff.

¹⁰ See l. 427, note.

¹¹ Cf. ll. 397-398.

¹² Ll. 1522 ff. ¹³ Ll. 1540 ff.

stalking abroad at night.¹ The terror of the sea is imaginatively conceived as a power rising up from the sea in order to attack the occupants of the boat.² Hunger is figured, almost in the spirit of allegory, as a 'pale table-companion,'³ and again as a grim scather of men;⁴ and evil and hatred are personified as a fiery, consuming dragon.⁵

The passages of description and dialogue in the poem are sometimes given a strikingly realistic, even extravagantly realistic coloring. The descriptions of battles between Andrew and the Mermedonians have been already mentioned; an even more grotesque example is the description of the flood as a beer-feast.⁶ The fire described in ll. 1540 ff., which in the Greek version is the conventional fiery cloud from heaven, becomes in the poem a conflagration such as must have been familiar to the inhabitants of the inflammable early Teutonic villages.⁷ Some of the passages of dialogue, however, are charmingly naïve and fresh, as, for example, when Andrew attempts to evade the command which the Lord has laid upon him,⁸ or bargains with the sailors concerning his passage-money,⁹ or asks for lessons in sailing.¹⁰

In determining the extent to which *Andreas* was indebted to specific Anglo-Saxon poems, the first place must be given to *Beowulf*. Not only are phrases and words borrowed liberally, but general situations are made to recall those of the earlier poem. The whole narrative framework of *Andreas* plainly suggests the first part of *Beowulf*. Andrew's mission to the Mermedonians is parallel to that of Beowulf to the Danes; the elaboration of the sea voyage in *Andreas* is evidently due to recollections of Beowulf's journey; Andrew performs his task of cleansing the heathen land of the Mermedonians from the sin of cannibalism, and Beowulf cleanses the great hall Heorot of the man-eating monster Grendel; both heroes, their work being finished, return to the land from which they set out.

These general similarities in situation are made more striking by frequent parallelism of phrasing between the two poems, as though

¹ L. 1258. ² Ll. 442-445, and cf. note to ll. 444-445. ³ L. 1088.

⁴ L. 1115. It is particularly interesting to compare these personifications of famine with *El.* 691, where night, hunger, and a prison-house, three themes that always stirred the imagination of the poet of *Andreas*, are mentioned in a perfectly colorless way characteristic of the difference between the two poems.

⁵ L. 769, and note. ⁶ Ll. 1532 ff.

⁷ See Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 96.

⁸ Ll. 190-201.

⁹ Ll. 471 ff.

¹⁰ L. 485.

the author, regarding his hero as another Beowulf, strove as much as possible to tell his story in the same language as the story of Beowulf.¹ After *Beowulf*, the poems which show the closest affinity to *Andreas* are the Cynewulfian poems, particularly *Elene*,² *Christ*,³ *Guthlac*,⁴ and *Juliana*.⁵ Of these four poems *Elene* offers the largest number of

¹ Parallels between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 1, 3, 8, 24, 25, 43, 45, 51, 64, 72, 106, 116, 123, 127, 128, 150, 151, 152, 154, 180-181, 208, 223, 230, 235, 240, 242, 259, 265, 267, 273, 301, 302, 310, 316, 320-323, 324, 333, 348, 358, 360, 366, 370, 371, 377-380, 393, 414, 421, 425-426, 429, 439, 454, 458-460, 464, 474-476, 493-495, 497, 511, 541, 553-554, 558, 591, 600, 620, 622, 668, 698, 706-707, 732, 769, 784, 803, 818, 824, 834, 837, 840, 841, 843, 845, 850, 914, 932, 940, 963, 982, 985, 988, 994, 1002, 1012, 1013, 1037, 1046, 1074, 1085, 1097, 1115-1116, 1132, 1137-1138, 1140, 1155, 1188, 1191, 1198, 1208, 1227, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1240, 1241, 1245, 1254, 1269-1270, 1275, 1305, 1312, 1324, 1354, 1359, 1393, 1447, 1469, 1481-1482, 1490-1495, 1526, 1531, 1538, 1542, 1547, 1548, 1555-1556, 1557, 1563, 1565, 1574, 1589, 1599, 1612, 1616, 1619, 1626, 1627, 1667, 1694-1695, 1722. See Arnold, *Notes on Beowulf*, pp. 121-126, for a discussion showing that the borrowing was by *Andreas* from *Beowulf*, not, as Sarrazin would have it, by *Beowulf* from *Andreas*.

² Parallels between *Andreas* and *Elene* are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 10, 31, 39, 40-41, 62, 65-66, 70-71, 95, 106, 123, 133, 140, 204, 223, 235, 237, 265, 302, 360, 395, 410, 416, 458, 470, 485, 523, 544, 557, 564, 568, 569, 573, 583, 585, 588, 595-596, 602, 605, 606, 631, 645, 646, 672, 684, 688, 693, 718-724, 728, 736, 742, 750, 752, 770, 784, 788, 805, 832, 834, 852, 876, 892, 915, 932, 963, 967, 988, 1002, 1008, 1015, 1035, 1046, 1056, 1059, 1087, 1144, 1156, 1157-1158, 1165, 1166, 1202, 1204, 1242, 1243, 1251, 1271, 1278, 1312, 1313, 1326-1327, 1351, 1355, 1379, 1481-1482, 1491, 1511, 1520, 1535, 1538, 1542, 1618, 1627, 1636, 1637, 1640, 1643, 1649, 1684, 1685, 1688, 1698, 1699, 1709.

³ Parallels are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 33-34, 36, 50, 54, 59, 99, 104, 105, 111, 130, 139, 190, 198, 201, 206, 227, 228-229, 242, 253, 313, 323, 332-339, 367, 394, 408-409, 425-426, 501-502, 523, 525, 541, 564, 567, 576, 580, 585, 599, 606, 630, 640, 661, 671, 717, 721, 746, 747, 759, 776, 789, 795, 798, 800, 810, 814, 830, 832, 845, 868, 874, 938, 939, 967, 968-969, 975, 978, 979, 988, 1005, 1010, 1013, 1037, 1059, 1069, 1085, 1087, 1144, 1166, 1169, 1204, 1207, 1278, 1291, 1340, 1436, 1486, 1511, 1548, 1549, 1555, 1557, 1563, 1603, 1610, 1619, 1633, 1637, 1645, 1649, 1685, 1686, 1709.

⁴ Parallels are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 8, 25, 31, 88, 89, 105, 113, 116, 140, 164, 167, 190, 228-229, 233, 294-295, 300, 335, 387, 395, 463, 544, 558, 568, 569, 594, 602, 626, 642, 654, 721, 776, 781, 808, 810, 818, 824, 836, 837, 887, 910, 938, 970, 991, 1001, 1010, 1072-1074, 1107, 1112, 1114, 1210, 1227, 1239, 1243, 1254, 1266, 1278, 1284-1286, 1294, 1296, 1334-1335, 1361, 1476, 1481-1482, 1549, 1579, 1581, 1618, 1637, 1645, 1685, 1696, 1699, 1709.

⁵ Parallels are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 52, 53, 57-58, 82, 92-93, 140, 179, 184, 195, 217, 237, 327, 470, 493-495, 524, 528, 556, 605, 611,

parallels to *Andreas*, but the parallels to the other poems prove that they must all have been very familiar to the author of *Andreas*. The parallels between *Andreas* and *Juliana*, though fewer in number than the parallels between *Andreas* and any of the other three poems, are particularly interesting, since the evidences of borrowing on the part of *Andreas* are clearer there than in the case of any other poem except *Beowulf*. Besides the Cynewulfian poems and *Beowulf*, almost every other Anglo-Saxon poem of any length contains a number of phrases which are also found in *Andreas*; but these parallels are sporadic, and, though they indicate the wide acquaintanceship of the author of *Andreas* with the traditions of Anglo-Saxon poetry, they do not prove any special dependence of *Andreas* upon other poems, nor any closer relationship than is perhaps usual and normal.

Besides these amplifying passages and reminiscences taken from the literary traditions of Anglo-Saxon poetry, there are also in *Andreas* numerous additions of passages of religious color, chiefly recollections from the Bible or homiletic literature. References to the Deity are amplified by allusions to his attributes and powers and to the creation;¹ and the mention of heaven naturally suggests the description of the joys of heaven,² or of hell, the tortures of hell.³ Occasional passages of hymnic character are also developed.⁴ Most frequently, however, the additions consist of illustrative quotations from the Bible, the explanation of a proper name,⁵ the amplification of an allusion already contained in the original,⁶ as, for example, an allusion to the resurrection,⁷ to the temple,⁸ or to the crucifixion.⁹ The allusion to idols and the heathen temple in ll. 1687-1694 is all the addition of the poet. The story of the fall of Satan and his imprisonment in hell was familiar to the poet.¹⁰ Other references derived from ecclesiastical tradition are

695, 734, 746, 755, 792, 805, 806, 807, 845, 861, 873, 887, 932, 978, 979, 994, 1071, 1075-1077, 1086, 1127, 1144, 1166, 1180, 1197, 1223, 1238, 1242, 1288, 1310, 1313, 1315, 1319, 1326-1327, 1328-1329, 1342, 1355, 1415, 1436, 1461, 1462-1463, 1469-1477, 1470, 1486, 1548, 1558-1559, 1579, 1618, 1619, 1629, 1684, 1690.

¹ Cf. ll. 161-162, 324-329, 518-525, 535-536, 541-548, 747-750, 996-999, 1680 ff.; and see Fritzsche, p. 24; Ramhorst, pp. 12-13.

² Ll. 102-106, 225-229, 597-600, 807-810, 869-874, 977-980, 1152-1156.

³ Ll. 1190-1194, 1377-1385.

⁷ Ll. 640-643.

⁴ Ll. 540-548, 1284-1295.

⁸ Ll. 666 ff.

⁵ Ll. 12-13, 757, note; 879, note.

⁹ Ll. 960 ff.

⁶ Cf. 332-339, note; 1418-1424, note.

¹⁰ Cf. ll. 1190 ff., 1377 ff., 1701 ff.

those to the Cherubim and Seraphim,¹ and to Ethiopia as the seat of Matthew's labors.²

Some of the passages of this nature are remarkable for an apparent ignorance or misunderstanding of Biblical allusions. Thus in ll. 165-166, an addition of the poem, the three synonymous words *Ebrēum*, *Israhēlum*, and *Iūdēa* are apparently understood by the poet as meaning three different peoples. The statement of ll. 582-584 is not literally in accord with the New Testament narrative, as Christ raised only Lazarus, the son of the widow of Nain, and Jairus' daughter from the dead; perhaps the poet may have had the *Evangelium Nicodemi* in mind. The statement of l. 1324, that Christ was put to death by Herod, shows an astonishing ignorance of the story of the crucifixion. Herod is not mentioned in the corresponding passage of the prose;³ but in the Greek version⁴ the manuscripts vary, some reading as *Andreas*, others adding the name of John as the one put to death by Herod; and still others read Pilate for Herod. But for the introduction of the names Joshua and Tobias,⁵ in connection with the story of the Commandments, there is no authority either in the Anglo-Saxon prose version or in any of the manuscripts of the Greek version of the legend. The names appear to be inserted arbitrarily from the chance recollection of the poet. On the other hand, in l. 778 ff. the poem appears to correct its source. In the Greek version⁶ the twelve patriarchs are said to be buried in Machpelah, although the Old Testament does not state that any of them was buried there, and one, Joseph,⁷ was certainly buried elsewhere. The poet speaks only of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, all of whom were buried in Machpelah.

With the exception of one brief, colorless passage,⁸ the poet nowhere in the poem alludes to himself or to his own experiences.

¹ Ll. 717-726, and notes.

² L. 432, note.

³ Bright, *Reader*, p. 123.

⁴ Bonnet, p. 105, l. 3.

⁶ L. 1516.

⁶ Bonnet, p. 83, l. 3.

⁷ *Josh.* XXIV, 32.

⁸ 1478-1479.

VI

THE LEGEND OF ST. ANDREW

The story of the Twelve Apostles, as it is presented in the New Testament, offered a peculiarly inviting field to the imagination of the apocryphal elaborator. The Apostles, who during the lifetime of their Lord were his immediate personal followers, were commissioned after his death to go as witnesses "unto the uttermost parts of the earth."¹ Of these various missions, however, little further is said. Some of the acts of Peter, Paul, John, and James son of Zebedee, are briefly narrated; but concerning Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Simon Zelotes, Judas brother of James, Matthew, Bartholomew, James son of Alpheus, and Matthias, aside from a few general allusions to the Apostles as a whole, the New Testament records are almost completely silent.²

But since the command had been given to the Apostles to go and teach all nations,³ what more natural than the attempt to discover the country to which each apostle was sent? Thus as early as the second century⁴ arose the legend of the *Lots of the Apostles*, the *Sortes Apostolorum*. According to this legend the Apostles cast lots among themselves that each might know the country into which he was to go and teach, and in accordance with these lots they set out on their various ways. This legend is frequently found as the opening passage of the apocryphal acts of the Apostles.⁵ In course of time it became an unquestioned part of church tradition, acquiring, like the Apostles' Creed, almost the same reverence as that accorded to the true canon.⁶ To this account of the dispersion of the Apostles to all lands brief notices were later added concerning their activity and death in their respective countries, and thus arose the type of narrative represented by the Anglo-Saxon *Fates of the Apostles*.

This legend of the dispersion of the Apostles was only the beginning of a great cycle of romantic, apocryphal tradition, which, taking up the

¹ *Acts* I, 8.

² See Newman, *Parochial Sermons* I, 209-215 (New York, 1843), for a connected survey of all the allusions to Andrew in the New Testament.

³ *Matt.* XXVIII, 19.

⁴ Lipsius, I, 11.

⁵ Cf. the opening lines of *Andreas*; and see Lipsius, I, 11-13, for other examples.

⁶ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* III, 1, cites the legend as authority for the various lands in which the Apostles labored.

life of each Apostle in turn, made it the center of a comprehensive history, much as in later times certain of Charlemagne's *doze per* became heroes of special separate narratives. The materials for these apocryphal lives, which passed under the name of the acts (*Πράξεις*), or the journeys (*Περίοδοι*), or the miracles (*Θαύματα*), or the martyrdom (*Μαρτύριον, Τελείωσις*), of the respective Apostles, were sometimes derived from local tradition — usually the attempt to trace back some foundation to apostolic times, as e.g. the foundation of the church at Constantinople, ascribed to St. Andrew, or of the church at Rome, ascribed to St. Peter. Often old tales were used to carry certain doctrinal and partisan views; and doubtless often the stories were merely the expression of the romantic imagination of the faithful. In general the tone of all these compositions is extremely popular.¹

Most of these lives were not originally intended, however, to be merely entertaining. More or less heretical in their origins, they were devised to spread heretical (chiefly Gnostic) beliefs and customs within the boundaries of the church. Their composition came gradually to be ascribed to one Leucius Charinus, *discipulus diaboli* as he is called in the *Decretal* of Gelasius,² a name which is frequently met with in the writings of the fathers from the fifth century on, always accompanied by the accusation of heretical teaching.³ But the composition of the lives themselves must have been a slow and cumulative process, and the name Leucius Charinus was merely the peg on which a number of unattached histories were hung. The book of which Leucius Charinus thus became the traditional author appears to have grown until it finally included the acts of all Twelve Apostles. Photius (patriarch of Constantinople, ca. 981) criticises in detail a collection containing acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul, and mentions as current among heretics a collection of the acts of all Twelve Apostles.⁴ Acts of all the five Apostles mentioned by Photius have been preserved to the present day, and fragments of acts of Philip and of Matthew have been found; but of the acts of the remaining Apostles nothing can be determined with certainty.

¹ See Lipsius, I, 7-8; von Dobschütz, "Der Roman in der altchristlichen Literatur," in *Deutsche Rundschau* CXI, 87-106 (April, 1902), for a general summary of the characteristics of these legends.

² Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* LIX, 162.

³ Cf. Lipsius, I, 44 ff., for a detailed, and Harnack, p. 116 ff., for a briefer, discussion of this character.

⁴ Cf. Lipsius, I, 73.

The earliest trace of special acts of Andrew is contained in a passage of Eusebius (ca. 265-340),¹ who characterizes them, among various other apocryphal writings, as the fictions (*ἀναπλάσματα*) of heretics. From this time on there are frequent allusions to acts of Andrew, proving beyond question that well-known acts of Andrew, which bore originally a strong heretical coloring, must have been in existence as early as the beginning of the fourth century. Of these acts, however, only the later Catholic revisions have been preserved, as is the case with all the other apocryphal acts of the Apostles that have come down to us. These later redactions fall into two distinct groups, one relating the acts of Andrew in the lands about the Black Sea, the other his acts in Greece. Without attempting to reconstruct the earlier comprehensive narrative of the acts of Andrew of which these later versions are probably the fragmentary survivals,² or to recount the numerous documents in the various languages in which these survivals have been preserved, we shall endeavor to show the connection between the two groups of acts, and, at the same time, to point out the probable ultimate origin of the legend of Andrew in the story of his activity in the regions about the Black Sea.

The first group of acts, those which relate Andrew's adventures in the lands about the Black Sea, consists of two parts. The first part, the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew in the city of the Anthropophagi*,³ tells the story of the imprisonment of Matthew by the *anthropophagi*, the freeing of Matthew by Andrew, and the conversion of the *anthropophagi* by Andrew. The second part, the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*,⁴ is a continuation of the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew*. In the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* (Πράξεις, chap. 21), after Matthew has been released from prison he and his two disciples are taken up in a cloud and are conveyed to the mountain where Peter is then teaching, where they remain. When the time comes for him to leave the city of the *anthropophagi*, Andrew declares his intention of going to his disciples (chap. 32), and the Lord, in rebuking Andrew (chap. 33), tells him

¹ *Hist. Eccles.*, ed. Dindorf, III, 25; Fabricius, II, 747 ff., quotes in full all the early allusions to acts of Andrew.

² See Lipsius, I, 545 ff., for such an attempt.

³ For bibliographical references, see above, p. xxi, note 1.

⁴ Printed fragmentarily by Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. 161 ff., more fully by Bonnet, Part 2, Vol. I, pp. 117-127. Cf. Lipsius, I, 553 ff., for an abstract of the contents of the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*.

that after seven days Andrew shall seek his disciples and go away with them to the city of the barbarians (*εις την πόλιν τῶν βαρβάρων*, Bonnet, p. 116, l. 1). At the opening of the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*, we are told that after Andrew left the city of the *anthropophagi* he was taken up in a cloud and carried to the mountain where were Peter, Matthew, and Matthew's two disciples, here named Alexander and Rufus. The land in which this meeting takes place is no longer the land of the *anthropophagi*, but the land of the barbarians, to the inhabitants of which Andrew is commissioned to preach. After Andrew has related his experiences in the city of the *anthropophagi* Christ appears to the Apostles in the form of a boy and commands them to go to the city of the barbarians. They set out and on their way meet with a man plowing beside the road. They ask him for bread, with the intention of reading in his willingness or unwillingness to comply with their request an omen, good or evil, of their activity in the city of the barbarians. The man declares himself willing to give them bread; but, as he has none at hand, he entrusts his field and oxen to their care while he goes to the city to procure it. During his absence the apostles plow and sow the field with seed, which immediately springs up and ripens into an abundant harvest. When the plowman returns and sees what has been done in his absence he falls at the feet of the Apostles and is converted. He carries the wonderful news to the city, bearing a sheaf of the miraculous grain with him, and prepares his house for the reception of the Apostles. But Satan enters the hearts of the elders of the city and they determine to forbid entrance to the Apostles. Having heard of the Apostles' abhorrence of immodesty, they disrobe a harlot and place her before the gates of the city. When the Apostles reach the city, at the prayer of Andrew the harlot is carried up into the air by the Archangel Michael, where she remains hovering above the heads of the people. As a result of this miracle many are converted; the Apostles enter the city, preach, work miracles, and establish churches. The concluding episode of the *Acts* tells how Onesiphoros, a rich citizen of the city of the barbarians, is converted through receiving the power of making a camel pass through the eye of a needle. The Apostles then continue their travels, bearing with them the blessings of the newly converted.

There can be no doubt that in these *Acts of Peter and Andrew* we have a fragment of the older *Περίοδοι Ἀνδρέου* connecting immediately with the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew in the city of the Anthropophagi*.

The two combined, however, must have constituted only part of a larger life of Andrew, since the narrative is manifestly unfinished at the conclusion of the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*. For a complete synthetic survey of the life and acts of Andrew, we must turn to the narrative of the acts of Andrew in Greece.

For this second group of the acts of Andrew we are dependent upon more thoroughgoing Catholic revisions of material taken from the older *Περίοδοι*. The narrative is preserved in various versions in Greek,¹ and in a Latin version,² entitled *De gestis beati Andreae Apostoli*, which forms part of the so-called Abdias collection.³ The narrative in these versions gives a connected survey of the whole life of St. Andrew. After a brief summary of the passages in which Andrew is mentioned in the New Testament, the Abdias text begins with an account of the acts of Andrew in the country of the *anthropophagi*. Having received Achaia as his province, Andrew sets sail from his country, Achaia, for the city of the *anthropophagi*, here named Mermedonia, in order to free his brother Matthew from prison. The journey to Mermedonia and Andrew's acts among the *anthropophagi* are narrated very briefly, and nothing whatever is said about the continuation of the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* in the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*. Andrew's return journey to Achaia, however, is given in great detail. The places through which he passes are Amaseia, Sinope, Nicaea, Nicomedia; then, crossing the Hellespont, he reaches Byzantium, passes through Thrace and the city Perinthus, through Macedonia and the cities Philippi and Thessalonica, at all of which places he performs numerous miracles.

¹ Edited by Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, p. 105 ff., and by Bonnet, Part 2, Vol. I, p. 1 ff. For a description of these versions, see Lipsius, I, 140, 545-6, and Bonnet, *Praefatio*, xi ff.

² Fabricius, II, 456-515. A somewhat compressed version of the narrative as it is given in Fabricius is found in the work of Gregory of Tours entitled *De miraculis beati Andreae* (Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* LXXI, Col. 1099). Gregory announces in a prologue to his narrative that he has revised an earlier work on St. Andrew because of its verbosity; Lipsius, I, 138, thinks it probable that the Fabricius text was the one which Gregory revised.

³ This work, which purports to have been written first in Hebrew by Abdias, first bishop of Babylon, to have been then translated into Greek by Abdias' disciple Eutropius, and then into Latin by one Africanus, was most certainly (according to Lipsius, in Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, s.v. Abdias) written in Latin and originally in Western Europe. Sometime after 524 A.D. is assigned as the date of its composition.

He finally reaches Patras in Achaia, the scene of his last labors. Maximilla, the wife of the proconsul Aegeates, lies sick of a fever, and her servant Ephidama, one of the faithful, calls upon the Apostle for help. Andrew restores Maximilla to health but refuses Aegeates' offer of money in payment of his services. Soon after this the brother of the proconsul, Stratocles, arrives from Italy, and Andrew relieves his favorite attendant, a boy named Alcman, from the torments of demons that afflict him. As a result of these miracles Maximilla is converted and, during the absence of Aegeates, grants the Apostle permission to preach in the praetorium. Aegeates, unexpectedly returning, is prevented through the prayer of Andrew from appearing in the praetorium until after Andrew has blessed and dismissed his audience. Maximilla more and more frequently comes to the Apostle in order to hear his words of instruction, and in the end takes upon herself the vow of chastity. Angered at this, Aegeates seizes Andrew and casts him into prison. On the following day he ascends the judgment-seat and, having summoned Andrew before him, commands him to cease from his foolish and superstitious¹ teachings. Upon Andrew's refusal Aegeates sentences him to three times seven strokes, and delivers him over to be bound, but not nailed,² hand and foot to the cross. The people, enraged at the action of Aegeates, are restrained by Andrew from injuring the proconsul. Andrew, after addressing the cross as the goal of his expectations, is bound upon it by the servants of Aegeates. For a day and a night he preached uninterruptedly from the cross. On the following day Aegeates yields to the request of the people and prepares to release his victim. Aegeates himself comes to the cross, but Andrew is willing to die, and, after prayer, rejoicing and glorifying the Lord, he gives up the spirit.

The body of the saint, which remained uncorrupted, is buried by Maximilla. Aegeates, seized by a demon, precipitates himself from a high place and is killed. Stratocles, his brother, who had embraced the true faith, refuses the succession to his brother's riches, declaring that all things that were his should perish with him. The 30th of November is given as the day on which Andrew died.

The redaction of Gregory of Tours³ adds, at the conclusion of the narrative, an account of the miracle which occurs at the grave of the

¹ *Vana et superstitiosa*, Fabricius, II, 510.

² *Ligatis manibus et pedibus et non clavis affixus*, Fabricius, II, 511.

³ Cf. above, p. lxiii, note 2.

Apostle: manna and fragrant oil flow from the grave, and the greater or less abundance of the manna and the oil foretell the prosperity of the year to come. In some years there is such an abundance of oil that it flows to the middle of the church, which is dedicated to the Apostle.¹

The question of the relation of these two groups of acts to each other must next engage our attention. The narrative preserved in the pseudo-Abdias reveals a larger general plan and a completer unification of material than the two sections of the acts of Andrew constituting the first group. Are the two fragmentary narratives therefore to be regarded as dissociated parts of a more completely unified and larger whole, represented by the version of the pseudo-Abdias? Or is the Abdias version, made up chiefly of the story of Andrew's activity in Greece, which is relatively of late date and is decidedly more conventional and literary in tone than the story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* and the barbarians, a development of an earlier form represented in part by the two fragments? The question is of interest, because, in answering it, it will be necessary to go back to the first elements of the legend of Andrew and to determine from what germ the whole great series of his acts sprang.

The earliest traditions agree in assigning Scythia (instead of Achaia) to Andrew as his special province. Thus Eusebius² mentions only Scythia (*Ἀνδρέας δὲ τὴν Σκυθίαν*) as the scene of Andrew's labors. It is only in the later accounts (as the relatively late Abdias) that Achaia is mentioned as Andrew's province, sometimes alone, sometimes in connection with Scythia. Now Scythia was in ancient times a term of very wide application; it meant no single group of people usually, but was the general name for the country of the numerous tribes that occupied the lands about the Black Sea. To the Greek the word was a synonym for all that was wild and barbarous. Certain Scythian tribes

¹ Two other synthetic lives of Andrew, although in the progress of the events narrated they resemble the Abdias text, in detail are frequently fuller and occasionally appear to preserve more original passages than the Abdias. These lives are (1) the work of Epiphanius, the monk, *Περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τέλους Ἀνδρέου*, most accessible in Migne, *Patrolog. Graeca* CXX, 216 ff.; Migne adds a Latin translation of the Greek; (2) a work by an unknown author, *Πράξεις καὶ περιόδοι τοῦ Ἀνδρέου ἐγκωμίω συμπλεγμέναι*, edited by Bonnet, *Acta Andreae cum laudatione contexta*, pp. 3-44.

² *Hist. Eccles.*, ed. Dindorf, III, 1.

were known as cannibals, Aristotle¹ mentioning in particular the Achaei and the Heniochi. Strabo,² though he does not speak of them as cannibals, describes these tribes as pirates and robbers. The three tribes, the Achaei, Zygi, and Heniochi, he says, subsist by piracy. Their boats are slender, narrow, light, and capable of holding about twenty-five men, rarely thirty. He mentions the tradition that at the time of the expedition of Jason, the Achaei Phthiotae founded the Achaia in Scythia, and the Lacedaemonians Heniochia. Their leaders are said to have been Rhecas and Amphistratus, the charioteers (ἡνίοχοι) of the Dioscuri; and the Heniochi are supposed to have derived their name from these persons. Strabo also describes the manner of warfare of these tribes: they were accustomed to make swift descents in their light boats upon the neighboring countries for the purpose of capturing the inhabitants and reducing them to slavery.³

It is in some such country as this described by Aristotle and Strabo that we must suppose the action of at least the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* and the *Acts of Peter and Andrew* to have taken place. The assigning of these acts to Scythia is strikingly confirmed by the identification of the city of the *anthropophagi*. This city, which is not specifically named in the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* or the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*, appears in the Anglo-Saxon versions as Mermadonia (Marmadonia), in the Abdias text as Myrmidon or Myrmidona, in the *Martyrium Matthaei*⁴ as Μύρην τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων, in the *Martyrium Andreae*⁵ as τὴν Μυρμηνίδα πόλιν, and in the *Legenda Aurca*⁶ in the corrupt form Margundia. This city has been plausibly identified by Gutschmid⁷ with the city of the Tauric Chersonese⁸ mentioned in Strabo⁹ as πολίχμιον Μυρμήκιον, "a small city, 20 stadia

¹ *Politica* VIII, iv.

² *Geographica*, ed. Meineke, II, 696.

³ Gutschmid, p. 382, calls attention to the similarity between this account of the custom of these tribes and the resolution of the *anthropophagi*, Πράξεις, chap. 22 (Bonnet, pp. 94-97), to send out their young men in boats in order to secure victims to replace those that had been taken from them by Andrew.

⁴ Bonnet, part 2, I, 220.

⁵ Bonnet, part 2, I, 47.

⁶ Ed. Graesse, p. 13.

⁷ P. 383.

⁸ More exactly, the Trachean Chersonese. Cf. Kiepert, *Neuer Atlas von Hellas und den hellenischen Colonien*, plate X. The city is indicated here on the special map of the Kimmerian Bosphorus.

⁹ Ed. Meineke, II, 426, l. 18. For other forms of the name, see Gutschmid, p. 383.

from Panticapaeum and 40 stadia from Parthenium." From a form of this name *Μυρμήκιον* or *Μυρμηκιών*, through a probable Myrmiciona, was undoubtedly derived the later form Myrmidona, which appears in the Anglo-Saxon version as Mermedonia.¹

If, then, the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* and the *Acts of Peter and Andrew* are to be placed in Scythia, Andrew's province, and if these acts are to be regarded as parts of the older comprehensive life of the Apostle, it becomes necessary to explain the connection between these acts and the acts and martyrdom of Andrew in Greece. According to the plausible theory of Lipsius² the whole series of the acts of Andrew in Greece is due to a traditional confusion of the Achaïans of the east coast of the Black Sea with the Achaïans of the northern part of the Peloponnesus in Greece. That the confusion was a natural and probable one is evident from Strabo's attempt to account for the presence of a tribe bearing the name of Achaïans in Scythia on the assumption of a colony from the well-known Achaïa of his own country. The less-known country being thus replaced by the better-known, the martyrdom of Andrew was readily placed at Patras, the chief seaport of the Greek Achaïa.³ This confusion probably took place in popular tradition before the writer of the synthetic life of Andrew (of which the pseudo-Abdias is one representative) gathered together the materials for his work. In order to connect the two widely separated scenes of action, Myrmecium in the Tauric Chersonese and Patras in Achaïa, it became necessary to develop the journey of Andrew from the one place to the other. It is noteworthy that the episodes of the acts of Andrew in Greece and the story of his martyrdom at Patras betray a much more conventional and literary tone than the episodes of the two earlier narratives. The former are such as might be drawn from the inexhaustible supply of ecclesiastical legends and fitted to any character. On the other hand, the story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi*, and that of Andrew and Peter among the barbarians, are distinctly

¹ It is probable that the analogy of Greek *Μυρμιδόνες* aided in the change from *Μυρμήκιον* to Myrmidona.

² Vol. I, p. 609.

³ Across the straits of the Bosphorus and not far from Myrmecium, according to Strabo, II, 694, l. 8, was the town Patraios (modern Ada); cf. Kiepert, *Neuer Atlas*, plate X. Perhaps the similarity of this name to the name of the city in the Greek Achaïa may have aided in the confusion of the two countries; the martyrdom of Andrew in the older narratives may even have been placed at the Scythian Patraios.

in the tone of the popular legend, and it is probably to these traditional acts of Andrew in the cannibal city that we must look to find the origin and the center of the whole great cycle of his acts. The ultimate source from which the story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* sprang Gutschmid¹ regards as twofold: (1) traditions derived from the first Greek colonists of the lands about the Black Sea, which told of their struggles with the barbarous natives; (2) sailor stories, as e.g. reminiscences of the *Odyssey* and the fourth journey of Sindbad the Sailor, in the *Arabian Nights*, where also the *anthropophagi* place strange herbs before their prisoners in order to take away their reason, and pasture them like animals until they are fat enough to be eaten.²

The later development in western Europe of the Oriental story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* and among the barbarians was, in general, in the direction of repression in order to bring it more into harmony with western taste. The story was thus gradually revised and pruned until practically the whole of the adventure in the land of the *anthropophagi* was eliminated. This tendency is already plainly visible in the pseudo-Abdias and in Gregory of Tours, where the more conventional miracles of Andrew in Greece are elaborated at the expense of the original, more fantastic elements of the story. This process of conventionalization was continued until in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus a Voragine, the work which above all others served as a source to the later mediæval writers of legendaries, the acts of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* are passed over with a few bare, general allusions. So successful were the fathers in their endeavors to destroy or to conventionalize their inheritance of extravagant apocryphal literature that neither in Latin, the common language of western Europe, nor in any of the vernacular dialects except English, has a single copy of the early form of the legend of Andrew, his acts among the *anthropophagi*, escaped their vigilance. And in England also, when in the Middle English period the legend of St. Andrew again supplies the poet with matter for the exercise of his art,³ the old romantic version is forgotten,

¹ P. 385. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* I, 409, thinks the story may have taken form at Alexandria.

² Payne, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night* V, 180-192. London, 1884.

³ For example, Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, pp. 3-10; Metcalfe, *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect* I, 63-96; *Cursor Mundi* III, 1200-1201. See also Förster, *Über die Quellen von Ælfrics Homiliae Catholicae*, p. 21.

and in its place appears the simplified and conventionalized Latin version in the form in which it is fixed in the *Legenda Aurea* and common to the whole of western Europe.¹

A few words may be added concerning the cult of St. Andrew in Great Britain. As the favorite saint of Gregory, St. Andrew must have made a particular appeal to the veneration of the English. Gregory, it will be remembered, when he withdrew from the world, gave all his wealth for the purpose of endowing six new monasteries in Sicily, and in his own palace on the Cœlian hill in Rome, he established a seventh, dedicated to St. Andrew, in which he himself became a monk.² This monastery he is said to have enriched with certain relics of St. Andrew, presented to him by the Emperor Tiberius at the close of his term of office as *apocrisiarius*, or papal nuncio, at the Byzantine court.³ When, after his elevation to the papacy, he seriously undertook the task of converting the English, it was from this monastery that he chose Augustine and his followers as directors of the mission.⁴ Augustine's first church was appropriately dedicated to Christ, the Savior,⁵ but one of the earliest churches founded as a result of Augustine's teaching was the church at Rochester, of which Justus became first bishop in 604. This church was built by King Æthelbert, and was dedicated, most likely in honor of the Roman missionaries, to St. Andrew.⁶ Together with St. Peter and St. Paul,* St. Andrew was also chosen as patron saint of the church at Medeshamsted, the later Peterborough, founded in 656.⁷

More important, however, is the position accorded to St. Andrew in the Northern church. At Hexham, Wilfrid, the famous bishop of York,

¹ For a discussion of the conservatism of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon church in preserving apocryphal literature after it had been generally given up by the western church, see Förster, *Herrig's Archiv* CVIII, 27-28.

² Montalembert, *The Monks of the West* II, 14; according to Montalembert this monastery now bears the name of St. Gregory; Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History* (3d ed.), pp. 44-45.

³ Cf. Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, March 12; and John, Third Marquess of Bute, *Essays on Foreign Subjects*, "The Last Resting Place of St. Andrew," p. 3.

⁴ Cf. Hunt, *The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest*, pp. 20-21.

⁵ Cf. Hunt, *ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶ Cf. Bede, Vol. I, p. 85, ed. Plummer, II, 3. Bede also tells us that in the sacristy of this church Paulinus was buried (III, 14, Plummer, I, 154). It is uncertain whether Rochester or London may claim the distinction of being the second oldest of English bishoprics; cf. Palmer, *The Cathedral Church of Rochester*, p. 3.

⁷ Cf. *Chronicle*, Laud MS., for 656.

built a church which was one of the marvels of his time ; none like it, men said, was to be seen on this side of the Alps.¹ This church was dedicated to St. Andrew, and, as we learn from the following account of its foundation in *Prior Richard's History of the Church at Hexham*, cap. 3,² the dedication was in recognition of help received by Wilfrid from the saint :

Sanctus igitur Wilfridus, circa Dominicae Incarnationis annum DCLXXIII^m, et aetatis suae quasi quadragesimum, et episcopatus sui quasi decimum, et regni Ecfredi quasi quartum, in praedicta villa ecclesiam in honorem Dei et Sancti Andreae Apostoli, ad rependendum beneficium quod ejus intercessione consecutus est, artificiosissima structura construxit. Nam cum primo Romam venisset, ejus ecclesiam frequentans, de remissione peccatorum suorum, pro qua instantius orabat, per hoc certificari postulabat, si de ingenii sui tarditate, et linguae suae rusticitate, ipsius interventu, absolvi mereretur. Nec mora: precibus dilecti Apostoli sui, tantam gratiam fideli suo contulit propitia Dei bonitas, ut ad quaelibet discenda promptissimam ingenii vivacitatem, et ad quaelibet intellecta explicanda congruam sermonis faecunditatem se habere sentiret, ut postea per innumerabilium animarum salutem, quas Deo lucratus est, efficacissime in sancta ecclesia claruit.

This church, built between the years 672 and 678,³ was under the control of Wilfrid until his death in 709, with occasional interruptions, however, incident to the storminess of his career. At his death Wilfrid was succeeded by Acca, his friend and the companion of his many wanderings. Acca continued Wilfrid's efforts towards beautifying and enriching the church of St. Andrew at Hexham. Living at Hexham he was of course a near neighbor of Bede's, and the close friendship existing between the two is attested by frequent allusions to Acca in Bede's writings.⁴ In his *Ecclesiastical History* Bede gives the following interesting account of the nature of Acca's labors at Hexham :

Suscepit vero pro Wilfrido episcopatum Hagustaldensis ecclesiae Acca presbyter eius, vir et ipse strenuissimus, et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus; qui et ipsius ecclesiae suae, quae in beati Andreae apostoli honorem consecrata est, aedificium multifario decore ac mirificis ampliavit operibus. Dedit namque operam, quod et hodie facit,⁵ ut adquisitis undecumque reliquiis beatorum apostolorum et martyrum Christi, in venerationem illorum

¹ Cf. Hunt, *ibid.*, p. 144.

² In Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* I, 10.

³ Plummer's *Bede* II, xxv.

⁴ Cf. Plummer's *Bede* II, 329.

⁵ Acca was bishop of Hexham in 731, the year Bede finished his history.

poneret altaria, distinctis porticibus in hoc ipsum intra muros eiusdem ecclesiae, sed et historias passionis eorum, una cum ceteris ecclesiasticis voluminibus, summa industria congregans, amplissimam ibi ac nobilissimam bibliothecam fecit, nec non et vasa sancta, et luminaria, aliaque huiusmodi, quae ad ornatum domus Dei pertinent, studiosissime paravit.¹

Wilfrid and Acca in their wide journeyings must have had frequent opportunity for collecting relics, manuscripts, and vestments, treasures which the early church set great store by. Among these relics were sure to be relics of St. Andrew; and among the "historias" mentioned by Bede the legend of St. Andrew would surely occupy an important place. May it not have been some monk of Hexham who was inspired by his reading of the story of St. Andrew in one of the manuscripts of the episcopal library to the composition of the Anglo-Saxon poem in honor of the patron saint of his church? There was ample time for this to have happened, and for the completed poem to be copied and to be transmitted to some safe retreat in southern England, before the coming of the Danes. When the Danes did come to Hexham in the year 875² the devastation which they wrought was complete. Ailred of Rivaux gives the following account of the destruction of Hexham:

Quidquid de lignis fuerat, ignis absumpsit. Bibliotheca illa nobilissima, quam praesul sanctus condiderat, tota deperit. In qua denique devastatione monumenta, quae de vita et miraculis Sanctorum sancti patres ad posteritatis notitiam stilo transmiserant, constat esse consumpta.³

Whatever manuscript life or lives of St. Andrew were stored in Acca's library probably perished in this conflagration.

According to the very plausible theory of Skene, the historian of Celtic Scotland, the position of St. Andrew as the patron saint of Scotland is an immediate outgrowth of the cultivation of that saint at Hexham. It is known that Acca was expelled from his bishopric in the year 731,⁴ but nothing is known of his later years. The foundation of St. Andrews, or Kilrimont, in Scotland, which was the beginning of the

¹ V, 20, Plummer's ed. I, 331. *Prior Richard's History*, in Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* I, 31, gives an account of Acca's gifts to the church of St. Andrew at Hexham which almost verbally repeats Bede and adds nothing to his statements. Raine, I, 10, says that five Northumbrian parish churches are dedicated to St. Andrew: Corbridge and Bywell, near Hexham, Bolan, Shotley, and one at Newcastle.

² Raine, I, 190.

³ Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* I, xliii.

⁴ Plummer's *Bede* II, 330.

special respect shown to that saint in Scotland, dates from the reign of Angus, son of Fergus, who died in 761, after a reign of thirty years.¹ According to the legends which center about the foundation of St. Andrews, the church was founded in reverence of relics of St. Andrew which were brought from Constantinople by a pilgrim monk, named Regulus. But Skene has shown² that this name is merely borrowed from an early Celtic saint of the church of Columba, and that in many respects the story of the foundation of St. Andrews in Scotland resembles that of the foundation of the church of St. Andrew at Hexham. It is, therefore, a reasonable inference that the relics of St. Andrew, in honor of which St. Andrews was founded, were brought from Hexham, perhaps by Acca and his followers, and that the reverence accorded them was but part of a general movement to replace the Columban monks and their custom of dedicating churches to their local founders³ by the authority and usage of the Roman church of Northumbria. St. Andrew thus became the patron saint of St. Andrews, and finally, as this church grew in popularity, the patron saint of the Pictish nation.⁴

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland* I, 296.

² II, 268.

³ Cf. Skene, I, 299.

⁴ Skene's account is accepted by Lang, *A History of Scotland* I, 44.

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¹ The order of the titles is chronological.

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS¹

- An. Andreas.
 Angl. Anglia.
 Ap. The Fates of the Apostles.
 Archiv. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen.
 AS. Anglo-Saxon.
 Az. Azarias, Bibl. II, 491-520.
- B., Baskervill. Baskervill, Andreas, A Legend of St. Andrew (II, 8).
 B². Baskervill, Amer. Journal of Phil., VIII, 95-97 (II, 9).
 Barnouw. Textkritische Untersuchungen (IV, 1).
 Beibl. Beiblatt.
 Beow. Beowulf, Bibl. I, 149-277.
 Bibl. Grein-Wülker, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie.
 Blount. The Phonetic and Grammatical Peculiarities of the Andreas (IV, 4).
 Bonn. Beit. Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik.
 Bonnet. Acta Andreae et Matthiae, in Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, II, 1, 65-116 (VI, 3).
 Bourauel. Zur Quellen- und Verfasserfrage von Andreas, etc. (V, 4).
 Brooke. The History of Early English Literature (V, 6).
 Brun. Battle of Brunanburh, Bibl. I, 374-379.
 B.-T. Bosworth-Toller, Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.
 Buttenwieser. Studien über die Verfasserschaft des Andreas (V, 8).
- C., Cook. Cook, A First Book in Old English (II, 10).
 Chr. Christ, Bibl. III, 1-54.
 Cleas.-Vig. Cleasby-Vigfusson, Icelandic-English Dictionary.
 Cod. Ver. Wülker, Codex Vercellensis (I, 7).
 Cos. Cosijn.
 Cræft. Bi Monna Cræftum, Bibl. III, 140-143.
 Cremer. Metrische und sprachliche Untersuchung (IV, 9).
 Cross. Vision of the Cross, Bibl. II, 116-125.
- Dan. Daniel, Bibl. II, 476-515.
 Deor. Deor's Lament, Bibl. I, 278-280.
 Dicht. Grein, Dichtungen der Angelsachsen (III, 2).
 Dict. Sweet, Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon.
- Edd. Editors.
 Edg. Edgar, Bibl. I, 381-384.
 E.E.T.S. Early English Text Society.
 El. Elene, Bibl. II, 126-201.
 Eng. Stud. Englische Studien.
 Etm. Ettmüller, Engla and Seaxna Scopas (II, 5).
 Ex. Exodus, Bibl. II, 445-475.
 Ex. Gn. Exeter Gnomes, Bibl. I, 341-352.
- Fabricius. Codex Apocryphus (VI, 8).
 Fæd. Fæder larcwidas, Bibl. I, 353-357.

¹ The numerals in parentheses following certain incomplete titles refer to the full titles given in the classified Bibliography.

- Finnesb. The Fight at Finnesburh, Bibl. I, 14-17.
- Fritzsche. Das angelsächsische Gedicht Andreas (V, 13).
- Gen. Genesis, Bibl. II, 318-444.
- Gm., Grimm. Andreas und Elene (II, 2).
- Gn. Grein, Bibliothek (II, 7).
- Gn.² Grein, Germania, X (IV, 11).
- Gn. C. Cotton Gnomes, Bibl. I, 338-341.
- Gol., Gollancz. Cynewulf's Christ (IV, 10).
- Gram. Sievers, Angelsächsische Grammatik.
- Grundriss. Wülker, Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur (I, 6).
- Gu. Guthlac, Bibl. III, 54-94.
- Gutschmid. Die Königsnamen, etc. (VI, 9).
- Hall. Judith, Phoenix and other Anglo-Saxon Poems (III, 5).
- Harnack. Die Überlieferung und der Bestand, etc. (VI, 10).
- Haupt's Zs. Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum.
- Höl. Höllenfahrt Christi, Bibl. III, 175-180.
- Hy. Hymns, Bibl. II, 211-281.
- Icel. Icelandic.
- Imelmann. Das altenglische Menologium (VI, 12).
- Indo-Ger. Indo-Germanic.
- Jud. Judith, Bibl. II, 294-314.
- Jul. Juliana, Bibl. III, 117-139.
- K., Kemble. The Poetry of the Codex Vercellensis (II, 3; III, 1).
- Kluge. Zur Geschichte des Reimes (IV, 16).
- Legend. The Legend of St. Andrew. In Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader (VI, 5).
- Lipsius. Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten, etc. (VI, 16).
- M. Müller, Angelsächsisches Lesebuch (II, 6).
- Mald. The Battle of Maldon, Bibl. I, 358-373.
- ME. Middle English.
- Men. Menologium, Bibl. II, 282-293.
- Metr. Metrical passages of Boethius, Bibl. III, 1-57.
- MLA. Modern Language Association.
- MLN. Modern Language Notes.
- MnE. Modern English.
- Mod. Bi Manna Mode, Bibl. III, 144-147.
- Nachtr. Nachträge.
- Nap. Napier. Collation der altenglischen Gedichte im Vercellibuch (IV, 19).
- NED. New English Dictionary.
- NHG. New High German.
- OHG. Old High German.
- OS. Old Saxon.
- Pan. Panther, Bibl. III, 164-166.
- PBB. Paul and Braune's Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur.
- Ph. Phœnix, Bibl. III, 95-116.
- Πράξεις. Πράξεις 'Ανδρέου καὶ Μαρθίας, in Bonnet, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha (VI, 3).
- Ps. Psalms, Bibl. III, 83-236.
- Ramhorst. Das altenglische Gedicht vom heiligen Andreas (V, 24).
- Rid. Riddles, Bibl. III, 183-238.
- Rim. Poem. Riming Poem, Bibl. III, 160-163.
- Root. The Legend of St. Andrew (III, 4).

- Sal. and Sat. Salomon and Saturn, Bibl. III, 58-82.
- Sat. Christ and Satan, Bibl. II, 521-562.
- Sc. Scotch.
- Seaf. Seafarer, Bibl. I, 290-295.
- Shipley. The Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry (IV, 23).
- Siev., Sievers. Zu Cynewulf, Anglia XIII, 1-25 (V, 30); so unless other specific reference is given.
- Simons. Cynewulfs Wortschatz (IV, 24).
- Soul. Soul and Body, Bibl. II, 92-107.
- Spr. Grein, Sprachschatz.
- Th., Thorpe. Appendix B (II, 1).
- Tr., Trautmann. Zu Cynewulfs Runenstellen (V, 34); so unless other specific reference is given.
- W., Wülker. Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie, II, 1-91, 563-568 (II, 9).
- Wald. Waldere, Bibl. I, 11-13.
- Walker. Acts of Andrew and Matthias (VI, 26).
- Wand. Wanderer, Bibl. I, 284-289.
- Wid. Widsið, Bibl. I, 1-6.
- Wülfig. Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen.
- Wulfstan. Wulfstan, Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien, ed. Napier. Berlin, 1883.
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ANDREAS

[I]

Hwæt ! wē gefrūnan on fyrndagum
 twelfe under tunglum tīrēadige haeleð,
 þeodnes þegnas. Nō hira þrym ālæg
 camprædenne þonne cumbol hneotan,
 syððan hie gedældon, swā him Dryhten sylf, 5
 heofona hēahcýning, hlýt getæhte.
 Þæt wæron mære men ofer eorðan,
 frome folctogan ond fyrdhwate,

1 Gm., K. gefrunon. Gm. regularly changes -an preterits to -on, usually, but not always, citing the MS. reading; K., Etm. follow Gm. without remark. K. at no time gives variant readings, either from the MS. or the Edd. Except in cases of doubtful interpretation, variants of Edd. in the preterit endings will not be recorded hereafter. — 4 MS. camrædenne. Gm. hnēotan, not changed to hneoton because taken as infinitive; but Gm. note 'hneotan = hneoton = hniton, pret. pl. of hnitan?' K. hneoton; Gn. hneotan, repeating Gm.'s note; so also Bright (MLN. ii, 80). Gn.² and Spr. ii, 90 hnēotan, from inf. hnātan, B. hnēotan; W. in his text never, in his notes rarely, indicates the quantities of vowels. — 5 Gm. siððan, and so regularly. Gm. generally allows y to stand only as representative of an original u, i as representative of an original i; K. and Etm. follow Gm. Gn. neither emends nor follows the MS. readings consistently. Thus he changes cining regularly to cýning (ll. 171, 416, 880, etc.) but follows the MS. in the spellings drihten and dryhten; he retains syððan at times (ll. 5, 33, 706, 1193, etc.) but also frequently changes to siððan (ll. 43, 180, 1106, etc.). Hereafter variants of i and y will not be recorded except from the texts of those Edd. who endeavor to follow the usage of the MS. — 6 MS., Th. lyt. — 8 In the MS. ond as conj. and in composition is usually represented by the abbreviation ʒ. It is written out as ond, conj., in ll. 945, 1001, 1203, 1307, 1395, 1400, 1719. In composition ond- is written out in ll. 202, 285, 290, 343, 401, 508, 510, 818, 857, 925, 1148, 1224, 1254, 1521. As conj. and does not occur in the MS.; W.'s MS. reading and for l. 754 is wrong, as the MS. has here, plainly, the usual abbreviation. In composition and- is written out in ll. 189, 509, 572, 783, 925. Gm., Gn., K., though they usually preserve the MS. reading where the word is written out, regularly expand the abbreviation into and. B prints usually ond, sometimes and; thus l. 8 and, l. 9 ond. W. does not expand the abbreviations. Inasmuch as ond is

rōfe rincas, þonne rond ond hand
 on herefelda helm ealgodon, 10
 on meotudwange. Wæs hira Māthēus sum,
 sē mid Iūdēum ongan godspell ārest
 wordum writan wundorcraefte ;
 þām hālig God hlýt getēode
 ūt on þæt igland, þær ænig þā gīt 15
 ellþeodigra ēðles ne mihte
 blādes brūcan ; oft him bonena hand
 on herefelda hearde gescēode.
 Eal wæs þæt mearcland morðre bewunden,
 fēondes fācne, folcstede gumena, 20
 hæleða ēðel. Næs þær hlāfes wist
 werum on þām wonge, nē wāteres drync
 tō brūconne, ah hie blōd ond fel,
 fira flāschoman, feorrancumenra,
 ðēgon geond þā þeode. Swelc wæs þeaw hira, 25
 þæt hie æghwylcne ellðeodigra
 dydan him tō mōse meteþearfendum,
 þāra þe þæt ēaland ūtan sōhte.
 Swylc wæs þæs folces freoðolēas tācen,
 unlādra eafoð, þæt hie ēagena gesihð, 30
 hettend heorogrimme, hēafodgimmas,
 āgēttan gealgmōde gāra ordum.
 Syððan him geblēndan bitere tōsomne,

the only form of the word written out as conj., and ond- the more usual form in composition, the abbreviation is regularly expanded, in the present text, into ond. Variants of Edd. in the reading of ond and and will not be recorded hereafter.

18 *Gm.*, *K.* gescēod. — 23 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* brucanne. — 24 *MS.*, *Edd.* feorran cumenra. — 25 *MS.*, *W.* ðegon: *W.* alone endeavors to follow the usage of the *MS.* in printing ð and þ; the other *Edd.* print, without remark, þ in initial and ð in medial and final position. — 30 *Th.* earfoð. — 31 *MS.*, *Th.* hetted. *MS.*, *Edd.* heafodgimme; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 8) heafodgimmas. — 32 *MS.*, *Edd.* ageton, except *Gm.*, *K.* aguton. — 33 *MS.*, *Th.* geblondan, *Gm.* geblēndon, *K.* geblendon, *Gn.* geblēondan.

drȳas þurh dwolcræft, drync unhēorne,
 sē onwende gewit, wera ingeþanc, 35
 heortan [*on*] hreðre; hyge wæs oncyrrad,
 þæt hie ne murndan æfter mandrēame,
 hælep heorogrædige, ac hie hīg ond gærs
for metelēaste mēðe gedrehte.
 Þā wæs Māthēus tō þære mæran byrig 40
 cumen in þā ceastre. Þær wæs cirm micel
 geond Mermedonia, mǎnfulra hlōð,
fordēnera gedræg, syppan deofles þegnas
 [geāscodon æðelinges sið. [f. 30^a]
 Eodon him þā tōgēnes, gārūm gehyrsted, 45
 lungre under linde; nālas late wæron,
 eorre æscberend, tō þām orlege.
 Hie þām hālgan þær handa gebundon
 ond fæstnodon fēondes cræfte,
 hæleð hellfūse, ond his hēafdes segl 50
 ābrēoton mid billes ecge. Hwæðre hē in brēostum þā gīt
 herede in heortan heofonrices weard,
 þeah ðe hē ātres drync atulne onfēnge;
 ēadig ond onmōd hē mid elne forð
 wyrðode wordum wuldres aldor, 55
 heofonrices weard, hālgan stefne,
 of carcerne; him wæs Crīstes lof
 on fyrhðlocan fæste bewunden.

36 *MS.*, *Edd.* heortan hreðre. — 37 *B.* murndon, *B.*² murndan. — 38 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -grædge. — 39 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* gedrēhte, *Gn.*² gedrehte. — 43 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* (*note*, 'unflecierter plural'), *B.* þegn; *Trautmann* (*Kynewulf*, p. 81) þewu; *W.* þegnas. In the *MS.*, þegn, followed by a period, stands the last word on f. 29^b. Between f. 29 and f. 30 there is a narrow strip of parchment. *Th.* says, 'a leaf of the *MS.* has been cut out here,' and indicates an omission in his text; *Gm.*, *K.* as *Th.* *Gn.*, *B.*, *W.* state that a leaf of the *MS.* has been cut out but see no interruption in the narrative and print the text without break. *Nap.* thinks the *MS.* is here intact. — 46 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* nalæs. — 51 *Gm.*, *K.* abruton. — 54 *Gm.*, *K.* ānmōd.

Hē þā wēpende wēregum tēarum
 his sigedryhten sārgan reorde 60
 grētte, gumena brego, gēomran stefne,
 weoruda wilgeofan, ond þus wordum cwæð:
 “ Hū mē elþeodige inwitwrasne,
 searonet, sēowað! Ā ic symles wæs
 on wega gehwām willan þines 65
 georn on mōde; nū ðurh geohða sceal
 dæde fremman swā þā dumban nēat!
 Þū āna canst ealra gehygdo,
 Meotud mancynnes, mōd in hreðre.
 Gif þin willa sīe, wuldres aldor, 70
 þæt mē wærlogan wæpna ecgum,
 sweordum, āswebban, ic bēo sōna gearu
 tō adrēoganne þæt ðū, Drihten min,
 engla ēadgifa, ēðellēasum,
 dugeða dædfroma, dēman wille. 75
Forgif mē tō āre, ælmihtig God,
 lēoht on þissum life, þy lās ic lungre scyle,
 āblended in burgum, æfter billhete
 þurh hearmcwide heorugrædigra,
 lāðra lēodsceaðena, leng þrōwian 80
 edwitspræce. Ic tō ānum þē,
 middangeardes weard, mōd stapolige,
 fæste fyrhðlufan, ond þē, fæder engla,
 beorht blædgifa, biddan wille,
 ðæt ðū mē ne gescyrige mid scyldhetum, 85
 wērigum wrōhtsmiðum, on þone wyrrestan,
 dugoða dēmend, dēað ofer |eorðan.” [f. 30^b]

63 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) þeodige. — 64 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gn.*², *Spr.* ii, 437 (but seowað, seowiað? as second reading), *B.*, *W.* seoðað; *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 8) seowað. — 66 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 8) gēohða = gēahða. — 67 *Gm.*, *K.* dæda. — 71 *Th.*, *Gm.* wæfna. — 80 *Th.*, *Gn.*, and *Spr.* ii, 601 þreowian. — 85 *Gm.* note, *Gn.* note scyldhatum?; *B.* scild-, *B.*² scyld-.

Æfter þyssonum wordum cōm wuldres tācen
 hālig of heofenum, swylce hādre segl,
 tō þām carcerne; þær gecyðed wearð, 90
 þæt hālig God helpe gefremede.
 Ðā wearð gehýred heofoncyninges stefn
 wrætlic under wolcnum, wordhleōðres swēg
 mæres þeodnes; hē his maguþegne
 under hearmlocan hælo ond frōfre. 95
 beadurōfum ābēad beorhtan stefne:
 “Ic þē, Māthēus, mine sylle
 sybbe under swegle. Ne bēo ðū on sefan tō forht,
 nē on mōde ne murn; ic þē mid wunige
 ond þē ālyse of þyssonum leōðubendum 100
 ond ealle þā menigo þe þē mid wufniað
 on nearonēdum. þē is neorxnawang,
 blāda beorhtost, boldwela fægrost,
 hāma hyhtlicost, hālegum mihtum
 torht ontýned; þær ðū týres mōst 105
 tō wídan fēore willan brūcan.
 Geþola þeoda þrēa; nis sēo þrah micel,
 þæt þē wærlogan witebendum,
 synnige ðurh searocraft, swencan mōtan.
 Ic þē Andrēas ædre onsende 110
 tō hleo ond tō hrōðre in þās hæðenan burg;
 hē ðe ālyseð of þyssonum leōdhetē.
 Is tō þære tide tælmēt hwile
 emne mid sōðe seofon ond twēntig
 nihtgerimes, þæt ðū of nēde mōst, 115
 sorgum geswenced, sigore gewyrðod,

89 MS. segl; Th., Gm., K., Gn., W. sægl.—93 Th., Gm. word hleoðres; Gm. places sweg in l. 94^a.—99 MS. ne ne murn.—101 MS. the second þe written in above the line.—102 MS., Edd. neorxna wang.—105 B. tires, B.² tyres.—109 MS., Edd. synne.—112 Gm. alysed.

hweorfan of hēnðum in gehyld Godes."

Gewāt him þā se hālgā helm ælwihta,

engla scyppend, tō þām ūplican

ēðelrice. Hē is on riht cyning, 120

staðolfæst stýrend, in stōwa gehwām.

[II]

Ðā wæs Māthēus miclum onbryrded

nīwan stefne. Nihthelm tōglād,

lungre lēorde; lēoht æfter cōm,

dægredwōma. Duguð sammade, 125

hæðne hildfrecan, hēapum þrunon

(gūðsearo gullon, gāras hrysedon),

bolgenmōde, under bordhrēoðan.

Woldon cunnian, hwæðer cwice lifdon

þā þe on carcerne clommum fæste 130

hlēolēasan wic hwile |wunedon, [f. 31^a]

hwylcne hie tō æte ærest mihton

æfter fyrstmearcē fēores beræðan.

Hæfdon hie on rūne ond on rimcræfte

āwriten, wælgræðige, wera endestæf, 135

hwænne hie tō mōse meteþearfendum

117 MS., *Edd* hweorfest; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 8) hweorfan. — 118 MS. ge him, with no indication of omission; all *Edd.* gewat. — 120 MS. riceð, the lower part of the s erased; so *Nap.*; *W.* after e of rice, a heavy period followed by a semicolon. But the MS. has plainly s, the comma beneath the partly erased letter indicating that it is to be removed. All *Edd.* eðelrice; *Gn.* note, 'MS. eðel rices, eðel unflehtierter dativ?' — 120 *Gn.* onriht. — 121 The first section of the narrative in the MS. ends with gehwam. Space for one line is left vacant and the second section begins with a large capital Ð, followed by a smaller capital A. Hereafter, since the method of dividing the narrative into sections varies only in insignificant details, these divisions will not be described, but will be indicated by spacing and numbering in the text. — 125 *Th.* dægred woma. — 134 *Gn.* hi. — 134 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 8) omits on before rimcræfte. — 135 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -grædge. — 136 MS., *Th.* hwæne; *B.* hwænne as MS. reading, *B.*² hwæne. *Th.*, *Gm.* mete þearfendum.

on þære werþode weorðan sceoldon.
 Cirmdon caldheorte, corðor oðrum getang; 140
 rēðe ræsboran rihtes ne gīndon,
 Meotudes mildse; oft hira mōd onwōd
 under dimscūan dēofles lārum,
 þonne hie unlādra eaueðum gelyfdon.
 Hie ðā gemētton mōdes glāwne,
 hāligne hæle, under heolstorlocan
 bidan beadurōfne þæs him beorht cyning, 145
 engla ordfruma, unnan wolde.
 Ðā wæs first āgān frumrædenne
 þinggemearces būtan þrim nihtum,
 swā hit wælwulfas āwriten hæfdon,
 þæt hie bānhringas ābrecaþ þōhton, 150
 lungre tōlȳsan lic ond sāwle,
 ond þonne tōdælan duguðe ond geogoðe,
 werum tō wiste ond tō wilþege,
 fæges flæschoman. Feorh ne bemurndan,
 grædige gūdrincas, hū þæs gāstes sið 155
 æfter swyltwale geseted wurde!
 Swā hie symble ymb þritig þing gehēdon
 nihtgerimes; wæs him nēod micel,
 þæt hie tōbrugdon blōdigum ceafum
 fira flæschoman him tō fōddorþege. 160
 Þā wæs gemyndig, sē ðe middangearð
 gestaðelode strangum mihtum,
 hū hē in ellþeodigum yrnðum wunode,
 belocen leoðubendum, þe oft his lufan ādræg
 for Ebrēum ond Israhēlum; 165

138 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* corðer. — 142 *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* eafeðum. — 143 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*,
Gn., *B.* gleawne; *B.*² glawne. — 145 *MS.* wæs, *Edd.* hwæs; *Bright (MLN. ii, 80)*
 þæs. — 157 *K.* gehēdon. — 158 *Nap.* after nihtgerimes an erasure of one or two
 letters in the *MS.* — 163 *Siev. (PBB. x, 460)* -þeodgum. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* wunade.
 — 164 *MS.*, *Edd.* of; *Cos. (PBB. xxi, 9)* oft. *Gm.*, *K.* adreag.

swylce hē Jūdēa galdorcræftum
 wiðstōd stranglice. þā sio stefn gewearð
 gehēred of heofenum, þær se hālgā wer
 in Achaia, Andrēas, wæs ;
 lēode lārde on lifes weg. 170
 þā him cirebaldum cininga wuldor,
 Meotud mancynnes, mōdhord onlēac,
 weoruda Drihten, ond þus wordum cwæð :
 “ þū scealt fēran ond ferð lādan,
 siðe gesēcan, ðær sylfætan 175
 eard weardigað, ēðel healdaþ
 morðorcraeftum. Swā is þære menigo þēaw,
 [þæt hie uncūðra ængum ne willað [f. 31^b]
 on þām folcstede fēores geunnan,
 syððan mǎnfulle on Mermedonia 180
 onfindað fēasceaftne ; þær sceall feorhgedāl,
 earmlic ylða cwealm, æfter wyrþan.
 Ðær ic seomian wāt þinne sigebrōðor
 mid þām burgwarum bendum fæstne.
 Nū bið fore þreo niht, þæt hē on þære þeode sceal 185
 fore hǣðenra handgewinne
 þurh gāres gripe gāst onsendan,
 ellorfūsne, būtan ðū ær cyme.”
 Ædre him Andrēas āgef andsware :
 “ Hū mæg ic, Dryhten mīn, ofer dēop gelād 190
 fōre gefremman on feorne weg
 swā hrædlice, heofona scyppend,
 wuldres waldend, swā ðū worde becwist?
 Ðæt mæg engel þīn ēað gefēran.
 Of heofenum con him holma begang, 195

171 *Gn.* cirebealdum (not as *W.* states cire bealdum); *M.* note cynebealdum? —
 174 *MS.*, *Edd.* frið; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9), *Simons* (p. 39) ferð. — 181 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*,
Gn. sceal. — 185 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9), *Simons* (p. 107) ofer for fore.

sealte sǣstrēamas ond swanrāde,
 waroðfaruða gewinn ond wæterbrōgan,
 wēgas ofer wīdland. Nē synt mē winas cūðe,
 eorlas elpēodige, nē þær æniges wāt
 hæleða gehygdō, nē mē herestrāta 200
 ofer cald wæter cūðe sindon."

Him ðā ondswarude ēcē Dryhten :
 "Ealā, Andrēas ! þæt ðū ā woldest
 þæs siðfætes sǣne weorþan !
 Nis þæt unēaðe eallwealdan Gode 205
 tō gefremmanne on foldwege,
 ðæt sīo ceaster hider on þas cnēorisse
 under swegles gang āseted wyrðe,
 breogostōl brēme, mid þām burgwarum,
 gif hit worde becwið wuldres āgend. 210
 Ne meaht ðū þæs siðfætes sǣne weorðan,
 nē on gewitte tō wāc, gif ðū wel þencest
 wið þinne waldend wære gehealdan,
 trēowe tācen. Bēo ðū on tid gearu ;
 ne mæg þæs ærendes ylding wyrðan. 215
 Ðū scealt þā fōre gefēran ond þin feorh beran
 in gramra gripe, ðær þe gūðgewinn
 þurh hǣðenra hildewōman,
 beorna beaducræft, geboden wyrðeð.
 Scealtū æninga mid ærdæge, 220
 emne tō morgene, æt meres ende
 cēol ge|stigan ond on cald wæter [f. 32^a]
 brecan ofer bæðweg. Hafa bletsunge
 ofer middangeard mīne, þær ðū fēre."

196 After the s of sealte, a blank space in the MS. caused by the erasure of one letter. MS. stearmas. — 198 MS., Edd. wegas and wid land, Gn.² wīdland. Cos. (PBB. xxi, 9) weras for winas. — 199 Siev. (PBB. x, 460) þēodge. — 203 Gn. Ea la. — 205 K. ealwealdan. — 213 Gm., K., M. wealdend. — 219 MS., Th., Gm. wyrdeð. — 221 Siev. (PBB. x, 459) morgne.

Gewāt him þā se hālga healdend ond wealdend, 225
 ūpengla fruma, ēðel sēcan,
 middangeardes weard, þone mæran hām,
 þær sōðfæstra sāwla mōton
 æfter lices hryre lifes brūcan.

[III]

þā wæs ærende æðelum cempun 230
 āboden in burgum; ne wæs him blēað hyge,
 ah hē wæs anræd ellenweorces,
 heard ond higerōf, nālas hildlata,
 gearo, gūðe fram, tō Godes campe.
 Gewāt him þā on uhtan mid ærdæge 235
 ofer sandhleodu tō sæs waruðe,
 þriste on geþance, ond his þegnas mid,
 gangan on grēote; gārsecg hlynede,
 bēoton brimstrēamas. Se beorn wæs on hyhte,
 syðþan hē on waruðe wīdfæðme scip 240
 mōdig gemette. þā cōm morgentorht
 bēacna beorhtost ofer breomo snēowan,
 hālig of heolstre; heofoncandel blāc
 ofer lagoflōdas. Hē ðær lidweardas,
 þrymlīce þry, þegnas [gemette;] 245
 mōdiglice menn, on merebāte
 sittan sīðfreme, swylce hie ofer sǣ cōmon.
 Þæt wæs Drihten sylf, dugeða wealdend,
 ēce ælmihtig, mid his englum twām.

227 *MS.* we^ard; *B.* note, incorrectly as *MS.*, weard. — 230 *Gn.* cempun, *Gn.*² cempun. — 233 *K.*, *Gn.* nalæs. — 234 *K.* compe. — 236 *MS.*, *Edd.* faruðe. — 240 *Gm.* misprint -fæðme. — 241 *MS.*, *Edd.* morgen torht; *Spr.* ii, 264, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9) morgentorht. — 242 *K.* beorhtost. — 245 *Though there is no indication of an omission in the MS., a word has evidently dropped out after þegnas. Th. notes the omission but supplies no word to fill it. K. gescēawode, Gm., Gn., W., B. geseah; Siev. (PBB. x, 517) rejects both readings for metrical reasons and proposes gemette.*

Wæron hie on gescirplan scipfērendum, 250
 eorlas onlice ēaliðendum,
 þonne hie on flōdes fæðm ofer feorne weg
 on cald wæter cēolum lācað.
 Hie ðā gegrētte, sē ðe on grēote stōd,
 fūs on faroðe, fægn reordade : 255
 “ Hwanon cōmon gē cēolum liðan,
 mācræftige menn, on mereþissan,
 āne ægflotan? hwanon ēagorstrēam
 ofer yðā gewealc ēowic brōhte? ”
 Him ðā ondswarode ælmihti God, 260
 swā þæt ne wiste, sē ðe þæs wordes bād,
 hwæt sē manna wæs medelhēgendra,
 þe hē þær on waroðe |wiðþingode : [f. 32^b]
 “ Wē of Marmedonia mægðe syndon
 feorran geferede ; ūs mid flōde bær 265
 on hranrāde hēahstefn naca,
 snellic sāmearh, snūde bewunden,
 oðþæt wē þissa lēoda land gesōhton,
 wære bewrecene, swā ūs wind fordrāf.”
 Him þā Andrēas ēaðmōd oncwæð : 270
 “ Wolde ic þe biddan, þēh ic þe bēaga lýt,
 sincweorðunga, syllan meahte,
 þæt ðū ūs gebrōhte brante cēole,
 hēa hornscipe, ofer hwæles ēðel
 on þære mægðe ; bið ðe meorð wið God, 275
 þæt þū ūs on lāde liðe weorðe.”

251 *Th.* eorlum. *Gn.* anlice. — 255 *MS.*, *Edd.* frægn; *Gn.* note ‘frægn = interrogationem?’ *Spr.* i, 337 ‘frægn = Frage? oder ist hier frægn Parenthese (so erfuhr ich)?’ *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9) fægn. — 257 *Th.* ma cræftige, note mere-cræftige? *Sweet* (*Dict.* p. 111) mægen-? — 260 *MS.* ælmihti, standing at end of a line; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* ælmihtig. — 261 *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* se þæs. — 262 *M.* meðel hegendra. — 263 *K.* þa (*trans.*, ‘whom he there,’ etc.). *Gn.* wið þingode. — 267 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9), *Simons* p. 130 sunde. — 268 *MS.* þiss; *Gn.*, incorrectly as *MS.*, þis. — 271 *MS.* biddan inserted above the line. *Gm.*, *K.* þeah.

Eft him ondsvarode æðelinga helm
of yðlide, engla scippend :

“ Ne magon þær gewunian wīdfērende,
nē þær elþeodige eardes brūcað, 280

ah in þære ceastre cwealm prōwiað,

þā ðe feorran þyder feorh gelædaþ ;

ond þū wilnast nū ofer wīdne mere,

þæt ðū on þā fægðe þīne fēore spilde? ”

Him þā Andrēas āgef ondsware : 285

“ Ūsic lust hweteð on þā lēodmearce,

mycel mōdes hiht, tō þære mæran byrig,

þeoden lēofesta, gif ðū ūs þīne wilt

on merefaroðe miltse gecyðan.”

Him ondsvarode engla þeoden, 290

neregend fira, of nacan stefne :

“ Wē ðe ēstlice mid ūs willað

ferigan frēolice ofer fisces bæð

efne tō þām lande þær þe lust myneð

tō gesēcanne, syððan gē ēowre 295

gafulrædenne āgifen habbað,

sceattas gescrifene, swā ēow scipweardas,

āras ofer yðbord, unnan willað.”

Him þā ofstlice Andrēas wið,

wineþearfende, wordum mælde : 300

“ Næbbe ic fæted gold nē feohgestrēon,

welan nē wiste nē wīra gespann,

landes nē locenra bēaga, þæt ic þe mæge lust āhwettan,

willan in worulde, swā ðū worde becwist.”

280 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) þeodige. — 282 *K.* þiðer. — 285 *Th.* misprint ages. — 286 *K.* hwæteð. — 287 *K.* þærre. — 288 *MS.* ðus, *Edd.* ðu us. — 293 *M.* bað. — 298 *MS.*, *Edd.* aras, except *Gn.*², *C.* ara. — 300 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.*, *W.* wine þearfende. — 301 *W.* as *MS.* fæced, but *Nachtr.* fæted; *Nap.* plainly fæted. *Th.*, *B.* fæced; *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* fætedgold; *Gn.*, *W.*, *C.*, *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 80) fæted gold. — 303 *Schröder* (*Eng. Stud.* x, 121) and *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 314) would omit landes ne.

Him þā beorna breogo, þær hē on bolcan sæt, 305
ofer waroða geweorp wiðþingode :

[" Hū gewearð þē þæs, wine lēofesta, [f. 33^a]

ðæt ðū sæbeorgas sēcan woldes,
merestrēama gemet, mādnum bedæled,

ofer cald cleofu cēoles nēosan? 310

Nafast þē tō frōfre on faroðstræte

hlāfes wiste nē hlūtterne

drync tō dugoðe? Is se drohtað strang

þām þe lagolāde lange cunnap."

Ðā him Andrēas þurh ondsware, 315

wīs on gewitte, wordhord onlēac :

" Ne gedafenað þē, nū þē Dryhten geat

welan ond wiste ond woruldspēde,

ðæt ðū ondsware mid oferhygdum,

sēce sārwide ; sēlre bið æghwām, 320

þæt hē ēadmēdum ellorfūsne

oncnāwe cūðlice, swā þæt Crist bebēad,

þeoden þrymfæst. Wē his þegnas synd

gecoren tō cempum. Hē is cyning on riht,

wealdend ond wyrhta wuldorþrymmes, 325

ān ēce God eallra gesceafta,

swā hē ealle befēhð ānes cræfte,

hefon ond eorðan, hālgum mihtum,

sigora sēlost. Hē ðæt sylfa cwæð,

fæder folca gehwæs, ond ūs fēran hēt 330

geond ginne grund gāsta strēonan :

' Farað nū geond ealle eorðan scēatas

emne swā wīde swā wæter bebūgeð,

306 Gn. wið þingode. — 309 MS. bedæleð. — 310 M. calde. — 312 MS. the first
t of hlutterne written in above the line. — 319 Gm., M. oferhygdum. — 323 MS.,
Gm. We is. — 328 Gm., K., Gn. heofon. — 329 C. note suggests sellend for sēlost.
— 332 MS. plainly sceatas, the c corrected from a t; so also Nap.; B., W. as MS.
and in text sceattas, W. Nachtr. sceatas; Gm., K., Gn., C. sceatas.

oððe stedewangas stræte gelicgaþ ;
 bodiað æfter burgum beorhtne gelēafan 335
 ofer foldan fæðm ; ic ēow freoðo healde.
 Ne ðurfan gē on þā fōre frætwe lædan,
 gold nē seolfor ; ic ēow gōda gehwæs
 on ēowerne āgenne dōm ēst āhwette.
 Nū ðū seolfa miht sīð ūserne 340
 gehȳran hygeþancol ; ic sceal hraðe cunnan,
 hwæt |ðū ūs tō duguðum gedōn wille." [f. 33^b]
 Him þā ondswarode ēce Dryhten :
 "Gif gē syndon þegnas þæs þe þrym āhōf
 ofer middangeard, swā gē mē secgaþ, 345
 ond gē gehēoldon þæt ēow se hālga bēad,
 þonne ic ēow mid gefēan ferian wille
 ofer brimstrēamas, swā gē bēnan sint."
 Þā in cēol stigon collenfyrhðe,
 ellenrōfe ; æghwylcum wearð 350
 on merefaroðe mōð geblissod.

[IV]

Ðā ofer ȳða geswing Andrēas ongann
 mereliðendum miltsa biddan
 wuldres aldor, ond þus wordum cwæð :
 "Forgife þē Dryhten dōmweorðunga, 355
 willan in worulde ond in wuldre blæd,
 Meotud manncynnes, swā ðū mē hafast
 on þyssum sīðfæte sybbe gecȳðed !"

334 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9) stedewanga. — 337 *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* durfon, *Gm.* as *MS.* durfan ; *M.* note þurfon. — 340 *Gn.* meaht. — 342 *MS.* dugudum. — 343 *MS.* ēce ; *W.* æce. — 346 *K.* places the hemistich after geheoldon. — 354 *Th.* cwæd. — 356 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* on worulde. — 358 *B.* sibbe, *B.*² sybbe.

Gesæt him þā se hālga helmwearde nēah,
 æðele be æðelum. Æfre ic ne hȳrde 360
 þon cȳmlīcor cēol gehladenne
 hēahgestrēonum. Hæleð in sǣton,
 þeodnas þrymfulle, þegnas wlitige.
 Ðā reordode rice þeoden,
 ēce ælmihtig, heht his engel gān, 365
 mǣrne maguþegn, ond mete syllan,
 frēfran fēasceaftē ofer flōdes wylm,
 þæt hie þē ēað mihton ofer ȳða geþring
 drohtap ādrēogan. þā gedrēfed wearð,
 onhrēred hwælmere; hornfisc plegode, 370
 glād geond gārsecg, ond se græga mǣw
 wælgifre wand; wedercandel swearc,
 windas wēoxon, wægās grundon,
 |strēamas styredon, strengas gurrōn, [f. 34^a]
 wādo gewætte. Wæteregsa stōd 375
 þrēata þrȳðum; þegnas wurdon
 ācolmōde; ænig ne wēnde,
 þæt hē lifgende land begēte,
 þāra þe mid Andrēas on ēagorstrēam
 cēol gesōhte. Næs him cūð þā gȳt, 380
 hwā þām sǣflotan sund wisode.
 Him þā se hālga on holmwege
 ofer ārgeblond Andrēas þā gīt,
 þegn þeodenhold, þanc gesægde,
 ricum ræsboran, þā hē gereordod wæs: 385

359 MS., Edd. holm.; Cos. (PBB. xxi, 9) holm = helm, as in 396^b. 'Wol zu ändern.' — 360 W. after hȳrde a letter, probably g, has been erased in the MS. — 362 Th., Gm., K., B. insæton. — 367 MS., Th., Gm., K., W., B. feasceaftne; Gn., Cos. (PBB. xxi, 9) feasceaftē. — 368 Gn. hi. Gm. misprint ead. — 375 Cos. (PBB. xxi, 9) wada gewéalce? Simons (p. 148) wādo = wāda. — 382 Th. wa for þa. — 384 MS., Th., Gn. þeoden hold; Gm., K., M. þeodne hold; Gn.², Spr. ii, 586, W., B., C. þeodenhold.

“ Ðē þissa swāsenda sōðfæst Meotud,
 lifes lēohtfruma, lēan forgilde,
 weoruda waldend, ond þē wist gife,
 heofonlicne hlāf, swā ðū hyldo wið mē
 ofer firigendstrēam frēode gecyðdest ! 390
 Nū synt geþrēade þegnas mīne,
 geonge gūðrincas ; gārsecg hlymmeð,
 geofon gēotende ; grund is onhrēred,
 dēoþe gedrēfed ; duguð is geswenced,
 mōdigra mægen myclum gebysgod.” 395

Him of helman oncwæð hæleða Scyppend :
 “ Læt nū gefērian flotan ūserne,
 lid tō lande ofer lagufæsten,
 ond þonne gebīdan beornas þīne,
 āras on earde, hwænne ðū eft cyme.” 400

Ēdre him þā eorlas āgēfan ondsware,
 þegnas þrothearde ; þafigan ne woldon,
 ðæt hie forlēton æt lides stefnan
 lēofne lārēow ond him land curon :
 “ Hwider hweorfað wē hlāfordlēase, 405
 gēomormōde, gōde orfeorme,
 synnum wunde, gif wē swicað þē ?
 Wē bioð lāde on landa gehwām,
 folcum fracode, þonne fira | bearn, [f. 34^b]
 ellenrōfe, æht besittaþ, 410
 hwylc hira sēlost symle gelæste
 hlāforde æt hilde, þonne hand ond rond

389 *Th. as MS.* -lice, text -licne ; so *Gm., K., Gn.* — 390 *Gm., K., M.* firigen-
 stream. — 393 *MS., Th., Gm., W.* heofon ; *K., Gn., B., C., Cos.* (*PBB. xxi, 9*)
 geofon ; cf. 150^a, 158^b. — 394 *W. as MS.* duguð. — 395 *B.* miclum. — 396 *MS.,*
Edd. holme ; *Gn. note* of helme ; *Spr. ii, 94* holm, ‘*der Helm des Schiffes, am*
Steuerruder ?’ *C. note* ‘*Perhaps mistaken for helman, the helm of the ship*’ ; *Simons*
p. 76 holm = helm, ‘*steuerruder*’ ; cf. 350^b. — 401 *B.* agefon, *B.²* agefan. — 405
Gm. hlaforlease. — 406 *Gm., K., Cos.* (*PBB. xxi, 9*) gōde ; *Gn., B.* gode, *C.* Gode.
 — 411 *K.* selast.

on beaduwange billum forgrunden
 æt niðplegan nearu þrōwedon."

Þā reordade rice þēoden, 415
 wārfæst cining, word stunde āhōf :
 "Gif ðū þegn sīe þrymsittendes,
 wuldorcyninges, swā ðū worde becwist,
 rece þā gerýnu, hū hē reordberend
 lārde under lyfte. Lang is þēs sīðfæt 420
 ofer fealuwne flōd; frēfra þīne
 mæg as on mōde. Mycel is nū gēna
 lād ofer lagustrēam, land swīðe feorr
 tō gesēcanne; sund is geblonden,
 grund wið grēote. God ēaðe mæg 425
 heaðoliðendum helpe gefremman."
 Ongan þā glēawlice gingran sīne,
 wuldorspēdige was, wordum trymman :
 "Gē þæt gehogodon, þā gē on holm stigon,
 þæt gē on fāra folc feorh gelæddon, 430
 ond for Dryhtnes lufan dēað þrōwodon,
 on Ælmyrcna ēðelrice
 sāwle gesealdon. Ic þæt sylfa wāt,
 þæt ūs gescyldeð scyppend engla,
 weoruda Dryhten. Wæteregesa seal, 435
 geðýd ond geðreatod þurh þryðcining,
 lagu lācende, liðra wyrðan.
 Swā gesælde iu, þæt wē on sǣbāte
 ofer waruðgewinn wæda cunnedan,
 faroðridende. Frēcne þūhton 440

413 *MS.* fore grunden; *Th.*, *W.* foregrunden. — 420 *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* þeos. — 423 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *M.* lað. *K.* feor. — 424 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.*, *B.*, *W.*, *C.* sand; *Gn.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* *xxi*, 10) sund. — 425 *Gn.* note grand? for grund. — 426 *Gm.* misprint, *M.* heado-; *C.* hēaðo-, 'perhaps for heahðo-.' — 433 *W.* after sylfa a letter erased in the *MS.* — 438 *K.* þat. — 439 *K.*, *Gn.* wada. *W.* as *MS.* cunedan, *Nachtr.* cunnedan. — 440 *Gm.*, *M.* -riðende.

egle ēalāda; ēagorstrēamas
 bēoton bordstæðu; brim oft oncwæð,
 yð oðerre. Hwīlum upp āstōd
 of brimes bōsme | on bātes fæðm [f. 35^a]
 egesa ofer yðlid. Ælmihtig þær, 445
 Meotud mancynnes, on mereþyssan
 beorht bāsnode. Beornas wurdon
 forhte on mōde; friðes wilnedon,
 miltsa tō mærum. þā sēo menigo ongan
 clypian on cēole; cuning sōna ārās, 450
 engla ēadgifa, yðum stilde,
 wæteres wælmum, windas þrēade;
 sǣ sessade, smylte wurdon
 merestrēama gemeotu. Ðā ure mōd āhlōh
 syððan wē gesēgon under swegles gang 455
 windas ond wægas ond wæterbrōgan
 forhte gewordne for Frēan egesan.
 Forþan ic ēow tō sōðe secgan wille,
 þæt nǣfre forlæteð lifgende God
 eorl on eorðan, gif his ellen dēah." 460
 Swā hlēoðrode hālig cempa,
 ðēawum geþancul; þegnas lārde
 ēadig oreta, eorlas trymede,
 oððæt hie semninga slæp oferēode,
 mēðe be mæste. Mere sweoðerade, 465
 yða ongin eft oncyrde,
 hrēoh holmþracu. þā þām hālgan wearð
 æfter gryrehwīle gāst geblissod.

442 *Gn.*², *Spr.* i, 145, *Simons* (p. 18) brūn for brim. *K.* eft. — 445 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *M.*
 yðlid. — 452 *Th.*, *Gm.* windes, *Gm.* note windes þreate, or (note to l. 453) windas
 þreade. — 453 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.* sæs sessade; *Gm.* note (1) sæs essadon, (2) sǣ sessade
 (3) sǣ sessade. — 458 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* omit to. — 459 *Gm.* misprint forlæted.

[V]

Ongan ðā reordigan rædum snottor,
 wīs on gewitte, wordlocan onspēonn : 470
 “ Næfre ic sǣlidan sēlran mētte,
 mācræftigran, þæs ðe mē þynceð,
 rōwend rōfran, rædsnotterran,
 wordes wīsrān. Ic wille þē,
 eorl unforcūð, ānre nū gēna 475
 bēne biddan, þeah ic þē bēaga lýt,
 sincweorðunga, syllan mihte,
 fætedsinces : wolde ic frēondscipe,
 þēoden þrym|fæst, þinne, gif ic mehte, [f. 35^b]
 begitan gōdne. Þæs ðū gife hlēotest, 480
 hāligne hyht on heofonþrymme,
 gif ðū lidwērigum lārna þinra
 ēste wyrðest. Wolde ic ānes tō ðē,
 cynerōf hæleð, cræftes nēosan :
 ðæt ðū mē getæhte, nū þē tir cyning 485
 ond miht forgef, manna scyppend,
 hū ðū wægflotan wære bestēmdon,
 sǣhengeste, sund wisige.
 Ic wæs on gifeðe iu ond nū [þā]
 syxtýne siðum on sǣbāte, 490
 mere hrērendum mundum frēorig,

473 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* rorend (*K.* trans. 'rower'), *Gn. Spr.* ii, 384 rorend a scribal error for rowend? — 478 *W.* between freond and scipe, a letter erased in the MS. — 479 *MS.* þine; *Th.* as *MS.* þine, i.e. þinne. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* mihte. — 482 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -wergum. — 483 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* est; *Gn.*², *Zupitza* (*Angl.* iii, 369), *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517), *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 80), *W.*, *C.* este. — 485^b–486^a *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 10) nu þe tircyning || þa miht forgef. — 487 *Gm.*, *K.* bestemdan. — 489^a *Gn.* note gifeð = geofon? *Spr.* i, 506 on gifeðe, ungefähr? — 489^b *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517) notes that the half-line is too short; *Holthausen* (*Angl.* xiii, 357) reads iu ond nuþa; *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 80) þa iu ond nu. — 491 *W.* an r erased between mere and hrerendum; *K.* merehrerendum.

ēagorstrēamas (is ðys āne mā),
 swā ic æfre ne geseah ǣnigne mann,
 þrȳðbearn hǣleða, þē gelicne,
 stēoran ofer stæfnan. Strēamwelm hwileð, 495
 bēateþ brimstæðo; is þēs bāt ful scrid,
 færeð fāmigheals, fugole gelicost
 glīdeð on geofone. Ic georne wāt,
 þæt ic æfre ne geseah ofer yðlāde
 on sǣleodan syllicran cræft. 500
 Is þon geliccost swā hē on landsceare
 stille stande, þær hine storm ne mæg,
 wind āwecgan, nē wæterflōdas
 breacan brondstæfne; hwæðere on brim snōweð
 snel under segle. Ðū eart seolfa geong, 505
 wīgendra hlēo, nālas wintrum frōd,
 hafast þēh on fyrhðe, faroðlācende,
 eorles ondsware; ǣghwylces canst
 worda for worulde wislic andgit."
 Him ondswarode ēce Dryhten: 510
 "Oft þæt gesǣleð, þæt wē on sǣlāde,
 scipum under scealcum, | þonne scēor cymeð, [f. 36^a]

494 MS., Edd. hǣleð; Cos. (PBB. xxi, 10) hǣleða. — 495 Gm., K., Gn. hwileð; Gn.², Spr. ii, 117, B., C. hwileð. — 496 MS., Edd. beateþ; Spr. i, 106, Holthausen (PBB. xvi, 550) beateþ. K., B. brim stæðo (W. incorrectly ascribes also brimstæðo to B.). Gm., K. þeos. MS., Th., W., C. ful scrid; Gm., K. fulscrȳd; Gm. note, Gn., B. fulscrid. — 497 Gm. fereð; K. fareð. — 498 Gm., K. geofene. — 499 MS., Th., Gm., K., Gn., B., W. yðlaf; Gn. Nachtr. and Gn.², Cos. (PBB. xxi, 11), C. yðlade. — 500 MS., Th. sǣ leodan; Gm., K. sǣ lǣdan. — 501 Th., Gm., K., Gn., B. gelicost. MS. plainly lansceare; Th., W. as MS. lansceape (but W. Nachtr. lansceare); Th. text, as MS.; Gm. (-seeape, misprint), K., Gn., W., B., C. land-sceape; Cos. (PBB. xxi, 11) landsceare. The syllable lan- stands at end of a line in the MS. Cf. 68^f, 1229^b. — 504 Gn. brontstæfne, Gn.², Spr. i, 136 brontstæfne; Cos. (PBB. xxi, 11) brontstæfn[n]e. B. as MS. sneoweð, B.² snoweð; Gm., K., Gn., B., C. sneoweð. — 507 MS., Edd. þe. Gm., K. -lacendes. Nap., on the left margin of the page in the MS., the word leof. — 512 Folio 35^b ends with scealcum. Th. thinks a leaf has been cut out; but the other Edd. print without interruption; cf. 43^b.

brecað ofer bæðweg / brimhengestum.
 Hwilum ūs on ȳðum earfoðlice
 gesæleð on sǣwe, þēh wē sið nesan, 515
 frēcne gefēran. Flōdwylm ne mæg
 manna ænigne ofer Meotudes ēst
 lungre gelettan; āh him lifes geweald,
 sē ðe brimu bindeð, brūne ȳða
 ðȳð ond prēatað. Hē þeodum sceal 520
 racian mid rihte, sē ðe rodor āhōf
 ond gefæstnode folmum sīnum,
 worhte ond wreðede, wuldras fylde
 beorhtne boldwelan; swā gebledsod wearð
 engla ēðel þurh his ānes miht. 525
 Forþan is gesȳne, sōð orgete,
 cūð oncnāwen, þæt ðū cyninges eart
 þegen geþungen, þrymsittendes,
 forþan þē sōna sǣholm oncnēow,
 gārsecges begang, þæt ðū gife hæfdes 530
 hāliges gāstes. Hærn eft onwand,
 āryða geblond; egesa gestilde,
 wiffæðme wæg; wædu swæðorodon
 seoðþan hie ongēton þæt ðē God hæfde
 wære bewunden, sē ðe wuldres blǣd 535
 gestaðolade strangum mihtum.”
 þā hlēoðrade hālgan stefne
 cempa collenferhð, cyning wyrðude,
 wuldres waldend, ond þus wordum cwæð:
 “Wes ðū gebledsod, brego mancynnes, 540
 Dryhten Hǣlend! Ā þin dōm lyfað!

515 *Edd.* siðnesan, except *K.* sið nesen, and *B.* sið nesan (*W.* incorrectly ascribes siðnesan to *B.*). — 521 *Gm.*, *K.* rædan for racian. — 523 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* wuldres. — 526 *Th.* ongeten. — 531 *Th.* hærneft. — 532 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* ar ȳða. — 535 *MS.* bewunde. — 538 *Th.* wyrðude, ‘apparently an error for wer-ðeode.’ — 539 *Gm.*, *K.* wealdend.

Ge nēh ge feor is þin nama hālig,
 wuldre gewlitegad ofer werþeoda,
 miltsum gemærsod. Nænig manna is
 under heofonhwealfe, hæleða cynnes, 545
 ðætte āreccan mæg oððe rīm wite
 hū ðrymlīce, þeoda | baldor, [f. 36^b]
 gāsta gēocend, þine gife dælest.
Hūru is gesyne, sāwla nergend,
 þæt ðū pissum hysse hold gewurde 550
 ond hine geongne geofum wyrðodest,
 wīs on gewitte ond wordcwidum.
 Íc æt efenealdum æfre ne mētte
 on mōdsefan māran snyttro.”
 Him ðā of cēole oncwæð cyninga wuldor, 555
 frægn fromlice fruma ond ende :
 “Saga, þances glēaw þegn, gif ðū cunne,
 hū ðæt gewurde be werum twēonum,
 þæt ðā ārleasan inwidþancum,
 Iūdēa cynn wið Godes bearne 560
 āhōf hearmcwide. Hæleð unsælige
 nō ðær gelyfdon in hira liffruman,
 grome gealgmōde, þæt hē God wære,
 þeah ðe hē wundra feala weorodum gecyðde,
 sweotulra ond gesyhra ; synnige ne mihton 565
 oncnāwan þæt cynebearn, sē ðe ācenned wearð
 tō hlēo ond tō hrōðre hæleða cynne,

546 *Gn.* note mæge? — 547 *Gm.* misprint nu. — 550 *W.* e of hysse written upon an erasure. — 552 *MS.* wis ongewitte. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*², *B.*, *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 81) wis on gewitte; *Gn.* wisan gewitte; *W.* wison gewitte. — 553 *Th.* æfen-. — 556 *K.*, *B.* fruman; *B.*² fruma. — 557 *W.* a discoloration in the *MS.* partially covers seven lines, especially the words gif (557), tweonū (558), ar (559), wið, bearne (560). These words are only faintly legible in the reproduction. — 559 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 12) reads ðæt arlease. — 561 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) unsælge. — 562 *W.* *MS.* doubtfully no or ne; *Nap.* plainly no; the reproduction is not clearly legible; all *Edd.* no, except *B.* ne. — 564 *Gm.*, *K.* fela. *K.* gecyððe.

eallum eorðwarum. Æþelinge wēox
 word ond wīsdōm, ah hē þāra wundra ā,
 dōmāgende, dæl nēnigne
 frætre þeode beforan cȳðde.”

ah interm
 570
 A. 11

Him ðā Andrēas āgef andsware :

“ Hū mihte þæt gewyrðan in werþeode,
 þæt ðū ne gehȳrde Hælendes miht,
 gumena lēofost, hū hē his gif cȳðde
 geond woruld wīde, wealdendes bearn?

575

Sealde hē dumbum gesprec, dēafe gehȳrdon,
 healtum ond hrēofum hyge blissode,
 ðā þe limsēoce lange wæron,

wērige, wanhāle, wītum gebundene,

580

æfter burhstedum blinde gesēgon ;

swā | hē on grundwæge gumena cynnes

[f.37^a]

manige missenlice men of dēaðe

worde āwehte. Swylce hē ēac wundra feala

cynerōf cȳðde þurh his cræftes miht.

585

Hē gehālgode for heremægene

wīn of wætere ond wendan hēt,

beornum tō blisse, on þā beteran gecynd.

Swylce hē āfēdde of fixum twām

ond of fif hlāfum fira cynnes

590

fif ðūsendo ; fēðan sæton,

rēonigmōde, reste gefēgon,

wērige æfter wāðe, wiste þēgon,

menn on moldan, swā him gemēdost wæs.

Nū ðū miht gehȳran, hyse lēofesta,

595

hū ūs wuldres weard wordum ond dædum

569 *Gn.* and for ah. — 570 *MS.*, *Edd.* dom agende. *MS.*, *Edd.* ænigne. — 573 *Th.* as *MS.* gehȳrdan. — 575 *Gn.* gif; *Gn.*², *Spr.* i, 505, gif. — 580 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 459) gebundne. — 582 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 12) -wege. — 592 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.* (alternative reonig-), *K.*, *W.*, *B.* reonigmod; *Gn.* note, *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 506) rēonigmod. — 593 *Th.*, *K.* wæðe; *Gm.*, *Gn.* wæðe.

lufode in life, ond þurh lāre spēon
 tō þām fægeran gefēan, þær frēo mōton,
 ēadige mid englum, eard weardigan,
 þā ðe æfter dēaðe Dryhten sēcað.” 600

[VI]

Dā gēn wēges weard wordhord onlēac,
 beorn ofer bolcan, beald reordade :
 “ Miht ðū mē geseccan, þæt ic sōð wite,
 hwæðer wealdend þin wundor on eorðan,
 þā hē gefremede nālas fēam siðum, 605
 folcum tō frōfre beforan cýðde,
 þær bisceopas ond bōceras
 ond ealdormenn æht besæton,
 mæðelhægende? Mē þæt þinceð,
 ðæt hie for æfstum inwit syredon 610
 þurh dēopne gedwolan ; dēofles lārum
 hæleð hynfūse hýrdon tō georne,
 wrādum wærlogan. Hie sēo wyrd beswāc,
 forleolc ond forlærde. Nū hie lungre sceolon,
 wērige mid wērigum, wræce þrōwian, 615
 bitterne bryne on |banan fæðme.” [f. 37^b]
 Him dā Andrēas āgef ondsware :
 “ Secge ic ðē tō sōðe, ðæt hē swiðe oft
 beforan fremede folces ræswum
 wundor æfter wundre on wera gesiehðe ; 620

599 *W.* a discoloration in the MS., covering -se leaf- (595), -fode in life 7 þurh (597), þær (598). Plainly legible in the reproduction. — 601 *Edd.* wegēs (*K.* tr. ‘ruler of the wave’); cf. 632^a. — 607 *Gm.*, *K.* bisceopas. — 608 *Gm.*, *K.* -men. *Gm.* ‘æht. — 609 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* -hegende; *Gn.*² -hēgende. — 614 *K.*, *B.* incorrectly as *MS.* ferleolc; *B.*² forleolc. — 615 *Gm.* wræce; *K.* wrace. — 616 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 496) bitterne. *W.* on f. 37^b are numerous blots, probably caused by acids, but the text is nowhere illegible. — 618 *Gm.*, *K.* Sage for Secge.

swylce dēogollice Dryhten gumena
folcraēd fremede, swā hē tō friðe hogode.”

Him ondswarede æðelinga helm :
“Miht ðū, wis hæleð, wordum geseccan,
māga mōde rōf, mægen þā hē cȳðde, 625
dēormōd on dīgle, ðā mid Dryhten oft,
rodera rāedend, rūne besæton?”

Him þā Andrēas ondsware aġef :
“Hwæt frīnest ðū mē, frēa lēofesta,
wordum wrætlicum, ond þēh wyrda gehwære 630
þurh snyttra cræft sōð oncnāwest?”

Ðā gīt him wāges weard wiðþingode :
“Ne frīne ic ðē for tæle nē ðurh tēoncwīde
on hranrāde, ac mīn hīge blīssað,
wynnum wrīdað, þurh þīne wordlæde, 635
æðelum ēcne. Nē eom ic āna ðæt,
ac manna gehwām mōd bið on hyhte,
fyrhð āfrēfred, þām þe feor oððe nēah
on mōde geman, hū se māga fremede,
godbearn on grundum. Gāstas hweorfon, 640
sōhton sīðfrome swegles drēamas,
engla ēðel þurh þā æðelan miht.”

Ēdre him Andrēas aġef ondsware :
“Nū ic on þē sylfum sōð oncnāwe
wīsdōmes gewit, wundorcraefte 645
sigespēd geseald (snyttrum blōweð
beorhtre blīsse brēost innanweard),
nū ic þē sylfum secgan wille

622 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 12) suggests for frioðe hogde. — 630 *MS.*, *Edd.* þe (at end of a line in the *MS.*); *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82) þeh = þeah. *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 485) gehwæm, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 12) gehwæs, for gehwære. — 631 *Gm.*, *K.* snyttru. — 632 *Gn.* wiðþingode. — 633 *Th.* as *MS.* frīme, text frīne. — 633^b *MS.*, *Gn.*, *B.* nu for ne. — 634 *B.* hyge. — 635 *Gm.*, *K.* wordlæde. — 637 *MS.* gehwām; *Edd.* gehwam, except *B.* gehwæm. — 640 *Gm.*, *K.* hwurfon. — 645 *K.* -craefte.

oor ond ende, swā ic þæs æðelinges
 word ond wīsdōm on wera gemōte 650
 þurh his sylfes mūð symle gehyrde.
 Oft gesamnodon sīde herigeas, [f. 38^a]
 folc un mæte, tō Frēan dōme,
 þær hie hycnodon hāliges lāre.
 Donne eft gewāt æðelinga helm, 655
 beorht blædgifa, in bold oðer,
 ðær him tōgēnes, God herigende,
 tō ðām meðelstede manige cōmon,
 snottre selerædend; symble gefēgon,
 beornas bliðheorte, burhweardes cyme. 660
 Swā gesæalde iu, þæt se sigedēma
 fērde, Frēa mihtig; næs þær folces mā
 on sīðfate, sīnra lēoda,
 nemne ellefne orettmæcgas,
 geteled tīrēadige; hē wæs twelfta sylf. 665
 Þā wē becōmon tō þām cynestōle,
 þær getimbred wæs tempel Dryhtnes,
 hēah ond horn gēap, hæleðum gefrēge,
 wuldre gewlitegod. Husworde ongan
 þurh inwitðanc ealdorsācerd 670
 herme hyspan, hordlocan onspēon,
 wrōht webbade; hē on gewitte oncnēow,

649 *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *K.*, *B.* ðr. — 657 *Gm.* to genes. — 658 *K.* misprint eomon. — 659 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *K.* snottre. *Th.*, *Gm.* sele rædend. *Edd.* symble (*adv.*), except *Gn.*² symblē (*inst.*): 'im Glossar ist die Stelle unter symbol (festivitas, etc.) nachzutragen und unter symble, *adv.*, zu streichen.' — 660 *W.* the two letters after bl- illegible; *Nap.* reads -ið. In the reproduction a rectangular blot extends down the right side of f. 38^a from the fourth to the tenth line and across the ninth and tenth lines to the middle of the page, all of which space is illegible. — 663 *K.*, *B.* -fæte; *B.*² -fate. — 664 *K.*, *B.* elleffne; *B.*² ellefne. — 665 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -eadge. — 667 *W.* and *Nachtr.* the first e of getimbred illegible in the MS.; *Nap.* legibly but not clearly, atrimbred (misprint for atimbred?). — 669 *Gn.* us worde, *Spr.* i, 112 husworde; *Simons* (p. 82, citing *Trautmann*) ūsic worde. — 672 *MS.* gewite.

þæt wē sōðfæstes swaðe folgodon,
 læston lārwide ; hē lungre āhōf
 wōðe wiðerhȳdig wēan onblonden : 675
 ‘ Hwæt ! gē syndon earme ofer ealle menn ;
 wadað widlāstas, weorn gefērað
 earfoðsiða, ellpēodiges nū
 būtan lēodrihte lārum hȳrað,
 ēadiges orhlytte æðeling cȳðað, 680
 secgað sōðlice, þæt mid suna meotudes
 drohtigen dæghwæmlice. Þæt is duguðum cūð,
 hwanon þām ordfruman æðelu onwōcon ;
 hē wæs āfēded on þysse folcsceare,
 cildgeong ācenned mid his cnēomāgum ; 685
 þus syndon hāten hāmsittende,
 fæder ond mōdur, þæs wē gefrægen habbað
 | þurh mōdgemynd, Maria ond Iōsēph. [f. 38^b]
 Syndon him on æðelum oðere twēgen
 beornas geborene, brōðorsybbum, 690
 suna Iōsēphes, Simon ond Iācōb.’
 Swā hlēoðrodon hæleða ræswan,
 dugoð dōmgeorne, dyrnan þohton
 Meotudes mihte. Mān eft gehwearf,
 yfel endelēas, þær hit ær ārās. 695

[VII]

“ Þā se þēoden gewāt þegna hēape
 fram þām meðelstede mihtum geswiðed,
 dugeða Dryhten, sēcan dīgol land.

676 *B.* sindon. — 682 *MS.* drohtigen. *K.* -hwamlice. — 689 *B.* sindon. *K.* omits on. — 690 *W.* the final e of geborene indistinct in the *MS.* — 693 *W.*'s statement, *Gm.* dugoðdōmgeorne (also l. 878), applies only to *Gm.*'s note, not to his text. — 695 *W.* a letter erased in the *MS.* between yfel and ende. — 696 *Th.* heare for heape; *Gm.*, *K.* hearra; *Gn.* as emendation heape.

āwriten on wealle wuldres þegnas.
 Þā gēn worde cwæð weoruda Dryhten,
 heofonhālig gāst, fore þām heremægene :
 ‘ Nū ic bebēode bēacen ætýwan,
 wundor geweorðan on wera gemange, 730
 ðæt þeos onlicnes eorðan sēce,
 wlitig of wāge, ond word sprece,
 secge sōðcwidum (þȳ sceolon gelyfan
 eorlas on cȳððe) hwæt mīn æðelo sien.’
 “ Ne dorste þā forhylman Hælandes bebod 735
 wundor fore weorodum, ac of wealle āhlēop,
 frōd fyrngeweorc, þæt hē on foldan stōd,
 stān fram stāne ; stefn æfter cwōm,
 hlūd þurh heardne, hlēoðor dynede,
 wordum wēmdre (wrætlic þūhte 740
 stiðhycgendum stānes ongin),
 septe sācerdas sweotolum tācnum,
 wītig werede ond worde cwæð :
 ‘ Gē synd unlāede, earmra geþohta
 searowum beswicene, oððe sēl nyton, 745
 mōde gemyrde ; gē mon cīgað
 Godes ēce bearn, þone þe grund ond sund,
 heofon ond eorðan ond hrēo wāgas,
 salte sǣstrēamas ond swegl uppe
 āmearcode mundum sīnum. 750
 Þis is se ilca ealwalda God,

726 Holthausen (PBB. xvi, 550) þegna. — 733 After soðcwidum Gn. supposes an omission in the narrative, and supplies as follows: secge soðcwidum, [þæt ic eom sunu godes]; þȳ sceolon gelyfan [leoda ræswan] etc. There is no indication of a break in the MS. — 736 Th., Gm. ahleow; Gm. note ahleop. — 740 Th. as MS. þrætlic, text wrætlic. — 741 Gn. onginn. — 742 MS. plainly septe; Th. text septe, note ‘MS. septe or sewte, uncertain’; Gm. text septe, but note sewte or sewde; Gn. sewde; K. sewte saverdas (tr. ‘It taught the priests’). — 743 Cos. (PBB. xxi, 12) wenede. — 744 K. earma; B. incorrectly earma as MS. — 746 MS., Edd. ge monetigað; Cos. (PBB. xxi, 12) ge mon cīgað. — 747 MS., Edd. ond before þone.

ðone on fyrndagum fæderas cūðon ;
 hē Ābrahāme ond Īsāce
 ond Iōcōbe gife bryttode,
 welum weorðode, wordum sægde 755
 ærest Hābrahāme æðeles geþingu,
 þæt of his cynne cenned sceolde
 weorðan wuldres God. Is sēo wyrd mid ēow
 open, orgete ; magan ēagum nū
 gesēon sigores God, swegles āgend.' 760
 “Æfter þyssum |wordum weorud hlosnode [f. 39^b]
 geond þæt side sel, swigodon ealle.
 Ðā ðā yldestan eft ongunnon
 secgan synfulle (sōð ne oncnēowan),
 þæt hit drȳrcraeftum gedōn wære, 765
 scingelācum, þæt se scȳna stān
 mælde for mannum. Mān wrīdode
 geond beorna brēost, brandhāta nīð
 wēoll on gewitte, weorm blædum fāg,
 āttor ælfæle. Þær orcnāwe [wearð] 770
 þurh tēonwide twēogende mōd,
 mæcga misgehygd morðre bewunden.
 “ Ðā se þēoden bebēad þrȳðweorc faran,
 stān [on] strāete of stedewange,
 ond forð gān foldweg tredan, 775

754 *MS.* iocobe ; *Th.* iacobe ; *Gm., K., Gn.* Jacobe ; *B.* Iacobe ; *W.* Iocobe. *Th., Gn.* gyfe. — 756 *Gn.* Abrahame. — 758 *Nap.* as *MS.* ys ; but the reproduction reads plainly is. — 759 *Gm.* note ongete. — 761 *K.* Æfer. — 769 *K.* fæg. — 770 *MS.* ælfæle, *B.* incorrectly as *MS.* alfæle ; *Th., Gm., Gn.* ælfæle ; *K., B.* alfæle ; *B.* ælfæle ; *Gm.* note ælfæle ? ælfealo ? ; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) citing *Kern* (*Taalk. bijdr.* i, 206), ealfe[a]lo. *Th., Gm.* note oncnawe. *Gm., K., B.* supply wearð after, *Gn., W.* before, orcnawe ; *Th.* makes no addition to the text. In the *MS.* orcnawe stands at the end of a line. — 772 *Th., Gm., K., Gn.* misgehyd. — 774 *K., Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517), *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) stan [on] strāete. In the *MS.* stan stands at the end of a line. — 775 *MS., Gm., W.* forð gan ; *Th., Gm., K., B.* forðgan ; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 477) would resolve the contraction.

grēne grundas, Godes ærendu
 lārum lādan on þā leodmearce
 tō Channanēum, cyninges worde
 bēodan Hābrahāme mid his eāforum twām
 of eorðscræfe ærest fremman, 780
 lāetan landreste, leoðo gadrigean,
 gāste onfōn ond geogoðhāde,
 ednīwinga andweard cuman,
 frōde fyrnweotan, folce gecyðan,
 hwylcne hie God mihtum ongiten hæfdon. 785
 Gewāt hē þā fēran, swā him Frēa mihtig,
 scyppend wera, gescrifen hæfde,
 ofer mearcwaðu, þæt hē on Mambre becōm
 beorhte blīcan, swā him bebēad Meotud,
 þær þā lichoman lange þrāge, 790
 hēahfædera hrā, beheled wæron.
 Hēt þā ofstlice ūp āstandan
 Hābrahām ond Īsaac, æðeling þridan
 Iācōb of grēote tō Godes geþinge,
 snēome of slāpe þām fæstan; hēt hie tō þām siðe gyrwan, 795
 fāran tō Frēan dōme; sceoldon hie þām folce gecyðan,
 hwā æt frumsceafte furðum tēode
 eorðan eallgrēne ond ūpheofon,
 hwær |se wealdend wære, þe þæt weorc staðolade. [f. 40^a]
 Ne dorston þā gelettan leng ōwihte 800
 wuldorcyniges word; geweotan ðā ðā wītigan þrȳ

776 *Th.* incorrectly as *MS.* ærendu. — 779 *Gn.* Abrahame. — 780 *K.*, *Gn.* ærist.
 — 782 *Trautmann* (*Kynewulf*, p. 29) would supply ond before gaste. *MS.*, *Edd.*
 onfon; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 476) would give the uncontracted form. *K.* geogoðhades;
Gn. geoguoðhade. — 783 *K.* edniwinge. — 785 *Gn.* note god-mihtum? also *Spr.* ii,
 802 without question. — 788 *Gm.* note, *K.* mearcwaðu; *Gn.* incorrectly ascribes -wadu
 to *Gm.*, *K.* *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* Membre. — 790 *W.* after þær a second þær erased in
 the *MS.* — 792 *K.* ofslic. *Th.*, *K.*, *B.* upastandan. — 796 *Gm.* sceolden. — 798 *K.*
 ealgrene. — 801 *K.* -ceyniges. *B.* geweoton, *B.*² geweotan.

mōdige mearcland tredan; forlætan moldern wunigean
 open eorðscræfu; woldon hie ædre gecyðan
 frumweorca fæder. Þā þæt folc gewearð
 egesan geāclod, þær þā æðelingas 805
 wordum weorðodon wuldres aldor.
 Hie ðā ricene hēt rices hyrde
 tō eadwelan oþre siðe
 sēcan mid sybbe swegles drēamas,
 ond þæs tō widan fēore willum nēotan. 810
 “Nū ðū miht gehýran, hyse lēofesta,
 hū hē wundra worn wordum cýðde,
 swā þeah ne gelyfdon lārum sinum
 mōdblinde menn. Ic wāt manig nū gýt
 mycel mære spell, ðe se māga fremede, 815
 rodera rædend, ðā ðū aræfnan ne miht,
 hreðre behabban, hygeþances glēaw.”
 Þus Andréas ondlangne dæg
 herede hlēoðorcwidum hāliges lāre,
 oððæt hine semninga slæp oferēode 820
 on hronrāde heofoncyninge nēh.

[VIII]

Ðā gelædan hēt lifes brytta
 ofer yða geþræc englās sīne,
 fæðmum ferigean on fæder wære
 lēofne mid lissum ofer lagufæsten, 825
 oððæt sǣwērige slæp oferēode.
 Þurh lyftgelac on land becwōm

802 *K.* forlæton, *Gn.* note forlēton. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* place wunigean in 803^a; *Gn.*, *W.* in 802^b. — 810 *MS.* plainly (so also *Nap.*) þæs; *Edd.* þær. — 814 *K.* men. — 819 *MS.* berede; so *Th.*, *W.*; *Nap.* as *MS.* herede; *Th.*, *B.*, *W.* berede; *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *C.*, *Bright (MLN. ii, 82)*, *Cos. (PBB. xxi, 13)* herede. — 826 *Siev. (PBB. x, 460)* -werge. — 827 *Gn.* lyft gelac, *Gn.*² lyftgelac.

tō þære ceastre, þe him cining engla

 ðā þā aras siðigean,
 eadige on upweg, eðles neosan. 830
 Lēton þone hālgan be herestræte
 swefan on sybbe under swegles hlēo,
 bliðne bidan burhwealle nēh,
 his niðhetum, nihtlangne fyrst,
 oðþæt Dryhten [forlēt dægcandle [f. 40^b] 835
 scīre scīnan. Sceadu sweðerodon,
 wonn under wolcnum. Þā cōm wederes blæst,
 hādor heofonlēoma, ofer hofu blican.
 Onwōc þā wiges heard, wang scēawode ;
 fore burggeatum beorgas stēape, 840
 hleoðu hlifodon ; ymbe hārne stān
 tigelfāgan trafu, torras stōdon,
 windige weallas. Þā se wīsa oncnēow,
 þæt hē Marmedonia mægðe hæfde
 siðe gesōhte, swā him sylf bebēad, 845

828 *Th.*, after engla, 'Some lines are wanting here, though there is no hiatus in the MS.' *Gm.*, *K.* leave space for one and a half lines after engla. *Gn.* fills in as follows :

þe him cining engla
 [in Achaia ær getacnode].
 [Gewiton] þa þa aras [eft] siðigean, etc.

W. admits the break in the narrative but does not supply the omission. *C.* omits ll. 826–831, saying they 'are probably corrupt and are therefore omitted.' *B.* alone sees no interruption of the narrative here ; he arranges as follows :

þe him cining engla þa þa
 aras siðigean eadige on upweg, eðles neosan.

B. emends the second þa, l. 829^b, to þær, and reads :

þe him cining
 engla þa þær aras siðigean, etc.

The hypothetical line following l. 828 is not counted in the line-numbering.—838 MS. le^oma.—841 MS. hleoðu, but *Th.* hleoðū ; *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, consequently, hleoðum.—843 MS., *Edd.* wis ; *Gm.* note 'se vis für se visa ?'

þā hē him fōre gescrāf, fæder mancynnes.
 Geseh hē þā on grēote gingran sīne,
 beornas beadurōfe, bīryhte him
 swefan on slāpe. Hē sōna ongann
 wīgend weccēan, ond worde cwæð : 850
 “ Ic ēow secgan mæg sōð orgete,
 þæt ūs gystrandæge on geofones strēam
 ofer ārwelan æðeling ferede.
 In þām cēole wæs cyninga wuldor,
 waldend werðēode ; ic his word oncnēow, 855
 þēh hē his mægwlite bemiðen hæfde.”
 Him þā æðelingas ondsweorodon,
 geonge gēncwidum, gāstgerȳnum :
 “ Wē ðē, Andrēas, eaðe gecyðað
 sīð ūserne, þæt ðū sylfa miht 860
 ongitan glēawlice gāstgehygdum.
 Ūs sǣwērige slāp oferēode ;
 þā cōmon earnas ofer ȳða wylm
 [faran] on flyhte, feðerum hrēmige,
 ūs ofslāpendum sǣwle ābrugdon, 865
 mid gefēan feredon flyhte on lyfte,
 brehtmum bliðe, beorhte ond liðe ;
 lissum lufodon ond in lofe wunedon,
 þær wæs singāl sang ond swegles gong,

846 MS., *Nap.* þā he him ; *Th.* þā him ; *Gm., K., B., W.* þam him ; *Gn. replaces þā by and* ; *C.* changes þā (i.e. þam) to þa = when. *Th.* fore-gescraf ; *Gm., Gn., C.* foregescraf ; *Gn.*² (fore = *zuvor*), *B., W.* fore gescraf. *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) *supplies þa before fore.* — 852 MS., *Th., B.* gyrstran ; *Edd.* gystran dæge, *except C.* gystrandæge. — 855 MS., *Gm., K., B.* weorðode ; *Th.* suggests werðeode (cf. 538^b), *Gn.* werþeoda, *W., C.* werðeode ; *Bright (MLN.* ii, 82) weoroda. — 859 *Gm., K., B.* eade ; *B.*² eaðe — 862 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) sæwerge. — 864 MS., *Th., Gm., B., W.* wylm on flyhte, *without break* ; *Gn., C.* *supply faran before on flyhte.* *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 459) hremge. — 865 *Edd.* of slāpendum. — 867 *K.* brehtum. — 868 *Th., Gm., K., Gn.* hi for in. — 869 *C.* ond *miswritten for geond?* ; *but the MS. uses the customary abbreviation.* *Simons (p. 131) suggests sweges for swegles.*

wlitig weoroda hēap ond wuldres þrēat. 870
 Ūtan ymbe æðelne englas stōdon,
 þegnas ymb þēoden, þūsendmælum ;
 heredon on hēhðo hālgan stefne
 dryhtna Dryhten ; drēam wæs on hyhte.
 Wē ðær | hēahfæderas hālige oncnēowon [f. 41^a] 875
 ond martyra mægen unlytel ;
 sungon sigedryhtne sōðfæstlic lof,
 dugoð dōmgeorne. Þær wæs Dāuid mid,
 ēadig oretta, Essāges sunu,
 for Crīst cumen, cining Israhēla ; 880
 swylce wē gesēgon for suna Meotudes,
 æðelum ēcne, ēowic standan,
 twelfe getealde, tīrēadige hæleð ;
 ēow þegnodon þrymsittende,
 hālige hēahenglas ; ðām bið hæleða well, 885
 þe þāra blissa brūcan mōton.
 Þær wæs wuldres wynn, wīgendra þrym,
 æðelic onginn ; næs þær ænigum gewinn.
 Þām bið wræcsið witod, wīte geopenad,
 þe þāra [gefēana] sceal fremde weorðan, 890
 hēan hwearfian, þonne heonon gangaþ."

Þā wæs mōdsefa myclum geblissod
 hāliges on hreðre, syðþan hlēoðorcwide
 gingran gehyrdon, þæt hīe God wolde
 onmunan swā mycles ofer menn ealle, 895
 ond þæt word gecwæð wīgendra hlēo :
 " Nū ic, God Dryhten, ongiten hæbbe,
 þæt ðū on faroðstræte feor ne wære,
 cyinga wuldur, þā ic on cēol gestāh,

871 Th. utan-ymbe. — 874 Simons (p. 85) reads h̄hðe? — 889 MS. þe erased after geopenad. — 890^a Gm., K., Gn., W. insert gefeana after þara, Bright (MLN. ii, 82) frean. K. seal. — 891 Gn. gangeð. — 894 K. gehyrde. — 899 Gm., K. wuldor.

ðēh ic on ƿðfare, engla þēoden, 900
 gāsta gēocend, ongitan ne cūðe.
 Weorð mē nū milde, Meotud ælmihtig,
 bliðe, beorht cyning! Ic on brimstrēame
 spræc worda worn, wāt æfter nū,
 hwā mē wyrðmyndum on wudubāte 905
 ferede ofer flōdas; þæt is frōfre gāst
 hæleða cynne. Þær is help gearu,
 milts æt mærum, manna gehwylcum,
 sigorspēd geseald, þām þe sēceð tō him.”
 Ðā him fore ēagum onsýne wearð 910
 æðeling oðýwed in þā ilcan tid,
 cining cwicera gehwæs, þurh cnihtes hād;
 þā hē worde cwæð, wuldres aldor:
 “Wes ðū, |Andrēas, hāl, mid þās willgedryht, [f. 41^b]
 ferðgefeonde! Ic þē friðe healde, 915
 þæt þē ne mōton māngeniðlan,
 grame grynsmiðas, gāste gesceððan.”
 Fēoll þā tō foldan, frioðo wilnode
 wordum wīs hæleð, winedryhten frægn:
 “Hū geworhte ic þæt, waldend fira, 920
 synnig wið seolfne, sāwla nergend,
 þæt ic þē swā gōdne ongitan ne meahte
 on wægfare, þær ic worda gespræc,
 mīnra for Meotude, mā þonne ic sceolde?”
 Him andswarode ealwalda God: 925
 “Nō ðū swā swiðe synne gefremedest,
 swā ðū in Achaia ondsæc dydest,
 ðæt ðū on feorwegas fēran ne cūðe

905 *Gn.* weorðmyndum. — 907 *MS.* þær^{is} help. — 910 *Th.* on syne. *MS.*, *Th.*
 werð. — 915 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *W.* ferð gefeonde; but *W. l. 1584^a* reads ferðgefeonde.
Gn. forð? for ferð. — 918 *K.* freoðo. — 925 *B.* ond, *B.²* as *MS.* — 927 *MS.*
 ach^aia. — 928 *K.* feorwegas.

nē in þā ceastre becuman mehte,
 þing gehēgan þrēora nihta 930
 fyrstgearnas, swā ic þe fēran hēt
 ofer wēga gewinn. Wāst nū þe gearwor,
 þæt ic ēaðe mæg ānra gehwylcne
 fremman ond fyrþran frēonda mīnra
 on landa gehwylc, þær mē lēofost bið. 935
 Aris nū hrædlice, ræd ædre ongit,
 beorn gebledsod, swā þe beorht fæder
 geweorðað wuldorgifum tō wīdan aldre,
 cræfte ond mihte. Ðū in þā ceastre gong
 under burglocan, þær þin brōðor is. 940
 Wāt ic Māthēus þurh mænra hand
 hrinen heorudolgum, hēafodmāgan
 searonettum beseted; þū hine sēcan scealt,
 lēofne alýsan of lāðra hete
 ond eal þæt mancynn, þe him mid wunige, 945
 elþeodigra inwitwrasnum,
 bealuwe gebundene. Him sceal bōt hraðe
 weorþan in worulde ond in wuldre lēan,
 swā ic him sylfum ær secgende wæs.

[IX]

“[Nū ðū, Andrēas, scealt ēdre genēðan [f. 42^a] 950
 in gramra gripe; is þe gūð weotod,
 heardum heoruswengum scel þin hrā dæled

929 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* meakte; *B.*² mehte. — 932 *Gm.*, *Gn.*² wega. — 942 *MS.*,
Edd. hrinan. *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.* -magū, *i.e.* -magum; *B.*, *W.* -magu; *Gm. note*, *K.*,
Gn. -magan. — 943 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.* -mettum, *Gm. note*, *Edd.* -nettum. — 945 *K.*
manegu for mancynn. — 946 *K.* ælþeodigra. — 947 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 459) gebundne;
Holthausen (*PBB.* xvi, 550) gebunden. — 949 *Nap.* at lower edge of f. 41^b the
word eadgib, afterwards erased. — 952 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* sceal. *MS.*, *Edd.* dælan;
*Gn.*², *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) dæled.

wundum weorðan, wættre geliccōst
 faran flōde blōd. Hie þin feorh ne magon
 dēaðe gedælan, þēh ðū drype ðolie, 955
 synnigra slege. Ðū þæt sār āber;
 ne læt þē āhweorfan hǣðenra þrym,
 grim gārgewinn, þæt ðū Gode swice,
 Dryhtne þinum. Wes ā dōmes georn;
 læt ðē on gemyndum, hū þæt manegum wearð 960
 fira gefrēge geond feala landa,
 d þæt mē bysmredon bennum fæstne
 weras wansǣlige; wordum tyrgdon,
 slōgon ond swungon; synnige ne mihton
 þurh sārwide sōð gecyðan. 965
 Þā ic mid Iūdēum gealgan þehte
 (rōd wæs āræred), þær rinca sum
 of mīnre sidan swāt ūt forlēt,
 drēor tō foldan. Ic adrēah feala
 yrmþa ofer eorðan; wolde ic ēow on ðon 970
 þurh bliðne hige bysne onstellen,
 swā on ellþēode ywed wyrðeð.
 Manige syndon in þysse mæran byrig,
 þāra þe ðū gehweorfest tō heofonlēohte
 þurh minne naman, þēah hie morðres feala 975
 in fyrndagum gefremed habban.”
 Gewāt him þā se hālga heofonas sēcan,
 eallra cyninga cining, pone clānan hām,
 ēaðmēdum upp; þær is ār gelang
 fira gehwylcum, þām þe hie findan cann. 980
 Ðā wæs gemyndig mōdgeþyldig,
 beorn beaduwe heard; ēode in burh hraðe

953 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* gelicost. — 956 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*², *Spr.* ii, 455 slage. —
 962 *Gn.* hu me; *Gn.*² þæt me. *Gn.*, *W.* bendum. — 963 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -sælge.
 — 970 *Gm.* omits ic. — 971 *Gn.* bysen. — 972 *Gm.* yweð. — 976 *K.* habben.

anræd oretta, elne gefyrðred,
 māga mōde rōf, Meotude getrēowe,
 stōp on stræte (stig wīsode), 985
 swā him nænig gumena ongitan ne mihte,
 |synfulra gesēon. Hæfde sigora weard [f. 42^b]
 on þām wangstede wære betolden
 lēofne lēodfruman mid lofe sīnum.
 Hæfde pā se æðeling in geþrunge, 990
 Cristes cempa, carcerne nēh.
 Geseh hē hæðenra hlōð ætgædere,
 fore hlindura hyrdas standan,
 seofone ætsomne. Ealle swylt fornam,
 druron dōmlēase; dēaðræs forfēng 995
 hæleð heorodrēorige. Ðā se hālga gebæd
 bilwytna fæder, brēostgehygdum
 herede on hēhðo heofoncyniges [þrym],
 Godes dryhtendōm. Duru sōna onarn
 þurh handhrine hāliges gāstes, 1000
 ond þær in ēode, elnes gemyndig,
 hæle hildedēor; hæðene swæfon,
 drēore druncne, dēaðwang rudon.
 Geseh hē Māthēus in þām mōrðorcofan,
 hæleð higerōfne under heolstorlocan, 1005
 secgan Dryhtne lof, dōmweorðinga

986 *Gn. note hine for him.* — 987 *B.* ond synfulra; *B.*² omits ond. — 990 *Edd.* ingeþrunge. — 996 *MS., B.* -deorig; *Edd.* -dreorig. — 998 *MS.* heofoncyniges gōd dryhten dom with no indication of an omission. *Th., Gm., K., Gn.* god dryhten dom; *B., W.* dryhtendom; *Gn. Nachtr., Gn.*² godes dryhtendom? so also *Spr. i, 208*, adding 'wol kaum god-dryhten-dom.' *Cos. (PBB. xxi, 13)* heofoncyniges þrym, dryhtendom godes; or heofonrices god, dryhtnes ecne dom? *Simons (p. 28)* for dryhtendom reads in dryhtnes domas (gōd evidently intended to follow heofoncyniges in 998^b). *Buttenwieser (p. 46)* heofoncyniges þrym, dryhtlic dom godes. — 999 *K. dura.* — 1000 *MS., Th.* hanhrine. — 1001 *Edd., except K.,* ineode. — 1003 *Cos. (PBB. xxi, 13)* beore for dreore. *MS., Th., Gm.* deað wangrudon; *K.* deaðwang ridon.

engla ðeodne. Hē ðær āna sæt
 geohðum gēomor in þām gnornhofe ;
 geseh þā under swegle swæsne gefēran,
 hālig hāligne ; hyht wæs geniwad. 1010
 Arās þā tōgēnes, Gode þancade,
 þæs ðe hie onsunde æfre mōston
 gesēon under sunnan. Syb wæs gemæne
 bām þām gebrōðrum, blis edniwe ;
 æghwæðer oðerne earme beþehte, 1015
 cyston hie ond clypton. Crīste wāeron bēgen
 lēofe on mōde ; hie lēoht ymbscān
 hālig ond heofontorht ; hreðor innan wæs
 wynnum āwelled. Þā worde ongan
 ærest Andrēas æðelne gefēran 1020
 on clustorcleofan mid cwide sinum
 grētan godfyrhtne ; sǣde him gūðgedingu,
 feohtan fāra monna : “ Nū is þin folc on luste,
 hæleð hyder on . . .

* * *

. . . |gelyrht eardes nēosan.” [f. 43^a] 1025
 Æfter þyssum wordum wuldres þegnas,
 bēgen þā gebrōðor, tō gebede hylton,
 sendon hira bēne fore bearn Godes.
 Swylce se hālgā in þām hearmlocan
 his God grētte ond him gēoce bæd, 1030
 Hælend helpe, ær þan hrā crunge
 fore hǣðenra hildeþrymme,
 ond þā gelǣdde of leoðobendum

1008 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* geohðum ; *Gn. note*, *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 500) geohðum. *K.* im.
 — 1009 *Gm.*, *K.* þær for þa. — 1012 *K.* þæt for þæs. — 1018 *K.* hreðer. — 1019 *B.*,
W. winnum. — 1022 *Gm.* -gedingu, corrected on p. 182. — 1023 *Edd.*, *Nap.* a folio
 excised after f. 42. *K.* indicates a break in the sense both before and after gelyrht.
 — 1030 *MS.* grete. — 1031 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* ærþon. *MS.* crunġ ; *W.* as *MS.* crung,
 corrected *Nachtr.* p. 564. — 1032 *Gm.* hilde þrymme.

þē læs him scyldhatan scyððan cōmon
 mid earhfare, ealdgeniðlan.
 Þær þā mōdigan mid him mæðel gehēdan,
 trēowgeþoftan, ær hīe on tū hweorfan ; 1050
 ægðer þāra eorla oðrum trymede
 heofonrices hyht, helle wītu
 wordum werede. Swā ðā wīgend mid him,
 hæleð higerōfe, hālgum stefnum
 cempan coste cyning weorðadon, 1055
 wyrda waldend, þæs wuldres ne bið
 æfre mid eldum ende befangan.

[X]

Gewāt him þā Andrēas inn on ceastre
 glædmōd gangan, tō þæs ðe hē gramra gemōt,
 fāra folc|mægen, gefrægen hæfde, [f. 43^b] 1060
 oððæt hē gemette be mearcpaðe
 standan stræte nēah stapul ærenne.
 Gesæt him þā be healfe, hæfde hlūttre lufan,
 ēce ūpgemynd engla blisse ;
 þanon bāsnode. under burhlocan, 1065
 hwæt him gūðweorca gifeðe wurde.
 Þā gesamnedon side herigeas,
 folces frumgāras ; tō þām fæstenne
 wærlēasra werod wæpnum cōmon,
 hæðne hildfrecan, tō þæs þā hæftas ær 1070
 under hlinscuwan hearm þrōwedon.
 Wēndan ond woldon, wiðerhycgende,
 þæt hīe on elþeodigum æt geworhton,

1047 *Gn.* þy. — 1050 *Gn.* hi. — 1055 *K.* weorðodon. — 1058 *Th.* inn-on. — 1059
Th., Gm., K., Gn. as *MS.* gangen, *text* gangan. — 1064 *MS.* eçce ; cf. 637^a ; *Edd.* ece.
 — 1070 *K.* þe for þa. — 1072 *Th.* hycende. — 1073 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) þeodgum.

weotude wiste; him sēo wēn gelāh,
 syððan mid corðre carcernes duru 1075
 eorre æsberend opene fundon,
 onhliden hamera geweorc, hyrdas dēade.
 Hie þā unhȳðige eft gecyrdon,
 luste belorene, lāðspell beran;
 sægdon þām folce, þæt ðær feorrcundra, 1080
 ellreordigra, ænigne tō lāfe
 in carcerne cwicne ne gemetton,
 ah þær heorodrēorige hyrdas lāgan,
 gæsne on grēote, gāste berofene,
 fægra flāschaman. þā wearð forht manig 1085
 for þām færspele folces ræswa,
 hēan, hygegēomor, hungres on wēnum,
 blātes bēodgastes. Nyston beteran rād,
 þonne hie þā belidenan him to lifnere,
 [dēade] gefeormedon; duruþegnum wearð 1090
 in āne tid eallum ætsomne
 þurh heard gelāc hildbedd stȳred.
 Ðā ic lungre gefrægn lēode tōsomne
 burgwaru bannan; beornas cōmon,
 wiggendra præat, wicgum gangan, 1095

1074 *Gm., Etm., K., Gn., B., Cos. (PBB. xxi, 14) geleah; B.² gelah. — 1075 K. dura. — 1078 Th., Gm., Etm., K., Gn. unhydige; Gn.² hyðige; Siev. (PBB. x, 460) -hyðge. — 1079 Th., Gm., Gn., W. lað spell; Gn.² laðspell. — 1080 Holthausen (PBB. xvi, 550) supplies hie = eos before ðær. — 1081 Etm. elreordigra. W. ænig ne to lafe; Siev. (PBB. xvi, 550) æn(i)ge to lafe, in carcerne, cwic ne gemetton. — 1082 MS. cwicne gemette, not as W. states cwic ne gemette; Th. as MS.; Th. note, K. cwicne ne metton; Gm., Etm., B. cwicne ne gemetton; Gn. cwic ne gemetton; Pogatscher (Anglia xxiii, 298) cwicne ne gemette; W. cwic ne gemette. — 1083 K. ac. Gn. omits þær; Gn.² restores the word. Siev. (PBB. x, 460) dreorge. Gm., K., Etm. lægon. — 1087 Th., Gm. hyge geomor. — 1088 K. beodgastes. — 1089 MS., Th., Gm., K., B. behlidenan; Gm. note, Etm., Gn., W., Bright (MLN. ii, 82) belidenan. — 1090 Etm., Gn., W. supply deade before gefeormedon; Siev. (PBB. x, 517) characterizes the line thus emended as metrically imperfect; Holthausen (Anglia xiii, 357) deade dryht gefeormedon. See Notes. — 1093 Gm. to somne. — 1095 K. wiggum. Etm. gangan.*

on mēarum mōdige, mæðelhēgende,
 æscum dealle. þā wæs eall geador
 tō þām þingstede þēod gesannod ;
 lēton him þā betwēonum | taan wisian, [f. 44^a]
 hwylcne hira ærest oðrum sceolde 1100
 tō fōddurþege fēores ongyldan ;
 hluton hellcræftum, hǣðengildum
 teledon betwīnum. Ðā se tǎn gehwearf
 efne ofer ænne ealdgesiða,
 sē wæs uðweota eorla dugoðe, 1105
 heriges on ore. Hraðe siððan wearð
 fetorwrasnum fæst, fēores orwēna.
 Cleopode þā collenferhð cearegan reorde,
 cwæð hē his sylfes sunu syllan wolde
 on æhtgeweald, eaforan geongne, 1110
 lifes tō lisse ; hie ðā lāc hraðe
 þēgon tō þance. þēod wæs oflysted,
 metes mōdgeomre, næs him tō mǣðme wynn,
 hyht tō hordgestrēonum ; hungre wāeron
 þearle geþrēatod, swā se ðeodsceaða 1115
 rēow ricsode. þā wæs rinc manig,
 gūðfrec guma, ymb þæs geongan feorh
 brēostum onbryrded. Tō þām beadulāce
 wæs þæt wēatācen wide gefrēge,
 geond þā burh bodad beorne manegum, 1120
 þæt hie þæs cnihtes cwealm corðre gesōhton,
 duguðe ond eogoðe, dǣl onfēngon
 lifes tō leofne. Hie lungre tō þæs,
 hǣðene herigweardas, here samnodan

1096 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* mæðel hegende. — 1099 *Gn.* omits þa. *MS.* tá an, the first word on f. 44^a ; *Edd.* tǎn, except *W.* taan. — 1109 *K.* suna. — 1110 *MS.* geone. — 1116 *MS.*, *Edd.* hreow, except *Gn.*, *Siev.* (*PBB.* ix, 257) reow. *Gm.* ring. — 1119 *Ettm.* gefræge. — 1123 *Gn.* hi. — 1124 *K.* heargweardas.

ceastrewarena; cyrm upp āstāh. 1125

Ðā se geonga ongann gēomran stefne,
gehæfted for herige, hearmlēoð galan,
frēonda fēasceaft, friðes wilnian;
ne mihte earmsceapen āre findan,
freoðe æt þām folce, þe him fēores wolde, 1130

ealdres geunnan; hæfdon æglæcan
sæcce gesōhte; sceolde sweordes |ecg, [f. 44^b]
scerp ond scūrheard, of sceaðan folme,
fýrmælum fāg, feorh ācsigan.

Ðā þæt Andrēa earmlic þūhte, 1135
þeodbealo þearlic tō geðolianne,
þæt hē swā unscyldig ealdre sceolde
lungre linnan. Wæs se lēodhete

[þrist ond] þrothheard; þrymman scēocan,
mōdige maguþegnas, morðres on luste; 1140
woldon æninga, ellenrōfe,

on þām hysebeorðre heafolan gescēnan,
gārum āgētan. Hine God forstōd,
hālig of hēhðo, hāðenum folce;
hēt wāpen werā wexe gelicost 1145

on þām orlege eall formeltan;
þy læs scyldhatan sceððan mihton,
egle ondsacan, ecga þryðum.

Swā wearð ālýsed of lēodhete,
geong of gyrne. Gode ealles þanc, 1150

1125 MS., Th., Gn., B. ceastre warena; K. ceasterwarena. — 1127 K. gehafted.
— 1129 Th. miht. — 1130 Gn. note freode? Etm. note nolde? — 1133 Gn. scerp.
Gn. Nachtr. fæðme for folme? — 1134 Gn. fah. — 1139 MS. þrothheard þrym-
man with no indication of omission; B., W. as MS.; Th., Gm., K. indicate the
omission of one or more words after þrothheard; Etm., Gn. and þrealic after
þrothheard; Gn.², Cos. (PBB. xxi, 15) þearl and before þrothheard. W. calls atten-
tion to 1264^a. Etm. þrymnum. — 1142 Gn. note hyse corðre? — 1143 Gm., K.,
Etm. ageotan. — 1147 Cos. (PBB. xxi, 15) supplies him before scyldhatan. MS.
Edd. sceaðan; Siev. (PBB. x, 517), Cos. (PBB. xxi, 15) sceððan.

dryhtna Dryhtne, þæs ðe hē dōm gifeð
 gumena gehwylcum, þāra þe gēoce tō him
 sēceð mid snytrum; þær bið symle gearu
 frēod unhwilen, þām þe hīe findan cann.

[XI]

þā wæs wōp hæfen in wera burgum, 1155
 hlūd heriges cyrm; hrēopon friccan,
 mǣndon metelēaste, mēde stōdon,
 hungre gehæfte. Hornsalu wunedon,
 wēste winræced, welan ne benohton
 beornas tō brūcanne on þā bitran tid; 1160
 gesǣton searupancle sundor tō rūne
 ermðu eahtigan; næs him tō ēðle wynn.

Fregn þā gelōme freca oðerne:
 “Ne hele sē ðe hæbbe holde lāre,
 on sefan snyttro! Nū is sǣl cumen, 1165
 þrēa ormǣte; is nū þearf mycel,
 þæt wē wīsfæstra wordum hýran.”

[þā for þære dugoðe dēoful ætywde, [f. 45^a]
 wann ond wlitelēas, hæfde wēriges hiw.
 Ongan þā meldigan morþres brytta, 1170
 hellehinca, pone hālgan wer
 wiðerhycgende, ond þæt word gecwæð:
 “Hēr is gefēred ofer feorne weg
 æðelinga sum innan ceastre,
 ellþeodigra, pone ic Andrēas 1175

1151 *Gm.* gifed. — 1154 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.*, *B.* freond; *Gn. Nachtr.*, *Gn.*², *W.* freod. *B.*² hine for hie. *K.* eann. — 1156 *Gm.*, *Ettm.* hreopun. — 1159 *Gm.* (*cf. also his Introd. p. xxxvii*), *Ettm.*, *Gn.* winræced; *Gn.*², *K.*, *B.* winræced. — 1160 *Siev.* (*PBB. x*, 482) brucan. — 1163 *Ettm.* frægn. — 1165 *Th.* synttro. — 1169 *Ettm.* witeleas. *Edd.* wēriges; *Gn. Nachtr.*, *Gn.*² weriges? — 1171 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* helle hinca; *Gm. note*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.*², *W.* hellehinca. — 1173 *Gm.* ist. *Gm.*, *Gn.*² gefered. — 1175 *Ettm.* elþeodigra.

nemnan hērde ; hē ēow nēon gescēod,
 ðā hē āferede of fæstenne
 manncynnes mā þonne gemet wære.
 Nū gē magon ēaðe oncȳðdāda
 wrecan on gewyrhtum ; lætað [wæpnes] spor, 1180
 iren ecgheard, ealdorgeard sceoran,
 fæges feorhhord ; gāð fromlice,
 þæt gē wiðerfeotend wīges gehnægan."
 Him þā Andrēas āgef ondsware :
 "Hwæt ! ðū prīstlice þēode lærest, 1185
 bældest tō beadowe. Wæst þē bæles cwealm,
 hātne in helle, ond þū here fýsest,
fēðan tō gefeohte ; eart ðū fāg wið God,
 dugoða dēmend. Hwæt ! ðū dēofles stræl,
 icest þīne yrmðo ; ðē se ælmihtiga 1190
 hēanne gehnæigde, ond [on] heolstor bescēaf,
 þær þē cyninga cining clamme belegde,
 ond þē syððan ā Sātān nemdon,
 ðā ðe Dryhtnes ā dēman cūðon." 1195
 Dā gýt se wiðermēda wordum lārde
 folc tō gefeohte, fēondes cræfte :
 "Nū gē gehýrað hæleða gewinnan,
 sē ðyssum herige mæst hearma gefremede.
 Dæt is Andrēas, sē mē on fliteð
 wordum wrætlicum for wera menigo." 1200

1177 *Gm.*, *K.* āferede. — 1178 *Gn.* manncynnes. — 1180 *MS.* gwyrrhtum ; *Edd.* gewyrhtum ; *Holthausen* (*PBB.* xvi, 551), *Simons*, s. v. gewyrhtan. *MS.* lætað spor ; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* indicate an omission before spor but do not attempt to supply it ; *Ettm.* wigspere for spor ; *Gn.* wæpna spor ; *B.* nu spor ; *W.* wæpnes spor. — 1181 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *B.*, *W.* eadorgeard ; *Ettm.* eodorgeard ; *K.*, *Nap.* (*Anglia* iv, 411) independently ealdorgeard. — 1182 *Gm.* feohhord. — 1184 *Ettm.* ageaf. — 1186 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* bealdest. *K.* wast. — 1190 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) ælmihtga. — 1191 *Gn.*², *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) supply on before heolstor ; *Gn.* *Spr.* i, 93 as *MS.* — 1192 *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* se for þe ; *Ettm.* þær þe se ; *B.*² as *MS.* — 1193 *MS.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* Sata. *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *K.*, *B.* nemndon ; *B.*² nemdon. — 1194 *K.* æ. — 1198 *Ettm.* þisum. — 1199 *Edd.* onfliteð, except *Gn.*, *W.* on fliteð.

Dā wæs bēacen boden burhsittendum ;
 āhlēopon hildfrome heriges brehtme
 ond tō weallgeatum wīgend þrungon,
 cēne under cumblum, | corðre mycle [f. 45^b]
 tō ðām orlege, ordum ond bordum. 1205
 Þā worde cwæð weoroda Dryhten,
 Meotud mihtum swið sægde his magoþegne :
 “Scealt ðū, Andrēas, ellen fremman ;
 ne mið ðū for menig, ah þinne mōdsefan
 staðola wið strangum. Nis sēo stund latu, 1210
 þæt þē wælrēowe wītum belecgaþ,
 cealdan clommu. Cȳð þē sylfne,
 herd hīge þinne, heortan staðola,
 þæt hie mīn on ðē mægeþ oncnāwan.
 Ne magon hie ond ne mōton ofer mīne ēst 1215
 þinne lichoman, lehrum scyldige,
 dēaðe gedælan, ðeah ðū drype þolige,
 mirce mǎnslaga. Ic þē mid wunige.”
 After þām wordum cōm werod unmæte,
 lyswe lǎrsmēoðas, mid lindgecrode, 1220
 bolgenmōde ; bāron ūt hraðe
 ond þām hālgan þær handa gebundon,
 siþþan gepped wæs æðelinga wynn
 ond hie andweardne ēagum meahton
 gesion sigerōfne. Þær wæs sec manig 1225
 on þām welwange wīges oflysted
 lēoda duguðe ; lȳt sorgodon,
 hwylc him þæt edlēan æfter wurde.

1206 *Th.* cwæd. — 1212 *Ettm.* cealdum. — 1216 *Ettm.* lichaman. *Gm. note, citing 1205^a, leahrum. Siev. (PBB. x, 459) scyldge. — 1218 B. myrce. MS. mǎnslaga ; Gm., Ettm., K. manslaga ; Cos. (PBB. xxi, 16) mǎnslagas. — 1219 Ettm. After. — 1221 Ettm. hraðe ; so also 1272^a, 1577^b. — 1223 K. Siððon. Ettm. geppede. — 1224 Gn., Spr. i, 6 hi hine andweardne. — 1225 Gn., Ettm. secg. — 1226 Gm., Gn., K., Ettm., B., W. wælwange.*

Hēton þā lǣdan ofer landsceare,
 120 ǰrāgmǣlum tēon, torngeniðlan, 1230
 swā hīe hit frēcnost findan meahnton.
 Drōgon dēormōdne æfter dūnscreafum,
 ymb stānhleoðo stærcedferhþne,
 efne swā wīde swā wegas tō lāgon,
 enta ærgeweorc, innan burgum, 1235
 strāte stānfāge. Storm upp ārās
 æfter ceasterhofum, cirm unlȳtel
 hǣðnes heriges. Wæs þæs hālgan lic
 sārbennum soden, swāte bestēmed,
 bānhūs ābrocen; blōd ȳðum wēoll, 1240
 hātan |heolfre. Hæfde him on innan [f. 46^a]
 ellen untweonde; wæs þæt æðele mōd
 āsundrad fram synnum, þeah hē sāres swā feala
 dēopum dolgsegum drēogan sceolde.
 Swā wæs ealne dæg, oððæt æfen cōm, 1245
 sigetorht swungen; sār eft gewōd
 ymb þæs beornes brēost, oðþæt beorht gewāt
 sunne swegeltorht tō sete glīdan.
 Lǣddan þā lēode lāðne gewinnan
 tō carcerne; hē wæs Crīste swā þeah 1250
 lēof on mōde; him wæs lēoht sefa
 hālig heortan nēh, hige untyddre.

1229 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) *supplies* hine before þa.—1230 *Gn.*², *Spr.* ii, 550 *trigmælum*; *K.* *prægmælum*.—1232 *MS.*, *Edd.* *deormode*; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) *deormodne*.—1232 *Ettm.* *dūnscreafum*.—1233 *MS.* *stærcedferhþe*; *Th.*, *Gn.*, *B.*, *W.* *stærcedferhþe*; *Gm.*, *Ettm.* *stearcedferhðe*; *K.* *stearcedferðe*; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) *stærcedferhþne*.—1234 *Th.*, *B.* *tolagon*; *K.* *tolægon*.—1236 *Ettm.* *up*.—1241 *MS.*, *Edd.* *hat of heolfre*, *except Gn.* *hatan heolfre*; *Gn.*² *as MS.*; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) *hat of hreþre*. *Th.* *on-innan*.—1242 *MS.*, *Edd.* *untweodne*, *except Gn.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) *untweonde*; *Gn.*² *as MS.*.—1243 *Ettm.* *feola*.—1246 *MS.*, *Edd.* *sigeltorht*, *except Ettm.*, *Gn.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) *sigetorht*. *Gn.* *oft*.—1252 *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82) *would omit neh*. *Gn.* *untydre*; *Gm.* *note untēdre*.

[XII]

þā se hālga wæs under heolstorscuwan,
 eorl ellenheard, ondlange niht
 searopancum beseted. Snāw eorðan band 1255
 wintergeworþum; weder cōledon
 heardum hægelscūrum; swylce hrim ond forst,
 hāre hildstapan, hæleða ēðel
 lucon, lēoda gesetu. Land wæron frēorig
 cealdum cylegicelum, clang wæteres þrym 1260
 ofer ēastrēamas, is brycgade
 blæce brimrāde. Blīðheort wunode
 eorl unforcūð, elnes gemyndig,
 þrist ond þrohthead, in þrēanēdum,
 wintercealdan niht; nō on gewitte blon, 1265
 ācol for þy egesan, þæs þe hē ær ongann,
 þæt hē ā dōmlicost Dryhten hērede,
 weorðade wordum, oððæt wuldres gim
 heofontorht onhlād. Ðā cōm hæleða præt
 tō ðære dimman ding, duguð unlytel, 1270
 wadan wælgifre weorodes brehtme.
 Hēton ut hræðe æðeling lādan
 in wrāðra geweald, wærfæstne hæleð.
 Ðā wæs eft |swā ær ondlangne dæg [f. 46^b]
 swungen sārselegum; swāt yðum wēoll 1275
 þurh bāncofan, blōdlifrum swealg,
 hātan heolfre; hrā weorces ne sann,
 wundum wērig. þā cwōm wōpes hring

1253 MS. A; the scribe wrote originally SA, then erased the S, but did not fill in þ. — 1257 Gn. swylc; Gn.² swylce. — 1258 Gm. (p. xxxv) hildstapan, viatores tegminibus involuti, or hæðstapan? Gn. note hlið, hæð? — 1262 K. blace. — 1266 MS., Th. acol; Gm., K. ācōl, but Gm. as verb, K. as adj.; Etm., Gn. acol; B. ācol. — 1269 Etm. heofon torht, heofon accus. — 1270 Etm. note dynige for ding?

þurh þæs beornes brēost, blāt út faran,
 wēoll waðuman strēam, ond hē worde cwæð: 1280
 “Gesēoh nū, Dryhten God, drohtað mīnne,
 weoruda willgeofa! Þū wæst ond const
 ānra gehwylces earfeðsiðas.
 Ic gelýfe tō ðē, mīn liffruma,
 þæt ðū mildheort mē for þinum mægenspēdum, 1285
 nerigend fīra, nǣfre wille,
 ēce ælmihtig, ānforlāetan | (3)
swā ic þæt gefremme, þenden feorh leofað,
 mīn on moldan, þæt ic, meotud, þinum
 lārum lēofwendum lýt geswīce. 1290
 Þū eart gescyldend wið sceaðan wæpnum,
 ēce eadfruma, eallum þinum;
 ne lāet nū bysmrian banan manncynnes,
 fācnes frumbearn, þurh fēondes cræft
 leahtrum belegcan þā þīn lof berað.” 1295
 Ðā ðær ætýwde se atola gāst,
 wrāð wærloga; wīgend lārde
 for þām heremægene helle dīoful
 āwerged in wītum, ond þæt word gecwæð:
 “Slēað synnigne ofer seolfes mūð, 1300
 folces gewinnan, nū tō feala reordap.”
 Þā wæs orlege eft onhrēred,
 nīwan stefne, nið upp ārās,
 oþðæt sunne gewāt tō sete glidan
 under niflan næs; niht helmade, 1305
 brūnwann oferbræd beorgas stēape,

1279 *Th.*, *B.* utfaran. — 1282 *K.*, *Ettm.* wast. — 1286 *MS.* welle; *Nap.* w corrected from n. — 1291 *MS.*, *B.* gescylded. — 1293 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* man. — 1298 *Ettm.* deoful. — 1299 *Ettm.* on for in. — 1300 *Ettm.* silfes. — 1301 *Ettm.* feola. *Gn.* reorðað; *Gn.*² reordað. — 1302 *MS.* þa; *W.* Ða. — 1303 *Ettm.* up. — 1306 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* brun wann. *Ettm.* oferbrægd.

rareish: BT
 V 5 - 4 1424
 conditional

ond se hālga wæs tō hofe lāded,
 dēor ond dōmgeorn, in þæt dimme ræced;
 sceal þonne in nēadcofan nihtlangne fyrst
 wārfæst wunian wic unsýfre. 1310

þā cōm seofona sum tō sele geongan,
 atol æglæca | yfela gemyndig, [f. 47^a]
 morðres mǎnfrēa myrce gescýrded,
 dēoful dēadrēow duguðum berēafod

Ongan þā þām hālgan hospword sprecan: 1315
 “Hwæt hogodest ðū, Andrēas, hidercyme þinne
 on wrāðra geweald? Hwær is wuldor þin,
 þe ðū oferhigdum upp ārærdest,
 þā ðū goda ūssa gild gehnāegdest?
 Hafast nū þe ānum eall getihhad 1320

land ond lēode, swā dyde lārēow þin
 (cyneþrym āhōf), þām wæs Crist nama
 ofer middangeard, þynden hit meahthe swā;
 þone Hērōdes ealdre besnyðede,
 forcōm æt campe cyning Iūdēa, 1325

rīces berædde, ond hine rōde befealg,
 þæt hē on gealgan his gāst onsende.
 Swā ic nū bebēode bearnum mīnum,
 þegnum þryðfullum, ðæt hie ðe hnægen,
 gingran æt gūðe. Lætað gāres ord, 1330

1308 MS. *plainly*, deor; so *Th.*, *Nap.*, and *Edd.* except *W.*, *B.*, as MS. and in *text*, deop. — 1309 *Gn.* sceolde. — 1311 *Ettm.* gangan. — 1313 *Gn.*, *Spr.* i, 449 gescryded, *vestitus?* or *gescyrtd?* *Trautmann* (in *Simons s. v.*) gescyrtd = gescynded = gescended *confusus?* — 1315 *Gm.*, *K.* ongan to þam, *Ettm.* ongann to þam. — 1316 *Siev.* (*PBB.* xii, 478) omits *Andreas*. — 1317 *MS.*, *Edd.* hwæt, *Gn.* note hwæt? *W.* incorrectly refers *Gn.*'s note to hwæt, 1316^a. — 1318 *Ettm.* up. — 1319 *MS.*, *Edd.* gilp; *Gn.* note gild? *Bugge* (*PBB.* xii, 95), *Blount* gild. — 1320 *Gn.* *Nachtr.* Hafast þu, not repeated in *Gn.*². — 1323 *Ettm.*, *Gn.*, *W.* þenden. — 1324 *Gn.* *Erodes*. — 1329 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* hnægon; *Ettm.*, *Gn.* hnægan.

earh ättre gemæl, in gedufan
 in fæges ferð; gād fromlice,
 ðæt gē gūðfrecan gylp forbēgan."

here only of
gemæl, fromlice

Hie wæron rēowe, ræsdon on sōna
 gīfrum grāpum; hine God forstōd,
 staðulfæst stēorend, þurh his strangan miht.

1335

Syððan hie oncnēowon Crīstes rōde
 on his mægwlite, mære tacen,
 wurdon hie ða ācle on þām onfenge,
 forhte, afærde, ond on fleam numen.

1340

Ongan eft swā ær ealdgeniðla,
 helle hæftling, hearmlēoð galan:

"Hwæt wearð ēow swā rōfum, rincas mine,
 lindgesteallan, þæt ēow swā lýt gespēow?"

[Him þā] earmsceapen āgef ondsware,
 fāh fyrrnsceapa, ond his fæder oncwæð:

1345

"Ne |magan wē him lungre lād ætfæstan,
 swilt þurh searwe; gā þe sylfa tō!

[f. 47^b]

Þær þū gegninga gūðe findest,
 frēcne feohtan, gif ðū furður dearest
 tō þām ānhagan aldre genēðan.

1350

1331 *K.* ættre. *Edd.*, except *Gn.*, *W.* ingedufan. — 1333 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.* guðfrecan; *Gn.* note guðfrecan? — 1337 *MS.* rade; *Edd.* rode. — 1337 ff. *Gm.* without remark, *K.*, *Ettm.*:

Cristes rode

mære tacen, wurdon hie þa acle
 on þam onfenge, forhte, and on fleam numen.

Gn. mære tacen, on his mægwlite, etc.; *B.* as *Gm.*, except that he supplies afærde after forhte; *B.*² as *MS.* — 1341 *Ettm.* ongan. *Gn.* supplies þa after ongan. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *B.* eald geniðla; *Gn.*² ealdgeniðla. — 1345 *MS.*, *B.* earmsceapen; *Edd.* earmsceapen; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517), *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 17) him þa earmsceapen. *Ettm.* him ageaf.

[XIII]

" Wē ðē magon ēaðe, eorla lēofost,
 æt þām secgplegan sēre gelæran,
 ær ðū gegninga gūðe fremme,
 wiges wōman, weald hū ðē sære 1355
 æt þām gegnslege. Utan gangan eft,
 þæt wē bysmrigen bendum fæstne,
 oðwitan him his wræcsið; habbað word gearu
 wið þām æglæcan eall getrahtod! "
 þā hlēoðrade hlūdan stefne, 1360
 wītum bewæled, ond þæt word gecwæð:
 " þū þē, Andréas, aclæccræftum
 lange feredes. Hwæt! ðū lēoda feala
 forleolce ond forlærddest. Nū leng ne miht
 gewaldan þy weorce; þē synd wītu þæs grim 1365
 weotud be gewyrhtum. þū scealt wērigmōd,
 hēan, hrōðra lēas, hearm þrōwigan,
 sære swyltcwale. Secgas mīne
 tō þām gūðplegan gearwe sindon,
 þā þē æninga ellenweorcum 1370
 unfyrn faca feorh ætþringan.
 Hwylc is þæs mihtig ofer middangeard,
 þæt hē þē alyse of leoðubendum,
 manna cynnes, ofer mīne est? "

1352 *Ettm.* we þe ne? — 1353 *Ettm.* secplegan. — 1354 *K.* geninga. — 1355 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* þu for hu. — 1356 *MS.*, *W.* Vtan; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* uton; *K.* Uton; *Gn.*, *B.* Utan. — 1361 *Ettm.* 'bewealod, bewealwod? aut bewæled (*Gm.* bewæled).' — 1362 *MS.*, *Th.* aclæc cræftum; *Edd.* aclæccræftum, except *Gn.*, *W.* aglæccræftum. — 1363 *Ettm.* feola. — 1364 *W.* 'after leng, which ends a line in the *MS.*, a line is left vacant, for no apparent reason.' It should be noted, however, that on other folios, e.g. f. 46^a, f. 46^b, f. 47^a, the same peculiarity occurs, always between the tenth and eleventh lines of the page, counting from the bottom. This wide spacing is evidently due to some irregularity in the measure by which the scribe ruled off his pages, and no omission in the text is to be supposed.

Him þā Andrēas āgef ondsware : 1375
 “Hwæt ! mē eaðe ælmihtig God,
 niða neregend, sē ðe in nīedum iu
 gefæstnode fýrnum clomnum,
 þær ðū syððan ā, sūsle |gebunden, [f. 48^a]
 in wræc wunne, wuldres blunne, 1380
 syððan ðū forhogedes heofoncninges word,
 þær wæs yfles or, ende næfre
 þīnes wræces weorðeð. Ðū scealt wīdan feorh
 ēcan þīne yrmðu ; þē bið ā symble
 of dæge on dæg drohtap strengra.” 1385
 Ðā wearð on flēame, sē ðe ðā fæhðo iu
 wið God gēara grimme gefremede.
 Cōm þā on uhtan mid ærdæge
 hǣðenra hlōð hāliges nēosan
 lēoda weorude ; hēton lādan ūt 1390
 þrohtheardne . þegn þriddan siðe ;
 woldon āninga ellenrōfes
 mōd gemyltan ; hit ne mihte swā.
 Ðā wæs nīowinga nið onhrēred,
 heard ond hetegrim. Wæs se hālgā wer 1395
 sāre geswungen, searwum gebunden,
 dolgbennum þurhdrifen, ðendon dæg lihte.
 Ongan þā gēomormōd tō Gode cleopian,
 heard of hæfte, hālgan stefne

1375 *Ettm.* ageaf. — 1376 *After* eaðe *Gn.* supplies gescildeð (*not* gescyldeð as *W. states*) ; *Ettm.* note Hwæt me eaðe] *scil.* mæg alysan ; *Root* (*p.* 58) mæg *after* eaðe, and generian for neregend 1377^a. — 1377 *MS.*, *B.* in medum ; *Edd.*, except *B.*, in niedum ; *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82) nedum. — 1380 *Ettm.* wræce ? *Gn.* wræce ? — 1381 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *B.* forhogodes ; *B.*² as *MS.* *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* heofen. — 1383 *K.* wīdan. — 1386 *K.* fæðo ; *Ettm.* fæhðe. — 1387 *Gn.* wid. — 1394 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.* neowinga. — 1395 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.* hete grim, with the hemistich after hete ; *K.* on for ond ; *Gn.* Nachtr., *Gn.*², *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517) hetegrim, in the first half-line. — 1396 *Simons* (*p.* 120) snearum ? — 1397 *K.*, *Ettm.* penden. — 1398 *Ettm.* ongan.

wēop wērigferð, ond þæt word gecwæð : 1400
 “ Nǣfre ic geferde mid Frēan willan
 under heofonhwealfe heardran drohtnoð,
 þær ic Dryhtnes æ dēman sceolde.
 Sint mē leoðu tōlocen, lic sære gebrocen,
 bānhūs blōdfāg, benne weallað, 1405
 seonodolg swātige. Hwæt ! ðū sigora weard,
 Dryhten Hǣlend, on dāges tide
 mid Iūdēum gēomor wurde,
 ðā ðū of gealgan, God lifigende,
 fyrnweorca Frēa, tō fæder cleopodest, 1410
 cininga wuldor, ond cwæde ðus :
 ‘ Ic ðē, fæder engla, frignan wille,
 lifes leohtfruma, hwæt forlætest ðū mē ? ’
 Ond ic nū þrȳ dagas þolian sceolde
 wælgrim witu. Bidde ic, weoroda God, 1415
 þæt ic |gāst minne āgifan mōte, [f. 48^b]
 sāwla symbelgifa, on þines sylfes hand.
 Ðū ðæt gehēte þurh þin hālig word,
 þā ðū ūs twelfe trymman ongunne,
 þæt ūs heterōfra hild ne gescēode, 1420
 nē lices dǣl lungre oððeoded,
 nē synu nē bān on swaðe lāgon,
 nē loc of hēafde tō forlore wurde,
 gif wē þine lāre lǣstan woldon.
 Nū sint sionwe tōslopen, is min swāt ādropen, 1425

1400 MS. *ferð* inserted above the line. — 1404 MS., *Edd.* leoð, *Holthausen* (*PBB.* xvi, 551) leoðu. — 1405 *K.*, *B.* benna. — 1406 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* seono dolgswatige. *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 459) swatige. — 1414 *Ettm.* þri. — 1420 *Th.* gescænde after heterofra? *Th.* gesceolde. — 1421 *Gm.* note oðeode = *evaderet, periret*; *Ettm.* text oðþeodde. — 1425 MS. *toslopen and adropen*; *Nap.* *adropen*, the *d* altered from *ð*; but the crossing is plainly visible in the reproduction; *W. Nachtr.* (*p.* 565) as MS.; *Edd.* *toslowen and adropen*; *Gm.* note suggests *toslopen and adropen*, and *Nachtr.* (*p.* 172) *adropen for adropen*; *Ettm.* adds ‘*fortasse legendum est toslawen, adrawen*’; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517), *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 18) *toslopen, adropen*.

licgað æfter lande loccas tōdrifene,
fex on foldan. Is mē feorhgedāl
lēofre mycle þonne þeos lifcearo."

Him þā stefn oncwæð, stiðhycgendum,
wuldorcyninges word hlōðrode: 1430

"Ne wēp þone wræcsīð, wine lēofesta;
nis þē tō frēcne. Ic þē friðe healde,
mīnre mundbyrde mægene besette.

Mē is miht ofer eall, [geond middangeard]
sigorspēd geseald. Sōð þæt gecyðeð 1435

mænig æt meðle on þām myclan dæge,
þæt ðæt geweorðeð, þæt ðeos wlitige gesceaft,
heofon ond eorðe, hrēosaþ tōgadore,

= heo

ær awæged sīe worda ænig,
þe ic þurh minne mūð meðlan onginne. 1440

Geseoh nū seolfes swæðe, swā þīn swāt āgēt
þurh bāngbrec blōdige stige,

lices lælan. Nō þē lāðes mā

þurh daroða gedrep gedōn mōtan,

þā þe heardra mæst hearma gefremedan." 1445

þā on lāst beseah lēoflic cempa

æfter wordcwidum wuldorcyninges;

geseh hē geblōwene bearwas standan

blædum gehrodene, swā hē ær his blōd āgēt.

Ðā worde cwæð wigendra hlēo: 1450

"Sie ðē ðanc ond lof, þeoda waldend,

1430 *K.* wuldor cyninges. *Edd.*, except *Th.*, *W.* hleoðrode. — 1434 *MS.* ofer eall sigor- with no indication of omission; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* indicate the omission of a half-line; *Ettm.* supplies so as to read ofer eallne middangeard; *Gn.* geond middangeard; *B.*, *W.* indicate no omission. — 1435 *Gm.* gecyðeð. — 1436 *Ettm.* manig. — 1438 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* to gadore. — 1441 *Ettm.* swaðe. *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* ageat. — 1443 *MS.* lic lælan; *Edd.* liclælan; *Gn.* 2, *Spr.* ii, 162 lic lælan, lælan *inf.* = *liwere*; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517), *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82, with alternative læla) lices lælan, lælan *acc. sg.*; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 18) læla, *gen. pl.* — 1446 *Ettm.* geseah. — 1447 *K.* wuldor cyninges. — 1448 *Ettm.* geseah. *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) geblowne. — 1449 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* ageat.

- tō wīdan fēore wuldor on heofonum,
 ðæs ðū | mē on sāre, sigedryhten mīn, [f. 49^a]
 ellpēodigne, ān ne forlæte.”
- Swā se dǣdfroma Dryhten herede 1455
 hālgan stefne, oððæt hādor sægl
 wuldortorht gewāt under waðu scriðan.
- Þā þā folctogan fēorðan siðe,
 egle ondsacan, æðeling lǣddon
 tō þām carcerne; woldon cræfta gehygd, 1460
 magorǣdendes mōd oncyrran
 on þære deorcan niht. Þā cōm Dryhten God
 in þæt hlinræced, hæleða wuldor,
 ond þā wine sýnne wordum grētte
 ond frōfre gecwæð, fæder manncynnes, 1465
 lifes lārēow; heht his lichoman
 hāles brūcan: “Ne scealt ðū in hēnðum ā leng
 searohæbbendra sār þrōwian.”
- Ārās þā mægene rōf, sægde Meotude þanc,
 hāl of hæfte heardra wīta; 1470
 næs him gewemmed wīte, nē wlōh of hrægle
 lungre ālysed, nē loc of hēafde,
 nē bān gebrocen, hē blōdig wund
 lāðe gelenge, nē lices dæl
 þurh dolgslege drēore bestēmed; 1475
 ac wæs eft swā ær þurh þā æðelan miht
 lof lǣdende, ond on his lice trum.

1454 *Ettm.* elpeodigne. *Edd.*, except *Th.*, *W.* forlete. — 1457 *K.* omits waðu; *Gn.* (note, waðum?) and *Spr.* ii, 642 wadu. — 1458 *Ettm.* feordan, not feorde as *W.* states. — 1460 *Blount* cræftgan for cræfta. — 1462 *K.* omits god. — 1464 *Edd.*, except *Th.*, *W.* sinne. — 1467 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* hendum. — 1468 *MS.* sas; *Edd.* sar. — 1472 *MS.*, *Th.* alyside. — 1474 *MS.* lic ge lence ne laðes dæl; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* lic gelenge etc.; *K.*, *B.* licgelenge; *Gn.*, *W.* lice lence; *Gm.* note, *Gn.* (*Spr.* i, 421), *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 18) lice gelenge.

XIV

Hwæt! ic hwile nū hāliges lāre,
 lēoðgiddinga, lof þæs þe worhte,
 wordum wēmda, wyrd undyrne, 1480
 ofer mīn gemet. Mycel is tō secganne,
 langsum leorning, þæt hē in life ādrēag,
 eall æfter orde. Þæt scell æglæwra
 mann on moldan þonne ic mē tælige
 findan on ferðe, þæt fram fruman cunne 1485
 eall þā earfeðo, þe hē mid elne ādrēah,
 grimra gūða. Hwæðre |gīt sceolon [f. 49^b]
 lýtlum sticcum lēoðworda dæl
 furður reccan. Þæt is fyrsægen,
 hū hē weorna feala wīta geðolode, 1490
 heardra hilda, in þære hāðenan byrig.
 Hē be wealle geseah wundrum fæste
 under sælwāge swēras unlytle,
 stapulas standan, storme bedrifene,
 eald enta geweorc. Hē wið ānne þāra, 1495
 mihtig ond mōdrōf, mæðel gehēde,
 wīs, wundrum glēaw, word stunde āhōf:
 “Gehēr ðū, marmanstān, Meotudes rædum,
 fore þæs onsýne calle gesceaft
 forhte geweorðað, þonne hie fæder gesēoð 1500
 heofonaš ond eorðan herigea mæste
 on middangeard mancynn sēcan!

1478 MS. HÆT; Th. þæt, note hwæt? — 1481 Siev. (PBB. x, 482) secgan. —
 1483 Etm. sceall. Gn., K., Etm. ægleawra. — 1487 K. sceal on, ending the line
 with sceal. — 1489 Gn.², B. fyrsægen; other Edd. fyrsægen. — 1490 Etm.
 feola. MS. geðolēde. — 1492 MS., Th., B. fæstne. — 1493 MS., Edd. sælwange,
 except Gn. sælwage; Cos. (PBB. xxi, 18), Root (p. 58) as Gn. MS. sweras, not as
 Th., W. state, speras; W. Nachtr. (p. 565) sweras; Th., B. text speras. — 1495 K.
 ænne. — 1496 MS., Th. modrofe. Etm. meðel. — 1497 Etm. wordum for wun-
 drum. — 1501 Etm. heofones?

I.æt nū of þinum staþole strēamas weallan,
 ēa inflēde, nū ðē ælmihtig
 hāteð, heofona cyning, þæt ðū hrædlice 1505
 on þis fræte folc forð onsende
 wæter widrynic tō wera cwealme,
 geofon gēotende. Hwæt ! ðū golde eart,
 sincgife, sýlla ; on ðē sylf cyning
 wrāt, wuldres God, wordum cýðde 1510
 recene gerýno, ond ryhte æ
 getācnode on tȳn wordum,
 Meotud mihtum swið ; Moýse sealde,
 swā hit sōðfæste syðþan hēoldon,
 mōdige magoþegnas, māgas sīne, 1515
 godfyrhte guman, Iosua ond Tobias.
 Nū ðū miht gecnāwan, þæt þē cyning engla
 gefrætwoðe furður mycle
 giofum gēardagum þonne eall gimma cynn.
 Þurh his hālige hāes þū scealt hræðe cýðan, 1520
 gif ðū his ondgitan ænige hæbbe."

Næs þā wordlatu wihte þon mære,
 þæt se stān tōgān ; strēam üt |āwēoll, [f. 50^a]
 flēow ofer foldan ; fāmige walcan
 mid ærdæge eorðan þehton, 1525
 myclade mereflōd. Meoduscerwen wearð
 æfter symbeldæge ; slæpe tōbrugdon
 searuhæbbende. Sund grunde onfēng,
 dēoþe gedrēfed ; duguð wearð āfyrhted

1504 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* in flede ; *Ettm.* on flede. — 1505 *Ettm.* hræðlice. — 1507 *Th.*,
Gm. wid ryncg ; *K.* widringc ; *Gm. note* widryne or widrynic. — 1508 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*,
W. heofon. — 1516 *MS.*, *Th.* iosau. — 1518 *Ettm.* furðor. — 1520 *Ettm.* hraðe. —
 1522 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* word latu. — 1526 *MS.* meodu scerwen ; so *Nap.*, *W. Nachtr.*
 (p. 565) ; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *B.* meodu scerpen ; *Gm. note*, *Gm.* meodu scerwen ;
Gm. note, *W.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 19) meoduscerwen. — 1527–8 *MS.* tobruggdon ;
 searu^u hæbende, not hæbbende as *W.* states ; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* searu hæbbende.

- þurh þæs fiōdes fǣr ; fǣge swulton, 1530
 geonge on geofene gūðrǣs fornam
 þurh sealtne wēg. Þæt wæs sorgbyrþen,
 biter bēorþegu ; byrlas ne gǣldon,
 ombehtþegnas ; þær wæs ǣlcum genōg
 fram dæges orde drync sōna gearu. 1535
 Wēox wæteres þrym ; weras cwānedon,
 ealde æsberend ; wæs him ūt myne
 flēon fealone strēam, woldon fēore beorgan,
 tō dūnscrēfum drohtað sēcan,
 eorðan ondwist. Him þæt engel forstōd, 1540
 sē ðā burh oferbrægd blācan lige,
 hātan heaðowælme ; hrēoh wæs þær inne
 bēatende brim ; ne mihte beorna hlōð
 of þām fæstenne flēame spōwan.
 Wægas wēoxon, wadu hlýnsodon, 1545
 flugon fýrgnāstas, flōd yðum wēoll.
 Ðær wæs yðfynde innan burgum
 gēomorgidd wrecen ; gehðo mǣndan
 forhtferð manig, fūslēoð gōlon.
 Egeslic æled ēagsýne wearð, 1550
 heardlic heretēam, hlēoðor gryrelic ;
 þurh lyftgelāc lēges blāstas
 weallas ymbwurpon, wæter mycladon.
 Þær wæs wōp wera wīde gehýred,
 earmlic ylða gedræg. Þā þær ān ongann, 1555

1532 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* scealtes sweg (*K.* tr. salt wave) ; *Gm.* note sealtes or
 scealces? *Ettm.* note swealhes = *abyssi* ; *Gn.*, *B.*, *W.* sealtes sweg ; *Cos.* (*PBB.*
xxi, 19) sealtne. — 1533 *K.* beorþegn. — 1534 *K.* ombeht þegnas. — 1537 *K.*, *Gn.*²
 utmyne. — 1539 *Ettm.* dunscreafum. *K.* drohtoð. — 1540 *MS.*, *Th.*, *W.* eorðan
 ʒwist ; *Gm.*, *Ettm.* eorðan and wist ; *Ettm.* note eorðan onwist ; *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* andwist.
 — 1542 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* -wælme. — 1545 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *W.* wudu. — 1547
MS. *Innan* ; *Th.* as *MS.* *hinnan*, text *innan*. — 1548–9 *MS.*, *Edd.* wrecen, mænan,
 galen ; *Gm.* note mæned ; *Ettm.* note wrecan, galan. *Edd.*, except *K.* forht ferð.
Th., *Gm.*, *Ettm.* fus leoð. — 1551 *K.* grynelic. — 1553 *Gn.* note ymbhwurfon ?

fēasceaft hæleð, folc gadorigean,
 hēan, hygegēomor, hēofende spræc :
 “ Nū gē magon sylfe sōð gecnāwan,
 þæt wē mid unrihte ellþeodigne
 on carcerne clommum belegdon, 1560
 | witebendum ; ūs sēo wyrd scyðeð, [f. 50^b]
 heard ond hetegrim : þæt is [hēr] swā cūð.
 Is hit mycle sēle, þæs þe ic sōð talige,
 þæt wē hine ālysān of leoðobendum,
 ealle ānmōde (ofost is sēlost), 1565
 ond ūs þone hālgan helpe biddan,
 gēoce ond frōfre. Ūs bið gearu sōna
 sybb æfter sorge, gif wē sēcaþ tō him.”
 Þā þær Andrēa orgete wearð
 on fyrhðlocan folces gebæro, 1570
 þær wæs mōdigra [mægen] forbēged,
 wigendra þrym. Wæter fæðmedon,
 flēow firgendstrēam, flōd wæs on luste,
 oppæt brēost oferstāg, brim weallende,
 eorlum oð exle. Þā se æðeling hēt 1575
 strēamfare stillan, stormas restan
 ymbe stānhleoðu. Stōp ūt hræðe
 cēne collenferð, carcern āgeaf,
 glēawmōd, Gode lēof ; him [wæs] gearu sōna
 þurh strēamræce stræt gerȳmed ; 1580
 smeolt wæs se sigewang, symble wæs drȳge
 folde fram flōde, swā his fōt gestōp.

1557 *Th.*, *Gm.* hyge geomor. — 1559 *Ettm.* elþeodigne. — 1562 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* indicate an omission before þæt ; *Gm.* note supplies hæleðum, apparently before cuð ; *Ettm.* here-cuð ; *Gn.* her swa cuð ; *B.*, *W.* as *MS.*, with no mark of omission. — 1569 *K.*, *Ettm.* note ongete. — 1571 *Gn.* þæt wæs ? for þær wæs. *Th.* note, *Edd.* except *B.*, supply mægen before forbeged. — 1573 *Ettm.* firigenstream ; *Gn.* firigendstream. — 1575 *Ettm.* eaxle. — 1576 *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *W.* stream fare. — 1577 *Edd.*, except *W.*, ymb. — 1578 *Gm.*, *K.* carcerne ; *Gm.* note carcern. — 1579 *Gn.*, *B.* supply wæs after him, other *Edd.*, after stræt, 1580^b.

- Wurdon burgware bliðe on mōde,
 ferhðgefēonde. þā wæs forð cumen
 gēoc æfter gyrne ; geofon swaðrode 1585
 þurh hāliges hāes, hlyst yst forgeaf,
 brimrād gebād. þā se beorg tōhlād,
 eorðscræf egeslic, ond þær in forlēt
 flōd fæðmian, fealewe wāegas,
 gēotende gegrind grund eall forswealg. 1590
 Nālas hē þær yðe āne bisencte,
 ach þæs weorodes ēac ðā wyrrestan,
 faa folcsceaðan, fēowertýne
 gewiton mid þý wāge in forwyrd sceacan
 under eorþan grund. þā wearð ācolmōd, 1595
 forhtferð manig folces on lāste ;
 wēndan hie [wifa] ond wera cwealmes,
 þearlra |geþinga ðrāge hnāgran, [f. 51^a]
 syððan māne faa, morðorscyldige,
 gūðgelācan under grund hruron. 1600
 Hie ðā ānmōde ealle cwædon :
 “Nū is gesýne, ðæt þe sōð Meotud,
 cýning eallwihta, cræftum wealdeð,
 sē ðisne ār hider onsende
 þeodum tō helpe. Is nū þearf mycel, 1605
 þæt wē gumcystum georne hýran.”

1584 *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.* ferhð gefeonde. *K.*, *B.* forðcumen. — 1585 *MS.*, *B.*, *W.* heofon. *Ettm.* sweðrode. — 1588 *Th.* (but not *K.* as *W.* states), in-forlet. — 1592 *K.* ah. *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* weorudes. — 1593 *MS.* fáá; *Edd.*, except *Th.*, *W.*, fa. — 1595 *K.* eorðgrund. — 1596 *Edd.* forht ferð. — 1597 *MS.* hie 7 wera; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *B.*, as *MS.* with no indication of omission; *K.* indicates omission before wera; *Ettm.*, *Gn.*, *W.* wifa after hie. — 1598 After f. 50^b *Th.* supposes a folio to have been cut out of the *MS.*, and indicates an omission in his text; other *Edd.* see no interruption of the narrative. *K.* þræge. — 1599 *MS.* fáa; *Edd.* fa, except *Ettm.* fah, *Th.*, *W.* faa. *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 459) -scylðge. — 1601 *MS.* h'ē. — 1603 *Ettm.* ealwihta. — 1604 *Ettm.* supplies us, *Gn.* este before onsende; *Gn.* note hider on sende? See Notes. — 1606 *Gn.* gym; *Gn.*² gum-.

[XV]

þā se hālga ongann hæleð blissingean,
 wīgendra þrēat wordum rētan :
 “ Ne bēoð gē tō forhte, þēh þe fell curen
 synnigra cynn ; swylt þrōwode, 1610
 wītu be gewyrhtum ; ēow is wuldres lēoht
 torht ontȳned, gif gē teala hycgað.”
 Sende þā his bēne fore bearn Godes,
 bæd hāligne helpe gefremman
 gumena geogoðe, þe on geofene ær 1615
 þurh flōdes fæðm feorh gesealdon,
 ðæt þā gāstas, gōde orfeorme,
 in wīta forwyrd, wuldre bescyrede,
 in fēonda geweald gefered [*ne*] wurdan.
 Þā ðæt ærende ealwealdan Gode 1620
 æfter hlēoðorcwidum hāliges gāstes
 wæs on þanc sprecen, ðeoda ræswan ;
 hēt þā onsunde ealle ārisan,
 geonge of grēote, þā ær geofon cwealde.
 Þā þær ofostlice upp āstōdon 1625
 manige on meðle, mīne gefrēge,
 eaforan uhweaxne ; ðā wæs eall eador
 leoðolic ond gāstlic, þeah hie lungre ær
 þurh flōdes fæw feorh ālēton ;
 onfēngon fulwihte ond freoðuwære, 1630
 wuldres wedde wītum āspēdde,
 |mundbyrd Meotudes. Þā se mōdiga hēt, [f. 51^b]
 cyninges cræftiga, ciricean getimbran,

1611 *K.*, *B.* gewyrhtum. — 1618 *Gn.* note ne in ? — 1622 *MS.*, *Th.*, *B.* ræsrum.
 — 1625 *Th.*, *K.* uppastodon. — 1627 *K.* geador. — 1630 *Gn.* freoðo. — 1633
Gn. note cræftigan ? but *Spr.* i, 168 cræftiga ; *K.* cræftigra ; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 450)
 cræftga.

gerwan Godes tempel, þær sio geogoð arās
 þurh fæder fulwiht ond se flōd onsprang. 1635
 Þā gesamnodon, secga prēate,
 weras geond þā winburg wide ond sīde,
 eorlas anmōde, ond hira idesa mid ;
 cwædon holdlice hȳran woldon,
 onfōn fromlice fullwihtes bæð 1640
 Dryhtne tō willan, ond dīofolgild,
 ealde ealhstedas, ānforlætān.
 Þā wæs mid þȳ folce fulwiht hæfen,
 æðele mid eorlum, ond æ Godes
 riht aræred, ræd on lande 1645
 mid þām ceasterwarum, cirice gehālgod.
 Þær se ar Godes āne gesette,
 wīsfæstne wer, wordes glēawne,
 in þære beorhtan byrig bisceop þām lēodum,
 ond gehālgode fore þām heremægene 1650
 þurh apostolhād, Plātan nemned,
 þeodum on þearfe, ond prīste bebēad,
 þæt hie his lāre læston georne,
 feorhræd fremedon. Sægde his fūsne hige,
 þæt hē þā goldburg ofgifan wolde, 1655
 secga seledrēam ond sincgestrēon,
 beorht bēagselu, ond him brimpisan
 æt sæs faroðe sēcan wolde.
 Þæt wæs þām weorode weorc tō geþoligenne,
 þæt hie se lēodfruma leng ne wolde 1660
 wihte gewunian. Þā him wuldres God
 on þām sīðfæte sylfum ætȳwde,

1635 *Gn.*² þurh fæder fultum.—1636 *K.* gesamnadon.—1642 *Gm. note, K.*
 ealhstedas.—1647 *MS.* sio.—1652 *MS.* he.—1658 *MS.*, *Th.* foroðe.—1659
MS., *Edd.* weor, except *W.* weorce; *Kluge* (*Anglia iv*, 106), *Cos.* (*PBB. xxi*, 20)
 weorc. *Siev.* (*PBB. x*, 482) would have uninflected infinitive for geþoligenne.

ond þæt word gecwæð, weoruda Dryhten :

* * *

“folc of firenum? Is him fūs hyge,
 gāð gēomriende, geohðo mǣnað 1665
 weras wif samod; hira wōp becōm,
 murnende mōd, . . .

* * *

. . . [mē] fore snēowan.
 Ne scealt ðū þæt ēowde ānforlǣtan
 on swā niowan gefēan, ah him naman | minne [f. 52^a] 1670
 on ferðlocan fæste getimbre.

Wuna in þære winbyrig, wīgendra hlēo,
 salu sinchroden, seofon nihta fyrst;
 syððan ðū mid mildse minre fērest.”

þā eft gewāt oðre siðe 1675
 mōdig, mægene rōf, Marmedonia
 ceastre sēcan. Cristenra wēox
 word ond wīsdōm, syððan wuldres þegn,
 æþelcyninges ār, ēagum sāwon.

Lārde þā þā lēode on gelēafan weg, 1680
 trymede torhtlice; tīrēadigra
 wenede tō wuldre weorod un mǣte,
 tō þām hālgan hām heofona rīces,

1663 *Th.* after dryhten at least two lines wanting; *Gm.*, *K.*, *W.* indicate the omission of one or more lines; *Gn.* says “*Einige wenige Zeilen, den Anfang der Rede enthaltend, sind hier ausgefallen, etwa des Inhalts: ‘Warum willst du die Leute so schnell verlassen, die doch so eben erst bekehrt sind von ihren Sünden’*”; *B.* supposes no interruption of the narrative. See Notes. — 1664 *MS.*, *W.* his him. — 1666 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* him þa for hira. — 1667 There is no indication of omission in the *MS.*, but *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *W.* leave space for two half-lines after mod; *Gn.* supplies as follows:

murnende mod, [nu þu on merebate
 wilt ofer flodas] fore sneowan.

B. as *MS.*, without interruption; *Cos.* (*PBB.* *xxi*, 20) supplies me before fore. See Notes. *K.* moð. — 1671 *Gm.*, *K.* ferhðlocan. — 1681 *Gm.* note, *Gn.*, *W.* tir eadigra.

hāt æt heortan hyge weallende.
 Hie ðā gebrōhton æt brimes næsse 1710
 on wægþele wigan unslāwne ;
 stōdon him ðā on ofre æfter rēotan,
 þendon hie on yðum æðelinga wunn
 ofer seolhpaðu gesēon mihton,
 ond þā weorðedon wuldres āgend, 1715
 cleopodon on corðre, ond cwædon þus :
 “Ān is ēce God eallra gesceafta !
 Is his miht ond his æht ofer middangeard
 brēme gebledsod, ond his blæd ofer eall
 in heofonþrymme hālgum scīneð, 1720
 wlitige on wuldre, tō wīdan ealdre,
 ēce mid englum. Þæt is æðele cyning !”

1713 *Gn.* wynn. — 1714 *MS.* plainly seolh paðu; *Th., Edd.* seolhwaðu; *Gn.* note paðu? *Siev.* (*PBB.* i, 492) seolhpaðu; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 21) seolhbaðu. — 1715 *Edd.*, except *B., W.*, weorðedon. — 1716 *Th.* cwæðon; *Gm.* cwæden, corrected (*p.* 182) to cwædon. — 1720 *Gn.* on for in.

THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

Hwæt! ic þysne sang siðgēomor fand
 on sēocum sefan, samnode wīde,
 hū þā æðelingas ellen cýðdon,
 torhte ond tīrēadige. Twelfe wāeron,
 dǣdum dōmfæste, Dryhtne gecorene, 5
 lēofe on life. Lof wīde sprang,
 miht ond mǣrðo, ofer middangeard,
 þeodnes þegna, þrym unlýtel.
 Hālgan hēape hlýt wisode,
 þær hīe Dryhtnes æ dēman sceoldon, 10
 reccan fore rincum. Sume on Rōmebyrig,
 frame, fyrdhwate, feorh ofgēfon
 þurg Nērōnes nearwe searwe,
 Petrus ond Paulus; is sē apostolhād
 wīde geweorðod ofer werþeoda. 15
 Swylce Andrēas in Achagia
 for Ēgīas aldre genēðde;
 ne preodode hē fore þrymme ðeodcyniges,
 æniges on eorðan, ac him ēce gecēas
 langsumre lif, lēoht unhwilen,
 syppan hildeheard, heriges byrhtme,
 æfter gūðplegan |gealgan þehte. [f. 53^a]
 Hwæt! wē ēac gehýrdon be Iōhanne
 æglǣawe menn æðelo reccan;

1 MS. wæt, with space left vacant for the omitted H. — 4 MS. woron; Gn. note foron? — 11 Gn. Rome byrig. — 13 MS., Th., K., Simons (p. 104) neawe; Th. note nearwe? Gn. nearo-searwe. — 18 MS. þreodode^{he}fore. — 21 MS., Th., K., Gn. hilde heard. — 24 K., Gn. ægleawe.

sē manna wæs, mīne gefrēge, 25
 þurh cnēorisse Criste lēofast
 on weres hāde, syððan wuldres cyning,
 engla ordfruma, eorðan sōhte
 þurh fāmnan hrif, fæder manncynnes.
 Hē in Effesia ealle þrāge 30
 lēode lārde ; þanon lifes weg
 sīðe gesōhte, swegle drēamas,
 beorhtne boldwelan. Næs his brōðor læt,
 sīðes sǣne, ac ðurh sweordes bite
 mid Iūdēum Iācōb sceolde 35
 fore Hērōde ealdre gedǣlan,
 feorh wið flǣsce. Philipus wæs
 mid Assēum ; þanon ēce lif
 þurh rōde cwealm ricene gesōhte,
 syððan on galgan in Gearapolim 40
 āhangen wæs hiidecorðre.
 Hūru ! wide wearð wurd undyrne,
 þæt tō Indēum aldre gelǣdde
 beaducræftig beorn, Bartholamēus ;
 þone heht Astrias in Albāno, 45
 hǣðen ond hygeblind, hēafde benēotan,
 forþan hē ðā hǣðengild hȳran ne wolde,
 wig weorðian ; him wæs wuldres drēam,
 lifwela lēofra þonne þās lēasan godu.
 Swylce Thōmas ēac þriste genēðde 50
 on Indēa oðre dǣlas,
 þær manegum wearð mōd onlihted,

29 *Gn.* mancynnes. — 30 *W.* Effessia ; *Nachtr.* Effesia. — 32 *K.* swegledreamas.
 — 36 *Gn.* ealdre ; *Gn.*² ealdrē. — 37 *Gn.* Philippus. — 39 *K.* rodecwealm. — 41 *Th.*,
K., *Gn.* hilde corðre ; *Gn.* (*Spr.* ii, 73) hiidecorðre. — 42 *Th.*, *K.* weard ; *K.*, *Gn.*
 wyrd. — 43 *Th.*, *K.* gelæððe ; *Gn.* gelǣdde ; *Gn.*² geneðde ; *Nap.* gelǣdde *plainly*
altered from gelæððe. — 46 *K.* beneosan. — 49 *MS.* *plainly* þas ; *so also Nap.* ;
Th., *Gn.*, *W.* þæs ; *K.*, *Gn.*² þas. — 52 *Nap.* i of onlihted *corrected from u.*

hige onhyrded, þurh his hālig word ;
 syððan collenferð cyninges brōðor
 āwehte for weorodum, wundorcraefte, 55
 þurh Dryhtnes miht, þæt hē of dēaðe ārās,
 geong ond gūðhwæt, ond him wæs Gad nama ;
 ond ðā þāem folce feorg gesealde,
 sīn æt sæcce, sweord|ræs fornam [f. 53^b]
 þurh hāðene hand, þær se hālgā gecrang, 60
 wund for weorudum ; þonon wuldres lēoht
 sāwle gesōhte sigores tō lēane.

Hwæt ! wē þæt gehyrdon þurg hālige bēc,
 þæt mid Sigelwarum sōð yppe wearð,
 dryhtlic dōm Godes ; dæges or onwōc, 65
 lēohtes gelēafan, land wæs gefælsod
 þurh Māthēus mære lāre ;
 þone hēt Irtācus ðurh yrne hyge,
 wælreow cyning, wæpnum āswebban.
 Hyrde wē þæt Iācōb in Ierūsālēm 70
 fore sācerdum swilt prōwode ;
 ðurg stenges sweng stiðmōd gecrang,
 ēadig for æfestum ; hafað nū ēce lif
 mid wuldorcining, wiges tō lēane.
 Næron ðā twēgen tohtan sære, 75
 lindgelāces ; land Persēa
 sōhton sīðfrome, Simon ond Thaddēus,
 beornas beadorōfe ; him wearð bām samod
 ān endedæg ; æðele sceoldon
 ðurh wæpenhete weorc prōwigan, 80
 sigelēan sēcan, ond þone sōðan gefēan,
 drēam æfter dēaðe, þā gedæled wearð
 lif wið lice, ond þās lānan gestreōn,

63 Gn. þurh.—70 Gn. hyrdon we?—77 In the MS. h of Thaddeus is written in above the line.

idle æhtwelan, ealle forhogodan.
 Ðus ðā æðelingas ende gesealdon, 85
 XII. tilmōdige; tīr unbræcne
 wēgan on gewitte, wuldres þegnas.
 Nū ic þonne bidde beorn, sē ðe lufige
 þysses giddes begang, þæt hē gēomrum mē
 þone hālgan hēap helpe bidde, 90
 friðes ond fultomes. Hū! ic frēonda beþearf,
 liðra on lāde, þonne ic sceal langne hām,
 eardwīc uncūð, āna gesēcan,
 lātan mē on laste lic, eorðan dāel,
 wælrēaf wunigean weormum tō hrōðre. 95
 | Hēr mæg findan foreþances glēaw, [f. 54^a]
 sē ðe hine lysteð lēoðgiddunga,
 hwā þās fitte fēgde. ƿ þær on ende standeþ,
 eorlas þæs on eorðan brūcaþ; ne mōton hie āwa ætsomne,
 woruldwunigende: Ʒ sceal gedrēosan, 100
 Ʒ on ēðle, æfter tōhrēosan
 lāne lices frætewa, efne swā Ʒ tōglideð.
 Donne H ond H cræftes nēosað
 nihtes nearowe; on him † ligeð,
 cyninges þeodōm. Nū ðū cunnon miht, 105
 hwā on þām wordum wæs werum oncȳdig.

84 MS., Th., K. ealne. — 85 MS. Ðvs; so also Nap.; Th., K., W. Ðvs; Gn. þus.
 — 87 K. wægon. — 90 MS. halga. — 91 K., Gn., Siev. nu for hu. — 92 W. omits
 sceal. — 93 MS., Th., W. gesece; Siev. gesecean. — 94 MS., Th., K., Gn., W. læt;
 Siev. læte. — 96-122 For the MS. readings of this passage, see the literal trans-
 cript in the Notes. — 96 Nap., Siev., Tr. foreþances. — 98 Nap., Siev., Tr. fegde,
 standeþ. For Nap.'s line-division, see Notes. — 99 Nap., Siev., Tr., W. brucaþ.
 — 100 Nap., Siev., Tr. supply the rune. — 101 Nap. tohreoasþ; Siev., Tr. tohreo-
 san. — 102 All read læne. — 103 Nap. does not restore ll. 103-104; he reads
 doubtfully, in 103^a, swa, followed by faint traces of two runes. Siev., Tr. as in
 text. Nap., Tr. with MS. neotað; Siev. neosað. — 104 Siev. † ligeð; Tr.
 † legeð. For Nap.'s suggestions, see Notes. — 105 Nap., Siev., Tr. cyninges.
 MS. cunnon; Nap., Siev., Tr. cunnan. — 106 Nap., Siev., Tr. restore hwa on þam
 (Siev. þæm) wor-.

Sie þæs gemyndig, mann sē ðe lufige
 pisses galdres begang, þæt hē gēoƿe mē
 ond frōfre fricle. Ic sceall feor heonan,
 ān elles forð, eardes nēosan, 110
 sið āsettan, nāt ic sylfa hwær,
 of þisse worulde ; wic sindon uncūð,
 eard ond ēðel. Swā bið ælcum menn,
 nempe hē godcundes gāstes brūce.

Ah utu wē þē geornor tō Gode cleopigan, 115
 sendan ūsse bēne on þā beorhtan gesceaft,
 þæt wē þæs botles brūcan mōtan,
 hāmes in hēhðo. þær is hihta mæst,
 þær cyning engla clænum gildeð
 lēan unhwilen. Nū ā his lof standeð, 120
 mycel ond mære, ond his miht seomaþ,
 ēce ond edgiong, ofer ealle gesceaft. Finit.

107 *Nap. restores* mann se þe lufige. — 108–109 *Nap.* me ond prof. — 110 *Nap.* forð ea. — 112 *Nap.* of þisse ; *W.* on þisse. — 113 *Nap.* bið. — 115 *Nap.* Ah utu, but suggests utun. — 116 *W.* beochtān, *misprint?* — 119 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *W.* gildeð. — 121 *Siev.* somað.

NOTES ON ANDREAS

In the MS. the narrative is divided into sections of approximately equal length. There are in all fifteen, or with addition of *Ap.* sixteen, sections, varying from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ fol. in length. Each section begins with a capital letter or a group of capital letters, and ends with a period or a more distinctive and frequent mark of a sectional ending, consisting of a semicolon followed by a hook-shaped symbol. Between the various sections a space is left blank, usually not more than sufficient for a single line. For further description, see *Introd.*, pp. xxxvi ff. In the present edition the divisions of the MS. are followed, and are further indicated by bracketed numerals. The earlier editions vary widely in their treatment of these sectional divisions of the MS. Thorpe follows the MS., except that he unites sections three and four. Grimm further reduces the number of sections to seven. Kemble prints his text without division into sections. Grein makes eleven sections, Baskervill thirty. Wülker prints his text as Kemble does, without division into sections. He inserts in the margin, however, the numerals which designate Grein's eleven sections, and indicates the division of the MS. in his notes.

1. The poem opens with the conventional epic formula, citing the authority of oral tradition for the story. For similar openings, compare the following:

Hwæt! wē Gār-dena in'gēardagum
 þēodcýninga þrym gefrūnon,
 hū ǽ æþelingas ellen fremedon.

Beow. 1-3.

Hwæt! wē feor ond nēah gefrigen habað
 ofer middangeard Moyses dōmas
 wræclico wordriht wera cnēorissum,
 in ūprodor ēadigra gehwām
 æfter bealusīðe bōte lifes,
 lifigendra gehwām langsumne ræd,
 hæleðum secgan: gehyre sē ðe wille!

Ex. 1-7.

Gefrægn ic Hebreos ēadge lifgean
 in Hierusalem, goldhord dælan,
 cýningdōm habban, swā him gecynde wæs, etc.

Dan. 1-3.

Hæbbe ic gefrugnen þætte is feor heonan
 ēastdælum on æþelast londa
 firum gefræge.

Ph. 1-3^a.

Cf. also *Jul.* 1; *Mod.* 1; *Cross* 1; *Sal.* 179; *Ap.* 1-4. An interesting occurrence of the formula is that in *Beow.* 875, where it introduces an indirect report

of an episodic narrative. The citation of traditional authority is also frequently found in the body of a narrative when a new topic is introduced: with *gefrignan*, *Beow.* 74; *Chr.* 301; *Gen.* 2060; *Ex.* 98, 388, and elsewhere; with *gehýran*, *Mald.* 117; *El.* 364; *Ap.* 23, 63, 70, and elsewhere. *Hwæt* occurs, with or without the epic formula, in the body of a narrative when a new topic is introduced; it is used with less emphatic sense, also, as a weak interjection; for examples, see Glossary. Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik* IV, 448-450, points out that this use of the neuter of the interrogative pronoun as an exclamation is peculiar to Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon. The use persists as late as Elizabethan English, frequently, as in Mod. Eng., in introducing interrogative sentences, but also as mild interjection in introducing declarative sentences; cf. *Taming of the Shrew* I, ii, 248: 'What, this gentleman will outtalk us all'; *Richard III* IV, iv, 320: 'What, we have many goodly days to see.' Cf. 63, note, and for the use of *hwæt* as interjection in prose, see Wülfing, II, 688-692. — **on fyrndagum.** The phrase limits, not **gefrūnan**, but the verbal idea implied in l. 2^a. Hall translates 'who lived in the yore-days.' The construction is similar to that of *in gēardagum*, *Beow.* 1; and cf. *Beow.* 575^b-576: *nō ic on niht gefrægn under heofones hwealf heardran feohtan*; *Wid.* 16^l-17: *hē mæst gebāh þāra þe ic ofer foldan gefrægen hæbbe*. See also, among numerous examples, *Beow.* 74; 2752-2754.

2. under tunglum. The usual formula is *under heofonum*, or *wolcnum*, changed here, Cosijn thinks (*PBB.* XXI, 8), chiefly for the sake of the alliteration. — **tīrēadige hāleð.** Cf. *Ap.* 4, and note.

3. þeodnes þegnas. Cf. *Beow.* 1085: *þeodnes þegne*; *Ap.* 8: *þeodnes þegna*; *Beow.* 1081: *Finnes þegnas*; and similar uses frequently. The phrase, originally, as in *Beowulf*, used of the followers of a temporal prince, applies here to the followers of the Lord. *þegn*, literally 'servant,' has not therefore the color of that word in the Oriental phrase 'servant of the Lord.' The word in Anglo-Saxon verse is a dignified one, and its connotation is epic, heroic. This value it derives from the position of the *þegn* in the Anglo-Saxon social system. 'As the royal power and dignity grew, it came to be looked on as the highest honour to enter into the personal service of the King. Two results followed; service towards the King, a place, that is, in the King's *comitatus*, became the badge and standard of nobility. . . . It marks perhaps a decline from the first idea of the *comitatus* that the old word *Gesith*, "companion," answering exactly to the Latin *comes* used by Tacitus, was supplanted by the name *Thegn*, literally "servant." But when personal service was deemed honourable, the name of servant was no degradation, and the name *Thegn* became equivalent to the older *Eorl*.' Freeman, *Growth of the English Constitution*, pp. 51-52. For further discussion of the *comitatus*, see Kemble, *Saxons in England* I, 168-183; Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* IV, 182-198; 255-280; Andrews, *Old English Manor*, passim; Larson, *The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 100), pp. 76-103; 146-171; Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 308-333; 378-400. See also Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 261-269, for a description of the passages in Anglo-Saxon verse illustrative of the *comitatus*, and to these add the prose story of Cynewulf and Cyneheard, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 755; cf. also Caesar's interesting account of

the *soldurii*; *B. G.* III, 22. Cf. 405-414, note. — Grimm places ll. 3^b-4^a within parentheses, thus making the sentence a parenthetic exclamation like *Beow.* 18^b: *blæd wīde sprang*. See 764^b, note. Cf. *Beow.* 1528: *þæt his dōm ālæg*.

4. **camprædenne**. *Dicht.*, 'in dem Kampf erlag . . . ihre Hochkraft nimmer'; Kemble, 'their glory failed not, of their warfare.' *Gn., Spr.* I, 155, glosses the form as gen. sg., but it seems best to take it as dative, 'in or at the battle.' The present is the only occurrence of the word, but cf. *wigræden*, *Wald.* 22. — **hneotan**. The form *hneotan* < *hnioton* < *hniton* is pret. pl. of the first ablaut-class, *eo* being a development of *o*-umlaut of *i*; cf. Bright, *MLN.* II, 80, and Bülbring, §§ 235 note, 239, and 241. Cf. also l. 802: *geweotan*. The unumlauted form is found in *Beow.* 1327, 2544: *þonne hniton feðan*. Cf. *Icel.* (Cleas.-Vig., p. 270) *hnitu reyr saman*, 'the weapons clashed together.'

5. **gedældon**. The verb is best taken as intransitive. *Cos.* (*PBB.* XXI, 8) cites *Wulfstan*, ed. Napier, p. 204, l. 24: *ðær næfre lēofe ne gedælað*. Pogatscher (*Angl.* XXIII, 263) considers the subject of **gedældon** as unexpressed after **syððan**; the **hīe** which precedes the verb he regards as the object; cf. *An.* 1012; *El.* 1285.

5-6. For the apocryphal legend of the division of the earth among the Apostles, see *Introd.*, p. lix.

6. **hlýt**. Cf. Bonnet, p. 65: *καὶ ἐμέριζον ἑαυτοῖς τὰς χῶρας, βάλλοντες κλήρους*. Cf. the election of Matthias, *Acts* I, 24-26; and see *Ap.* 9^b. But the casting of lots was a custom familiar to the Anglo-Saxons through their own traditional inheritance. Tacitus, *Germania* 10, gives an account of the manner of casting lots among the Teutonic tribes on the continent: 'Auspicia sortesque, ut qui maxime, observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex: virgam, frugiferae arbori decisam, in surculos amputant, eosque, notis quibusdam discretos, super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt: mox, si publice consulatur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse paterfamiliae, precatus deos coelumque suspiciens, ter singulos tollit, sublatis secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur.' The twigs with which the divination was performed were called *tānas* in Anglo-Saxon, hence the word *tān* came to mean 'lot,' as it does in *An.* 1103. Allusions to casting of lots are not frequent in Anglo-Saxon except in translations; an interesting example, however, is *Beow.* 3126, in the description of the partition of the dragon's treasure. The practice must have been a common one, as penalties were fixed for it, as well as for other heathen observances, in the *Poenitentiale Ecgberti* IV, 19 (ed. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 380): 'Gif hwā hlýtas oððe hwatunga begā, oððe his wæccan æt ænigum wylle hæbbe, oððe æt ænigre oðre gesceafte būton æt Godes cyricean, fæste hē III gēar, þæt ān on hlāfe ond on wætere, ond þā II Wodnesdagum ond Frigedagum on hlāfe ond on wætere, ond þā oðre dagas, brūce his metes būton flæsce ānum.' The ecclesiastical attitude towards the practice comes out also in the adjectives *hellcræftum*, *hæðengildum*, *An.* 1102. *Wulfstan*, ed. Napier, p. 27, in a catalogue of the wicked in hell, includes *wiccan*, 'wizards,' and *wigleras*, 'those who practice divination.' See further Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities in Andreas and Elene*, pp. 39-40.

7. For similar breaking of close syntactical agreement by the hemistich or the end of the line, cf. 118, 119-120, 163, 224, 225, 234, 312, 557; *Beow.* 758, 813, 2011, 2928, etc.

8. frome folctogan. Cf. *Gu.* 874: from folctoga (of Guthlač); *Ex.* 14: freom folctoga (of Moses); *Beow.* 1641, 2476: frome fyrdhwate.

9. rōfe rincas. So *Gen.* 286, 1651; *Gen.* 2049: rincas wæron rōfe.—**rond ond hand.** For other examples of similar riming phrases in Anglo-Saxon verse, see Kluge, *PBB.* IX, 425-426.

10. on herefelda. So 18^a; *EL.* 126.

11. meotudwange. The only occurrence of the compound; but cf. *meotud-gesceaft*, *meotudsceaft*, 'fate, decree of fate.'

12-13. The allusion, not contained in the Greek or the *Legend*, is evidently a scholium of the poet's.

15. ūt on þæt īgland. Cf. l. 28. On these two passages part of my note in *Modern Philology* II, 403, may be quoted: 'There is no equivalent for *īgland* or *ēaland* in the Greek or the Anglo-Saxon prose versions of the legend. The corresponding passages are: *eis τὴν χῶραν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων*, Bonnet, p. 65, and *ἐν τῇ πάλει αὐτῶν*, Bonnet, p. 66; *sē ēadiga Mathēus gehlēat tō Marmadonia þære ceastre*, Bright, *Reader*, p. 113; *æghwylc man þe on þære ceastre cōm ælfhōdisc*, Bright, p. 113. A parallel situation is found in the *Phoenix*; the land in which the Phœnix dwells is twice referred to as an island, *ænlic is þæt īgloud*, *Ph.* 9, *on þām ēalonde*, *Ph.* 287, the second phrase being an elaboration of *ēadig iððellond*, *Ph.* 279. The corresponding passages in Lactantius, *De ave Phœnicē*, are as follows:

Est locus in primo felix oriente remotus,
Qua patet aeterni maxima porta poli;

ll. 1, 2.

Ast ubi primaeva coepit florere iuventa
Evolat ad patrias iam reditura domos.

ll. 115, 116.

The word in the above passages is evidently not to be understood in the specific sense of "island," but rather in the literal sense of "water-land," "land that is reached by water." To the insular Anglo-Saxon all foreign lands must have been "water-lands"; perhaps in this poetical sense the word also carried with it the connotation of remoteness; in both the *Phoenix* and the *Andreas* it is used for the Orient. Cf. also *Sal. and Sat.*, 1 ff.:

Hwæt! Ic īglanda eallra hæbbe
bōca onbyrged.

The elaboration of this passage makes *īglanda* refer to Lybia, Greece, and India, none of them islands.'

18. gescēode. That the MS. reading, and not *gesceod* (as Grimm and Kemble propose), is right, is determined by the scansion of the half-line. Grimm (in his notes) would derive *gesceod* from *geseccadan*, 'sejungere' ('from joy' or 'happiness' to be supplied mentally). Kemble, deriving the form from the same verb, translates 'oft had the hand of the slaughterer . . . hardly decided for him.' Paul (*PBB.* VI, 94), Sievers (*ibid.* X, 506), and the dictionaries (cf. *Spr.* I, 448, II, 406; B-T. 436), all apparently going back to Dietrich (*Haupt's Zs.* X, 320), suppose a contract verb *scēon*, *scēode*, 'happen,' 'befall' (*Spr.* I, 448 'accidere,' 'contingere,' 'impetrire'). Grein, *Dicht.*, translates accordingly 'grimm erelitte sie oft

die Hand der Mörder.' Grein, according to Wülker, takes the form as optative, and Wülker adds, 'da ein futuraler begriff in beziehung auf den vorhergehenden satz darin liegt, stimme ich Grein bei'; Wülker does not state from what verb he derives the form. But Grein neither in the *Sprachschatz* nor in his translation gives any indication that he takes the form as optative, and the syntax of the passage requires only the pret. ind., as e.g. l. 1420^b. Trautmann (quoted by Simons, p. 60) evades the grammatical difficulty by emending the text, reading *hand gescæodun* = 'hände schadeten.'

The form *gescæode*, in the sense demanded by the context, has, however, been satisfactorily accounted for by Professor Bright (*MLN.* XVII, 426) in a discussion of the reduplicating verb *gescæadan*, 'separate,' 'decide,' 'deal out,' *Ex.* 504-506. By the side of the regular redup. pret. of this verb is found a weak pret. *gescæode*, *Dan.* 620, *scæode*, *Ex.* 586; and a weak past part. *gescæod*, *Ex.* 506. A parallel development is to be observed in the verb *gescæððan*, *gescôd*, *-scôod* (with weak pret. *-scæðede*, cf. *Gram.*, § 392, 4, note 6); *gescôode*, *An.* 18, is a new weak preterit formed on the old strong preterit. The verb has thus three preterit forms, *gescôd* (*-scôod*), *gescæðede*, and *gescôode*. The hypothetical *scæon* is therefore to be set aside and all the examples referred to *scæadan* or *scæððan*.

20. fēondes. Cf. 1294; *Chr.* 1395: fæcnun fēonde; *Beow.* 2128: fēondes fæð(mum); *Gen.* 453: þurh fēondes cræft; *ibid.* 492: þurh dēofles cræft, etc. Note also *El.* 207: sē ealda fēond; *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Bright's *Reader*, p. 131, l. 24): þām ealdan dēofle; and for the modern uses, see *NED.* s.v. *fiend* and *enemy*, and Bradley's remarks, *Making of English*, pp. 197-198.

23-25. For this tradition of cannibalism see *Introd.*, p. lxvi. Cf. Bonnet, p. 65, ll. 7-8: οἱ δὲ ἀνθρώποι τῆς πόλεως ἐκελνης οὔτε ἀρτον ἤσθιον οὔτε οἶνον ἐπινον, ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἐσθίοντες σάρκας ἀνθρώπων καὶ πίνοντες αὐτῶν τὸ αἷμα. Six of the ten MSS. read ὕδωρ, however, instead of οἶνον. *Legend*, p. 113, ll. 6-8: hlāf ne æton, ne wæter ne druncon, ac æton manna lichaman and heora blōd druncon.

Aside from the *Andreas*, no other allusions to the practice of cannibalism are made in the extant literature of the Anglo-Saxon period, and there is no reason to suppose that any native traditions concerning cannibalism were current among the Anglo-Saxons. A few early allusions in Continental literature to a belief in the existence of cannibalism among the Finns and other peoples of northeastern Europe are mentioned by Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* II, 49, 354; III, 17-18. See also Andree, *Die Anthropophagie*, pp. 6-15. The nearest approach to cannibalism in Anglo-Saxon literature is in the story of Grendel and his dam in the *Beowulf*. These creatures devour the bodies of men and drink their blood. They are, however, only half human, being possessed of more than human strength and distinguished by monstrous characteristics both of figure and of mind. The story of Grendel has been explained as a survival of early stories of cannibalism, dating back perhaps to the period of the cave-dwellers; see Brooke, *History of Early English Literature* I, 118-119, and *English Literature from the Beginning*, p. 66; for the theory that cannibalism was practised by the cave-dwellers, see Andree, *ibid.*, pp. 1-6. Perhaps further connection between the race of the giants and cannibalism may be seen in the word *eoten*, 'giant,' *Icel. jötunn*, which has been explained as derived from the root which appears in

clan, 'eat,' 'devour.' See Müllenhoff, II, 354; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* II, 518-520, IV, 1437; Golther, *Handbuch d. German. Myth.*, p. 161. It is possible that an Anglo-Saxon might have drawn a parallel between the story of Beowulf's fight with the man-eating Grendel and St. Andrew's conflict with the man-eating Mermedonians.

23. **ah**. Normally **ac**, but also **ah** (eight times) and **ach** (once) in *Andreas*; see Glossary for citations, and *Gram.*, § 210, 3.

24. **feorrancumenra**. So also in *Gen.* 1836^a, *feorrancumenra*, appositive to *ellðæodigra*, 1835^a; and *Beow.* 361, *feorrancumene*, appositive to *Gæata lēode*, 362^b; cf. also *Beow.* 1819. Kluge's comment (*PBB.* IX, 188) on the passage in *Beowulf*, to the effect that *feorrancumen* as substantive compound = 'stranger' is better stylistically than *feorran cumen*, applies with equal force to the other two passages.

25^b. Cf. *Beow.* 178: *Swylc wæs þēaw hyra* (in a passage referring to the Danes as heathen); *Beow.* 1246: *wæs þēaw hyra* (of the followers of Beowulf). Note also l. 177^b, with which cf. *Gu.* 390: *swā bið geoguðe þēaw*; *Gu.* 538: *swā bið fēonda þēaw*; *Wale* 31: *swā bið scinna þēaw, dēofla wīse*. Cf. 177-179.

28. **ēaland**. See 15, note. — **sōhte**. The verb is singular, as is usual after *þāra þe* preceded by *ænig*, *ælc*, *æghwylc*, *manig*, etc. See 380, 1153; and cf. *Beow.* 1460-1461: *nāfre hit æt hilde ne swāc manna ængum þāra þe hit mid mundum bewand*; *Beow.* 1405-1407: *magoþegna bær þone sēlestan sāwollēasne þāra þe mid Hroðgare hām eahtode*. Numerous other instances are cited, *Wulfing*, I, 416-419, and by Grimm, p. 94. Grimm points out that a similar idiom is found in Old Saxon. A plural verb is also occasionally used after *þāra þe*, e.g. *El.* 967-970: *Ðā wæs . . . læded mære morgenspel manigum on andan þāra þe dryhtnes æ dyrnan woldon*; *El.* 1286-1287: *ānra gehwylc þāra þe gewurdon on wīdan fēore*.

31^a. So *El.* 119. — 31^b. **hēafodglimmas**. Sievers (*PBB.* I, 503) supposes a plural form *-gimme*, as approximate imitation of the Latin plural, the form *-gimme* being supported by the rime with *-grimme*. Cosijn, in emending to the usual plural form, adduces *Gu.* 1276^a: *hēafides gimmas*, and Sievers, in a remark appended to Cosijn's note, accepts the emendation, explaining *-gimme* as an unconscious echo of *-grimme*. For the metaphor cf. *Chr.* 1330; *Ex. Gn.* 44; *Ph.* 301 ff.; and see 50, note.

32. **āgēttōn**. Gm. and K., reading *aguton*, derive the form from *āgēotan*, 'to pour out'; K. translates 'the eye-sight . . . the gem of the head gallows-minded poured out with javelin points.' Gn., *Spr.* I, 22, reads *āgēton*, and derives the form from *āgitan*, 'destruere, exstinguere, subvertere': *Dicht.*, 'grausam zerstörten mit der Geere Spitzen.' As weak verb, however, the word is found in this phrase in *Brun.* 18: *gārum āgēted* (variant, *forgrunden*); and cf. *An.* 1143; *Fates of Men* 16: *sumne sceal gār āgētan*, *sumne gūð ābrēotan*. Simons, p. 5, also reads **āgēt[t]on**. The quantity of the radical vowel of *āgētan* is discussed by Sievers, *PBB.* X, 313.

33-34. Cf. *Chr.* 1437-8: *Swylce hī mē geblēndon bittre tōsomne unswētne drync*, — a paraphrase of *Matt.* XXVII, 34.

34. **dr̥yas**. The word is of Celtic origin. Holder, *Alt-Celt. Sprachschatz*, col. 1321, derives it from the intensive prefix *dru*, + *wid-s*, from the root meaning

'know.' The whole compound would mean therefore primarily 'the very wise,' by extension 'priests.' The word was probably acquired by the Anglo-Saxons from the Irish missionaries in Northumbria, and, as the designation of the priests of a non-Christian religion, it was given an evil signification. As we should expect, the word and its compound appear in Anglo-Saxon only in the later Christian literature. Cf. 6, note; 765-766, note; and see *NED*. s.v. *druid*.

35-39. Cf. the similar situation in *Dan*. 569-574:

ond ðec winelēasne on wræc sendeð
 ond þonne onhweorfeð heortan þīne,
 þæt þū ne gemyndgast æfter mandræame
 ne gewittes wæst būtan wildēora þēaw,
 ac þū lifgende lange þrāge
 heorta hlǫpum geond holt wunast.

36. **heortan on hreðre**. Reading *heortan hreðre* (*hreðre* inst. sg.), Grein, *Dicht.*, translates 'der das Bewusstsein der Männer wandte im Busen, die innersten Gedanken.' **Heortan** is plainly appositive to **ingepanc** and **gewit**, and the idiom requires a preposition to govern **hreðre**; cf. *An*. 69^b, 892-3; *Chr*. 640-641: þām þe deorc gewit hæfdon on hreþre, heortan stænne. In l. 36^a **on** has evidently fallen out through its similarity in sound to the final syllable of **heortan**. — Perhaps 36^b should be placed within parentheses; see 764^b, note.

38. **heorgrædige**. Appositive to **hīe**, 37^a, though the epithet seems more appropriate to the Mermedonians than to their victims.

39. Cf. *El*. 612; 698: mēðe and metelēas. The unumlauted form **-leaste** instead of **-lēste**, here and in 1157, is analogical to adj. forms in *-lēas*; cf. also **nēadcofan**, 1309.

40-41^a. Cf. *El*. 273^b-274: cwōmon in þā ceastre corðra mæste; *El*. 1203^b-1204^a; tō þære hālgan byrig, cuman in þā ceastre. With 40^b cf. 287^b, 973^b, and 227^b, of Heaven; *Chr*. 1007, on þone mæran beorg, of the New Jerusalem.

42. **Mermedonia**. For the forms of this name and its identification, see *Intro*d. p. lxi. — **hlōð**. See 992, note.

43. **fordēnera gedræg**. The word *gedræg*, *gedreag*, usually 'tumult, outcry,' is also used of the ocean, *ofer dēop gedreag*, *Rid*. VII, 10, apparently in the sense of 'wide extent,' and, as here, is used in phrases indicating large numbers; cf. *Beow*. 756: sēcan dēofla gedræg; *Wife's Complaint*, 45: sinsorgna gedreag. For a third use of the word, see 1555, note. — The unumlauted forms of the participle of *dōn*, found only in *Chr*. 1207, 1266, and the present passage, are, according to Sievers (*PBB*. IX, 299), undoubted survivals from an original Northumbrian text.

45^a. Cf. *Beow*. 1626: *ædon him þā tōgēanes*, of Beowulf after his return from the fight with Grendel's mother.

46^b. Perhaps to be enclosed within parentheses; see 764^b, note.

49. **fēondes cræfte**. So 1196, 1294. Cf. *Gen*. 492: *dēofles cræft*; and, for examples of both phrases, see B.-T., p. 168. The word 'craft' has not in Anglo-Saxon specifically evil meaning (cf. 327, 484, etc.).

50. **hellfūse**. *Chr*. 1123 is the only other occurrence of this word. — **segl**. For other forms of the word, see 89^b; 1246^a; 1456^b. The word appears also, as

simplex and in compounds, in the form *sigel* (Sievers, *PBB.* X, 507). Note the proper name *Sigelwaras* = Ethiopians, *Ap.* 64, *Ex.* 69, etc. For the figure of the eye as the sun of the head, cf. *Skáldskaparmál*, Cap. 69, *SnE.* I, 538–539, where the poetic names of the eyes are given as the sun or moon, shields, glass, gems, or jewels, of the brows or eyelashes. See 31, note.

51. **ābrēoton.** The form of the verb is probably due to confusion with the verbs of the reduplicating class; see *Gram.*, § 384, 2, and Bright, *MLN.* II, 80. See 640, note. — **mīd billes ecge.** Cf. *Beow.* 2485: billes ecgum; *ibid.* 2508: billes ecg.

51–53. According to the *Πράξεις* (Bonnet, p. 66, ll. 9–14) Andrew drinks the magic brew which the Mermedonians prepare for him, but his reason is not affected by it and he therefore refuses to eat the hay which they place beside him, but continues praising God as before. The version of this incident in the *Legend*, p. 113, ll. 15–18, is confused: ond hīe him sealdon āttor drinčan, and hīe sendon on carcerne, and hīe hīe hēton Jætt āttor etan, and hē hit etan nolde; for þon his heorte næs tōlēsed, nē his mōd onwended.

52. Cf. *Jul.* 239: herede æt heorten hefonrices god. Professor Hart calls attention to *Cædmon's Hymn* 1: Nū scylun hergan hefænricæs uard.

54. **onmōd.** Cf. 1638, and **anræd**, 232, 983. The two words are formed (Sievers, *Zacher's Zs.* XXI, 362) in the same manner as *ofermōd*, and mean, primarily, 'having the attention turned in a certain direction or against something'; then in a good sense, 'eager, resolute, bold,' or with more emphatic value, 'angry, enraged' (cf. *Dan.* 224, *anmōd*; *Beow.* 1576, *anræd*, both appositive to *yrre*). Note also *anmēdla*, *onmēdla*, 'pride,' *Dan.* 748; *Chr.* 814, etc., where the word has developed in a pejorative direction. *Onmōd*, *anmōd* is to be distinguished from *ānmōd*; cf. l. 1565, note. Cf. *Gu.* 717; *ēadig ond onmōd*.

55^a. Cf. 806^a.

56. **hālgan stefne.** The construction weak adj. + noun, in the instrumental case, is found frequently throughout Anglo-Saxon verse in certain traditional set phrases: the form **hālgan stefne** occurs five times in *An.*, and cf. **beorhtan, gēomran, hlūdan, nīwan stefne**; **sārgan reorde**; **hātan heolfre** (2); **heaðo-wǣlme**; **blācan līge**; **priddan sīde**; see Glossary for citations. In similar phrases the strong form of the adj. is found in **brante cēole**; **corðre mycle** (2); **hēa hornscipe**; **ōðre sīde** (4); **mīne gefrege**. In other than instrumental phrases the weak inflection of the adj., in constructions of adj. + noun, is found as follows: gen. sg., **ēcan dryhtnes**, 721; dat. sg., **bestēmdon**, 487; **hālgan hēape**, *Ap.* 9; **wintercealdan niht**, 1265; and in the prepositional phrases, **tō wīdan feore** (3 times); **tō wīdan aldre** (2 times); **tō fāgeran gefēan**, 1693, and cf. 598; **under niflan næs**, 1305; **on swā nīowan gefēan**, 1670. See Lichtenfeld, *Haupt's Zs.* XVI (IV), 327 ff., for arguments (not altogether valid) as to chronology drawn from the use of these constructions.

57–58. Cf. *Jul.* 233: tō carcerne. Hyre wæs Cristes lof in ferþlocan fæste biwunden. Note also *An.* 1671.

59. Cf. *Chr.* 992: wēpað wānende wērgum stefnum.

61^b. Cf. *Metr.* I, 84: gēomran stemne.

62^a. So 1282; *El.* 814; *Ph.* 465. — 62^b. Cf. *Introd.* p. xlix.

63. **hū**. Introducing exclamatory rhetorical questions, *hū* is not infrequently found, e.g. *Wand.* 95: *hū sēo þrāg gewāt*; *Chr.* 362: *hū wē sind geswencte þurh ūre sylfra gewill*, etc. It occurs also as simple interjection, equivalent to *hwæt*, in *Ap.* 91; *Chr.* 1459: *Hū þær was unefen racu unc gemāne!*; and, in conjunction with *eala*, *Höl.* 75: *Ēalā Gabrihel hū þū eart glēaw and scearp*. See also *Höl.* 84, 100, 104; *Chr.* 216, 278, etc. In these instances *ēalā* and *hū* are to be taken together as constituting the interjectional phrase, similar to the phrase *ēalā hwæt*, *Chr.* 416; *Sat.* 316; *Metr.* IV, 25, *Metr.* VIII, 55. For the use of *hū* as interjection in the prose, see Wülfing, II, 694.

64. **sēowað**. Gm., noting *Beow.* 406, translates 'consuunt.' He remarks, however, that **seoðað** = 'coquunt' might possibly apply to the welding of fetters. K. follows Gm.'s first reading; Gn. *Spr.* II, 437, B., and W. *Nachträge*, p. 208, his second interpretation. But no justification for the meaning *seoðan* = 'seethe, boil' = 'weld, fashion, devise,' as accepted by Gn., W., and B., can be found from the other metaphorical uses of the word in Anglo-Saxon. In *Beow.* 190 and 1993 the word is used transitively with *mālcceare*, *mōdceare*, respectively, as objects, and it means 'to be troubled about, to brood over.' The participle *soden* appears in *Gu.* 1046, 1236 (with inst. *sorgwylmum*), 1123 (with inst. *sārwoylmum*), and in *An.* 1239 (with inst. *sārbennum*); in all these passages it means 'troubled, afflicted.' On the other hand, the dependence of 64^a upon *Beow.* 406^a, *searonet seowed*, is evident; in both passages the word means 'weave, knit.' For a similar figure, cf. 672^a, **wrōht webbade**. The MS. reading **seoðað** (= *seopað*) might easily arise from the misreading of *w* for *þ*; a similar scribal error probably explains the MS. form **wæs for þæs** in 145^b. Cf. Icel. *skyrtá hamri sqð*, 'a shirt sewed with the hammer,' 'hammer-knit' (Cleas.-Vig., p. 518).

65-66. Cf. *El.* 267-268: *þeodnes willan, georn on mōde*.

66. **ðurh geohða**. 'Now with sorrow.' Cosijn (followed by Simons, p. 49) would read *gēahð*, 'foolishness, mockery' (anticipating **dumban**, 67^b), a plausible but not a necessary change.

67. See 38^b-39.

70. **sīe**. Here monosyllabic (Siev., *PBB.* X, 478), and so regularly in *Andreas*, except 417^a.

70-71. Cf. *El.* 773-774: *gif þīn willa sīe, wealdend engla, þæt*, etc.; 789, *gif hit sīe willa þīn*.

72. **sweordum āswebban**. So *Ap.* 69^b; *Beow.* 567, 679. — Cf. *Beow.* 1825: *ic bēo gearo sōna*.

74. **ēðellēasum**. The pronominal object is implied in the adjective.

76-78. Concerning the restoration of Matthew's sight, see 91, note.

78. **æfter billhete**. This is the only recorded occurrence of *billhete*, defined by Grein, *Spr.* I, 117, 'odium ope ensium manifestatum'; by B.-T., 'the hate of swords.' Cf. *ecghete*, *cumbolhete*, with meaning similar to that of *billhete*. In the present passage the word may have allusion to the way Matthew's eyes were put out; or it may have been coined merely for the rime (Bright).

81. **tō ānum þē**. Cf. *Ps.* LXXXVI, 6: *on ānum þē*.

82. Cf. *Jul.* 221: *ic tō Dryhtne mīn mōd stapelige*.

85. **scyldhetum**. The only occurrence of this as well as the parallel compound, **nīðhetum**, 834. The value of **hete** in compounds is otherwise that of an abstract noun, 'hate.' Gm., p. 98, suggests, and Simons, p. 119, would read here, **-hatum**, in order to make the form agree with the form **scyldhata**, 1047, 1147; but the compound **nīðhetum** speaks decisively against the change. See 1047, note.

86. **wērigum wrōhtsmiðum**. Cf. **grynsmið**, 917, **lārsmið**, 1220. The existence of such compounds in Anglo-Saxon, in which, however, the second element has become generalized in meaning, is an indication of the dignified position of the smith in early Teutonic society. Compare also the conception of Weland as smith, which was not unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, as we learn from *Beow.* 455, *Deor* 1, and *Wald.* 2. Similar compounds in other Teutonic languages are mentioned by Kluge, *PBB.* X, 440.

86^b-87. Cf. Bonnet, p. 67: *καὶ μὴ παραδώσεις με τῷ θανάτῳ τῷ πικρῷ τούτῳ*. *Legend*, p. 114: *nē mē ne sele on þone bitterestan dēaþ*.

88. **wuldres tācen**. Grein, *Spr.* II, 520, and Simons, p. 134, would supply *sancta crux*, 'the sign of the cross,' as completing the meaning, making *wuldres tācen* thus equivalent to the *sigores tācen* of *El.* 88 and elsewhere. But cf. *Ph.* 96: *torht tācen Godes*, appositive to *Godes condelle*, l. 91; *Gu.* 1266: *oðþæt ēastan cwōm ofer dēop gelād dægredwōma, wedertācen wearm*. Note also Bonnet, p. 67: *Τὰυτα δὲ προσευχομένου τοῦ Ματθαίου ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἔλαμψεν φῶς, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς φωνὴ λέγουσα*, and *Legend*, p. 114, l. 9: *mycel lēoht ond beorht onlēohte þæt carcern, and Drihtnes stefn wæs geworden tō him on þæm lēohte*.

89. **hādre**. One expects *hādor* as in 1456. But we may take **hādre** (with Barnouw, p. 146) as weak nom.; the construction may carry with it a specific or demonstrative value (cf. note on *tācen*, l. 88), and it is so translated by Grein *Dicht.*, Root, and Hall: 'like the bright sun.' Kemble, however, makes it indefinite, 'like a serene star.' One might almost suppose that **hādre**, the adverbial form, is a recollection of the model for this passage:

‘ðā cwōm lēohta mæst
hālig of heofonum hādre scīnan.’

Gu. 1256-1257.

— **segl**. This spelling is supported by 50, **sægl** by 1456. No other example of *ɛ* for *æ* occurs in the MS.; but *æ* for *ɛ* occurs 582, **-wæge**; 495, **stæfnan**.

91. **helpe gefremede**. Nothing is said here to show that Matthew's sight (cf. 51, 77) is restored to him; both the Greek and the *Legend*, however, are specific: Bonnet, p. 67, *παράσχου ὄψιν μοι κύριε τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου*, and later, *καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέβλεψεν*; *Legend*, p. 114, l. 4: *forgife mīnra ēagna lēoht*; and l. 12: *Mathēus þa lōciende hē geseah Drihten Crīst*. In the passage corresponding to 143 ff., when the Mermedonians come to Matthew in prison, the Greek and the *Legend* state that he closed his eyes in order that they might not perceive that his sight had been restored. Heinzel, "Ueber den Stil der altgerm. Poesie," *Quellen und Forsch.* X, 43, notes this passage as characteristic of Cynewulf's proneness to omit even necessary steps in the progress of a narrative.

92-93. Similar phrasing occurs in ll. 1429-1430; and cf. *Jul.* 282-283: *Hyre stefn oncwæþ wlitig of wolcnum, word hlēoðrade*.

94. **maguþegne.** Of the 14 occurrences of this compound in Anglo-Saxon verse, 6 are found in *Beowulf*, 5 in *Andreas*, and the remaining three as follows: *Wand.* 62, *Men.* 82, *Jud.* 236. Of the five occurrences in *Andreas* 4 refer, as in the present passage, to the servants of the Lord; in the remaining passage, 1140, the epithet, with epic impartiality, is used of the heathen Mermedonians.

95. **under hearmlocan.** So *El.* 695.

99. **ic þē mid wunige.** Cf. 101, 945, 1218, and *Chr.* 478, 488, for similar phrasing.

100. Th. and K. place of **þyssonum** in the first half-line; but cf. 112. — **leoðubendum.** The compound occurs five times in *An.*, but elsewhere only *Gen.* 382.

102. **neorxnawang.** An ingenious explanation of this difficult word is that offered by Bradley, *Academy* XXXVI, 254 (Oct. 19, 1889). He regards it as a contraction of a fuller form, **nēorohsna wang*, the Gothic equivalent of which would be **nawi-rōhsnē-waggs*, 'the field of the palaces of the dead.' With the first element, *nawi*, he compares Anglo-Saxon *nēo*, as in *nēobed*, *nēosiþ*, etc., and with the general conception, *waltheal*, 'Valhalla.' A more probable etymology is that of Reinius, *Anglia* XIX, 554-556, who derives the first element from a hypothetical Anglo-Saxon form **ne werksan*, 'not working, not suffering'; the whole compound would thus mean 'the plain or field of the idle.'

104^a. Cf. *Doomsday* 24: ne noht hyhtlic hām; *Sat.* 138: ne mōt ic hīhtlicran hāmes brūcan. In both passages, as in *Andreas*, the allusion is to the heavenly home. — 104^b. Cf. *Chr.* 284, 1189: hālgum meah tum.

105. Cf. 1611; *Chr.* 1673: ond wuldres lēoht torht ontýned; *Sat.* 556: ūs is wuldres lēoht torht ontýned; *Sat.* 593-594: þær is wuldres blēd torht ontýned; *Gu.* 457-458: wæs mē swegles lēoht torht ontýned. Gn. and W. have only a comma after *ontýned*.

106. **tō wīdan fēore.** Also 810, 1452; *El.* 211, 1321; *Beow.* 933. Cf. tō wīdan aldre, 938, 1721; wīdan feorh, 1383, also *El.* 760, 800, *Beow.* 2014.

107. **þrāh.** Final **g** appears as **h**, in *Andreas*, in *burh*, *ādrēah*, *gelāh*, *āstāh*, and the present instance; see *Gram.*, § 214, 1, and cf. 769^b, note.

109. **synnige.** I quote from my note, *Mod. Phil.* II, 404: 'Reading *synne* with the MS. and editors, Grein, *Spr.* II, 518, glosses the word as inst. sg.(?) of *syn*, "evil," "wickedness"; Simons, p. 124, glosses the form as a reflexive pronoun, but he gives no further clue as to his interpretation of the passage. The translations treat the word as an adverb. But the improbable inst. sg. *synne* is clearly to be corrected to the adjective form *synnige* [or *synnige*], appositive to *wærlogan*, 108^a, to accord with the usual phrasing as found in 565^b, 710^a, 964^b; cf. also 921^a. The MS. has regularly the unsyncopated forms in this word; the form *synne* perhaps looks back to a time when the syncopated forms were still written.'

111^a. So 567; *Chr.* 1197.

113. **tælnmet.** The only occurrence of the word; *tælnmearc* occurs once, *Gu.* 849.

114. **seofon ond twēntig.** The chronology is consistent and follows the sources; cf. *Legend*, p. 114, l. 18: ac onbīd hēr seofon and twēntig nihta. The Mermedonians hold a meeting every thirty days (l. 157) and at the end of thirty

days Matthew is to be put to death; after twenty-seven days, however (**fore þreo niht**, 185), Andrew is to set out to rescue him from this fate. Cf. also 148, 930.

115. nihtgerimes. The term commonly used by the Anglo-Saxons in reckoning a period of time was *niht*, not *dæg*; for examples in *Andreas*, see Glossary, and cf. 114, note. Tacitus (*Germania* 11) mentions this custom among the Germans of the Continent: 'Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant'; and he adds: 'Sic constituunt, sic condicunt: nox ducere diem videtur.' Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* VI, 18) records the same custom among the Gauls: 'Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt.' And he also adds: 'dies natales et mensium et annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur.' This custom of reckoning the night with the day which followed it also obtained among the Anglo-Saxons; cf. Anglo-Saxon *frigeæfen* = Thursday evening, *frigeniht* = the night preceding Friday (see Kluge, *Etymolog. Wörterbuch*, s.v. *fasten*). Sunday, according to the Wulfstan homilist, should be observed 'from nōntīde þæs sæterndægæs oð mōnandægæs lihtingce' (Tupper, "Anglo-Saxon Dæg-Mæł," *Pub. of the MLA*, X, 134), *nōntīde* being the ninth hour counting from sunrise. This custom has left its traces in the Mod. Eng. phrases 'Hallowe'en,' 'New Year's Eve,' 'Christmas Eve,' etc. The custom of reckoning time by nights instead of days survives in the phrases 'fortnight,' 'sennight,' 'Twelfth Night.' See further Schrader, *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, p. 845, and Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, p. 753.

116. Cf. *Gu.* 1110: sārū geswenced; *Beow.* 975: synnum geswenced. — All Edd. have a comma after **geswenced**; B. and K. put a comma after **gewyrðod** also, but the other Edd. have no punctuation here. Gn.² removes the comma after **geswenced**, adds one after **gewyrðod**, and supplies **wesan** as completing the sense. On the omission of **wesan**, cf. 1393, note. — Cf. *Jud.* 299: sigore geweorðod.

118^a. Also 225^a.

120. on riht. Simons, p. 110, forms an adj. compound **onriht** = 'wahr, echt,' following Gn., who translates, *Dicht.*, 'er ist ein rechter König.' But the words, metrically, do not have the stress of an adj. compound; cf., besides the other passages in *An., Chr.* 267: mōte ārisan ond on ryht cuman; and *Ex.* 586: reāf ond randas, heom on riht scēode.

123^a. So 1303; *Gen.* 1555, 1886; *Beow.* 1789, 2594; *El.* 1060, 1127. — **nīthelm tōglād.** Also *El.* 78; cf. 1305. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, 753, noting these passages, says: 'to her [i.e. Night], as a goddess, is ascribed, quite in the spirit of our olden time, a terrible and fearful *helmet*, like a cloak-of-darkness.' But the passages hardly justify the specific picture. **Helm** is probably used in these compounds in the general sense of 'covering.'

123-128. For other examples of the figure of asyndeton in *Andreas*, see ll. 370 ff.; 391 ff.; 1545 ff.

125. dægredwōma. The two elements of this word occur separately. *Dagrǫd* (OHG. *tagar-at*, -ot, Icel. *dagrað*, cf. Noreen, *Abriss der indogerm. Lautlehre*, p. 196) was, in the Anglo-Saxon period, a technical term for one of the periods of the day. The Anglo-Saxon night was divided into seven parts, the seventh

part coming just before *dægrēd*, *dægrēd* itself being succeeded by *sunnan āpgang* (Tupper, "Anglo-Saxon Dægmæl," *Pub. of MLA*, X, 126). It was also the period, as we learn from the *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Tupper, p. 154), when the husbandman went to the fields: '(Arator): Eala lēof, þearle ic deorfe; ic gā ūt on dægrēd (diluculo), þȳwende oxon to felda.' In later English the word, through a process of popular etymologizing, was supposed to be made up of the elements 'day' and 'red,' 'the red of the break of day,' 'the rosy dawn' (cf. *NED*. s.v. *day-red*). The second element of the compound, *wōma*, in its other occurrences, both as simplex and in compounds, has the meaning 'tumult,' 'alarm,' at times 'terror'; cf. 1355; and *Chr.* 834, 998, *heofonwōma* (tr. Cook, *Christ*, p. 259, 'sound from heaven,' 'thunder (?)'). The two elements combined seem to mean, therefore, 'the rush or tumult of the dawn'; Brooke, p. 414, 'the trumpet sound of the dawn.' Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, 720 ff., gathers together a great number of illustrations showing how wide-spread was the belief that ascribed noise or clang to the rising and setting of the sun, and explains the belief by supposing the existence in the popular mind of 'a deep affinity between the notions of light and sound, of colors and tones.' Wotan himself, he points out (p. 745), is called Wuomo, Wōma; and in this name and such words as *dægrēdwōma*, he sees the survivals of an original nature-myth, according to which the dawn was an actual living person.

125^b-133^b. The Edd. vary widely in the punctuation of these lines. After **samnade**, 125^b, W. has a colon, all other Edd. a comma; after **hildfrecan**, 126^a, K. and B. have a comma, the other Edd. no punctuation. Gn., B., and Cos. (*PBB*. XXI, 8), enclose l. 127 within parentheses, thus making **hrysedon**, 127^b, intransitive, and uniting **bolgenmōde**, 128^a, to **hildfrecan**, 126^a. After **bordhrēoðan**, 128^b, Gm. has no punctuation, all other Edd. a period or colon; after **wunedon**, 131^b, Gm. and K. a semicolon, all other Edd. a comma; after **berædan**, 133^b, Gm. and K. a question-mark, all other Edd. a period. **Woldon cunnian**, 129^a, has two objects, (1) the clause **hwæðer . . . wunedon**, and (2) **hwylcne . . . berædan**.

127. **gāras hrysedon**. Kemble, 'they brandished their javelins.' But the passage here is an evident reminiscence from *Beowulf*, the only other occurrence of the word *hryslan* in the heroic poetry: *syrca hrysedon, gūðgewædo*, *Beow.* 226-227. Translate as intransitive, 'rattle'; Grein, *Dicht.*, 'die Kampfspeere rauschten.' Cf. *Beow.* 327: *byrnan hringdon*.

128^b. So also *Beow.* 2203.

130. Cf. 1378; 1560; *Chr.* 734-735: *þær hē gēn ligeð in carcerne clomnum gefæstnad*.

133^a. Also *El.* 1034, 1268; *Ph.* 223. The period was thirty days (cf. 114, note). — 133^b. Cf. *El.* 498: *fēore beræddon*.

135. Cf. Bonnet, p. 68: *καὶ προσέθεναν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾷ τὰ βλανα, ἵνα γινώσι τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν*. Note also 149, 157. These details are omitted in the *Legend*.

136. **hwænne**. Also 400; cf. *Gram.*, § 65, and note 2.

138. **caldheorte**. The only occurrence of the epithet in Anglo-Saxon. — **cordor oðrum getang**. For other examples of this stylistic device of using *oðer*

instead of repeating the noun, cf. 443; *El.* 233; *Fied.* 6; *Beow.* 653, 870, 2484, 2985. See 360^a, note.

139. After *ræsboran* Gm. and W. have no mark of punctuation, the other Edd. a semicolon. — Cf. *Chr.* 706: *sōþes ne giemdon.*

140. *hira mōd.* Cf. 454: *ūre mōd = 'we';* 1242: *þæt æðele mōd = 'he.'* Other examples are *El.* 597; *Jul.* 26, 209; *Gu.* 711.

141. *dēofles lārum.* 'Through or by the instruction, counsel of the devil.' The phrase is a common one with Wulfstan: *judeisc folc þurh dēofles lāre hine forrædde* (ed. Napier, p. 17, l. 19); *eal mancyn wæs þurh dēofles lāre ær þām beswican* (p. 22, l. 1).

142. *eaucūm.* The late writing *u* for *f* occurs only in this word in the MS. of *Andreas*, but the use is sporadic throughout the Anglo-Saxon period; cf. *Gram.*, § 194.

143. *glāwne.* This spelling is supported by *gelāh*, 1074.

145. *þæs.* Lohmann (*Anglia* III, 126), accepting the emendation *hwæs* for the MS. *wæs*, cites *hwæs* in this passage as the sole example of the interrogative used as relative pronoun. Zupitza (*Anglia* III, 369), retaining *hwæs*, regards the form as interrogative, and the clause which it introduces as a dependent question, not a relative clause. But the right reading here is undoubtedly *þæs*, the first letter of which was miswritten *w*; cf. 64, note.

146^a. So *Sat.* 21, 239, 659; *Hy.* V, 6; *Ap.* 28.

147. *frumrædenne.* The only occurrence of the word. *Dicht.*, 'die Frist der Vorbestimmung'; K., 'Then was the space expired of the predestined time'; Root, 'Then was accomplished . . . The appointed time, the season fore-ordained.'

148. *þinggemearces.* Cf. 157, note.

149. Cf. 135, note.

150. Cf. *Beow.* 1567: *bānhringas bræc.*

151. Cf. 1472; *Beow.* 1630: *lungre ālŷsed*, of the armor of Beowulf.

152. *duguðe ond geogoðe.* Also 1122, and *Beow.* 160, 621, 1674. The two occurrences of the phrase in *Andreas* are in passages of similar context, and both refer to the Mermedonians. The phrase is, however, a dignified, heroic one, and means the body of warriors, young and old; see Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* IV, 263-264. As it is used in *Andreas* it perhaps has weakened and become generalized into the sense merely of 'every one,' 'one and all.'

154. Cf. *Beow.* 1568: *fægne flæschoman.*

154^b-156. Cf. the similar phrasing 1227^b-1228.

157-158^a. 'After every thirty days'; cf. *Mald.* 271: *æfre embe stunde*; *Chron.* 1137: *æure um wile*, 'every little while'; *Met.* XXVIII, 28-30:

ððer steorra cymeð efne swā same
on þone ilcan stede eft ymb ðritig
gēargerīmes.

157. *þing gehēdon.* Cf. 930; *Beow.* 425-426: *āna gehēgan ðing wið þyrse*; *Ex. Gn.* 18-19: *þing sceal gehēgan frōd wiþ frōdne.* Note also *mæðel gehēgan*, 1049, 1496, and *seonað gehēgan*, *Ph.* 493. The phrase is a conventional term in Anglo-Saxon for holding a parliament or meeting, but it is found only in the verse and is not

used in the prose of the meetings of the *witan*. But the same phrase was, and is still, used in Iceland of the meeting of deliberative or legislative bodies; cf. Cleas-Vig., p. 260, *heyja þing*, 'to hold a parliament.' The word *þing*, according to Mayhew, *Academy* XXXVI, 138 (Aug. 31, 1889), is cognate with Gothic *þeihs*, 'time,' the form *þing* being derived by grammatical change, and means 'a meeting held at an appointed time.' This derivation is also given by Greenough and Kittredge, *Words and their Ways*, p. 236: 'The word is thought to be cognate with Latin *tempus*, "the (fitting) time," "the right moment." If so, we may feel confident that the oldest sense at which we can arrive in English is "that which is agreed upon as fitting." The word **þinggemearces**, which occurs only twice, *An.* 148 and *El.* 3, certainly refers to time, and thus bears out the above derivation. This etymology has been questioned, however, by F. A. Wood, *MLN.* XIX, 1. In discussing the base **te(n)go*, which appears in the meaning 'stretch,' 'lengthen,' 'grow,' 'become strong,' and (what seems to be the opposite meaning) 'draw together,' 'contract,' 'make compact,' he says: 'Here belong OE. *þing*, OHG. *ding*, pre-Germ. *tenqó-m*, "a drawing together," "contract," "compact," etc. The meaning "draw together" is apparent in OE. *þingian*, "settle," "reconcile," "arrange," "intercede," "plead." But Professor Wood's semasiological grouping is not convincing.

158. Gm. has only a comma after **nihtgerimes**, all other Edd. a colon or semicolon. — **nēod**. The sense here is 'desire,' as in *Ph.* 189-191:

'bið him nēod micel
þæt hē þā yldu ofestum mōte
þurh gewittes wylm wendan to life.'

B.-T., p. 714, quotes the same phrase in OS.: 'was im niud mikil that sie selbon Krist gisehan mostin,' 'they desired eagerly to see Christ.' Cf. 1166^b, note.

164. **oft his lufan ādræg**. The MS. **of**, 'for the sake of' (as given by the translators), has not the support of other examples; cf. 431^a. The emendation is supported by *Gu.* 63: *sē nāfre þā lēan ālegeð þām þe his lufan ādrēogeð. Ādrēogan* is always used transitively in *Andreas*. For other examples of the verb in an active sense, cf. *Gu.* 86^b: *gewin drugon; Sat.* 254^b-255: *þis is idel gylp þæt wē ær drugon ealle hwile; Wulfstan* (ed. Napier, p. 28, ll. 1-3): *þæt [heofona rīce] ēow is gegearwod tō ēcan edlēane ēowres geswines, þe gē for mīnum lufan ær on worulde ādrugan*. For a similar differentiation in meaning, cf. *ræfnan* = 'to do, perform,' and 'to endure, suffer.' Cf. 1380, note.

165-167. See *Intro.*, p. lviii.

165. **galdorcræftum**. The first element of the compound means literally 'sound,' 'song,' then 'incantation,' 'magic incantation'; cf. *Beov.* 3052: *galdre bewunden*, 'protected by a spell,' of the treasure-hoard of the dragon. The word appears here to be generalized to the meaning merely of things evil or wicked; cf. 6, note; 34, note; 765-766, note.

167^a. So *Gu.* 875. — **sīo**. Hall, p. 67: 'The article in line 167 is treated as definite by Grein, but we have always felt that it had the indefinite value.' Lichtenfeld, *Haupt's Zs.* XVI (IV), 349, notices this passage but gives no further examples of the definite form with indefinite value. It seems best, however, to take **sīo** as Sievers does (*PBB.* XII, 192), not as indefinite, or as referring to the voice of the Lord, but to the voice of Andrew: 'then from the heavens

[i.e. in heaven by the Lord] his voice was heard, where the saintly man Andrew, in Achaia, was.' Cf. 1074: *him sēo wēn geldāh*, 'his hope deceived him.'

170. Cf. *Ap.* 31; *Dom.* 47: *lēode lāran*.

171. **cirebaldum**. The only occurrence of the word. The emendation **cynbaldum** is based on the emended reading *cynbalde* for the MS. *cyningbalde*, *Beow.* 1634; *cyne-* or *cyningbalde* occurs only in this passage. But cf. the compounds *cynērōf*, *cynegōd*. *Spr.* I, 180, glosses *cyrebeald* = 'strenuus arbitrii'; B.-T., 'bold in decision'; Sweet, *Dict.*, does not give the form **cirebald**. *Dicht.* translates: 'gegen den Kühnen da'; K., 'contrary to his text, 'to him royally bold'; Root, 'to him, that steadfast saint'; Hall, 'to him bold in decision.'

174. **ferð lādan**. Cf. 282, 430, and 337, note. Cf. also 216.

177. Cf. 25^b, note.

179^b. Cf. 1130^b; and *Jul.* 191-192: *gēn ic fēores þē unnan wille*.

180-181^a. Cf. *Beow.* 6-7: *syþþan ārest wearþ fēasceaft funden*.

184^b. So also 1038, 1357; *Jul.* 535, 625.

185. **fore**. Cf. Bonnet, p. 68: *ἐτι γὰρ τρεῖς ἡμέραι*. Note also 114. The *Legend*, p. 114, ll. 9-10, reads: 'and *ālāed* þanon Mathēum þinne brōþor of þām carcerne, for þon þe nū gīt þrȳ dagas tō lāfe syndon, þæt hie,' etc. The probable word in the hypothetical Latin original which **fore** translates is *adhuc*. It seems best to take it here as an adverb, not as Grein, *Spr.* I, 321, does, as a temporal preposition governing **niht**. The suggestion **ofer**, of Cosijn and Simons, does not suit the context; **ofer** means 'past,' 'gone by,' but twenty-seven days have gone by, not three, according to the narrative.

187. **gāst onsendan**. See 1326-1327, and note.

190. **ofer deop gelād**. So *Chr.* 856; *Gu.* 1266.

193. **swā ðū worde becwist**. Cf. 210, 304, 418.

194-195. The Edd. put no punctuation after **gefēran**, but a comma or an exclamation point after **heofenum**, except Kemble, who punctuates as in the text. Since **con** must go metrically in the first half-line, no punctuation after **heofenum** is permissible.

194. **ēað**. Here, as in 368^a, evidently comparative. The form **ēað**, as positive of the adv., recorded in *Spr.* I, 253, and B.-T., 236, is derived from the above-mentioned passages and *Gen.* 2058 and *Gu.* 528. But *Gen.* 2058 demands metrically *ēaðe*, and also the positive degree; *ēað* for *Gu.* 528 rests upon a false MS. reading, the MS. having *ēaðe* (cf. *Bibl.* III, 71). The only authentic passages for **ēað** are consequently these two in *Andreas*, both of which are comparative.

195^b. Cf. *Jul.* 112, *Metr.* XI, 30: *heofon ond eorðan ond (eall) holma begong*.

197. **waroðfaruða**. For similar riming compounds, e.g. *wordhord*, *eardgeard*, etc., see Kluge, *PBB.* IX, 423. See 236, note.

198. **wēgas ofer wīdland**. Cf. my note, *Mod. Phil.* II, 405: 'All the editors read *wīd land* with the MS.; Grein, however (*Germ.* X, 423), changes to *wīdland*. The whole phrase as understood by the editors and translators is out of keeping with the rest of the passage. Grein, *Dicht.*, translates: "die Wege über weite Lande"; Kemble, "ways over wide land"; Root, "the tracks across the boundless land"; Hall, "the ways o'er the wide-lands." But the word is appositive to and amplifies the *sāstrēamas*, *waroðfaruða gewinn*, and *waterbrōgan* of the preceding

lines, and can hardly mean "roadways on the dry land." It will be noticed also that in the succeeding lines, though the word *herestræta* occurs, it is limited by the phrase *ofer cald wæter*; the whole passage is consequently descriptive of journeyings by water.

The right understanding of the passage is dependent on the meaning of *widland*. As a compound this word is of frequent occurrence and means: (1) "dry land, terra firma," as distinguished from the ocean (cf. *Gen.* 1538: *wæter ofer widland*; and *Gen.* 155-156: *næron Metode þā gýt widlond ne wēgas nytte*); (2) "world, earth," in general (cf. *Chr.* 605: *welan ofer widlond*, "prosperity upon earth"). The second is the sense in which the word is used in the present passage. Again, *wēgas*, appositive to *sēstrēamas*, is the same word as *wēgas* in *Gen.* 156, nom. pl. of *wæg*, "fluctus, unda, mare." The usual spelling of the word in the *Andreas* is *wæg*, as e.g. *wāges*, 632, *wāgas*, 373, etc.; but the spelling *wēg* is found in the gen. pl. *wēga*, 932. Read also *wēges weard*, *An.* 601, "ward of the wave," not *weges weard* (*Spr.* II, 655, Hall), "ward of the way." — Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 9) would read *weras* for *winas*, and remarks: 'Hätte Andreas sagen wollen, dass er dort keine "freunde" hatte, so wäre þær vor *winas* unerlässlich.' But all the passage means to say is 'These stranger earls are not my familiar friends'; Root, 'These foreign men are not my trusty friends.'

200. herestræta. Originally meaning, from the main purpose of roads, 'a highway or paved road along which an army could pass,' this word became generalized in the sense 'highway,' 'road.' The extent of this generalization may be seen from the fact that the word may even be applied to 'water-way.' For a similar development, cf. *here-*, *herpað*.

201. ofer cald wæter. So *Chr.* 851; *Mald.* 91; cf. 222, 253.

204. So 211; *El.* 219-220; cf. *Ap.* 34: *sīðes sǣne*.

206. on foldwege. 'On earth'; cf. *Chr.* 1528-1529:

ondweard ne mæg
on þissum foldwege fēond gebidan.

Cf. 468, note, 501, note, for other examples of compounds in which the second element has lost its meaning.

208. under swegles gang. 'Beneath the circuit of the heavens,' 'on earth.' Cf. 455, 869. Cook, *Christ*, p. 179, notes *gyrus caeli*, *Eccles.* XXIV, 8; *meatus caeli*, Virgil, *Aen.* VI, 849; and *vias caeli*, *Georg.* II, 477. Cf. *Beow.* 860, 1773, under swegles begong.

210^b. So 1715; *Chr.* 1197; *Jul.* 223.

211-214. The Lord admonishes Andrew in such terms as a Saxon leader might use in addressing his followers. Cf. 89-99; and *Wand.* 65-69:

Wita sceal gepyldig,
ne sceal nō tō hātheort nē tō hrædwyrde,
nē tō wāc wiga nē tō wanhȳdig,
nē tō forht nē tō fægen nē tō feohgǫfre,
nē nǣfre gielpes tō georn, ær hē gearu cunne.

215. Grimm has a comma after *wyrðan*, all other Edd. a semicolon or period. **217^a.** Cf. 951; *Jul.* 215: of gramra gripe.

221. **æt meres ende.** Cf. *Ex.* 128: landes æt ende; *Beow.* 224: eoletes æt ende; *Whale* 15: sundes æt ende. Note also *Jud.* 272: *bā was hyra līres æt ende*, discussed by Shipley, p. 122.

232^a. So *El.* 244; cf. 513. The word **bæðweg** occurs also in *Ex.* 290. Cf. *fisces bæð*, 293; *ganotes bæð*, *Beow.* 1861; and Kipling, 'The Rowers':

They had no heart for the rally and roar,
That makes the whale-bath smoke—

224. **mīne.** For similar word-order, cf. 479^b.

225–229. An evident reminiscence of the homiletic style. See *Introd.*, p. lvii, and cf. 1686, note; *Ap.* 107–122, note.

226. **ūpengla fruma.** Cf. *Men.* 210: *ūpengla weard.*

227^b. So *Chr.* 647; cf. 978.

228–229. Cf. *Chr.* 1686–1687: *þider sōðfæstra sāwla mōtun cuman æfter cwealme*; *Gu.* 762–763: *Swā sōðfæstra sāwla mōtun in ēcne geard ūp gestigan*; *Gu.* 1066 and *Ph.* 645: *æfter līces hryre.*

230^b. Cf. *Beow.* 1312: *æðele cempa*, of *Beowulf*.

230–244^a. This passage is translated into English blank verse by Brother Azarias, *Development of Old English Thought*, p. 137.

233^a. So *Gu.* 926. — 233^b. **hildlata.** Not a weak adj. but a noun. The only other occurrence of the word is *Beow.* 2846.

234. **gearo, gūðe fram, tō Godes campe.** Translate 'Ready, valiant in battle, for God's combat.' M., B., W., and K. in his translation, put a comma after **gūðe**, W. remarking that as **fram** is an adj. and does not modify **gūðe**, it should be separated from it by punctuation. To this Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 9) responds that W.'s punctuation does not sufficiently take into account the caesura of the line. He therefore holds **gearo** and **tō godes campe** together, **gūðe fram** (= **hildfram** = **nalas hildlata**) being regarded as a second phrase. Although close syntactical concord is frequently broken by the caesura (see the examples cited under 7, note), in a verse of this type, $\times \times \mid _ \times _$, **gūðe fram** should have the value of a compound. Moreover (as Professor Fred. Tupper, Jr., points out) the usual idioms are **gearo tō** . . . , as in 1369; *El.* 23: *gearwe tō gūðe*, etc., and **from**, followed or preceded by its dependent noun without preposition, as in *Rid.* LXIII, 2: *forðsiðes from*; *Rid.* LXXIII, 27: *fēringe from*.

235 ff. Brooke, p. 170, says of this passage: 'Andrew, now steadfast, sets forth with the rising of the day, and the description of his path to the sea has often recalled to me the approach to the seashore, over the dunes of sand near Bamborough.' He adds, p. 415: 'The very verse has the dash and salt of the waves in it, and the scenery is Northumbrian. No one can mistake it for that of an East Anglian or a Wessex shore.'

235. **on uhtan mid ærdæge.** So 1388; *Beow.* 126; *El.* 105.

236. **waruðe.** The appropriate word here is undoubtedly *waroð*, 'shore,' and not *faroð*, 'sea.' This reading is supported by 238^a. On the confusion of *faroð* and *waroð* in Anglo-Saxon poetical texts, see my note, *Mod. Phil.* II, 405–406.

237^a. So *El.* 267; cf. *Jul.* 358: *þriste geþoncge*; *El.* 1285: *þristra geþonca*.

238. gagan. Construe as infinitive after *gewāt*, not as Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 9), noting *Beow.* 1009: *þæt tō healle gang Healfdenes sunu*, suggests, preterit plural in *-an*, or as dependent on *gewitun* understood. L. 237^b has syntactically the value only of a parenthetical or a prepositional phrase, and it is good idiom, in Modern English as well as Anglo-Saxon (see Sweet, *New English Grammar* II, 82–83), to make the verb agree only with the first subject when an additional subject is added as a tag; cf. *Beow.* 2341–2343: *Sceolde lāndaga æþeling ærgōd ende gebīdan . . . and se wyrm somod* (note also *Beow.* 431); *El.* 94–95: *þā þæt leoht gewāt, ūp sīðode, ond se ār somed, on clænra gemang*; Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 9, ll. 1–4: *ac sōna swā deōfol ongeat þæt mann tō ðām gescapen wæs, þæt hē scolde and his cynn gefyllan on heofonum þæt se deōfol forworhte ðurh his ofermōdignesse, þā wæs him þæt on myclan andan*; *Chronicle*, ed. Earle and Plummer, I, 141: *Hēr on þissum gēar sende se cyng ond his witan tō ðām here*; *ibid.*, p. 143: *forðan ðær wæs inne se cyning Æþelred ond þurkil mid him*. — **grēote.** A favorite word in *Andreas* (7 times), occurring only once (*El.* 835) in all *Cynewulf*.

240. wīdfæðme. Cf. *Beow.* 302: *sīdfæðmed scip*; 1917: *sīdfæðme scip*. Bonnet, p. 69: *πλοῦριον μικρὸν*; *Legend*, p. 116: *hē geseah scip on þām waroðe*, but later, *hwider wille gē faran mid þis medmiclum scipe?*

242. bēacna beorhtost. That is, the sun; Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 9) notes *Heliand* 545, where the phrase is used of the guiding star of the three kings. With **morgentorht** as compound adj., cf. **heofontorht**, 1018. Cf. *Beow.* 2777: *bēacna beorhtost* (of the *segn*, i.e. banner); *Chr.* 1085: *bēacna beorhtast* (of the cross).

243. After **heolstre**, Grimm, Kemble, and Wülker have no punctuation, Grein has a comma, Baskervill and Cook a semicolon. Since the construction changes here from **cōm** + infinitive to simple preterit, a semicolon seems necessary after **heolstre**; otherwise we should expect the infinitive **blīcan** instead of **blāc**. Grein puts a comma after **blāc**, but Grein² removes it, ‘*da blāc verbum ist.*’ Cf. 1541, note, for the meaning of **blāc**; and for the construction **becōm . . . blīcan**, see 788–789. — **heofoncandel.** The word occurs also in *Ex.* 115, with reference to the pillar of fire; *Chr.* 608, the sun and moon; *Wonders of Creation* 54, the stars. Cf. 372, note.

253. cēolum lācað. Cf. 256^b; *Chr.* 851: *ofer cald wæter cēolum liðan*.

255. fūs on faroðe. Cf. *Gu.* 918: *fūs on forðweg*; *Gu.* 773: *fūsne on forðweg*, etc.; *Beow.* 1916: *fūs æt faroðe*. — 255^b. **fægn.** Cf. Bonnet, p. 70: *ἐχάρη χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα*; *Legend*, p. 116: and *hē wæs gefēonde mid mycle gefēan and him tō cwæð*. Cosijn also calls attention to 602^b.

256. hwanon. Cf. also 258^b and 264^a. Bonnet, p. 70, reads: *Ποῦ πορεύεσθε*, etc., and in answer, *Πορεύεσθε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων*; *Legend*, p. 116: *hwider wille gē faran*, and the answer, the verb being omitted, *On Marmadonia ceastre*. Ll. 265–269 are additions of the poet. — 256^b. So *Chr.* 852; *Metr.* XXVI, 60: *cēole liðan*.

257. mācræftige. Cf. 472; these are the only two occurrences of **mā-**, compar. of *micel*, in compounds. The meaning of the word appears to be as Grein, *Spr.* II, 202, translates, ‘*praepotens, vor andern geschickt*,’ *Dicht.*, ‘*kraftvolle Männer*.’ Gm., note, says: ‘*Ich vermute ein altes subst. mā, synonym und wurzel*

von *mere*, **mācraeftig** = *mere craftig*'; so K., in his translation: 'men powerful on the sea.' Unfortunately no root *mā* = *mere* is recorded. Root translates 'men in seamanship expert'; Hall, 'ye expert mariners.'

258. āne āegflotan. Translate 'Whence have ye come sailing in ships, in this admirable vessel, valiant men, in your sea-rusher (ship)?' Grein, *Spr.* I, 65, glosses **āegflotan** as inst. sg., taking the phrase thus as appositive to **cēolum**, 256^b; so also Cook, and Root, 'Seafaring on your ocean-coursing bark, Your lonely ship.' All other Edd. take the phrase either as appositive to **gē**, 256^a, or as vocative; *Dicht.*, 'im Meeresboote als einsame Fischer'; K., as voc., 'solitary floaters over the wave,' Hall, 'lonegoing sailors.' But **āegflota** should mean 'ship,' not 'sailor'; cf. **flota**, 397; **sāflota**, 381; **wāgflota**, 487; *El.* 246; *Beow.* 1907. For the meaning 'admirable' for **ān**, cf. *Beow.* 1885: **þæt wæs ān cyning**. The Greek here reads (Bonnet, p. 70) *μετὰ τοῦ πλοίου τοῦ μικροῦ τοῦτον*.

259. ofer yða gewealc. So *Beow.* 464; *Edg.* 45; ymb yþa gewealc, *Seaf.* 46; atol yða gewealc, *Ex.* 455; *Seaf.* 6.

260. ælmihtl. Cf. *Chronicle*, Laud MS., 656, ed. Earle and Plummer, I, 30: ælmihti god; *Beow.* 218: fāmiheals; *Sat.* 33: hū hē þæt scyldi werud; *Gen.* 1463: hungri to handa; and so frequently.

261. swā þæt ne wiste. Translate 'Him then answered almighty God, as though He knew this not, He who awaited his words, what of men he [Andrew] was, of human kind [**medelhegendra**], whom He there at the sea-shore conversed with.' Grein, *Dicht.*, places ll. 261–263 within parentheses, translating **swā þæt** by 'wiewohl das nicht wusste, der des Wortes harrete,' etc. Kemble, Root, and Hall take **swā þæt** as conj. introducing a result clause, Hall remarking on **swā**, 'in such a way that Andrew did not suspect that it was God.' But the translators are certainly wrong in translating **swā þæt** by 'so that.' Omitting the parenthetical clause 261^b, **þæt** is seen to be the object of **wiste**, the clause **hwæt . . . wiðþingode** being appositive to it. As in 501, *Chr.* 850 (see *An.* 501, note), and *Beow.* 3050 (see Krüger, *PRB.* IX, 576–577), **swā** = 'as if.'

262. Cf. *El.* 902–903: Hwæt is þis, lā, manna, þe minne eft þurh fyrngesfit folgaþ wyrdeð? See 734, note; 885, note. Cf. *Ap.* 25, *Beow.* 233: hwæt þā men wæron; *Chr.* 574: hwæt se Hlāford is.

265. feorran geferede. So *El.* 992; cf. 1173, and *Beow.* 361: Hēr syndon geferede feorrancumene; *Sal.* 178: feorran gefered.

266. hranrāde. Literally, the 'whale-road'; the word occurs, beside the three passages in *Andreas*, in *Beow.* 10 and *Gen.* 205. Cf. *swanrād*, 196; *Beow.* 200; *El.* 997; *Jul.* 675; and see 223, note.

267. snellīc sāmearh. Cf. *Beow.* 690: snellīc sārīnc. — **snūde bewunden.** Cosijn bases his emendation on the lines, *Whale* 17–18:

cēolas standað
bi staþe fæste strēame biwunden.

But **sunde bewunden** is commonplace, whereas **snūde bewunden**, 'enwreathed with speed' (Brooke, p. 415), is quite in the manner of the poet of *Andreas*; cf. 19, 535, 772; *El.* 733: lēohte bewundene. *Snūd*, noun, occurs only in this passage; *snūde*, adverb, occurs a number of times.

271-276. Cf. 474-479. — Brooke, p. 416: 'The extreme naïveté of the demand for payment and the bargaining on the part of God, belong to the freshness of the morning of poetry, while the conversation supplies us with a clear picture of the manners and talk of travellers and seamen. We stand among the merchant carriers of the eighth century in England.' Neither the Greek nor the *Legend* have at this place the remark of Andrew that he has no money with which to pay his fare; but in both, immediately on stating his wish, he is invited to enter the ship, — without condition in the Greek, but the *Legend*, p. 116 (cf. *An.* 295-297), says: *Āstigað on þis scip tō ūs, and sellað ūs ēowerne færseat.* In both versions Andrew then explains that he is without money or other provision for the journey.

273. brante cēole. Cf. *Beow.* 238: *brontne cēol*; *EL.* 238: *bronte brimþisan*; and *Beow.* 2807: *brentingas* = 'ships.' Grimm, p. 103, takes the adjective to mean 'foaming,' 'rushing.' But cf. Icel. *brattr* (*Cleas.-Vig.*, p. 76), 'steep,' and dial. North-English *brant, brent* = 'steep.'

274. hēa hornseipe. The only occurrence of the word *hornscip*. Grein, *Spr.* II, 98, 107, calls attention to *hringedstefna*, 'ship,' *Beow.* 32, 1131, 1897, and to Icel. *Hringhorni*, the name of a ship (cf. *Cleas.-Vig.*, p. 285); cf. also *hringnaca*, *Beow.* 1862. — 274^b. So *Seaf.* 60.'

276. þæt. Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 9) regards *þæt* as equivalent to *gif*, and cites a second example from Boethius, ed. Fox, p. 234, l. 25. But the probable reading in the passage from Boethius is *þær*, as it is given in Sedgefield's edition (Oxford, 1899), p. 136, l. 26. According to Sedgefield's glossary, *þær* = *gif* occurs some 14 times in Boethius, but no example of *þæt* = *gif* is recorded. The clause *þæt . . . weorðe* is a noun clause, the subject of *bið* (or in apposition with the subject), or dependent on the verbal idea in *bið meorð*: 'God shall reward you that,' etc. (Kittredge). Cf. 480-483. — 276^b. Cf. *Ap.* 92^a.

279-360. Cf. Walker, pp. 350-351: 'And Jesus having heard Andrew saying, I too am going to the country of the man-eaters, says to him: Every man avoids that city, and how are you going there? And Andrew answered and said: We have some small business to do there, and we must get through with it; but if thou canst, do us this kindness to convey us to the country of the man-eaters, to which also you intend to go. Jesus answered and said to them: Come on board. And Andrew said: I wish to make some explanation to thee, young man, before we come on board thy boat. And Jesus said: Say what thou wilt. And Andrew said to him: We have no passage-money to give thee; we have not even bread for our nourishment. And Jesus answered and said to him: How, then, are you going away without giving us the passage-money, and without having bread for your nourishment? And Andrew said to Jesus: Listen, brother, do not think that it is through masterfulness that we do not give thee our passage-money, but we are disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, the good God. For He chose for Himself us twelve, and gave us such a commandment, saying, When you go to preach, do not carry money in the journey, nor bread, nor bag, nor shoes, nor staff, nor two coats. If, therefore, thou wilt do us the kindness, brother, tell us at once; if not, let us know, and we shall go and seek another boat for ourselves. And Jesus answered and said to Andrew: If this is the commandment which you

received, and you keep it, come on board my boat with all joy. For I really wish you, the disciples of Him who is called Jesus, to come on board my boat, rather than those who give me of their silver and gold; for I am altogether worthy that the apostle of the Lord should come on board my boat. And Andrew answered and said: Permit me, brother, may the Lord grant thee glory and honour. And Andrew went on board the boat with his disciples.'

286 ff. Again the poet heightens the statement of his original; cf. Bonnet, p. 70: Πρῶγμά τι μικρὸν ἔχομεν ἐκεῖ διαπράξασθαι; *Legend*, p. 116: Medmycel ærende wē þider habbað and ūs is þearf þæt wē hit þēh gefyllon.

293^b. Cf. *Runic Poem* 46: ofer fisces beþ; and see 223, note.

294^b-295^a. Cf. *Gu.* 1061-1062: þær min hyht myneð tō gesēcenne. þær = 'to which'; cf. 909, note.

297. All Edd. have a comma after **gescrifene**, except C., a semicolon; B. also has a comma after **āras** of his text, the other Edd. no punctuation.

298. **āras**. Reading **āra** with Gn.² (also *Dicht.* and *Spr.* II, 625), Cook, and apparently also Simons (the word **āras**, 298, is not given under *ār*, but see under *unnan*, p. 146), we should have to take **āra** as the genitive object of **unnan willað**. Thus Root translates 'so upon our bark the seamen will grant honor unto you.' But *ār*, 'honor,' hardly seems an appropriate meaning for the word in the present context.

In the light of the antithetic phrase, **āras on earde**, 400^a, it would seem almost necessary to retain the form **āras** in the present passage; cf. also 495^a. The word would thus be appositive to **scipweardas**, as in l. 400 it is appositive to **beornas**, 399^b. If we accept this reading the chief difficulty lies in the disposition of **unnan willað**. Kemble translates 'after ye your payment have given, the appointed sum, according as the ship-warders, the men over the sea-board, will grant to you'; Hall, 'and pay us the appointed tribute that the masters, messengers [following B.'s punctuation], demand o'er the ship's side.' Hall's treatment of **swā** as equivalent to a relative pronoun is supported by other examples, see B.-T., p. 940; but both Hall's 'demand' and Kemble's 'grant' (= appoint) are unauthorized meanings for **unnan**. Professor Kittredge suggests taking **unnan willað** as simply summing up and repeating what is said before, in 292 ff. The logical object of **unnan willað** is thus contained in **swā**, the antecedent idea of **swā** being the lines 292-297^b. Professor Bright regards **swā** as conjunctive adverb, and paraphrases the passage as follows: 'as the sailors (**āras**) will be willing to have you do, that is, will allow you to pay.' The phrase **unnan willað** he thinks may be a formula of polite expression; it occurs also in l. 146.

It seems best to regard **unnan willað** as referring especially to the paying of the fare and not to the general situation. The meaning of the verb phrase would be therefore 'agree to,' 'adjudge.' This meaning suits the context also in the parallel construction, where the statement, however, is negative, ll. 178-179. The meaning of **willað** in this construction appears to be less one of volition, desire, than of mere intention. This seems clearly the value of **unnan woldē**, 146; and cf. the three examples of the construction in the first person, 84, 458, 1412.

300. **wineþearfende**. So *Gu.* 1321.

301. **fæted.** A noun *fæt*, 'plate,' 'ornament,' occurs twice in *Beowulf*; the adjective *fæted* occurs, as simplex and in compounds, ten times. Beside the passages in *Andreas* and *Beowulf*, the word occurs elsewhere only twice, *Husband's Message*, l. 35: *fættan* (MS. *fædan*) *goldes*; and *Rid.* LII, 7: *fæted gold*.

302. **wīra gespann.** Cf. *El.* {1133-1134: *tēaras fēollon ofer wīra gespon*, spoken of Elene; *Gen.* 762: *hæft mid hringa gesponne*, i.e. 'in chains'; so also *Gen.* 377. *Beow.* 2413, speaking of the treasure of the fire-drake, reads *sē was innan full wrættā ond wīra*. Perhaps, as Professor Fred. Tupper, Jr., suggests to me, *fibulae* are meant. Numerous examples of Anglo-Saxon *fibulae* and armlets are figured in Akerman, *Archæological Index to Remains of Antiquity of the Celtic, Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Periods*, plates XVI, XVII, XVIII; in De Baye, *Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons*; and in Read, *A Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age in the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities* (of the British Museum), 1904, passim.

303. **landes nē locenra bēaga.** The half-line seems to have been taken over bodily from *Beow.* 2996:

sealde hiora gehwæðrum hund þūsenda
landes ond locenra bēaga.

The syntax of the phrase in *Andreas* is not clear. **Landes** cannot be a genitive after **gespann**, in the same construction with **wīra**. Schröer (*Eng. Stud.* X, 121) omitting **landes nē** would construe **locenra bēaga** as appositive to **wīra**. Sievers (*PBB.* X, 314), who regards the passage as corrupt, would apparently explain it in the same way; metrically he thinks both *landes ond* and **landes nē** are to be eliminated. Lines of similar structure, however, are found frequently in *Andreas*; cf. 51, 682, 779, 795, 796, etc. Shipley, p. 48, translates 'I have neither beaten gold nor treasure, riches nor food, nor ornaments of wire, (nought) of land nor closed rings.' As Shipley points out, this is the only instance in Anglo-Saxon poetry of *nabban* followed by the genitive; but for examples in the prose, see Wülffing I, 21. The 'nought' of Shipley's translation is supplied from the general negative statement of the preceding clause; and Professor Kittredge suggests that **landes nē locenra bēaga** is to be regarded as partitive genitive dependent on the negative idea of the sentence. It is possible, however, that the passage is a direct borrowing from *Beowulf* which was imperfectly assimilated into the logical and syntactical structure of the sentence in which it occurs. The extravagance of speaking of gifts of rings and of land is of course part of the general method of the poem; cf. *Introd.*, pp. li ff. With **locenra bēaga** cf. *hringloca*, 'corslet,' *Mald.* 145; *locene leoðosyrcan*, *Beow.* 1505, 1890; *gūðbyrne . . . hondlocen*, *Beow.* 322; *licsyrce . . . hondlocen*, *Beow.* 550.

305. **bolcan.** Also 602; the only other occurrence of the word in poetry is *Beow.* 231: *beran ofer bolcan*.

306. **waroða geweorp.** K. translates 'the dashing of the waves,' though he does not change his text to *faroða*. Gn., *Dicht.*, 'über des Ufers Gewerfe.' Cook suggests 'the smiting of the shores, perhaps meaning the plunging of the breakers.' Sweet, *Dict.*, glosses **waroða geweorp** by 'surf.' But cf. B.-T., *geweorp* = 'heap of earth thrown up by a beetle.' The picture here is of the

ridge or heap of sands at the sea-shore; the thought is continued in *sābeorgas*, 308^a, and *cald cleofu*, 310^a.

307. *þæs*. The construction is the accusative of the person to whom a thing happens, with the genitive of the thing that happens, both dependent upon *geweorðan*, as impersonal. Shipley, p. 42, points out similar constructions in *Beow.* 1598, 1996, 2026. — 307^b. So 1431^b; *Soul* 138.

308. *woldes*. Other forms with *-es* in the pret. sg. of the second person of weak verbs are *hæfdes*, 530; *feredes*, 1363; *forhogedes*, 1381. See *Gram.*, § 356 and notes.

310^b. So *Beow.* 1806.

313. After *dugoðe* K. puts a colon, all other Edd. a question-mark. — 313^b. Cf. *Chr.* 856: *wæs sē drohtað strong*, also of a (figurative) voyage. Cf. 1385.

314. *lange*. C. takes *lange* as adj. agreeing with *lagolāde*. So also the translations. But cf. 579, 1363, and translate 'The life is hard for him who for a long time goes on a water-journey.'

316. *wīs on gewitte*. See 552, and note. — *wordhord onlēac*. So 601; *Beow.* 259; *Metr.* VI, 1; *Wid.* 1.

320–323. Cf. *Beow.* 1384–1385: *sēlre bið æghwām þæt hē his freond wrece þonne hē fela murne*.

320. *sārewide*. All the translations take *sārewide* as inst. sg.; so also *Spr.* II, 391, and Cook, note, 'inst. sg. parallel with *mid oferhygdum*.' But the natural parallel is between *ondsware* and *sārewide*. Translate therefore as obj. of *sēce*. The prep. phrase *mid oferhygdum* modifies both nouns.

322. *cūðlice*. 'Kindly, friendly.' The following passages illustrate the meaning of the word: *hine sē Godes monn ūp hōf ond him cūðlice tō spræc* (*Bright, Reader*, p. 62, l. 12);

Ārās þā metodes þēow
 gastum tōgēanes, grētan ēode
 cuman cūðlice, cynna gemunde
 riht ond gerisno.

Gen. 2429–2432.

— *swā þæt Crist bebēad*. Apparently a general allusion to such passages as *Matt.* XXV, 35 ff.; *Heb.* XIII, 2, etc. The Greek and Anglo-Saxon prose quote an entirely different verse, *Matt.* X, 10; *Mark* VI, 9, at this place; the sense of the allusion in *Andreas* is implied, however, in the verse as quoted in the Greek and prose.

323^a. So 479^a; *Chr.* 457, 944; *Ex.* 363. — *his*. Cf. 1664, where the MS. reads *his* and the context demands *is*. Wülker inconsistently reads *his* in both passages.

324. Cf. *Beow.* 206: *cempan gecorone*; *Gu.* 769: *cempan gecorene*.

327. *swā hē*. Equivalent to 'who'; cf. 1514, *swā hit* = 'which.' — *ānes cræfte*. So *Jul.* 359; and cf. 525; *Chr.* 567: *ānes meahtum*; *ibid.* 685: *þurh his ānes cræft*.

328. *hefon*. O-umlaut of *e, i*, is regular in the *Andreas*, but is lacking here and in *breġo* (twice) and *werod* (twice); see Glossary.

329. *sigora sēlost*. Translate 'best' or 'most eminent in victories.' The phrase does not occur elsewhere. *Sigora sellend* occurs *Jul.* 668, 705, and *Panther* 64. *Sēlost* with the partitive genitives *beorna*, *folca*, *sigelēana*, and other

nouns, forming a phrase superlative, is of frequent occurrence. But **sigora** in the present passage (not recorded by Shipley, p. 78) is not a partitive genitive, but a genitive after a form of the word *gōd*. Cf. *Beow.* 269: wes þū ūs lārena gōd; *Seaf.* 40: ne his gifena þæs gōd; *Brun.* 47-48; hlihhan ne ðorfton ðæt hī beaduweorca beteran wurdon. Root, reading *sellend*, translates 'Giver of victory.' Professor Fred. Tupper, Jr., calls my attention to *Ex.* 433: sōðfæst sigora.

331. **geond ginne grund.** So *Wid.* 51, where it means 'over the spacious earth'; *Beow.* 1551: *under gynne grund*, 'beneath the wide earth' = into Hell?; *Jud.* 2: *in ðys ginnan grunde* = 'upon earth.' Cf. *Gen.* 134: *geond sidne grund*, 'over the broad earth.' K., 'beyond the abysmal deep'; but Hall, better, 'into all the world.'

332-339. This paraphrase is apparently made up from two passages, *Matt.* X, 5 ff., and *Mark* XVI, 14 ff. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 71, l. 14) reads: *καὶ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ἐντολὴν τοιαύτην, λέγων ὅτι πορευόμενοι κηρύσσειν μὴ βαστάζετε ἀργύριον ἐν τῇ ὁδοῦ μῆτε ἄρτον μῆτε πήραν μῆτε ὑποδήματα μῆτε βάβδον μῆτε δύο χιτῶνας.* Cf. *Chr.* 481-490 for a parallel to this passage:

Farað nū geond ealne yrmenne grund,
geond wīdwegas; weoredum cȳðað,
bodiað ond brēmað beorhtne gelēafan,
ond fulwiað folc under roderum;
hweorfað tō [hæðnum], hergas brēotaþ,
fyllað ond fēogað; fēondscype dwæscað,
sibbe sāwað, on sefan manna,
þurh meahta spēd. Ic ēow mid wunige
forð on frōfre, ond ēow friðe healde
strengðu staþolfæstre on stōwa gehwære.

The excellent emendation *hæðnum* for the MS. *heofonum*, l. 485, was suggested by Strunk, *MLN.* XVII, 186.

333. Cf. *Beow.* 1221-1224:

Hafast þū gefēred þæt ðē feor ond nēah
ealne wīdeferhþ weras ehtigað
efne swā side swā sæ bebūgeð
wīndge [e]ardweallas.

Beow. 92-93: se ælmihtiga eorðan worhte . . . swā wæter bebūgeð; *Men.* 230: swā bebūgeð gebod.

334. **stedewangas strāte gelicgaþ.** Cosijn reads *stedewanga*, gen. pl., 'denn die ganze welt sollten sie durchziehen.' But the advantages of this reading hardly justify changing the text. This is the only instance of **gelicgað** as a transitive verb. The prefix **ge-** makes the intrans. **licgað** trans. (Bright). Cf. 774, 1234.

335^a. Cf. *Ex.* 510: bodigean æfter burgum. — 335^b. So *Gu.* 770; cf. lēohte gelēafan, *Ap.* 66, and note.

336. **freoðo healde.** Cf. also 915, 1432; *Chr.* 489; *Gu.* 281; *Gen.* 2528. For other examples of *healdan* with inst., cf. *Beow.* 296, 1182: ārum healdan; with gen., cf. *Mald.* 41: ēow friðes healdan.

337^b. Cf. *Beow.* 37: frætwa gelæded.

339. **āhwette**. Cook, p. 217, 'āhwette = supply, not the normal sense of the word.' See 303 for an example of the usual sense.

343. **ēce**. The MS. **ēce** is interpreted by Wülker as meaning **æce**; for examples of the form **æce**, see *Spr.* I, 230. Cf. also l. 89, where the MS. reads **segl**. But the usual spelling of the MS. is **e**, **ē**, and there is no indication that the hook, or reversed cedilla, is here used to signify the digraph. In **æglēawe**, *Ap.* 24, **æ** is written for **e**.

348^b. Cf. *Beow.* 352, *Gen.* 2357: swā þū bēna eart; *Beow.* 3140: swā hē bēna wæs; *Gen.* 2248: swā ic bēna wæs; *Beow.* 364: Hȳ bēnan synt.

352^a. Cf. *Panther* 8: sealtȳþa geswing.

356. **worulde**, **wuldre**. This obvious antithesis of **woruld** and **wuldor**, the latter word being used in the generalized sense of 'heaven,' occurs less frequently than one would expect. The only other examples are l. 948, and *Gu.* 370; *wuldor* in *Christ and Satan* 59 has a different meaning. See my note, *Mod. Phil.* II, 407.

358^a. Cf. **on þām siðfæte**, 1662; also *Ex.* 521; *Rid.* XLIV, 7; *Vision of the Cross* 150; **tō ðyssum siðfæte**, *Beow.* 2639; **tō þām siðfæte**, *Hy.* IV, 102; of **ðām siðfæte**, *Jud.* 336.

359. **helmwearde**. The change is necessary in l. 396 and extremely probable in the present passage. All the translations follow the MS. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 72, l. 12) reads: *καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐκαθέσθη παρὰ τὸ ἴσθιον τοῦ πλοίου*; the Anglo-Saxon prose (*Legend*, p. 117, l. 2): and hē gesæt beforan þām stēorrēþran þæs scipes, þæt was Drihten Hælend Crīst.

360. **æðele be æðelum**. For other examples of repetition of the same word within the half-line, cf. 615, 620, 738, 1012. Kluge, *PBB.* IX, 426-427, collects further instances throughout the poetry. For examples of the opposite device, the avoidance of the repetition within the half-line, cf. 138, note. — **Æfre ic ne hȳrde**. Cf. *Beow.* 38-39: ne hȳrde ic cymlicor cēol gegyrwan hildewæpnum and heaðowædum; *El.* 240-242: Ne hȳrde ic sið nē ær on ēgstrēame idese lædan on merestræte mægen fægrrre. Cf. *Beow.* 1842-1843, quoted ll. 505^b-509, note.

362. Kemble has no punctuation after **hēahgestreōnum**, and translates 'Never heard I that in a comelier ship laden with lofty treasures men sat, glorious kings, beauteous thanes.'

364 ff. On this passage Brother Azarias (*Development of Old English Thought*, p. 137) remarks: 'This is a reminiscence of the saga of Woden playing the ferryman to deliver men from danger.' On 987 ff., he says (p. 138): 'Here is the work of the mythical tam-cap without the name.' And on 1258, **hāre hildstapan**, he says (p. 139): 'Here is more than personation. "Rime and frost, hoary warriors": these were real gods in the Northern mythology. But Andrew suffers not; his wounds are healed before morning, as were the wounds of the heroes of old in the Northern sagas.' But the motives of the poem were all derived from the source, and it is doubtful if they suggested to the poet any parallels to Norse mythology.

365. **heht his engel gān**. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 72, l. 14) adds: *καὶ ἀνένεγκε τρεῖς ἄρτους* — a loaf for each of the strangers.

366. **mærne maguþegn**. Cf. *Beow.* 2079: *mærum maguþegne*, of Hondscio, follower of Beowulf.

367. frēfran fēasceaftē. Cf. 365, note. Cf. *Chr.* 175: āfrēfran fēasceaftne; l. 368: āfrēfre fēasceaftē. But Andrew's disciples do not eat, cf. l. 385. This incident is omitted in the prose *Legend*.

369^b-381. Cook, p. 219, note 3, says: 'There is no hint of any extraordinary commotion, much less of a storm, in the original. Of all this long description there is nothing except, "They were troubled because of the sea."' Brooke, p. 416: 'The storm is now described in words that come, one after another, short, heavy, and springing, like the blows of the waves, and the gusts of wind. We know as we read that the writer has seen the thing.' Cf. 427, note.

370. hornfisc. The only occurrence of the word. Cf. *Beow.* 540: wit unc wið hronfixas werian þōhton. Possibly we should read *hronfisc* in the present passage. But cf. Icel. *hornfiskr* (Danish *hornfisk*), and *horngæla*, 'the garfish or greenbone' (Cleas-Vig., p. 279).

371^a. Cf. *Beow.* 515: *glidon ofer gārsecg*, of swimmers in the sea. — **se grāga mæw.** The mew or sea-gull, frequently mentioned in the verse. The name (Germ. *möwe*, Icel. *mār*) was perhaps originally imitative of the cry of the bird (Whitman, "The Birds of OE. Literature," in *Jour. of Germ. Phil.* II, 180).

372. wedercandel. The word occurs again, *Ph.* 187; cf. also *wedertācen*, *Gu.* 1267, and *wederes blāest*, *An.* 837, both in the sense of 'sun.' See also **wederburg**, 1697, note. The word **candel**, to the modern mind an anticlimax after 'sun,' to the Anglo-Saxon mind must have connoted dignified ideas. The word was ecclesiastical in origin and was introduced into English early after the conversion to Christianity. Its use in poetic compounds evidently reflects some of its sacred character; cf. *NED.* s.v. 'candle,' and *Rom. and Jul.* III, v, 9: 'Night's candles are burnt out.' Cf. *heofoncandel*, 243; *dægcandel*, 835; Godes condelle, *Ph.* 91.

374. gurrōn. Glossed by Grein and B.-T. under *georran*, but the more probable infinitive is *gierran*, *gyrran* (cf. *Gram.*, § 388, note 1, and Sweet, *Dict.*, p. 75). The only other occurrence of the word is in Ælfric's *Grammar* (cf. B.-T., p. 428), *ic gyrrē*, 'garrō.'

375. wādo gewætte. Gm., translating 'vadum madefiebat, replebatur aquis,' and Gn., *Dicht.*, 'wogen schwollen,' take **wādo** as nom. pl. of *wæd* = 'wave, ocean.' K., followed by Hall, 'wet with the waters'; Root, 'dripping with the waves'; and Brooke, p. 171, 'wet with breaking sea,' understand the form as inst. sg. of the same word. But, as Cosijn points out, the inst. form is *wæde*, and even **wæde gewætte** is not a plausible reading. Cosijn's *wada gewælte* fits the context but involves too great a departure from the MS. forms. B., B.-T. (s.v. *wæd*), and Simons, p. 148, take **wādo** as nom. pl. of *wād*, 'sail, cordage.' The present passage is the only occurrence of *wād* in this sense, except in the glosses; but the following examples place the meaning beyond a doubt: *W. W.* 5, 44, *antemne*, *wæde* (cf. 6, 1, *antenna*, *seglgærd*); *W. W.* 450, 33, *mataxa*, *wæde*; *W. W.* 515, 15, *rudentibus* (*indisruptis*), *wæderapum* (*untoslitenum*). Cf. also Icel. (Cleas-Vig., p. 683) *vað*, 'a piece of stuff, cloth,' metaph. 'a fishing-net,' and in poetry 'a sail,' with compound *vāð-hæfr*, adj., 'fit for sail.' **Wādo gewætte** is accordingly nom. pl., and, as we should expect, a parallel phrase to **strengas**, 374^b. For the pret. part. form **gewætte** instead of *gewæted*, cf. *Gram.*, § 402, 2. — Grimm,

Grein, and Wülker have only a comma after *gewætte*, the other Edd. a semicolon. — **stōd**. Cook, p. 219, note 6: 'A peculiar use of *standan* to indicate motion rather than rest. In Mod. Eng. this general sense is represented in phrases like "stand back," "stand off from shore," "stand up," "stand out," etc.' The examples are numerous: *Beow.* 726: him of ēagum stōd . . . lēoht unfæger; *Chron.* 892 (Parker MS.): men cwēpaþ on Englisc þæt hit sie feaxede steorra forlǣm þær stent lang lēoma of; *Finnessb.* 37: swurdlēoma stōd. Cf. the similar development in *licgan* = 'extend,' 'flow,' said, for example, of rivers and bodies of water.

376. þrēata þrýðum. Brooke, p. 171, 'with the strength of armies.' 'This seems an impersonation almost too fine for so early a time. It is quite in the manner of the modern imagination. It is Kemble's translation, and Grein's is more probable, though I do not like to surrender the other — "Mächtig durch die Massen." ' Root, 'with the might of multitudes'; Hall, 'the waves in battalions mast-high mounted.' An even more dramatic personification is that of ll. 443-445.

377^b-380. Cf. *Beow.* 691-692: Nænig heora þöhte, þæt hē þanon scolde eft eardlufan æfre gesēcean; cf. also *Beow.* 1596-1599.

381. sund wísode. Cf. 488.

382. holmwege. The only occurrence of the word. Should one read here *wæg* = *wæg* (cf. l. 601), the compound meaning 'sea-wave'? But cf. *beð*, *flōð*, *flōtweg*, and *brimrād*.

383. ārgeblond The only occurrence of this word and its companion forms, *ārýð*, 532, and *ārwela*, 853. *Argeblond* is glossed by Gn., *Spr.* I, 37, 'remorum commixtio, mare remis turbatum,' *ārýð*, *Spr.* I, 39, 'unda remis pulsata,' and *ārwela*, 'divitiae remorum, mare.' B.-T., and Sweet, *Dict.*, follow *Spr.*; so also Cook. Professor Hart makes the unquestionably correct suggestion that *argeblond* = *eargeblond* (*ārýð* = *earýð*, *ārwela* = *earwela*), as in *El.* 239; *Brun.* 26; *Metr.* VIII, 30. The fanciful combinations of *ār* = 'oar' with *geblond*, *ýð*, and *wela*, as they occur only in these passages in *Andreas*, may therefore be dropped from the dictionaries.

387^a. So *Gu.* 565, 581; *Dan.* 409.

393. geofon geōtende. Cf. *Beow.* 1690: gifen geōtende; and see 1508, 1585. —

grund. The sense demands here, as in l. 425, the meaning 'deep sea, ocean.' *Spr.* I, 531, cites as the only other example of this meaning *Beow.* 1551: *under gynne grund*; but cf. 331, note. *Sægrund*, however, occurs, *Beow.* 564, and elsewhere, and *wætergrund* once, *Ps.* CVI, 23. Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 10) cites a gloss (*Blickl. Gl.* p. 258): *grund*, 'profundum,' *grundas*, 'abys(s)os, -i.'

394^a. So 1529^a; *Chr.* 168.

395^a. So *El.* 138, 1292; *Ex.* 101, 300; cf. l. 1571. — **395^b**. Cf. *Gu.* 1170: *mōd-geþanc miclum gebisgad*.

396. helman. See l. 359, note.

405-414. The response of Andrew's disciples in the Greek is as follows (Bonnet, p. 74, ll. 7-8): 'Εὰν ἀποστῶμεν ἀπὸ σοῦ, ξένοι γενόμεθα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἃν παρέσχηεν ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος. νῦν οὖν μετὰ σοῦ ἔσμεν ὅπου δ' ἂν πορεύῃ. The *Legend* (p. 117, ll. 11-13) reads: Gif wē gewitað fram þē, þonne bēo wē fremde fram eallum þām gōdum þe þū ūs gearwodest; ac wē bēoð mid þē swā hwyder swā þū færest. The passage in *Andreas* is not, therefore, as is stated by Hall, p. 75, and Cook, p. 221, entirely

original with the poet; its feeling, however, for the *comitatus*, the ideal of allegiance to an over-lord, is original with the poem. For a discussion of the *comitatus*, see l. 3, note, and *Intro.*, p. lii. Tacitus, *Germania* 14, tells us that among the Germans it was considered the greatest disgrace for a retainer to survive his leader: 'Jam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum, superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse.' And the same motive appears in the reproach which Wiglaf addresses to the cowardly followers of Beowulf:

Nū sceal sincþego and swyrdgifu,
 eall ēðelwyn ēowrum cynne,
 lufen ālicgean: londrihtes mōt
 þære mægburge monna āghwylc
 idel hweorfan, syððan æðelingas
 feorran gefricgean flēam ēowerne,
 dōmlēasan dæd! Dēað bið sēlla
 eorla gehwylcum þonne edwitlif.
 ll. 2884-2891.

See also *Mald.* 220-252 ff.

406. **gōde orfeorme.** Also l. 1617; *Jud.* 271; *Mod.* 49. Cosijn quotes the Greek, see 405-414, note. *Dicht.* translates 'gottverlassen'; Kemble, 'of good devoid'; Root, 'forsaken quite by God'; Hall, 'God-forsaken.'

408-409. Cf. *Chr.* 193^b-195^a: scyle mānswara lāþ lēoda gehwām lifgan sibþan, fracoð in folcum.

410. **æht besittaþ.** Equivalent syntactically to *eahtiaþ*, of which the following clause may be considered the object. The same phrase occurs l. 608 and *El.* 473.

412. **hlāforde æt hilde.** The scansion of the half-line is $\underline{\text{L}}\underline{\text{N}}\underline{\text{X}}\underline{\text{X}} | \underline{\text{L}}\underline{\text{X}}$; according to Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik*, § 85, note 2, the only other occurrence of a trisyllabic word of the form $\underline{\text{L}}\underline{\text{N}}\underline{\text{X}}$ as the first element of a line of this type is *Gu.* 602: gæstlicne goddrēam, $\underline{\text{L}}\underline{\text{N}}\underline{\text{X}} | \underline{\text{L}}\underline{\text{N}}$.

414. **nearu.** Cf. *Beow.* 2594: nearo ðrowode. The acc. sg. is regularly *-e*, exceptionally (Sievers, *PBB.* I, 493) *-u*, *-o*, in *Mald.* 48, *Beow.* 2350 (to which add *Beow.* 2594), and the present passage.

416^b. So l. 1497^b; *El.* 723.

421. **ofer fealuwne flōd.** Cf. *Beow.* 1950: ofer fealone flōd. 'The most common use of *fealo* is in connection with water. . . . But the various passages in which the sea is referred to as fallow flood, seem to be more conventional and to introduce the word, in part, perhaps, because of the convenient alliteration. I hardly think that in these passages the word means dusky, as is sometimes suggested, but perhaps yellowish green, a common color in the English and Irish channels.' Mead, "Color in Old English Poetry," *Pub. of MLA.* XIV, 198-199.

424. **sund is geblonden.** Preserving the MS. reading. K. translates 'the sand is mixed together, the abyss with the strand.' Hall, and Brooke, p. 171, follow K. Reading **sund**, Gn., *Dicht.*, translates 'die Flut ist gemengt, der Grund mit dem Griesse.' Wülker remarks that the change from **sand** to **sund** is unnecessary, 'wie schon v. 425, **grund wið grēote** hätte beweisen können.' But **grund** is appositive to **sund**, and as **grund** can mean here only 'ocean' (see 425, note) its evidence bears quite the other way. Cf. the parallel picture, *Beow.* 212:

strēamas wundon, sund wið sande. *Gu.* 1308, *sondlond gespearn, grond wiþ grēote*, is not a parallel, as it describes the landing of a boat on shore. *El.* 251, *sande bewrecene*, should surely read *sunde bewrecene*, since the boats here were not beached, but were riding at anchor.

425. grund wið grēote. For *grund* = 'ocean, deep,' cf. l. 393, note. With *grēote* = 'shore,' cf. runic inscription (*Bibl.* I, 282), þær hē on grēut giswom.

425^b-426. Cf. *Beow.* 478^b-479: God ēaþe mæg bone dolscaðan dæda getwæfan; *Chr.* 173-174: God ēaðe mæg gehwælan hygesorge. Cf. also l. 933; and *Beow.* 2764: sinc ēaðe mæg . . . gumcynnes gehwone oferhigian.

426. heaðoliðendum. The word occurs twice elsewhere, *Beow.* 1798 and 2955 (appositive to *sæ-mannum*). The first element appears as simplex in *Beow.* 1862: sceall hring-naca ofer heaþu bringan lāc ond luf-tācen. But cf. *Beow.* 2477, *ofer heafo*, 'over the ocean.' *Gm.*, p. 106 (so also *Spr.* II, 40, B.-T., p. 523), explains the word as derived from *heahþo*, 'altitudo,' and distinguishes from *heaþo*, 'bellum,' which he says would give the meaning 'piratae.' But Kluge (*PBB.* IX, 190) would change *Beow.* 1862, *heaþu*, to *heafu*, pl. of *haf* (as in *Beow.* 2477), and rejects the explanation *heahþo* = *heahþo*, since the form in compounds should be *hēaþo*. He would read therefore *heahþoliðende* = 'kampfseefahrer'; so also Sweet, *Dict.*, 'war-sailor, sea-warrior.' But neither argument is conclusive; the meaning 'sea' for *heaþo*-, however, may be accepted as certain.

427. It is not until this point in the narrative in the Greek version that the boat is cast loose from land; cf. Bonnet, p. 74, ll. 13-14: Καλ εὐθὺς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῶν ἀγγέλων, Ἀπόλυσον τὸ πλοῖον. The *Legend* does not state clearly when the voyage begins.

428. wuldorspēdige. The only occurrence of the adj.; but cf. *Gen.* 87: *setl wuldorspēdum welig*, of heaven.

429. Gē þæt gehogodon. Cf. *Beow.* 632: ic þæt hogode þā ic on holm gestāh.

430. fāra folc. Cf. l. 1060^a.

432. Ælmyrena. There is nothing in the Greek or the *Legend* to correspond to this name. The word is an adjective used as noun, the first element *æl* = *eal* (cf. *ælmihlig*, *ælwihle*, etc., for the form *æl*), with the value of an intensive, the second element the adjective *myrce*, 'dark,' 'black'; cf. *alfæle*, 'very poisonous.' It means here Ethiopians. Cf. *Ap.* 64: *mid Sigelwarum*, which corresponds to *apud Aethiopiam*, in Bede's martyrology, as the seat of Matthew's labors. *Sigelware* is also used with the same meaning in *Ps.* LXXI, 9; LXXXVI, 3; and *Ex.* 69. See note to *Ap.* 64. It is evidently from this traditional source which ascribes Africa or Ethiopia to Matthew as his mission that the poet has drawn the inference that the action of the story of Andrew and Matthew took place in the land of the Ethiopians. For a discussion of the probable situation of Mermedonia, see *Introd.* p. lxvi.

436. geðyð ond geðreatod. Cf. l. 520; and *Sal.* 533: geðyð hīe [i.e. wæstmas] ond geðreatað. For *geðyð*, contract verb, cf. *Gram.*, § 408, note 18.

438 ff. See *Mark* IV, 36 ff.

439^b. So *Beow.* 507.

442. bordstæðu. 'The cordage' or 'rigging.' This is the only occurrence of the word; it is glossed in all the dictionaries (except Simons, p. 17, 'schifftau')

as 'shore.' But, as Cosijn points out (*PBB.* XXI, 10), 'sea-shore' does not satisfy the demands of the context, since the boat is now in the open sea. Brooke, p. 171, guesses 'bulwarks.' The right meaning, however, is indicated by Ælfric's glossary, *nomina navium et instrumenta earum* (*W.W.* I, 288, 26), where *stæb* is glossed 'safon.' *Safon*, *saphon* (according to DuCange) = *funis in prora*. The word must be taken as a synonym of *strengas*, 374, *wædo*, 375. The first element of the compound would mean 'ship,' the whole word 'the rigging of the ship.'

443. *ȳð ððerre*. Cf. *Metr.* XXVI, 29-30: *stunede sīo brūne ȳð wið ððre*; and Psalm XLII, 7: 'deep calleth unto deep.' Cf. 138, note.

444^b-445^a. The suggestion for the picture was found in the original; cf. Bonnet, p. 75, ll. 3-4: *καὶ ἀνέμου μεγάλου γενομένου καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης κυμαιομένης, ὥστε τὰ κύματα ὑψωθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῷ ἰστίῳ τοῦ πλοίου*; *Legend*, p. 117, l. 22: *fram þām winde wæs geworden swā þæt þā selfan ȳþa wæron āhafene ofer þæt scip*. A similar but much weaker personification is found in *Beow.* 783-784:

Norð-Denum stód
atelic egesa āna gehwylcum.

445. *ȳðlid*. Cf. the parallel, *ofer ȳðbord*, l. 298. Gm., reading *ȳðlið*, translates 'undarum iter, via'; so also Gn., *Dicht.*, 'Schrecken oft am Seeweg'; but *Spr.* II, 767, 'navigium, navis.'

448^a. So *Dan.* 725^b.

449. *tō mærum*. 'At the hands of the Lord,' as in *Chr.* 773: *Utan ūs tō Fæder freoþa wilnian*. For other examples, see *Spr.* II, 539. Professor Kittredge calls attention to the idiom *on . . . niman*, in which the equivalent phrase in MnE. would demand 'from' (see *Spr.* II, 297, for examples), and the construction to 'ask at' a person (see *NED.* s.v. 'ask'). Cf. further *et . . . findan*, e.g. *Jul.* 658-659: *þær gē [frōfra] āgūn æt mægna Gode*; *El.* 1215: *æt þām bisceope bōte findan*; *An.* 908: *milts æt mærum*. For similar constructions with verbs of seeing, hearing, etc., see Sievers, *PBB.* XII, 189. See also Wūlfing, II, 321, s.v. *wilnian*.

451. Wülker has no punctuation after *ēadgifa*, all other Edd. a comma or semicolon.

453. *sessade*. The only occurrence of the word. A noun *sess*, 'seat,' occurs *Beow.* 2717 and 2756.

454. *Ðā ūre mōd āhlōh*. Cf. *Beow.* 730: *þā his mōd āhlōg*; *Sal.* 178: *nāfre ær his ferhþ āhlōg*. Buttenwieser, p. 49, calls attention to the similar idiom in Icel. (*brymskwifa*, 31):

Hló Hlorriþa
hugr i briósti.

Cf. l. 140, note.

455. *gesēgon*. An Anglian form; cf. *Gram.*, § 391, 2, note 7.

457^b. So *Gen.* 2590.

458. Cf. *El.* 574: *ic ēow tō sōþe secgan wille*.

458-460. Cf. *Beow.* 572-573; *Wyrd oft nereð unfægne eorl, þonne his ellen dēah*. Probably the same formula stood in *Rid.* LXXIII, 9, where the phrase *gif his ellen dēag* remains in an otherwise corrupt passage. Cf. also *Fæd.* 48: *ā*

þē bið gedǣled, gif þē dēah hyge; *Gen.* 1287–1288: Drihten wiste þæt þæs æðe-
linges ellen dohte; *Rid.* LXII, 7: Gif þæs ondfengan ellen dohte; *Sat.* 283–284:
Forþon mæg gehycgan, se ðe his heorte dēah, þæt hē him āfirre frēcne geþohtas.
Grimm, p. xlii, and Fritzsche, p. 44, note *Hildebrandslied* 55: *ibu dir din ellen*
taoc. Cook (*MLN.* VIII, 59) cites numerous examples of the formula in Latin
literature, from which the MnE. proverb, 'Fortune favors the brave,' appears
to have been derived. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 75, l. 8) has nothing corresponding
to 460^b: ὁ γὰρ κύριος Ἰησοῦς οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπη ἡμᾶς. Perhaps the poet may have
had in mind, however, Psalm XXXVII, 25 ff., and similar passages.

On these passages Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 236, remarks as follows:
'Fate, says Beowulf, as he tells of his battle with the sea-monsters [*Beow.* 572 ff.],
fate often saves a man *if he have plenty of courage.*

Oft Wyrð preserveth
undoomed earl, — if he doughty be.

The same idea and the same phrase, with very slight change, passed into the
Christian poetry of our ancestors, and have since become a commonplace.' See
1612, note. A somewhat similar sentiment is that of *Hy.* I, IV, 116–117 (*Bibl.* II,
223):

Gōd biþ þæt, þonne mōn him sylf ne mæg
wyrð onwendan, þæt hē þonne wel þolige.

461. The whole line occurs again in *Gu.* 484.

463^a. So 879; *Gu.* 147.

464. Cf. l. 820, and *Beow.* 644–646: oþþæt semninga sunu Healfdenes sēcean
wolde æfenræste; *Beow.* 1640–1641, oþðæt semninga tō sele cōmon frome
fyrdhwate.

468. **gryrehwile.** Although the second element of this compound usually
carries with it the signification of 'time,' the first element here appears to bear all
the meaning of the word — 'fright, terror.' Sievers (*PBB.* XVIII, 406) discusses
similar compounds, e.g. *earfoðþræg*, *earfoðþhwil*, with the value merely of *earfoð*;
Beow. 2427, *orleghwila*, equivalent to the gen. pl. of *orlege*; *Beow.* 2709, *sighwila*,
equivalent to the gen. pl. of *sige*; and points out similar compounds with other
expressions of time, e.g. OHG. *sioh-tago*, 'sickness,' MHG. *wē-tac*, *wē-tage*, 'pain,
sorrow.'

470^a. Cf. l. 552, note. — 470^b. Cf. l. 671; *Jul.* 79: ferþlocan onspēon; *El.* 86:
hreðerlocan onspēon.

471–474. Cf. ll. 493–495, note; ll. 553–554, note.

474–476. Cf. *Beow.* 426–428: Ic þē nūðā, brego Beorht-Dena, biddan wille,
eodor Scyldinga, ānre bēne.

478. Grimm and Baskervill put a period after **fætedsinces.**

480. **gōdne.** The strong form after **þinne** because the word is detached from
its syntactical group? Professor Kittredge suggests that the adj. is strong because
it is here felt as an appositive to **þinne frēondscipe.**

483. **ēste wyrðest.** The metre confirms the reading **ēste**, as in *Gen.* 1509:
þā him ealra wæs āra ēste ælmihtig God; and *Beow.* 945: þæt hyre eald metod
ēste wære.

484. *cræftes nēosan*. Cf. *Ap.* 103.

487. *bestēmdon*. The spelling *-on* for *-an* finds a parallel in *bruconne*, l. 23.

489. *on gifēde*. This is the only occurrence of the phrase. The context favors *on geofone*, appositive to *on sēbāte*, 490^b; cf. also τὴν θάλασσαν of the Greek version, l. 490, note. For the meaning 'fate, lot, chance,' for *gifēde*, cf. *Beow.* 3085: *wæs þæt gifēde tō swið, þe ðone [þeodcynig] þyder ontyste*.

490. *syxtýne sīðum*. Cf. Bonnet, p. 75, ll. 17-18: *ἐξκαιδέκατον γὰρ ἐπλευσα τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἰδοὺ τοῦτο ἐπτακαίδέκατον*. In spite of this, Brooke, p. 172, remarks: 'Then, either because the poet wishes to give local color and invents voyages for Andrew, or, as I would fain believe, introduces his own personal experience of the deep and imputes it to Andrew, he tells how he has been sixteen times at sea, and contrasts these old journeys with his present one'; also, p. 414, 'There is even a personal touch, as I believe, in one passage, which speaks of his having been sixteen times on sea-journeys.' Hammerich-Michelsen, *Aelteste christl. Epik.*, pp. 99-100, translates this passage, ll. 489-505, remarking: 'stehet der Herr Jesus nicht hier ungefähr ebenso am Bord, wie in dem Tagen des Heidenthums Thor oder Odin, wie im Mittelalter, der heilige Olaf?' Cf. l. 364 ff., note.

491-492. Translate 'I . . . cold as to my hands stirring the water-streams.' *Mundum frēorig* is paralleled by *Ph.* 86: *feðrum strong*, and by *Ph.* 100: *feðrum wolonc* (Bright). *Mundum* is to be regarded as a dative of specification. *Frēorig* is nom. sg. masc., agreeing with *ic*, 489^a, and *hrērendum* is dat. pl., agreeing with *mundum*. Cf. *Wand.* 4: *hrēran mid hondum hrīncealdesæ*; *Chr.* 677-678: *sundwudu drīfan, hrēran holmþræce*.

492. *is ðys āne mā*. 'Is this once more.' Grein's translation, *Dicht. and Spr.* I, 32, 'doch ist dies ein grösser' (*āne* taken as nom. sg. neut. weak) does not give the necessary meaning of one journey more, a seventeenth. Cook, p. 226, translates 'this makes another journey,' construing *āne* as Grein does; so also Root and Hall. Kemble translates 'this is once more.' As there is no reason why *āne* should be inflected weak, Kemble's interpretation of *āne* as instrumental adverb is to be preferred; *syxtýne sīðum*, l. 490^a, is to be understood as adverbial, 'sixteen times' (cf. *ōðre sīðe* etc.), rather than 'on sixteen journeys.' Cf. *Ps.* LXVIII, 4:

Hiora is mycle mā þonne ic mē hæbbe
on hēafde nū hāra feaxes.

493. *Swā = swā þeah*.

493-495. Cf. ll. 498-499; *Beow.* 247^b-249^a: *Nāfre ic mārān geseah eorla ofer eorþan ðonne is ēower sum, secg on searwum*; *Jul.* 547^b-550^a:

ic tō sōþe wāt
þæt ic ær ne sið ænig ne mētte
in woruldrice wiþ þē gelic
þristran geþohtes.

Cf. ll. 553-554, note.

494. *þryðbearn hæleða*. The metre and the sense are both improved by Cosijn's emendation. Synonymous nouns in juxtaposition (except *Dryhten Hælend*, 541, 897, 1407) are not found elsewhere in *Andreas*, and but rarely in the body of the poetry; examples are cited by Sievers (*PBB.* IX, 137) as follows:

Beow. 398, 1259, 2198, 2493; *Gn.* 1119. Holthausen (*Angl. Beibl.* XV, 73-74) regards *El.* 140: *darofð æsc*, as in the same construction. See 1340^o.

495. *stēoran ofer stæfnan*. Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 10) takes *stēoran* as infin., in which case *ofer* is illogical, unless with *Gn.*, *Spr.* II, 481, *stēoran* be taken as intransitive. The better reading is that of Sievers in his comment on Cosijn's note: *stēoran* acc. sg. of *stēora*, 'steersman,' appositive thus to *þrýðbearn*, 494^a, and *mann*, 493^b. — *hwileð*. 'The surge resounds.' *Gm.*, K., *Gn.*, read *hwileð* from a hypothetical *hwīlan*, 'to delay.' But *Gn.*, *Spr.* II, 121, cancels the form *hwileð* and glosses (p. 117) under *hwelan*, 'clangere'; so *Dicht.*, 'Die Stromflut wälzt sich.' This is the only occurrence of the word, but *onhwileð*, 'reboat,' is recorded by *W.W.* I, 528, 39, and a noun *on hwelunge*, 'in clangore,' *ibid.*, I, 423, 20.

496. *bēateþ brimstæðo*. Baskervill supposes a 3d sg. *bēatab*, citing *þrēatað*, 520, and *gangaþ*, 891, as further examples; but *þrēatað* is the normal form for the 2d class of weak verbs, and *gangað* is plural (cf. Bright's note, *MLN.* II, 81), the construction looking to the implied sense. Read therefore *bēateþ*, *strēamwelm*, 495^b, being subject, and *brimstæðo*, acc. pl., object; thus *Dicht.*, 'Die Stromflut . . . peitscht die Brandungsgestade.' K., taking *brimstæðo* as two words, 'the sea beateth the shores.' The picture of the surf on the shore is somewhat incongruous in a description of the open sea, and one would like to read as in l. 442; but the other seems to be the conventional phrasing; cf. besides 239, 1543, the following: *Rud.* III, 6: *hwælmere hlimmeð, hlūde grimmeð; strēamas staþu bēatað*; and *Metr.* VI, 15: *ēac þā rūman sǣ norðerne ýst nēde gebædeð, þæt hīo strange geondstýred on staðu bēateð*. — *ful scrīd*. *Gm.* presents the alternatives: *fulserýd*, 'plene instructus,' from *scrūd*, 'vestitus, ornatus, apparatus,' quoting *El.* 258, subst., *gūðscrūd*; or *fulscrīd*, 'plene incedens,' from *scrīðan*, 'ire, ingredi,' though if from the latter word he thinks the form should be *fulscrīda*. *Gn.*, *Dicht.* and *Spr.* II, 411, Root, Hall, and Simons (p. 118), follow *Gm.*'s second explanation; K., the first, translating 'this boat is fully clothed.' As the second of *Gm.*'s explanations fits the context better than the first, it is to be accepted; cf. also *Icel.* (*Cleas.-Vig.*, p. 557) *með fullum skrīð* (*Biskupa Sögur* II, 30), where *skrīð* means the gliding motion of the ship. On the other hand the derivation of *scrīd* from *scrýðan* < *scrūd* derives some confirmation from the *MnE.* *shrouds* of a ship; *Icel.* *skruð* (*Cleas.-Vig.*, p. 558) has the same meaning.

497. Cf. *Beow.* 218: *flota fāmi-heals fugle gelicost*.

499. *ofer ýðlāde*. The MS. reading *ýðlāfe* would mean 'on the shore'; cf. *Ex.* 585, *on ýðlāfe*, equivalent to *on geofones staðe*, l. 580; and *fýres, homera lāf*, meaning 'sword.' Bugge (*PBB.* XII, 88-89) comments on the significance of *ýðlāf*, 'shore.'

501. *on landsceare*. Cf. Bonnet, p. 76, l. 1: *ὦς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*. The word occurs again, 1229; and cf. *folesceare*, 684. The word is another illustration of the fact that the second element of a compound may be practically meaningless; see 468, note.

501-502. Cf. *Chr.* 850-851: *Nū is þon gelicost swā wē on lagufiðe ofer cald wæter cēolum liðan*.

504. brondstæfne. The first element of this compound has of course nothing to do with *brand*, 'fire,' as in l. 768. The picture intended is evidently the same as that in l. 273, **brante cēole**. Grimm, p. xxxv, suggested the reading *brontstæfne*, followed by Grein and Cosijn. But perhaps **brond** is to be retained in the same sense as **stæfn**, forming thus a pleonastic compound; cf. Icel. (Cleas.-Fig., p. 76) *brandr*, 'the raised prow and poop, ship's beak,' *fellr brattr breki bröndum hærri*, 'the waves rise high above the "brandar."'

The notion of shipwreck expressed by **brecan brondstæfne**, 'shatter the high-prowed (ship),' seems somewhat too violent for the context here. One would like to take **brondstæfne** as a noun compound, 'prow,' 'bow,' and read **brecan on** (or **ofer**) **brondstæfne**, 'there the storm nor the wind may move it, nor the water-floods break over the high prow.'

Grimm, Grein, and Wülker put only a comma after **brondstæfne**, the other Edd. a semicolon. — **snöweð**. Cf. l. 1430, note.

505^b-509. The allusions to the youth of the pilot are developed from a single word, a vocative *vearlsøke* (Bonnet, p. 76, l. 2), in the *Πράξις*. But perhaps the poet of *Andreas* had in mind the following words spoken by Hroðgar of *Beowulf*, *Beow.* 1841-1845:

Þē þā wordcwidas wi[t]tig Drihten
on sefan sende! ne hýrde ic snotorlicor
on swā geongum fēore guman þingian;
þū eart mægēnes strang ond on mōde frōð,
wis wordcwida.

506. wintrum frōð. The word *frōð*, literally 'wise,' is used frequently in the sense of 'advanced in years,' 'old,' eg. *gēarum, misserum, fyrndagum frōð*, etc.; see *Spr.* I, 351.

507. faroðlācende. Nom., agreeing with **þū**, l. 505, or the implied subject of **hafast**, l. 507. Cook, p. 227, construes the word as vocative.

511. on sǣlāde. So *Beow.* 1157; the only other occurrence of the noun is *Beow.* 1139: *tō sǣlāde*.

512. scipum under scealcum. Grimm, p. 109, has difficulty in explaining this phrase. He suggests for **scealcum** a form from a hypothetical *scealc* or *scelc*, Icel. *skelkr*, 'fear, terror.' Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 11) regards both **scealcum** and the plural **scipum** with suspicion, suggesting that the half-line may have been taken bodily from some other poem. But the plural **scipum** is in keeping here; the statement is a generalization and need not apply to a single ship. In syntax the word is to be taken as coördinate with **brimhengestum**, 513^b. For *scealc*, 'sailor,' cf. *Whale* 30-31: *ond þonne in deaðsele drence bifæsteð scipu mid scealcum*.

515. sið nesan. Translate 'At times it befalls us grievously on the waves, upon the sea, though we survive, pass through the terrible journey.' The evident parallel to this passage is *El.* 1003-1004: *gif hie brimnesen ond gesundne sið settan mosten*; and on the strength of this passage Gn., *Spr.* II, 446, and Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 11) would read here *siðnesan*, as noun, object of **gefēran**. But the passage in *El.* confessedly offers difficulties (cf. *Bibl.* II, 183) and should not carry too much weight in determining the construction in *Andreas*. The

unconstrained reading here is that which takes **nesan** and **gefēran** as coördinate verbs, in the optative mood. Cf. *Gen.* 1341: þām þe mid sceolon mereflōd nesan.

517^b. So *Gen.* 1251; *Dan.* 174; *Metr.* xi, 25.

519. **brūne yða**. Besides the passages in which it is descriptive of the waves, the adjective **brūn** is used of armor and weapons. Note also **brūnwann**, 1306, and cf. the ballad phrase 'wan water.' It probably means merely 'dusky,' 'dark.'

523. **wuldras fylde**. The genitive in *-as* is also found in l. 1501, **heofonas**; for other examples, cf. *Spr.* I, 179, s.v. *cyning*; Napier, *Über die Werke des alteng. Erzbischofs Wulfstan*, p. 67; and Sievers, *Gram.*, § 237, note 1. These *-as* genitives in *Andreas* are to be regarded rather as late West-Saxon forms than as survivals from an early Anglian original text. The construction of *fyllan* followed by the genitive finds a parallel in *Chr.* 408-409:

forþon þū gefyldest, foldan ond roðoras,
wigendra Hlēo, wuldres þines.

Cf. also *El.* 1134: wuldres gefyllt. The usual construction after *fyllan* is the accusative and instrumental (cf. Shipley, p. 33).

524. **beorhtne boldwelan**. So *Jul.* 503 and *Ap.* 33.

525. **þurh his ānes miht**. Cf. *Gen.* 272, *Chr.* 685: þurh his ānes cræft.

528^a. So *Jul.* 262. — All Edd., except Grimm and Grein, put a period or semi-colon after **þrymsittendes**.

532. **ār yða**. Cf. l. 383, note.

535. **wuldres blæd**. Equivalent merely to 'heaven'; cf. l. 356, note.

541^b. Cf. *Beow.* 954-955: *þæt þīn dōm lyfað āwa tō aldre*, of Beowulf; *Chr.* 405: *ā þīn dōm wunnaþ*, of the Lord; *El.* 450-453: *ac þāra dōm leofað . . . ðe þone anhangnan Cyning heriaþ ond lofað*.

543^a. So 669^a; *Az.* 187. Cf. *Ap.* 15; *Ps.* CIV, 6: *geweorðude ofer werþeoda*.

544-548. Cf. *Gu.* 862: *nænig hæleþa is þe areccan mæge oþþe rim wite*; *Hy.* III, 17-18 (*Bibl.* II, 214):

ne magon hȳ nǣfre areccan nē þæt gerīm wytan
hū þū mære eart, mihtig drihten;

El. 635: *ic ne mæg areccan, nū ic þæt rīm ne can*. Cf. also *Jul.* 313; *Chr.* 222; *Panther* 3.

546. **ðætte**. 'Of such sort that he,' etc. Other examples are given in *Spr.* II, 573.

548. **dælest**. Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 263, calls attention to the omission of the subject after **hū**.

552. **wīs on gewitte**. Cf. ll. 316, 470; the model for the passage, however, was *Cræft.* l. 13: *wīs on gewitte oþþe on wordwidum*. In both passages Bright (*MLN.* II, 81) takes **wīs** to be a noun, 'wisdom,' in the genitive case in *Cræft.* 13, in the dative (apparently coördinate with **geofum**, l. 551^b) case in the passage in *Andreas*; the inflection *-e* in both passages he thinks has either been elided or carelessly dropped, or the construction has been misunderstood. But a noun *wīs = wīsdōm* is not recorded, and in the light of the other occurrences of the phrase it seems best to regard it not as an amplification of **geofum**, but as an adj. in the nom. case, agreeing with **ðū**, 550. This is also Professor Bright's present

opinion. Cf. *Höl.* 78: *wis on þinum gewitte ond on þinum worde snottor*, of the angel Gabriel.

553-554. Cf. *Beow.* 1842-1843:

ne hýrde ic snotorlicor
on swā geongum fēore guman þingian;

and cf. also ll. 471 ff.; 493 ff.

556^a. Cf. *Jul.* 258: *frægn þā fromlice*. — 556^b. So *Metr.* XX, 275; cf. *Rid.* LXXXIV, 10, *ōr ond ende*, with the same meaning. See *Rev.* I, 8, 11; XXI, 6; XXII, 13.

557. Cf. *Rid.* XXXIII, 13-14: *Rece, gif þū cunne, wis worda glēaw*; *El.* 856: *Saga, gif þū cunne*.

558^b. Cf. *be* (bi) *sām twēonum*, *Beow.* 858, 1297, 1685; *Ex.* 442, 562; *Gu.* 237, 1333.

559. *ðā ārleasan*. That is, *Judea cynn*, which is in apposition. Cosijn's emendation, *ðæt ārleāse*, does not improve the grammar and is bad stylistically.

561. Grein and Wülker have only a comma after *hearmewide*, but the other Edd. a period.

564. Cf. *El.* 865-866^a: *oððæt him gecyðde cyning ælmihtig wundor for weorodum*; *Chr.* 482: *weoredum cýðað*.

565^a. So *Men.* 129, also referring to the miracles of the Lord. The phrase is a favorite one with Wulfstan; cf. Napier's ed., p. 159, l. 5: *swutol and gesýne*; p. 163, l. 14: *swytol and gesýne*, etc. Cf. also *Gen.* 2806: *sweetol is ond gesēne*.

567. Cf. *Chr.* 1106: *tō hlēo ond tō hrōþer haleþa cynne*, of Christ.

568^b-569^a. See 1677^b-1678^a.

569. So 650, 1678; *El.* 334; *Gu.* 1104.

570. *dōmāgende*. Cf. *Jul.* 186: *folcāgende*. — *dæl nāenigne*. Cf. Bonnet, p. 76, ll. 17-18: *Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι; τάχα οὐκ ἐπολύηεν σημεῖα ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν*; the *frætre þeode* of l. 571 are the Jews of the Greek version. The reply which Andrew makes, l. 573 ff., also demands *nāenigne* in l. 570.

573. Cf. l. 137; *El.* 643: *hū is þæt geworden on þysse werþeode*.

575. *gif*. The word is regularly feminine, with accusative in *-e*. But an accusative plural *eardgyfu* occurs, *Ps.* LXXI, 10, and a dative singular *mid þām godcundan gyfe* (*Bede*, ed. Miller, p. 34, l. 17), both examples being pointed out by Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 252); from these two citations an acc. sg. *gif* may be inferred for the present passage. Wülker cites the compounds *gifstol*, *gifheal*, *gifsceat*, in support of a nominative form *gif*; but such compounds prove nothing, since all *o*-stems as first element in compounds end regularly with a consonant.

576^a. So *Chr.* 811.

577 ff. See *Matt.* XI, 5; *Luke* VII, 21-22.

580. Cf. *Chr.* 1508: *wēрге wonhāle*.

582. *on grundwæge*. The second element of the compound is not the word *wæg*, 'wall' (see 714, 732), as stated by Grimm, p. 111, also *Spr.* I, 531, and B.-T., 492. It is a form of *weg*, 'way'; for examples of *æ* for *e*, cf. *-ræced*, 709; *sægl*, 1456. In *meðlan*, 1440, *e* appears for *æ*. The word *grundwæg*, which occurs only in this passage, is a compound like *eorðweg*, *soldweg*, *flōdweg*, *brimrād*,

etc., and takes its meaning from the first element. Translate, therefore, 'the earth.' See 206, note.

583^a. Cf. *El.* 944-945: seðe dēadra feala worde āwehte.

585. Cf. *El.* 558: cȳðdon cræftes miht; *Chr.* 1145: cȳðde cræftes meaht. See l. 1460, note.

586-588. See *John* II, 1-16. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 78. l. 2) reads merely ἵδιον εἰς οἶνον μετέβαλεν. **Heremægen**, literally 'army-troop,' appears to have weakened merely to the meaning 'throng'; see Glossary for citations.

587. **ond wendan hēt**. Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 12) would take **ond** as equivalent to a relative *ðæt*, object of **hēt**, and he cites examples in which he regards *ond* as having the function of a relative. But this use of *ond* is not established by his citations, nor is it necessary in the present passage.

588. **on þā beteran gecynd**. A formula; cf. *El.* 1038, 1061; and *Wulfstan*, ed. Napier, p. 145: uton wendan georne tō beteran cræfte.

589-594. See *Matt.* XIV, 17 ff.; *Mark* VI, 38 ff.; *Luke* IX, 12 ff.; *John* VI, 8 ff. The poet was apparently not sufficiently familiar with the version of the story in *John* to recall that it is Andrew who is there said to have provided the loaves and fishes.

591^b. Cf. *Beow.* 1424: *fēþa eal geset*, of the followers of *Beowulf*.

592. **rēonigmōde**. Cf. *W/hale* 22-23: hæleþ bēoþ on wynnum rēonigmōde ræste gelyste; *Gu.* 1069: wæs him ræste nēod rēonigmōdum. The MS. reading **reomigmode** is the only occurrence of a form *reomig*. Grimm, p. 112, followed by *Spr.* II, 374, compares this form with Goth. *rimis* 'quies'; but Grimm refrains from a decision, noting that the context favors the reading **rēonig-**, 'weary.' As Sievers points out (*PBB.* X, 506) the correct reading here is undoubtedly **rēonigmōde**; both the metre and the sense of the passage demand this form.

594. Cf. 1484^a; *Dan.* 567: man on moldan; *Gu.* 962: mon on moldan.

595-596. Cf. ll. 811-812; *El.* 511-512: nū ðū meah gehȳran, hæleð mīn se lēofa, hū, etc.; *El.* 523: hyse lēofesta.

597. **spēon**. The other occurrences of *spanan* in the verse are all in the evil sense, 'entice, allure' (see *Spr.* II, 467); but the word occurs frequently in homiletic or biblical prose (see B.-T., p. 898) in a good sense, as in the present passage.

598^a. So 1693; *Gu.* 1154; cf. *Chr.* 913: on gefēan fæger; tō þām langan gefēan, *Jul.* 670, *Gu.* 1063, 1281; in þām ēcan gefēan, *Gu.* 1052, 1159, 1345; tō þām sōþan gefēan, *Gu.* 1238.

599^a. So *Chr.* 1247.

600. Cf. *Beow.* 187: æfter dēaðdæge Drihten sēcean.

601. **wēges weard**. Kemble translates correctly 'ruler of the wave'; so also Root. But *Spr.* II, 655, and the other translations take **weges** as derived from *weg*, 'way.' Cf. l. 632.

602^b. So *Gu.* 998; *Ph.* 550; *El.* 1072.

605. Cf. *El.* 817: þāra þe ic gefremede nalles fēam sīðum; *Jul.* 354: þāra þe ic fremede nalles fēam sīþum.

606. **folcum tō frōfre**. So *El.* 1142, *Chr.* 1422; *Beow.* 14: folce tō frōfre.

611. **þurh deopne gedwolan**. So *Jul.* 301. The Edd. put no punctuation after **gedwolan**, and a strong pause after **lārum**; but **dēofles lārum** and **wrāðum wārlogan** should be held together. Cf. l. 679.

613^a. Cf. 1297; *Wid.* 9: wraþes wærlogan. — *sēo wyrd*. Hall, p. 82, 'The original has *Wyrd*; she, in the religion of our forefathers before their conversion to Christianity, was the goddess of destiny, and presided over the fates of men and of gods. She, of course, still rules the affairs of these unconverted cannibals.' A similar use of the word is found in l. 1561, also of the Mermedonians. See Golther, *Handbuch der german. Mythologie*, pp. 104-105; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 372, for a discussion of the meaning of the term *wyrd* and its occurrences in the literature of the Germanic peoples.

The word in its later development has had an interesting history. 'Aus dem Schottischen wohl ist *weird* ins Neuenglische gedrungen. Chaucer kennt zwar *werdes*, *wierdes* neben *wirdes* (vgl. Skeats Glossar), also Formen mit kentschem *e* für *y*, aber das wort scheint bald nach ihm ausgestorben zu sein. Denn in Holinsheds Bericht über Macbeth übernimmt er aus Bellenden den schottischen Ausdruck *weird sisters*, der schon bei Wyntoun (ed. Laing, VIII, 1864) und bei Douglas (II, 142/24) vorkommt, in der schottischen Schreibung *weird*, und findet es nötig, ihn durch den Zusatz zu erklären: "that is (as ye would say), the goddesses of destinie" (vgl. Delius' Shakespeare, II, 300). Aus Holinshed hat Shakespeare das Wort übernommen, aber den Druckern der Folios war es offenbar fremd, denn sie setzten dafür *weyward*. Erst Theobald stellte auf Grund des Berichtes Holinsheds die Lesung *weird* her, und erst von da aus scheint der Ausdruck wieder in weiteren Gebrauch gekommen zu sein, aber ohne das Zeichen seines Ursprungs, die schottische Schreibung mit *ei*, aufzugeben.' Luick, *Studien zur Englischen Lautgeschichte*, pp. 185-186 (*Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie* XVII).

615. *wērige mid wērigum*. Cf. l. 360, note.

616. *biterne*. Professor Hart suggests *bitterne*; so also Sievers (*PBB.* X, 496). But cf. *Chr.* 765: *biterne stræl*.

619^b. Cf. 1086; *Gen.* 1669: *folces ræswan*.

620. *wundor æfter wundre*. So *Beow.* 931. Grein and Wülker have no punctuation after *gesiehðe*, all other Edd. a period.

622. *folcraed fremede*. Cf. *Beow.* 3006: *folcraed fremede*, of *Beowulf*. — *tō friðe hogode*. Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 12) suggests *tō frioðe hogde*.

625. *māga mōde rōf*. So 984. — *mægen*. 'Miracles.' Cf. *Legend*, p. 117, ll. 15-16: *spec tō þinum discipulum be þām mægenum þe þin Lārēow dyde*. Other examples are noted by B.-T., p. 655, but the above have escaped him. Cf. Bonnet, p. 77, ll. 13-14: *ποῖα εἰσιν αἱ δυνάμεις ἃς ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ; φανέρωσόν μοι αὐτάς*. The word in the Latin original which is translated here *mægen* was undoubtedly 'virtus'; cf. *Matt.* VII, 22, 'in nomine tuo, virtutes multas fecimus,' and for other examples see *Mark* VI, 2, 5; *Acts* VIII, 13; *Matt.* XI, 20.

626. *dēormōd on dēgle*. Cf. *Gu.* 925: *dēormōd on dēgle*, of Guthlac in his retreat.

627. *besæton*. The subject is omitted after *ðā*, 'when': 'when often ye held council with the Lord.' See Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 264.

630^a. So 1200; *Chr.* 509. — *gehwære*. Sievers (*PBB.* X, 485) would regularly replace *gehwære* by the earlier forms *gehwæs*, *gehwæm*; see also *Gram.*, § 341, note 4.

631. **purh snyttra cræft.** Cf. *El.* 1171: nū þē God sealde sǣwle sigespēd ond snyttrō cræft; and cf. the compound *snytrucraft*, *Spr.* II, 460.

635. **wynnum wrīdað.** Cf. *Ph.* 237: wrīdaþ on wynnum. For the quantity of **wrīdað**, see *Gram.*, § 382. For the relation of *wrīdan* to *wrīðan* and *wrīdian*, cf. Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 12.

636. **æðelum ēcne.** So also l. 882. **Ēcne** means 'endowed,' 'teeming'; cf. *tōðacan*, *ēcan*, etc. The usual form of the adjective is *ēacen*, but cf. *Chr.* 1045: *on ēcne eard*, and see Cook's note. **Æðelum** is inst. pl.; cf. *æðelum dēore*, *Dan.* 193; *Ex.* 186; *Beow.* 1949; *æðelum gōd*, *Beow.* 1870.

639^b. Cf. 815^b.

640. **godbearn on grundum.** So *Chr.* 682; godbearn of grundum, *Chr.* 499; *siððan* of grundum godbearn *āstāg*, *Chr.* 702. — **hweorfon.** See 1050, and 51, note. Wülker calls attention to *Dan.* 267, *hweorfon*, and *Sat.* 341, *hweorfan*, both preterits.

641. Cf. 809; *Ap.* 32, 77^a; *Jud.* 350: *swegles drēamas*.

642^b. So 1476^b; *Gu.* 898.

645^a. So *El.* 357, 1190.

646^a. Cf. 909, 1435; *El.* 1170-1171 (above, 631, note).

647^a. So *Gen.* 14.

649^a. **oor ond ende.** Cf. 556^b, note. Vowels are geminated to indicate length also in **faa**, 1593, 1599, and **taan**, 1099.

650. **on wera gemōte.** But the Greek (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 9) reads *ἐν τῷ κρηπτιῷ*, the exact opposite of the Anglo-Saxon.

652-653. **sīde herigeas folc unmāte.** So *Men.* 5^b-6^a.

652-660. There is nothing in the Greek version corresponding to these lines. After the response of Andrew, 648-651, the Greek passes on to the account of the Twelve Apostles in the temple, 661 ff. The passage appears to be an invention of the poet's, based upon such allusions in the New Testament as *Matt.* IX, 35-36. The verses immediately following these give an account of the Twelve Apostles (*Matt.* X, 1-5). The phrase **in bold oðer**, 656, is not specific but is an allusion to the Lord's method of preaching from house to house.

654. Cf. *Gu.* 979: *wolde hyrcnigan hālges lāra*.

659. **symble.** *Spr.* II, 518, glosses as adv., but Gn.² would change to *symbol*, 'festivitas.' But it is plainly adverb here.

661. **sīgedēma.** The only other occurrence of the word is *Chr.* 1060.

664. **ellefne.** Kluge (*PBB.* VI, 397) remarks that this is the only occurrence of the numeral *ellefne* in Anglo-Saxon verse. The metrical stress here falls upon the first syllable of the word; but the modern accentuation and the phonetic history of the word, *ellefne* < *andleofan*, would indicate that the first syllable was normally unstressed.

665^a. Cf. 883; *Ex.* 232: *.x. hund geteled tīrēadigra*.

667. **tempel Dryhtnes.** The Greek reads (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 10): *εἰς ἱερὸν τῶν ἔθνων*, i.e. into a temple of the Gentiles. Apparently the Anglo-Saxon poet has in mind the Hebrew temple at Jerusalem.

668. **hēah ond horngeap.** The half-line, and the description in general, is taken from *Beow.* 82, where it applies to the great hall, Heort. The word *horn*,

'gable,' 'pinnacle,' is several times used in descriptive names of buildings; see **hornsael**, 1158, also *horngestræon*, *Ruin* 23, *hornreced*, *Beow.* 704; B.-T., p. 553, cites *ofer hornþic temples*, 'supra pinnam templi,' *Luke* IV, 9. The compound here probably means 'wide-gabled'; see Miller, *Anglia* XII, 397. But Grein, *Dicht.*, translates 'an Zinnen reich'; *Spr.* II, 98, *pinnaculis prominens*. The meaning 'prominent, high' for **gēap** is supported by *Sal.* 510-511: *munt is hine ymbutan, gēap gylden weal*; see further B.-T., p. 366.

669. huseworde. The only occurrence of the compound; translate 'with mocking word.' *Husc, hucs* as simplex, meaning 'scorn, mockery,' occurs several times. Grein, *Spr.* II, 112, suggests *us worde?* for *huscworde*; cf. Trautmann's emendation in the variant readings. But the MS. reading fits the context admirably. Kemble has only a comma after **gewlítegod**.

670. ealdorsācerd. Professor Hart calls my attention to the fact that this compound, of which Grein and B.-T. record but this single occurrence, occurs frequently in the Northumbrian Gospels. For examples, see Cook, *A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels*, s.v. *aldorsacerd*, p. 9.

671. herme hyspan. Cf. *Chr.* 1120: *hysptun hearncwidum*.

672. wrōht webbade. Cf. *El.* 308: *inwitpancum wrōht webbedan*.

680. ēadiges orhlytte æðeling eýðað. The nom. pl. **orhlytte** refers back to the idea contained in **earme**, 676, and in the two following lines. The special Teutonic color in this passage is the addition of the poet; the Greek text says merely 'O wretches, why do you walk with him who says, I am the son of God?' (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 12 ff.) The idea contained in 'son of God' is amplified by the poet in that it is made political. **Æðeling**, 680, is the technical word for the son of a king and is so used regularly throughout the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*; **ellþeodiges**, 678, means 'a stranger,' 'an unlineal claimant,' and **būtan leodrihte**, 679, 'contrary to the accepted custom of the people.' Gm. and B. have no punctuation after **hýrað**, 679, and a comma after **orhlytte**, 680.

683. Cf. *Wid.* 4^b-5: him from Myrgingum æðelo onwōcon.

684. on þysse folisceare. So *El.* 402; *Gen.* 2680, 2829.

686. hāmsittende. The compound occurs also in *Gen.* 1815; *Dan.* 687.

688^a. So *El.* 381; *Whale* 3.

691. suna Iōsēphes. Cf. Bonnet, p. 78, l. 15: *ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ τοῦ τέκτονος*. Did the *τοῦ τέκτονος* seem too irreverent to the poet? See *Mark* VI, 3.

693. dugoð dōmgeorne. So l. 878; *El.* 1290; a dignified phrase, and in *Elene* applied to the righteous at the day of judgment. In *Andreas*, however, with epic freedom, it refers to the wicked persecutors of the Lord. The word **dugoð** is not usually plural, but is so in the above three passages and in *Ex.* 546.

695^a. So also *Jul.* 506.

696. þegna hēape. Cf. *Beow.* 1627: *ðryðlic þegna hēap*; *El.* 549: *þā cwōm þegna hēap*; cf. l. 870, *Ap.* 9. See *NED.*, 'forlorn hope.'

696-705. In the Greek (Walker, p. 354): 'And Jesus, having known that our hearts were giving way, took us into a desert place, and did great miracles before us, and displayed to us all his Godhead. And we spoke to the chief priests, saying, Come ye also, and see; for, behold, he has persuaded us.'

698. dīgol land. So *Beow.* 1357, of the dwelling-place of Grendel.

700. **cræfta**. Appositive to **wundra**, 699.

706-707^a. Cf. *Beow.* 920^b-922: swylce self cyning, of brýðbūre bēahhorda weard tryddode tīrfæst getrume micle.

707. **getrume mycle**. The Greek version is specific: *τριάκοντα ἄνδρες τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τέσσαρες ἀρχιερεῖς* (Bonnet, p. 79, l. 10).

711. **tō sēgon**. The alliteration is on **tō**, which must consequently be taken as adverb, not as the unstressed element of a verb compound.

712. **wundor āgræfene**. **Wundor** is acc. pl., appositive to **anlicnesse**, 713; cf. **wundor**, 736. There is no necessity, therefore, for the compound **wundor-āgræfene**, 'wondrously carved,' of *Spr.* II, 752, and the translations, or for Cosijn's emendation, **wundrum** (*PBB.* XXI, 12).

In the Greek version, these **wundor āgræfene** are not the cherubim and seraphim, but two sphinxes: *εἶδεν γλυφὰς σφίγγας δύο, μίαν ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ μίαν ἐξ εὐωνύμων* (Bonnet, p. 79, ll. 11-12). Since the whole episode is omitted in the *Legend* it is impossible to tell what the reading of the Latin original of the poem was. The Greek version, however, compares the two sphinxes to the cherubim and the seraphim: *ταῦτα γὰρ ὁμοία εἰσιν τοῦ χερουβίμ καὶ τοῦ σεραφίμ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῶ* (Bonnet, p. 79, l. 14-15). Probably only the allusion to the cherubim and seraphim was taken over into the Latin version.

717-719. Translate 'This is a representation of the most illustrious of the tribes of angels which is in that city [i.e. heaven] among the dwellers there.' There is nothing in the *Πράξεις* corresponding to this statement that the cherubim and seraphim are the highest of the angels, or to the further description of the cherubim and seraphim, ll. 719-724. The grouping of the seraphim and cherubim together is not derived from the Bible, as the seraphim are mentioned only once there (*Isaiah* VI, 7) and then not in connection with the cherubim. The two names, however, were early associated in Hebrew tradition; the *Book of Enoch*, for example, groups 'the seraphim, the cherubim, and ophanim, and all the angels of power' as the highest of the hosts of heaven. See Ryle, s.v. 'cherub,' in *HasTINGS, Dict. of the Bible* (New York, 1901). Cf. also Dionysius the Areopagite (4th century), who groups the seraphim, cherubim, and thrones as the highest of the heavenly hierarchies; see *NED.*, s.v. 'cherub.' Note also the *Te Deum*: 'Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim incessabili voce proclamant.' These allusions are all closely related to *Isaiah* VI, 1-3, a vision of the Lord in his glory. Interesting paraphrases of these verses, closer to the original than the passage in *Andreas*, are to be found in *El.* 739-749 and *Chr.* 385-415.

721. So *Ph.* 600; cf. fore onsȳne ēces dēman, *El.* 745; *Gu.* 1161; *Chr.* 837.

725^a. **hīw**. The meaning here is 'countenance,' 'appearance,' not as Grimm, p. 114, translates, 'familia,' as in *hīwrāden*, *hīred*, etc. — 725^b. So *Gen.* 247.

726^b. So 1026^b; *Ap.* 87. 'The thanes, angels, in heaven.' For this meaning of **wuldor**, cf. l. 356, note. With **þegnas**, cf. *Chr.* 283: *Cristes þegnas*, 'angels'; *Gen.* 15: þegnas þrymfæste = engla þrēatas. Holthausen, *PBB.* XVI, 550, emends **þegnas** to **þegna** in order to make it synonymous with **hāllgra**, l. 725; but **þegnas** may as well be taken as appositive to **hīw**.

728. **fore þām heremægene**. See l. 707, note. The phrase occurs again ll. 1298, 1650; *El.* 170.

730. on wera gemange. Simons, p. 57, would read **wera on gemange**. Cf. *Jul.* 528: magum in gemonge; *Beow.* 1643: mōdig on gemonge. The more usual construction, however, is prep. + gen. + acc., e.g. *El.* 96: on clænra gemang; *El.* 108: on feōnda gemang; *El.* 118: on gramra gemang; *Jul.* 420: on clænra gemong.

732. wlitig of wāge. Cf. *Beow.* 1662: ic on wāge geseah wlitig hangian; *Rid.* XV, 12: wlitig on wāge.

733-734. Kemble and Baskervill put a semicolon after *sōðewidum*, Grimm a comma; but Wülker's punctuation, which I have followed in the text, gives undoubtedly the best reading. The alliteration *s*: *sc*, which led Grein (see variants) to suppose that the text was corrupt here, is not in accordance with the use of the best early verse, but it is found more or less frequently in the later verse; see Sievers, *Allgerm. Metrik*, § 18, 3; Schipper, *Englische Metrik*, I, 50.

734^b. Cf. *Jul.* 286: hwæt his æþelu sȳn. Like *þat* and *þis* (see ll. 7, 248, 717, 751, 906, 1199), *hwæt* is often used without agreement in gender or number. Cf. German *es sind*, MnE. 'there is, there are.'

735-737. dorste, āhlēop, hē. The number changes from the plural (*syndon*, 720; *standað*, *herigað*, 722; *þegnas*, 726) to the singular here. In this the poem probably followed its source, as in the *Πράξις* only one of the sphinxes (whose place is taken here by the cherubim and seraphim, see 712, note) is represented as acting: 'Then Jesus, having looked to the right, where the sphinx was, said to it, I say unto thee, thou image of that which is in heaven, which the hands of craftsmen have sculptured, be separated from thy place, and come down, and answer and convict the chief priests, and show them whether I am God or man.' Walker, p. 354.

736^a. So *El.* 866; cf. l. 564, note. **Wundor** is subject of **dorste**; cf. l. 712.

737. frōd fyrngeweorc. So *Ph.* 84, of the grove in which the Phoenix dwelt. The antecedent of **hē** should be, grammatically, **fyrngeweorc**, but the poet makes the pronoun masculine by personification.

739. Kemble and Baskervill put a semicolon after **dyneðe**.

740-741. Grein and Wülker enclose **wrætlic . . . ongin** within parentheses, the other Edd. set off the clause by commas or periods.

742. septe sācerdas. Cf. *El.* 528-530:

ðus mec fæder mīn on fyrndagum
umweaxenne wordum lārde,
septe sōðcwidum.

Also *Dan.* 445-446:

Hyssas heredon drihten for þām hāðenan folce,
Septon [MS. stepton] hīe sōðcwidum.

Grimm's *sewan*, accepted by Grein, *Spr.* II, 433, we may safely disregard; the stem-consonant of the word is fixed by the three passages as *p*. The meaning also, 'instruct,' 'teach,' is the appropriate meaning in all three passages. But the form and derivation of the word are not certain. Zupitza, *Elene*, p. 73, glosses as *seppan* or *sēpan*?; B.-T. as *sēpan* (*seppan*?); Simons, as Zupitza; Sweet, *Dict.* does not record the word. Baskervill, p. 76, gives the form as *seppan* — 'a denominative verb, akin to *sæp*, root *sapa, Goth. *sapjan, OHG. *sewen*, *seppen*, MHG.

seben, "wahrnehmen." Kluge, *Etymolog. Wörterbuch*⁵, s.v. *saft*, thinks an ultimate connection of the above words with Latin *sapio* is probable. B.-T., p. 866, gives the same explanation of the word as Baskervill. Swaen, *Eng. Stud.* XX, 149, brings Goth. *siponeis*, *siponjan*, into the discussion: 'Sepan, I think, can neither be proved nor defended. *Seppan* might be explained, while sticking to the stem to which I have tried to reduce the word, by adopting a prehistoric Anglo-Saxon **seppan*, by which form the transitive meaning of *septe*, in contradistinction to the intransitive of *siponjan* = "schüler sein," might be explained.' Swaen's explanation seems the most probable.

743. **witig werede.** 'It [i.e. *stān*], sagacious, held them in check.' Cosijn's emendation *wenede* is based upon l. 1682; but the reading of the MS. is supported by l. 1053, **wordum werede.**

744. **earmra geþohta.** Perhaps it is best to take the genitive as dependent on **searowum**: 'Ye are wretched, deceived by the snares of your (own) miserable thoughts.' **Earmra geþohta** would thus be parallel to **mōde gemyrde**, 746. *Dicht.* translates 'Ihr seid unselig, elender Gedanken'; K., 'ye are rude of poor thoughts.'

746. **mōde gemyrde.** Cf. *Jul.* 412: *mōd gemyrred*; *Chr.* 1143: *egsan myrde*. — **gē mon cīgað.** Cosijn's admirable emendation is supported by the reading of the Greek version, Bonnet, p. 80, l. 9: *λέγοντες τὸν θεὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων.*

747^a. So *Chr.* 744.

748^b. So *Az.* 141^b. Final **h** is also lost in **faa**, 1593, 1599.

750^b. So *Gen.* 1040; *El.* 729.

752. The whole line occurs *El.* 398.

755. Cf. *Jul.* 76: *welum weorþian*, *wordum lofian*.

756. **Hābrahāme.** Although this name occurs three times with initial *H*, 756, 779, 793, and only once without it, 753, the alliteration is always vocalic.

757. This allusion is not in the Greek version. See *Gen.* XXII, 17-18; *Matt.* I.

759. **open, orgete.** So *Chr.* 1116.

761-762. Bourauel, p. 79, sees in these lines a recollection of *Aeneid* II, 1. See l. 1125, note. But a similar situation here is naturally expressed in similar terms.

764^b. Grein encloses the half-line in parentheses, the other Edd. set it off only by commas. In its stylistic effect the sentence is parenthetical and exclamatory; see my study of 'The Parenthetical Exclamation in Old English Poetry,' *MLN.* XX, 33-37.

765-766. **drȳcræftum; scingelācum.** On the element **drȳ-** in **drȳcræftum**, cf. l. 34, note. Both words, **scingelācum** and **drȳcræftum**, have evil connotation. Cf. Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 101: *þonne se dēofol cymð þe āna cann eall þæt yfel and ealle þā drȳcræftas, þe æfre ænig man æfre geleornode*; and for the meaning of *scin*, cf. *Whale* 31-32:

swā bið scinna þēaw,
dēofla wīse, þæt hī drohtende
þurh dyrne meahht duguðe beswīcāð.

For the quantity of *scin(n)*, cf. Sievers, *Eng. Stud.* VIII, 157. Cf. *Jul.* 301, *sagde hȳ drȳas waron*, the devil's charge against *Cristes þegnas*, l. 299.

769. wēoll on gewitte. Cf. *Beow.* 2882: wēoll of gewitte; *Metr.* VIII, 45: ac hit on witte weallende byrnð; *Ph.* 191: þurh gewittes wylm. Sievers, *Anglia* I, 579, calls attention to this as a set poetical phrase. Cf. also *Beow.* 2331: brēost innan wēoll; and *An.* 1019, 1709. Wyrnum āweallen, *Chr.* 625, has reference to the body after death. — **weorm blædum fæg.** Grein, *Dicht.*, 'der Wurm dem Glücke feind.' The figure appears to be original with the poet. Did he have in mind the fire-drake (cf. **brandhāta**, l. 768) of the *Beowulf*? The form **weorm** for *wurm*, *wyrm*, is exceptional; cf. *Gram.*, § 72, note, and *Ap.* 95. Final **g** for **h** occurs also in **befealg**, 1326; and in **feorg**, *Ap.* 58; **þurg**, *Ap.* 13, 63, 72; cf. *Gram.*, § 223, note 1, and see above, l. 107, note.

770. ælfæle. For æl- = *eal*, cf. **ælmihhtig**, **Ælmyrcan**, **ælwihhte**, etc. Cf. *Rid.* XXIV, 9: ealfelo attor. — **orcnaewe.** Cf. *El.* 229: Ðā wæs orcnāwe idese siðfæt.

776^a. grēne grundas. Cf. l. 798, note. — 776^b. So *Gu.* 133, 696; *Chr.* 1670.

777. lārum lādan. It seems best to take **lārum** as an instrumental adverb, 'according to instructions.' Kemble translates 'in doctrines to lead'; Hall, 'with their blest-lore bear.' Gn., *Dicht.*, and Root have nothing corresponding to **lārum lādan**.

778. Kemble has a semicolon after **worde**.

781^b. Cf. *Gu.* 1073: ēce ælmihhtig ærist gefremede . . . ðā hē of dēaðe ārās; *Ph.* 495: þonne æriste ealle gefremmaþ men on moldan.

784. frōde fyrnweotan. Cf. *Beow.* 2123: frōdan fyrnweitan, of Æschere; *El.* 343: frōd fyrnweota, of David.

788^a. So *El.* 233. — **Mambre.** See *Intro.*, p. lviii.

789^a. So *Chr.* 701, 904; *Rid.* XXXV, 9.

792^a. So also *Jul.* 582.

795. snēome of slāpe þām fæstan. Cf. *Chr.* 888-889: hātað h̄y upp āstandan snēome of slāpe þ̄y fæstan. The allusion in the *Christ* is to the day of judgment. Cf. 792 with *Chr.* 888. Cf. also *Panther*, 40-42: þonne ellenrōf ūp āstondeð . . . snēome of slāpe.

795-796. Note the expanded lines here. Grein and Baskervill have only a comma after **fæstan**.

797. Cf. *Cædmon's Hymn* 7-9: þā middangeard monncynnes weard, ēce drihten æfter tēode firum foldan, frēa ælmihhtig.

798. Cf. *Chr.* 1129: eorþan ealgrēne ond ūprodor; see l. 776.

799. hwær. Probably the word should be **hwæt**; cf. l. 262, note, especially *Chr.* 574. Hall's translation is hardly allowable: 'and where the Lord God lived who laid their foundations.'

800. Cf. *Chr.* 343: þæt hē ūs ne lāte leng ōwihhte.

801-802. Again two expanded lines. Cf. 795-796.

802. forlāetan. The spelling **æ** appears for **ē** also in **mæðelhāgende**, l. 609. **Forlāetan** is a preterit, **wunigean** an infinitive dependent on it.

803. ædre gecyðan. So *Beow.* 354.

805. So also *Jul.* 268; *El.* 57, 1128.

806. Cf. l. 55; *Jul.* 153: ac ic weorðige wuldres ealdor.

807^b. Also *Jul.* 66.

808^a. So *Gu.* 1091, with the same meaning.

810. **willum nēotan.** Shipley, p. 50, translates ll. 809–810 ‘to seek in peace the joys of heaven and there forever blissfully enjoy them.’ The MS. has not *l̄ær*, however, in 810, but **þæs**, as in *Chr.* 1341–1343:

hāteð h̄y gesunde ond gesēnade
on ēþel faran engla drēames,
ond þæs tō wīdan fēore willum nēotan.

Cook, *Christ*, p. 207, suggests reading *h̄ær* in *Chr.* 1343 for **þæs**, as in *An.* 810, following Wülker’s reading. But the two passages support each other in the retention of **þæs**. The antecedent of **þæs** in *An.* 810 is contained in **swegles**, 809, ‘heaven.’ Grein, *Spr.* II, 292, cites this passage, **willum nēotan**, as a sole example of **nēotan** followed by the instrumental. But **willum** is inst. adv., not object of **nēotan**. Cf. also *Gu.* 1347–1348: **willum nēotan blādes ond blissa.**

814^a. So *Chr.* 1188.

816. **ðā ðū aræfnan ne miht.** See *John* XVI, 12.

818^b. So 1274^b; *Beow.* 2115; *Gu.* 1251. Cf. l. 1254^b, note.

819. **herede.** ‘Thus Andreas the entire day praised (or glorified) the teachings of the Holy One.’ The reproduction of the MS. might be read here easily **herede** or **berede**. Wülker reads **berede**, which he derives from *berian*, ‘darlegen,’ ‘an den tag legen.’ In support of this word he cites *Dan.* 142: *þā he mē for werode wisdōm bereð.* But the parallel is a very doubtful one, and Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 13), citing *Dan.* 121, would read *berað* in *Dan.* 142, from infin. *beran*. Baskervill, p. 76, agrees with Wülker: ‘*berian* (a denominative from *ber*) means literally “to make bare”; cf. *bençpelu beredon*, *Beow.* 1240.’ Against this interpretation, however, is the use in 873, 998, and especially the invariable rule that demands double alliteration when the second foot of the half-line contains two full stresses (that is, the D-type of verse, Sievers, *PBB.* X, 304).

820. The disciples are already asleep; see l. 464.

823^a. Cf. *Rid.* III, 2: under *ȳþa geþræc*; *Rid.* XXIII, 7: *atol ȳþa geþræc*. Cf. 352^a.

824^b. Cf. *Men.* 39, 217, *Gu.* 662: on Godes wære; *Beow.* 27: on Frēan wære; *Beow.* 3109: on ðæs Waldendes wære.

826. ‘Until sleep overcame them, weary of the sea.’ But we are told in 820 that Andrew is asleep, and were told in 464 that the disciples are asleep. Apparently this line, almost a repetition of 820, should state again that the disciples have fallen asleep. If so, something seems to be omitted. Perhaps we should read **sāwērigne**, to agree with **lēofne**, 825^a.

828 ff. That practically nothing of the narrative is lost here may be seen from the corresponding passage of the Greek version: ‘And Jesus said to his angels: Spread your hands under him, and carry Andrew and his disciples, and go and put them outside of the city of the man-eaters; and having laid them on the ground, return to me. And the angels did as Jesus commanded them, and the angels returned to Jesus: and He went up into the heavens with his angels.’ (Walker, p. 356.) Baskervill, p. 76, attempting to arrange the passage as it is preserved in the MS., would translate as follows: ‘Through motion through the air he came

into the land, to the city, from which then the king of the angels arose to go away from him in blessedness on the upway, to visit his native seat' — a translation which satisfies neither the demands of the text nor the sense of the passage.

In order to keep the same line-numbering as Grimm and Wülker, the hypothetical missing line is disregarded in the numbering.

830^b. So *Chr.* 741.

832^b. So *Chr.* 606; *El.* 507; *Ph.* 374.

834. **his nīðhetum.** Grein, *Dicht.*, 'vor dem Burgwalle in der Nähe seiner Feinde'; but apparently **nēh** must apply both to **burhwealle** and **nīðhetum**, as translated by Hall, 'near the wall of the borough, near his fierce enemies.' Cf. the construction with **cunnian**, 125-133, note. — **nīhtlangne fyrst.** So l. 1309; *Beow.* 528; *El.* 67; *Ex.* 208.

835. **dægacandelle.** See 372, note.

836. Cf. *Gu.* 1262: *scān scīrwered*, *scadu sweþredon*; *Ex.* 113: *scædo swiðredon*.

837. **wonn under wolcnum.** So *Beow.* 651; *Gu.* 1254; *Vision of the Cross* 55. 'Wann, dark, dusky, is also a favorite word, being found thirty-seven times [in Anglo-Saxon verse]. Unlike *sweart* it is commonly used in a literal sense. It is thus applied to a variety of objects, — to the raven, to the dark waves, to the gloomy heights overlooking the sea, to the murky night, to the dark armor, etc.' Mead, "Color in OE. Poetry," *Pub. of MLA.* XIV, 187. — **wederes blāest.** There are two words of the form **blāest**: (1) as in *Ex.* 290: *beþweges blāest*, 'the sea blast or breeze,' cf. *blāwan*, 'blow'; (2) the word in the present passage, which appears also in l. 1552, cognate with *blāse*, 'torch,' 'fire,' 'flame.' Cf. *fýres blāest*, *Ph.* 15; *līges blāest*, *Ph.* 434. For the meaning of **wederes**, cf. 372, 1697, note. Kemble mistranslates, 'then came the storm-blast'; but Root, correctly, 'then the torch of heaven.'

840^b. So l. 1306; *Beow.* 222, of the sea-headlands.

841. **ymbe hārne stān.** 'Seven times [in Anglo-Saxon verse] **hār** is applied to the hoary, gray stone, once to the gray cliff, four times to armor, once to a sword, once to the ocean, once to the gray heath, three times to the wolf, twice to the frost, and seven times to warriors, in each case with some touch of conventionality and with an apparently slight feeling for the color.' Mead, *Pub. of MLA.* XIV, 190. Cf. *Beow.* 887, 2553, 2744: *under hārne stān*; *Beow.* 1415: *ofer hārne stān*.

842. **tigelfāgan trafu.** The word **tigel**, Lat. *tegula*, was borrowed with the object from Latin civilization. 'Tiles, mortar, and the like were unknown to the German; and he seems to have been long in learning to use actual timber. Wattled work, twigs or flexible branches woven together, seemed to give enough stability for all his purposes; and even on the column of Marcus Aurelius what we may take to be contemporary German houses are "of cylindrical shape with round vaulted roof, no window, and rectangular door; they appear to be woven of rushes or twigs, and are bound about with cords." Tacitus says [*Germ.* 16] the sole material for German houses of his time is wood.' Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 94. See Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* IV, 286-287, and Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*³, pp. 122-123, for a list and discussion of the

architectural terms taken over from the Mediterranean nations by the peoples of the North. The word **tigel** does not appear, however, to have the same poetic connotation as *stāu* in Anglo-Saxon verse. It is used in composition only in the present passage, and as simplex occurs only once, *Ruin* 31: *tigelum scēadeð hrōstbēages hrōf* (MS. *rof*). See 1236, note.

843. windige weallas. So *Beow.* 572, where the phrase applies more aptly to the sea-headlands.

845^a. So *Beow.* 1951; *Jul.* 452; *Ap.* 32; *sīðe gesēceð, Chr.* 62; *sīþe gesēcan, Chr.* 146; *sīðe gesōhton, Gen.* 2425.

848^a. So *Ap.* 78. — **biryhte.** The second element of the compound has much the value of MnE. 'right' in similar phrases. Cf. Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 13, '**biryhte**, i.e. **ryhte bī**, "dicht bei," wie *atryhte*, nl. nabij und bijna, proparoxytonon. *Rihte*, "gerade," auch in *þærrihte*.' This is the only occurrence of the word.

850. wīgend wecean. So *Beow.* 3024.

852. gystran-dæge. The first element appears in the forms *gystran* and *gyrstan*, but never *gyrstran*. See the dictionaries, and Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 13, for examples. — Cf. *El.* 1200: *ofer geofenes strēam*.

853. ārwelan. See 383, note.

855. waldend werðeode. Grein's emendation *werþeoda* is supported by *Chr.* 714: *waldend werþeoda*, and by the fact that the plural is generally used to indicate people, or nations in general, the singular, usually with a demonstrative, to indicate a specific nation. But the singular is also found in the general sense, cf. *Metr.* IX, 21: *ofer werþeode*, and *An.* 573. The interpretation which retains the MS. reading as a verb is plainly impossible.

855-856. Cf. Bonnet, p. 85, ll. 9-10: 'Ἐπέγνων σου κύριε τὴν καλλὴν λαλίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐφανέρωσάς μοι αὐτόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐγνώρισά σε.'

859 ff. Brooke, p. 420, translating this passage, remarks: 'And this poet [of the *Andreas*] who has a special turn for various incident, invents for them a dream in which they are brought into the heavenly Paradise.' But the whole episode is found in both the Greek version and the Latin fragment (Bonnet, p. 86 ff.). See *Introd.*, p. xxiii.

861^a. So *Hy.* IV, 77; with other forms of the verb, *Jul.* 181, *Ps.* CXVIII, 152.

864. feðerum hrēmige. Cf. *Ph.* 86: *feðrum strong*; *Ph.* 100: *feðrum wlonc*; *Ph.* 123: *feðrum snell*. *Feðer*, 'feather,' by metonymy becomes 'wing' in the plural; the same development takes place in the Latin *penna*. Grimm, p. 119, would read *feðerum hrēmig* (citing *El.* 29), 'dewy-feathered'; but the reading of the MS. is better, 'exultant in their wings.' Cf. l. 1699.

866. flyhte on lyfte. So *Ph.* 123, 340.

868^a. Cf. *Metr.* XXVI, 63: *lissum lufode hðmonna frēan*. — **in lofe wunedon.** Cf. *Chr.* 102-103: *in þām ūplīcan engla drēame mid Sōðfæder symle wunian*.

869. swegles gong. Literally, 'the circuit of the heavens,' cf. ll. 208, 455; and elsewhere the phrase occurs frequently. In the present context the phrase is inappropriate; Grein's **ond** and Cook's **geond** are inadequate attempts to bring it into agreement with the context. Simons, s.v. *gang*, suggests **swēges gong**. But the most probable explanation is that the words are taken bodily

from stock phraseology for the sake of the rime with **sang**, and are not perfectly fitted into their context. Cf. l. 303, note.

871^a. So *Ph.* 164, of the Phoenix.

873^a. So also l. 998; *Jul.* 560.

874^a. So 1151^a; *Whale* 84; *Chr.* 405. — **drēam wæs on hyhte**. Cf. ll. 239, 637. The phrasing is pleonastic, and one might prefer Simons' reading *hyhðe*, except that again (cf. 869, note) the rime may have determined the use of **on hyhte**.

876^b. So *El.* 283.

878. **þær wæs Dāuid mid**. Walker, p. 357: 'We beheld also Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the saints; and David praised Him with a song upon his harp.'

879. **Essāges sunu**. The form of the name in the Vulgate is 'Isai,' cf. *1 Samuel* (= *1 Kings*) XVI, passim. For the development of the consonant between the two vowels, cf. *Achagia*, *Ap.* 16; *Gabriel*, *Chr.* 201; *Ismahel*, *Gen.* 2286. *Israhel* and similar forms occur frequently.

882-885. Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 13, would put a semicolon or a period after **standan**, l. 882, and remove the punctuation after **hæleð**, l. 883, thus making l. 883 appositive to **prymsittende** and **hēahenglas**. Stylistically, however, it is better to make l. 883 refer back to **ēowic**, l. 882, i.e. the Twelve Apostles; **tīreandige hæleð** should also refer to the Apostles, cf. l. 2. The justification for his punctuation Cosijn finds in the Greek version; but it should be noticed that the number twelve is used first of the Apostles and then of the ministering angels: *καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα ἐκεῖ ὑμᾶς τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους παρεστηκότας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐξῶθεν ὑμῶν ἀγγέλους δώδεκα κυκλοῦντας ὑμᾶς*. (Bonnet, p. 86, ll. 7-9.) The Latin fragment is imperfect in the corresponding passage, but it evidently had the same readings.

885. **ðām bið hæleða well**. 'A well defined example of the demonstrative **sē** with genitive occurs in *An.* 885 . . . "Well is it for those of men who may enjoy those delights."' Shipley, p. 93. See 262; *Ap.* 25.

887. Cf. *Jul.* 641: *wigena wyn ond wuldres þrym*; *Gu.* 1338: *winemæga wyn in wuldres þrym*. The same assonance occurs in *Chr.* 71; cf. also 957-958, where it holds together halves of two different lines.

891. **gangap**. Grein, *Spr.* I, 368, glosses this word as singular and translates, *Dicht.*, 'wenn er von hinnen geht.' But the plural form of the MS. agrees with the context; Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 274, points out that the subject is omitted after **ponne**.

892. Cf. *El.* 874^b-875: *þā ðær Iudas wæs on mōdsefan miclum gebliissod*.

895. **onmunan swā mycles**. Cf. *Beow.* 2640: *hē . . . onmunde usic mæraða, onmunan*, 'to regard as worthy,' with accusative of person and genitive of the thing. Cf. Shipley, p. 53.

897. **God Dryhten**. See 494, note.

899. Baskervill has a semicolon after **gestāh**.

900. One expects an object for **ongitan**, l. 901: *þēh ic þē on yðfare?* Cf. l. 922.

904^a. An epic formula; cf. *Wid.* 9: *ongon þā worn sprecan*; *Beow.* 530-531: *Hwæt þū worn fela . . . ymb Breca spræce*; *Beow.* 3094: *worn eall gespræc*.

906. **frōfre gāst.** So l. 1684; *El.* 1036, 1105; *Chr.* 207, 728; *Jul.* 724; *Jud.* 83. The phrase is a translation of the N.T. *παράκλητος* (cf. *John* XIV, 16, 26; XV, 26; XVI, 7), and is thus defined by Ælfric (*Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, I, 322): Hē is gehāten on Grēciscum gereorde 'Paracletus,' þæt is, 'Frōforgāst,' forð ðe hē frō-frað þā drēorian, þe heora synna behrēowsiað, and sylð him forgyfensse hiht, and heora unrōtan mōd gelīdegað. *John* XIV, 26, *Paracletus autem Spiritus sanctus*, is translated in the WS. Gospels by *sē hālīga frōfre gāst*, but in the other passages *Paracletus* is rendered by *Frefriend*; cf. Cook's *Christ*, p. 100, and Bright, *Gospel of St. John*, p. 160.

907^b-909. Cf. ll. 979^b-980; 1153^b-1154. The passage is plainly a reminiscence of homiletic phrasing.

909. See 294, note, 1153, 1539, 1568; and, for other examples of *tō* with *sēcan*, see Einenkel, *Streifzüge durch die mittlenglische Syntax*, p. 202.

910. Cf. *Gu.* 1028: *sipþan hē mē fore ēagum onsȳne wearð.* Grein, *Spr.* II, 352, glosses only the form *onsȳn*, noun, but B.-T., p. 758, glosses correctly *onsȳn*, noun, and *onsȳne*, adj.; cf. **gesȳne**, l. 526, etc. The only occurrences of **onsȳne**, adj., are these two passages in the *Andreas* and the *Guthlac*.

912. **þurh cnihtes hād.** 'In the form, character, of a boy.' Cf. *Sat.* 495: *þurh fæmnan hād*; *El.* 72, *Ap.* 27: *on weres hāde.* Cf. Bonnet, p. 87: *uenit ad eum dominus Iesus Christus in effigia pulcerrimi pueri.*

914^a. Cf. *Beow.* 407: *Wes þū, Hroðgār, hāl.* A regular formula of greeting; cf. MnE. *wassail*. — **willgedryht.** Cf. **willgeofa**, 62, 1282; *wilgesīð*, *Beow.* 23, *Gen.* 2003; *wilboda*, *Gu.* 1220; *wilgedryht* occurs also *Ph.* 342.

915. **ferðgefēonde.** So 1584, *El.* 174, 990.

917. **grynsmiðas.** The only occurrence of the compound. For the meaning of the first element, cf. *Beow.* 930: *Fela ic lāðes gebād, grynna æt Grendle.* Cf. l. 86, note.

926-935. The Lord's rebuke to Andrew is in the original; see *Introd.*, p. xxv.

930. **þing gehēgan.** 'Accomplish the meeting,' i.e. the meeting with Matthew. Cf. 157; and *Ph.* 493: *seonað gehēgan.*

932. **wēga gewinn.** Grein first read **wēga gewinn**, but Gn.² changes to **wega gewinn**, 'labor viarum.' I find no parallel to **wega gewinn**; but with **wēga gewinn** cf. l. 197, and *Beow.* 1469: under *ȳða gewinn*. — 932^b. Cf. *El.* 945: *Wite ðū þe gearwor*; *Jul.* 556: *wiste hē þi gearwor.*

936. **ræd ædre ongit.** 'Straightway learn my will.' Hall remarks, 'This hemistich is a crux of the first water; it probably means, "Be not afraid, but maintain your composure."' There is no difficulty in interpreting the passage if one takes **ræd** in the sense of 'command,' 'counsel,' 'will,' as in l. 1498. The lines 939^b ff. then complete the meaning of this half-line.

938^b. So 1721^b; *Gu.* 608; *Chr.* 1515; *Jud.* 348; *Gen.* 1015.

939^a. Cf. *cræft ond miht*, *Dan.* 328, *Az.* 44, *Chr.* 218.

940^a. So 1038, 1065; *Beow.* 1928.

942. **hēafodmāgan.** The MS. reading is **-magū = -magum**, and is evidently due to inadvertence; the mistake might easily occur after **-dolgum** and preceding **-nettum**, MS. **-nettū**. The reading of Grimm, Kemble, and Grein (so also B.-T., p. 514, Simons, p. 74), **hēafodmāgan**, 'cognatus principalis vel proximus.'

looks back to l. 940, **þīn brōðor**. The form **hēafodmāga** does not occur, however, except in this emended passage; but *hēafodmæg* is found *Gen.* 1200, 1605, and note especially *Beow.* 588: *þinum brōðrum, hēafodmægum*. As simplex, *māga* is common, and cf. *wuldormāga, Gu.* 1067. If we read *hēafodmāgu* with Baskerville and Wülker, the compound would mean 'leader, captain,' which neither describes the relation existing between Andrew and Matthew nor takes sufficient account of l. 940^b. There is nothing in the Greek version corresponding to l. 940^b, or to **hēafodmāgan**; the *Legend*, p. 119, says merely *tō Mathæum þinum brøþer*. For this passage Professor Hart suggests *hēafodmāga*, gen. pl., appositively to **mānra**, l. 941; but the word is somewhat too dignified to be used appropriately of the Mermedonians.

946. **elpēodigra**. A genitive dependent on **eal þæt mancynn**, 945.

947. **gebundene**. According to strict law of concord the form should be **gebunden**, as Holthausen (see variants) suggests, agreeing with **mancynn**, l. 945. But the plural idea of **elpēodigra** easily passes over into the word that follows it.

948. See 356, note.

949. **secgende wæs**. This is the only example of the periphrastic historical preterit in *Andreas*, and, according to Pessels, *The Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 50, the only other example in verse is *Beow.* 1105, where, however, the verb is in the optative mood. Apparently *Beow.* 3028: *swā se secg hwata secgende wæs*, has escaped Pessels. In prose the construction is frequent.

950. **ēdre genēðan**. One expects *aldre genēðan*, as in l. 1351, *Ap.* 17; but cf. *Ap.* 50.

952. **dæled**. The change to **dæled** is necessary unless one takes **dælan** as intransitive (cf. l. 5), **þīn hrā** being then the subject of **secal dælan**.

954. **faran flōde blōd**. The construction is awkward and the statement a bit extravagant. Should one read *faran on foldan blōd*? Cf. Bonnet, p. 88: *ita sanguis tuis fluent in terra sicut aqua*.

956. **slege**. Grimm's reading *slage*, accepted also by Grein, is apparently in deference to the form **mānslaga**, l. 1218. But **slege** is an authentic form; cf. Glossary, and *Jul.* 229: *slege þrowade*.

957^b-958^a. **þrym, -gewinn**. See 887, note.

962. **bennum**. The form **bennum** occurs twice in *Andreas*, the form **bendum** the same number of times. Wülker, p. 45, incorrectly ascribes the reading **bendum** to the MS. in l. 1038. Cf. also *Dan.* 435, *benne*; *Jul.* 519, *bennum*. The forms **bendum** and **bennum** are to be regarded as doublets and need not be changed all to **bendum**. See Kluge, *Anglia* IV, 105-106, and Bright, *MLN.* I, 10.

963. **weras wansællge**. So *El.* 478, 977; *Beow.* 105: *wonsæli wer* (i.e. Grendel).

965. Grein and Wülker put a semicolon after **gecŷðan**, the other Edd. only a comma. After **þehte**, l. 966, Kemble puts a semicolon, the other Edd. only a comma. Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 13) encloses **rōd wæs aræred** within parentheses, otherwise following Wülker's punctuation. After **aræred** all Edd. have a comma.

966. **gealgan þehte**. So *Ap.* 22. The word *gealga*, literally 'gallows,' is used in all the early Germanic dialects to indicate the cross on which Christ was crucified; cf. Kluge, *Etym. Wört.*⁶, s.v. *galgen*. So also the appropriate verb

which is used for 'crucify' in Anglo-Saxon is *hōn, āhōn*; see *Ap.* 41. Crucifixion does not appear to have been a method of punishment with which the early Germanic peoples were acquainted; hanging, however, was a familiar penalty. 'The punishment of the gallows was widely used by our earliest ancestors, and finds a varied expression in the older literature, — chiefly in Scandinavian poetry. It was by no means so ignoble an exit from life as it is now, and indicated no absolute disgrace like the vile indignities of the hurdle and the swamp. The gallows did not mutilate a body, and its victim had, moreover, a chance to join the Wild Huntsman as he swept by, and so to storm the heights of Heaven and Valhalla. Nay, Odin himself, as he tells us in the *Hávamál*, "hung nine nights on the windy tree," that is upon the gallows; and whether or not this be a Norse version of the Crucifixion, the honorable association remains. . . . Later it was the prerogative of nobles to be beheaded, while common men were hanged; but the poet of *Beowulf* seems to indicate that if the old king, Hrethel, had punished Hæthcyn in the way of blood-feud for the innocent murder of the elder brother Herebeald, it would have been by the gallows. The monarch cannot bring himself to it:

Grievous it is for the gray-hair'd man
To bide the sight that his son must ride
Young on the gallows.

ll. 2444-2446.

We may conclude that a gallows-destiny, while not yearned for, and far less noble than death by sword or spear, did not acquire its peculiar disgrace until the middle ages.' Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 240-241. See further Bugge, *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Hellesagns Oprindelse*, 1st series, pp. 291-304, in his discussion of *Hávamál*.

967^a. So *El.* 886; cf. *Chr.* 1065-1066: ond sēo hēa rōd, ryht ārāred; *Vision of the Cross*, 44: rōd wæs ic ārāred.

968-969^a. Cf. *Chr.* 1112: and of his sīdan swā some swāt forlētan; *Chr.* 1449-1450^a: of mīnre sīdan swāt ūt gutun, drēor tō foldan; *Sat.* 545^b-546^a: þær hē his swāt forlēt feallon tō foldan. See *John XIX*, 34.

970^a. So *Gu.* 905.

971. þurh blīðne hige. 'With kindly intent.'

972. This line is variously interpreted. It seems best to take **on ellþeode** as meaning 'in this foreign land,' i.e. in Mermedonia, and **swā** as meaning 'how,' 'according as.' Translate, accordingly, 'I wished therein with kindly intent to give to you an example according as it shall be shown [i.e. the example shall be realized] in this foreign land.' Cf. *Legend*, p. 119, l. 23: ac eall ic hit ārafneðe þæt ic ēow ætēowe hwylice gemete gē sculon ārafnan. Of the translators, only Kemble makes **on ellþeode** refer specifically to Mermedonia.

975^a. So *Chr.* 1352, 1507.

978^a. So *Chr.* 136, 215, 1681; *Jud.* 289; *Hy.* III, 22; cf. also ll. 874, 1192, and see Cook's *Christ*, p. 133.

979. **ēaðmēdum**. The word usually means 'humbly,' but translate here 'joyfully' (Grein, *Dicht.*, 'mit Grossmut'); and cf. *Gu.* 299: on elne ond on **ēaðmēdum**, and *Jud.* 170: hīe mid **ēaðmēdum** in forlētōn (Cook, *Judith* (1889), translates

'in lowly wise they let her in,' but the context shows that *mid ðaðmēdum* means 'joyfully'. — **þær is ār gelang.** Cf. *Jul.* 645: þær is help gelang; *Seuf.* 121: þær is lif gelang; *Chr.* 152, 365: is sēo bōt gelang eall at þē. See also Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 151: þonne ūs forlætað ealle ūre woruldfrynd, ne magun hī ūs þonne ænigum gōde, ac bið æt gode ānum gelang eall hwæt wē gefaran sceolon. See 907–909, note.

980^b. So 1154^b.

982^a. **beaduwe heard.** Cf. *Beow.* 1539: beadwe heard.

985. Cf. *Beow.* 320: stræt wæs stānfāh, stīg wīsode.

986. Grein's reading **hine** for **him** should probably be accepted here, as there appears to be no reason why the dative should be used.

988^a. So *Beow.* 2786; *EL* 1104; *Chr.* 802; cf. of *hām wangstede*, *EL* 793; *Panther* 45.

991^a. So *Gu.* 124.

992. **hlōð.** The word may have here specific meaning. Cf. *Legal Code of Alfred*, ed. Turk, p. 114: ðeofas wē hātað oð .vii. men, from .vii. hlōð oð .xxxv., siððan bið here.

994^b. Cf. *Jul.* 675: swylt ealle fornōm; *Beow.* 1436: þe hine swylt fornōm (of one of the water-monsters); *EL* 447: ær þec swylt nime. Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities in Andreas and Elene*, pp. 4–5, groups together a number of similar expressions, e.g. *Beow.* 1205: hyne wyrd fornōm; *Beow.* 1080: wīg ealle fornōm; *EL* 131: sūme wīg fornōm, etc., in all of which he sees personifications of Fate, or Wyrd. But there is probably no conscious figure in the passages. See 613^b, note; 1531^b, note.

996. **heorodrēorige.** **Hæleð** must be plural, to agree with **dōmlēase**, l. 995, and the number in l. 994; and the more probable reading is that which holds **hæleð** and the adjective following it together, rather than the adjective and **ðeadræs**, 995. Grein, *Spr.* II, 70, supposes an uninflected accusative plural, **-drēorig**.

997. **bilwytne.** B.-T., p. 101, explains this word as follows: '*bile*, "the beak," *hwit*, "white," referring to the *beaks* of young birds, then to their nature'; this remarkable explanation the dictionary ascribes to Junius. It has been frequently repeated, e.g. by Sweet, *Anglo-Saxon Primer*, p. 96. The *NED.*, s.v. *bilewhit*, states that the etymology is doubtful, but that the word is probably derived from 'Oteut. **bili*, cognate with OIr. *bil*, "good," "mild," and found in OHG. *billich*, Mod. Ger. *billig*, "just," "reasonable," + *wit*, giving the sense "mild of wit or mind." Cf. Ger. *bilwiz*, "a good friendly house-spirit," Grimm, *Germ. Myth.* (ed. 4), III, 137 (Eng. ed. II, 473), and *Billy-blind*. The interpretation "white of bill" like a young bird (from OE. *bile* + *hwit*) was current at an early date, as shown by 12th century spellings; cf. French *bec-jaune*, Ger. *gelb-schnabel*, though these are depreciatory rather than laudatory, and it must be noted that the earlier spellings had not *hwit*, but *wite*.' The word *Billy-blind* is found in ballads in the sense of a benevolent household spirit; cf. Child, *English and Scottish Ballads* I, 67.

999. **Godes dryhtendōm.** The MS. has **gōd**, but the quantity-mark is frequently found where the vowel is surely short, as e.g. l. 1030^b, where the MS. has

gōd, but the context demands **god**. Wülker inclines to the opinion that **gōd** must be taken as noun = *munificentia*, object of **herede**, 'ein begriff der zu **bilwyne fæder** ganz gut passen würde.' But stylistically this reading is very awkward; cf. ll. 722-724, in which the phrasing is exactly similar to the present passage. **Dryhtendōm** as compound occurs only in the present passage; the formation, however, is normal; cf. *dryhtenbealu*, *Gu.* 1323.

999^b-1000. Kemble reads **dura**, translating 'Soon he attacked the door.' Cf. *Beow.* 721-722:

Duru sōna onarn
fyrbendum fæst, syþðan hē hire folmum hrān.

The *Legend*, p. 120, ll. 10-11, reads: *Sē hālgā Andrēas þā ēode tō þas carcernes duru, and hē worhte Crīstes rōde tācen, and rabe þā dura wæron ontýnede*, agreeing with the Greek version, Walker, p. 358, 'and he marked the gate with the sign of the cross, and it opened of its own accord.'

1000. **hāliges gāstes**. The only other occurrence of **gāst** meaning a human being in *Andreas* is l. 1621.

1001^b. So 1263^b. Cf. *Gu.* 1268^a: *ēadig elnes gemyndig*.

1002. **hæle hilledēor**. So *Beow.* 1646, 1816, 3111; *El.* 935: *hæleþ hilledēor*. *Heaðudēor* occurs twice in the *Beowulf*. — **hæðene swāfon**. *Swefan*, 'sleep the sleep of death'; cf. *Beow.* 2060: *æfter billes bite blōdfæg swefeð*; so also *Beow.* 2256, 2746; *Ex.* 495. Cf. also **sweordum āswebban**, l. 72; **wāpnum āswebban**, *Ap.* 69.

1003. **drēore druncne**. Cosijn would emend to *bēore druncne*, following *Beow.* 480 and *Jul.* 486; in both these passages, however, *bēore druncne* is in keeping with the context. In the *Andreas* the context demands **drēore**; cf. l. 1003^b and **heorodrēorig**, l. 996.

1005^a. So 1054^a; *Chr.* 534; *Gen.* 1550, 1709; *Jud.* 303.

1008^a. Cf. *El.* 322: *gehðum gēomre*.

1010^b. So *Chr.* 529, *Gu.* 926, *Vision of the Cross* 148; cf. *Jud.* 97-98: *þā wearð . . . hyht genīwod*.

1012. Cf. *Beow.* 1626: *gode þancodon . . . þæs þe hī hyne gesundne gesēon mōston*; *Beow.* 1997: *gode ic þanc sege þæs ðe ic ðe gesundne gesēon mōste*; *Beow.* 1874: *him wæs bēga wēn . . . þæt hīe seoððan gesēon mōston*. The construction in *Beow.* 1874 is mentioned by Kluge, *PBB.* IX, 190, and Bright, *MLN.* II, 82, as affording proof of the use of *gesēon* as intransitive reflexive; Sievers, *PBB.* IX, 140, overlooking the parallel between the passage in *Beowulf* and that in *Andreas*, suggests a number of textual emendations which a comparison of the passages shows to be unjustifiable. Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 273, suggested that **hīe**, l. 1012^a, be taken as the object of **gesēon**, the subject being unexpressed; but, afterwards, *Anglia* XXIII, 299, inclines to accept **gesēon** as intransitive.

1013. **syb wæs gemæne**. Cf. *Beow.* 1857: *sib gemæne*; *Chr.* 581: *sib sceal gemæne*.

1015^b. So *El.* 1235 (of Christ upon the cross).

1016^a. Cf. *Wand.* 42: *clyppe and cysse*; and, for frequent occurrences of the formula in later literature, see Fehr, *Die formelhaften Elemente in den alten englischen Balladen*, table XIII.

1019^a. See 769, note.

1023 ff. The passage in the *Legend*, p. 120, l. 14 ff., corresponding to the omitted parts of the narrative here, is as follows: Sē ēadiga Mathēus þā and sē hāliga Andrēas hie wæron cysende him betwēon. Sē hāliga Andrēas him tō cwæð, 'Hwæt is þæt, brōþor? Hū eart þū hēr gemet? Nū þrȳ dagas tō lāfe syndon þæt hie þē willað ācwellan, and him tō mete gedōn.' Sē hāliga Mathēus him andswarode, and hē cwæð, 'Brōþor Andrēas, ac ne gehȳrdest þū Drihten cweþende, "For þon þe ic ēow sende swā swā scēap on middum wulfum?" Þanon wæs geworden, mid þȳ þe hie mē sendon on þis carcern, ic bæd ūrne Drihten þæt hē hine ætēowde, and hraþe hē mē hine ætēowde, and hē mē tō cwæð, "Onbīd hēr xxvii daga, and æfter þon ic sende tō hē Andrēas þinne brōðor, and hē þē ūt ālæx of þissum carcern and ealle þā [þe] mid þē syndon." Swā mē Drihten tō cwæð, ic gesō. Brōðor, hwæt sculon wē nū dōn?' Sē hāliga Andrēas þā and sē hāliga Mathēus gebædon tō Drihtne, and æfter þon gebede sē hāliga Andrēas sette his hand ofer þāra wera ēagan þe þær on þām carcerne wæron, and gesihþe hie onfēngon. And eft hē sette his hand ofer hiora heortan, and heora andgit him eft tō hwirfde. The Greek version agrees in the main with the *Legend*, but as usual is somewhat more detailed.

1028. Grimm, Kemble, and Baskervill set only a comma after **Godes**; but a heavier pause is better. **Se hāliga**, l. 1029, refers specifically to Matthew, and it is his special prayer that follows, l. 1030 ff.

1034^b. Cf. *Dan.* 438: ac hie on friðe drihtnes.

1035. Cf. *El.* 2-3: tū hund ond þrēo geteled rīmes, swylce .xxx. ēac.

1035 ff. It seems quite probable that the second half of lines 1036 and 1040 were never filled out; it should be noticed that the first half of both lines gives merely a number. If the lines are thus regarded as incomplete, it is not necessary to suppose any omissions in the text. Comparison with the *Legend* and the Greek version indicates also that nothing has been lost.

The numbers in the different versions vary: the *Legend*, p. 121, gives 248 men and 49 women; the Greek version (Bonnet, p. 94) has in some MSS. 270 men, in others 249 men; the number of women in all MSS. is 49. If l. 1036 is to be filled out, the completed number, 249, is the most probable reading. Wülker's reading *seofontig* is an attempt to make the Anglo-Saxon agree with the Greek version; but the regular form for 70 would be *hundseofontig*, not *seofontig*.

B.² suggests retaining the MS. reading **on**, l. 1039, changing **þær** to **þæm**, and emending l. 1040 to read **ānes wana orwyrþe fiftig**. The passage as thus reconstructed he would translate 'Two hundred, counted by number, also seventy [following Wülker], he saved from destruction; there he left not one fast with bonds in the city inclosure, out of which [i.e. **on þæm**] then also, in addition to the men, of women fifty wanting one he freed from ignominy, from fright.'

1037^a. Cf. *Beow.* 827: genered wið nīðe; *Chr.* 1258: generede from nīðcwale.

1040. **ānes wana þe fiftig**. *Wana*, usually as indeclinable adj. with the genitive, is of frequent occurrence: see Shipley, p. 83; Sievers, *Gram.*, § 291, note 2, and *PBB.* IX, 255, 264. There is no example beside the present passage, however, in which it is followed by the particle *þe* before a numeral. But see B.-T., pp. 1164-1165, for examples of *wan þe*, *læs þe*, followed, as here, by a numeral.

The construction **wana þe** is probably due to contamination with *wan þe, las þe*, etc.

1044 ff. Matthew here drops out of the story, his name not being mentioned again. The poem does not make clear what becomes of him; but in the *Legend* and the Greek version we are told more specifically of the action of Matthew and the throng of the rescued. The rescued men and women are commanded to go to the lower parts of the city and sit under a fig-tree and eat of its fruit until Andrew shall come to them. Matthew and his disciples are conveyed under cover of a cloud to St. Peter, with whom they remain (cf. *Legend*, p. 121, Bonnet, p. 94). The narrative in the *Andreas* compresses the account in that Matthew leads out the rescued men and women, the whole party being covered with the cloud; and, as indicated, nothing is said as to their destination.

1046. weorod on wilsīð. Cf. *Beow.* 216: *weras on wilsīð*; *El.* 223: *wif on wilsīþ*.

1047. scyldhatan. 'Wicked persecutors, enemies,' appositive to **ealdgeniðlan**, 1048. The only other occurrence of this word is l. 1147; probably, however, **scyldhetum**, l. 85, is to be regarded merely as a variant form. The first element is intensive as in *scyldfrece*, *Gen.* 898. A noun-compound of similar formation is found in *El.* 1299: *lēase lēodhatan*; *Jud.* 72: *lāðne lēodhatan*, etc. The second element in all these compounds is to be connected with *hatian*, 'to hate,' 'persecute.' The word *scyldhata* is accordingly not to be connected with Mod. Germ. *schultheiss*, 'judge,' which appears in OHG. *scultheitzo* with the meaning *tribunus, centurio*, as is done by Grein, *Spr.* II, 415, under the form *scyldhāta*; the word is correctly glossed by B.-T., p. 847, under *scyldhata*. Cf. Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 164, l. 11: *cyrichatan hetole and lēodhatan grimme*. — **scyððan.** The usual form of this verb is *scēððan*, the only examples with *y* as the radical vowel being, according to Sievers, *PBB.* IX, 210, the present passage and l. 1561.

1048. After **ealdgeniðlan**, Grimm, Grein, and Wülker have only a comma.

1056^a. So *Ex.* 432; *Hy.* IV, 43; *El.* 80.

1059^a. Cf. *Ph.* 519, *Chr.* 576: *gōngað glædmōde*; *El.* 1095: *glædmōð ēode*; *Jud.* 140: *oð hie glædmōde gegan hæfdon*. — **tō þæs ðe.** **Tō** followed by the genitive occurs three times in *Andreas* (cf. ll. 1070, 1123), and in all three passages the construction plainly has the sense of limit of motion. Shipley, p. 118, groups such constructions as occurring after verbs of motion to express the object of motion, and points out that the construction is unknown to Anglo-Saxon prose.

1061. oððæt. Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 14, thinks the word **þær** should appear after **oððæt**, but the expression looks back to l. 1058^b and is complete as it stands.

1062. stapul ārenne. The words correspond to *στῦλον χαλκοῦν*, Bonnet, p. 94, and *Legend*, p. 121, l. 21, *swer*; in both the Greek and the *Legend* the column is surmounted by an image, which is described in the *Legend* as *ārne onlicnesse*, though the column itself is not said to be made of brass. Nothing is said of the image in the poem.

1065. þanon bāsnode. The expression indicates the direction from which that which he awaits is to come; cf. Sievers, *PBB.* XII, 193.

1068. frumgāras. The word is frequently used in the sense 'patriarch,' see B.-T., p. 342; but also, as here, 'leader, chief.' Cf. the Roman *primipilus*, the first centurion of the first cohort; and see T. Rice Holmes, "Who were 'the Centurions of the First Rank'?", in his *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul* (London, 1899), pp. 571-583. The term *primipilus* was evidently a technical term of rank in the Roman army, although the limits of its inclusion do not appear to be definitely determined. In Anglo-Saxon, however, the term *frumgār* does not appear to have technical meaning.

1069^a. So *Chr.* 1614.

1071^a. So *Jul.* 544.

1072-1074. Cf. *Gu.* 635:

Wëndun gē ond woldun wīþerhygende,
þæt gē scyppende sceoldan gelīce
wesan in wuldre; ēow þær [þæs?] wyrs gelomp.

1074^b. So *Beow.* 2323; *Gen.* 49, 1446.

1075-1077. Cf. *Jul.* 236-237:

Ðā was mid clūstre carcernes duru
behliden, homra geweorc.

1078. unhyðige. The only other occurrence of this word in the poetry is *Gu.* 1302; a single occurrence has also been noted in prose, cf. B.-T., p. 1119, and Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 14, where it is synonymous with *earn*, the opposite to *welig*.

1079. lāðspell beran. Cf. l. 1295^b.

1081-1082. Wülker, reading *ænig* in 1081, takes this word as subject of *gemette*, 1082. He translates 'dass der Fremden nicht einer übrig geblieben im Gefängnisse (ihnen) lebendig begegnet sei.' But, as Sievers points out (*PBB.* XVI, 551), *-mētan* is used here as a synonym of *findan*, and demands an object. He remarks that *ænigne tō lāfe* 'nicht in den vers passt,' and suggests *æn(i)ge tō lāfe, in carcerne, cwic ne gemetton*. But the metrical argument does not seem to be sufficient reason for rejecting the natural reading *ænigne* in 1081.

1084. gāste berofene. Cf. *since berofene, Ex.* 36; *golde berofene, Beow.* 2931.

1085^a. Cf. *Beow.* 1568: *fægne flæscho*man. — **1085^b.** Cf. *Chr.* 801: *þær sceal forht monig*; and see 1549, 1596.

1086^a. So also *Jul.* 267.

1087^a. So 1557, *Gen.* 879; *hēane hygegēomre, El.* 1215, *Chr.* 994.

1088. blātes bēodgastes. There is nothing in the *Legend* or the Greek version corresponding to this striking figure.

1090. dēade gefeormedon. Cf. 1077^b. Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 15) would read *hrā gefeormedon: huru þegnum wearð*, etc., citing *Chr.* 789 in proof that *huru* may carry the main metrical stress. But *durupegnum* is so appropriate to the context that one hesitates to change it. Sievers regards the line, which scans $\underline{\text{L}} \times \times | \underline{\text{L}} \tilde{\text{X}} \times$, as metrically imperfect, because in lines of this type only one unstressed syllable should follow the first stressed syllable. But he himself (*PBB.* X, 255) records a verse of the type $\underline{\text{L}} \times \times \times | \underline{\text{L}} \underline{\text{L}} \times$. Cf. also *Ap.* 4: *torhte ond tīrēad(i)ge, \underline{\text{L}} \times \times | \underline{\text{L}} \underline{\text{L}} \times, and *An.* 1108^a, $\times \tilde{\text{X}} \times \times | \underline{\text{L}} \times \underline{\text{L}}$.*

1092. hildbedd stýred. 'For them all was the war-couch prepared.' The passage with which one would like to connect this is *Beow.* 2436: *morðorbed strēd*; so Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 15) derives **stýred** from *strewian*, and *strēd*, emended to *streid*, in the *Beowulf*, from the same verb. But it is difficult to see how **stýred** can derive from *strewian*. B.-T., p. 931, glosses **stýred** under *styrian*, 'stir, disturb,' and explains the passage as meaning that their bed was disturbed when they, the dead watchmen, were portioned out as food to the Mermedonians; so also Grimm, p. 125, 'so mag **hildbedd styran** sein "das ehrenbett verwehren, entziehen, stören," eher als "das todesbett steuern, ordnen."' But Grimm and B.-T. appear to overlook the meaning of the first half of l. 1092; the **hildbedd** is **stýred** as result of a grievous conflict, i.e. the struggle with Andrew and Matthew. Grein's explanation of the word, *Spr.* II, 491, as derived from infinitive *stýran*, *stieran*, with the first meaning 'guide, direct,' a well-defined second meaning 'restrain, control,' and for the present passage a third meaning, 'appoint, ordain, arrange,' seems altogether to be the most probable one. Cf. Hall, 'For each of the door-thanes was the deathbed appointed.'

1094. burgwaru. Sievers (*PBB.* I, 489), notes this example and one other, *Iufu, Hy.* VII, 30, as the only instances of the acc. sg. of fem. *a*-stems ending in *-u*.

1095. gengan. A form of the verb found only in the poetry; see *Gram.*, § 396, note 2.

1096. mödige. This example seems to have escaped Sievers, *PBB.* X, 460.

1097^a. So *Rid.* XXIII, 11. — **1097^b.** Cf. *Beow.* 835: þær wæs eal geador Gren-dles grāpe.

1099. taan. See 6, note; 649^a, note.

1100 ff. The poet omits a necessary step in the motivation of the narrative here. This whole episode of the choosing of a victim from their own number by the Mermedonians is omitted in the *Legend*; but the Greek version (Bonnet, pp. 94-95) relates that as the hands of the Mermedonians were lifted in the act of mutilating the bodies of the dead watchmen, at the prayer of Andrew the knives fell from their hands and their hands were turned to stone. It thus became necessary to cast lots in order to determine which of their number should be offered as food for the rest. Another interesting detail is omitted by the Anglo-Saxon version in the present passage. According to the Greek (Bonnet, p. 96) the Mermedonians determine to subsist upon the bodies of the seven dead watchmen until they shall be able to send out their young men in boats to attack the neighboring countries and bring in some victims with which to satisfy their hunger. Gutschmid, p. 382, points out that this statement accords with the identification of Mermedonia as the *πολιχνιον Μυρμηκιον* of Strabo, Bk. VII, 4, 5, since the Achaians of the east coast of the Black Sea, as well as other tribes of the region, were, according to Strabo, notorious pirates (cf. *Introd.*, p. lxxi).

1104 ff. In the Greek version, the lot falls upon seven old men; of these seven one offers his son in his stead, and later his daughter as well. The Anglo-Saxon version says nothing of the seven men or of the daughter.

1107^b. Cf. *Gu.* 599: fēores orwēnan.

1111. lāc. For the etymology of this word, see Bradley, *Academy* XXXVI, 24-25 (July 13, 1889).

1112^a. Cf. *Gu.* 95-96: þām þe his giefie willað þicgan tō þonce.

1113. **mōdgēomre**. The compound occurs also 1708 and *Beow.* 2894; but the more frequent form is *gēomormōd*. The syntax here is nom. pl., agreeing with the sense, not the grammar, of **þēod**, nom. sg. fem.

1115^b-1116^a. Cf. *Beow.* 2278-2279: *Stēā se ðēodsceaða . . . hēold on hrusan hordærna sum*, of the dragon which guarded the treasure.

1116. **rēow rīcsoðe**. The metre requires double alliteration and therefore favors the change from **hrēow** to **rēow**. The MS. reading **hrēow** in the present passage is the only occurrence of that form for **rēow** (cf. Sievers, *PBB.* IX, 257).

1118^a. So *Ph.* 550. — The Edd. have no punctuation after **onbryrðed**, but a period after **beadulāce**.

1119^b. So *Edg.* 34 (*Bibl.* II, 384).

1122. **eogoðe**. Initial **g** is also omitted in **eador**, 1627; see *Gram.*, § 214, 7.

1124. **herigweardas**. Corresponding to the Greek *οἱ ἥμιοι*, Bonnet, p. 96, l. 5, and frequently in this episode. Perhaps nowhere is the grotesqueness of the narrative in the *Andreas* so striking as in the present passage, in which an army is called together with all the accompaniments of battle for the purpose of devouring their single victim.

1125. **ceastrewarena**. Perhaps one should read here **ceaster-**, as in 1646, *El.* 42, as is suggested by Napier, *Old English Glosses*, p. 103, note. But the MS. of the *Andreas* presents in many respects a late text, and it may be that here we have an example of the tendency in late West Saxon to extend the *-e* of the oblique case of feminine nouns to the nominative; cf. *Ap.* 11, **Rōmebyrig**, and see Meyer, *Zur Sprache d. jüng. Theile d. Chronik von Peterborough*, § 38. That the word is to be taken as compound, and not as two words, as is done by Grein and Baskervill, is sufficiently established by its use in other passages. Wülker, note to l. 1125, incorrectly ascribes **ceasterwarena** to *Spr.* I, 159; the citation there agrees with Grein's text. — **cym upp āstāh**. Bourauel, p. 82, unnecessarily supposes this phrase to have been derived from Virgil, *Aeneid* V, 451, *It clamor coelo*; see also ll. 761-762, note. Cf. *Beow.* 782: *sweg ūp āstāg*; *Gu.* 234: *wōð ūp āstāg cearfulra cirm*; *Jul.* 62: *reord ūp āstāg*.

1127^b. Also l. 1342^b; *Jul.* 615; *hearmleoð āgōl*.

1128^a. So *Gen.* 2100, 2479, 2699.

1130. The logical relation of the clause introduced by **þe** is that of a clause explanatory of what precedes; thus Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 272, translates 'Schonung bei dem volke, dass es ihm das leben, das dasein, gönnen wollte.' Examples of similar construction are *Dan.* 607; *Beow.* 1334, 2606. Grein, *Dicht.*, takes **þe** as relative, its antecedent being **folce**: 'doch der Arme konnte da durchaus nicht finden Gnade bei dem Volke, die ihm gönnen wollte seines Lebens Fristung.'

1132. **sæcce gesōhte**. Cf. *Beow.* 1989: *sæcce sēcean*; *ibid.* 2562: *sæcce tō sēceanne*. Cf. *El.* 940: *sæce rāran*; *Beow.* 2499, *Rid.* LXXXVIII, 29: *sæcce fremman*.

1133. **scūrheard**. The exact meaning of the compound has not been satisfactorily determined. It is found only in this passage and in *Beow.* 1033, and is defined by B.-T. 'made hard by blows,' by Grein, *Spr.* II, 415, 'ictu durus,' *Dicht.*

'schauerhart.' Pearce, *MLN.* VII, 193, explains *scūrheard* as meaning 'hardened in water,' 'shower of water' passing into 'water at rest.' Professor Hart, *MLN.* VIII, 61, quotes the following phrase (from Lumby, *Be Domes Dage*, p. 16, l. 264): *ne þāw hagul scūras hearde mid snawe*, i.e. *hagulscūras*, and takes *scūrheard* as = 'sharp,' 'cutting like a storm.' Palmer, *MLN.* VIII, 122, gives the compound an active sense and takes it to mean 'hard in battle,' *scūr* 'the strokes of the sword in battle.' This seems the most probable meaning of the word, and although *scūr* is not found in Anglo-Saxon in the sense of 'battle,' clearly defined examples occur in Chaucer, *Tr. and Cr.* III, 1063-1064, IV, 47-49 (see my note, *MLN.* XIX, 234), and later in the ballads, in the derived sense 'attack,' e.g. 'It was a shourir o sad sickness,' Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* III, 385; also I, 68, II, 105, III, 386.

1137-1138^a. Cf. *Beow.* 1477-1478^a: *gif ic æt þearfe þinre scolde aldre linnan.*

1139. The fact that the first half-line is too short metrically, as it is preserved in the MS., does not seem to Wülker sufficient reason for an emendation; if the half-line is to be filled out, however, he suggests *þrist ond protheard*, as in l. 1264.

1140^a. So also l. 1515; *Wand.* 62; *Men.* 82; *Beow.* 2757: *magobegn mōdig.*

1142-1143. A reminiscence, Cosijn thinks (*PBB.* XXI, 15), of the earlier passage, ll. 50-51.

1144^a. So *Chr.* 760, 789; *Jul.* 263; *El.* 1086; *Gu.* 910; cf. also *Gu.* 1061: *hālig on hēahþu.*

1145. The figure is not found in the Greek version; cf. Walker, p. 362, 'and straightway the knives were loosened and fell out of the hands of the executioners.' Perhaps the poet had in mind *Beow.* 1608, *þæt hit eal gemealt ise gelicost*, of the sword of Beowulf with which he slew Grendel's mother. But the use of wax in the figure is quite likely due to association in the poet's mind with the altar candles; cf. *Chr.* 989: *byrneþ wæter swā weax.*

1147. The scribe evidently wrote *scēaðan* here as an appositive to *scyldhatan*. But the metre and the sense both require the verb; the forms of the word which appear in the *Andreas* are *scyððan*, l. 1047, and *scyðeð*, l. 1561. Perhaps one should read here *scyððan*.

1154. Translate 'eternal peace for him who can attain it.' Retaining both *frēond* and *hīe* as in the MS., it would be necessary to make *hīe* refer back to *gēoce*, l. 1152 — a possible but improbable construction. Grein, *Dicht.*, translates 'Freundliebe unvergänglich dem der sie finden kann'; K. inconsistently retains *hīe* and translates 'an eternal friend for him who can find him'; Root, 'There is eternal peace ever prepared for those who can attain,' omitting the object. See 907^b-909, note.

1155^a. Cf. *Beow.* 128: *þā wæs æfter wiste wōp ūp āhafen.* — 1155^b. So *Rid.* XXXV, 1.

1156^a. So *Ex.* 107. — 1156^b. So *El.* 54, 550.

1157-1158. Cf. *El.* 611^b-613^a: *þe on wēstenne mēðe ond metelēas mōrland trydeð, hungre gehæfted.*

1158-1159. *Hornsalu* and *wīnræced* are subjects of *wunedon*. But Gn.², placing only a comma after *gehæfte*, takes *hornsalu* and *wīnræced* as accusatives. In *Dicht.*, however, he translates according to his first reading, 'die

Homsäle blieben leer, die Gastgemächer.' Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 15) cites **wēste wīnræced wunian**, and remarks 'contradictio in terminis.' The phrase would be self-contradictory if one took **wīnræced** as accusative, but not if it is taken as subject of the intransitive **wunodon**, 'stood,' 'remained,' cf. 802; *Ap.* 95.

1159. wīnræced. Grimm, p. xxxvii, derives **wīnræced**, as also **wīnburg**, ll. 1637, 1672, and similar compounds, from *wine*, 'friend,' or *wyn*, 'joy,' not from **wīn**, 'wine' — 'denn es wurde bier und meth getrunken.' But the word for friend should appear in compounds as *wine*, e.g. *wīnedryhten*, *wīnemæg*, etc., and the word for joy as *wyn*, e.g. *wynbēam*, *wyndæg*, etc. Wine is mentioned all through the poetry, e.g. *Beow.* 1162: byrelas sealdon wīn of wundorfatum; l. 1233: druncon wīn weras; *Jud.* 8, *wīnhāte*, 'invitation to the wine'; *Jud.* 16, *wīngedrinc*, 'wine-drinking.' For an account of the cultivation of the vine and the use of wine throughout Europe, see Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*³, p. 77 ff.; Gummere, *Germ. Origins*, pp. 71-72. Cf. *meoduburgum*, *Husband's Message* 16; *medobyrig*, *Jud.* 167; *medoærn*, *Beow.* 69. Similar compounds with **wīn** are numerous.

1160. brūcanne. Sievers (*PBB.* X, 482) reads **brūcan** for the sake of the metre; a similar change is proposed for the inflected infinitive in 1481, 1659, 1689. But it should be observed that all these lines have metrically the same form, $\underline{\text{L}} \times \times | \underline{\text{L}} \underline{\text{L}} \times$, and it is extremely likely that they have the poet's sanction in the form in which they appear in the MS.

1161. Cf. *Wand.* 111: gesæt him sundor æt rūne.

1165^a. So *El.* 382. — **1165^b.** Cf. *Vision of the Cross* 80: Is nū sāl cumen.

1166^b. So 1605^b; *El.* 426: is nū þearf mycel; *Jud.* 695: is mē þearf micel; *Chr.* 751, 848: is ūs þearf micel. Cf. 158, note.

1169. Cf. *Chr.* 1564: won ond wītelēas, hafað wērges blēo.

1170^b. So *Jud.* 90, of Holofernes; *Jud.* 93 has *tires brytta*, appositive to *dryhten*.

1171. hellehinea. The only occurrence of the word in Anglo-Saxon; it is in apposition with **dēoful**, l. 1168, and **morpres brytta**, l. 1170. Grimm, p. 129, derives the second element from a hypothetical Anglo-Saxon *hinean*, 'claudicare.' Grein, *Spr.* II, 31, glosses the word by 'Höllenhinker, Teufel,' and cites Anglo-Saxon *ādroma*, 'devil,' in *Gu.* 884, which he explains as compounded of *ād*, 'fire,' and *-lama*, 'lame.' I have not been able to discover other early allusions to the popular belief that the devil was lame. Modern allusions are familiar, e.g. in Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux* (adapted from the Spanish *El Diablo cojuelo*, of Guevara). Le Sage (ed. Jannet, 1867, I, 12-13) draws the obvious parallel between his limping devil and Vulcan, both of whom were crippled through falling from the mid-regions of the air to the earth. The belief in the lameness of the devil is quite probably an outgrowth of the story of the fall of Satan. Cf. Heine, *Werke*, ed. Elster, I, 111:

Ich rief den Teufel und er kam
Und ich sah ihn mit Verwundrung an;
Er ist nicht hässlich und ist nicht lahm,
Er ist ein lieber, scharmanter Mann.

Cf. 'hinke-bein,' and see Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* III, 993; IV, 1603.

1176. nēon. Cf. *Gram.*, § 112, § 150, 3.

1178^b. So *Dan.* 250, 492.

1180. Holthausen (*PBB.* XVI, 551) changes to **gewyrhtan**, "dem tater, urheber," da nur Andreas gemeint ist.' Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 16) objects, however, that the word means here merely 'mitschuldige.' Grein, *Dicht.*, translates 'an dem Würker'; Root, 'on their author.' It seems simpler, however, to take the word as a plural rather than alter the text. The logic which leads Holthausen to change to a singular should demand also a singular for **oncȳðdæda**, since only one deed is mentioned in the preceding lines — the leading out of the people from the prison. But it is a good rhetorical device to change from the particular and the singular to the general and the plural. — 1180^b. Gn.'s emendation, **wæpna spor**, is based on *Jul.* 623; the exact reading, however, at that place, is *wæpnes spor*.

1181. **ealdorgeard**. 'The life-enclosure, the body.' Grimm mentions *Mald.* 296-297; *gār oft þurhæðd fæges feorhhūs*; and this passage confirms the admirable emendation of Kemble and Napier. The word is thus a synonym of **feorh-hord**, l. 1182. Grimm, p. 129, retains the MS. reading **eador-**, as equivalent to *edor, eodor*, 'enclosure,' 'court,' 'dwelling,' the compound **ealdorgeard** meaning 'aula septa,' 'domus.' The whole phrase **ealdorgeard fæges** he defines as 'domus moribundi,' 'caput.' Wülker follows Grimm, except that he takes the phrase as meaning not merely 'head' but 'body' in general. Grein, *Spr.* I, 234, explains **eador-** as meaning 'vein' (cf. *ædr, ædre*, 'vein'), the compound as meaning 'domus venarum,' 'corpus'?

1182^a. So *Ph.* 221.

1188^b. Cf. *Beow.* 511: hē [Grendel] fæg wið God; *Sat.* 97: ic eom fāh wið God.

1189. **Hwat! ðū deōfles stræ̅l**. The corresponding phrase in the *Legend* (p. 122, ll. 10-11) reads: þū heardeste stræ̅l tō æghwiltre unrihtnesse. But the Greek version (Bonnet, p. 100, l. 13) has merely ὦ Βελία ἐχθρότατε. Zupitza (*Haupt's Zs.* XVIII, 185) sees in the **stræ̅l** of the two Anglo-Saxon versions a reflection from their common Latin original. **Stræ̅l** he supposes to be a translation of Latin *sagitta* or *telum*, which in turn is a mistranslation of the *Βελία* of the Greek, taken not for Belial, but for βέλος = 'dart, spear.' Cf. *Chr.* 779: ne þearf him ondrædan deōfsla stræ̅las; Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 214, l. 13: eall mid deōfles stræ̅lum āwrecen.

1190^a. Cf. 1384; *Hy.* IV, 93: *ȳcað his yrmbu*, of the sinner.

1191^a. Cf. *Beow.* 1274: gehnægde hellegäst þā hē hēan gewāt.

1193. **Sātān**. The name Satan is not of frequent occurrence in the verse. Gn., *Spr.* II, 793, records only nine examples, three in *Gen.*, four in *Sat.*, and two in *An.*; to these add one in *Chr.* l. 1522.

1194. For the phrase **Dryhtnes æ̅ dēman**, cf. l. 1403, *Ap.* 10. **Dēman** in the sense 'glorify, celebrate,' is found elsewhere, e.g. *Gen.* 17; *Jul.* 2; *Gu.* 498, etc., but the above three passages are the only occurrences of **æ̅ dēman**. Perhaps Kemble's reading **æ̅** should be followed; the MS. form may be an echo of **ā**, l. 1193.

1197^b. So *Jul.* 243, 345.

1198. Cf. l. 1445; and *Beow.* 2645: for ðām hē manna mæst mæ̅rða gefremede.

1201 ff. Here again (cf. 1100 ff., note) the poet fails to make clear the motivation of his narrative; in the Greek version and the *Legend* this episode is clearly distinguished from the first coming together of the Mermedonians (cf. 1067 ff., 1093 ff.). In the present passage, when Andrew's voice is heard, the devil bids his

followers go in search of him; the passage in the *Legend* (p. 122, ll. 19-21) corresponding to 1201-1205, is as follows: Ðā burhlēode þā urnon, and hī betýndon þære ceastre gatu, and hī sōhton þone hālgan Andrēas þæt hie hine genāmon. Cosijn (*PBB*. XXI, 16) draws a parallel between this threefold description of the arming of the Mermedonians and the threefold description of the coming of Grendel in *Beowulf*, inferring therefrom the naturalness of such repetitions in Anglo-Saxon epic narrative. But the passages in *Andreas* are merely a reflection — and a confused reflection at that — of its source. Cf. 1212, note.

1202^b. So *Ap.* 21: heriges byrhtme; *El.* 205: heriges beorhtme. Cf. 1271^b, note.

1204^a. So *Jud.* 333. — 1204^b. Cf. *Gen.* 1652; 2453: corðrum miclum; *Chr.* 578: corðre ne lýtle; *Edg.* 2: corðre mycclum; *El.* 274, *Ph.* 167: corðra mæste.

1207. So *Sat.* 262; *Chr.* 716; *Gifts of Men* 4; metod . . . mihtum swið, *Dan.* 284, *Az.* 5.

1208. **ellen fremman**. Cf. *Beow.* 3: ellen fremedon; *Beow.* 636-637: ic gefremman sceal eorlic ellen.

1210^b. Cf. *Gu.* 875: næs sēo stund latu.

1212. **cealdan clommum**. The only example of inst. pl. in *-an* in the *Andreas*; for examples in the *Beowulf*, cf. *Beow.* 963, 1502, 1505, 1542, 2692. Cf. *Seaf.* 10: caldum clommum. — **cýð þē sylfne**. The poet has omitted to mention that Andrew has made himself invisible to the Mermedonians; the Greek version and the *Legend* state this specifically. Cf. 1201 ff., note.

1218. **mānslaga**. It seems best to take **mānslaga** as acc. pl., assuming thus an otherwise unrecorded feminine *-slagu*, parallel to the masculine *slēge*. This whole passage is an evident reminiscence of ll. 954 ff., where, however, the text reads **slēge** as object of **ðolie**. Simons, p. 97, would read *mānslēge*, and Cosijn (*PBB*. XXI, 16) *mānslagas*, thus reducing the word to the same form as in l. 956. B.-T., p. 670, suggests *mānslagan*, in apposition to **scyldige**, l. 1216. Kemble retains the MS. reading as gen. pl., translating 'though thou mayst suffer wounds dark of the slaughterers I abide with thee.' But the readings of both B.-T. and Kemble are stylistically contrary to the spirit of the verse.

1220. **lārsmeoðas**. See 86, note.

1222. Grein and Wülker put a comma after **gebundon**, all other Edd. a period. A comma is as much punctuation as is permissible, since the clause ll. 1223-1225, is explanatory of what precedes, 'after the best of princes was revealed,' i.e. had laid aside his invisibility. Cf. 1212^b.

1223. **æðelinga wynn**. So 1713, *Jul.* 730; and cf. *Gu.* 1081: *eorla wynn*; *Ph.* 70: *laguflōda wynn*; *Ph.* 290: *æðeltungla wyn*; and see Sievers, *Anglia* XIII, 6, for similar examples throughout the later Christian poetry. Cook, *Christ*, p. 86, thinks that 'the expression comes from the Latin (and no doubt originally from the Greek) hymns.' In *Chr.* 71, Mary is called *wīfa wynn* and in *Hymn* III, 26, *eabra fæmna wynn*; this is also the application of the phrase in the Latin hymns, e.g. 'angelorum gaudium,' 'coeli gaudium,' 'mundi gaudium'; for full citations, cf. Cook, l.c. The expression is not found in *Beowulf* or any of the early heroic poems.

1224. Grein, *Spr.* I, 6: hī hine andweardne ēagum, etc.

1225. **sec**. For other examples of this spelling, see *Spr.* II, 420.

1226. **welwange**. Cf. **sel**, 762; **fregn**, 1163; **meðle**, 1436, 1626.

1227^a. So *Ex.* 183, 228, *Beow.* 2238, 2915; *Sal.* 366; mid lēoda dugubum. — 1227^b. So *Gu.* 209^b.

1230. **ðrāgmælum**. Grein's reading *tragmælum*, which is repeated in *Spr.* II, 596, is made for the sake of the alliteration; but, as Bright points out (*MLN.* II, 82), the logically important word here is **tēon**. Sievers (*PBB.* XVIII, 406) discusses the meaning of the first element, **ðrāg-**, 'time,' not as Cosijn (*Aanteekeningen op den Beowulf*, p. 6) would have it, 'affliction, oppression.' Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 15) later accepts Sievers' interpretation. — **torngenīðlan**. All the translations (also *Spr.* II, 547) take **torngenīðlan** as acc. sg., meaning Andrew, except Kemble who regards it as nom. pl., appositive to the subject of **hēton**. One would like to take the word as acc. sg., since otherwise no object to **līðan** is expressed. On the other hand, **torngenīðlan** is not a word that the poet would be likely to use to designate Andrew. The word occurs twice elsewhere, *El.* 568, where it refers in a hostile manner to the Jews, and *El.* 1305, where it refers to the wicked on the day of judgment. Cosijn's insertion of **hine** in l. 1229^a removes the difficulty; but perhaps it is not necessary to supply the pronoun.

1234. **eƿe swā wide swā**. So *Beow.* 1223. — **lāgon**. Perhaps 'run, extend'? See 375, note on **stōd**. Baskervill has no punctuation after **lāgon**, apparently taking **enta ārgeweorc** as object of the verb.

1235. **enta ārgeweorc**. So *Beow.* 1679 (of a sword), 2717 (of the cave of the fire-drake), 2774 (of the fire-drake's treasure), *Wand.* 87 (buildings); *Ruin* 2 (buildings); *Gu. C.* 2 (citadels); *An.* 1495 (columns, pillars). Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* II, 534, remarks: 'Ancient buildings of singular structure which have outlasted many centuries, and such as men of to-day no longer take in hand, are vulgarly ascribed to giants or to the devil. . . . These are the *enta geweorc* of Anglo-Saxon poetry.' So also Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 98-99: 'The "street" (*strata via*) and the "caester" (*castra*) were soon borrowed, thing and word; and in *Beowulf* we are told that the road which led up to Hrothgar's burg was "stone-variegated" — *stræt was stānfāh*, — paved in the Roman fashion; although it is plain that, as with stone in houses, so with these paved roads, the Germanic instinct regarded the process as something uncanny and savoring of those mysterious giants who long ago had rolled up the huge piles of masonry.'

1236. **strāte stānfāge**. The elaboration of the allusion to the street is characteristic of the poetic style. The *Legend*, p. 123, l. 5, in the passage corresponding to ll. 1232-1236 says merely, *and hīc hīc tūgon geond hāre caestre lanan*. The word 'street,' Lat. *strata*, conveyed to the Anglo-Saxon a dignified idea, connoting, possibly, something of the greatness of the traditional Roman civilization in England. Cf. *Beow.* 320-321: *Stræt was stānfāh, stīg wīsode gumum atwedere*, and the frequent poetic compounds with *stræt*, e.g. *fārōðr*, *here*, *lagu*, *merestræt*. In a similar way allusions to the city of the Mermedonians are elaborated; cf., besides the present passage, ll. 40-43, 287, 839-843, 973, 1155, 1649. See *Introd.*, p. liii. Ruins and ancient roads might readily pass into the stock of common poetic tradition, and this development would be furthered by the attitude of the Anglo-Saxons towards towns and roads. 'All records seem to show that in early Saxon times towns counted for very little in the life of the people, and

the question at once arises, What of the Roman cities? . . . It may be said generally that the Teutonic invaders made little account either of the Roman towns as places of habitation or the Roman roads as routes of intercourse, and the country would have been settled in just the same manner had these not been in existence at all. As in Britain so in the Gallic provinces, the Teutonic invaders of the Empire, whether Goths or Saxons or Franks, cared little for the life of the Romanized cities. . . . The most striking object lesson on Roman roads is to be gained by opening a large-scale map of the center of England, where the great Fosse Way, which can be more or less clearly followed from the borders of Devon to Leicester and Lincoln, is seen sweeping across the country in but little connection with the present life of its inhabitants. In its comparative isolation this immensely extended track is very significant of the mental attitude of the Saxon settlers towards these monuments of the unifying influence of the Roman rule. To sum up, therefore, the Teutonic settlements, it is evident, were independent, self-centered little communities, and did not regard as a matter of primary importance the means of intercourse with their neighbors. We are reminded of the words of Tacitus about the Germans, that they avoided cities and even contiguous habitations, settling down in detached bodies apart from each other, just as spring or field or grove offered attractions (*Germania*, chap. 16). All over the country the existing Roman roads pass through certain villages and towns that had their origin in military stations, but as a rule the seats of the Teutonic communities will be found a mile or two away on either side.' *The Arts in Early England*, by G. Baldwin Brown, I. 52-64. See 842, note, and Cook's *Christ*, p. 73, on the use of stone in building in the Anglo-Saxon period. — 1236^b. Cf. *Ex.* 459-460: *storm ūþ gewoāt, . . . herewōpa māst*, and for similar figurative uses of *storm*, see *Spr.* II, 485.

1238^a. So *Jul.* 589.

1239. *sārbennum soden*. Cf. *Gu.* 1046: *sorgwylmum soden*; *Gu.* 1123: *soden sārwymlum*; *Gu.* 1236: *soden sorgwælmum*.

1240. *bānhūs ābrocen*. Cf. *Beow.* 3147: *oð þæt hē ðā bānhūs gebrocen hæfde, hāt on hreðre*.

1240^b-1241^a. *Hātan heolfre* is syntactically parallel to *ƿ̆ðum*, 1240. Cf. *Beow.* 849: *hāton heolfre, heorodrēore wēol*; *Beow.* 2693: *swāt ƿ̆ðum wēoll*; *Beow.* 1422-1423: *Flōd blōde wēol (fole to sǣgon), hātan heolfre*; and *Beow.* 3147, quoted in note to l. 1240^b. In l. 1241^a *Cosijn* would read *hāt of hrepre*, citing *Riddle* XCIII, 16-17: *blōd ūt ne cōm, heolfor of hrepre*. But the two passages are not parallel, while the evidence of the above passages from the *Beowulf* is borne out by *An.* 1277. Cf. also *Gu.* 1314: *teagor ƿ̆ðum wēol*.

1242. *ellen untwēonde*. Cf. *El.* 797: *hyht untwēondne*. — 1242^b. See 140, note.

1243^a. So *El.* 1308, *Hy.* IV, 10; *synnum asundrad*, *Gu.* 486, *Ph.* 242.

1245. So *Beow.* 1235, 2303.

1246. *sigetorht swungen*. The adj. agrees with the subject of *wæs*, unexpressed. *Cosijn* remarks: "Der *sigerōfa* Andreas heisst hier wie Crist in *Sat.* 240. *sigetorht*: er hielt die folterung mit heldenmut aus." He also calls attention to the inappropriateness of *sigetorht*, 'radiant,' as descriptive of the night

which comes to put an end to Andrew's torments. K. retains **sigeltorht**, connecting it with Andrew: 'Thus was the whole day long until the evening came the star-bright one beaten.' Grein, *Dicht.*, translates 'der Siegstrahlende gezeiselt'; but in *Spr.* II, 448, he suggests **æfen sigeltorht**. W., placing a comma after **sigeltorht**, Root, and Hall follow Grein in *Spr.*; Simons, p. 124, '**sigeltorht**, wohl zu ändern in **sigetorht**, *siegstrahlend*, = Andreas.' Reading **æfen sigeltorht** we should have a weak repetition in **sunne swegeltorht**, 1248^a.

1251^b. So *El.* 173.

1252. **nēh**. Bright (*MLN.* II, 82) remarked that **nēh**, possibly representing an older **þēh** repeated from l. 1250, should be omitted. But **nēh** (as Professor Bright now also believes) is necessary to the meaning here and is good idiom; cf. *Gu.*

1114-1117 :

Cōm se seofeða dæg

ældum andweard, þæs þe him in gesonc
hāt heortan nēah hildescūrum
flacor flānþracu.

1253-1269. On this passage Brooke, p. 180, remarks: 'In the *Andreas* the weather of Northumbria is described and it is as wild and hard as that of which we hear in *Beowulf* and are told in the *Seafarer*.' All of the present passage is elaborated from the following bare hint, *Legend*, p. 123, ll. 8-9: Ðā æfen geworden wæs, hī hine sendon on þæt carcern and hīe gebundon his handa behindan and hīe hine forlēton.

1254^a. So *Gu.* 1138. — 1254^b. So also *Beow.* 2938; *Gu.* 1261. Cf. l. 818^b, note.

1258. **āhre hildstapan**. Grimm, p. xxxv, suggests *hlidstapan*, 'viatores tegminibus involuti' or *hæðstapan*, 'die über die heide stapfen'; cf. *Beow.* 1368: *hæðstapa*, of the stag; *Fates of Men* 13 (cited below), of the wolf; and the emended *hār hæðstapa* (MS. *hār hēð*, see Rieger, *Verskunst*, p. 46, Bright, *MLN.* XVII, 213), appositive to *wēstengryre*, in *Ex.* 118. But, as Cosijn suggests (*PBB.* XXI, 16), the picture here is epic, heroic; the frost is personified as a gray-haired warrior, stalking abroad. Cf. *hār hilderinc*, *Beow.* 1307, 3136; *Mald.* 169; *Brun.* 39; *hār heaðorinc*, *Ex.* 241; *hār heorowulf*, *Ex.* 181; in all the above passages the phrases are descriptive of men. *Hār* is also the favorite adjective in descriptions of the wolf; cf. above, *Ex.* 181, figuratively applied to men; *sē hāra wulf*, *Wand.* 82; *seal hine wulf etan*, *hār hēðstapa*, *Fates of Men* 13 (*Bibl.* III, 148). The mythic feeling pervading this passage is illustrated by the following related Teutonic traditions: 'Nowhere is the hostile omen of the north better expressed than in old Frisian law, where winter and darkness are represented as ruthless invaders: si illa tenebrosa nebula et frigidissima hiems in hortos et in sepes descendit — a bold personification [Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, p. 762]. The north wind is often called the "schwarze Bise." Winter, like night and storm-cloud, is the dragon of many a myth. For the Scandinavian, that famous "catastrophe," or "night" of the gods, will be preceded by a terrible winter. . . . A favorite emblem for winter as well as darkness is one of man's fiercest enemies, the wolf. The home of Grendel, in *Beowulf*, is marked by *wulfhleoðu* [l. 1358] and *hrimde bearwas* [l. 1363; the MS. has *hrinde*, usually read *hrimge* by the Edd.]. Winter is used as convertible term with Death in many old folk-rites; and the metaphor is universal.' Gummere, "On the Symbolic Use of the Colors Black and

White in Germanic Tradition," in *Haverford College Studies* I, 122. 'Ymir, or in giant's language Örgelmir, was the first-created, and out of his body's enormous bulk were afterwards engendered earth, water, mountain and wood. Ymir himself originated in melted hoarfrost or rime (*hrim*), hence all giants are called *hrimbursar*, "rime-giants," *Sn.* 6; *Sæm.* 85^a,^b; *hrimkaldr*, "rime-cold," is an epithet of *burs* and *iötunn*, *Sæm.* 33^b, 90^a; they still drip with thawing rime, their beards (*kinnskögr*, "chin-forest") are frozen, *Sæm.* 53^b; *Hrímniur*, *Hrímgrímr*, *Hrímgerðr* are proper names of giants, *Sæm.* 85^a, 86^a, 114, 145.' Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, p. 532.

1260^a. So *Ph.* 59. — *wæteres þrym*. See 1536.

1260–1262. Translate 'The might of the water shrank together (i.e. the water became hard and motionless) over the river-streams, the ice formed a bridge over the dark sea-road.' B. puts a semicolon after *þrym*, with no punctuation after *ēastrēamas*, l. 1261. K. and Gn.² as B., except a comma instead of semicolon after *þrym*. All other Edd. have no punctuation after *þrym*, but a comma after *ēastrēamas*. K. translates 'over the river-streams the ice made a bridge, a pale water-road'; Grein, *Dicht.*, translates according to his first punctuation, 'die Kraft des Wassers schwand hin über die Fluten und die Hülle des Eises überbrückte die glänzende Brandungstrasse.' Root and Hall follow Grein. Reading with K., Gn.² and B., we must make *brimrāde* an appositive to a noun *brycg* contained in *brycgade*; but *brimrāde* means the water itself and not a bridge over it; cf. l. 1587, where the word is in apposition with *geofon* (MS. *heofon*), and such compounds as *brimlād*, *faróðstræt*, etc. Cf. *Ex. Gn.* 72–73: Forst seal frēosan, . . . is brycgian.

1262. *blæce brimrāde*. '*Blæc* is our modern black, and is used comparatively seldom—once in describing the black sea-roads, once as applied to the raven, once in referring to adders. . . . Conventional and symbolical is the use of black in mentioning evil spirits.' Mead, "Color in Old English Poetry," *Pub. of the MLA.* XIV, 182.

1265–1266. L. 1266^a is parenthetical, *þæs*, 1266^b, being governed by *blon*, l. 1265^b; cf. l. 1380^b.

1266. Cf. *Gu.* 664: *ācol* for *ðām* *egsan*; *Dan.* 726: *ācul* for *þām* *egesan*.

1268. *wuldres gim*. 'The jewel of the heavens,' 'the sun'; for this sense of *wuldor*, cf. l. 356, note. Cf. *Ph.* 92: *glædum gimme* = Godes condelle, l. 91; *Chr.* 695–696: *sunne ond mōna* . . . *gimmas swā scýne*. See l. 31, note; 50, note.

1269^b–1270. Cf. *Beow.* 497^b–498: *þær wæs hæleða drēam duguð unlytel*.

1270. *ding*. The only recorded occurrence of the word.

1271^b. Cf. 1202^b; *EL.* 39: *werodes breahmtē*; *Ex.* 65: *werodes bearhtme*. Cf. *Ap.* 21^b.

1274. The subject here, as frequently, is omitted after *ðā*. For the phrase *eft swā ær*, cf. l. 1341, 1476; *Gu.* 361; *Beow.* 643, 1787.

1275. *swāt yðum wēoll*. So *Beow.* 2693. Cf. ll. 1240, 1546.

1275–1276. *Lifer* in the sense 'blood, clotted blood' is not found elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon, but cf. Icel. *blöðlifr*, f. pl., 'clotted blood' (Cleas-Vig., p. 69). It seems better stylistically to take *blōd* and *lifrum* together as a compound than to separate them as is done by all Edd.; the subject of *swælg* is then *swāt*,

blōdlifrum is the logical object (cf. *Spr.* II, 505, for examples of *swelgan* with inst.), **hātan heolfre**, l. 1277, is instrumental. The passage means that the fresh blood breaking out from Andrew's wounds flowed over, or swallowed up, the clotted blood, the marks of his old wounds. See Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 17.

In the corresponding passage, the Greek version (Bonnet, p. 103, ll. 4-6) reads: *Και πάλιν αἱ σάρκες αὐτοῦ ἐκολλῶντο ἐν τῇ γῆ καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἦν ῥέον*; the *Legend*, p. 123, l. 6, reads: mid þi þe sē ēadiga Andrēas wæs togen, his lichama wæs gemenged mid þære eorðan, swā þæt blōd flēow ofer eorðan swā wæter. Gn., *Spr.* II, 185, glosses **lifrum** as inst. pl., 'die Leberklumpen im ausfliessenden Blut, gelibertes Blut.' The word **lifrum** and the passage in which it occurs are not cited by B.-T.; Simons, p. 92, glosses **lifrum** as 'blutklumpen, geronnenes blut?' and **sweaig**, p. 131, as 'reichlich fließen?'.

1277. **hrā weorces ne sann**. Translate 'His body did not cease from, or have relief from, suffering.' Gn., *Spr.* II, 453, glosses **sann**, from **sinnan**, 'reputare, curare, rationem habere alicujus'; *Dicht.* translates 'die Leiden fühlte kaum noch der wundenmatte Leib.' Kemble translates 'the body thought not of work, weary with wounds'; Root as *Dicht.*; Hall, 'his wound-weary body was unconscious of suffering,' adding in a note that Andrew 'had swooned from the brutal treatment'; B.-T., p. 877, 'care for, mind, heed,' and Simons, p. 124, 'verlangen nach.' The above explanations receive some confirmation from Icel. *sinna*, 'mind, care for, give heed to' (*Cleas.-Vig.*, p. 529); but neither the meaning 'regard' nor 'feel' fits the context in the present passage. There is nothing in the Greek to justify the inference that Andrew was unconscious. A more probable explanation of the word is that offered by Sievers (*PBB.* XI, 352-353): *sinnan*, primarily 'go, pass' (cf. *Gen.* 1853), develops in the two directions 'strive, seek for' (cf. *Gu.* 290), and 'pass away, cease,' as in the present passage. Sievers would translate, therefore, 'kein aufhören, keine unterbrechung des leids kam dem wundenmüden leibe.' The same explanation is offered for *Rim. Poem* 52: *sār ne sinnið*, 'sein schmerz hört nicht auf.'

1278. **wōpes hring**. The phrase refers to the sound of Andrew's lamentation, and is so understood by most of the commentators. Gm., p. 130, translates 'fletus intensissimus, quasi circulatim erumpens'; Gn., *Spr.* II, 106, **hring**, 'sonus,' II, 732, **wōp**, 'lamentatio,' etc., *Dicht.*, 'des Wehklagens Laute.' B.-T. follows Gm., and Zupitza and Kent, in the glossary to the same phrase as it occurs in *Eleve*, follow Gn.; Simons, p. 82, also follows Gn.; K. translates 'then came the ring of weeping'; Root, 'The sound of weeping'; Hall, 'a cry of great sorrow.' But Cook, *Christ*, pp. 126-127, comparing the phrase as it occurs in *Chr.* 537 with the present passage and the two other occurrences of it, *El.* 1131 and *Gu.* 1313, excludes the notion of sound or noise, and thinks that the phrase means only tears; represented as issuing from the troubled bosom, and gushing from the eyes, the succession of drops may 'be thought of as pearls upon a string, or as beads in a necklace or rosary.' 'Perhaps the idea of **wōpes hring** might be suggested to the modern reader by "circling fountain of tears.'" But this ingenious explanation hardly takes sufficient account of the fact that **wōp** usually signifies sound, tumult, clamor; cf. *Spr.* II, 732, and cf. *herewōp*, Icel. *ōp* (*Cleas.-Vig.*, p. 472), and MnE. *whoop*. In the passage in *Andreas*, in particular, **wōpes hring**

appears to be equivalent to **worde cwæð**, l. 1280. Cf. also *Chr.* 992. Again, although the usual meaning of **hring** is 'annulus, circulus' (cf. *Spr.* II, 106), the meaning 'sonus' is supported by *Beow.* 327: byrnan hringdon; *Sat.* 366: searo hringeð. **Wōpes hring** might be translated 'a ringing cry'; cf. the construction **ātres drync**, 53. At any rate tears could hardly be spoken of as coming through the hero's breast, 1279^a. In l. 1280^a the expression is best taken as figurative; see 769^a. The phrase **wōpes hring** is used in *Elene* as an expression of joy; in the other three passages, of grief.

1279. blāt. As noun, this is the only occurrence of *blāt*. It is appositive to **hring**, 1278: 'then came a ringing cry, a moan, issuing from the breast of the hero.'

1284-1286. Cf. *Gu.* 609-613:

ond ic þæt gelyfe in liffruman
 ēcne onwealdan ealra gesceafta,
 þæt hē mec for miltsum ond mægenspēdum,
 niðða nergend, nāfrc wille
 þurh ellenweorc ānforlætan.

1288. Cf. *Jul.* 119-120: Ic þæt gefremme gif mīn feorh leofað, gif þū unrādes
 ær ne geswicest.

1291. Cf. *Chr.* 775: þæt hē ūs gesilde wið sceapan wæpnum.

1293-1295. The object of **bysmrian** and **beleegan** is not expressed.

1294^a. fācnes frumbearn. So also of Satan, *Gu.* 1044; cf. *godes frumbearn*, 'Christ,' *Sat.* 470; *frumbearn*, 'Christ,' *Chr.* 507. — **1294^b.** So *Gen.* 453.

1296^b. Cf. *Gu.* 87: sē atela gæst.

1300-1301. Cf. *Acts* XXIII, 2. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 104, l. 1) says merely: *Τύπτετε αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα ἵνα μὴ λαλήῃ.*

1301. Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 263, notes that the subject of **reordap** is unexpressed after **nū**.

1305. under niflan næs. Cf. l. 1710; *Beow.* 1912; and elsewhere frequently, where the word *næs* means 'sea-headland.' The sun here, as in l. 1457, sets in the ocean. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* II, 742-743, gives numerous illustrations of this wide-spread mythological belief.

1306. brūnwann. 'Night is described as *brunwann*, a color that can scarcely be distinguished from "dark." Milton twice uses a similar expression:

To arched walks of twilight groves
 And shadows brown that Sylvan loves.

Il Pens. 133-134.

And where the unpierc't shade
 Imbrown'd the noontide bow'rs.

Par. Lost 4. 245.¹

Mead, *Pub. of M.L.A.* XIV, 194. Professor Hart suggests that the compound may be a noun = 'crepusculum.' This is the only occurrence of it.

1308. dēor ond dōmgeorn. Cf. *Rid.* XXXII, 16: dēor dōmes geom.

1309. sceal. Tense-sequence would demand **sceolde**.

1310^a. Cf. *Jul.* 238: wærfaest wunade.

1311. **seofona sum.** Cf. *Legend*, p. 123, l. 22: Ðæt dēofol þā genam mid him ðre seofon dēoflo; so also the Greek version, Bonnet, p. 104, l. 5. Cf. *Matt.* XII, 45.

1312. Cf. *El.* 901: eatol æclæca yfela gemyndig. The combination *atol æglæca* occurs also *Beow.* 592, 732, 816, and *Sat.* 161.

1313. **morðres mānfræa.** So *Jul.* 546; *El.* 941. — **gescyrded.** 'Shrouded or enveloped.' Gn., *Spr.* I, 449, supposes *gescryded*, 'vestitus,' or *gescyrted*? Trautmann, quoted by Simons, p. 60, interprets **gescyrded** = *gescynded* = *gescended*, 'confusus'? A form *gescyrd* occurs, however, as Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 17) points out, in *Eadwines Psalter* (E.E.T.S., No. 92), *Ps.* XCII, 1; cf. B.-T., p. 438.

1315^b. Cf. *Jul.* 189: hospwordum spræc.

1316. Sievers (*PBB.* XII, 478) points out that the scansion of the line becomes normal if the name **Andreas** is omitted.

1317. **hwær.** Cf. Bonnet, p. 104, l. 10: ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις σου καὶ ὁ φόβος σου, etc.

1319. **gild gehuægdest.** Cf. Bonnet, p. 104, l. 13: καὶ ἐποίησας τὰ λερὰ ἡμῶν οἰκλας ἐρήμους γενέσθαι ἵνα μὴ ἀνενεχθῶσιν θυσίαι ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς τερφθῶμεν. Cf. *Jul.* 146: þā þū goda ūssa, gield forhogdest.

1322. The punctuation here, l. 1322^a in parentheses and a comma after **þīn**, 1321^b, was suggested by Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 17. The Edd. have only a comma after **þīn**.

1323^b. See 1393^b.

1324. **Hērōdes.** See *Introd.*, p. lviii. — 1324^b. So *Beow.* 2924.

1326–1327. Cf. *Jul.* 481–483^a: Sume ic rōde bifealh, þæt hī hyra drēorge on hēan galgan lif ālētan; *ibid.* 310: þæt hē of galgan his gæst onsende; *El.* 480: on galgan his gāst onsende. K. marks the hemistich in l. 1327 after **his**.

1328–1329. Cf. *Jul.* 11–12: Fōron æfter burgum swā hē biboden hæfde, þegnas þrȳðfulle.

1331. **ättre gemæl.** This is the only occurrence of *gemæl* as adjective, but cf. *Jul.* 591: fyre gemæled. On the use of poisoned arrows, cf. Cook, *Christ*, p. 149.

1334–1335. Cf. *Gu.* 377–378: wæron hȳ rēowe tō ræsanne gifrum grāpum; *Gu.* 968–969: ac hine ræseð on gifrum grāpum.

1335. **hine.** The antecedent is Andrew; cf. l. 1143.

1337–1340. Cf. *Legend*, p. 123, l. 31: and hīe gesāwon Crīstes rōde tācen on his onsiene; hī ne dorston hine genēalæcan, ac hraðe hīe on weg flugon.

1340. **forhte, afærde.** Construe both as adjectives agreeing with **hīe**, 1339. So *Chr.* 892; *Ph.* 525: forht afæred. *Dicht.* translates 'von Furcht bestürzt'; K. omits **afærde** in text and translation; Root, 'sorely afraid'; Hall, 'fearful, affrighted.' Simons, p. 42, takes **forhte** with Grein, *Dicht.*, as a noun; *Spr.* I, 326, however, glosses *forht* in all three of the above passages as adjective. Bright regards *forhte* in the parallel passage in the *Christ* (cf. Cook's *Christ*, p. 179) as adverb. But two coördinate adjectives without connective in the same half-line are occasionally found, e.g. 759, *Chr.* 953, 993, 1059, 1116, 1193, 1507, etc. See 494, note. — **on flēam numen.** The only occurrence of this form of expression; cf. 1386, and *Jul.* 630: on flēam sceacan.

1342^a. So *Jul.* 246.

1343. **rincas mīne.** So *Gen.* 2880, in direct address.

1348. *gā þē sylfa tō*. Cf. ll. 340, 505, 860. But the construction of oblique form with a nominative *sylf*, *sylfa*, is also frequently found; cf. Wulfing, I, 355, for numerous examples.

1351^a. So *El.* 604. — 1351^b. So *Beow.* 1469; *Ap.* 17: **aldre genēōde**.

1352–1356. Translate ‘We may easily, dearest of earls, teach thee something better at this sword-play, before thou openly make attack, raise the tumult of battle, no matter how it turn out for thee at the conflict.’ The better plan which they propose is given in ll. 1356 ff. Reading **weald þū** with Grimm, K. translates ‘We may easily, dearest of earls, at the play of men teach thee better, before thou again attempt war, the rush of battle; guard thyself the better in the change of blows.’ *Dicht.* translates ‘Leicht mögen wir dir, liebster der Männer, in dem bitteren Kampf zum Besseren raten: ehe offen du zum Angriff schreitest, zu dem Waffengraus, sieh wol erst zu, wie dir’s beim Gegenschlage gehe!’ The other translations follow Grein. B.-T., p. 1172, also takes **weald** as imperative of *wealdan*, ‘decide thou how it shall happen to thee.’ The more probable reading is that of Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 17) and Simons, p. 150, who take **weald** as conjunction, ‘however’; for examples cf. B.-T., p. 1171.

1355^a. Cf. *El.* 19: *wīges wōma*; *Jul.* 576: *wīges wōmum*.

1358. **wræcsið**. The word here, as in l. 1431, is used in the generalized sense of ‘affliction, sorrow.’ Its specific and usual meaning is ‘exile,’ e.g. *Beow.* 338; in *An.* 889 it is used in the sense of ‘exiled from heaven,’ as also in *Gu.* 595, 1047. Cf. B.-T., p. 1270.

1359^a. So *Beow.* 425.

1361. **witum bewæled**. Cf. *Gu.* 396: *witum wælan*. K. translates ‘stained with torments’; but cf. B.-T., p. 1153, for examples of the word *wælan* in the sense ‘torment, afflict.’

1367. **hrōðra lēas**. Cf. *Jul.* 390: *hrōþra bidæled*.

1368^a. So *Ph.* 369.

1371. **unfyrn faca**. Cf. *Hy.* IV, 42: *ful unfyr faca*. The scansion of the half-line is $\underline{\text{f}} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}} \text{ } | \text{ } \underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \underline{\text{f}} \text{ } \underline{\text{y}} \text{ } \underline{\text{r}} \text{ } \underline{\text{n}} \text{ } \underline{\text{f}} \text{ } \underline{\text{a}} \text{ } \underline{\text{c}} \text{ } \underline{\text{a}}$.

1376. Supply in sense, with Ettmüller, **mæg alýsan**.

1377^b–1385. See *Introd.*, p. lvii.

1379^b. So *El.* 771.

1380. **in wræc wunne**. The primary meaning of *winnan* is ‘to struggle, oppose’; from this is developed a passive sense, ‘endure, suffer.’ For examples of the second sense, cf. *Chr.* 1272, 1428, *Gen.* 1014; and for the opposite development, a verb meaning ‘to suffer’ becoming active, ‘to perform, show forth,’ cf. **ādrēogan**, 164, note.

1384^a. Cf. 1190^a, note.

1393. **hit ne mihte swā**. So *Beow.* 2091; cf. *Rid.* XXX, 6: *gif hit swā meahite*; and for numerous other examples of omission of infinitive, *Spr.* II, 268, and Sievers, *Anglia* XIII, 2.

1407. **on dæges tīde**. A contrast is evidently intended; Andrew compares his three days of suffering, l. 1414, with the one day of Christ’s suffering on the cross. The *Legend*, p. 124, l. 17, reads: *āne tīd on rōde þū þrōwodeſt, and þū cwāde, ‘Fæder, for hwon forlēte þū mē?’ Nū iii dagas syndon syððan*, etc. The

Greek version (Bonnet, p. 107, l. 11) gives three hours as the period of Christ's suffering, following thus *Matt.* XXVII, 46. *Dicht.* translates 'an einem Tage'; K., 'in the day-time'; Root, 'that day when from the cross'; Hall, 'a day's length.'

1413. **hwæt forlætest ðū mē?** Cf. *Matt.* XXVII, 46.

1415^a. So *Jul.* 264. — Baskervill and Wülker place a question-mark after **wītu**. But this is a statement of fact, the question being ended in l. 1413^b.

1418–1424. This passage is evidently an elaboration of *Matt.* X, 30, which is preserved in *Legend*, p. 124, l. 23: Gif gē mē. gehyrað, and gē mē bēoð fylgende ne ān loc of ēowrum hēafde forwyrd.

1421. **oððeoded**. The word need not be taken as a finite verb, as Gm. and Etm. suggest, but as a participle, **dæ̅l** being coördinate in construction with **synu** and **bān**.

1425. **tōslopen, ādropen**. The only occurrence of **ādropen**; for examples of **tōslopen**, cf. *Spr.* II, 548, and Sawen, *Eng. Stud.* XXVI, 130. The misreadings *toslowen, aþrowen*, have been the occasion of much unnecessary discussion.

1430. **hlōðrode**. Perhaps the form should be changed to the more usual **hlōðrode**; but cf. l. 504, **snōweð** for **snēoweð**.

1433. **mundbyrde**. The term **mundbyrd** (see 724, 1632) is a technical one in Anglo-Saxon law. It means 'surety' or 'protection,' and definite fines were imposed for the violation of the *mundbyrd*. "The king's *mund* . . . seems originally to have been 120 shillings. This sum was subsequently doubled . . ." (Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, p. 125). See Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in AS. Law*, p. 374 ff., and passim. The Lord offers Andrew his safe-conduct.

1435. **sōð**. Perhaps **sōð** in l. 644 is also to be taken as adverb. Cf. *Spr.* II, 462, for other examples.

1436. **myclan dæge**. Cf. *Chr.* 868: sē micla dæg; *Jul.* 723: on þām miclan dæge; so also *Soul* 50, 89. Cf. also *Beow.* 978: miclan dōmes; Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 136: ondrædon ūs þone micclan dōm and þā micclan wita; p. 167: understandan þone micclan dōm þe wē ealle tō sculan. The phrase is evidently due to a recollection of a Biblical phrase; cf. *Joel* II, 11, 'magnus enim dies Domini, et terribilis valde'; II, 31, 'veniat dies Domini magnus et horribilis'; *Acts* II, 20, 'dies Domini magnus et manifestus,' etc. Cf. MnE. *Great Day*; see *NED.* s. vv. *day* and *great*.

1437–1440. See *Matt.* V, 18.

1441. **swā** = 'where.' See 1449, 1582; *Chr.* 984; *El.* 971, for similar use of **swā**.

1443. **lices lælan**. The emendation is made on the strength of the parallel to *Gu.* 670–671: Ne sý him bānes bryce ne blōdig wund, lices læla ne læbes wiht. **Lælan**, acc. sg., is thus appositive to **bāngbrec**, as in *Gu.* it is appositive to **bānes bryce**. Cf. 1473–1474. K. apparently understands **lices lælan** to be an amplification of **blōdige stige**, 1442^b; he translates 'where thy blood poured forth through the breaking of bones a bloody path, the body's spots.' Gn., *Dicht.*, takes **lælan** as object of **gesēoh**, 1441: 'wo durch Verwundung sich ergoss dein Blut auf die Gefilde! Sieh die blutigen Steige und auch des Leibes Striemen.'

1443^b–1444. Cf. *Gu.* 284–285: ne gē mē læbes wiht gedōn mōtun.

1445. Cf. *Jud.* 181: þe ūs monna mæst morðra gefremede.

1447^a. So *Beow.* 2753.

1449. **blædum gehrodene.** Cf. *Legend*, p. 125, l. 4: geblōwen trēow wæstm berende.

1454. **ān ne forlæte.** 'That thou didst not abandon me.' See 1287, 1642, 1669. Cf. *Ps.* CXVIII, 8: ænne ne forlæte; *Jul.* 104: ān ne forlæte. W. retains the MS. reading, regarding it as a form of the present tense; the other Edd. change to *forlete*, preterit. The form is evidently preterit, but need not be changed: cf. 802, **forlætan = forlēton**; 609, **-hægende = -hēgende.**

1456-1457. See 1305, note.

1458. **feorðān sīðe.** Really only the third time. The first time is indicated in l. 1250, the second in ll. 1305 ff.; in l. 1391 we are told that he was taken out to be tortured for the third time, and the return to the prison would consequently be the third time. The *Πράξεις* and the *Legend* simply say that he was taken back again to the prison.

1460. **cræfta gehygd.** The phrase is evidently equivalent to **mōd**, l. 1461. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 108) says merely that they hoped to find Andrew lifeless in the morning. *Dicht.* 'die Kraft des Mutes,' K. 'the, thought of power,' Root 'the hero's mighty soul,' Hall 'the doughty spirit, the dauntless courage.' A somewhat similar expression is **cræftes miht**, 585, also *El.* 558, *Chr.* 1145. Dr. Blount suggests *craftgan*, gen. sg. of *craftga*, appositive therefore to **magorædendes**, l. 1461, for **cræfta**.

1461^b. So *Jul.* 226, 326, 363, 439.

1462^b-1463. Cf. *Jul.* 242^b-243: Ðā cwōm semninga in þæt hlinræced hæleða gewinna.

1464. **sýnne.** The spelling *y* for *i* appears also in **scýna**, 766; **týres**, 105.

1467. **hāles.** *Hāl* as noun does not occur, and the form may be taken as adj. here, agreeing with **liċhoman**. K., 'commanded his body to enjoy safety,' Root, 'bade him once again soundness enjoy,' and Simons, p. 82, take **hāl** as a noun.

1469. **mægene rōf.** Also l. 1676; cf. *Beow.* 2084: mægnes rōf.

1469-1477. Cf. *Jul.* 589^b-594^a:

Ðā gēn sīo hālgæ stōd
ungewemde wlite; næs hyre wlōh ne hrægl,
ne feax ne fel fýre gemæled,
ne lic ne leoþu. Hēo in līge stōd
æghwæs onsund, sægde ealles þonc
dryhtna Dryhtne.

Also *Dan.* 437-440:

næs hyra wlite gewemmed ne nānig wrōht on hrægle,
ne feax fýre beswæled, ac hīe on friðe Drihtnes
of ðām grimman gryre glade treddeðon
glæawmōde guman on Gastes hyld.

1470. Translate 'from his prison he gave thanks unto the Lord, healed of his grievous tortures.' A parallel to **heardra wīta** occurs in *Jul.* 56. Grein, *Dicht.*, translates this line as follows: 'heil von der Haft der harten Qualen'; K., 'whole from his captivity, of the savage torments'; Root, 'freed from the bondage of his grievous pains'; Hall, 'Freed from the baleful bondage of torture.' But of

hæfte connects logically with l. 1469^b, not with **hāl** or **heardra wīta**. **Heardra wīta** is gen. pl. dependent on **hāl**, as e.g. *Beow.* 1974: heaðolāces hāl.

1474. Apparently there has been a general transposition of the parts of this passage in the MS.; it should read **lāðe gelenge nē lices dæġl**. A parallel to **lāðe gelenge** is *Jul.* 371: *leahtrum gelenge*; with *lices dæġl* cf. *An.* 1421. The sense of the passage is, 'nor bloody wound, of harmful nature, nor part of his body made wet with gore from sword-wound.' See my note, *Mod. Phil.* II, 408.

1476^b. So *Gu.* 898.

1477. Fritzsche, *Anglia* II, 441, calls attention to the break in the narrative after l. 1477, due, he thinks, either to the fact that the poet grew weary of his subject and laid the poem aside for a time, or that the second part, ll. 1478 ff., was written by a different person from the first part. There is nothing in the poem to support either supposition. W., l. 1478, note, states incorrectly that Fritzsche, followed by B., assumes an omission in the text after l. 1477 (W. also gives the line incorrectly as l. 1478), but both assume merely a break in the narrative. See *Introd.*, p. lviii.

1478-1487. Translate 'Lo, I now for a time have set forth in words, in song, the story of the saint, the praise of that which he wrought—a story (**wyrd**) famous and beyond my power. Much is yet to tell, a lasting lore, that which he performed in life, all after the beginning. That shall a wiser man upon earth than I count myself find in his heart, that from the beginning he knows all the hardships, the grim conflicts, which he endured.' This passage has been variously punctuated and interpreted. The difficulties, with the main suggestions that have been made, will be considered as they occur in the notes following.

1478. **hāliges lāre**. That is, 'the story of the saint'; cf. the equivalent phrase **langsum leornung**, l. 1482, and with this cf. *Chr.* 44, *Gu.* 766: *lāre longsume*. In the *Christ* the allusion is to the fulfilment of prophecy; in *Gu.* the words are appositive to *wordum ond weorcum wuldorcyninges*, l. 765.

1479. Gm., p. 132, translates this line 'so weit ich bisher den preis des liedes wirkte, dichtete.' But the more probable reading is that of Gn. (*Spr.* II, 574), 'laudem ejus quod ille fecit.' Pogatscher (*Anglia* XXIII, 274) lists this passage as an example, though doubtful, of the omission of a subject after the relative **þe**. The subject of **worhte**, according to this explanation, would be Andrew. Perhaps **hē** should be inserted before **worhte**; at any rate it must be supplied in sense. **Lēoðgiddinga** is best taken not as gen. pl. but as inst. sg., appositive to **wordum**, 1480^a. The present and *Ap.* 97 are the only occurrences of this compound; *gidding* is also of rare occurrence as simplex.

1480. **wēmdē**. Cf. l. 740; and *Soul* 64: *wemman mid wordum*. Gm., followed by K. and B.-T., p. 1187, explains this word as it occurs in *Andreas* as derived from *wemm*, 'spot, defilement,' a meaning which suits *Soul* 64, but not the other passages. **Wēman**, 'resound, make known,' cf. *Spr.* II, 657, may be compared with **wōma**, 'sound, tumult.'—W. has a period after **undyrne**, thus uniting the phrase **ofer mīn gemet** closely with what follows; so also Hall in his translation. Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 18) would read with the other Edd. **wyrd undyrne, ofer mīn gemet**. Cf. *Ap.* 42^b for the meaning of **wyrd**.

1481. **segganne**. See 1160, note.

1491^a. Cf. *El.* 83: heardre hilde; *Fight at Finnesburh* 28: heodra hilda.

1492. **fæsteq.** An adj. agreeing with **swēras**, 1493. B., p. 77, would retain the MS. reading, taking **fæstne** as appositive to **wealle**; he translates 'He wondrously saw by the wall, by the fortress,' etc. But neither the syntax of the passage nor the form of the word admits this construction.

1493. **under sælwāge.** 'In the hall or prison.' B., retaining the MS. reading, translates, p. 77, 'at the foot of the hall-plane'; W. translates 'aus dem felde heraus, vor der ebene.' But, as Cosijn points out (*PBB.* XXI, 18), **under sælwange**, as in *Rid.* IV, 2, means 'under the earth.' A comparison with the Greek justifies the emendation: *καὶ θεασάμενος ὁ Ἀνδρέας εἰς μέσον τῆς φυλακῆς εἶδεν στῦλον ἐστῶτα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν στῦλον ἀνδριάς ἐπικείμενος ἀλαβαστρινός* (Bonnet, p. 109, l. 8); and cf. *Legend*, p. 125, 14-15: hē geseah on middum þāem carcerne swer standan, and ofer þone swer stānenne anlicnesse. It seems best to take **under** in the sense here of 'in' (cf. ll. 95, 144, 940, 1005, 1038, 1065, 1071, 1253, and *Spr.* II, 618, for other examples) rather than, with Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 18, in the sense 'dicht unter,' 'close by'; the **swēras** are within the prison, and Andrew himself is of course still in the prison, cf. 1458 ff.

The image mentioned in the *Πράξεις* and the *Legend* does not appear in *Andreas*, probably because the poet, following as he does the *Beowulf* (cf. *An.* 1490-1495, note), conceives of the **swēras** as pillars which hold up the roof of the prison. That **sweras** and not *speras* is the right reading is of course confirmed by the reading of the Greek and the prose version.

1494. **storne bedrifene.** Cf. *Wand.* 76: winde bewāune weallas stondap.

1495^a. See 1235, note.

1498-1503. Cf. *Legend*, p. 125, ll. 17-21: Ondræd þe Drihten and his rōde tæcn, beforan þāem forhtigað heofon and eorþe. Nū þonne, anlicnes, dō þæt ic bidde on naman mīnes Drihtnes Hælendes Crīstes; send mycel wæter þurh þinne mūþ, swā þæt sien gewemmede ealle þā on þisse ceastre syndon. The change in the poem, of **þinum stapole**, l. 1503, was necessary, since the poet omits all mention of an image; cf. 1493, note.

1500-1501. Grein's interpretation of **heofonas** and **eorðan** as genitives after **fæder** is the correct one. Perhaps **heofonas** should be changed to **heofones**, but see 523, note. W., note to 1501, takes **heofonas ond eorðan** as amplification of **gesceafte**, 1499; this, however, supposes an improbable plural *eorðan*.

The allusion of the passage is to the day of judgment; cf. *Vision of the Cross* 103-111:

Hē ðā on heofonas āstæg; hider eft fundap
 on þysne middangeard mancynn sēcan
 on dōmdæge dryhten sylfa,
 ælmihtig God ond his englas mid,
 þæt hē þonne wile dēman, sē āh dōmes gewæld,
 ānra gehwylcum, swā hē him ærur hēr
 on þyssum lænum life geearnaþ:
 ne mæg þær ænig unforht wesan
 for þām worde, þe sē Wealdend cwyð!

1504^a. Cf. *Gen.* 231-232: Tigris . . . ēa inflēde. — 1504^b. Perhaps **hāteð**, 1505^b, should be placed in this half-line.

1507. wīdrynig. The only occurrence of the compound.

1508. geofon. See 393, note. Retaining the MS. reading, Hall translates 'A streaming heaven.'

1508-1509. Gm., p. 133, 'wie glänzest du von golde!'; he cites also NIIG. 'von golde sein.' But K., correctly, 'Lo thou art than gold or gift of treasure more precious.' The translations all agree with K.

1511. recene. Translate 'awful mysteries.' The form **recene**, not mentioned by B.-T., is glossed by Gn., *Spr.* II, 370, and Simons, p. 113, as adverb; *Dicht.* translates 'offenbar,' K., 'at once.' But **recene** is better taken as adjective. Cf. *Ps.* CV, 18: *þe on Egyptum wēðele wundur . . . and recene wundur on þām Rēadan Sæ*, translating 'Deus qui fecit magnalia in Ægypto, terribilia in Mari Rubro'; B.-T., p. 789, explains the word here as meaning 'coming swiftly and so causing terror,' and cites, in support of this meaning, *fār* and its compounds. This meaning is also the one appropriate to the passage in the *Andreas*. — **1511^b.** Cf. *Chr.* 671: *reccan ryhte æ*; *El.* 280-281: *þā ðe dēoplicost dryhtnes gerȳno þurh rihte æ reccan cūðon*.

1514. swā hit. See 327, note.

1515-1516. There is nothing in the sources to account for the mentioning of Joshua and Tobias here. The allusion to Joshua, the successor of Moses (cf. *Numbers* XXVII, 18 ff.), is intelligible, but why should Joshua and Tobias be mentioned together? Professor Hart makes the very plausible suggestion that Tobias is a blunder for Caleb, who is intimately connected with Joshua in the Old Testament narrative, cf. *Numbers* XIV, 6; XXXII, 12. The Vulgate spelling of Joshua is *Josue*; of Moses it is *Moyses* in the nom., *Moysen* in the acc., the other forms being *Moysi*, *Moysē*.

1520^a. Cf. 1586; *El.* 86: *þurh þæs hālgan hæs*.

1525. mid ærdæge. Cf. 1527^b. There is no allusion to the morning in the *Legend*, but the Ἡράκλεις, p. 110, l. 9, mentions the time, *πρωίας*.

1526. meoduscerwen. The passage is an evident imitation of *Beow.* 767-769: *Denum eallum wearð . . . eorlum ealuscerwen*, of the Danes on the occasion of Grendel's visit to Heorot. In both passages the general idea of **meoduscerwen**, *ealuscerwen*, is 'terror,' 'fright,' but the specific meaning or figure is uncertain, Gm., pp. xxxvi-xxxvii, taking **scerwen** as participle, settles on the meaning 'effusum,' 'evomitum': the mead or ale was spewed forth as result of the fright. K. translates *scerpen* of his text by 'spilled.' Gn., *Spr.* II, 401, glosses *scerwen* as part. under *scerwan*, 'vergeuden,' 'verschütten?,' *Dicht.*, 'der Meth ward vergossen nach dem Schmausgelage.' B. reads *scerpen* and translates, p. 78, 'The mead became sharp,'—i.e. terror arose because the mead became sharp or spoiled after the feast day.

Gn., note, suggests holding the two elements of his text, **meodu scerwen**, together as compound, and Bugge, *Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik* VIII, 293-295, follows the suggestion of Grein's note, taking the word as compound noun formed like *edwenden* and compounds with *rāden*, in the sense 'mead-pouring,' Gn., 'methvergeudung?'. The passage would thus be an ironical allusion to the flood: 'there was a sufficient mead-pouring for all after the feast-day.' Heyne, *Beowulf*⁵, p. 93, accepts the word as compound but interprets it

somewhat differently: '*caluscerwen, meoduscerwen* wäre im eigentlichen Sinne der Gegensatz von *meodu-ræden* (Grein, *Spr.* II, 239) und bezeichnete einen plötzlichen Ausgang oder eine plötzliche Wegnahme des Bieres. Das Bild mag schon frühe verdunkelt sein.' Still another explanation is offered by Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 19), who cites *Cura Pastoralis* 295, 6, *þā him ðæt līð gescired was* (translating *digesto vino*), freely translated, 'als der rausch vorüber war.' With *gescired* Cosijn would connect **-scerwen**, remarking, 'dass durch einen plötzlichen schrecken ein zustand von nüchternheit wider eintritt, ist allbekannt: die bier- und schlaftrunkenen Dänen werden also, wie die Marmedonier nach ihrem hungerschmaus wider nüchtern, der rausch nach dem feste war geschwunden.' Cf. the similar situation and phrasing in *Beow.* 128-129: *hā was æfter wiste wōp ūf āhafen, micel morgenswēg*, in which *æfter wiste* is to be taken, with Kock, *Anglia* XXVII, 223, and others, in the general sense 'after the feast,' 'after joy,' not as referring to the ravages of Grendel.

1527. **slāpe tōbrugdon.** Cf. *Gen.* 2665: *hā slāpe tōbrægd.*

1531^b. Cf. *Ap.* 59: *sweordræs fornam*; *Beow.* 557: *heaporæs fornam.* See 994^b, note.

1532. **purh sealtne wæg.** See 196, **sealte**, the same mistake being made by the scribe as in the present passage; in l. 196 the MS. has **s ealte**, with a letter erased after **s**. In the present passage the scribe has omitted to erase the unnecessary letter; probably temporary confusion with forms of *sculan* troubled him. But the passage still contains too many letters. *Sealt* = 'ocean' is not found elsewhere and is not a probable word. Reading **sealtes** as noun, *Dicht.* translates 'durch der Salzflut Tosen,' followed by the other translations. As adjective, however, **sealt** (cf. *Spr.* II, 434) is a conventional epithet as applied to the ocean. Cosijn would change therefore to **sealtne**, retaining **swæg**. But **sealtne swæg** = 'salt noise, tumult,' is meaningless. Evidently, in the general confusion of the scribe, an unnecessary **s** was prefixed to **wæg** = 'wave'. For this spelling, cf. 198, 601, 932; and cf. *Ex.* 333: *ofer sealtne mersc*; *Dan.* 323: *geond sealtne wæg*; and *An.* 748-749.

1535^a. So *El.* 140.

1538^b. Cf. *Beow.* 1292-1293: *wolde ūt þanon fēore beorgan*, of Grendel's mother; *El.* 134: *flugon on fæsten ond fēore burgon æfter stānclifum*, of the heathen Huns; *Mald.* 193-194: *þone wudu sōhton, flugon on þat fæsten and hyra fēore burgon*, of the traitorous Godrinc and Godwig.

1539^b. So *Gen.* 1818; *Ph.* 416: *drohtað sōhton.*

1540. **eorðan ondwist.** A second form of the word *ondwist* occurs *Ex.* 16-18: *þær him gesealde sigora waldend . . . ondwist eðles Abrahames sunum.* Cf. the compound *nēawest, wist*. Perhaps the form in the *Andreas* should be changed to agree with that in the *Exodus*; but *ond-, and-,* is of frequent occurrence in similar compounds. — 1540^b. Cf. *Legend*, p. 125, l. 27: *send mē jinne engel of heofonum on fyrenum wolcne*; and l. 30: *fyren wolcen āstāh of heofonum.* Note the realism of the description of the fire in the *Andreas*, and see Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 96 ff., for a discussion of this theme in Anglo-Saxon poetry.

1541. blācan līge. 'Blāc is merely an ablaut form of the stem *blīcan*, 'to shine,' and perhaps hardly means white at all. In a few cases it evidently means pale or ghastly. It is properly applied to the fire, or the fire-light, and even to the red flame, or to the lightning, or to the light of stars. Of the twenty-eight instances where the word occurs—either alone or as part of a compound,—nearly all seem to lay emphasis on the brightness rather than on the whiteness.' Mead, *Pub. of MLA*. XIV, 177.

1542^a. Cf. *Beow.* 2819: hāte heaðowylmas; *Gen.* 324: hātne heaðowelm; *El.* 579: hättost heaðowelma. Cf. also *Beow.* 2522: heaðofyres hātes; *ibid.* 2547: heaðofyrum hāt.

1545. wadu hlynsodon. Gn., *Dicht.*, translates 'die Wasser rauschten,' but *Spr.* II, 745, he glosses *wudu*, nom. pl. for the present passage, with the meaning 'arbor,' and *Spr.* II, 89, inconsistently, *wadu*. Reading *wudu* with W., Hall translates 'wood snapped and crackled.'

1547^a. So *Gen.* 1993; *Beow.* 138, *Ex.* 579: þā wæs ēaðfynde.

1548. gehðo mǣndan. Cf. 1665; *Chr.* 90: gehþum mǣnað; *Jul.* 391: gehðu mǣnan; *Beow.* 2267: gιοhðo mǣnde.

1549. forhtferð. Cf. 1596, and *Rid.* XVI, 13, *forhtmōd*. — **fūslēoð gōlon.** Cf. *Gu.* 1320: fūslēoþ āgōl; *Chr.* 623: fūslēoð galan.

1550^a. So *Ph.* 522.

1551. heretēam. Translate, with B.-T., p. 533, 'plundering,' 'devastation.' Gm., and Grein, *Dicht.*, take the word in the sense of 'plundering expedition.'

1555. earmlic ylða gedræg. Cf. *Chr.* 999: earmlic ælða gedreag; and *An.* 43, note.

1555^b–1556. Cf. *Beow.* 100–101: oððæt ān ongan fyrene fremman; *Beow.* 2210–2211: oððæt ān ongan deorcum nihtum draca rīcan. — **1556^a.** Cf. *Hy.* IV, 112: fēasceaft hæle.

1557. Cf. *Beow.* 2408: hæft hygegīomor sceolde hēan ðonon; *Chr.* 994: hēane hygegēomre.

1558–1559. Cf. *Jul.* 341^b–342: Nū þū sylfa meaht on sefan þīnum sōð gecnāwan þæt ic, etc.

1561. sēo wyrd. See 613^b, note.

1562. þæt is hēr swā cūð. *Huleþum cūð*, as Cosijn points out (*PBB.* XXI, 20), would mean 'universally, everywhere known,' a meaning which does not suit here; *hēr swā cūð* he translates 'das ist hier deutlich genug.' W. regards the metrically imperfect line as characteristic of the work of the poet of the *Andreas*.

1563. þæs þe ic sōð talige. So *Beow.* 532; *Chr.* 794.

1565. ealle ānmōde. So 1601; *El.* 1117. For the meaning cf. *Fadwine's Psalter* (E.E.T.S. No. 92) LXVII, 6: Ðū sōðlice man ānmōd, translating *tu vero homo unanimitis*. See 54, note. — **1565^b.** So *Beow.* 256; *Ex.* 293. Cf. *Beow.* 3007 ff.: Nū is ofost betost þæt wē, etc.

1566. Cf. *Ap.* 90.

1571. þær. Perhaps one should read **þæt**

1574. So *Beow.* 847.

1579^a. Cf. *Jul.* 131: glēaw ond Gode lēof; *Gu.* 1035: glædmōd, Gode lēof.

1581. *smeolt wæs se sigewang*. So *Ph.* 33, *Gu.* 714.

1585. *geofon*. B., p. 78, retaining *heofon*, translates 'the lamentation ceased'; 'these words,' he says, 'continue the thought in *pā wæs . . . æfter gyrne*.' Cf. ll. 1615, and 465, 533.

1589. *flōd fæðmian*. So *Beow.* 3133.

1591. *bisenete*. The only occurrence of the prefix *bi-* in the poem.

1596^a. See 1549.

1598. *ðrāge hnāgran*. Genitive after *wēndan*.

1599. *māne faa*. So *Beow.* 978: *maga māne fāh*.

1602. *ðæt þe*. The usual form of this conjunction is *þætte*, cf. *Spr.* II, 572. Cf. the pronoun *ðætte*, l. 546.

1603. Cf. *Chr.* 687: *cyning alwihta cræftum weorðað*.

1604. As the line stands, the alliteration is defective. Perhaps one should read *þider* or *þyder* for *hider*, the action being conceived of from the point of view of the one who sends.

1606. *gumcystum*. Translate as adverb, 'virtuously,' 'righteously,' or with B.-T., p. 492, as adv. phrase, 'with virtuous zeal.' *Gumcyst* is found a number of times with adjectives, e.g. *Beow.* 1486: *gumcystum gōdne*; *Gen.* 1769: *gumcystum gōd*; *ibid.* 1810: *gumcystum til*. No other example of the adverbial use of *gumcystum* is recorded; but cf. *Wid.* 56: *hū mē cynegōde cystum dohten*. K. translates *gumcystum* as adj., 'that we this excellent man should gladly hear.' But there is no authority for an adj. *gumcyst*. Cf. 1639 for another example of the absolute use of *hýran* (Kittredge).

1609. *curen*. The verb is plural to agree with the collective subject *cyinn*, 1610.

1610^b. So *Ap.* 71^b; *Chr.* 1540: *swylt þrowiað*.

1612. *gif gē teala hycgað*. Cf. *Beow.* 289: *sē þe wel þenceð*, likewise in a didactic passage. See 458-460, note.

1616^b. So *Ap.* 58; *Gen.* 1739; *Men.* 133; *feorh seleð*, *Beow.* 1370.

1617. *gōde orfeorme*. Cf. 406, note.

1618. *in wīta forwyrd*. So *El.* 764; *Sermon on Ps.* 28 (*Bibl.* II, 108) 10; *Jul.* 556. — 1618^b. So *Gu.* 116.

1619. *in fēonda geweald*. Cf. ll. 1273, 1317. The phrase of l. 1619 is also found in *Beow.* 808, 903; *Chr.* 1416; *Jul.* 159. — *gefered ne wurdan*. Not a Christian-like prayer as the MS. reads.

1621. *hāllges gāstes*. See 1000, note.

1626^b. So *Ap.* 25; *mīne gefrāge*, *Beow.* 776, 837, 1955, 2685, 2837; *Gen.* 1173; *Ex.* 368; *Ph.* 176; *Wid.* 71; *Eadgar* 9, 34; *Men.* 27; *Metr.* XX, 82, XX, 248.

1627. Cf. *Beow.* 835-836: *þær wæs eal geador Grendles grāpe*. For the omission of the initial *g*, cf. *Gen.* 2557: *eall eador*; and see *Gram.*, § 212, note 2; *PBB.* IX, 208. One expects here a plural verb, agreeing with *eaforan*, l. 1627, and *hīe*, l. 1628; but apparently for the moment the poet thinks of the members of the throng individually — 'each was then all united both body and soul.' Cf. *El.* 887-889:

hē sōna ārās
gāste gegearwod, geador bū samod
lic ond sāwl.

1628-1629. Note the rime $\bar{a}e:r:\bar{f}æ:r$; also the rime in l. 1631. In l. 1627 there is assonance of the four stressed vowels **ea**, in l. 1624 of the three vowels **eo**, the fourth being **ea**, almost an assonance.

1629. Cf. *Jul.* 477-478^a: $\betaæt\ h\bar{i}\ f\bar{a}ringa\ feorh\ \bar{a}l\bar{e}ton\ \beta\bar{u}rh\ \bar{a}d\bar{r}a\ wylm.$

1633. cyninges cræftiga. Cf. Bonnet, p. 114, ll. 9-10: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\ \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\eta\theta\eta\eta\nu\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\nu\ \epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha\nu$; and *Legend*, p. 127, ll. 5-7: And æfter þissum sē hāliga Andrēas hēt cyrican getimbrian on þære stōwe þær sē swer stōd. These passages show that **mōdiga**, l. 1632, and consequently **cræftiga**, l. 1633, must refer to Andrew, **cyninges**, l. 1633, meaning God. K., reading *cræftigra*, translates 'then commanded the bold one, than a king more powerful'; Grein's suggested reading **cræftigan** makes the word accusative — 'then the valiant one commanded the king's architect,' etc.; but this reading is not carried over into *Spr.* I, 168, as W., note to l. 1633, states, the word there being glossed **cræftiga**, nom. sg. Cf. *Chr.* 11-14:

Nū is þām weorce þearf
 þæt sē Cræftga cume and sē Cyning sylfa,
 and þonne gebēte — nū gebrosnad is —
 hūs under hrōfe.

1635. þurh fæder fulwiht. Grein's emendation *fullum*, accepted by Simons, p. 46, is a slight improvement in the sense of the passage, but the change is not necessary; cf. ll. 1630-1631.

1636^b. So *El.* 271.

1637^b. So *Chr.* 394; *Gu.* 854; *Gen.* 10; *Vision of the Cross* 81; *Ps.* LVI, 6; LVI, 13; sīde and wīde, *El.* 277; *Gen.* 118; *Ph.* 467.

1640. fullwihtes bæð. So *El.* 490, 1032; *Sat.* 546.

1643. Cf. *El.* 889-890: þær wæs lof hafen fæger mid þy folce.

1645^a. So *Chr.* 1066; *Gu.* 1286.

1647. se ār. The change from the MS. **sio** is probably necessary: but cf. *Gram.*, § 337, note 2.

1649^a. So (**in, tō**) *Chr.* 519; *Jud.* 327; *El.* 821.

1650. Sc., hine gehālgode.

1651. þurh apostohād. The phrase refers to Andrew, not Platan; cf. Hall, 'Through his [Andrew's] power as apostle (he was Platan entitled)' — **Plātan**. No mention whatever is made of the appointing of a bishop in the Πράξεις; cf. Bouraueil, p. 84. But the *Legend*, p. 127, ll. 9-10, reads: And ænne of heora aldromannum tō bisceope hē him gesette, and hē [Andrew] hī gefullode and cwæð, 'Nū þonne ic eom gearo þæt ic gange to mīnum discipulum.' The name Platan was evidently derived from the lost Latin source of the poem. It is found frequently in the *Martyrium Matthaei*, Bonnet, pp. 217-262, in the Latin version in the form Plato (cf. p. 228, l. 22), in the Greek version in the form Πλάτων (cf. p. 222, l. 14), as the name of the bishop of the Mermedonians. Cf. Lipsius, I, 616. For the quantity of the word, see Sievers, *PBB.* X, 493.

1654. Sægde his fūsne hige = sægde þæt his hige fūs wære; for similar construction with *seggan*, cf. *Gu.* 90; *Chr.* 137; *El.* 588. See also l. 1664^b.

1656^a. Cf. *Rid.* LXIV, 1: Oft ic secga seledrēame sceal fægre onþeōn.

1659. **weorc.** 'That was to the band a grief to endure.' Gm., Gn. *Spr.* II, 677, B.-T., p. 1199, all retain the MS. reading **weor** as positive degree of *wyrcs*, the present being the only occurrence of the form. W., l. 1659, note, would change to *weorce*, adj., citing *Beow.* 1417: *weorce on mōde tō geþolianne*; *Gen.* 2791: *weorce on mōde*; also *weorce*, *Jul.* 72, 135. But these constructions are not parallel to the present passage, and as Sievers (*Zft. f. d. Phil.* XXI, 358) points out, *weorce* in such constructions as *weorce on mōde* is primarily adverbial; the adjective form should be *wyrce*. The right reading **weore** was suggested by Kluge, *Anglia* IV, 106, and is accepted by Bright, *MLN.* I, 11, and Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 20. Kluge points out the parallel passage in *Jul.* 569: *þæt þām weligan wæs weorc tō þolianne*.

1660-1661. **Hie** is object of **gewunian**; for other examples of this construction, cf. *Beow.* 22; *Ph.* 481.

1663. Comparison with the *Legend* and the *Πράξεις* shows that the omission in the MS. here is inconsiderable; the *Legend*, p. 127, ll. 19-27, reads: *Him ætīwde Drihten Hǣlend Crist on þām wege on ansine fægeres cildes, and him tō cwæð, 'Andrēas, for hwam gæst þū swā būton wæstmē þīnes gewinnes, and þū forlēte þā þe þe bādon, and þū nāre mltsiende ofer heora cild þā þe þe wāron fyliende and wēpende? þāra cirm and wōp tō mē āstāh on heofonas. Nū þonne hwyrf eft on þā ceastre, and bco þær seofon dagas, oþ þæt þū gestrangie heora mōd on minne gelēafan.'* This passage is a close translation of the *Πράξεις*, p. 115, ll. 6-13. B., reading as the MS., without interruption, places l. 1664^b within parentheses and remarks (p. 78): 'As the MS. shows no vacant space, I have endeavored to get the following out of this passage: Then to him the God of glory appeared on the journey, and this word spoke the Lord of hosts: "The people in consequence of their evil deeds (their mind is ready (for death?)) go mourning, they lament their grief, men and women together; their weeping goes hastening forth, their mourning mood etc. makes itself heard."' B.², p. 96, retains this reading, remarking, in answer to W.'s objection that l. 1664^b refers to the departure of Andrew: '**is him fūs hyge**, their mind is sad, does refer to the departure of Andrew. For **fūs** = sad, tristis, see *Sprachschatz* I, 359, under **fūs**. Grein quotes this passage and understands it as I do. But he is mistaken, I think, in supposing that they are not also sad "on account of their sins" (**of firenum**). What would be so likely to occur to them on the eve of his departure as the remembrance of their former evil deeds and unholy lives, from which they had been rescued by Andrew? Hence they thought if he should leave them they should relapse into their former sinful state.' But the MS. is plainly defective here. Grein, *Dicht.*, supplies two lines after l. 1663:

Warum verlässest du die Leute denn so schnell,
Da kaum erst ist bekehrt von seinen Sünden —

Root follows Grein; K. and Hall do not fill in the passage.

1664. **folc of firenum.** In the complete form this phrase was probably part of an interrogative sentence. See the corresponding passage of the *Legend*, 1663, note. — W. retains the MS. reading **his** = **is** on the ground that the form **his** is sometimes found in the Kentish dialect; but **his** is here more probably a scribal

error; cf. l. 323^b, where **is** is written for **his**. — **fūs**. K., B. (cf. 1663, note), Root, and Hall translate 'ready for death'; but Grein, *Dicht.*, 'Ihnen ist freudlos der Sinn.' Other instances are given *Spr.* I, 359.

1666^a. So *Jud.* 163.

1667. **murnende mōd**. So *Beow.* 50; *Rid.* I, 15.

1668. **mē fore snēowan**. Cosijn's reading is confirmed by the *Legend*, p. 127, l. 24: *pāra cirm and wōp tō mē āstāh on heofonas*. For the order of words, cf. *El.* 577, *Jul.* 277: *mē fore standap*. It is probable, however, that **mē** is only part of the omitted passage; there is nothing in the *Andreas* to correspond to the phrase *on heofonas* of the *Legend*, and the alliteration in the half-line **mē fore snēowan** should fall on **f**, not **m**, as comparison with *El.* 577, *Jul.* 277, cited above, and *Gu.* 217: *swā ic ēow fore stonde*, proves. An omission is therefore indicated after l. 1667^a. For the construction of **snēowan**, cf. l. 242.

1669. **ēowde**. There is no equivalent to this word in the *Legend* or the *Πράξεις*; the figurative use of **ēowde**, meaning the Christian congregation, aside from the translations of the *Psalms*, is found elsewhere in the poetry only in *Chr.* 257.

1670. **nīowan**. Lichtenfeld, p. 364, finds only one other example of a weak adj. after *swā*: *Mald.* 319, *be swā lēofan men*. **Swā** has here almost demonstrative force.

1677^b–1678^a. See 568^b–569^a.

1679. **sāwon**. The subject is unexpressed after **syððan** (Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 263).

1681. **tīrēadigra**. The word is a genitive dependent on **weorod**, 1682. Grein, *Dicht.*, reading **tīr ēadigra**, translates 'Er unterwies drauf die Leute in dem Weg zum Glauben, glanzvoll begründend der Beglückten Ruhm'; Hall follows Grein, 'To the saints' honor [Andrew] added mightily.' K. and Root take the word as compound; so also Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 20).

1685. **in þrinnesse þrymme**. So *El.* 177; *Chr.* 599; *Gu.* 618; *Jud.* 86. For the quantity of **þrinnesse**, cf. *Gram.*, § 230, note 1.

1686. **in woruld worulda**. So *Ps.* LXXVIII, 14; CX, 5 (and frequently, translating *in saeculum saeculi, in saecula saeculorum*); *El.* 452; *burh woruld worulda* occurs *Chr.* 778 and *Ph.* 662. The whole passage, ll. 1683–1686, is an evident reminiscence of the closing formula usually found at the end of sermons, as in the following examples from the Wulfstan homilies: *Ān is ælmihtig God on þrȳm hādum, þæt is Fæder and Suna and Hālig Gāst; ealle þā þrȳ naman befēhð ān godcund miht and is ān ēce God, waldend and wyrhta ealra gesceafta. Him symle sȳ lof and weorðmynt in ealra worulda woruld ā butan ende, amen* (*Wulfstan*, ed. Napier, p. 107); *bidan wē . . . þæt wē magan and mōtan becuman tō ðām ēcan life þæs heofoncundlican rices, ðær wē mōtan ā orsorhlice libban and rixjan mid ūrum Hælende and mid eallum his hālgum, mid Fæder and mid Suna and mid þām Hālgan Gāste ā in ealra worulda woruld ā butan ende, amen* (*ibid.* p. 215); *wē wæron þider gehātene and gelaðede tō ðām hālgan hām and tō ðām cynelican friðstole, þær Drihten Crist wunað and rixað mid eallum hālgum sawlum aa butan ende in ealra worulda woruld, amen* (*ibid.* p. 265). For other examples, cf. *Wulfstan*, pp. 87, 190, 205, 242, 291, and the *Blickling Homilies*, and the homilies

of Ælfric. Kluge, *Eng. Stud.* VI, 324, commenting on the concluding passage of the *Seafarer*, points out its similarity to the set form found at the end of sermons, citing examples from the *Blickling Homilies*. Cf. also *Hy.* IV, 43-47 (*Bibl.* II, 110); and *Ap.* 107, note.

1687. **herigeas**. This whole passage, ll. 1687-1694, is the addition of the poet; the Πράξεις says merely: καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ διδάσκων καὶ ἐπιστηρίψων αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (Bonnet, p. 116, ll. 9-11); the *Legend* (p. 128, ll. 5-7) repeats the Πράξεις: and hē þær wunode mid him seofon dagas, lærende and strangende hira heortan on gelēafan ūres Drihtnes Hælandes Crīstes. The word *herig*, the more usual form of which is *hearg*, *hearh*, is used in both the senses 'idol' and 'heathen temple,' see B.-T., p. 522. The allusion to **helltrafum**, 1691, indicates that the word is to be taken in the second sense here. The exact meaning of the word in the sense 'temple' has been much discussed; see *Chr.* 485, and Cook's note; Golther, *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie*, p. 590 ff.; De la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, tr. Vos, pp. 355-362; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 440-444.

1688. Cf. *El.* 1040: dēofulgildum, ond gedwolan fylde.

1689. **gepollenne**. See 1160, note.

1690^a. So *Jul.* 718.

1693^a. See 598^a, note.

1694-1695. Perhaps a recollection of *Beow.* 1402-1404: *Lāstas wæron æfter waldswaþum wīde gesǣne, gang ofer grundas*, where the allusion is to Grendel's mother.

1696. **dagas on rīme**. So *Gu.* 1108. Cf. l. 1673, and l. 1687, note.

1697. **wederburg**. 'Pleasant city.' This is the only occurrence of the word. It is glossed by Gn., *Spr.* II, 654, 'dem Wetter ausgesetzte Burg'; *Dicht.* translates 'die Wetterburg'; K., 'the city of storms'; B.-T., p. 1182, 'a town exposed to storms, a weather-beaten city.' But *weder* means specifically not only 'bad weather,' 'storm,' but also 'good weather,' 'warm weather'; see the examples cited by B.-T., p. 1182. Cf. *weder* also in compounds: **wedercandel**, 'sun,' 372 and *Ph.* 187; *wearme wederdagas*, *As.* 96; *wedertācen*, 'sun,' *Gu.* 1267; *wederzwolcen*, *Ex.* 75, the pillar of fire which guided the children of Israel. The compound **wederburg**, since the poet is here giving a favorable description of the city of the Mermedonians, means 'city exposed to (pleasant) skies.' Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 20) and Simons, p. 150, define the word as 'sun-city,' but there is no warrant for assigning the meaning 'sun' to *weder*. In using the epithet the poet may have thought of Mermedonia as situated in Ethiopia; cf. **Ælmyrcna**, 432 and note, and *Ap.* 64: **mid Sigelwarum**.

1698. Cf. *El.* 225-226: Ongan þā dōstlice eorla mengu tō flote fȳsan.

1699^a. So *El.* 1137; *Ph.* 126, 592; *Gu.* 1079.

1702-1705. The poet looks forward to the martyrdom of Andrew; cf. *Ap.* 16-22.

1704. **syððan**. The metre of the half-line demands the full form **syððan**; the MS. form **syð** occurs only in this passage, although the form **syððan** is found twenty-one times in the poem. See *Introd.*, p. xlviii.

1709. **hāt æt heortan**. So *El.* 628; *Gu.* 1182, 1310; *Chr.* 500, 539.

1710-1722. This description of the departure of Andrew is considerably elaborated in the poem; neither in the *Πράξεις* nor the *Legend* is there any mention of a journey by water. The *Πράξεις* (Bonnet, p. 116, ll. 11-15) reads: *καὶ πλωθέντων τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸν μακάριον Ἀνδρέαν, συνήχθησαν πάντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ παιδίου ἕως πρεσβυτέρου, καὶ προέπεμψαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες. Εἰς θεὸς Ἀνδρέου, εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.* The *Legend* (p. 128, ll. 8-14) follows the *Πράξεις* closely, except that the city of the *anthropophagi* is mentioned by name: *Mid þi þe þā wæron gefyllede seofon dagas, swā swā him Drihten bebēad, hē fērde of [Mar]madonia ceastre efstende tō his discipulum. And eall þæt folc hine lādde mid gefēan, and hīe cwædon, 'Ān is Drihten God, sē is Hælend Crīst, and sē Hālgā Gāst, þām is wuldor and gewæld on þære Hālgan þrynnesse þurh ealra worulda woruld sōðlice ā būtan ende. Amen.'*

In the poem, l. 1718, *ofer middangeard*, is antithetic to l. 1720, *in heofonþrymme*, the latter phrase being paralleled by l. 1721, *on wuldre*; for this sense of *wuldor*, cf. l. 356, note. In l. 1722 *mid englum* is parallel to *hālgum*, l. 1720.

1713. *æðelinga wunn*. Cf. l. 1223, note. The form *wunn* is late; cf. *Gram.*, § 72, note, and see *Ap.* 42, *wurd*.

1714. *ofer seolhpaðu*. Cosijn rejects both *-paðu* and *-waðu*, reading *seolhbaðu*, with *Rid.* XI, 11: *ofer seolhbabo*, on the ground that *pað* is masculine; but cf. l. 788, *ofer mearcpaðu*.

1722. *Ðæt is æðele cyning*. The phrase is reminiscent both of the opening of the *Beowulf*, cf. l. 11: *þæt was gōd cyning* (cf. *El.* 13^b, *hē was riht cyning*), and of the close, ll. 3179-3183:

Swā begnornodon Gēata lēode
hlāfordes hryre, heorðgenēatas;
cwædon þæt hē wære wyruldcyninga,
manna mildust ond monþwærust,
lēodum līðost and lofgeornost.

Cf. also *Beow.* 1885: *þæt was ān cyning*; *Hy.* III, 120: *swilc is mære cyningc*, also at the end of the poem; *Panther* 74^b: *þæt is wele stenc*; *Jul.* 224^b: *þæt is sōð cyning*; and the concluding passage in *Sat.*, 295-298:

Swā wuldres weard wordum herigað
þegnas ymb þēoden; þær is þrym micel,
sang æt selde: is sylf cyning,
ealra aldor in ðære écan gesceft.

THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

1 ff. For the epic formula, cf. *An.* 1, note. Sievers (*PBB.* IX, 134) points out the general similarity of the opening of the *Ap.* to the opening of the *Beow.*, inferring from the genitive of l. 8^a, dependent on l. 6^b, that the poet of the *Ap.* read in the parallel passage in the *Beow.* a genitive *caferan*, l. 19, and not a nominative *cafera*, as the MS. reads. The poet again alludes to his sources in ll. 23, 63, and 70.

1^b. *sīdgēomor*. Brandl (*Archiv* C. 330-334) understands this word literally, 'reisesorgend,' and takes the poem, as a whole, as a traveler's charm. He compares it with the charm printed in *Bibl.* I, 328-330, and supposes that the story of the fates of the Apostles was chosen as the subject of the body of the poem because the Apostles had all traveled widely. He considers it, therefore, as an independent poem which follows a native literary tradition. 'Die Gattung der Reisesegen war eine altgermanische; wir finden sie, samt der dafür charakteristischen Ausmalung der Beschützer, im Ahd. und Altn. (vgl. Kögel, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur* I, 2, 158 ff.); Cynwulf hat ihr wohl nur einen höheren Ton und christlicheren Sinn gegeben' (p. 331). But Brandl surely was not acquainted with the sources of the poem, or with the type of ecclesiastical composition to which it belongs; for comparison of the poem with the approximate sources, and with related forms, deprives his theory even of its slight degree of probability. — For the meaning of **fund**, cf. *An.* 1485, note. K. connects l. 2^a with 2^b, placing a comma after **fund**; but cf. the examples given under *An.* 1485, to which add *Soul* 133: funden on ferhðe; *Gen.* 266: æt his hige findan.

2. Cf. *Gu.* 1050: ne bēo þū on sefan tō sēoc. — **samnode wīde**. Cf. *Ph.* 547: lēoð somnige, write wōðcræfte.

3. Cf. *Beow.* 3: hū ðā æþelingas ellen fremedon; *Beow.* 2695: ellen cȳðan.

4^a. Cf. *An.* 2; *Partridge* 10: torhte tīrēadge.

5^b. Cf. *dryhtne gecoren*, *Dan.* 150, 736; *Gen.* 1818.

6^b. Cf. *Beow.* 18: blæd wīde sprang; *ibid.* 1588: hrā wīde sprong; *Jul.* 585: lēad wīde sprong.

8^a. Cf. *An.* 3, note.

9^a. Cf. l. 90; and *Ex.* 382, 568; *hālige hēapas*, of the children of Israel.

10. Cf. *An.* 1194, and note.

11. **Rōmebyrlg**. Simons also, p. 115, separates the elements of this word; but the combinations *Rōme*, *Rōma-burh* are frequent in the prose; see B.-T., p. 801, for examples.

11^b-15. Cf. *Men.* 120-130^a:

Wīde is geweorðod, swā þæt wel gerist,
hāligra tid geond hæleða bearn

Petrus ond Paulus. Hwæt! Jā apostolas,
 þēoden holde, þrowedon on Rome
 ofer midne sumor miccle gewisse
 furðor fif nihtum folcbealo þrealic,
 mærne martyrdōm. Hæfdon mænige ær
 wundra geworhte geond wærþeoda,
 swylce hi æfter þām unrim fremedon
 swutelra ond gesýnra þurh sunu meotudes
 ealdorþegnas.

11-22. The subject proper of the poem begins with l. 11. There is an evident reminiscence of the theme of *The Fates of the Apostles* in *Jul.* 302-311, in a passage in which Satan gives a list of his evil deeds:

Nēþde ic nearobregdum, þær ic Neron biswēac,
 þæt hē ācwellan hēt Crīstes þegnas
 Petrus and Paulus. Pilatus ær
 on rōde āhēng rodera waldend
 meotud meahigne mīnum lārum.
 Swylce ic Egias ēac gelærde,
 þæt hē unsnytrum Andreas hēt
 āhōn hāligne on hēanne bēam,
 þæt hē of galgan his gæst onsende
 in wuldres wlite.

A ME. version of the whole subject is found in *Cursor Mundi*, ed. Morris, App. I, vol. III, p. 1587.

12^a. So *Beow.* 1641; 2476; cf. *An.* 8.

13. þurg. See *An.* 769^b, note. — **13^b.** Cf. *El.* 1108: þurh nearusearwe.

14^b. Note the strong demonstrative force of *sē*; cf. *An.* 613, 1561.

15. Cf. *An.* 543, and note.

16-22. Cf. *Men.* 215-218^a:

ond þæs embe seofon niht sigedrihtne lēof
 æþele Andrēas ūp on roderum
 his gæst āgeaf, on Godes wære
 fūs on forðweg.

17^b. Cf. *An.* 1351^b and note.

19^a. So *Chr.* 200; *Ph.* 136.

21^b. So *An.* 1202; *El.* 205. Cf. *An.* 1271^b, note.

22^a. So *Chr.* 573. — **22^b.** So *An.* 966.

23-33^a. Cf. *Men.* 115^b-119:

þanne wuldres þegn
 ymb þrēotýne, þēodnes dýrling,
 Iohannes in gēardagan wearð ācenned,
 týn nihtum ēac: wē þá tiid healdað
 on midne sumor mycles on æþelum.

24. æglāawe. Cf. *An.* 802, *forlætān* = *forlētōn*. — *æðelo reccan.* John was the son of Zebedee and the brother of James (cf. *Matt.* IV, 21). K., Gn., and W. have only a comma after *reccan*; but the force of *sē*, l. 25, is demonstrative rather than relative.

25^a. Cf. *An.* 262, 885. — 25^b. Cf. *An.* 1626^b, note.

26^b. **Crīste lēofast.** See *John* XIII, 23; XIX, 26; XXI, 7, 20; and *Introd.*, p. xxx.

27^a. So *El.* 72.

28^a. See *An.* 146^a, note.

29^a. Cf. *Chr.* 425: þurh his mōdor hrif.

30^b. So *Jud.* 237; *Wid.* 88; *Ps.* CI, 25.

31. Cf. *An.* 170.

32. Cf. *An.* 641 and note, and, for the phrase **sīðe gesōhte**, *An.* 845^a, note. —

32^b. As a descriptive epithet **swegl** usually occurs as the first element in compounds (see *Spr.* II, 504). But **swegledrēamas**, as K. reads, is impossible; the form should be **swegl-**, or **swegeldrēamas**. **Swegl** as adj. occurs once, however, beside the present passage, *Beow.* 2749: swegle searogimmas.

33^a. Cf. *An.* 524, note.

33^b–37^a. James and John, according to *Matt.* IV, 21, were the sons of Zebedee. James was put to death by Herod (*Acts* XII, 1–2). See below, ll. 70–74, note. Cf. *Men.* 130^b–136^a:

	Fænne ædre cymð
emb twā niht	þæs tidlice ūs
Iulius mōnað,	on þām Iacobus
ymb fēower niht	feorh gesealde,
ond twēntigum,	trum in brēostum,
frōd ond fæstræd	folca lārēow,
Zebedes afera.	

34. Cf. *An.* 204, note. — **sweordes bite.** Cf. *Beow.* 2060: æfter billes bite; *ibid.* 2259: bite irena; *Jul.* 603: þurh sweordbite.

37^b–41. In the *Menologium*, ll. 80–82, Philip and James, brother of Jesus, are mentioned together:

Swā þi ylcan dæge	æþele gefēran,
Philippus ond Iacob	feorh āgēfan,
mōdige magoþegnias	for meotudes lufan.

40–41. Cf. *El.* 179–180: on galgan wearð godes āgen beam āhangen.

42^b. **wurd.** The MS. reading is supported by *An.* 1713, **wunn.** Cf. also *An.* 1480.

43^b. **aldre gelædde.** Grein's suggestion, *genēðde* for **gelædde**, is repeated by Simons, p. 56. The construction is plainly influenced by the construction with *genēðan*, which regularly takes the instrumental. But the construction *gelæddan* with the instrumental probably resulted from the use of *gelæddan* in the sense of *genēðan*, as in *Gen.* 1911: Forðon wit læddan sculon, tēon wit of þisse stōwe, ond unc staðolwangas rūmor sēcan.

44^a. So *Cræft.* 40.

46^b. So *Jul.* 604.

47. **hýran.** A more appropriate word would be **herlan**, 'praise,' parallel to **weorðlan**, l. 48. Klaeber, *Modern Philology* II, 146, makes the same suggestion.

48^a. Cf. *Dan.* 208: ne þysne wīg wurðigean.

50-62. Cf. *Men.* 221-225:

Swylce emb eahta ond twelf
 nihtgerimes, þætte Nergend sylf
 þristhýdigum Thomase forgeaf
 wið earfeðum ēce rice
 bealdum beornwigan bletsunga his.

51. The phrase *ōðre dāelas* is apparently equivalent to 'the farther — i.e. the eastern — parts.' Kemble translates 'So Thomas also boldly adventured in India, on the other hand.' But *ōðre dāelas* probably represents the phrase *ad orientalem plagam* of the *Breviarium*, cf. *Introd.*, p. xxxi. The same phrase occurs in the *De vita et obitu utriusque Testamenti Sanctorum* of Isidorus Hispalensis, quoted by Bourauel, p. 105: *Thomas . . . evangelium prædicavit Parthis . . . et Indis, tenens orientalem plagam, ibique . . . lanceis transfixus occubuit in Calumia Indiae civitate.*

53^b. The Edd. have only a comma after *word*.

55. *āwehte*. Cf. *An.* 584^a, and B.-T., p. 61, for examples of *āweccan* in the sense of 'raise from the dead.' For the source of this episode, see *Introd.*, p. xxxii.

58^b. Cf. *An.* 1616^b and note.

59^b. Cf. *An.* 1531^b, note.

60^a. B. and W. put a semicolon after *hand*.

61^b. So *Sat.* 141, 253, 449, 617, 650; cf. *Sat.* 68: *dryhtnes liht*; *Sat.* 28: *swegles lēoht*; *Sat.* 85; *wuldres lēoman*.

62^a. *sāwle*. Other examples of a nominative *sāwle* are *Chr.* 1327; *Soul* 10; *Metr.* XX, 162; cf. *Spr.* II, 162. — 62^b. So *Beow.* 1021.

63. So *El.* 364, 670, 852.

63-69. The death of Matthew is recorded in the *Menologium*, ll. 169-173, as follows:

þænne dagaena worn
 ymbe þrēotýne þegn unforcūð,
 godspelles glēaw gäst onsende,
 Māthēus his tō metodscafte
 in ēcne gefean.

64^a. *Sigelwarum*. This name, which is of frequent occurrence as a designation of the Ethiopians (cf. B.-T., p. 873; Bourauel, p. 127; and see *An.* 432, note), appears in the forms *Sigel-hearwa*, *Sil-hearwa*, *Sigel-waras*. The first element of the compound is *sigel-*, 'sun' (cf. *sigel-hæveorfa*, 'heliotrope'), the whole word meaning 'sun-people.' The blackness of the Ethiopians is frequently mentioned in Anglo-Saxon allusions to them, and this would be connected with the idea of the heat of the sun. See Ovid, *Met.* II, 235-236 (Kittredge); and cf. also *wederburg*, *An.* 1697 (and note), as the epithet applied to the city of the Mermedonians, which is placed by the poet of the *Andreas* in Ethiopia. — 64^b. Cf. *El.* 435: *gif ðis yppe bið*.

66^a. So *Jul.* 378; *lēohte* (*lēohtne*) *gelēafan*, *El.* 491, 1137; *Gu.* 624, 1084; *Jul.* 653; *Metr.* V, 26; *Ph.* 479. Cf. *An.* 335^b and note; *Ap.* 20^b. — 66^b. *gefælsod*. The same word is used of Beowulf when he destroys Grendel and Grendel's mother, *Beow.* 825, 1176, 1620.

68^b. So *Chr.* 620; *El.* 685 (*corne*).

69^b. Cf. *An.* 72^a, note.

70-74. The New Testament mentions, besides James son of Zebedee (cf. above, ll. 33^b-37^a), a James son of Alpheus (*Matt.* X, 3; *Mark* III, 18), and a James brother of Jesus (*Mark* VI, 3). Whether or not these two latter are the same person has been a subject of dispute in the church since the second century (see Lipsius, III, 229). Tradition has very little to say about James son of Alpheus, but the legendary history of James brother of Jesus, is extensive. He was made the first bishop of Jerusalem; he was thrown from a pinnacle of the temple at Jerusalem by the angry Jews, and was then beaten on the head with a flogging-staff until he was dead; see Lipsius, III, 241, and Bede's *Martyrology*: *fullonis in cerebro percussus fuste occubuit.*

71^b. Cf. *An.* 1610^b and note.

73. for æfestum. So *An.* 610; *El.* 496; *Gu.* 684; *Gen.* 982; *Mod.* 37.

75-84. Cf. *Men.* 189^b-193^a:

Wē þā æpelingas
fyrn gefrūnan, þæt h̄y foremære,
Simon ond Judas, symble wæron
drihtne dýre: for þon h̄i dōm hlutan,
ēadigne upweg.

77^a. So *An.* 641. — Thaddeus, also called Lebbaeus and Judas (Jude) (see *Matt.* X, 3, *Acts* I, 13), was the brother of James.

78^a. So *An.* 848.

80^b. Cf. *Rid.* LXXII, 13: *wæorc brōwade*, appositive to *earfoða dæl*, l. 14; *Beow.* 1721: *wæorc brōwade*, appositive to *lōdbealo longsum*, l. 1722.

81^b. Cf. *Gu.* 1238: *tō þām sōþan gefēan sāwel fundað*; *Chr.* 451; *sægdon sōðne gefēan*. See *An.* 598^a, note.

83^a. So *Beow.* 733.

87^a. Cf. *Creeft.* 1-3: *Fela bið on foldan . . . geongra geofona þā þā gæstberend wegað in gewitte*; *El.* 61: *mōdsorge wæg Romwara cyning*; *El.* 655: *gnornsorge wæg*; similarly *Chr.* 1577; *Gen.* 2238. Sievers (*PBB.* XII, 178) distinguishes between *wegan*, 'bear,' and *wegan*, 'oppose, fight' (as in *Beow.* 2400). **Wegan** = **wāgon**; cf. *An.* 198, 601, 932, 1532, etc. — 87^b. Cf. *An.* 726^b, note.

88-95. Cf. 107-122, and, for the significance of this double ending, see *Intro.*, p. xlv.

90. Cf. l. 9; *An.* 1566.

91^b. K. changes **hū** to **nū**, translating 'Now I am in need of friends favorable on my course, when I must the long home, an unknown land, seek alone,' etc. Siev. also changes **hū** to **nū** and puts only a comma after **fultomes**; Skeat, p. 419, follows Siev. in his translation of the passage, **nū** = 'now that.' The readings of Siev. and Skeat make a very cumbersome and ill-joined sentence. There is, moreover, no reason why the MS. reading should be altered here. For an example of **hū** = exclamation 'lo, behold,' cf. *An.* 63, and note. The complaint of loneliness and of the need of friends at death (cf. l. 110^a) occurs also in the *Vision of the Cross*, 131 ff.

92^a. Cf. *An.* 276. — 92^b. Cf. *Chr.* 1464: *þæt longe lif*, 'eternal life'; similarly, *Gu.* 1063, 1281: *tō þām longan gefēan*; *Gu.* 91: *þā longan gōd herede on heofonum*, antithetic to *þās eorþan . . . læne under byfte*.

94^a. W. retains the MS. reading *læ̅t* (as also *gesē̅e* in l. 93, omitting *se̅eal* in l. 92), and accounts for the loss of the inflectional *e* on the supposition that *ic* is to be understood as following the verb. A second reason which W. gives, that the *e* was omitted in order to enable the scribe to insert the following *mē* before a rent in the parchment, may be disregarded, inasmuch as the rent follows the *mē* of l. 89 and not the *mē* of l. 94. — 94^b. So *Gu.* 1340, appositive to *bān hūs ābrocen*, l. 1341, and antithetic to *wuldres dæl*, l. 1342.

96–122. An exact copy of the passage on f. 54^a is given by Napier, *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 71–72; by Wülker, *Bibl.* II, 566–567, and *Cod. Verc.*, p. viii. As Napier's keener vision enabled him to decipher several letters that were illegible to Wülker, his readings are here given. The copy reproduces the MS. literally. Italics are used to indicate letters that are somewhat faded, but still, according to Napier, plainly legible; italicized letters enclosed in parentheses are either very much faded or only partly legible, so that the reading is somewhat uncertain. The probable number of letters that have been rendered entirely illegible in each line is indicated by colons; the colons represent the greatest number of letters that could have stood in the respective passages if the passages had been occupied by single words; if the passages were occupied by several words with the usual spacing between them, the number of letters would be less.

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

The passage, so far as he attempted its restoration, is translated as follows by Sievers (*Anglia* XIII, 10): 'Nun kann hier, wer da will, des dichters namen finden. An dessen ende steht ein *feoh*. Des *feoh* bedienen sich die menschen hier auf erden: aber keinem von ihnen, den weltbewohnern, ist es beschieden, sein ewig zu geniessen. Vergehen wird der wonnigliche besitz, das gut im erbsitze, und zerfallen wird des leibes vergänglicher schmuck, wie eine woge zergleitet. Dann suchen C und Y nach kraft nachts in bedrängung: aber über ihnen steht gottes verhängniss. Nun kannst du sehen, wer in diesen worten den menschen zu erkennen war.'

Trautmann's translation (*Kynewulf*, p. 54) is as follows:

Hier kann der denkende und weise mann,
der lust an dichtungen hat, finden,
wer diesen sang gefügt hat. Ein FEOH (der laut *f*) steht da am ende,

Des FEOH (besitzes) geniessen die menschen auf der erde ; doch keiner der weltbewohner kann es immerfort : der REICHTUM muss vergehn, das GUT im erbsitze ; zerfallen muss später des leibes flüchtiger schmuck, gerade wie die WOGÉ zergeht. Wenn SORGE und LEIDENSCHAFT die kraft [der menschen] verzehren in der bedrängniss der nacht, legt ihnen die not den dienst des herren auf. Jetzt kannst du wissen, wer in diesen worten den menschen zu erkennen war.

Skeat (*English Miscellany*, pp. 418-419) translates the whole passage as follows :

Here may one who is skilled in penetration discover, one who takes delight in poetic strains, who it was that composed this Fit. *Feoh* [wealth] stands at the end thereof,¹ which men enjoy while upon earth ; but they cannot always be together while dwelling in this world. *Wynn* [joy] must fade, *Ūr* [ours] though it be in our home. So must finally decay the transitory trappings of the body, even as *Lago* [water] glides away. Then shall *Cēn* [bold warrior] and *Yfel* [the wretched one] seek for help in the anxious watches of the night. *Nȳd* [constraint] lies upon him, the service due to the King. Now mayst thou discover who in these words has been revealed to men.

Let him who loves the study of this poem be mindful of one thing, namely, to give me help and desire my comfort. I must needs, far hence, all alone seek elsewhere a new habitation, and undertake a journey, I myself know not whither, out of this world. My new chambers are unknown, my new dwelling-place and home. So will it be for every man, unless he cleave fast to the divine Spirit. But let us the more earnestly cry unto God, let us send up our petitions to the bright heaven, that we may enjoy the habitation, the true home on high, where are the greatest of joys, where the King of angels grants to the pure an everlasting reward. Now his praise shall endure forever, great and all-glorious, and his power with it, eternal and freshly young, throughout all creation.

Gollancz (*Cynewulf's Christ*, p. 183) translates :

- A man of cunning thought may here discover,
if he taketh pleasure in song,
F· who wrought this lay. *Wealth* cometh last,
the friend of man on earth, while he dwelleth in the world,
but they cannot keep together always.
U· W· Our earthly joy shall fade, and the frail gauds of the flesh
L· Shall afterwards decay, even as *water* glideth away.
C· Y· Bold warrior and afflicted wretch shall then crave help,
N· in the anxious watches of the night ; but *Destiny* o'errules,
the King exacts their service. Now thou canst know,
who was revealed to men in these words.

¹ I.e. at the end of the name, viz. *Cynwulf*, which ends with *Feoh* or *F*. (Skeat's note.)

The three well-known passages, besides the present one, in which Cynewulf gives his name in runic letters, are *Jul.* 695-710; *El.* 1257-1271; and *Chr.* 796-806. It has never been questioned that these are genuine signatures of the poet, although the methods of interpreting the runes differ widely. They have been explained as standing (1) merely for the letters of the alphabet forming the name Cyn(e)wulf; (2) for the names of the runes, e.g. \mathfrak{F} (or F), **feoh** (money); \mathfrak{L} (or L), **lagu** (water, sea), etc. But since in certain passages the names of the runes, e.g. \mathfrak{U} (or U), **ūr** (bull), were meaningless, the runes have been taken to stand (3) for words similar in sound to their names; e.g. \mathfrak{U} (U) = **ūr** (of old), **ūre** (our), **ūr** (possession, wealth); and finally, (4) for other words beginning with the letters of the alphabet to which the runes respectively correspond; e.g. \mathfrak{U} (U) = **ufan** (from above), **unne** (possession). For a summary of the discussion of the Cynewulf runes, cf. Trautmann, *Kynewulf*, pp. 43-70; a briefer summary is given by Cook, *Christ*, pp. 151-165. For a general discussion of the runes and runic inscriptions, cf. Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*; Sievers, in Paul's *Grundriss* I, 238 ff; Stephens, *Handbook of the Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England*; and for further bibliography see Kahle, *Allisländisches Elementarbuch*, pp. 2-3.

The order of succession of the runes in the other passages is consecutive: *Jul.*, C Y N E W U L F; *Chr.*, C Y N W U L F; *El.*, C Y N E W U L F. The order in the *Ap.* is as follows: F W U L [C] [Y] [N]. The runes will be considered in their context as they occur. It should be observed that the reader is not left without help in determining the proper order of the letters in *Ap.* They are given in three groups, first F, second W U L, and third C Y N. F, we are told, stands at the end (of the name). L. 99^b may have a twofold meaning, dependent on the double meaning of **mōton**: (1) they, wealth (**feoh**) and mankind (**eorlas**), may not always remain together; (2) they, the letter F and those which follow it, W and U, need not or must not stand together, that is, you must separate the F from the W and the U. Then 'after' the U comes the L, completing the second group. The poet then turns to his third group (cf. **Donne**, 103). The order is normal, first C and Y, then 'on' them lies or follows (cf. the common use of *licgan* in the sense of 'flow') the third letter, N. The first and alliterating syllable of 105^a then unites these three letters in the syllable **cyn-**. Given the groups C Y N, W U L, and F, no Anglo-Saxon would have felt any uncertainty as to how they were to be joined.

96. **foreþances**. The MS. form **forþanc** does not occur elsewhere; for **foreþanc**, cf. *El.* 356; *Jul.* 227; *Beow.* 1060.

98^b. \mathfrak{F} . All commentators are agreed as to the value and the name of this rune. It is equivalent to F and its name is **feoh**, 'money,' 'wealth.' In the present passage it has the value both of a letter and of the word which is its name: 'F (or the letter **feoh**) stands at the end (of the name); earls enjoy it (i.e. **feoh**, wealth or property) on earth.'

Napier ends l. 98 with **ende**. His next line extends from **standeþ** to **brūcað**, followed by **ne . . . ætsomme**, which is made a full line by the insertion of *earðian* between **āwa** and **ætsomme**. By this line-division Napier gains one line in the numbering over Sievers and Trautmann, whose line-division is followed in the text,

99. The line as it stands makes a good hypermetric verse, and Napier's insertion of *earđian* is unnecessary. Ll. 98 and 102 are also hypermetric verses; cf. Sievers, *Anglia* XIII, 1.

99^b-100^a. **ne mōton**. The meaning of the verb is to be completed by **wesan**, understood. Sievers (*Anglia* XIII, 2) would infer **brūcan** as completing the meaning of **mōton**, although he points out the possibility of the alternative construction, **mōton** sc. **wesan**. **Ætsomme** he understands in the sense of 'all,' as in *Sat.* 41: *þæt wē sceolon ætsomme sūsl þrowian*; *Beow.* 2847: *tȳne ætsomme*; and cf. *An.* 994. **Ne . . . hīe . . . ætsomme** he accordingly translates 'none,' 'not a one.' No other example of *ne . . . ætsomme* occurs. Trautmann (*Kynewulf*, p. 54) follows Sievers. Skeat and Gollancz (see translations above) understand **wesan** as completing the meaning of **mōton**. This seems the natural and unforced meaning of the passage. The subject of **mōton** is **hīe**, i.e. **feoh** and **eorlas**; **woruldwunigende** is an appositive to **hīe**, 'wealth and mankind, these dwellers in the world, may not always be or remain together.' The succeeding lines maintain the parallel: wealth shall pass away, then afterwards the transitory graces of the body, i.e. mankind, **eorlas**, shall perish.

100^b. **Þ**. All editors agree in supplying the rune **Þ** = **W**, in order to obtain an alliterating letter in the second half-line. Sievers (*Anglia* XIII, 3-4), Cosijn (*Verlag.* III, VII, p. 59) and Gollancz (*Cynewulf's Christ*, p. 178) understand the rune as meaning **wyn**, 'joy' (Sievers, 'wonniglicher besitz'). Trautmann (*Kynewulf*, p. 52) interprets it as **wela**, 'riches.' **Wyn**, 'joy,' gives an appropriate meaning.

101. **Ū**. The commentators differ widely in their interpretation of this rune, but the most reasonable explanation of it is that it stands for the letter **U** and for the poss. pronoun **ūr**, referring back to **wyn**. The proper name of the rune in the runic alphabet is *ūr* = the *urus*, a species of wild ox; cf. the description in the *Runic Poem* 4-6 (*Bibl.* I, 331):

Ū (ūr) byþ anmōd and oferhyrned,
fela-frēne dēor, feohteþ mid hornum
mære mōrstapa: þæt is mōdig wuht.

The meaning '*urus*,' however, is appropriate to none of the *Cynewulf* passages. The following substitutions have been proposed for the passage in the *Ap*. Cosijn (*Verlag.* III, VII, p. 59) substitutes **ūr** = 'our,' the possessive pronoun, noting (p. 57) that **ūr**, instead of **ūre**, is a form of the possessive pronoun in the Vespasian Psalter. Gollancz (*Cynewulf's Christ*, pp. 181-182) follows Cosijn, adding the evidence 'that in a runic alphabet (*Domitian, A, 9*) the rune is actually glossed "*noster*.'" The alphabet is printed in Hicckes, *Thesaurus* I, 136. Sievers (*Anglia*, XIII, 7) understands **ūr** as a synonym of **feoh**, strengthening his position by the citation of *Chr.* 806 ff.: *ūr wæs longe laguflōdum bilocen, lifwynna dæl, feoh on foldan*; and *El.* 1266 ff.: *ūr wæs gēara, geoguðhādes glæm: nū synt gēardagas . . . forð gewitene, lifwynne geliden*. His translation is 'das gut.' In both the above passages, however, the word is represented by the rune; no example of *ūr*, 'wealth,' as an Anglo-Saxon word, is known. Trautmann (*Kynewulf*, p. 52) rejects the reading of Cosijn and Gollancz on the ground that the runes never stand for other parts of speech than nouns. He suggests **unne**, 'permission,' 'what is granted,' 'grant,' extending (without sufficient authority) the meaning of the word to

'possessions,' 'property,' 'die habe'; Sievers's reading he rejects on the ground that the existence of *ūr* = 'wealth' as an Anglo-Saxon word cannot be proved. To Trautmann's substitution *unne* as an appositive to *wyn* and *feoh* we may make the same objection that he makes to Sievers's *ūr*, — the word does not occur; to his statement that the runes never stand for any words except nouns the gloss cited by Gollancz is a sufficient answer. The interpretation of Cosijn and Gollancz is altogether the most reasonable. — 101^b. *tōhrēosan*. Sievers (*Anglia* XIII, 7) notes that the rime with *gedrēosan* confirms the restoration *tōhrēosan*, rather than Napier's *tōhrēosab*, observing also that the infinitive here gives a smoother sentence-structure.

102^b. **ᚠ**. The equivalent of this rune is L. All commentators agree in the substitution of *lagu* = 'water, wave, sea,' as its name. The half-line occurs again, also with the rune, in *El.* 1268^b.

103. The first half-line is almost illegible in the MS. Napier (p. 71) says: 'Das swa selbst ist sehr undeutlich und ich bin keineswegs sicher, richtig gelesen zu haben. Darauf folgt ein punct und hinter diesem glaube ich das runenzeichen **ᚠ** erkennen zu können. Dahinter sind undeutliche spuren eines zweiten runenzeichens sichtbar, die darauf schliessen lassen, dass **ᚠ** hier gestanden habe: es sind dies ein $7\frac{1}{2}$ mm. langer senkrechter strich, ein 3 mm. langer querstrich, der mit dem oberen ende des ersten einen winkel von ca. 57° bildet, und ausserdem vier kleine puncte. Zwischen den beiden runenzeichen ist raum für einen buchstaben (etwa γ), es braucht aber keiner da gestanden zu haben.' Sievers (p. 9) doubts the reading *swā*; if it is to be accepted he thinks the abbreviation for *ond* must have stood before it. Better than *swā*, however, as he points out, is the reading *poñ* = *ponne*, as in *Chr.* 797 and *Jul.* 705. Gollancz, p. 176, and Trautmann, p. 50, follow Sievers's second reading.

All agree in the insertion of the two runes in the first half-line; the alliteration demands the rune **ᚠ** = C; the equivalent letter of the second rune is Y. As to the interpretation of the two runes there is wide divergence of opinion. It is evident that l. 103^a must have contained the subject of the verb *nēosað*, and it is probable that the runes in this half-line stand for nouns which could fulfill that function. These nouns would naturally be parallel to *eorlas*, 99, and *woruld-wunigende*, 100. The most plausible interpretation is that the runes stand for *cēne*, 'bold,' and *yfel*, 'wretched,' adjectives used as nouns.

Napier does not attempt the restoration of this and the following line. Sievers (p. 10) says: 'Mit C und Y weiss sich nichts anzufangen: sie werden bloss die geltung von buchstabennamen haben, welche hier die zu fordernden subjecte ("sie" = "die menschen") andeuten.' According to Gollancz (p. 178), 'the words represented by the C-Rune and the Y-Rune, which are co-ordinated, must evidently be the same part of speech; if C = *cēne*, "the bold warrior," in the same sense as in the other passages [i.e. the other runic signatures of Cynewulf], one would expect Y to stand for an adjective or substantive, in any case of masculine gender; but in passage A [*Chr.* 796-806] the Y-Rune is co-ordinated with the N-Rune; concerning the meaning of this latter rune there is no doubt; it represents the abstract noun *nȳd*, "necessity"; therefore the Y-Rune in this latter passage must, I think, stand for some similar abstract noun. Judging by A [i.e. *Christ*] and C [C = the present passage], the Y-Rune represents a *y*-word that can discharge

the two-fold functions of a masculine adjective (or noun) and of an abstract noun. The only Anglo-Saxon word that satisfies these requirements is **yfel** = (1) "wretched"; (2) "affliction"; and there is, I venture to think, strong reason for favoring this interpretation of the Y-Rune in the three passages. In passage A, *yfel and nȳd* = "affliction and distress"; in passage B [*El.* 1257-1271], *yfel gnornode nȳdgefera* = "afflicted, mourned the companion of sorrow"; in passage C, **cēne and yfel** = "the bold warrior and the afflicted wretch." Trautmann (p. 53) differs from both Sievers and Gollancz: 'Da ihnen [i.e. the two runes] das selbe praedicat gemein ist, werden sie doch wohl ähnlichen sinn haben; und da von ihnen ausgesagt wird **cræftes neotað nihtes nearwe**, "sie verzehren die kraft in der bangigkeit der nacht," so müssen sie doch wohl so etwas wie "angst, sorge, gram, leidenschaft, not," bedeuten. Da ergeben sich denn sofort **cearu**, "sorge, kummer," und **ȳst**, "leidenschaft," als die mit C und Y gemeinten worte.' To this it may be answered that the words represented by the runes need not be synonyms, but may be, as Gollancz suggests, antithetic; and second, that Trautmann's interpretation depends upon an impossible meaning for **neotað**, see 103^b, note. Unless one prefers, with Sievers, to regard the runes as standing for letters only, and not words, the explanation of Gollancz is to be accepted. The chief difficulty in the way is the meaning assigned to **yfel**. The meaning 'bold (warrior)' for **cēne** is a probable one and finds numerous parallels; see Glossary. But **yfel**, usually 'wicked,' but also 'miserable,' is not used, like **cēne**, as an adjective noun; neither is the antithesis between 'bold' and 'wretched' quite a perfect one. Nevertheless it must be remembered that this runic passage is somewhat of the nature of a riddle, that the language of riddles is not always unconstrained and natural, and that the number of *y*-words which the poet had to choose from was a very limited one. — **nēosað**. The MS. reads plainly **neotað**. Trautmann (p. 53) retains the MS. reading, extending the meaning of *nēotan* = 'use,' 'enjoy,' to the meaning 'consume,' 'devour,' 'verzehren.' For this, however, there is no authority. Sievers (pp. 8-9), Gollancz (p. 176), and Skeat (see translation above) change to **nēosað**, 'inquire for,' 'search out,' 'seek.' Sievers cites the parallel in *An.* 484; his translation of the passage is as follows: "Wenn so alles dahingeht, dann suchen C und Y nach **craft** (einen rettenden ausweg, oder schützende stärke?) in angstvoller bedrängniss: (aber vergebens), denn über ihnen steht ihres herren ehernes verhängniss."

104. nihtes nearowe. Plainly an adverbial phrase limiting the idea contained in **nēosað**. The phrase occurs twice elsewhere in similar construction: *El.* 1238-1239: *gebanc reodode nihtes nearwe*, in the personal epilogue of that poem; and *Gu.* 1181-1183: *gēomor sefa gehþa gemanode . . . nihtes nearwe*. — All agree in the insertion of the rune ȳ = N, which is demanded by the alliteration. Its equivalent word is **nīed**, **nȳd**, 'fate,' 'necessity,' an appositive to **þeodōm**, 105. This is the interpretation of Sievers (p. 7), Gollancz, and Skeat. Trautmann (p. 54) understands **nȳd** in the sense of 'distress' and **þeodōm** in the sense of 'service,' the former being nominative case and the latter accusative; instead of **ligeð** he also reads **legeð**. He translates 'auf sie [die menschen] legt die not den dienst des herren, d.i. die not führt die menschen zu gott.' The other reading, however, preserves the sequence of thought much better. All agree in the restoration **cyninges**.

Napier (p. 72) suggests the possibility that two runes are to be supplied in l. 104^b, † = N and M = E. There appears, however, to be hardly sufficient space in the obliterated part of the MS. for this second rune, M. In the runic signature to the *Chr.*, also, Cynewulf spells his name without the *e*. Sievers (p. 11) points out that the fuller form *Cyne-* is relatively the earlier of the two, and that syncopation of *e* takes place in proper names before *l, r, w,* and *h*, although examples of the full form *Cyne-* are found throughout the whole Anglo-Saxon period. 'Auf alle Fälle ist die Namensform **Cynwulf** als gut Ags. für das 8. Jahrhundert bezeugt, und man braucht also auch von dieser Seite her an dem Schwanken Cynewulf's in der Wiedergabe seines Namens keinen Anstoss zu nehmen. Leider lässt sich weder die Entstehungszeit noch das Verbreitungsgebiet der Form *Cyn-* genauer bestimmen. Belegt ist sie für Northumbrien, Mercia, und Kent; dem rein-Sächsischen scheint sie dagegen bis auf das stereotype *Cyuric* fremd zu sein.'

106^b. **oneȳðig**. 'Revealed, made known.' A word *uncȳðig* occurs *El.* 960, in the sense 'ignorant, unknowing' (although Cosijn *Verlag.*, p. 59, would give it the opposite meaning), and in *Gu.* 1199, where it means 'lacking, wanting,' in the phrase *elnes uncȳðig*. In *El.* 724 the form *oneȳðig* occurs in the same phrase as *Gu.* 1199. **Oneȳðig** in the sense 'revealed, manifest,' does not occur elsewhere; but cf. *Vesp. Psalter XXIV*, 7, *unondeȳðignis*, translating *ignorantia*. Napier translates 'jetzt kannst du wissen, wer durch diese (die vorhergehenden) worte den menschen bekannt gemacht werden sollte.' So also Sievers, Skeat, and Gollancz.

107-122. Cf. ll. 88-95, and, for the similarity of these endings to the concluding paragraphs of sermons, see *An.* 1686, note.

107^b. For the restoration, cf. 88^b.

110. **ān elles forð**. The idea of loneliness at the last day is dwelt on also in the *Vision of the Cross*, 122-146. **Elles forð**, parallel to *elles hwær, hwergen, hwider*, does not occur elsewhere.

111. **sīð āsettan**. See *An.* 1704, and *Spr.* I, 41, for other examples of this phrase.

115. **utu**. For the contracted form, see *Gram.*, § 360, 2. Napier restores **Ah** before **utu**.

116. **on þā beorhtan gesceaft**. 'Into heaven.' So *El.* 1088; cf., with the same meaning, *El.* 1031: þurh þā hālgan gesceaft; *Jul.* 728: þurh þā sciran gesceaft. Cf. also l. 122^b.

118. **hlhta mæst**. Cf. Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 139, l. 25: and ðonne mōt habban heofonan rice, þæt is hlhta mæst; *El.* 196-197: was him frōfra mæst ond hyht[a] niht (perhaps to be read *hȳhst*); *Gu.* 34: hyhta hȳhst; *Hy.* VI, 252 (*Bibl.* II, 269): heofonan rice, þæt is hlhta mæst.

121. **seomap**. The word as a verb, 'await,' 'endure,' parallel to **standeð**, l. 120, gives a satisfactory meaning here; cf. *An.* 183; *Jul.* 709: seomað sorgcearig; *El.* 694: siomode in sorgum. Sievers (p. 23) changes to *somað*, 'together,' 'together with,' remarking, 'die form *somað* statt des sonst üblichen *somod, samod*, ist northumbrisch: *someð*, *Rushw. Marc XV*, 41. Das verbum *seomað* gibt keinen befriedigenden sinn.' Skeat in his translation follows Sievers.

122^a. Cf. *Ph.* 607-608: þær sē longa gefēa, ēce and edgeong, æfre ne sweðrað.



GLOSSARY

TO

ANDREAS AND THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

The vowel *æ* is treated as equivalent in rank to *a*; initial *ð* follows *t*; the order otherwise is alphabetic. Arabic numerals indicate the classes of the ablaut verbs according to Sievers' classification; W₁, etc., the classes of the weak verbs; R the reduplicating, PP the preteritive-present verbs. When the designations of mood and tense are omitted, ind. pres. is to be supplied; when of mood only, supply ind. if no other has immediately preceded, otherwise the latter. When a reference or group of references is given without grammatical indication, the description of the preceding form is to be understood. Optatives are so classified only when the forms are distinctive for that mood. The citations are intended to be complete, except for the commonest forms of the pronouns and for the conjunctions and adverbs *ond*, *ne*, *nē*, and *ðā*. References are to *Andreas* unless Ap. is prefixed.

A

- ā**, adv. **1.** *ever, always*: 64, 54I, 959, 1193, 1267, 1379, 1384, Ap. 120. — **2.** *ever, at any time*: 203, 569. — **3.** *ne . . . ā, by no means, not*: 1467.
- ǣ**, f., *law*: ns. 1644; as. 1403, 1511, Ap. 10; ā 1194.
- ābēodan**, **2**, *announce, declare, command*: pret. 3 sg. ābēad 96; pp. āboden 231.
- āberan**, **4**, *endure*: imp. 2 sg. āber 956.
- āblendan**, W₁, *blind*: pp. āblended 78.
- Ābrahām**, pr. n., *Abraham*: as. Hābrahām 793; ds. Ābrahāme 753, Hābrahāme 756, 779.
- ābreccan**, **5**, *break, crush*: inf. 150; pp. ābroccen 1240.
- ābregdan**, **3**, *remove, carry away*: pret. 3 pl. ābrugdon 865.
- ābrēotan**, **2**, *destroy*: pret. 3 pl. ābrēoton 51.
- ac**, conj., *but*: 38, 634, 637, 736, 1476, Ap. 19, 34, ah 23, 232, 281, 569, 1083, 1209, 1670, 1703, Ap. 115, ach 1592.
- ācennan**, W₁, *bear, bring forth*: pp. ācenned 566, 685.
- ach**, see *ac*.
- Achaia**, pr. n., *Achaia*: ds. Achaia 169, 927, Achagia Ap. 16; as. Achaie 1700.
- āclāccraeft**, m., *magic power*: dp. āclāccraeftum 1362.
- āclian**, see *geāclian*.
- ācol**, adj., *terrified*: nsm. 1266; nfm. ācle 1339.
- ācolmōd**, adj., *terrified*: nsm. 1595; nfm. ācolmōde 377.
- ācsigan**, W₂, *demand*: inf. 1134. See *geācselan*.
- ādre**, adv., *immediately, forthwith*: 110, 189, 803, 936; ēdre 401, 643, 950.
- ādrēogan**, **2**. **1.** *practice, show forth*: pret. 3 sg. ādrēg 164. — **2.** *endure, suffer*: pret. 1 sg. ādrēah 969; pret. 3 sg. 1486, ādrēag 1482; inf. 369; ger. ādrēoganne 73.
- ādreopan**, **2**, *flow, drip*: pp. ādropen 1425.
- āfāran**, W₁, *affright, terrify*: pp. nfm. āfārde 1340.
- āfēdan**, W₁. **1.** *feed*: pret. 3 sg. āfēdde 589. — **2.** *rear, bring up*: pp. āfēded 684.
- āfen**, n., *evening*: ns. 1245.

- āferian**, W1, *lead out*: pret. 3 sg. āferede 1177.
- æfest**, fn., *hate, dissension*: dp. æfestum AP. 73, æstum 610.
- æfre**, adv., *ever, at any time*: 360, 493, 499, 553, 1012, 1057.
- āfrēfran**, W1, *comfort, console*: pp. āfrēfred 638.
- æfter**, prep. w. dat. 1. *after*: 37, 78, 88, 133, 156, 229, 468, 593, 600, 620, 761, 1026, 1219, 1483, 1527, 1568, 1585, 1621, 1712, AP. 22, 82.— 2. *through, throughout, over*: 335, 581, 1232, 1237, 1426.— 3. *according to*: 1447, 1695.
- æfter**, adv. 1. *afterward, then*: 124, 182, 738, 904, 1228, AP. 101.— 2. *after, from behind*: 1712.
- āfyrhtan**, W1, *frighten*: pp. āfyrhted 1529.
- āgan**, PP., *own, possess*: 3 sg. āh 518.
- āgān**, anv., *pass*: pp. āgān 147.
- āgen**, adj., *own*: asm. āgenne 339.
- āgend**, m., *Lord*: ns. 210; as. 760, 1715.
See dōmāgende.
- āgēotan**, 2. 1. *shed, pour out*: pret. 3 sg. āgēt 1449.— 2. *besprinkle*: pret. 3 sg. āgēt 1441.
- āgētan**, W1, *injure, destroy*: pret. 3 pl. āgētton 32; inf. 1143.
- āgflota**, m., *ship*: is. āgflotan 258.
- āghwā**, pron., *every one*: dsm. āghwām 320.
- āghwæðer**, pron., *each*: nsm. 1015, āgðer 1051.
- āghwyle**, pron., *every one*: gsm. āghwylces 508; dsm. āghwylcum 350; asm. āghwylcne 26.
- āgīfan**, 5. 1. *give, entrust*: pret. 3 sg. āgef 189, 285, 572, 617, 628, 643, 1184, 1345, 1375; pret. 3 pl. āgēfan 401; pp. āgīfen 296; inf. 1416.— 2. *depart from*: pret. 3 sg. āgeaf 1578.
- āglæca**, m. 1. *warrior, foe*: ns. 1312; np. āglæcan 1131.— 2. *magician*: ds. āglæcan 1359. *See ælæceræft.*
- āglēaw**, adj., *learned in the law*: comp. nsm. āglēawra 1483; apm. āglēawe AP. 24.
- āgrafan**, 6, *engrave, carve*: pp. apn. āgræfene 712.
- āgðer**, *see āghwæðer.*
- ah**, *see ac.*
- āhebban**, 6, *raise*: pret. 3 sg. āhōf 344, 416, 521, 561, 674, 1322, 1497.
- āhlēapan**, R, *leap, run*: pret. 3 sg. āhlēop 736; pret. 3 pl. āhlēopon 1202.
- āhliehhan**, 6, *laugh, rejoice*: pret. 3 sg. āhlōh 454.
- āhōn**, R, *crucify*: pp. āhangen AP. 41.
- æht**, f., *council*: as. 410, 608.
- æht**, f., *possession, power of possession*: ns. 1718.
- æhtgeweald**, n., *power, possession*: as. 1110.
- æhtwela**, m., *riches*: ap. æhtwelan AP. 84.
- āhweorfan**, 3, *turn*: inf. 957.
- āhwettan**, W1. 1. *excite*: inf. 303.— 2. *satisfy, supply*? 1 sg. āhwette 339.
- ālætan**, R, *give up*: pret. 3 pl. ālæton 1629.
- Albānum**, pr. n., *Albania*: ds. Albāno AP. 45.
- ælc**, pron., *every, each*: dsm. ælcum 1534, AP. 113.
- aldor**, m., *leader, prince*: ns. 708, 913; as. 55, 354, 806; vs. 70.
- aldor**, *see ealdor.*
- æled**, m., *fire*: ns. 1550.
- ælfæle**, adj., *baleful*: nsn. 770.
- ällegan**, 5, *fail*: pret. 3 sg. älæg 3.
- ælmihhtig**, adj., *almighty, the Lord*: nsm. 249, 365, 445, 1376, 1504, ælmihti 260, ælmihtiga 1190; vsm. ælmihtig 76, 902, 1287.
- Ælmyrcan**, pr. n., *Ethiopians*: gp. Ælmyrcna 432.
- ælwihhte**, *see eallwihhte.*
- älýsan**, W1. 1. *redeem, release*: 1 sg. älyse 100; 3 sg. älyseð 112; opt.

- pres. 3 sg. *ālȳse* 1373; opt. pres. 1 pl. *ālȳsan* 1564; pp. *ālȳsed* 1149; inf. 944. — 2. *tear off*: pp. *ālȳsed* 1472.
- āmearcian**, W2. 1. *set boundaries to*: pret. 3 sg. *āmearcode* 750. — 2. *delineate*: pp. *āmearcod* 724.
- ān**, num. 1. *one, certain one*: nsm. 326, 703, 1555, 1717, AP. 79; gsm. *ānes* 327, 483, 1040; gsf. *ānre* 475; asm. *āne* 1495, 1647, *āne* 1104; asf. *āne* 1091; gp. *ānra* 933, 1283. — 2. *alone*: nsm. *ān* AP. 110; *āna* 68, 636, 1007, AP. 93; gsm. *ānes* 525; dsm. *ānum* 81, 1320; asf. *āne* 1591. — 3. *unique, admirable*: ism. *āne* 258. See *āne, ānforlætan*.
- and**, see *ond*.
- andgit**, n., *meaning, purport*: as. 509.
- Andrēas**, pr. n., *Andrew*: nom. *Andrēas* 169, 189, 270, 285, 299, 315, 352, 383, 572, 617, 628, 643, 818, 1020, 1058, 1184, 1199, 1375, AP. 16; voc. 203, 859, 914, 950, 1208, 1316, 1362; acc. 110, 379, 1175; gen. 1692; dat. *Andrēa* 1135, 1569.
- andswaru, andswarian, andswerian**, see *ondswaru* etc.
- andweard**, adj., *present*: asm. *andweardne* 1224; apm. *andweard* 783.
- āne**, adv., *once*: 492.
- ānforlætan**, R, *forsake, abandon*: pret. 2 sg. *ān ne forlæte* 1454; inf. 1287, 1642, 1669.
- ānhaga**, m., *recluse*: ds. *ānhagan* 1351.
- ānig**, adj. pron., *any*: nsm. 15, 377; nsn. 1439; gsm. *āniges* 199, AP. 19; dsm. *āngum* 178; asm. *ānigne* 493, 517, 1081; asf. *ānige* 1521; dpm. *ānigum* 888.
- āninga**, adv., *suddenly, straightway*: 220, 1141, 1370, *āninga* 1392.
- anlicnes**, f., *image, statue*: ns. 717, *onlicnes* 731; ap. *anlicnesse* 713.
- anmōd**, see *onmōd*.
- ānmōd**, adj., *unanimous*: np. *ānmōde* 1565, 1601.
- anræd**, adj., *resolute*: nsm. 232, 983.
- apostolhād**, m., *apostleship*: ns. AP. 14; as. 1651. [Lat. *apostolus*.]
- ār**, m., *messenger, attendant*; ns. 1647; as. 1604, 1679; np. *āras* 298; ap. 400, 829?.
- ār**, f., *favor, mercy*: ns. 979; ds. *āre* 76; as. *āre* 1129.
- ār**, adv., *before*: 188, 695, 949, 1070, 1266, 1274, 1341, 1449, 1476, 1615, 1624, 1628; sup. *ārest*, *first, at first*: 12, 132, 756, 1020, 1100. See *ār þan*.
- ār**, conj., *before*: 1050, 1354, 1439.
- āræfnan**, W1, *endure*: inf. 816.
- āræran**, W1, *set up, establish*: pret. 2 sg. *ārærest* 1318; pp. *āræred* 967, 1645.
- ærdæg**, m., *early part of the day*: ds. *ærdæge* 220, 235, 1388, 1525.
- āreccan**, W1, *recount*: inf. 546.
- āren**, adj., *of brass*: asm. *ārenne* 1062.
- ārende**, n., *errand, message*: ns. 230, 1620; gs. *ārendes* 215; ap. *ārendu* 776.
- ārest**, f., *resurrection*: as. 780.
- ārest**, see *ār*.
- ārgeblond**, n., *sea*: as. 383.
- ārgeweorc**, n., *ancient work*: np. 1235.
- ārīsan**, 1. 1. *arise*, pret. 3 sg. *ārās* 450, 695, 1011, 1236, 1303, 1469; imp. 2 sg. *ārīs* 936. — 2. *rise (from the dead)*: pret. 3 sg. *ārās* 1634, AP. 56; inf. 1623. [Cf. *ārest*.]
- ārlēas**, adj., *impious*: npm. *ārlēasan* 559.
- ār þan**, conj., *before*: 1031.
- ārwela**, m., *sea*: as. *ārvelan* 853.
- ārȳð**, f., *spear*: gp. *ārȳða* 532.
- æse**, m., *spear*: ip. *æscum* 1097.
- æscberend**, m., *spear-bearer, warrior*: np. 47, 1076, 1537.
- āscian**, see *geāscian*.
- āsettan**, W1. 1. *place, transfer*: pp. *āseted* 208. — 2. *with sīð, to make a journey*: pret. 3 sg. *āsette* 1704; inf. AP. 111.

āspēdan, W1, w. dat., *survive, escape*
from: pp. nfm. āspēdde 1631.

Assēas, pr. n., *Asiatics*: dp. Assēum
AP. 38.

āstandan, 6. 1. *arise*: pret. 3 sg.
āstōd 443. — 2. *rise from the dead*:
pret. 3 pl. āstōdon 1625; inf. 792.

āstigan, 1, *rise up*: pret. 3 sg. āstāg
708, āstāh 1125.

Astriās, pr. n., *Astrages*: ns. AP. 45.

āsundrian, W2, *separate*: pp. āsun-
drad 1243.

āswebban, W1, *kill*: opt. 3 pl. āsweb-
ban 72; inf. AP. 69.

æt, prep. w. dat. 1. *at, in (time, place*
and circumstance): 221, 403, 412, 414,
553, 797, 1325, 1330, 1353, 1356,
1436, 1658, 1709, 1710, AP. 59. — 2. *of,*
from (with verbs of receiving): 908,
1130.

æte, m., *food*: ds. æte 132; as. æt 1073.

æta, see *syllfæta*.

ætfaestan, W1, *inflict*: inf. 1347.

ætgædere, adv., *together*: 992.

atol, adj., *dire, hateful*: nsm. 1312,
atola 1296; asm. atulne 53.

ātor, n., *poison*: ns. āttor 770; gs. ātres
53; is. ātre 1331.

ætsonne, adv., *together*: 994, 1091,
AP. 99.

ætðringan, 3, *expel, destroy*: pres. opt.
3 pl. ætþringan 1371.

ætȳwan, W1, *appear*: pret. 3 sg.
ætȳwde 1168, 1296, 1662; inf. 729.

æðelcyning, m., *noble king, Christ*:
gs. æþelcnynges 1679.

æðele, adj., *noble, glorious*: nsm. 360,
1722; nsn. 1242, 1644; gsm. æðeles
756; dsm. æðelum 230, 360; asf.
æðelan 642, 1476; asm. æðelne 871,
1020; nfm. æðele AP. 79.

æðelic, adj., *noble, glorious*: nsn. 888.

æðeling, m., *hero, prince, Lord*: ns. 853,
911, 990, 1575; gs. æðelinges 44, 649;
ds. æðelinge 568; as. æðeling 680,
793, 1272, 1459; np. æðelinas 805,

857, AP. 3, 85; gp. æðelinga 277,
623, 655, 1174, 1223, 1713.

æðelu, npl. 1. *family, race*: n. 683,
æðelo 734; d. æðelum 689; a. æðelo
AP. 24. — 2. *excellences, virtues*: ip.
æðelum 636, 882.

āwa, adv., *forever*: AP. 99. Cf. **ā**.

āwāegan, W1, *annul*: pp. āwāged 1439.

āweallan, R, *flow*: pret. 3 sg. āweoll
1523.

āweccan, W1, *awake, bring to life*:
pret. 3 sg. āwehte 584, AP. 55.

āwecgan, W1, *move*: inf. 503.

āwellan, W1, *well up, be stirred*: pp.
āwelled 1019.

āwergan, W1, *curse*: pp. āwerged 1299.

āwritan, 1. 1. *write*: pp. āwriten 135,
149. — 2. *carve*: pp. āwriten 726.

B

bæl, n., *fire*: gs. bæles 1186.

bald, see *clrebald, beald*.

bældan, W1, *encourage, incite*: 2 sg.
bældest 1186.

baldor, m., *prince*: vs. 547.

bām, see *bēgen*.

bān, n., *bone*: ns. 1422, 1473.

banan, m., *murderer*: gs. banan 617; ds.
1702; as. 1293; gp. bonena 17.

bāncofa, m., *body*: as. bāncofan 1276.

bāngbree, n., *breaking of a bone*: as.
1442.

bānhring, m., *vertebra*: ap. bānhringas
150.

bānhūs, n., *body*: ns. 1240, 1405.

bannan, R, *summon*: inf. 1094.

Bartholamēus, pr. n., *Bartholomew*:
ns. AP. 44.

bāsnian, W2. 1. *await*: pret. 3 sg.
bāsnode 1065. — 2. *remain, abide*:
pret. 3 sg. 447.

bāt, m., *boat*: ns. 496; gs. bātes 444.
See *mere-, sār-, wudubāt*.

bæð, n., *bath*: as. 293, 1640.

bæðweg, m., *sea*: as. 223, 513.

- be**, prep. w. dat. 1. *beside, by*: 360, 465, 831, 1061, 1063, 1492.—2. *according to*: 1366, 1611.—3. *concerning*: AP. 23.
- bēacen**, n., *sign, token*: ns. 1201; as. 729; gp. bēacna 242.
- beadu**, f., *battle*: ds. beaduwe 982, beadowe 1186.
- beaducraeft**, m., *skill in battle*: as. 219.
- beaducraeftig**, adj., *skilful or strong in battle*: nsm. AP. 44.
- beaducwealm**, m., *death in battle*: as. 1702.
- beadulāc**, n., *battle*: ds. beadulāce 1118.
- beadurōf**, adj., *bold in battle*: asm. beadurōfne 145; dsm. beadurōfum 96; npm. beadurōfe AP. 78; apm. beadurōfe 848.
- beaduwang**, m., *battle-field*: ds. beaduwange 413.
- bēag**, m., *ring*: gp. bēaga 271, 303, 476.
- bēagsel**, n., *hall in which rings are distributed*: ap. bēagselu 1657.
- beald**, adj., *bold*: nsm. 602. *See efrebald.*
- bealu**, n., *evil*: ds. bealuwe 947. *See ðeodbealo.*
- bearn**, n., *child, son*: ns. 576; ds. bearne 560; as. bearn 747, 1028, 1613; np. 409; dp. bearnum 1328. *See cyne-, frum-, god-, ðryðbearn.*
- bearu**, m., *grove*: ap. bearwas 1448.
- bēatan**, R. 1. *beat upon*: 3 sg. bēateð 496; pret. 3 pl. bēoton 442.—2. *clash*: pret. 3 pl. bēoton 239; ptc. nsn. bēatende 1543.
- bebēodan**, 2, *command*: 1 sg. bebēode 729, 1328; pret. 3 sg. bebēad 322, 773, 789, 845, 1045, 1652, 1696.
- bebod**, n., *command*: as. 735.
- bebūgan**, 2, *reach, extend*: 3 sg. bebūgeð 333.
- becuman**, 4, *come, reach*: pret. 3 sg. becōm 788, 1666, becwōm 827; 3 pl. becōmon 666; inf. 929.
- becweðan**, 5, *say*: 2 sg. becwist 193, 304, 418; 3 sg. becwið 210.
- bed**, *see gebed.*
- bedālan**, W1, w. dat., *deprive of, bereave*: pp. bedāled 309.
- bedd**, *see hildbedd.*
- bedrifan**, 1, *beat upon*: pp. apm. bedrifene 1494.
- befēolan**, 3, *consign, commit*: pret. 3 sg. befealg 1326.
- befōn**, R., *confine, encompass*: pret. 3 sg. befēhð 327; pp. befangen 1057.
- beforan**, prep. w. dat., *in the presence of*: 571, 619.
- beforan**, adv., *openly*: 606.
- bēgan**, *see forbēgan.*
- begang**, m. 1. *extent, circuit*: ns. 530; as. 195.—2. *study, practice*: as. AP. 89, 108.
- bēgen**, adj., *both*: npm. bēgen 1016, 1027; dpm. bām 1014, AP. 78.
- begitan**, 5. 1. *reach*: pret. opt. 3 sg. begēte 378.—2. *secure, obtain*: inf. 480.
- behabban**, W3, *comprehend*: inf. 817.
- behelan**, 4, *cover, bury*: pp. beheled 791.
- behweorfan**, 3, *exchange for*: pp. behworfen 1703.
- beleggan**, W1, *place upon, cover*: 3 pl. beleggað 1211; pret. 3 sg. belegde 1192; pret. 3 pl. belegdon 1560; inf. 1295.
- belēosan**, 2, *deprive of*: pp. npm. belorene 1079.
- beliðan**, 1, *only in pp., lifeless*: pp. apm. belidenan 1089.
- belūcan**, 2, *confine*: pp. belocen 164.
- bemiðan**, 1, *conceal*: pp. bemiðen 856.
- bemurnan**, W1, *grieve, have regard for*: pret. 3 pl. bemurndan 154.
- bēn**, f., *prayer*: ds. bēne 476; as. or p. 1028, 1613, AP. 116.
- bēna**, m., *suppliant*: np. bēnan 348.
- bend**, mfn., *bond*: dp. bendum 184, 1357, bennum 962, 1038. *See leoðu-, witebend.*

- benēah**, anv., w. gen., *possess*: pret. 3 sg. benohte 1705; pret. 3 pl. benohton 1159.
- benēotan**, 2, *deprive of*: inf. AP. 46.
- benn**, f., *wound*: np. benne 1405. *See* **dolg-**, **sārbenn**.
- benohte**, **benohton**, *see* **benēah**.
- bēodan**, 2. 1. *announce, command*: pret. 3 sg. bēad 346; inf. 779. — 2. *make known*: pp. boden 1201. *See* **ā-**, **be-**, **gebēodan**.
- bēodgast**, m., *guest at meal*: gs. bēodgastes 1088.
- bēon**, *see* **wesan**.
- beorg**, m., *hill*: ns. 1587; np. beorgas 840; ap. 1306. *See* **sābeorg**.
- beorgan**, 3, *save, protect*: inf. 1538.
- beorht**, adj. 1. *shining, bright, radiant*: nsf. 1247; dsf. beorhtan 1649; asm. beorhtne AP. 33; asf. beorhtan AP. 116; vsm. beorht 903; npm. beorhte 867; apn. beorht 1657; superl. nsm. beorhtost 103; nsf. 242. — 2. *clear, loud*: isf. beorhtan 96. — 3. *glorious, illustrious*: nsm. 84, 145, 447, 656, 937; dsf. beorhtre 647; asm. beorhtne 335, 524.
- beorhte**, adv., *brightly*: 789.
- beorn**, m. 1. *man, hero*: ns. 239, 602, 982, AP. 44; gs. beornes 1247, 1279; ds. beorne 1120; as. beorn AP. 88; vs. 937; np. beornas 399, 447, 660, 1094, 1160, AP. 78; gp. beorna 219, 305, 768, 1543; ap. beornas 848; dp. beornum 588. — 2. *children, sons*: np. beornas 690.
- bēorpegu**, f., *beer-drinking*: ns. 1533.
- beorðor**, *see* **hysebeorðor**.
- berædan**, W1, *deprive of*: pret. 3 sg. berædde 1326; inf. 133.
- beran**, 4. 1. *bear, carry*: pret. 3 sg. bær 265; pret. 3 pl. bāron 1221; inf. 216. — 2. *make known*: 3 pl. berað 1295; inf. 1079. *See* **ā-**, **geberan**.
- beræfian**, W2, *bereave*: pp. beræfod 1314.
- berend**, *see* **æsc-**, **reordberend**.
- berēofan**, 2, *deprive of*: pp. npm. berōfene 1084.
- bescūfan**, 2, *thrust*: pret. 3 sg. bescēaf 1191.
- bescyrian**, W2, *deprive of*: pp. npm. bescyrede 1618.
- besēon**, 5, *look, observe*: pret. 3 sg. beseah 1446.
- besettan**, W1, *surround, encompass*: 1 sg. besette 1433; pp. beseted 943, 1255.
- besittan**, 5, *sit (in council), hold (council)*: 3 pl. besittaþ 410; pret. 3 pl. besæton 608, 627.
- besnyððan**, W1, *deprive of*: pret. 3 sg. besnyðede 1324.
- bestēman**, W1, *wet*: pp. bestēmed 1239, 1475; pp. wk. dsm. bestēmdon 487.
- beswīcan**, 1, *deceive*: pret. 3 sg. beswāc 613; pp. npm. beswicene 745.
- beteldan**, 3, *cover, surround*: pp. betolden 988.
- betera**, adj., *better*: asm. beteran 1088; asf. beteran 588. *See* **gōd**, **sēlra**.
- betwēonum**, prep. w. dat., *among*: 1099, betwīnum 1103, be . . . twēonum 558.
- beþeccan**, W1. 1. *cover*: pret. 3 sg. beþehte 1046. — 2. *embrace*: pret. 3 sg. beþehte 1015.
- beþurfan**, 3, w. gen., *have need of*: pret. 1 sg. beþearf AP. 91.
- bewælan**, W1, *afflict*: pp. bewæled 1361.
- bewindan**, 3. 1. *encompass, surround*: pp. bewunden 19, 267, 535, 772. — 2. *implant, fix*: pp. 58.
- bewrecan**, 5, *drive, impel*: pp. npm. bewrecene 269.
- bīdan**, 1, w. gen. 1. *await*: pret. 3 sg. bād 261; pret. 3 pl. bidon 1042; inf. 145. — 2. *remain*: inf. 833. *See* **gebīdan**.

- bidðan**, 5, w. acc. and gen., *ask, pray*:
1 sg. bidde 1415, AP. 88; pret. 3 sg.
bæd 1030, 1614; opt. pres. 3 sg.
bidde AP. 90; opt. pres. 1 pl. bidðan
1566; inf. 84, 271, 353, 476. *See*
gebiddan.
- bill**, n., *sword*: gs. billes 51; ip. billum
413.
- billhete**, m., *sword hostility, warfare*;
ds. billhete 78.
- bilwit**, adj., *kind, gracious*: asm. bil-
wytne 997.
- bindan**, 3, *bind*: 3 sg. bindeð 519;
pret. 3 sg. band 1255. *See gebindan*.
- biryhte**, prep. w. dat., *beside*: 848.
- bisceop**, m., *bishop*: as. bisceop 1649;
np. bisceopas 607. [Lat. *episcopus*.]
- bisencan**, W1, *cause to sink*: pret. 3 sg.
bisencte 1591.
- bite**, m., *bite, wound*: as. bite AP. 34.
- biter**, adj., *bitter*: nsf. 1533; asm.
biterne 616; asf. bitran 1160.
- bitere**, adv., *bitterly*: 33.
- blæc**, adj., *black*: asf. blæc 1262.
- blæc**, adj., *shining*: ism. blācan 1541.
- blæd**, m. 1. *glory*: ns. 1719; as. 535;
gp. blæda 103. — 2. *prosperity, hap-
piness*: gs. blædes 17; as. blæd 356;
dp. blædum 769. — 3. *flowers, fruit*:
dp. blædum 1449.
- blædgifa**, m., *dispenser of happiness*,
Lord: ns. 656; vs. 84.
- blandan**, *see onblandan*.
- blæst**, m., *flame, torch*: ns. 837; np.
blæstas 1552.
- blāt**, *gend. not determinable, sound*,
cry? ns. 1279.
- blāt**, adj., *pale*: gsm. blātes 1088.
- bleað**, adj., *timid, fearful*: nsm. 231.
- bledsian**, *see gebledsian*.
- blendan**, *see āblendan*.
- bletsung**, f., *blessing*: as. bletsunge 223.
- blīcan**, 1, *shine, gleam*: pret. 3 sg. blāc
243; inf. 789, 838.
- blind**, adj., *blind*: npm. blinde 581. *See*
hyge-, mödblind.
- blinnan**, 3, w. gen. 1. *desist from*:
pret. 3 sg. blon 1265. — 2. *forfeit*:
pret. 2 sg. blunne 1380. [be + **ln-
nan**.]
- bliss**, f., *joy, bliss*: ns. blis 1014; gs.
blisse 1064; ds. 588; is. 647; gp.
blissa 886; dp. blissum 1699.
- blissigean**, W2. 1. *make happy*: inf.
1607. — 2. *rejoice*: 3 sg. blissað, 634;
pret. 3 sg. blissode 578. *See geblis-
sian*.
- blīð**, *see higeblīð*.
- blīðe**, adj. 1. *happy*: asm. blīðne 833;
npm. blīðe 867, 1583. — 2. *gracious*,
favorable: nsm. blīðe 903; asm.
blīðne 971.
- blīðheort**, adj., *blithe of heart*: nsm.
1262; npm. blīðheorte 660.
- blōd**, n., *blood*: ns. 954, 1240; as. 23,
1449.
- blōdfāg**, adj., *blood-stained*: nsn. 1405.
- blōdig**, adj., *bloody*: nsf. 1473; asf.
blōdige 1442; ipm. blōdigum 159.
- blōdlifer**, f., *clot, blood-clot*: ip. blōd-
lifrum 1276.
- plondan**, *see geblondan*.
- blōwan**, R, *bloom*: 3 sg. blōweð 646.
See geblōwan.
- bōc**, f., *book*: ap. bēc AP. 63.
- bōcere**, m., *scribe*: np. bōceras 607.
- bod**, *see bebod*.
- bodian**, W2, *announce, proclaim*:
imp. 2 pl. bodiað 335; pp. bodad
1120.
- bolca**, m., *gangway*: ds. bolcan 305;
as. 602.
- bold**, n., *house, habitation*: as. 656; gs.
botles AP. 117.
- boldwela**, m., *glorious habitation*: ns.
103; as. boldwelan 524, AP. 33.
- bolgenmōd**, adj., *angry*: npm. bolgen-
mōde 128, 1221.
- bona**, *see bana*.
- bora**, *see ræsborra*.
- bord**, n., *shield*: ip. bordum 1205. *See*
yōbord.

- bordhrēoða**, m., *shield*: ap. bordhrēoðan 128.
- bordstæð**, n., *ship-rope, cordage*: ap. bordstæðu 442.
- bōsm**, m., *bosom*: ds. bōsme 444.
- bōt**, f., *help*: ns. 947.
- botl**, *see bold*.
- bræce**, *see unbræce*.
- brandhāt**, adj., *very hot, fiery*: nsm. brandhāta 768.
- brant**, adj., *steep*: ism. brante 273.
- brec**, *see gebrec*.
- brecan**, 4. 1. *break, shatter*: inf. 504. — 2. *go, make way*: 1 pl. brecað 513; inf. 223. *See ā-, gebrecan*.
- bregdan**, *see a-, ofer-, tōbregdan*.
- breo**, m., *prince, Lord*: ns. breogo 305; as. brego 61; vs. brego 540.
- brehtm**, m., *shout, clamor*: is. brehtme 1202, 1271, byrhtme AP. 21; ip. brehtmum 867.
- brēme**, adj., *famous*: nsm. brēme 209; sup. gsm. brēmestan 718.
- brēme**, adv., *famously*: 1719.
- breogo**, *see breog*.
- breogostōl**, m., *city, principality*: ns. 209.
- brēost**, n., *breast, heart*: ns. 647; as. brēost 768, 1247, 1279, 1574; dp. brēostum 51, 1118.
- brēostgehygd**, fn., *thought*: dp. brēostgehygdum 997.
- brēotan**, *see ābrēotan*.
- brim**, n., *sea, deluge*: ns. 442, 1543, 1574; gs. brimes 444, 1710; as. brim 504; ap. brimu 519, breomo 242.
- brimhengest**, m., *sea-steed, ship*: ip. brimhengestum 513.
- brimrād**, f., *sea*: ns. 1587; as. brimrāde 1262.
- brimstæð**, n., *shore*: ap. brimstæðo 496.
- brimstrēam**, m., *ocean stream*: ds. brimstrēame 903; np. brimstrēamas 239; ap. 348.
- brimþisa**, m., *boat*: as. brimþisan 1657; ds. 1699.
- bringan**, W1, *bring*: pret. 3 sg. brōhte 259. *See gebringan*.
- brōga**, *see wæterbrōga*.
- brondstæfn**, adj., *steep-prowed*: asm. brondstæfne 504.
- brōðor**, m., *brother*: ns. 940, AP. 33; as. AP. 54. *See ge-, sigelbrōðor*.
- brōðorsybb**, f., *relationship between brothers*: 1p. brōðorsybbum 690.
- brūcan**, 2, w. gen., *enjoy, partake of*: 3 pl. brūcað 280, AP. 99; opt. pres. 3 sg. brūce AP. 114; inf. 17, 106, 229, 886, 1467, AP. 117; ger. brūconne 23, brūcanne 1160.
- brūn**, adj., *broven, dark*: apf. brūne 519.
- brūnwann**, adj., *dark, dusky*: nsf. brūnwann 1306.
- brycglan**, W2, *form a bridge*: pret. 3 sg. brycgate 1261.
- bryne**, m., *flame, fire*: as. bryne 616.
- bryrdan**, *see onbryrdan*.
- brytta**, m., *dispenser*: ns. 822, 1170.
- bryttian**, W2, *give*: pret. 3 sg. bryttode 754.
- būgan**, *see bebūgan*.
- burg**, f., *city*: ds. byrig 40, 287, 973, 1491, 1649; as. burg 111, burh 982, 1120, 1541; dp. burgum 78, 231, 335, 1155, 1235, 1547. *See gold-, Rome-, weder-, wīnburg*.
- burggeat**, n., *city gate*: dp. burggeatum 840.
- burgloca**, m., *city prison*: das. burglocan 940, 1038, burhlocan 1065.
- burgwaru**, f., *citizen, the body of citizens, i. e. the city*: as. burgwaru 1094; np. burgware 1583; dp. burgwarum 184, 209, 718.
- burhsittend**, m., *citizen*: dp. burhsittendum 1201.
- burhstede**, m., *city*: dp. burhstedum 581.
- burhweall**, m., *city wall*: ds. burhwealle 833.

- burhweard**, m., *defender of the city*:
gs. burhweardes 660.
- būtan**, prep. w. dat. 1. *except*: 148.
— 2. *without*: 679.
- būtan**, conj., *unless*: 188.
- byrd**, *see* **mundbyrd**.
- byrhtm**, *see* **brehtm**.
- byrig**, *see* **burg**.
- byrle**, m., *cupbearer*: np. byrlas 1533.
- byrðen**, *see* **sorgbyrðen**.
- bȳsen**, f., *example*: as. bȳsne 971.
- bysgian**, W2, *oppress, afflict*: pp. gebysgod 395.
- bysmrian**, W2, *mock, scorn*: pret. 3 pl. bysmredon 962; opt. pres. 1 pl. bysmrigen 1357; inf. 1293.
- C**
- C** = rune **h** AP. 104; *for meaning, see* *Notes*.
- cald**, adj., *cold*: asn. 201, 222, 253; apn. 310; ip. cealdum 1260, cealdan 1212. *See* **winterceald**.
- caldheort**, adj., *cold-hearted, cruel*: npm. caldheorte 138.
- camp**, m., *battle*: ds. campe 234, 1325.
- campræden**, f., *battle*: ds. camprædenne 4.
- candell**, *see* **dæg-, heofon-, weder-candell**.
- carcern**, n., *prison*: gs. carcernes 1075; ds. carcerne 57, 90, 130, 991, 1082, 1250, 1460, 1560; as. carcern 1578. [Lat. *carcer* and A.-S. *ærn*.]
- ceaffl**, m., *jaw*: as. 1703; ip. ceafflum 159.
- ceald**, *see* **cald**.
- cearig**, adj., *troubled*: isf. cearegan 1108.
- cearo**, *see* **lifcearo**.
- ceaster**, f., *city*: ns. 207; ds. ceastre 281, 719, 828; as. ceastre 41, 929, 939, 1058, 1174, 1677.
- ceasterhof**, n., *house in the city*: dp. ceasterhofum 1237.
- ceasterware**, pm., *citizens*: gp. ceastrewarena 1125; dp. ceasterwarum 1646.
- cempa**, m., *warrior*: ns. 461, 538, 991, 1446; ds. cempun 230; np. cempun 1055; dp. cempum 324.
- cēne**, adj., *bold*: ns. 1578; np. 1204.
- cennan**, W1, *bear, bring forth*: pp. cenned 757. *See* **ācennan**.
- cēol**, m., *ship*: gs. cēoles 310; ds. cēole 450, 555, 854; as. cēol 222, 349, 361, 380, 899; is. cēole 273; ip. cēolum 253, 256.
- cēosan**, 2, *choose, seek*: opt. pret. 3 pl. curen 1609, curon 404. *See* **gecēosan**.
- Channanēas**, pr. n., *dwellers in Canaan*: dp. Channanēum 778.
- Cheruphim**, pr. n., *Cherubim*: ns. 719.
- cīgan**, W1, *name, call*: 2 pl. cīgað 746.
- cildgeong**, adj., *young as a child*: nsm. 685.
- cirebald**, adj., *bold in decision*: dsm. cirebaldum 171.
- cirice**, f., *church*: ns. 1646; as. ciricean 1633.
- cirm**, m., *tumult, outcry*: ns. 41, 1237, cyrm 1125, 1156.
- cirman**, W1, *make outcry*: pret. 3 pl. cirmdon 138.
- clāne**, adj., *pure*: asm. clānan 978; dpm. clānum AP. 119.
- cleofa**, *see* **clustorcleofa**.
- cleopian**, W2, *call*: pret. 2 sg. cleopodest 1410; pret. 3 sg. cleopode 1108; pret. 3 pl. cleopodon 1716; inf. 1398, cleopigan AP. 115, clypian 450.
- clif**, n., *cliff*: ap. cleofu 310.
- clingan**, 3, *shrink, freeze*: pret. 3 sg. clang 1260.
- clomm**, m., *fetter, bond*: is. clamme 1192; ip. clommum 130, 1212, 1378, 1560.
- clūstoreleofa**, m., *prison*: ds. clūstorecleofan 1021. [Lat. *claustrum*.]
- clyppan**, W1, *embrace*: pret. 3 pl. clypton 1016.
- cnāwan**, *see* **ge-, oncnāwan**.

-cnāwe, *see* orcnāwe.

cnēomæg, m., *kinsman*: dp. cnēomā-gum 685.

cnēoriss, f. 1. *family, race*: as. cnēorisse AP. 26. — 2. *country*: as. cnēorisse 207.

cnihht, m., *boy*: gs. cnihtes 912, 1121.

cofa, *see* bān-, morðor-, nēadcofa.

cōllan, W₂, *become cold*: pret. 3 pl. cōledon 1256.

collenferhō, adj., *courageous, bold-spirited*: nsm. 538, 1108, collenferð 1578, AP. 54; npm. collenfyrhðe 349.

corðor, n., *crowd, troop*: ns. 138; ds. corðre 1075, 1716; is. 1121, 1204. *See* hildecorðor.

cost, adj., *tried, excellent*: npm. coste 1055.

cræft, m., *skill, craft, power*: gs. cræftes 484, 585, AP. 103; as. cræft 500, 631, 1294; is. cræfte 49, 327, 939, 1196; gp. cræfta 700, 1460; ip. cræftum 1603. *See* āclāc-, beadu-, drȳ-, ðwol-, galdor-, hell-, morðor-, rīm-, searo-, wundorcræft.

cræftig, *see* beadu-, mācræftig.

cræftiga, m., *builder, architect*: ns. 1633.

cringan, 3, *fall*: opt. pret. 3 sg. crunge 1031. *See* geeringan.

Crist, pr. n., *Christ*: ns. 322, 1322; gs. Cristes 57, 991, 1337; ds. Criste 1016, 1250, AP. 26; as. Crist 880. [Lat. *Christus*.]

Cristen, adj. as n., *Christian*: gp. Cristenra 1677.

-erod, *see* geerod.

cuman, 4, *come*: 3 sg. cymeð 512; pret. 3 sg. cōm 88, 124, 241, 837, 1219, 1245, 1269, 1311, 1388, 1462, cwōm 738, 1278; pret. 2 pl. cōmon 256; pret. 3 pl., 658, 863, 1069, 1094; opt. pres. 2 sg. cyme 188, 400; opt. pret. 3 pl. cōmon 247, 1047; pp. cumen 41, 880, 1165, 1584; inf. 783. *See* feorrancumen, be-, forcuman.

cumbol, n., *banner*: np. 4; dp. cumblum 1204.

cunnan, PP. 1. *know*: 2 sg. canst 68, 508, const 1282; 3 sg. con 195; pret. 3 pl. cūðon 752; opt. pres. 2 sg. cunne 1485; inf. 341, AP. 105. — 2. *be able*: 3 sg. cann 980, 1154; pret. 1 sg. cūðe 901; pret. 2 sg. 928; pret. 3 pl. cūðon 1194; opt. pres. 2 sg. cunne 557.

cunnian, W₂. 1. *examine, find out*: inf. 129. — 2. *experience, endure*: 3 sg. cunnaþ 314. — 3. *essay, attempt*: pret. 1 pl. cunnedan 439.

cūð, adj., *known*: nsn. cūð 380, 527, 682, 1562; npm. cūðe 198; npf. cūðe 201. *See* un-, unforcūð.

cūðlice, adv., *kindly, friendly*: 322.

cwalu, *see* swyltewalu.

cwānlan, W₂, *lament*: pret. 3 pl. cwānedon 1536.

cwealm, m., *torture, death*: ns. 182; gs. cwealmes 1597; ds. cwealme 1507; as. cwealm 281, 1121, 1186, AP. 39. *See* beaducwealm.

cwellan, W₁, *kill*: pret. 3 sg. cwealde 1624.

cweðan, 5, *say*: pret. 2 sg. cwāde 1411; pret. 3 sg. cwæð 62, 173, 329, 354, 539, 716, 727, 743, 850, 913, 1109, 1206, 1280, 1450; pret. 3 pl. cwādon 1601, 1639, 1716. *See* be-, ge-, oncweðan.

cwile, adj., *alive*: asm. cwicere 1082; npm. cwice 129; gpm. cwicera 912.

cwīde, m., *speech*: ds. cwīde 1021. *See* gēn-, hearm-, hleoðor-, lār-, sār-, sōð-, tēon-, wordewīde.

cylegicel, m., *icicle*: ip. cylegicelum 1260.

cyme, m., *approach, arrival*: is. cyme 660. *See* hiderecyme.

cȳmlīc, adj., *comely, fair*: comp. asm. cȳmlīcor 361.

cynebearn, n., *royal child*: as. 566.

cynerōf, adj., *noble, illustrious*: nsm. 585; vsm. 484.

cynestōl, m., *capital city*: ds. cyne-stōle 666.

cyneðrym, m., *royal dignity*: as. 1322.

cyning, ms., *king*: ns. 120, 145, 324, 450, 700, 1325, 1505, 1509, 1517, 1603, 1722, AP. 27, 69, 119, cining 416, 828, 880, 912, 978, 1192; gs. cyninges 527, 778, 1633, AP. 54, 105; as. cyning 538, 1055, cining 880; vs. cyning 903; gp. cyninga 555, 854, 899, 978, 1192, cininga 171, 1411. *See* æðel-, hēah-, heofon-, ðeod-, ðryð-, wuldorecyning.

cynn, n., *race, stock, kind*: ns. 560, 1610; gs. cynnes 545, 582, 590, 1374; ds. cynne 567, 757, 907; as. cynn 1519. *See* engel-, manneynn.

cyrran, *see* ge-, oncyrran.

cyssan, W1, *kiss*: pret. 3 pl. cyston 1016.

cyst, *see* gumeyst.

cýðan, W1, *make known, reveal*: 2 pl. cýðað 680; pret. 3 sg. cýðde 571, 575, 585, 606, 625, 704, 812, 1510; pret. 3 pl. cýðdon AP. 3; imp. 2 sg. cýð 1212. *See* gecýðan.

-cýðig, *see* oncýðig.

cýðð, f., *race, country*: d. or as. cýððe 734.

D

dæd, f., *deed*: as. dæde 67; dp. dædum AP. 5; ip. 596. *See* oncýððæd.

dædfruma, m., *performer of deeds, hero*: ns. 75, 1455.

dafenian, *see* gedafenian.

dæg, m., *day*: ns. 1397; gs. dæges 1407, 1535, AP. 65; ds. dæge 1385, 1436; as. dæg 818, 1245, 1274, 1385; np. dagas 1696; ap. 1414. *See* ær-, ende-, fyrn-, gear-, gystran-, sym-beldæg.

dægandell, f., *day-candle, sun*: as. dægandelle 835.

dæghwæmlice, adv., *daily*: 682.

dægedwōma, m., *dawn*: ns. 125.

-dāl, *see* gedāl.

dæl, m. 1. *part, division*: ns. 1421, 1474; as. dæl 570, 1122, 1488, AP. 94. — 2. *region*: ap. dælas AP. 51.

dælan, W1, *part, deal out*: 2 sg. dælest 548; pp. dæled 952. *See* be-, ge-, tōdælan.

darod, m., *spear*: gp. daroða 1444.

Dāuid, pr. n., *David*: ns. 878.

dēad, adj., *dead*: ap. dēade 1077, 1090.

dēaf, adj., *deaf*: np. dēafe 577.

deall, adj., *proud*: npm. dealle 1097.

dēað, m., *death*: as. 87, 431; ds. dēaðe 583, 600, 955, 1217, AP. 56, 82.

dēaðræs, m., *sudden death*: ns. 995.

dēaðrēow, adj., *deadly cruel, savage*: nsm. 1314.

dēaðwang, m., *field of death*: as. 1003.

dēma, *see* sligedēma.

dēman, W1. 1. *appoint*: inf. 75. — 2. *acknowledge, glorify*: inf. 1194, 1403, AP. 10.

dēmend, m., *judge, Lord*: as. 1189; vs. 87.

dēoful, n., *devil*: ns. 1168, 1314, dīoful 1298; gs. dēofles 43, 141, 611, 1189.

dēofolgild, n., *idolatry*: as. 1688, dīofolgild 1641.

dēogollīce, adv., *secretly*: 621.

dēop, adj., *deep*: asn. 190; asm. dēopne 611; dp. dēopum 1244.

dēope, adv., *deeply*: 394, 1529.

dēor, adj., *brave, bold*: nsm. 1308. *See* hildedēor.

deore, adj., *dark*: dsf. deorcan 1462.

dēormōd, adj., *bold, brave*: nsm. 626; asm. dēormōdne 1232.

dīgol, n., *secret, secret place*: ds. dīgle 626.

dīgol, adj., *secret*: asn. dīgol 698.

dim, adj., *dim, dark*: dsf. dimman 1270; asn. dimme 1308.

dimscua, m., *darkness*: ds. dimscuan 141.

dolg, *see* heoru-, seonodolg.

- dolgbenn**, f., *wound*: ip. dolgbennum 1397.
- dolgslege**, m., *stroke, blow*: as. dolgslege 1475; dp. dolgslegum 1244.
- döm**, m. 1. *decision, judgment, decree*: ds. dōme 653, 796, 1695; as. dōm 339. — 2. *glory, power*: ns. 541, AP. 65; gs. dōmes 959; as. dōm 1151. *See dryhten-, ðeo-, wīsdöm.*
- dömāgende**, adj., *exercising judgment*: nsm. 570.
- dömfast**, adj., *illustrious*: npm. dōmfaste AP. 5.
- dömgeorn**, adj., *ambitious, noble*: nsm. 1308; npm. dōmgeorne 693, 878.
- dömlēas**, adj., *inglorious*: npm. dōmlēase 995.
- dömlīce**, adv., *gloriously*: sup. nsm. dōmlīcost 1267.
- dömweorðung**, f., *glory*: as. dōmweorðunga 355, dōmweorðinga 1006.
- dōn**, anv. 1. *make, perform*: pret. 2 sg. dydest 927; pret. 3 pl. dydan 27. — 2. *do* (pro-verb): pret. 3 sg. dyde 1321. *See fordēn, gedōn.*
- dragan**, 6, *drag*: pret. 3 pl. drōgon 1232.
- drēam**, m., *joy*: ns. 874, AP. 48; as. AP. 82; ap. drēamas 641, 809, AP. 32. *See man-, sele-, swegldrēam.*
- dreccan**, see *gedreccan*.
- drēfan**, see *gedrēfan*.
- drēogan**, 2, *endure*: inf. 1244. *See ādrēogan.*
- drēopan**, see *ādrēopan*.
- drēor**, m., *blood*: as. 969; is. drēore 1003, 1475.
- drēorig**, see *heorodrēorig*.
- drēosan**, 2, *fall, die*: pret. 3 pl. druron 995. *See gedrēosan.*
- drīfan**, see *be-, for-, tō-, ōurhdrīfan*.
- drihten**, see *dryhten*.
- drohtað**, m. 1. *condition, lot, life*: ns. 313, 1385; as. 1281, drohtaþ 369. — 2. *place of abode*: as. drohtað 1539.
- drohtigan**, W2, *pass life, live*: opt. pres. 2 pl. drohtigen 682.
- drohtnoð**, m., *condition of life*: as. 1402.
- druncen**, adj., *drunk*: npm. druncne 1003.
- drȳ**, m., *magician*: np. drȳas 34.
- drȳcræft**, m., *magic*: ip. drȳcræftum 765.
- drȳge**, adj., *dry*: nsf. 1581.
- dryht**, see *willgedryht*.
- dryhten**, m., *prince, Lord*: ns. 5, 202, 317, 343, 355, 435, 510, 621, 698, 727, 835, 1206, 1462, 1663, 1696, drihten 173, 248; gs. dryhtnes 431, 667, 721, 1034, 1194, 1403, AP. 10, 56; ds. dryhtne 959, 1006, 1151, 1641, AP. 5; as. dryhten 600, 626, 874, 1267, 1455; vs. 190, 541, 897, 1281, 1407, drihten 73; gp. dryhtna 874, 1151. *See sige-, winedryhten.*
- dryhtendōm**, m., *glory, majesty*: as. 999.
- dryhtlic**, adj., *glorious*: nsm. AP. 65.
- dryne**, m., *drink*: ns. 22, 1535; as. 34, 53, 313.
- drype**, m., *stroke, blow*: as. 955, 1217.
- dūfan**, see *gedūfan*.
- dugan**, anv. *avail, hold out*: pres. 3 sg. dēah 460.
- duguð**, f. 1. *benefit, sustenance*: ds. dugoðe 313; dp. duguðum 342. — 2. *power, glory*: dp. duguðum 1314. — 3. *host, multitude*, in the singular; *men, warriors*, in plural: ns. duguð 125, 394, 1270, 1529; gs. dugoðe 1227, dugoðe 1105; ds. dugoðe 152, dugoðe 1168; is. dugoðe 1122; np. dugoð 693, 878; gp. dugoða 87, 1189, dugoða 75, 248, 698; dp. duguðum 682.
- dumb**, adj., *dumb*: npn. dumban 67; dpm. dumbum 577.
- ðung**, f., *prison*: ds. ding 1270.
- dūnscreaf**, n., *mountain cave*: dp. dūnscreafum 1232, 1539.
- durran**, anv., *dare, have courage*: 2 sg. dearest 1350; pret. 3 sg. dorste 735; pret. 3 sg. dorste 735; pret. 3 pl. dorston 800.

duru, f., *door*: ns. 999; as. 1075. *See* hlinduru.

duruðegn, m., *door-keeper*: dp. duruðegnum 1090.

-dwola, *see* gedwola.

dwoleraeft, m., *magic*: as. 34.

dynn, W1, *resound*: pret. 3 sg. dynede 739.

dyrn, W1, *conceal*: inf. 693.

dyrne, *see* undyrne.

E

ēa, f., *stream*: as. 1504.

ēac, adv., *also*: 584, 1592, AP. 23, 50.

ēaca, m., *addition*: ds. ēacan 1039.

ēadfruma, n., *author of prosperity*, *Lord*: vs. 1292.

ēadgifa, m., *dispenser of good*, *Lord*: ns. 451; vs. 74.

ēadig, n., *happiness, prosperity*: gs. ēadiges 680.

ēadig, adj., *happy, blessed*: nsm. 54, 463, 879, AP. 73; npm. ēadige 599; apm. 830. *See* tūrēadig.

eador, *see* geador.

ēadwela, m., *joy, blessedness*: ds. ēadwelan 808.

eafora, m., *descendant*: as. eaforan 1110; np. 1627; dp. eaforum 779.

eafoð, n., *strength, power, violence*: ns. 30; dp. eaueðum 142.

ēage, n., *eye*: gp. ēagena 30; dp. ēagum 910; ip. 759, 1224, 1679.

ēagorstrēam, m., *stream*: ns. 258; as. 379; np. ēagorstreamas 441; ap. 492.

ēagsýne, adj., *visible*: nsm. 1550.

eahtigan, W2, *meditate*: inf. 1162.

ēalā, interj., *alas*: 203.

ēalād, f., *water-way, ocean*: np. ēalāda 441.

ēaland, n., *island*: as. 28.

eald, adj., *old*: asm. 1495; npm. ealde 1537; apm. 1642; sup. npm. yldestan 763. *See* efeneald.

ealdgeniðla, m., *arch-enemy*: ns. 1341; np. ealdgeniðlan 1048.

ealdgesið, m., *chieftain, leader*: gp. ealdgesiða 1104.

ealdor, n., *life*: gs. ealdres 1131; ds. ealdre 1721, aldre 938; is. ealdre 1137, 1324, AP. 36, aldre 1351, AP. 17, 43.

ealdorgeard, m., *home of life, body*: as. 1181.

ealdorman, m., *elder, magistrate*: np. ealdormenn 608.

ealdorsacerd, m., *chief priest*: ns. 670.

ealgian, W2, *defend*: pret. 3 pl. ealgodon 10.

ēaliðend, m., *voyager*: dp. ēaliðendum 251.

eall, adj., *all, the whole of*: gsm. ealles 1150; asm. ealne 1245; asf. ealle 101, AP. 30, 122; asn. eall 1320, 1434, 1519, 1719, eal 945; npm. ealle 762, 1565, 1601; npf. 1499; gp. ealra 68, eallra 326, 703, 978, 1717; dp. eallum 568, 1091, 1292; apm. ealle 332, 676, 895, 994, 1623, AP. 84; apf. 327; apn. eall 1359, 1486.

eall, adv., *completely, entirely*: 1097, 1146, 1483, 1590, 1627, eal 19.

eallgrēne, adj., *entirely or very green*: asf. 798.

eallwealda, adj., *omnipotent*, *Lord*: nsm. ealwalda 751, 925; dsm. ealwealdan 1620, eallwealdan 205.

eallwihte, npl., *all creatures*: gp. eallwihta 1603, ælwihta 118.

eard, m., *land, habitation*: ns. AP. 113; gs. eardes 280, 1025, AP. 110; ds. earde 400; as. eard 176, 599.

earwic, n., *habitation*: as. AP. 93.

earfeð, n., *suffering, hardship*: ap. earfeðo 1486.

earfoðlice, adv., *hardly, unfortunately*: 514.

earfoðsið, m., *toilsome journey, hardship*: gp. earfoðsiða 678; ap. earfeðsiðas 1283.

earh, n., *arrow*: as. 1331.

- earhfaru, f., *flight of arrows*: ds. earhfare 1048.
- earm, m., *arm*: is. earne 1015.
- earm, adj., *poor, wretched*: npm. earne 676; gpm. earmra 744.
- earmlīc, adj., *wretched, miserable*: nsm. 182; nsn. 1555; asn. 1135.
- earmsceapen, adj., *wretched, miserable*: nsm. 1129, 1345.
- earn, m., *eagle*: np. earnas 863.
- ēastrēam, m., *water-stream*: ap. ēastrēamas 1261.
- ēaðe, adv., *easily*: 425, 859, 933, 1179, 1352, 1376; comp. ēað 194, 368. See unēaðe.
- ēaðmēdum, adv. 1. *humbly*: 321. — 2. *joyfully*: 979.
- ēaðmōd, adj., *humble*: nsm. 270.
- eaued, see eafod.
- Ebrēas, pr.n., *Hebrews*: dp. Ebrēum 165.
- ēcan, see īcan.
- ēce, adj., *eternal*: nsm. 202, 249, 326, 343, 365, 510, 703, 1717; nsf. 1722, AP. 122; gsm. ēcan 721; asn. ēce 747, 1064, AP. 19, 38, 73; vsm. 1287, 1292.
- ēcne, adj., *endowed*: asf. ēcne 636; apm. 882.
- ecg, f. 1. *edge*: ns. 1132; ds. ecge 51; ip. ecgum 71. — 2. *sword*: gp. ecga 1148.
- ecgheard, adj., *hard of edge*: asn. 1181.
- edgiong, adj., *with youth renewed*: nsf. AP. 122.
- edlēan, n., *reward*: ns. 1228.
- ednīwe, adj., *renewed*: nsf. 1014.
- ednīwinga, adv., *straightway*: 783.
- ēdre, see ādre.
- edwitspræc, f., *scornful speech*: as. edwitspræce 81.
- efeneald, adj., *of equal age*: ds. efenealdum 553.
- Efessia, pr. n., *Ephesus*: ds. AP. 30.
- efne, adv., *even, just, indeed*: 294, 1104, 1234, AP. 102, emne 114, 221, 333.
- eft, adv. 1. *then, again, afterwards*: 277, 655, 706, 763, 1246, 1274, 1302, 1341, 1476. — 2. *back*: 400, 466, 531, 694, 1078, 1356, 1675.
- egesa, m., *fear*: ns. 445, 532; ds. egesan 457; is. 805, 1266. See wæteregeasa.
- egeslīc, adj., *fearful*: nsm. 1550; nsn. 1588.
- Ēgias, pr. n., *Egias*: as. AP. 17.
- egle, adj., *horrible*: npm. 1148, 1459; npf. 441.
- eld, f., *time, age*: dp. eldum 1057.
- ellefne, num. adj., *eleven*: npm. 664.
- ellen, n., *strength, courage*: ns. 460; gs. elnes 1001, 1263; ds. elne 54, 1486; as. ellen 1208, 1242, AP. 3; is. elne 983.
- ellenheard, adj., *courageous*: nsm. 1254.
- ellenrōf, adj., *brave, bold*: gsm. ellenrōfes 1392; npm. ellenrōfe 350, 410, 1141.
- ellenweorc, n., *courageous deed*: gs. ellenweorces 232; ip. ellenweorcum 1370.
- elles, adv., *otherwise, elsewhere*: AP. 110.
- ellorfūs, adj., *ready or anxious to depart*: asm. ellorfūsne 188, 321.
- ellreordig, adj., *speaking a strange language*: gp. ellreordigra 1081.
- ellðeod, f., *foreign nation*: ds. ellðeode 972.
- ellðeodig, adj., *foreign, hostile*: gsm. ellðeodiges 678; asm. ellðeodigne 1454, 1559; npm. ellðeodige 63, 199, 280; gpm. ellðeodigra 16, 1175, ellðeodigra 26, ellðeodigra 946; dpm. ellðeodigum 163, ellðeodigum 1073.
- emne, see efne.
- ende, m. 1. *end*: ns. 1382; ds. 221, AP. 98; as. 649, AP. 85; is. 1057. — 2. *Lord, the Omega*: ns. 556.
- enedæg, m., *day of death*: ns. AP. 79.
- endelēas, adj., *endless*: nsn. 695.
- endestæf, m., *end, doom*: as. 135.

engel, m., *angel*: ns. 194, 1540; as. 365; np. englas 871; gp. engla 74, 83, 119, 146, 278, 290, 434, 451, 525, 642, 713, 828, 900, 1007, 1064, 1412, 1517, AP. 28, 119; dp. englum 249, 599, 1722; ap. englas 823. [Lat. *angelus*.] *See* **ūp-**, **hēahengel**.

engeleyn, n., *race of angels*: gp. engelcynna 717.

ent, m., *giant*: gp. enta 1235, 1495.

ēode, **ēodon**, *see* **gan**.

eogoð, *see* **geogoð**.

eolhstede, m., *temple, altar*: ap. eolhstedas 1642.

eorl, m., *chief, hero*: ns. 1254, 1263; gs. eorles 508; as. eorl 460; vs. 475; np. eorlas 199, 251, 401, 734, 1638, AP. 99; gp. eorla 1051, 1105, 1352; dp. eorlum 1575, 1644; ap. eorlas 463.

eorre, *see* **yrre**.

eorðe, f., *earth*: ns. 1438; gs. eorðan 332, 1501, 1540, AP. 94, eorþan 1595; ds. eorðan 460, 604, AP. 19, 99; as. 7, 87, 328, 731, 748, 798, 970, 1255, 1525, AP. 28.

eorðscraef, n. 1. *cave, sepulchre*: ds. eorðscraefu 780; ap. eorðscraefu 803. — 2. *crevasse*: ns. eorðscraef 1588.

eorðware, mpl., *inhabitants of the earth*: dp. eorðwarum 568.

ēowde, n., *stock*: as. 1669.

ēower, poss. pron., *your*: asf. ēowre 295; asm. ēowerne 339.

ermðu, *see* **yrmðu**.

ern, *see* **moldern**.

Essāg, pr. n., *Jesse*: gs. Essāges 879.

ēst, f., *favor, grace*: as. 339, 517, 1215, 1374.

ēste, adj., *gracious*: nsm. 483; asf. 1692.

ēstlice, adv., *willingly*: 292.

et, conj., Lat., *and*: 719.

ēdel, mn., *home, native land*: ns. 21, 525, AP. 113; gs. ēðles 16, 830; ds. ēðle 1162, AP. 101; as. ēðel 176, 226, 274, 642, 1258.

ēðellēas, adj., *homeless*: dsm. ēðellēasum 74.

ēðelrice, n., *native land, country*: ds. ēðelrice 120, 432.

exl, f., *shoulder*: as. exle 1575.

F

F = *rune* ƿ AP. 98; *for meaning, see* NOTES.

faa, *see* **fah**.

fæc, n., *time, interval*: gp. faca 1371.

fācnen, n., *crime, treachery*: gs. fācnes 1294; is. fācne 20.

fæder, m., *father*: ns. 330, 687, 846, 937, 1465, 1684, AP. 29; gs. 824, 1635; ds. 1346, 1410; as. 804, 997, 1500; vs. 83, 1412; np. fæderas 752. *See* **hēahfæder**.

fāg, adj., *discolored, spotted*: nsf. 1134. *See* **tigel-**, **blōd-**, **stānfāg**.

fāge, adj., *doomed to death*: gsm. fāges 154, 1182, 1332; npm. fāge 1530; gpm. fāgra 1085.

fāgen, adj., *fain, glad*: nsm. fāgn 255; npm. fāgen 1041.

fāger, adj., *fair, pleasant*: dsm. fāgeran 598, 1693; superl. nsm. fāgrost 103.

fægðo, f., *feud, strife*: as. fægðe 284, fæhðo 1386.

fāh, adj., *hostile*: nsm. 1346, 1705, fāg 769, 1188; npm. faa 1593, 1599; gpm. fāra 430, 1023, 1060.

fale, *see* **alfale**.

fālsian, *see* **gefālsian**.

fāmilg, adj., *foamy*: npm. fāmige 1524.

fāmigheals, adj., *foamy-necked*: nsm. 497.

fāmnne, f., *woman*: gs. fāmnnan AP. 29.

fār, m., *sudden peril*: as. 1530, 1629.

faran, 6, *go, fare*: 3 sg. fareð 497; imp. 2 pl. farað 332; inf. 773, 796, 864, 954, 1279.

fāran, *see* **āfāran**.

faroð, n., *surge, ocean*: ds. faroðe 255, 1658. *See* **mere-**, **waroðfaroð**; *see also* **waroð**.

- faroðlācende**, adj., *seafaring*: nsm. 507.
- faroðrīdende**, adj., *seafaring*: npm. 440.
- faroðstræt**, f., *ocean*: ds. faroðstræte 311, 898.
- færsPELL**, n., *bad news*: ds. færspele 1086.
- faru**, see **earh-**, **strēam-**, **wāg-**, **ȳðfaru**.
- fæst**, adj. 1. *fixed, fastened*: nsm. 1107; asm. fæstne 184, 962, 1038, 1357; npm. fæste 130; apm. 1492.— 2. *steadfast*: asf. fæste 83.— 3. *sound, heavy*: dsm. fæstan 795. See **dōm-**, **sōð-**, **staðol-**, **ðrym-**, **wār-**, **wisfæst**.
- fæstan**, see **ætfaestan**.
- fæste**, adv., *firmly*: 58, 1671.
- fæsten**, n., *inclosure, fortress*: ds. fæstente 1034, 1068, 1177, 1544. See **lagufæsten**.
- fæstlic**, see **sōðfæstlic**.
- fæstnian**, W2, *fasten, secure*: pret. 3 pl. fæstnodon 49. See **gefæstnian**.
- fæt**, see **sīðfæt**.
- fæted**, adj., *ornamented*: asn. 301.
- fætedsinc**, n., *treasure*: gs. fætedsinces 478.
- fæðm**, m. 1. *outstretched arms, embrace*: ds. fæðme 616; as. fæðm 1616; ip. fæðmum 824.— 2. *bosom (of ship), hold*: as. fæðm 444.— 3. *expanse* as. 252, 336.
- fæðme**, see **wiðfæðme**.
- fæðmian**, W2, *expand, spread*: pret. 3 pl. fæðmedon 1572; inf. 1589.
- fēa**, adj., *few*: ipm. fēam 605.
- fēa**, see **gefēa**.
- feala**, indecl. n., *many*: 564, 584, 699, 710, 961, 969, 975, 1243, 1301, 1363, 1490.
- feallan**, R, *fall*: pret. 3 sg. fēoll 918.
- fealu**, adj., *yellow, dull-colored*: asm. fealone 1538, fealuwne 421; apm. fealewe 1589.
- fēasceaft**, adj., *destitute, wretched*: nsm. 1128, 1556; asm. fēasceaftne 181; apm. fēasceafte 367.
- fēdan**, see **āfēdan**.
- fēgan**, W1, *join, unite*: pret. 3 sg. fēgde AP. 98.
- fel**, n., *skin, hide*: as. 23.
- feld**, see **herefeld**.
- fell**, m., *fall, destruction*: as. 1609.
- feng**, see **onfeng**.
- feohgestrēon**, n., *money, treasure*: as. 301.
- feoht**, see **gefeoht**.
- feohte**, f., *fight, battle*: as. 1023, 1350.
- feohtend**, see **wīðerfeohtend**.
- fēolan**, see **befēolan**.
- fēon**, see **gefēon**.
- fēond**, m., *enemy, devil*: gs. fēondes 20, 49, 1196, 1294, 1693; gp. fēonda 1619.
- feor**, adj., *far away, distant*: nsm. 898; nsn. feorr 423; asm. feorne 191, 252, 1173.
- feor**, adv., *far*: 542, 638, AP. 109.
- feorh**, n. 1. *life*: ns. AP. 37; gs. fēores 133, 179, 1101, 1107, 1130; ds. fēore 1538, **to wīdan fēore** = *ever, forever* 106, 810, 1452; as. feorh 216, 282, 430, 954, 1117, 1134, 1371, 1616, 1629, **wīdan feorh** = *forever* 1383, AP. 12, feorg AP. 58; is. fēore 284.— 2. *soul*: ns. feorh 1288; as. 154.
- feorhgedāl**, n., *death*: ns. 181, 1427.
- feorhord**, m., *body*: as. 1182.
- feorhræd**, m., *salvation*: as. 1654.
- feorme**, see **orfeorme**.
- feormian**, see **gefeormian**.
- feorran**, adv., *from afar*: 265, 282.
- feorrancumen**, m., *one come from afar, stranger*: gp. feorrancumenra 24.
- feorreund**, adj., *foreign*: gp. feorruncundra 1080.
- fēorða**, num. adj., *fourth*: ism. fēorðan 1458.
- feorweg**, m., *distant way or region*: ap. feorwegas 928.
- fēowertig**, num. adj., *forty*: 1036.

- fēowertȳne**, num. adj., *fourteen*: 1593.
-fēra, *see gefēra*.
fēran, W1, *go*: 2 sg. fērest 1674; pret. 3 sg. fērde 662; opt. pres. 2 sg. fēre 224; inf. 174, 330, 786, 928, 931. *See gefēran*.
ferend, *see scip-, wīdferend*.
ferian, W2. 1. *bear, carry, convey*: pret. 3 sg. ferede 853, 906; pret. 3 pl. feredon 866; inf. ferian 347, ferigan 293, ferigean 824. — 2. *deal in, carry on*: pret. 2 sg. feredes 1363. *See ā-, gefērian*.
ferð, mn. 1. *spirit, mind*: ns. fyrhð 638; ds. fyrhðe 507, ferðe 1485. — 2. *life*: as. ferð 174, 1332. *See collen-, forht-, sūð-, starceð-, wērigferð*.
ferðgefēonde, adj., *rejoicing in spirit*: nsm. 915; npm. ferhðgefēonde 1584.
ferðloca, m., *breast, heart*: ds. ferðlocan 1671, fyrhðlocan 58, 1570.
fetorwrasen, f., *fetter, chain*: dp. fetorwrasnum 1107.
fēða, m., *troop, infantry*: as. fēðan 1188; np. 591.
fēðer, f., *wing*: ip. fēðerum 864.
fex, n., *hair*: ns. 1427.
fif, num. adj., *five*: 590, 591.
fiftig, num. adj., *fifty*: 1040.
findan, 3. 1. *find, discover*: 2 sg. findest 1349; pret. 3 pl. fundon 1076; inf. 1129, 1231, AP. 96. — 2. *attain*: inf. 980, 1154. — 3. *invent, compose*: pret. 1 sg. fand, AP. 1; inf. 1485. *See onfindan*.
finit, Lat., AP. 122.
firas, mpl., *men*: gp. fira 24, 160, 291, 409, 590, 920, 961, 980, 1286.
firen, f., *crime, sin*: dp. firenum 1664.
firgendstrēam, m., *mountain stream*: ns. 1573; as. firgendstrēam 390.
first, *see fyrst*.
fisc, m., *fish*: gs. fises 293; dp. fixum 589. *See hornfisc*.
fitt, f., *song, poem*: as. fitte AP. 98.
fix, *see fise*.
flāse, n., *body*: ds. flāsece AP. 37.
flāschoma, m., *body*: np. flāschaman 1085; ap. flāschoman 24, 154, 160.
flēam, m., *flight*: ds. flēame 1386; as. flēam 1340; is. flēame 1544.
-flēde, *see inflēde*.
flēogan, 2, *fly*: pret. 3 pl. flugon 1546.
flēon, 2, *flee, escape from*: inf. 1538.
flitan, 1, *oppose, dispute*: 3 sg. fliteð 1199.
flōd, m. 1. *ocean*: gs. flōdes 252, 367, 1530; ds. flōde 265; as. flōd 421; ap. flōdas 906. — 2. *flood, deluge*: ns. flōd 1546, 1573, 1635; gs. flōdes 1616, 1629; ds. flōde 1582; as. flōd 1589. — 3. *stream*: is. flōde 954. *See lago-, wāter-, mereflōd*.
flōdwyllm, m., *raging flood*: ns. 516.
flot, n., *sea*: ds. flote 1698.
flota, m., *ship*: as. flotan 397. *See āg-, sǣ-, wāgflota*.
flōwan, R, *flow*: pret. 3 sg. flēow 1524, 1573.
flyht, m., *flight*: ds. flyhte 864; is. 866.
foddorðegu, f., *food*: ds. foddorþege 160, foddurþege 1101.
folc, n., *people, nation*: ns. 653, 804, 1023, 1664?; gs. folces 29, 619, 662, 1068, 1086, 1301, 1570, 1596; ds. folce 784, 796, 1080, 1130, 1144, AP. 58; as. folc 430, 1196, 1506, 1556; is. folce 1643; gp. folca 330; dp. folcum 409, 606.
folcmāgen, n., *company of people*: as. 1060.
folcraēd, m., *public benefit*: as. 622.
folcscearu, f., *people, land*: ds. folcsceare 684.
folcsceaða, m., *evil-doer*: np. folcsceaðan 1593.
folcstede, m., *land*: ns. 20; ds. 179.
folctoga, m., *leader, prince*: np. folctogan 8, 1458.
folde, f. 1. *earth, world*: gs. foldan 336. — 2. *ground, soil*: ns. folde 1582; ds. foldan 737, 918, 969, 1427, 1524.

- foldweg**, m., *earth*: ds. foldwege 206; as. foldweg 775.
- folgian**, W2, *follow*: pret. 1 pl. folgodon 673.
- folm**, f., *hand*: ds. folme 1133; ip. folmum 522. [Cf. Lat. *palma*.]
- fōn**, see **be-**, **for-**, **onfōn**.
- for**, prep. w. dat., inst., and acc. 1. *before, in the presence of*: w. dat. 165, 509, 586, 767, 881, 924, 1127, 1168, 1200, 1209, 1298, AP. 55, 61; w. acc. 880, AP. 17. — 2. *for, on account of, because of*: w. dat. 39, 457, 610, 1086, 1285, AP. 73; w. inst. 1266. — 3. *for the sake of*: w. dat. 431, 633.
- fōr**, f., *journey*: as. fōre 191, 216, 337, 846.
- foran**, see **beforan**.
- forbēgan**, W1, *humble*: opt. pres. 2 pl. forbēgan 1333; pp. forbēged 1571.
- foreuman**, 4, *overcome, vanquish*: pret. 3 sg. forcōm 1325.
- foreūð**, see **unforeūð**.
- fordēn**, pp., *corrupt, wicked*: gp. fordēnera 43.
- fordrīfan**, 1, *drive*: pret. 3 sg. fordrāf 269.
- fore**, prep. w. dat. and acc. 1. *before (local)*: w. dat. 728, 736, 840, 910, 993, 1032, 1650; AP. 11, 36, 71; w. acc. 1028, 1613; case indeterminate 721, 1499, 1668. — 2. *because of, through*: w. dat. 186, AP. 18.
- fore**, adv., *beforehand, yet, still*: 185.
- foreðane**, m., *deliberation, perception*: gs. forehances AP. 96.
- forfōn**, R, *seize, come upon suddenly*: pret. 3 sg. forfēng 995.
- forġifan**, 5, *give, grant*: pret. 3 sg. forġef 486, forġeaf 1586; pres. opt. 3 sg. forġife 355; imp. 2 sg. forġif 76.
- forġildan**, 3, *repay*: pres. opt. 3 sg. forġilde 387.
- forġrindan**, 3, *hack, injure*: pp. forgrunden 413.
- forht**, adj., *afraid*: nsm. 98, 1085; np. forhte 448, 1340, 1500, 1609; ap. 457, 1041.
- forhtferð**, adj., *timid, fearful*: nsm. 1549, 1596.
- forhyegan**, W3, *despise, disdain*: pret. 2 sg. forhogedes 1381; pret. 3 pl. forhogodan AP. 84.
- forhylman**, W1, *neglect*: inf. 735.
- forlācan**, R, *mislead*: pret. 2 sg. forlelice 1364; pret. 3 sg. forleolic 614.
- forlæran**, W1, *mislead, instruct wrongly*: pret. 2 sg. forlærdest 1364; pret. 3 sg. forlærde 614.
- forlætan**, R. 1. *leave, abandon*: 2 sg. forlætest 1413; 3 sg. forlæteð 459; pret. 3 sg. forlēt 1037; pret. 3 pl. forlætan 802; opt. pret. 3 pl. forlēton 403. — 2. *let, grant, permit*: pret. 3 sg. forlēt 835, 968, 1588.
- forlor**, m., *loss, destruction*: ds. forlore 1423.
- formeltan**, 3, *melt away, be consumed*: inf. 1146.
- fornlman**, 4, *carry off, destroy*: pret. 3 sg. fornām 994, 1531, AP. 59.
- forst**, m., *frost*: ns. 1257.
- forstandan**, 6. 1. *defend*: pret. 3 sg. forstōd 1143, 1335. — 2. *oppose, deny*: pret. 3 sg. forstōd 1540.
- forswelgan**, 3, *swallow up*: pret. 3 sg. forswealg 1590.
- forð**, adv. 1. *forth, forwards*: 775, 1506, 1584. — 2. *still, yet, henceforth*: 54, AP. 110.
- forþan**, conj. 1. *therefore, thereby*: 458, 526. — 2. *because*: 529, AP. 47.
- forwyrd**, n., *destruction*: as. 1594, 1618.
- fōt**, m., *foot*: ns. 1582.
- fracoð**, adj., *hateful, despised*: npm. fracoðe 409.
- fram**, adj., see **from**.
- fram**, prep. w. dat., *from*: 697, 738, 1034, 1037, 1243, 1485, 1535, 1582, 1691.

- frǣt**, adj., *obstinate, proud*: dsf. frǣtre 571; asn. frǣte 1506.
- frætwe**, fpl., *treasures, ornaments*: ap. frætwe 337, frætewa AP. 102.
- frætwtian**, see **gefrætwtian**.
- frēa**, m., *lord*: ns. 662, 714, 786; gs. frēan 457, 653, 796, 1401, 1695; vs. frēa 629, 1410. See **mānfrēa**.
- frec**, see **gūdfrec**.
- frecra**, m., *hero, warrior*: ns. 1163. See **gūð-**, **hildfrecra**.
- frēcne**, adj., *dangerous, terrible*: nsm. 1432; asm. 516; asf. 1350; npf. 440; sup. asn. frēcnost 1231.
- frēfran**, W1, *comfort, console*: imp. 2 sg. frēfra 421; inf. 367. See **āfrēfran**.
- frēge**, see **gefrēge**.
- fremde**, adj., *strange, estranged from* (w. gen.): nsm. 890.
- fremman**, W1. 1. *do, make, perform*: opt. pres. 2 sg. fremme 1354; pret. 3 sg. fremede 619, 622, 639, 815; pret. 3 pl. fremedon 1654; inf. 67, 780, 1208. — 2. *aid, advance*: inf. 934. See **gefremman**.
- frēo**, adj., *free, joyful*: npm. 598.
- frēod**, f., *love, good will*: ns. 1154; as. frēode 390.
- frēolice**, adv., *gladly, willingly*: 293.
- frēond**, m., *friend*: gp. frēonda 934, 1128, 1705, AP. 91.
- frēondscipe**, m., *friendship*: as. 478.
- frēorig**, adj., *freezing, cold*: nsm. 491; npn. 1259.
- frēoðian**, see **gefrēoðian**.
- frēoðolēas**, adj., *hostile, wicked*: nsn. 29.
- frēoðu**, see **frīð**.
- frēoðuwær**, f., *covenant of peace*: as. frēoðuwære 1630.
- fricca**, m., *herald*: np. friccan 1156.
- frielan**, W1, w. gen., *seek, ask for*: opt. 3 sg. fricle AP. 109.
- frignan**, 3, *ask, inquire*: 1 sg. frīne 633; 2 sg. frīnest 629; pret. 3 sg. frægn 556, 919, fregn 1163; inf. 1412. See **gefrignan**.
- frīnan**, see **frignan**.
- frīoðo**, f., *peace*: gs. 918; as. frēoðe 1130; is. frēoðo 336.
- frīð**, mn., *peace, safety*: gs. frīðes 448, 1128, AP. 91; ds. frīðe 622; as. frīð 174, 1034; is. frīðe 915, 1432.
- frod**, adj. 1. *wise*: apm. frode 784. — 2. *old*: nsm. 506; nsn. 737.
- frōfor**, f., *comfort, consolation*: gs. frōfre 906, 1567, 1684, 1705, AP. 109; ds. 311, 606; as. 95, 1465.
- from**, adj., *brave, eager*; nsm. fram 234; npm. frome 8, frame AP. 12. See **hild-**, **sīðfrom**.
- fromlice**, adv., *boldly*: 556, 1182, 1332, 1640.
- fruma**, m. 1. *beginning*: ds. fruman 1485. — 2. *Lord, the Alpha*: ns. fruma 226, 556. See **dæd-**, **ēad-**, **lēod-**, **lēoht-**, **lif-**, **ordfruma**.
- frumbearn**, n., *first-born child, leader*: as. 1294.
- frumgār**, m., *leader*: np. frumgāras 1068.
- frumræden**, f., *arrangement previously agreed upon, period*: gs. frumrædenne 147.
- frumsceaft**, f., *creation*: ds. frumsceaft 797.
- frumweorc**, n., *creature, creation*: gp. frumweorca 804.
- fugol**, m., *bird*: ds. fugole 497.
- ful**, adv., *fully, very*: 496. See **syn-**, **ðrym-**, **ðryðful**.
- fultum**, m., *help*: gs. fultomes AP. 91.
- fulwiht**, n., *baptism*: ns. 1643; gs. fullwihtes 1640; ds. fulwihte 1630; as. fulwiht 1635.
- furðum**, adv., *even, just*: 797.
- furður**, adv., *further*: 1350, 1489, 1518.
- fūs**, adj. 1. *ready to set out, eager*: nsm. 255; asm. fūsne 1654. — 2. *sad, declining*: nsm. 1664. See **ellor-**, **hell-**, **hynfūs**.
- fūsleoð**, n., *death-song*: as. 1549.

- fyllan**, W1, *overthrow, destroy*: pret. 3 sg. fylde 1688.
- fyllan**, W1, w. gen., *fill*: pret. 3 sg. fylde 523. *See gefyllan.*
- fynde**, *see yðfynde.*
- fyrðhwæt**, adj., *active in war*: npm. fyrðhwate 8, AP. 12.
- fýren**, adj., *fiery*: dpm. fýrnum 1378.
- fýrgnäst**, m., *spark of fire*: np. fýrgnästas 1546.
- fyrht**, *see godfyrht.*
- fyrhtan**, *see äfyrhtan.*
- fyrhö**, *see ferð.*
- fyrhöluſe**, f., *heartfelt love*: as. fyrhöluſan 83.
- fýrmæl**, n., *mark of fire*: ip. fýrmælum 1134.
- fýrn**, *see unfýrn.*
- fýrndagas**, mpl., *former days*: dp. fýrndagum 1, 752, 976.
- fýrngeweore**, n., *ancient fabric, creation*: ns. 737.
- fýrnsægen**, n., *old tradition*: ns. 1489.
- fýrnsceaþa**, m., *ancient enemy*: ns. 1346.
- fýrnweorc**, n., *creature, creation*: gp. fýrnweorca 1410.
- fýrnwita**, m., *patriarch*: np. fýrnweotan 784.
- fýrst**, m., *period of time*: ns. first 147; as. fyrst 834, 1309, 1673.
- fýrstgimearc**, n., *appointed time*: gs. fýrstgimearces 931.
- fýrstmearc**, n., *appointed time*: ds. fýrstmearc 133.
- fýrþran**, W1, *advance, help*: inf. 934. *See gefýrðran.*
- fýsan**, W1. 1. *prepare, get ready*: inf. 1698. — 2. *incite*: 2 sg. fýsest 1187.
- G**
- Gad**, pr. n., *Gad*: ns. AP. 57.
- gadrigean**, W2, *collect, gather together*: inf. 781, gadorigean 1556.
- gafulræden**, f., *tribute, fare*: as. gafulrædenne 296.
- galan**, 6, *sing*: pret. 3 pl. gölon 1549; inf. 1127, 1342.
- gælan**, W1, *delay*: pret. 3 pl. gældon 1533.
- galdor**, m., *song*: gs. galdres AP. 108.
- galdorcraeft**, m., *magic art*: ip. galdorcraeftum 166.
- galga**, *see gealga.*
- gän**, anv., *go*: 3 pl. gäð 1665; pret. 3 sg. ëode 982, 1001; pret. 3 pl. ëodon 45; imp. 2 sg. gä 1348; imp. 2 pl. gäð 1182, 1332; inf. 365, 775. *See gangan, ägän, ofer-ëode.*
- gang**, m., *passage, circuit, path*: ns. 1694, gong 869; as. gang 208, 455. *See begang.*
- gangan**, anv., *go*: 3 pl. gangaþ 891; imp. 2 sg. gong 939; inf. 238, 1059, 1356, gengan 1095, geongan 1311.
- gär**, m., *spear*: gs. gäres 187, 1330; np. gäras 127; gp. gära 32; dp. gärum 1143; ip. 45. *See frumgär.*
- gärgewinn**, n., *battle, opposition*: as. 958.
- gärs**, n., *grass*: ns. 38.
- gärsecg**, m., *ocean*: ns. 238, 392; gs. gärsecges 530; as. gärsecg 371.
- gæsne**, adj., *dead*: npm. 1084.
- gast**, *see beodgast.*
- gäst**, m. 1. *mind, soul, life*: ns. 468; gs. gästes 155; ds. gäste 782, 917, 1084; as. gäst 187, 1327, 1416; np. gästas 640, 1617; gp. gästa 331, 548, 901. — 2. *spirit (holy)*: ns. 728, 906, 1684; gs. gästes 531, 1000, 1621, AP. 114. — 3. *spirit (evil)*: ns. 1296; gs. gästes 1694.
- gästgehygd**, n., *thought*: ip. gästgehygdum 861.
- gästgerýne**, n., *spiritual mystery*: ip. gästgerýnum 858.
- gästlic**, adj., *living, having mind or soul*: ns. 1628.
- ge . . . ge**, conj., *both . . . and*: 542.
- geäclian**, W2, *frighten*: pp. geäclod 805.

- geador**, adv., *together*: 1097, eador 1627.
- gealga**, m., *gallows, cross*: as. gealgan 966, AP. 22; ds. 1327, 1409, galgan AP. 40.
- gealgmōd**, adj., *cruel, wicked*: npm. gealgmōde 32, 563.
- gēap**, see **horngēap**.
- gēara**, adv., *formerly*: 1387.
- Gearapolis**, pm., *Hierapolis*: d. Gearapolim AP. 40.
- geard**, see **ealdor-**, **middangeard**.
- gēardagas**, mpl., *former days, old times*: dp. gēardagum 1519.
- gearg**, adv., *well, certainly*: comp. gearwor 932.
- gearu**, adj., *ready*: nsm. 72, 214, 1535, gearo 234; nsf. 907, 1153, 1567, 1579; npm. gearwe 1369; apn. gearu 1358.
- gēāscian**, W2, *learn of*: pret. 3 pl. gēāscodon 44.
- geat**, see **burg-**, **weallgeat**.
- gebæro**, f., *behavior, action*: ns. 1570.
- gebed**, n., *prayer*: ds. gebede 1027.
- gebēodan**, 2, *offer*: pp. geboden 219.
- geberan**, 4, *bring forth, bear*: pp. npm. geborene 690.
- gebīdan**, 1. 1. *await*: pret. 3 sg. gebād 1702; opt. pres. 3 pl. gebidan 399. — 2. *remain still*: pret. 3 sg. gebād 1587.
- gebiddan**, 5, *besech, implore*: pret. 3 sg. gebæd 996.
- gebindan**, 3, *bind*: pret. 3 pl. gebunden 48, 1222; pp. gebunden 1379, 1396, npm. gebundene 580, apm. 947.
- gebledsian**, W2. 1. *bless*: pp. gebledsod 524, 937. — 2. *revere, honor*: pp. gebledsod 540, 1719.
- geblissian**, W2, *gladden, bless*: pp. geblissod 351, 468, 892.
- geblond**, n., *commotion*: ns. 532. See **ārgeblond**.
- geblondan**, R, *mix, stir up*: pret. 3 pl. geblēndan 33; pp. geblonden 424.
- geblōwan**, R, *bloom, blossom*: pp. apm. geblōwene 1448.
- gebrec**, see **bāngebrec**.
- gebrecan**, 5, *break down, injure*: pp. gebrocen 1404, 1473.
- gebringan**, W1, *bring*: pret. 3 pl. gebrōhton 1710; opt. pret. 2 sg. gebrōhte 273.
- gebrōðor**, mpl., *brothers*: np. 1027; dp. gebrōðrum 1014.
- gecēosan**, 2, *choose*: pret. 3 sg. gecēas AP. 19; pp. gecoren 324, npm. gecorene AP. 5.
- gecnāwan**, R, *recognize*: inf. 1517, 1558.
- gecingan**, 3, *fall, die*: pret. 3 sg. gecrang AP. 60, 72.
- gerod**, see **lindgerod**.
- geweðan**, 5, *speak*: pret. 3 sg. gecwæð 896, 1172, 1299, 1361, 1400, 1465, 1663.
- gecynd**, f., *kind*: as. 588.
- gecyrran**, W1, *return*: pret. 3 pl. gecyrdon 1078.
- gecȳðan**, W1, *make known, show*: 3 sg. gecȳðeð 1435; 1 pl. gecȳðað 859; pret. 2 sg. gecȳðdest 390; pret. 3 sg. gecȳðde 564, 700, 711; pp. gecȳðed 90, 358; inf. 289, 784, 796, 803, 965.
- gedafenian**, W2, *befit*: 3 sg. gedafenað 317.
- gedāl**, see **feorh-**, **sāwulgedāl**.
- gedālan**, W1. 1. *give over to, consign to*: inf. 955, 1217. — 2. *separate, part from*: pp. gedāled AP. 82; inf. AP. 36. — 3. *part, disband*: pret. 3 pl. gedāldon 5.
- gedōn**, anv., *do*: pp. 765; inf. 342, 1444.
- gedræg**, n. 1. *tumult, lamentation*: ns. 1555. — 2. *throng*: ns. 43.
- gedreccan**, W1, *afflict, torment*: pret. 3 sg. gedrehte 39.
- gedrēfan**, W1, *trouble, stir up*: pp. gedrēfed 369, 394, 1529.
- gedrēosan**, 2, *pass away*: inf. AP. 100.
- gedrep**, n., *stroke*: as. 1444.
- gedryht**, see **willgedryht**.
- gedūfan**, 2, *sink, penetrate*: inf. 1331.
- gedwola**, m., *error, false belief*: as. gedwolan 611, 1688.

- gefælsian**, W₂, *cleanse*: pp. gefælsod Ap. 66.
- gefæstnian**, W₂. 1. *establish*: pret. 3 sg. gefæstnode 522. — 2. *place, fix*: pret. 3 sg. gefæstnode 1378.
- gefēa**, m., *joy, happiness*: ds. gefēan 347, 598, 866, 1670, 1693; as. Ap. 81; gp. gefēana 890.
- gefeobt**, n., *fight, conflict*: ds. gefeobte 1188, 1196.
- gefēon**, 5, w. inst., *enjoy*: pret. 3 pl. gefēgon 592, 659. *See ferðgefēonde.*
- gefeormian**, W₂, *devour*: pret. 3 pl. gefeormedon 1090.
- gefēra**, m., *companion*: as. gefēran 1009, 1020.
- gefēran**, W₁, *accomplish, pass through*: 2 pl. gefērað 677; pret. 1 sg. gefērde 1401; pres. opt. 1 pl. gefēran 516; inf. 194, 216.
- geferian**, W₂, *conduct, bring*: pp. gefereð 1173, 1619; npm. geferede 265; inf. 397.
- gefrætwan**, W₂, *adorn, honor*: pret. 3 sg. gefrætwode 1518; pp. gefrætwed 715.
- gefrēge**, n., *knowledge*: is. 1626, Ap. 25.
- gefrēge**, adj., *known, celebrated*: nsn. 668, 961, 1119.
- gefremman**, W₁, *perform, do*: 1 sg. gefremme 1288; pret. 2 sg. gefremmedest 926; pret. 3 sg. gefremede 91, 605, 1198, 1387; pret. 3 pl. gefremedan 1445; pp. gefremed 976; inf. 191, 426, 1614; ger. gefremmanne 206.
- gefreoðian**, W₂, *liberate, set free*: pret. 3 sg. gefreoðode 1041.
- gefrignan**, 3, *learn of, hear*: pret. 1 sg. gefrægn 1093, 1706; pret. 1 pl. gefrūnan 1; pp. gefrægen 687, 1060.
- gefillan**, W₁, *complete*: pp. npm. gefylde 1695.
- gefyrdran**, W₁, *support, protect*: pp. gefyrðred 983.
- gegninga**, adv., *straightway*: 1349, 1354.
- gegnslēge**, m., *interchange of blows*: ds. 1356.
- gegrētan**, W₁, *greet*: pret. 3 sg. gegrētte 254.
- gegrind**, n., *commotion, tumult*: as. 1590.
- gehæftan**, W₁. 1. *bind, imprison*: pp. gehæfted 1127. — 2. *afflict*: pp. npm. gehæfte 1158.
- gehālgian**, W₂, *consecrate*: pret. 3 sg. gehālgode 586, 1650; pp. gehālgod 1646.
- gehātan**, R, *promise*: pret. 2 sg. gehēte 1418.
- gehealdan**, R, *maintain, keep*: pret. 2 pl. gehēoldon 346; inf. 213.
- gehēgan**, W₁, *perform, hold (council or meeting)*: pret. 3 sg. gehēde 1496; pret. 3 pl. gehēdon 157, gehēdan 1049; inf. 930.
- gehēred**, *see gehýran.*
- gehladan**, 6, *load*: pp. asm. gehladenne 361.
- gehnāgan**, W₁, *humble*: pres. opt. 2 pl. gehnāgan 1183; pret. 2 sg. gehnāgdest 1319; pret. 3 sg. gehnāgde 1191.
- gehrēodan**, 2, *adorn*: pp. apm. gehrodene 1449.
- gehdū**, *see geohdū.*
- gehwā**, pron., *each*: gsm. gehwæs 912; gsf. gehwære 630; gsm. gehwæs 330, 338; dsm. gehwām 65, 637; dsf. 121; dsn. 408.
- gehworfan**, 3. 1. *turn, fall*: pret. 3 sg. gehwearf 694, 1103. — 2. *convert*: 2 sg. gehweorfest 974.
- gehwylc**, pron., *each, all*: gsm. (ānra) gehwylces 1283; dsm. gehwylcum 908, 980, 1152; asm. (ānra) gehwylcne 933; asn. (landa) gehwylc 935.
- gehyegan**, W₃, *suppose*: pret. 2 pl. gehogodon 429.
- gehygd**, fn., *mind, thought*: as. 1460; ap. gehygd 68, 200. *See brēost, gāst, misgehygd.*
- gehyld**, n., *protection*: as. 117, 1045.

- gehýran**, W1. 1. *hear, learn, heed*: 2 pl. gehýrað 1197; pret. 1 sg. gehýrde 651; pret. 1 pl. gehýrdon AP. 23, 63; pret. 3 pl. 894; opt. pret. 2 sg. gehýrde 574; imper. 2 sg. gehēr 1498; pp. gehýred 92, 1554, gehēred 168; inf. 341, 595, 811. — 2. *receive hear-in*: pret. 3 pl. gehýrdon 577.
- gehyrstan**, W1, *equip*: pp. gehyrsted 45.
- gelāc**, n., *commotion, conflict*: as. 1092. See *lind-*, *lyft-*, *scingelāc*.
- gelāca**, see *gūðgelāca*.
- gelād**, n., *way*: as. 190.
- gelædan**, W1. 1. *lead, conduct*: 3 pl. gelædaþ 282; pret. 3 sg. gelædde 1033; pret. 2 pl. gelæddon 430; inf. 822. — 2. *venture, risk*: pret. 3 sg. gelædde AP. 43.
- gelang**, adj., *near at hand, attainable*: nsf. 979.
- gelæran**, W1, *instruct*: inf. 1353.
- gelæstan**, W1, *support, help*: pret. 3 sg. gelæste 411.
- gelēafa**, m., *belief, faith*: gs. gelēafan 1680, AP. 66; as. 335.
- gelenge**, adj., *pertaining to, of the nature of*: nsf. 1474.
- gelēogan**, 2, w. dat., *deceive*: pret. 3 sg. gelāh 1074.
- gelettan**, W1. 1. *let, hinder*: inf. 518. — 2. *procrastinate*: inf. 800.
- gelic**, adj., *like*: asm. gelicne 494; superl. nsm. gelicost 497; nsn. gelicost 501, 953.
- gelice**, adv., *like*: superl. gelicost 1145.
- gelicgan**, 5, *stretch along*: 3 pl. gelicgaþ 334.
- gelōme**, adv., *often*: 1163.
- gelyfan**, W1, *have faith in, trust*: 1 sg. gelyfo 1284; pret. 3 pl. gelyfdon 142, 562, 813; inf. 733.
- gemæl**, adj., *stained, spotted*: nsn. 1331.
- gemæne**, adj., *mutual*: nsf. 1013.
- gemang**, n., *company*: ds. gemange 730.
- gemærsian**, W2, *celebrate*: pp. gemærsod 544.
- gemearc**, see *fyrst-*, *ðinggemearc*.
- gemēde**, adj., *pleasant*: superl. nsn. gemēdost 594.
- gemet**, n., *limit, measure*: as. gemet 309, 1481; np. gemeotu 454.
- gemet**, adj., *fitting*: nsn. 1178.
- gemētan**, W1, *find, meet*: pret. 3 sg. gemētte 241, 245, 1061; pret. 3 pl. gemēttan 143, 1082.
- gemōt**, n., *assembly*: ds. gemōte 650; as. gemōt 1059.
- gemunan**, PP, *remember*: pres. 3 sg. geman 639.
- gemyltan**, W1, *soften, melt*: inf. 1393.
- gemynd**, fn., *memory, thought*: dp. gemyndum 960. See *mōd-*, *ūpgemynd*.
- gemyndig**, adj., *mindful*: nsm. 161, 981, 1001, 1263, 1312, AP. 107.
- gemyrran**, W1, *hinder, disturb*: pp. nsm. gemyrde 746.
- gēn**, see *ðā gēn*.
- gēna**, see *nū gēna*.
- gēncwide**, m., *answer*: ip. gēncwidum 858.
- generian**, W1, *save, preserve*: pp. apm. generede 1037.
- genēðan**, W1, w. inst., *venture, risk*: pret. 3 sg. genēðde AP. 17, 50; inf. 950, 1351.
- gengan**, see *gangan*.
- geniðla**, see *eald-*, *mān-*, *torngeniðla*.
- geniwiian**, W2, *renew*: pp. geniwiad 1010.
- genōg**, adj., *enough*: nsm. 1534.
- gēoc**, f., *help, comfort*: ns. 1585; gs. gēooc 1030, 1567, AP. 108; as. 1152.
- gēocend**, m., *Comforter, Lord*: vs. 548; as. 901.
- geofa**, see *willgeofa*.
- geofon**, n., *ocean*: ns. 393, 1585, 1624; gs. geofones 852; ds. geofone 498, geofene 1531, 1615; as. geofon 1508.
- geogoð**, f., *young persons, youth*: ns. 1634; ds. geogoðe 152, 1615; is. eogoðe 1122.

- geogoðhād**, m., *youthfulness*: ds. geogoðhāde 782.
- geohðu**, f., *care, tribulation*: as. geohðo 1665, gehðo 1548; dp. geohðum 1008; ap. geohða 66.
- gēomor**, adj., *sad*: nsm. 1008, 1408; dsm. gēomrum AP. 89; isf. gēomran 61, 1126. *See hyge-, mōd-, siðgēomor.*
- gēomorgidd**, n., *complaint, death-song*: ns. 1548.
- gēomormōd**, adj., *sad*: nsm. 1398; npm. gēomormōde 406.
- gēomrian**, W2, *grieve, sorrow*: ptc. npm. gēomriende 1665.
- geond**, prep. w. acc., *through, throughout, over*: 25, 42, 331, 332, 371, 576, 709, 762, 768, 961, 1120, 1434, 1637.
- geong**, adj., *young*: nsm. 505, 1150, AP. 57, geonga 1126; gsm. geongan 1117; asm. geongne 551, 1110; npm. geonge 392, 858; apm. 1531, 1624. *See cildgeong, edglong.*
- geongan**, *see gangan.*
- geopenian**, W2, *open, reveal*: pp. geopenad 889.
- georn**, adj., *eager*: nsm. 66, 959. *See dōmgeorn.*
- georne**, adv. 1. *zealously, earnestly*: 612, 1606, 1653; comp. geornor AP. 115. — 2. *certainly, truly*: 498.
- gēotan**, 2, *pour, gush*: ptc. nsn. gēotende 393, 1508, 1590. *See āgēotan.*
- gereordian**, W2, *feed, refresh*: pp. gereordod 385.
- gerīm**, *see nihtgerīm.*
- gerwan**, *see gyrwan.*
- gerȳman**, W1, *give place, make room*: pp. gerȳmed 1580.
- gerȳne**, n., *secret*: ap. gerȳnu 419, gerȳno 1511. *See gāstgerȳne.*
- gesālan**, W1, *befall, happen*: 3 sg. gesāleð 511, 515; pret. 3 sg. gesāelde 438, 661.
- gesamnian**, W2, *assemble, collect*: pret. 3 pl. gesamnodon 652, 1636, gesamnedon 1067; pp. gesamnod 1098. *See samnian.*
- gesceaft**, f. 1. *creation (heaven or earth)*: ns. 1437; as. AP. 116, 122. — 2. *creature*: np. gesceafte 1499; gp. gesceafta 326, 703, 1717.
- gescēnan**, W1, *break, wound*: inf. 1142.
- gescēððan**, 6, with wk. pret., *harm, injure*: pret. 3 sg. gescēod 1176, wk. pret. gescēode 18; pret. opt. 3 sg. gescēode 1420; inf. 917.
- gescīrpla**, m., *garment*: ap. gescīrplan 250.
- gescīrfan**, 1, *prescribe, appoint*: pret. 3 sg. gescīraf 846; pp. gescīrfen 787; apm. gescīrfene 297.
- gescyldan**, W1, *protect*: 3 sg. gescylded 434.
- gescyldend**, m., *protector*: ns. 1291.
- gescȳrdan**, W1, *veil, shroud*: pp. gescȳrdes 1313.
- gescȳrgan**, W1, *allot*: opt. pres. 2 sg. gescȳrige 85.
- gesēcan**, W1, *seek, go to, reach*: pret. 3 sg. gesōhte 380, AP. 32, 39, 62; pret. 3 pl. gesōhton 268, 1121; pp. gesōhte 845, 1132; inf. 175, 1701, AP. 93; ger. gesēcanne 295, 424.
- gesecgan**, W1, *tell, say*: pret. 3 sg. gesægde 384; inf. 603, 624.
- gesellan**, W1, *grant, give up (life)*: pret. 3 sg. gesealde AP. 58; pret. 3 pl. gesealdon 433, 1616, AP. 85; pp. geseald 646, 909, 1435.
- gesēon**, 5. 1. *see, behold*: 3 pl. gesēoð 1500; pret. 1 sg. geseah 493, 499; pret. 3 sg. 1492, 1690, geseh 714, 847, 992, 1004, 1009, 1448; pret. 1 pl. gesēgon 455, 881; imper. 2 sg. gesēoh 1281, 1441; inf. 760, 987, 1714, gesiōn 1225. — 2. *refl. see one another*: inf. 1013. — 3. *receive sight*: pret. 3 pl. gesēgon 581.
- geset**, n., *habitation*: ap. gesetu 1259.

- gesettan**, W1, *appoint*: pret. 3 sg. gesette 1647; pp. geseted 156.
- gesiehð**, **gesihð**, *see gesyhð*.
- gesittan**, 5, *sit*: pret. 3 sg. gesæt 359, 1063; pret. 3 pl. gesæton 1161.
- gesīð**, *see ealdgesīð*.
- gespann**, n., *ring, spangle*: as. 302.
- gespōwan**, R impers. w. dat., *succeed*: pret. 3 sg. gespēow 1344.
- gesprec**, n., *speech*: as. 577.
- gesprecan**, 5, *speak*: pret. 1 sg. gespræc 923.
- gestandan**, R, *stand*: pret. 3 sg. gestōd 707.
- gestæppan**, 6, *step*: pret. 3 sg. gestōp 1582.
- gestaðolian**, W2, *establish, fashion*: pret. 3 sg. gestaðelode 162, gestaðolade 536.
- gesteald**, *see wuldorgesteald*.
- gestealla**, *see lindgestealla*.
- gestīgan**, 1, *mount, enter*: pret. 1 sg. gestāh 899; inf. 222.
- gestillan**, W1, *become quiet*: pret. 3 sg. gestilde 532.
- gestrēon**, n., *possession, treasure*: ap. AF. 83. *See feoh-, hēah-, hord-, sincgestrēon*.
- geswencan**, W1, *torment, afflict*: pp. geswenced 116, 394.
- geswīcan**, 1, w. dat., *cease, depart*: 1 sg. geswice 1290.
- geswing**, n., *surge, beating, swell*: as. 352.
- geswīngan**, 3, *afflict*: pp. geswungen 1396. *See swīngan*.
- geswīðan**, W1, *strengthen*: pp. geswīðed 697, 701.
- gesyhð**, f., *sight*: ds. gesyhðe 705, gesiehðe 620; as. gesihð 30.
- gesyne**, adj., *manifest*: nsn. 526, 549, 1602; gpn. gesynra 565.
- getācan**, W1, *instruct, indicate*: pret. 3 sg. getāhte 6; opt. pret. 2 sg. getāhte 485.
- getācnian**, W2, *express, symbolize*: pret. 3 sg. getācnode 1512.
- gētan**, *see āgētan*.
- gete**, *see orgete*.
- getellan**, W1, *tell, count*: pp. geteled 665, 1035, apm. getealde 883.
- getēon**, W2, *appoint, order*: pret. 3 sg. getēode 14.
- getihhfan**, W2, *consider, claim*: pp. getihhad 1320.
- getimbran**, W1. 1. *build*: pp. getimbred 667; inf. 1633. — 2. *confirm*: imp. 2 sg. getimbre 1671.
- getingan**, 3, w. dat., *press upon*: pret. 3 sg. getang 138.
- getrahtian**, W2, *consider*: pp. getrahtod 1359. [Cf. Lat. *tractare*.]
- getrēowe**, adj., *faithful*: nsm. 984.
- getrum**, n., *troop*: is. getrume 707.
- geðanc**, m., *thought, mind*: ds. geþance 237. *See ingeðanc*.
- geðancul**, adj., *thoughtful, sagacious*: nsm. geþancul 462.
- geðeon**, 1, *grow, prosper*, in pp. *virtuous, excellent*: pp. geþungen 528.
- geðing**, n. 1. *fate, experience, destiny*; gp. geþinga 1598; ap. geþingu 756. — 2. *appointment, command*: ds. geþinge 794. *See gūðgeðingu*.
- geðofta**, *see trēowgeðofta*.
- geðoht**, m., *thought, meditation*: gp. geþohta 744.
- geðollan**, W2, *suffer, endure*: pret. 3 sg. geðolode 1490; imper. 2 sg. geþola 107; ger. geðolianne 1136, geþolienne 1659, geþolienne 1689.
- geðræc**, n., *tumult, violence*: as. geþræc 823.
- geðrēatian**, W2, *suppress, overcome*: pp. geðrēatod 436, geþreatod 1115.
- geðring**, n., *crowd, tumult*: as. 368.
- geðringan**, 3, *approach, draw near*: pp. geþrunge 990.
- geðyldig**, *see mōdgeðyldig*.
- geðyn**, W1, *rebuke, subjugate*: pp. geðyð 436.

- geunnan**, 3, w. gen., *grant*: inf. 179, 1131.
- gewadan**, 6, *arise, come*: pret. 3 sg. gewōd 1246.
- gewætan**, W1, *wet*: pp. npf. gewætte 375.
- geweale**, n., *rolling, tossing*: as. 259.
- geweald**, n., *power*: as. 518, 1273, 1317, 1619. *See* æhtgeweald.
- gewealdan**, R, w. inst., *rule*: inf. 1365.
- gewemman**, W1, *spot, defile*: pp. gewemmed 1471.
- geweore**, n., *fabrication*: as. 1077; ap. 1495. *See* iær-, fyrngeweore.
- geweorp**, n., *ridge, heap*: as. 306. *See* wintergeworp.
- geweorðan**, 3. 1. *happen, take place*: 3 sg. geweorðeð 1437; 3 pl. geweorðað 1500; pret. opt. 3 sg. gewurde 558; inf. 730, gewyrðan 573. — 2. *become, be*: pret. 3 sg. gewearð 167, 804; pret. opt. 2 sg. gewurde 550; pp. apm. gewordne 457. — 3. *occur, befall* (impers.): pret. 3 sg. gewearð 307.
- geweorðian**, W2, *honor*: 3 sg. geweorðað 938; pp. geweorðod Ap. 15, gewyrðod 116.
- gewinn**, n. 1. *conflict, tumult*: as. 197, 932. — 2. *sorrow, trouble*: ns. 888. *See* gār-, gūð-, hand-, waruðgewinn.
- gewinna**, m., *opponent, rival*: as. gewinnan 1197, 1249, 1301.
- gewitan**, 1, *go*: pret. 3 sg. gewāt 118, 225, 235, 655, 696, 706, 786, 977, 1044, 1058, 1247, 1304, 1457, 1675; pret. 3 pl. gewiton 1594, geweotan 801.
- gewitt**, n., *mind, understanding*: ds. gewitte 212, 316, 470, 552, 672, 769, 1265, Ap. 87; as. gewit 35, 645.
- gewlitigian**, W2, *beautify, adorn*: pp. gewlitedgod 669, gewlitedgad 543.
- geworp**, *see* wintergeworp.
- gewunian**, W2. 1. *accompany, stay with*: inf. 1661. — 2. *remain, abide*: inf. 279.
- gewyrean**, W1. 1. *fashion, make*: pret. 3 pl. geworhton 1073; pp. apf. geworhte 716. — 2. *deserve*: pret. 1 sg. geworhte 920.
- gewyrht**, n., *deed*: dp. gewyrhtum 1366, 1611; gewyrht, case indeterminable, 1025.
- gewyrhta**, m., *doer*: dp. gewyrhtum 1180.
- gewyrðian**, *see* geweorðian.
- geyppan**, W1, *reveal*: pp. geyped 1223.
- gicel**, *see* cylegicel.
- gidd**, n., *song*: gs. gidde Ap. 89. *See* geomorgidd.
- giddung**, *see* lēoðgiddung.
- giellan**, 3, *yell*: pret. 3 pl. gullon 127.
- gif**, n., *gift, grace*: as. 575.
- gif**, conj., *if*: 70, 210, 212, 288, 344, 407, 417, 460, 479, 482, 557, 1350, 1424, 1521, 1568, 1612.
- gifa**, *see* blīad-, ēad-, symbelgifa, willgeofa.
- gifan**, 5, *give*: 3 sg. gifeð 1151; pret. 3 sg. geaf 317; opt. pres. 3 sg. gife 388. *See* ā-, for-, ofgifan.
- gifeðe**, n., *fate, chance*: ns. 1066; as. 489.
- gifre**, adj., *greedy*: dpf. gifrum 1335. *See* wælgifre.
- gifu**, f., *gift*: as. 480, 530, 548, 754; ip. geofum 551, giofum 1519. *See* sinc-, wuldorgifu.
- gild**, n., *idol*: ap. 1319. *See* deōfol-, hādengild.
- gildan**, 3, *bestow, grant*: 3 sg. gildeð, Ap. 119. *See* forgildan.
- gīman**, W1, w. gen., *regard, be heedful*: pret. 3 pl. gīndon 139.
- gimm**, m., *gem, jewel*: ns. gim 1268; gp. gimma 1519. [Lat. *gemma*.] *See* hēafodgimm.
- gīnan**, *see* tōgīnan.
- gingra**, m., *disciple*: np. gingran 894, 1330; ap. 427, 847.
- ginn**, adj., *spacious, broad*: asm. ginne 331.

- ginnan**, *see* **onginnan**.
- gīt**, adv., *yet, further*: 1487. *See* **ðā gīt, nū gýt**.
- gitan**, *see* **be-**, **ongitan**.
- glædmōd**, adj., *happy, joyful*: nsm. 1059.
- glēaw**, adj., *wise*: nsm. 557, 817, 1497, AP. 96; asm. gleawne 1648, glawne 143. *See* **æglēaw**.
- glēawlice**, adv., *wisely*: 427, 861.
- glēawmōd**, adj., *wise of mind*: nsm. 1579.
- glīdan**, 1, *glide, go*: 3 sg. glīdeð 498; pret. 3 sg. glād 371; inf. 1248, 1304. *See* **tōglīdan**.
- gnāst**, *see* **fyrnāst**.
- gnornhof**, n., *house of sorrow*: ds. gnornhofe 1008, 1043.
- god**, m. 1. *God*: n. 14, 91, 260, 326, 425, 459, 534, 563, 703, 751, 758, 894, 925, 1143, 1335, 1376, 1462, 1510, 1661, 1717; g. godes 117, 234, 560, 747, 776, 794, 999, 1028, 1045, 1613, 1634, 1644, 1647, AP. 65; d. gode 205, 958, 1011, 1150, 1398, 1579, 1620, AP. 115; a. god 275, 657, 760, 785, 1030, 1188, 1387; v. god 76, 897, 1281, 1409, 1415.—2. in the pl., *heathen gods*: gp. goda 1319; ap. godu AP. 49.
- gōd**, n., *prosperity, happiness*: is. gōde 406, 1617; gp. gōda 338.
- gōd**, adj., *good*: asm. gōdne 480, 922. *See* **betera, sēla**.
- godbearn**, n., *son of God*: ns. 640.
- godeund**, adj., *divine*: gsm. godcundes AP. 114.
- godfyrht**, adj., *God-fearing*: asm. godfyrhtne 1022; npm. godfyrhte 1516.
- godspell**, n., *gospel*: as. 12.
- gold**, n., *gold*: ds. golde 1508; as. gold 301, 338.
- goldburg**, f., *town*: as. 1655.
- gong**, *see* **gang**.
- gongan**, *see* **gangan**.
- grædig**, adj., *greedy*: npm. grædige 155. *See* **heoro-**, **wælgrædig**.
- grafan**, *see* **āgrafan**.
- græg**, adj., *gray*: nsm. græga 371.
- gram**, adj., *angry, hostile*: npm. grame 917, grome 563; gpm. gramra 217, 951, 1059.
- gramhýdig**, adj., *hostile*: gsm. gramhýdiges 1694.
- grāp**, f., *clutch, grip*: dp. grāpum 1335.
- grēne**, adj., *green*: apm. 776. *See* **eall-grene**.
- grēot**, n., *ground, beach*: ds. grēote 238, 254, 425, 794, 847, 1084, 1624.
- grētan**, W1, *greet, address*: pret. 3 sg. grētte 61, 1030, 1464; inf. 1022. *See* **gegrētan**.
- grimm**, adj., *fierce*: asf. grimme 1387; asn. grim 958; npn. 1365; gpf. grimra 1487. *See* **heoro-**, **hete-**, **wælgrim**.
- grind**, *see* **gegrind**.
- grīndan**, 3, *grind, dash*: pret. 3 pl. grīndon 373. *See* **forgrīndan**.
- gripe**, m., *clutch, grip*: as. gripe 187, 217, 951.
- grom**, *see* **gram**.
- grund**, m. 1. *deep, ocean*: ns. 393, 425.—2. *abyss*: ns. 1590; as. 1595.—3. *ground, earth*: ds. grunde 1528; as. grund 331, 747, 1600; dp. grundum 640; ap. grundas 776.
- grundwæg**, m., *earth*: ds. grundwæge 582.
- grynsmið**, m., *evil-doer*: np. grynsmiðas 917.
- gryrehwīl**, f., *period of terror*: ds. gryrehwīle 468.
- gryrelie**, adj., *terrible*: nsn. 1551.
- guma**, m., *man*: ns. 1117; np. guman 1516; gp. gumena 20, 61, 575, 582, 621, 986, 1152, 1615.
- gumcyst**, f., *virtue, right practice*: ip. gumcystum 1606.
- gūð**, f., *war, battle*: ns. 951; ds. gūðe 234, 1330; as. 1349, 1354; gp. gūða 1487.
- gūðfrec**, adj., *bold in battle*: nsm. 1117.

gūðfreca, m., *warrior*: gs. gūðfrecan 1333.

gūðgelāca, m., *warrior*: np. gūðgelācan 1600.

gūðgeðingu, npl., *battle, contest*: ap. guðgeðingu 1022, guðgeþingu 1043.

gūðgewinn, n., *battle*: ns. 217.

gūðhwæt, adj., *bold in battle*: nsm. AP. 57.

gūðplega, m., *battle*: ds. gūðplegan 1369, AP. 22.

gūðræs, m., *rush of battle*: ns. 1531.

gūðrinc, m., *warrior*: np. gūðrincas 155, 392.

gūðsearu, n., *war armor*: np. gūðsearo 127.

gūðweorc, n., *war-deed*: gp. guðweorca 1066.

gyldan, *see ongyldan*.

gylp, m., *boast*: as. 1333.

gyrn, n., *sorrow, affliction*: ds. gyrne 1150, 1585.

gyrran, 3, *sound, creak*: pret. 3 pl. gurron 374.

gyrwan, W1, *get ready, prepare*: inf. 795, 1698, gerwan 1634.

gystrandæge, adv., *yesterday*: 852.

gýt, *see git*; nū, ðā gýt.

H

habban, W3, *have*: 1 sg. hæbbe 897; 2 sg. hafaſt 357, 507, 1320; 3 sg. hafað AP. 73; 1 pl. habbað 687; 2 pl. 296; pret. 2 sg. hæfdes 530; pret. 3 sg. hæfde 534, 787, 844, 856, 987, 990, 1060, 1063, 1169, 1241; pret. 3 pl. hæfdon 134, 149, 785, 1131; opt. pres. 2 sg. hæbbe 1521; opt. pres. 3 sg. 1164; opt. pres. 3 pl. habban 976; imper. 2 sg. hafa 223; imper. 2 pl. habbað 1358. *See behabban, nabban*.

hæbbend, *see searohæbbend*.

Hābrahām, *see Ābrahām*.

hād, m., *nature, form*: ds. hāde AP. 27; as. hād 912. *See apostol-, geoguð-hād*.

hādor, adj., *bright*: nsm. 838; nsn. 1456, hādre 89.

hæft, m. 1. *captivity*: ds. hæfte 1399, 1470. — 2. *captive*: np. hæftas 1070.

hæftan, *see gehæftan*.

hæftling, m., *captive*: ns. 1342.

haga, *see ānhaga*.

hægelseūr, m., *hail-storm*: ip. hægelseūrum 1257.

hāl, adj. 1. *healthy, well*: nsm. 914. — 2. *whole, uninjured, sound*: nsm. 1470; gsm. hāles 1467. *See wanhāl*.

hæle, m., *hero*: ns. 1002; as. 144.

hælend, m., *Savior*: g. hælendes 574, 735; a. hælend 1031; v. 541, 1407.

hæleð, m., *hero, man*: ns. 919, 1556; as. 1005, 1273; vs. 484, 624; np. 50, 362, 561, 612, 1024, 1054, hæleþ 38; gp. hæleða 21, 200, 396, 494, 545, 567, 692, 885, 907, 1197, 1258, 1269, 1463; dp. hæleðum 668; ap. hæleð 2; 883, 996, 1607.

hālgian, *see gehālgian*.

hālig, adj., *holy, the holy one, saint*: nsm. 14, 91, 461, 542, 1010, 1144, 1252, hālgā 118, 168, 225, 346, 359, 382, 977, 996, 1029, 1045, 1253, 1307, 1395, 1607, 1687, AP. 60; nsf. hālig 243; nsn. 89, 1018; gsm. hāliges 531, 654, 709, 819, 893, 1000, 1389, 1478, 1586, 1621, hālgan 1238; dsm. 48, 467, 1222, 1315, 1683, AP. 9; asm. hāligne 144, 481, 1010, 1614, hālgan 831, 1171, 1566, AP. 90; asf. hālige 1520; asn. hālig 1418, AP. 53; isf. hālgan 56, 537, 873, 1399, 1456; npm. hālige 885; gp. hāligra 725; dp. hālgum 1720; apm. hālige 875; apf. AP. 63; ip. hālgum 328, 723, 1054, hālegum 104. *See heofonhālig*.

hælo, f., *health*: as. 95.

hām, m., *home*: gs. hāmes AP. 118; ds. hām 1683; as. 227, 978, AP. 92; gp. hāma 104.

hamer, m., *hammer*: gp. hamera 1077.

- hāmsittend**, m., *one dwelling at home*: np. hāmsittende 686.
- hand**, f., *hand*: ns. 9, 17, 412; as. 941, 1417, AP. 60; ap. handa 48, 1222.
- handgewinn**, n., *struggle, conflict*: ds. handgewinne 186.
- handhrine**, m., *touch of the hand*: as. 1000.
- handmægen**, n., *strength of the hands*: as. 725.
- hār**, adj., *hoary, gray*: asm. hārne 841; npm. hāre 1258.
- hærn**, f., *wave, sea*: ns. 531.
- hǣs**, f., *command*: as. 1520, 1586.
- hāt**, adj., *hot*: nsm. 1709; asm. hātne 1187; ism. hātan 1542; isn. 1241, 1277. *See* brandhāt.
- hata**, *see* scyldhata.
- hātan**, R. 1. *bid, command*: 3 sg. hāteð 1505; pret. 1 sg. hēt 931; pret. 3 sg. hēt 330, 587, 792, 795, 807, 822, 1145, 1575, 1623, 1632, AP. 68, heht 365, 1466, AP. 45; pret. 3 pl. hēton 1229, 1272, 1390. — 2. *name*: pp. hāten 686. *See* gehātan.
- hǣðen**, adj., *heathen*: nsm. AP. 46; gsm. hǣðnes 1238; dsf. hǣðenan 1491; dsn. hǣðenum 1144; asf. hǣðene AP. 60, hǣðenan 111; np. hǣðene 1002, 1124, hǣðne 126, 1070; gp. hǣðenra 186, 218, 957, 992, 1032, 1389.
- hǣðengild**, n., *idol, idolatry*: dp. hǣðengildum 1102; ap. hǣðengild AP. 47.
- hē**, pron., *he*: nsm. 51, 53, 54, etc.; nsn. hit 695, 765, 1323, 1393, 1563; gsmn. his 50, 60, 94, 164, etc.; dsmn. him 45, 57, 118, 145, etc.; asm. hine 502, 551, 820, 943, 1143, 1326, 1335, 1564, 1698, AP. 97; asf. hīe 980, 1154; asn. hit 149, 210, 1231, 1514; np. hīe 5, 23, 26, 31, etc.; gp. hira 3, 11, 25, 140, etc.; dp. him 5, 17, 27, 33, etc.; ap. hīe 254, 464, 613, 795, etc.
- hēafod**, n., *head*: gs. hēafdes 50; ds. hēafde 1423, 1472, AP. 46.
- hēafodgimm**, m., *eye*: ap. hēafodgimm 31.
- hēafodmāga**, m., *near kinsman*: as. hēafodmāgan 942.
- heafola**, m., *head*: as. heafolan 1142.
- hēah**, adj., *high*: nsn. 668; isn. hēa 274.
- hēahcyning**, m., *great king, Lord*: ns. 6.
- hēahengel**, m., *archangel*: np. hēahenglas 885.
- hēahfæder**, m., *patriarch*: gp. hēahfædera 791; ap. hēahfæderas 875.
- hēahgestrēon**, n., *great treasure*: ip. hēahgestrēonum 362.
- hēahræced**, n., *great hall*: as. 708.
- hēahstefn**, adj., *high-prowed or stemmed*: nsm. 266.
- healdan**, R. *hold, preserve, keep*: 1 sg. healde 336, 915, 1432; 3 pl. healdap 176; pret. 3 pl. hēoldon 1514. *See* gehealdan.
- healdend**, m., *keeper, ruler*: ns. 225.
- healf**, f., *side*: ds. healfe 1063; ap. 715.
- heals**, *see* fāmigheals.
- healt**, adj., *lame*: dp. healtum 578.
- hēan**, adj., *abject, wretched*: nsm. 891, 1087, 1367, 1557; asm. hēanne 1191.
- hēap**, m., *throng, company*: ns. 870; ds. hēape AP. 9; as. hēap AP. 90; is. hēape 696; ip. hēapum 126.
- heard**, adj. 1. *bold, resolute*: nsm. 233, 839, 982, 1399. — 2. *grievous, severe*: nsm. 1395; nsf. 1562; asn. 1092; gp. heardra 1445, 1470, 1491; ip. heardum 952, 1257; comp. asm. heardran 1402. — 3. *hard*: asm. heardne 739. *See* ecg-, ellen-, hilde-, scūr-, ðrohtheard.
- hearde**, adv., *sternly, severely*: 18.
- heardlic**, adj., *severe, destructive*: nsm. 1551.
- hearm**, m., *harm, injury, contumely*: as. hearm 1071, 1367; is. hearme 671; gp. hearma 1198, 1445.

- hearmewide**, m., *calumny, blasphemy*: as. 79, 561.
- hearmlēoð**, n., *complaint, song of grief*: as. 1127, 1342.
- hearmloca**, m., *prison*: ds. hearmlocan 95, 1029.
- heaðolīðende**, m., *sailor*: dp. heaðolīðendum 426.
- heaðowælm**, m., *fierce billow*: is. heaðowælm 1542.
- hebban**, 6. 1. *raise*: pp. hæfen 1155. — 2. *celebrate*: pp. hæfen 1643. See **āhebban**.
- hēgan**, see **gehēgan**.
- hēgende**, see **mæðelhēgende**.
- hēhðu**, f., *height, glory*: ds. hēhðo 873, 998, 1144, AP. 118.
- helan**, 4, *conceal*: opt. 3 sg. hele 1164. See **behelan**.
- hell**, f., *hell*: gs. helle 1052, 1298, 1342, 1703; ds. 1187.
- hellcræft**, m., *hellish art*: ip. hellcræftum 1102.
- hellehlnca**, m., *hell-limber, devil*: ns. 1171.
- hellfūs**, adj., *bound for hell*: npm. hellfūse 50.
- helltræf**, n., *heathen temple*: dp. helltrafum 1691.
- helm**, m. 1. *helmet*: as. 10. — 2. *guardian*: ns. 118, 277, 623, 655. See **nihthelm**.
- helma**, m., *helm, rudder*: ds. helman 396.
- helmian**, W2, *conceal, cover*: pret. 3 sg. helmade 1305.
- helmwearde**, m., *pilot*: ds. helmwearde 359.
- help**, f., *help*: ns. 907; gs. helpe 1031, 1566, AP. 90; ds. 1605; as. 91, 426, 1614.
- hengest**, see **brim-**, **sāhengest**.
- hēaðu**, f., *humiliation*: dp. hēaðum 117, 1467.
- hēofan**, 2, *lament*: ptc. nsm. hēofende 1557.
- heofon**, m., *heaven*: ns. 1438; gs. heofonas 1501; as. heofon 748, hefon 328; gp. heofona 6, 192, 1505, 1683; dp. heofonum 1452, heofenum 89, 168, 195; ap. heofonas 977. See **ūpheofon**.
- heofoncandel**, f., *sun*: ns. 243.
- heofoncýning**, m., *heavenly king*: gs. heofoncýninges 92, 723, 998, 1381; ds. heofoncýninge 821.
- heofonhällg**, adj., *of celestial holiness*: nsm. 728.
- heofonhwealf**, f., *vault of heaven*: ds. heofonhwealfe 545, 1402.
- heofonlēoht**, n., *heavenly light*: ds. heofonlēohte 974.
- heofonlēoma**, m., *heavenly radiance*: ns. 838.
- heofonlic**, adj., *heavenly*: asm. heofonlicne 389.
- heofonrice**, n., *kingdom of heaven*: gs. heofonrices 52, 56, 1052.
- heofontorht**, adj., *heavenly bright*: nsm. 1269; nsn. 1018.
- heofonðrymm**, m., *heavenly glory*: ds. heofonþrymme 481, 1720.
- heolfor**, n., *blood, gore*: is. heolfre 1241, 1277.
- heolstor**, m., *darkness*: ds. heolstre 243; as. heolstor 1191.
- heolstorloca**, m., *dark place, prison*: d. or as. heolstorlocan 144, 1005.
- heolstorscuwa**, m., *darkness*: d. or as. heolstorscuwan 1253.
- heonan**, adv., *hence*: AP. 109, heonan 891.
- hēore**, see **unhēore**.
- heorodrēorig**, adj., *blood-stained*: npm. heorodrēorige 1083; apm. 996.
- heorogrædig**, adj., *bloodthirsty*: npm. heorogrædige 38; gpm. heorogrædigra 79.
- heorogrimm**, adj., *warlike*: npm. heorogrimme 31.
- heorte**, f., *heart*: ds. heortan 52, 1252, 1709; as. 36, 1213. See **blīð-**, **cald-**, **mildheort**.

- heorudolg**, n., *sword-wound*: ip. heorudolgum 942.
- heorusweng**, m., *sword-stroke*: ip. heoruswengum 952.
- hēr**, adv., *here, hither*: 724, 1173, 1562, Ap. 96.
- herdan**, W1, *confirm, strengthen*: imper. 2 sg. herd 1213.
- here**, m., *host, army, throng*: gs. heriges 1106, 1156, 1202, 1238, Ap. 21; ds. herige 1127, 1198; as. here 1124, 1187; np. herigeas 652, 1067; gp. herigea 1501.
- herefeld**, m., *battle-field*: ds. herefelda 10, 18.
- heremægen**, n., *army, multitude*: ds. heremægene 586, 728, 1298, 1650.
- herestræt**, f., *army-road*: ds. herestræte 831; np. herestræta 200.
- heretëam**, m., *plunder, devastation?*: ns. 1551.
- herian**, W1, *praise, glorify*: 3 pl. herigað 722; pret. 3 sg. herede 52, 819, 998, 1267, 1455; pret. 3 pl. heredon 873; ptc. npm. herigende 657.
- herig**, m., *heathen temple*: ap. herigeas 1687.
- herigweard**, m., *guardian of the temple*: np. herigweardas 1124.
- herm**, see **hearm**.
- Hērōdes**, pr. n., *Herod*: ns. 1324; ds. Hērōde Ap. 36.
- hete**, m., *hate*: ds. 944. See **bill-**, **lëod-**, **nīð-**, **wæpenhete**.
- hetegrimm**, adj., *fierce, cruel*: nsm. 1395; nsf. 1562.
- heterōf**, adj., *hostile*: gp. heterōfra 1420.
- hettend**, m., *enemy*: np. 31.
- hider**, adv., *hither*: 207, 1604, hyder 1024.
- hidercyme**, m., *coming, arrival*: as. 1316.
- hīg**, n., *hay*: ns. 38.
- hige**, see **hyge**.
- higeblið**, adj., *blithe of mind*: asf. higeblīðe 1691.
- higerōf**, adj., *bold of mind*: nsm. 233; asm. higerōfne 1005; npm. higerōfe 1054.
- hiht**, see **hyht**.
- hild**, f., *battle, war*: ns. 1420; ds. hilde 412; gp. hilda 1491.
- hildbedd**, n., *death-bed*: ns. 1092.
- hildecorðor**, n., *war-troop*: is. hildecorðre Ap. 41.
- hildedëor**, adj., *bold in battle*: ns. 1002.
- hildeheard**, adj., *brave in battle*: nsm. Ap. 21.
- hildeðrymm**, m., *valor in battle*: ds. hildeðrymme 1032.
- hildewōma**, m., *sound of battle*: as. hildewōman 218.
- hildfrecra**, m., *warrior*: np. hildfrecan 126, 1070.
- hildfrom**, adj., *brave in battle*: npm. hildfrome 1202.
- hildlata**, m., *one slow in battle, coward*: ns. 233.
- hildstapa**, m., *warrior*: np. hildstapan 1258.
- hinea**, see **hellehinea**.
- hīw**, n., *appearance, countenance*: ns. 725; as. 1169.
- hlādan**, see **gehlādan**.
- hlāf**, m., *bread*: gs. hlāfes 21, 312; as. hlāf 389; dp. hlāfum 590.
- hlāford**, m., *lord*: ds. hlāforde 412.
- hlāfordlëas**, adj., *without a lord*: npm. hlāfordlëase 405.
- hleahor**, m., *laughter*: is. hleahre 1703.
- hlëapan**, see **āhlëapan**.
- hlëo**, n. 1. *cover, protection*: ds. 111, 567; as. 832. — 2. *protector*: ns. 896, 1450; vs. 506, 1672.
- hlëolëas**, adj., *cheerless*: asm. hlëolëasan 131.
- hlëotan**, 2. 1. *receive, obtain*: 2 sg. hlëotest 480. — 2. *cast lots*: pret. 3 pl. hluton 1102.
- hlëoðor**, n., *noise, talk*: ns. 739, 1551; ip. hlëoðrum 723. See **wordhlëoðor**.

- hlēoðorewide**, m., *speaking, words*: as. 893; dp. hlēoðorcwidum 1621; ip. 819.
- hlēoðrian**, W₂, *speak, talk*: pret. 3 sg. hlēoðrode 461, hlēoðrade 537, 1360, hlōðrode 1430; pret. 3 pl. hlēoðrodon 692.
- hlīdan**, *see on-*, *tōhlīdan*.
- hliehhan**, *see āhliehhan*.
- hlīfian**, W₂, *tower, stand high*: pret. 3 pl. hlifodon 841.
- hlinduru**, f., *prison-door*: ds. hlindura 993.
- hlīnræced**, n., *prison*: as. 1463.
- hlīnscuwa**, m., *darkness of prison*: as. hlīnscuwan 1071.
- hlīð**, n., *slope, hill*: np. hleoðu 841. *See sand-*, *stānhlīð*.
- hlosnian**, W₂, *listen, hearken*: pret. 3 sg. hlosnode 761.
- hlōð**, f., *troop, company*: ns. 42, 1389, 1543; as. 992.
- hlūd**, adj., *loud*: nsm. 1156; nsf. 739; isf. hlūdan 1360.
- hlūtter**, adj., *bright, pure*: asm. hlūtterne 312; asf. hlūttre 1063.
- hlymman**, 3, *resound*: 3 sg. hlymmeð 392.
- hlynnan**, W₁, *resound*: pret. 3 sg. hlynede 238.
- hlynsian**, W₂, *resound*: pret. 3 pl. hlynsodon 1545.
- hlyst**, m., *heed, attention*: as. 1586.
- hlýt**, m., *lot, fate*: ns. AP. 9; as. 6, 14.
- hnāg**, adj., *wretched, miserable*: comp. gsf. hnāgran 1598.
- hnāgan**, W₁, *humble*: opt. pres. 3 pl. hnāgen 1329. *See gehnāgan*.
- hnītan**, 1, *clash*: pret. 3 pl. hneotan 4.
- hof**, n., *house*: ds. hofe 1307; ap. hofu 838. *See ceaster-*, *gnornhof*.
- hold**, adj., *gracious*: nsm. 550; asf. holde 1164. *See ðeodenhold*.
- holdlice**, adv., *faithfully*: 1639.
- holm**, m., *ocean*: as. 429; gp. holma 195. *See sæholm*.
- holmðracu**, f., *tossing sea*: ns. holmþracu 467. .
- holmweg**, m., *sea-way*: ds. holmwege 382.
- homa**, *see flāsc-*, *lichoma*.
- hōn**, *see āhōn*.
- hord**, *see feorh-*, *mōd-*, *wordhord*.
- hordgestrēon**, n., *treasure*: dp. hordgestrēonum 1114.
- hordloca**, m., *treasure-place*: as. 671.
- hornfise**, m., *garfish, swordfish?*: ns. 370.
- horngēap**, adj., *wide-gabled*: nsn. 668.
- hornsæl**, n., *gabled hall*: ap. hornsalu 1158.
- hornscip**, n., *beaked ship*: is. hornscipe 274.
- hospword**, n., *insulting word*: ap. 1315.
- hrā**, n., *corpse*: ns. 1031, 1277; as. 952; np. 791.
- hræðlice**, adv., *quickly*: 192, 936, 1505.
- hrægl**, n., *garment*: ds. hrægle 1471.
- hranrād**, f., *whale-road, ocean*: ds. hranrāde 266, 634, hronrāde 821.
- hraðe**, adv., *quickly*: 341, 947, 982, 1106, 1111, hræðe 1221, 1272, 1520, 1577.
- hrēmig**, adj., *exultant*: nsm. 1699; npm. hrēmige 864.
- hrēodan**, *see gehrēodan*.
- hrēof**, adj., *leprous*: dp. hrēofum 578.
- hrēoh**, adj., *rough, fierce*: nsf. 467; nsn. 1542; apm. hrēo 748.
- hrēosan**, 2, *fall, perish*: 3 pl. hrēosaþ 1438; pret. 3 pl. hruron 1600. *See tōhrēosan*.
- hrēoða**, *see bordhrēoða*.
- hrēow**, *see rēow*.
- hrēran**, W₁, *move, stir*: ptc. dpf. hrērendum 491. *See onhrēran*.
- hreðor**, m., *breast, heart*: ns. 1018; ds. hreðre 36, 69, 817, 893.
- hrif**, n., *womb*: as. AP. 29.
- hrīm**, m., *rime, hoar-frost*: ns. 1257.

- hrīnan**, *1, touch, assail*: pp. hrinen 942.
hrīne, *see handhrīne*.
hring, *m., ring, sound*: ns. 1278.
hroden, *see sinchroden*.
hronrād, *see hranrād*.
hrōpan, *R, shout*: pret. 3 pl. hrēopon 1156.
hrōðor, *n., comfort, consolation*: ds. hrōðre 111, 567, AP. 95; gp. hrōðra 1367.
hryre, *m., fall, decay*: ds. 229.
hryslan, *W2, shake, clatter*: pret. 3 pl. hrysedon 127.
hū, *adv., how*: 155, 163, 190, 307, 419, 487, 547, 558, 573, 575, 596, 639, 812, 920, 960, 1355 (weald hū), 1490, AP. 3.
hū, *interj., how, lo*: 63, AP. 91.
hundtēontig, *num., hundred*: 1035.
hungor, *m., hunger*: gs. hungres 1087; is. hungre 1114, 1158.
hūru, *adv., verily, indeed*: 549, AP. 42.
hūs, *see bānhūs*.
huseword, *n., scornful word*: is. huseworde 669.
hwā, *pron., who; neut., what, of what sort*: nsm. 381, 797, 905, AP. 98, 106; nsn. hwæt 262, 734, 1066, 1343; gsn. hwæs 145; asn. hwæt 342, 1316. *See* **æg-**, **gehwā**.
hwæl, *m., whale*: gs. hwæles 274.
hwælmere, *m., ocean*: ns. 370.
hwænne, *conj. 1. until*: 400. — **2. when**: 136.
hwanon, *adv., whence*: 256, 258, 683.
hwær, *adv., where*: 799, 1317, AP. 111.
hwæt, *adj., see fyrd-, gūðhwæt*.
hwæt, *adv., why, how*: 629, 1413.
hwæt, *interj., what, lo*: 1, 676, 1185, 1189, 1363, 1376, 1406, 1478, 1508, AP. 1, 23, 63.
hwæðer, *conj., whether*: 129, 604. *See* **æghwæðer**.
hwæðre, *conj., however, yet*: 51, 1487, hwæðere 504.
hwealf, *see heofonhwealf*.
hwearfian, *W2, go, turn*: inf. 891.
- hwelan**, *4, roar, resound*: 3 sg. hwileð 495.
hweorfan, *3, turn, go*: 1 pl. hweorfað 405; pret. 3 pl. hweorfon 640, hweorfan 1050; inf. 117, 1691. *See* **ā-**, **be-**, **gehweorfan**.
hwettan, *W1, whet, incite*: 3 sg. hweteð 286. *See* **āhwettan**.
hwider, *adv., whither*: 405.
hwīl, *f., while, time*: gs. hwhīle 113; as. 131, 1478. *See* **gryrehwīl**.
hwīlen, *see unwhīlen*.
hwīlum, *adv., at times*: 443, 514.
hwylc, *pron., which, who*: nsm. 411, 1372; nsn. 1228; asm. hhwylcne 132, 785, 1100. *See* **æg-**, **gehwylc**.
hyegan, *W3, think*: 2 pl. hycgað 1612; pret. 2 sg. hogodest 1316; pret. 3 sg. hogode 622. *See* **for-**, **gehyegan**.
hyegende, *see stīð-, wīðerhyegende*.
hýdig, *see gram-, wīðerhýdig*.
hygd, *see ge-, oferhygd*.
hyge, *m., mind, heart*: ns. 36, 231, 578, 1664, 1709, hige 634, 1252, AP. 53; as. hyge AP. 68, hige 971, 1213, 1654.
hygeblind, *adj., spiritually blind*: nsm. AP. 46.
hygeðomor, *adj., sad of mind*: nsm. 1087, 1557.
hygeðanc, *m., thought*: gs. hygeðances 817.
hygeþancol, *adj., thoughtful*: nsm. 341.
hyht, *m. 1. hope, expectation*: ns. 1010, 1114, hiht 287; as. hyht 1052. — **2. joy**: ds. hyhte 239, 637, 874, as. hyht 481; gp. hihta AP. 118.
hyhtlic, *adj., joyful*: sup. nsm. hyhtlicost 104.
hyld, *see gehyld*.
hyldan, *W1, bend, bow*: pret. 3 pl. hyl-don 1027.
hyldu, *f., kindness, favor*: as. hyl-do 389.
hyلمان, *see forhyلمان*.
hynfūs, *adj., ready to die*: np. hynfūse 612.

- hýran**, W1. 1. *hear, listen to*: pret. 1 sg. hýrde 360; pret. 3 sg. hērde 1176; pret. 1 pl. hýrde wē AP. 70; opt. pres. 1 pl. hýran 1167. — 2. *obey, follow*: 2 pl. hýrað 679; pret. 3 pl. hýrdon 612; opt. pres. 1 pl. hýran 1606; inf. 1639, AP. 47. *See gehýran.*
- hyrcnian**, W2, *listen to*: pret. 3 pl. hyrcnodon 654.
- hyrdan**, *see onhyrdan.*
- hyrde**, m., *guard*: ns. 807; np. hyrdas 1083; ap. 993, 1077.
- hyrstan**, *see gehyrstan.*
- hyse**, m., *man, youth*: ds. hysse 550; vs. 595, 811.
- hysebeorðor**, m., *young man*: ds. hysebeorðre 1142.
- hyspan**, W1, *scorn, mock*: inf. 671. [hosp.]
- hýðig**, *see unhýðig.*
- I**
- īacōb**, pr. n., *Jacob, James*: ns. 691, AP. 35, 70; ds. īacōbe 754; as. īacōb 794.
- īe**, pron., *I*: ns. 64, 72, 77, 81, etc.; for genitive, *see mīn*; ds. mē 63, 76, 198, 200, etc.; as. mē 71, 85, 389, 905, etc. np. wē 1, 264, 268, 292, etc.; for genitive, *see ūser*; dp. ūs 276, 288, 292, 342, 514, 1420, 1566, 1567; ap. 265, 269, 273, 330, 434, 596, 852, 862, 1419, 1561, ūsic 286.
- īcan**, W1, *increase*: 2 sg. īcest 1190; inf. ēcan 1384.
- īdel**, adj., *vain*: apm. īdle AP. 84.
- īdes**, f., *woman*: np. idesa 1638.
- īerūsālēm**, pr. n., *Jerusalem*: ds. AP. 70.
- īgland**, n., *island*: as. 15.
- īlea**, pron., *same*: nsm. 751; asf. ilcan 911.
- īn**, prep. w. dat. and acc. 1. *in, on, within, amid, among, at, by* (w. dat.): 51, 52, 69, 78, 121, 163, 169, 231, 281, 304, 356, 562, 573, 597, 707, 719, 854, 868, 927, 948(2), 973, 976, 1004, 1008, 1029, 1043, 1082, 1155, 1187, 1264, 1299, 1309, 1377, 1467, 1482, 1491, 1649, 1672, 1685, 1720, AP. 16, 30, 40, 45, 70, 118. — 2. *into, to, towards* (w. acc.): 41, 111, 117, 217, 349, 656, 911, 929, 939, 951, 982, 1091, 1273, 1308, 1332, 1380, 1463, 1594, 1618, 1619, 1686, 1703.
- īn**, adv., *in, inside*: 362, 990, 1001, 1331, 1588, inn 1058.
- Indēas**, pr. n., *India*: gp. Indēa AP. 51; dp. Indēum AP. 43.
- īnflēde**, adj., *full of water*: asf. 1504.
- īngeþanc**, mn., *thought, reason*: as. 35.
- īnnan**, prep. w. dat., *in, within*: 1235, 1547.
- īnnan**, adv., *within*: 1018, 1241.
- īnnanweard**, adv., *within*: 647.
- īnne**, adv., *within*: 1542.
- īnwit**, n., *guile, deceit*: as. 610.
- īnwitðanc**, m., *evil thought*: as. 670; ip. inwitþancum 559.
- īnwitwrasen**, f., *evil chain*: as. inwitwrasne 63; ip. inwitwrasnum 946.
- īohannes**, pr. n., *John*: ds. īohanne AP. 23.
- īosēph**, pr. n., *Joseph*: ns. 688; gs. īosēphes 691.
- īosua**, pr. n., *Joshua*: ns. Iosua 1516.
- īren**, n., *sword*: as. 1181.
- īrnan**, *see onīrnan.*
- īrtācus**, pr. n., *Irtacus*: ns. AP. 68.
- īs**, n., *ice*: ns. 1261.
- īsaac**, pr. n., *Isaac*: ds. īsāce 753; as. īsaac 793.
- īsrahēl**, pr. n., *Israelite*: gp. Israhēla 880; dp. Israhēlum 165.
- īu**, adv., *once, long ago, formerly*: 438, 489, 661, 1377, 1386.
- īūdēas**, pr. n., *Jews*: gp. īūdēa 166, 560, 1325; dp. īūdēum 12, 966, 1408, AP. 35.
- L**
- L**= *rune* † AP. 102; *for meaning, see Notz.*
- lāc**, f., *gift, offering*: as. IIII. *See beadu-, gelāc.*

- lāca, -lāca**, *see* **āeglāca, gūḍgelaca**.
- lācan**, R, *toss, move rapidly*: 3 pl. lācaḍ 253; ptc. nsm. lācende 437. *See* **forlācan**.
- lācende**, *see* **faroḍlācende**.
- lād**, f., *way, journey*: ns. 423; ds. lāde 276, AP. 92. *See* **ēa-, ge-, lago-, sē-, yōlād**.
- lādan**, W1, *lead, conduct*: pret. 3 pl. lāddon 1459, lāddan 1249; ptc. nsm. lādende 1477; pp. lāded 1307; inf. 174, 337, 777, 1044, 1229, 1272, 1390, 1706. *See* **gelādan**.
- lāf**, *leaving, remnant*: ds. lāfe 1081. *See* **yōlāf**.
- lagoflōd**, m., *water-flood, ocean*: ap. lagoflōdas 244.
- lagolād**, f., *sea-way, ocean*: as. lagoonlāde 314.
- lagu**, m., *sea, flood*: ns. 437, AP. 102 (rune ḥ).
- lagufāsten**, n., *sea*: as. 398, 825.
- lagustrēam**, m., *ocean*: as. 423.
- lāla**, m., *bruise, wound*: as. lālan 1443.
- land**, n. 1. *land, dry land*: ns. 423; ds. lande 398; as. land 378, 404, 827. — 2. *country, province*: ns. AP. 66; ds. lande 294, 1645, 1694; as. 268, 698, 1321, AP. 76; gp. landa 408, 935, 961. — 3. *ground, earth*: ds. lande 1426; np. land 1259. — 4. *land, property, estate*: gs. landes 303. *See* **ēa-, īg-, mearc-, widland**.
- landrest**, f., *tomb*: as. landreste 781.
- landscearu**, f., (*portion of*) *land*: ds. landsceare 501, 1229.
- lāne**, adj., *transitory, fleeting*: npf. lāne AP. 102; apn. lānan AP. 83.
- lang**, adj. 1. *long*: nsm. 420; asf. lange 790. — 2. *eternal*: asm. langne AP. 92. *See* **ge-, niht-, ondlang**.
- lange**, adv., *long, a long time*: 314, 579, 1363; comp. leng 80, 800, 1042, 1364, 1467, 1660.
- langsum**, adj., *long, everlasting*: nsf. 1482; comp. asn. langsumre AP. 20.
- lār**, f. 1. *instruction, wisdom, counsel*: ds. lāre 654; as. 597, 709, 819, 1164, 1424, 1653, 1692, AP. 67; gp. lārna 482; dp. lārum 679, 813, 1290; ip. 141, 611, 777. — 2. *narration, story*: as. lāre 1478.
- lāran**, W1, *instruct, teach*: 2 sg. lārest 1185; pret. 3 sg. lārde 170, 420, 462, 1195, 1297, 1680, AP. 31. *See* **for-, gelāran**.
- lārewide**, m., *doctrine, teaching*: as. 674.
- lārēow**, m., *teacher*: ns. 1321, 1466; as. 404, 1707.
- lārsmiḍ**, m., *teacher*: np. lārsmēoḍas 1220.
- lās**, *see* **ḍy-lās**.
- lāst**, m., *track, trace (on last, laste, behind)*: ds. laste 1596, AP. 94; as. last 1446. *See* **widlāst**.
- lāstan**, W1, *follow, perform*: pret. 3 pl. lāston 674, 1653; inf. 1424. *See* **gelāstan**.
- lāt**, adj., *slow, behindhand*: nsm. AP. 33; nsf. latu 1210; npm. late 46.
- lata**, *see* **hildlata**.
- lātan**, R. 1. *let, allow*: pret. 3 pl. lēton 1099; imper. 2 sg. lāet 397, 957, 960, 1293, 1503; imper. 2 pl. lātaḍ 1180, 1330. — 2. *leave, leave behind*: pret. 3 pl. lēton 831; inf. 781, AP. 94. *See* **ā-, ānfor-, forlātan**.
- latu**, *see* **wordlatu**.
- lāḍ**, n., *injury, harm*: gs. lāḍes 1443; ds. lāḍe 1474; as. lāḍ 1347.
- lāḍ**, adj. 1. *hateful, despised*: asm. lāḍne 1249; npm. lāḍe 408. — 2. *hostile*: gpm. lāḍra 80, 944.
- lāḍspell**, n., *evil tidings*: as. or p. 1079.
- laḍu**, *see* **wordlaḍu**.
- lēafa**, *see* **gelēafa**.
- leahtr**, m. 1. *slander*: ip. leahtrum 1295. — 2. *wound, disease*: ip. lehtrum 1216.
- lēan**, n., *reward*: ns. 948; ds. lēane AP. 62, 74; as. lēan 387, AP. 120. *See* **ed-, sigelēan**.

- lēas**, adj. 1. *deprived of, lacking* (w. gen.): nsm. 1367, 1705. — 2. *false*: apn. *lēasan* AP. 49. See *ār-*, *dōm-*, *ende-*, *ēðel-*, *freoðo-*, *hlāford-*, *hlēo-*, *wār-*, *wlitelēas*.
- lēast**, see *metelēast*.
- lecgan**, see *beleggan*.
- lēg**, see *līg*.
- lege**, see *orlege*.
- leng**, see *lange*.
- lenge**, see *gelenge*.
- lēode**, fpl., *men, people, nation*: n. 1249; g. *lēoda* 268, 663, 1227, 1259, 1363, 1390, 1706; d. *lēodum* 1649; a. 170, 1093, 1321, 1680, AP. 31.
- lēodfruma**, m., *leader of the people*: ns. 1660; as. *lēodfruman* 989.
- lēodhete**, m., *hostility*: ns. 1138; ds. 112, 1149.
- lēodmearc**, f., *boundary, country*: as. *lēodmearce* 286, 777.
- lēodriht**, n., *law*: ds. *lēodrihte* 679.
- lēodsceaða**, m., *public enemy*: gp. *lēodsceaðena* 80.
- lēof**, adj., *dear, beloved*: nsm. 1251, 1579; asm. *lēofne* 404, 825, 944, 989, 1707; npm. *lēofe* 1017, AP. 6; comp. nsm. *lēofra* AP. 49, nsn. *lēofre* 1428; sup. nsm. *lēofast* AP. 26, nsn. *lēofost* 935; vsm. *lēofost* 575, 1352, *lēofesta* 288, 307, 595, 629, 811, 1431.
- lēoflic**, adj., *beloved*: nsm. 1446.
- leofon**, f., *sustenance*: ds. *leofne* 1123.
- lēofwende**, adj., *gracious*: dpf. *lēofwendum* 1290.
- lēogan**, see *gelēogan*.
- lēoht**, n., *light*: ns. 124, 1017, 1611; as. 77, AP. 20, 61. See *heofonlēoht*.
- lēoht**, adj., *light, joyful*: nsm. 1251; gsm. *lēohtes* AP. 66.
- lēohtfruma**, m., *creator of light*: ns. 387; vs. 1413.
- leoma**, see *heofonleoma*.
- lēoran**, W1, *go, depart*: pret. 3 sg. *lēorde* 124; pret. 3 pl. *lēordan* 1042.
- leorning**, f., *study*: ns. 1482.
- lēosan**, see *belēosan*.
- leoð**, see *līð*.
- leoð**, see *fūs-*, *hearmleoð*.
- leoðgidding**, f., *song, poem*: is. *leoðgiddinga* 1479; gp. AP. 97.
- leoðolic**, adj., *corporal*: nsm. 1628.
- leoðubend**, mf., *bond, fetter*: dp. *leoðubendum* 100, 164, 1373, *leoðobendum* 1033, 1564.
- leoðword**, n., *word in a poem*: gp. *leoðworda* 1488.
- lettan**, see *gelettan*.
- libban**, W3, *live*: 3 sg. *leafað* 1288, *lyfað* 541; pret. 3 pl. *lifdon* 129.
- lic**, n., *body*: ns. 1238, 1404; gs. *lices* 229, 1421, 1443, 1474, AP. 102; ds. *lice* 1477, AP. 83; as. *lic* 151, AP. 94.
- llcgan**, 5, *lie*: 3 sg. *ligeð* AP. 104; 3 pl. *licgað* 1426; pret. 3 pl. *lāgon* 1234, 1422, *lāgan* 1083. See *ā-*, *gelicgan*.
- lichoma**, m., *body*: as. *lichoman* 1216, 1466; np. 790.
- licnes**, see *ānlicnes*.
- lid**, n., *ship*: gs. *lides* 403, 1707; as. *lid* 398. See *ȳðlid*.
- lida**, see *sællida*.
- lidweard**, m., *sailor, boat-guard*: ap. *lidweardas* 244.
- lidwērig**, adj., *wearry of seafaring*: dp. *lidwērigum* 482.
- liehtan**, see *onliehtan*.
- līf**, n., *life*: ns. AP. 83; gs. *līfes* 170, 229, 387, 518, 822, 1111, 1123, 1413, 1466, AP. 31; ds. *līfe* 77, 597, 1482, AP. 6; as. *lif* AP. 20, 38, 73.
- līfcæaro**, f., *anxiety concerning life*: ns. 1428.
- līffruma**, m., *Creator*: ds. *līffruma* 562; vs. *līffruma* 1284.
- lifgan**, W3, *live*: ptc. nsm. *lifgende* 378, 459; vsm. 1409.
- lifneru**, f., *nourishment*: ds. *lifnere* 1089.
- lifwela**, m., *riches of life eternal*: ns. AP. 49.

līg, m., *flame, fire*: gs. lēges 1552; is. lige 1541.

lihtan, W1, *become light, dawn*: pret. 3 sg. lihte 1397.

limsēoc, adj., *lame*: np. limsēoče 579.

lind, f., *shield*: ds. linde 46.

lindgecerod, n., *troop armed with shields*: ds. lindgecrode 1220.

lindgelāc, n., *battle*: gs. lindgelāces AP. 76.

lindgestealla, m., *comrade in battle*: vp. lindgesteallan 1344.

linnan, 3, w. inst., *cease, depart from*: inf. 1138. *See bliinnan.*

liss, f. 1. *pleasure, joy*: dp. lissum 825; ip. 868. — 2. *welfare*: ds. lisse 1111.

lið, n., *limb*: np. leoðu 1404; ap. leoðo 781.

liðan, 1, *sail*: inf. 256. *See belīðan.*

liðe, adj., *gentle, agreeable*: nsm. 276; npm. 867; gpm. liðra AP. 92; comp. nsm. liðra 437.

liðend, *see ēa-, heaðo-, mereliðend.*

loc, m., *lock of hair*: ns. 1423, 1472; np. loccas 1426.

loca, *see burg-, ferð-, hearm-, heolstor-, hord-, wordloca.*

lof, n. 1. *praise*: ns. 57, 1451, AP. 6, 120; as. 877, 1006, 1295, 1477, 1479. — 2. *favor, joy*: ds. lofe 868, 989.

loga, *see wārloga.*

lūcan, 2, *close up, confine*: pret. 3 pl. lucon 1259; pp. gpm. locenra 303. *See be-, on-, tōlūcan.*

lufe, f., *love*: ds. lufan 431; as. 164, 1063. *See fyrhðlufe.*

lufian, W2. 1. *love, be pleased with*: opt. pres. 3 sg. lufige AP. 88, 107. — 2. *show favor to*: pret. 3 sg. lufode 597; pret. 3 pl. lufodon 868.

lungre, adv. 1. *suddenly, quickly*: 46, 77, 124, 151, 614, 674, 1042, 1093, 1123, 1138, 1347, 1421, 1628. — 2. *grievously, severely*: 518, 1472.

lust, m. 1. *desire*: ns. 286, 294; ds. luste 1079; as. lust 303. — 2. **on**

luste, *joyful, eager*: ds. 1023, 1140, 1573.

lyfan, *see gelyfan.*

lyft, f., *air*: ds. lyfte 420, 866.

lyftgelāc, n., *motion through the air*: as. 827, 1552.

lȳsan, *see ā-, tōlȳsan.*

lystan, W1, *impers. w. acc. of pers. and gen. of thing, take pleasure in*: 3 sg. lysteð AP. 97. *See oflysted.*

lysu, adj., *false, wicked*: npm. lyswe 1220.

lȳt, n., *few*: as. 271, 476.

lȳt, adv., *little, to a slight degree*: 1227, 1290, 1344.

lȳtel, adj., *small, short*: ipn. lȳtlum 1488. *See unlȳtel.*

M

mā, n., *more*: ns. 492, 662; as. 924, 1178, 1443.

mæcg, m., *man, warrior*: ap. mæcgas 422, 1708; gp. mæcga 772. *See ǫrettmæcg.*

mācraeftig, adj., *very skilful*: vpm. mācraeftige 257; comp. asm. mācraeftigran 472.

mæg, m., *kinsman*: np. māgas 1515. *See cnēomæg.*

māga, m., *man, hero*: ns. 639, 815, 984; vs. 625. *See hēafodmāga.*

magan, PP. 1. *may, can*: 1 sg. mæg 851; 2 sg. miht 340, 595, 811, 860, 1364, 1517, meahht 211; 3 sg. mæg 215, 425; 2 pl. magon 1179, 1558, magan 759; 3 pl. magon 279, 1215; pret. 1 sg. mehte 479; pret. 3 sg. mihte 16, 573, 1129, 1393, meahhte 1323; pret. 3 pl. mihton 132. — 2. *be able*: 1 sg. mæg 190, 933; 2 sg. miht 603, 624, 816, AP. 105; 3 sg. mæg 194, 502, 516, 546, AP. 96; 1 pl. magon 1352, magan 1347; 3 pl. magon 954; pret. 1 sg. mihte 477, meahhte 272, 922; pret. 2 sg. mehte 929; pret. 3 sg. mihte 986, 1543;

- pret. 3 pl. mihton 368, 565, 964, 1147, 1714, meahton 1224, 1231; opt. 1 sg. mæge 303.
- mægen**, n. 1. *power*: ds. mægene 1469, 1676; as. mægen 1214; is. mægene 701, 1433. — 2. *troop, band*: ns. 391, 1571; as. 876. — 3. *deed, miracle*: ap. mægen 625. *See folc-, hand-, heremægen.*
- mægenspēd**, f., *power*: dp. mægen-spēdum 1285.
- magorædend**, m., *counselor of men*: gs. magorædendes 1461.
- mægð**, f., *race, tribe*: ds. mægðe 264, 275; as. 844.
- magu**, *see hēafodmagu.*
- maguðegn**, m., *retainer*: ds. maguðegne 94, magoðegne 1207; as. maguðegn 366; np. maguðegnas 1140, magoðegnas 1515.
- mægwilte**, m., *face, countenance*: ds. mægwilte 1338; as. 856.
- mæl**, *see fyr-, gemæl.*
- mælan**, W1, *speak*: pret. 3 sg. mælde 300, 767.
- mælum**, *see ðræg-, ðūsendmælum.*
- Mambre**, pr. n., *Mamre*: ds. 788.
- mān**, n., *crime, wickedness*: ns. 694, 767; is. māne 1599.
- mānan**, W1, *complain, bemoan*: 3 pl. mānað 1665; pret. 3 pl. mændon 1157, mændan 1548.
- mandræam**, m., *joy of men*: ds. mandræame 37.
- mæne**, adj., *wicked*: gp. mænra 941.
- mānfræa**, m., *prince of evil*: ns. 1313.
- mānful**, adj., *evil, wicked*: npm. mānfulle 180; gpm. mānfulra 42.
- māngeniðla**, m., *evil foe*: np. māngeniðlan 916.
- manig**, adj., *many, many a (one)*: nsm. 1085, 1116, 1225, mænig 1436; nsmn. manig 1549, 1596; dsm. manegum 1120; asn. manig 814; npm. manige 658, 973, 1626; apm. 583; dpm. manegum 960, 1708, AP. 52.
- mann**, m., *man*: ns. 1484, AP. 107; ds. menn AP. 113; as. mann 493, mon 746; np.-menn 594, 814, men 7; gp. manna 262, 486, 517, 544, 637, 908, 1374, AP. 25, monna 1023; dp. mannum 767; ap. menn 246, 676, 895, AP. 24, men 583; vp. menn 257. *See ealdormann.*
- manncynn**, n., *mankind, human being*: gs. manncynnes 357, 1178, 1293, 1465, AP. 29, mancynnes 69, 172, 446, 540, 846; as. mancynn 945, 1502.
- mānslagu**, f., *cruel blow*: ap. mānslaga 1218.
- māra**, *see mycel.*
- mære**, adj., *famous, glorious*: nsn. AP. 121; gsm. mæres 94; dsm. mærum 449, 908; dsf. mæran 40, 287, 973; asm. mærne 366, mæran 227; asf. mære AP. 67; asn. 815, 1338; npm. 7.
- Maria**, pr. n., *Mary*: ns. 688.
- marmanstān**, m., *marble*: vs. 1498. [Lat. *marmor.*]
- mærsian**, *see gemærsian.*
- martyr**, m., *martyr*: gp. martyra 876. [Lat. *martyr.*]
- mærðo**, f., *fame*: ns. AP. 7.
- mæst**, m., *mast*: ds. mæste 465.
- mæst**, *see mycel.*
- mæte**, *see or-, un-mæte.*
- Māthēus**, pr. n., *Matthew*: ns. 11, 40, 122, 1044; gs. AP. 67; as. 941, 1004; vs. 97.
- mæðel**, m., *meeting, council*: ds. meðle 1436, 1626; as. mæðel 1049, 1496.
- mæðelhēgende**, adj., *deliberating, holding council*: gp. meðelhēgendra 262; np. mæðelhēgende 1096, mæðelhēgende 609.
- māðm**, m., *treasure*: ds. māðme 1113; dp. māðmum 309.
- mæw**, m., *sea-gull*: ns. 371.
- mearc**, *see fyrst-, ge-, lēodmearc.*
- mearcian**, *see āmearcian.*
- mearcian**, n., *country*; ns. 19; as. 802,

- mearcpað**, n., *path through the land*: ds. mearcpaðe 1061; ap. mearcpaðu 788.
- mearah**, m., *horse, steed*: dp. mearum 1096. *See* sāmearh.
- mēde**, *see* ge-, wīðermēde.
- mēdum**, *see* ēadmēdum.
- meldigan**, W2, *reveal, betray*: inf. 1170.
- meltan**, *see* formeltan.
- menigo**, f., *multitude*: ns. 449; gs. 177; ds. 1200, 1209; as. 101, 1044, meni-geo 1690.
- meoduserwen**, f., *terror, grief*: ns. 1526.
- meorð**, f., *reward*: ns. 275.
- meotud**, m., *ruler, God, Lord*: ns. 172, 357, 386, 446, 789, 1207, 1513, 1602; gs. meotudes 140, 517, 681, 694, 724, 881, 1498, 1632; ds. meotide 924, 984, 1469; vs. meotud 69, 902, 1289.
- meotudwang**, m., *field of fate, battle-field*: ds. meotudwange 11.
- mere**, m., *sea*: ns. 465; gs. meres 221; ds. mere 491; as. 283. *See* hwælmere.
- merebāt**, m., *vessel*: ds. merebāte 246.
- merefaroð**, m., *sea journey*; ds. merefaroðe 289, 351.
- mereflōd**, m., *flood of water*: ns. 1526.
- mereliðend**, m., *sailor*: dp. mereliðendum 353.
- merestrēam**, m., *ocean-stream*: gp. merestrēama 309, 454.
- meredyssa**, m., *ship*: ds. merebyssan 446, merebissan 257.
- Mermedonia**, pr. n. 1. *Mermedonia*: as. 42, 180. — 2. *Mermedonian*: gp. Marmedonia 264, 844, 1676.
- met**, *see* gemet.
- mētan**, W1, *meet, find*: pret. 1 sg. mētte 471, 553. *See* gemētan.
- mete**, m., *food*: gs. metes 1113; as. mete 366.
- metelēast**, f., *lack of food, famine*: ds. metelēaste 39; as. 1157.
- meteðearfende**, adj., *lacking food*: dp. meteðearfendum 27, 136.
- mēðe**, adj., *wearry*: np. 1157; ap. 39, 465.
- mēðel**, *see* mæðel.
- mēðelstede**, m., *place of meeting, council-place*: ds. mēðelstede 658, 697.
- mēðlan**, W1, *speak*: inf. 1440.
- micel**, *see* mycel.
- mid**, prep. 1. *with (accompaniment)*: w. dat. 114, 209, 249, 292, 681, 779, 1049, 1053, 1674; w. acc. 379, 626, 914. — 2. *by, in, by means of (manner)*: w. dat. 51, 54, 265, 319, 347, 521, 809, 825, 866, 989, 1021, 1048, 1057, 1075, 1153, 1220, 1401, 1486, 1559; w. inst. 1594. — 3. *among*: w. dat. 12, 85, 184, 599; 615, 685, 718, 758, 966, 1408, 1644, 1646, 1722, AP. 35, 38, 64; w. inst. 1643. — 4. *at*: w. dat. 220, 235, 1388, 1525. — 5. *in presence of*: w. acc. AP. 74. — 6. *postpositive, with*: 99, 101, 945, 1218.
- mid**, adv., *together, at the same time*: 237, 878, 1638.
- middangeard**, m., *earth*: gs. middangeardes 82, 227; as. middangeard 161, 224, 345, 701, 1323, 1372, 1434, 1502, 1718, AP. 7.
- mlht**, f., *power, might*: ns. 1434, 1718, AP. 7, 121; as. 486, 525, 574, 585, 642, 1336, 1476, AP. 56; is. mihte 939; ap. mihte 694; ip. mihtum 104, 162, 328, 536, 697, 785, 1207, 1513.
- mlhtig**, adj., *mighty*: nsm. 662, 786, 1372, 1496. *See* ælmlhtig.
- milde**, adj., *gracious, kind*: nsm. 902.
- mildheort**, adj., *kindly disposed*: nsm. 1285.
- milts**, f., *favor, mercy*: ns. 908; gs. mildse 140; ds. 1674; as. 289; gp. miltsa 353, 449; ip. miltsum 544.
- mīn**, pron., *my*: nsm. 634, 1425; nsn. 1289; gsf. mīnre 1433; dsf. 968, 1674; asm. mīnne 975, 1281, 1416, 1440, 1670; asf. mīne 97, 224, 1215,

- 1374; asn. mīn 1214, 1481; vsm. 73, 190, 1284, 1453; isn. mīne 1626, AP. 25; npm. mīne 391, 1368; npn. mīn 734; gpm. mīnra 934; gpn. 924; dpn. mīnum 1328; vpm. mīne 1343.
- mīree**, adj., *dark, evil*: apf. 1218.
- misgehygd**, n., *evil thought*: ns. 772.
- missenlic**, adj., *various*: npm. missenlice 583.
- mīðan**, 1, *conceal*: imper. 2 sg. mīð 1209. *See* bemīðan.
- mōd**, n. 1. *mind, heart*: ns. 351, 637, 771, 1667, AP. 52; gs. mōdes 143, 287, 1690; ds. mōde 66, 99, 422, 448, 639, 746, 1017, 1251, 1583; as. mōd 69, 82.—2. *courage*: ds. mōde 625, 984; as. mōd 1393, 1461.—3. *þæt æðele mōd = he* 1242; *ūre mōd = we* 454; *hīra mōd = they* 140. *See* ācol-, bolgen-, dēor-, ēað-, gealg-, gēomor-, glæd-, glēaw-, rēonlg-, stīð-, wērlgmōd.
- mōðblind**, adj., *spiritually blind*: npm. mōðblinde 814.
- mōðgemynd**, n., *intelligence, information*: as. 688.
- mōðgēomor**, adj., *sad of heart*: npm. mōðgēomre 1113; apm. 1708.
- mōðgeðyldig**, adj., *patient*: nsm. mōðgebyldig 981.
- mōðhord**, m., *mind, thought*: ás. 172.
- mōðig**, adj., *brave*: nsm. 241, 1676, modiga 1632; npm. mōðige 802, 1096, 1140, 1515, mōðigan 1049; gpm. mōðigra 395, 1571. *See* tilmōðig.
- mōðiglic**, adj., *brave*: apm. mōðiglice 246.
- mōðrōf**, adj., *brave, bold*: nsm. 1496.
- mōðsefa**, m., *mind, heart*: ns. 892; ds. mōðsefan 554; as. 1209.
- mōður**, f., *mother*: ns. 687.
- molde**, f., *earth*: ds. moldan 594, 1289, 1484.
- modern**, n., *dwelling in the earth*, *gr.vee*: as. 802.
- morgen**, m., *morning*: ds. morgene 221.
- morgentorht**, adj., *gleaming in the morning*: nsf. 241.
- morðor**, mn. 1. *murder*: gs. morðores 1140.—2. *crime, wickedness*: gs. morðores 975, 1313, morþres 1170; is. morðre 19, 772.
- morðorcofa**, m., *prison*: ds. morðorcofan 1004.
- morðorcraeft**, m., *crime, murder*: ip. morðorcraeftum 177.
- morðorscyldig**, adj., *guilty of crime*: npm. morðorscyldige 1599.
- mōs**, n., *food*: ds. mōse 27, 136.
- mōt**, *see* gemōt.
- mōtan**, anv. 1. *may, be able*: 2 sg. mōst 105, 115; 1 pl. mōtan AP. 117; 3 pl. mōton 228, 598, 886, 916, 1215, AP. 99, mōtan 109, 1444; pret. 3 pl. mōston 1012; opt. pres. 1 sg. mōte 1416.
- Moyses**, pr. n. *Moses*: ds. Moyse 1513.
- munan**, *see* ge-, onmunan.
- mund**, f., *hand*: ip. mundum 491, 750.
- mundbyrd**, f., *protection*: gs. mundbyrde 1433; as. mundbyrd 724, 1632.
- murnan**, W1, *mourn, grieve*: pret. 3 pl. murndan 37; imper. 2 sg. murn 99; ptc. nsn. murnende 1667. *See* bemurnan.
- mūð**, m., *mouth*: as. 651, 1300, 1440.
- mycel**, n., *much, many things*: ns. 1481; gs. mycles 895.
- mycel**, adj. 1. *much, great*: nsm. micel 41, mycel 287; nsf. micel 158, mycel 1166, 1605, 1690; nsn. mycel AP. 121; dsm. wk. miclan 1436; isn. micle 707, 1204; comp. nsf. märe 1522; asf. mاران 554; sup. w. gp. ns. mæst AP. 118; as. 1198, 1445; is. mæste 1501.—2. *long*: nsf. micel 107, mycel 422; asn. mycel 815.
- mycle**, adv., *much, greatly*: 1428, 1518, 1563.
- myclian**, W2, *increase*: pret. 3 sg. myclade 1526; pret. 3 pl. mycladon 1553.

myclum, adv., *greatly*: 395, 892, mic-
lum 122.

myltan, *see gemyltan*.

-mynd, *see ge-, wyrðmynd*.

myndig, *see gemyndig*.

myne, m., *desire, purpose*: ns. 1537.

mynnan, W1, *direct, lead*: 3 sg. myneð
294.

myrce, adv., *darkly, evilly*: 1313.

myrran, *see gemyrran*.

N

N = *rune* † AP. 104; *for meaning, see Notes*.

nabban, W3, *lack, not have*: 1 sg.
næbbe 301; 2 sg. nafast 311.

naca, m., *ship*: ns. 266; gs. nacan
291.

næfre, adv., *never*: 459, 471, 1286,
1382, 1401, 1693.

nālas, adv., *no, not at all*: 46, 233, 506,
605, 1042, 1591.

nama, m., *name*: ns. 542, 1322, AP.
57; as. naman 975, 1670.

nænig, pron., *none, not any*: nsm. 544,
986; asm. nænigne 570, 1037.

næs, *see wesan*.

næss, m., *cliff, headland*: ds. næsse
1710; as. næs 1305.

nāt, *see wltan*.

ne, adv., *not*: 16, 37, 85, 98, etc.

nē, conj., *nor, neither*: 22, 99, 199, 200,
etc.

nēadcofa, m., *prison*: ds. nēadcofan
1309. *See nēd*.

nēah, prep. w. dat., *near, near to*: 359,
1062, nēh 821, 833, 991, 1252.

nēah, adv., *near*: 638, nēh 542.

nearonēd, f., *oppression, bondage*: dp.
nearonēdum 102.

nearowe, adv., *diligently, earnestly*:
AP. 104.

nearu, f., *oppression, cruelty*: as. 414.

nearu, adj., *cruel, severe*: asf. nearwe
AP. 13.

nēat, n., *beast, cattle*: np. 67.

nēd, f. 1. *desire, necessity*: ns. nēod
158; ds. nēde 115. — 2. *hardship,
suffering*: dp. nēdum 1377. — 3.
rune †; *for meaning, see note to AP.*
104. *See nearo-*, ðrēanēd.

nēh, *see nēah*.

nemnan, W1, *name, call*: pret. 3 pl.
nemdon 1193; pp. nemned 720, 1651;
inf. 1176.

nemne, conj., *besides, except*: 664.

nemðe, conj., *unless*: nemþe AP. 114.

nēod, *see nēd*.

nēon, adv., *nearly, greatly*: 1176.

neorxnawang, m., *paradise*: ns. 102.

nēosan, W1, w. gen. 1. *visit, come to*:
inf. 310, 830, 1025, 1389, AP. 110. —
2. *inquire for, seek for*: 3 pl. neosað
AP. 103; inf. 484.

nēotan, 1, w. gen., *enjoy*: inf. 810. *See*
benōtan.

nergend, m., *Savior*: ns. neregend 291,
1377; vs. nergend 549, 921, nerigend
1286.

nerlan, *see generlan*.

Nērōn, pr. n., *Nero*: gs. Nērōnes AP.
13.

neru, *see lifneru*.

nesan, 5, *survive*: opt. pres. 1 pl. nesan
515.

net, *see searonet*.

nēðan, *see genēðan*.

nifol (nēol), adj., *precipitous, steep,
deep*: asm. niflan 1305.

niht, f. 1. *night*: ns. 1305; ds. 1462;
as. 1254, 1265. — 2. *day (i.e. 24
hours)*: np. 185; gp. nihta 930, 1673;
dp. nihtum 148.

nihtes, adv., *by night*: AP. 104.

nihtgerimes, adv., *counting by nights
(i.e. days)*: 115, 158.

nihthelm, m., *cover of night*: ns.
123.

nihtlang, adj., *throughout the night*:
asm. nihtlangne 834, 1309.

nilman, 4, *take, carry off*: pp. numen
1340. *See forniman*.

nīowīnga, adv., *anew*: 1394. See **ednīwīnga**.

nīs, see **wesan**.

nīð, m., *man*: gp. nīða 1377.

nīð, m., *hostility, hate*: ns. 768, 1303, 1394; ds. nīðe 1037.

nīðhete, m., *enemy*: dp. nīðhetum 834.

nīðla, see **genīðla**.

nīðplega, m., *battle*: ds. nīðplegan 414.

nīwe, adj. 1. *fresh, renewed*: isf. nīwan 123, 1303. — 2. *new, recent*: asm. nīowan 1670. See **ednīwe**.

nīwlan, see **genīwlan**.

nō, adv., *no, not at all*: 3, 562, 926, 1265, 1443, 1704.

nū, adv., *now*: 66, 185, 283, 332, 340, 391, 397, 595, 614, 648, 678, 729, 759, 811, 897, 902, 904, 932, 936, 950, 1023, 1165, 1166, 1179, 1197, 1281, 1293, 1320, 1328, 1364, 1414, 1425, 1441, 1478, 1503, 1504, 1517, 1558, 1602, 1605, AP. 73, 88, 105, 120.

nū, conj., *now that, since*: 317, 485, 1301: correl. nū . . . nū 644-648.

nū gēna, adv., *still, further*: 422, 475.

nū gŷt, adv., *still, further*: 814. See **gīt**.

nū þā, adv., *now*: 489, in phrase *īu ond nū þā*.

nyston, nyton, see **witan**.

O

of, prep. w. dat. 1. *from, out of*: 57, 89, 100, 112, 115, 117, 168, 195, 243, 264, 278, 291, 396, 444, 555, 583, 587, 589, 590, 732, 736, 757, 774, 780, 794, 795, 944, 968, 1033, 1133, 1144, 1149, 1150, 1177, 1373, 1385, 1399, 1409, 1423, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1503, 1544, 1564, 1624, 1664, AP. 56, 112.

ofer, prep. w. acc. 1. *over, upon, throughout*: 7, 87, 190, 198, 201, 223, 224, 236, 242, 244, 247, 252, 259, 274, 283, 293, 298, 306, 310, 336, 345, 348, 352, 367, 368, 383, 390, 398, 421, 423, 439, 445, 495, 499, 513, 602, 701, 788,

823, 825, 838, 853, 863, 906, 932, 970, 1104, 1173, 1229, 1261, 1300, 1323, 1372, 1434, 1524, 1714, 1718, 1719, AP. 7, 122. — 2. *among*: 543, AP. 15. — 3. *contrary to*: 517, 1215, 1374. — 4. *beyond, above*: 676, 895, 1481.

ofer, m., *shore*: ds. ofre 1712.

oferbregdan, 3, *cover, protect*: pret. 3 sg. oferbrægd 1541, oferbræd 1306.

oferēode, anv., *come upon, overpower*: pret. 3 sg. 464, 820, 826, 862.

oferhygd, fn., *pride*: dp. oferhygdum 319; ip. oferhigdum 1318.

oferstīgan, 1, *rise above*: pret. 3 sg. oferstīg 1574.

ofgīfan, 5, *depart from, give up*: pret. 3 pl. ofgēfon AP. 12; inf. 1655.

oflysted, part. adj. w. gen., *desirous*: 1112, 1226.

ofost, f., *haste*: ns. 1565.

ofostlice, adv., *quickly*: 1625, ofstlice 299, 792.

ofslæpan, W1, *sleep*: ptc. dpm. ofslæpendum 865.

oft, adv., *often*: 17, 140, 164, 442, 511, 618, 626, 652.

ombehtðegn, m., *servant*: np. ombehtbegnas 1534.

on, prep. A. w. dat. 1. *on, upon, in, within*: 10, 11, 18, 22, 36, 58, 65, 66, 98, 99, 102, 130, 137, 179, 180, 185, 206, 212, 237, 238, 239, 240, 246, 254, 255, 257, 263, 266, 276, 289, 305, 311, 316, 351, 358, 382, 400, 408, 413, 422, 432, 438, 446, 448, 450, 460, 470, 481, 490, 498, 501, 504, 507, 511, 514, 515, 554, 582, 594, 604, 616, 620, 626, 634, 637, 639, 640, 644, 650, 672, 684, 689, 699, 705, 714, 720, 726, 730, 734, 737, 769, 774, 821, 832, 847, 849, 864, 866, 873, 874, 893, 898, 900, 903, 905, 923, 960, 972, 985, 988, 998, 1017, 1021, 1024, 1073, 1084, 1087, 1096, 1140, 1142, 1146, 1165, 1180, 1214, 1226, 1241, 1251, 1265, 1289, 1327, 1338, 1339, 1386, 1422, 1427, 1452, 1453, 1477, 1484,

- 1485, 1509, 1512, 1531, 1560, 1570, 1573, 1583, 1596, 1615, 1626, 1645, 1652, 1662, 1670, 1671, 1694, 1699, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1716, 1721, AP. 2, 6, 19, 27, 40, 87, 92, 94, 99, 101, 104, 106. — 2. *in, at, during*: 1, 77, 752, 788, 1106, 1407, 1436, 1462, AP. 11, 98. — 3. *according to, by*: 134 (2), 489, 1696. — B. w. inst., *in, by*: 970. — C. w. acc. 1. *to, into*: 86, 207, 286, 430, 588, 777, 824, 827, 935, 1034, 1045, 1050, 1058, 1110, 1191, 1317, 1340, 1385, 1417, AP. 51, 116. — 2. *upon, in*: 15, 191, 222, 250, 252, 253, 284, 337, 379, 429, 444, 500, 504, 715, 830, 852, 899, 928, 1046, 1446, 1502, 1506. — 3. *by, according to*: 120, 170, 324, 339, 700, 1622, 1680. — 4. *at*: 214, 235, 1160, 1388.
- on**, adv., *on, upon*: 1199, 1334.
- onblandan**, R, *mix, mingle*: pp. onblondan 675.
- onbryrdan**, 1, *excite, stir up*: pp. onbryrðed 122, 1118.
- oncnāwan**, R. 1. *recognize, perceive*: 1 sg. oncnāwe 644; pret. 1 sg. oncnēow 855; pret. 3 sg. 529, 672, 843; pret. 1 pl. oncnēowon 875; pret. 3 pl. 1337; opt. pres. 3 pl. oncnāwan 1214; pp. oncnāwen 527; inf. 566. — 2. *know*: 2 sg. oncnāwest 631; pret. 3 pl. oncnēowan 764. — 3. *address, approach*: opt. pres. 3 sg. oncnāwe 322.
- onnewēðan**, 5, *answer, respond*: pret. 3 sg. oncwæð 270, 396, 442, 555, 1346, 1429.
- oncyrran**, W1. 1. *change, pervert*: pp. oncyrred 36; inf. 1461. — 2. *intrans., turn, turn away*: pret. 3 sg. oncyrde 466.
- oncyðdæd**, f., *injury*: ap. oncyðdæda 1179.
- oncyðlg**, adj., *revealed*: nsm. AP. 106.
- ond**, conj., *and*: 945, 1001, 1039, 1203, 1307, 1395, 1400, 1719; all other occurrences are represented in the MS. by the abbreviation.
- ondgite**, f., *understanding, comprehension*: as. ondgitan 1521.
- ondlang**, adj., *livelong, entire*: asm. ondlange 818, 1274; asf. ondlange 1254.
- ondsæc**, n., *opposition*: as. 927.
- ondsaca**, m., *foe, opponent*: np. ondsacan 1148, 1459.
- ondswarian**, W2, *answer*: pret. 3 sg. ondswarode 260, 277, 290, 343, 510, 623, ondswarude 202, andswarode 925; opt. pres. 2 sg. ondsware 319.
- ondswaru**, f., *answer*: as. ondsware 285, 315, 401, 508, 617, 628, 643, 1184, 1345, 1375, andsware 189, 572.
- ondswerian**, W2, *answer*: pret. 3 pl. ondsweorodon 857.
- ondwist**, f., *support, station*: as. 1540.
- onfeng**, m., *attack*: ds. onfenge 1339.
- onfindan**, 3, *discover*: 3 pl. onfindaþ 181.
- onfōn**, R, w. dat., *receive, seize*: pret. 3 sg. onfēng 1528; pret. 3 pl. onfēngon 1122, 1630; opt. pret. 3 sg. onfēnge 53; inf. 782, 1640.
- onginn**, n., *action, behavior*: ns. 888, ongin 466, 741.
- onginnan**, 3, *begin, commence*: 1 sg. onginne 1440; pret. 3 sg. ongan 12, 427, 449, 469, 669, 1019, 1170, 1315, 1341, 1398, 1698, ongann 352, 849, 1126, 1266, 1555, 1607; pret. 3 pl. ongunnon 763; opt. pret. 2 sg. ongunne 1419.
- ongitan**, 5. 1. *perceive*: pret. 3 pl. ongēton 534; pp. ongiten 785, 897; inf. 861, 901, 922, 986. — 2. *hear, take heed*: imper. 2 sg. ongit 936.
- ongyldan**, 3, w. gen., *yield, give up*: inf. 1101.
- onhlīdan**, 1. 1. *open*: pp. onhliden 1077. — 2. *appear*: pret. 3 sg. onhlād 1269.
- onhrēran**, W1, *stir up*: pp. onhrēred 370, 393, 1302, 1394.

- onhyrdan**, W1, *encourage*: pp. onhyr-
ded AP. 53.
- onlrnan**, 3, *yield, burst open*: pret. 3
sg. onarn 999.
- onlic**, adj., *similar, like*: npm. onlice
251.
- onlicnes**, *see* **anlicnes**.
- onlichtan**, W1, *enlighten*: pp. onlichted
AP. 52.
- onlūcan**, 2, *open, unlock*: pret. 3 sg.
onlēac 172, 316, 601.
- onmōd**, adj., *resolute*: nsm. 54; npm.
anmōde 1638.
- onmunan**, PP, w. gen. and acc., *deem
worthy*: inf. 895.
- onsendan**, W1, 1. *send*: 1 sg. onsende
110; pret. 3 sg. 1604; opt. pres. 2
sg. 1508. — 2. *dismiss, give up*: pret.
3 sg. onsende 1327; inf. 187.
- onspannan**, R, *reveal, disclose*: pret.
3 sg. onspēonn 470, onspēon 671.
- onspringan**, 3, *rise, spring up*: pret.
3 sg. onsprang 1635.
- onstellan**, W1, *set*: inf. 971.
- onsund**, adj., *uninjured, sound*: np.
onsunde 1012; ap. 1623.
- onsyn**, f., *sight, face*: as. onsȳne 721,
1499.
- onsȳne**, adj., *visible*: nsm. 910.
- ontȳnan**, W1, *disclose*: pp. ontȳned
105, 1612.
- onwacan**, 6, 1. *awake*: pret. 3 sg.
onwōc 839, AP. 65. — 2. *originate*:
pret. 3 pl. onwōcon 683.
- onwadan**, 6, w. dat., *enter, penetrate*:
pret. 3 sg. onwōd 140.
- onwendan**, W1, *pervert*: pret. 3 sg.
onwende 35.
- onwindan**, 3, *return, retreat*: pret. 3 sg.
onwand 531.
- open**, adj. 1. *open*: asn. 803; npf.
opene 1076. — 2. *known, manifest*:
nsf. open 759.
- openian**, *see* **geopenian**.
- ōr**, n. 1. *beginning*: ns. 1382, AP. 65; as.
oor 649. — 2. *front, van*: ds. ōre 1106.
- orcnāwe**, adj., *manifest*: nsn. 770.
- ord**, m. 1. *point, spear*: as. 1330; ip.
ordum 32, 1205. — 2. *beginning*: ds.
orde 1483, 1535.
- ordfruma**, m., *prince, chief, Lord*: ns.
146, AP. 28; ds. ordfruman 683.
- ōretta**, m., *warrior*: ns. 879, 983, ōreta
463.
- ōrettmæg**, m., *warrior*: np. ōrett-
mæcgas 664.
- orfeorme**, adj. w. inst., *destitute, lack-
ing*: npm. 406, 1617.
- orgete**, adj., *manifest*: nsf. 759, 1569;
nsn. 526; asn. 851.
- orhlytte**, adj. w. gen., *devoid of*: npm.
680.
- orlege**, n., *strife, battle*: ns. 1302; ds.
47, 1146, 1205.
- ormæte**, adj., *very great, excessive*: nsf.
1166.
- orwēna**, adj. w. gen., *hopeless*: nsm.
1107.
- oð**, prep. w. acc., *to, up to*: 1575.
- ōðer**, pron., *other, another*: dsm. ōðrum
1051; dsf. ōðerre 443; dsn. ōðrum
138; asm. ōðerne 1015, 1163; asn.
ōðer 656; isf. ōðre 706, 1675, 1700,
ōþre 808; npm. ōþere 689; gp. ōðerra
704; dp. ōðrum 1100; ap. ōðre AP. 51.
- oððæt**, conj., *until*: 464, 820, 826, 1061,
1245, 1268, 1456, oððæt 268, 835,
1247, oþðæt 1574, oþðæt 1304.
- oððe**, conj., *or*: 334, 546, 638, 745.
- oððeodan**, W1, *dismember, separate*:
pp. oððeoded 1421.
- oðwitan**, 1, *taunt, reproach*: opt. pres.
1 pl. oðwitan 1358.
- oðȳwan**, W1, *reveal*: pp. oðȳwed 911.
- ōwiht**, pron., *used adverbially, at all*:
is. ōwihte 800.

P

pæð, *see* **mearc-**, **seolhpæð**.

Paulus, pr. n., *Paul*: ns. AP. 14.

Persēas, pr. n. pl., *Persians*: gp.
Persēa AP. 76.

Petrus, pr. n., *Peter*: ns. AP. 14.
Phillipus, pr. n., *Philip*: ns. AP. 37.
Plātan, pr. n., *Platan*: as. Plātan 1651.
plega, see **gūð-**, **nīð-**, **secgplega**.
plegian, W2, *play, move about quickly*:
 pret. 3 sg. **plegode** 370.

R

ræced, n., *hall, building*: as. 1308.

See **hēah-**, **hlin-**, **wīnræced**.

racian, W2, w. dat., *rule*: inf. 521.

racu, see **strēamracu**.

rād, see **brim-**, **hran-**, **swanrād**.

ræd, m. 1. *command, order*: as. 936;

dp. **rædum** 1498. — 2. *counsel, plan*

of action: as. **ræd** 1088; dp. **rædum**

469. — 3. *rule, authority*: ns. **ræd**

1645. See **an-**, **feorh-**, **folcraed**.

rædan, see **berædan**.

-ræden, see **camp-**, **frum-**, **gaful-**
ræden.

rædend, m., *ruler*: ns. 816; np. 627.

See **mago-**, **selerædend**.

rædsnottor, adj., *wise in council*: comp.

asm. **rædsnotterran** 473.

ræfnan, see **āræfnan**.

ræran, see **āræran**.

ræs, see **dēað-**, **gūð-**, **sweordræs**.

ræsan, W1, *rush*: pret. 3 pl. **ræsdon**
 1334.

ræsboran, m., *leader, chief*: ds. **ræs-**
boran 385; np. 139.

ræswa, m., *prince, ruler*: ns. 1086;

ds. **ræswan** 1622; np. 692; dp. **ræs-**
wum 619.

rēaf, see **wælreaf**.

rēafian, see **berēafian**.

recean, W1, *set forth, narrate*: imp.

2 sg. **rece** 419; inf. 1489, AP. 11, 24.

See **āreccan**.

recen, adj., *awful*: npn. **recene** 1511.

rēodan, 2, *stain, redder*: pret. 2 pl. **ru-**
don 1003.

rēofan, see **berēofan**.

rēonigmōd, adj., *sad*: npn. **rēonig-**
mōde 592.

reord, f., *speech*: is. **reorde** 60, 1108.

reordberend, m., *man*: ap. 419.

reordig, see **ellreordig**.

reordigan, W2, *speak*: 3 sg. **reordah**

1301; pret. 3 sg. **reordode** 364, **reor-**
dade 255, 415, 602; inf. 469. See

gereordian.

rēotan, 2, *weep, lament*: inf. 1712.

rēow, adj., *rough, fierce*: nsm. **rēow**

1116; npn. **rēowe** 1334. See **dēað-**,

wælreow.

rest, f., *rest*: is. **reste** 592. See **land-**
rest.

restan, W1, *rest, become quiet*: inf.
 1576.

rētan, W1, *comfort, cheer*: inf. 1608.

[**rōt.**]

rēðe, adj., *fierce*: npm. 139.

rice, n., *realm, kingdom*: gs. **rices**

807, 1326, 1683. See **ēðel-**, **heofon-**
rice.

rice, adj., *powerful*: nsm. 364, 415;

dsm. **ricum** 385.

ricene, adv., *straightway, quickly*: 807,
 AP. 39.

rieslan, W2, *hold sway, prevail*: pret.

3 sg. **ricsode** 1116.

rīdende, see **faroðrīdende**.

riht, n., *right, equity, justice*: ns. 1645;

gs. **rihtes** 139; ds. **rihte** 521; as.

riht 120, 324, 700. See **lēod-**, **unriht**.

riht, adj., *just, equitable*: asf. **ryhte**

1511.

rīm, n., *number*: ds. **rīme** 1696; as.

rīm 546; is. **rīme** 1035. See **unrīm**,

nihhtgerīmes.

rīmcraeft, m., *computation, figures*: ds.

rīmcraefte 134.

rīnc, m., *man, warrior*: ns. 1116; np.

rīncas 9; gp. **rīnc** 967; dp. **rīncum**

AP. 11; vp. **rīncas** 1343. See **gūð-**
rīnc.

rīsan, see **ārīsan**.

-rīss, see **cnēorīss**.

rōd, f., *cross*: ns. 967; gs. **rōde** AP.

39; ds. 1326; as. 1337.

rodor, m., *sky, heaven*: as. 521; gp. rodera 627, 816.

rōf, adj., *bold, brave*: nsm. 984, 1469, 1676; npm. rōfe 9; dpm. rōfum 1343; comp. asm. rōfran 473; vsm. rōf 625. *See* beadu-, cyne-, ellen-, hete-, hige-, mōd-, sigerōf.

Rōmeburg, pr. n., *Rome*: ds. Rōmebyrig AP. II.

rond, m., *shield*: ns. 9, 412.

rōwend, m., *sailor*: as. 473.

rūn, f. 1. *writing*: ds. rūne 134. — 2. *secret discussion*: ds. rūne 1161; as. 627.

ryht, adj., *see* riht.

-ryhte, *see* bīryhte.

rýman, *see* gerýman.

rýne, *see* ge-, gästgerýne.

rýnig, *see* wīdrýnig.

S

sæ, m., *sea*: ns. 453; gs. sæs 236, 1658; ds. sæwe 515; as. sæ 247.

sæbāt, m., *ship*: ds. sæbāte 438, 490.

sæbeorg, m., *sea-hill*: ap. sæbeorgas 308.

sæc, f., *conflict, struggle*: ds. sæcæ AP. 59; as. 1132. *See* ondsæc.

-saca, *see* ondsaca.

sæcerd, m., *priest*: dp. sæcerdum AP. 71; ap. sæcerdas 742. [Lat. *sacerdos*.] *See* ealdorsæcerd.

sæflota, m., *ship*: ds. sæflotan 381.

sægen, *see* fyrensægen.

sægl, *see* segl.

sæhengest, m., *sea-steed, ship*: ds. sæhengeste 488.

sæholm, m., *sea*: ns. 529.

sæl, n., *hall*: as. sel 762; ap. salu 1673. *See* bæag-, hornsæl.

sæll, mf., *time, occasion*: ns. 1165.

sællād, f., *voyage*: ds. sællāde 511.

sælan, W1, impers., *befall, chance*: pres. opt. 3 sg. sæle 1355. *See* gesælan.

sællida, m., *sailor*: as. sællidan 471; as. sæleodan 500.

sællig, *see* un-, wansællig.

salt, *see* sealt.

sælwāg, m., *wall of the hall*: ds. sælwāge 1493.

sæmearh, m., *sea-steed, ship*: ns. 267.

samnlan, W2, *assemble, gather together*, *collect*: pret. 1 sg. samnode AP. 2; pret. 3 sg. samnade 125; pret. 3 pl. samnodan 1124. *See* gesamnlan.

samod, adv., *together, in company*: 1666, AP. 78.

sandhlō, n., *sand-hill*: ap. sandhleodū 236.

sæne, adj., *dilatory, slow*: nsm. 204, 211, AP. 34; npm. AP. 75.

sang, m. 1. *singing*: ns. 869. — 2. *song, poem*: as. AP. I.

sār, n., *pain*: ns. 1246; gs. sāres 1243; ds. säre 1453; is. 1396, 1404; as. sār 956, 1468.

sār, adj., *painful*: nsn. 1689; asf. säre 1368.

sārbenn, f., *wound*: ip. sārbennum 1239.

sārewide, m., *offensive, hostile speech*: as. 320, 965.

sārig, adj., *sorrowful*: isf. sārgan 60.

sārslege, m., *painful blow*: ip. sārslegum 1275.

sæstrēam, m., *water of the ocean*: ap. sæstrēamas 196, 749.

Sātān, pr. n., *Satan*: ds. Sātāne 1689; as. Sātān 1193.

sæwērig, adj., *weary of voyaging*: apm. sæwērige 826, 862.

sāwul, f., *soul, life*: ns. sāwle AP. 62; as. 151, 433, 865; np. sāwla 228; gp. 549, 921, 1417.

sāwulgedāl, n., *death*: as. 1701.

scæd, n., *shadow*: np. sceadu 836.

sceacan, 6, *move quickly, depart*: pret. 3 pl. scēocan 1139; inf. 1594.

scealc, m., *servant*: dp. scealcum 512.

sceapen, *see* earnsceapen.

scearu, *see* folc-, landscearu.

scēat, m., *region, quarter (of the earth)*: ap. scēattas 332.

- sceatt**, m., *money, payment*: ap. *sceatas* 297.
- sceaða**, m., *enemy*: gs. *sceaðan* 1133, 1291. *See* *fole-*, *fyrn-*, *læod-*, *ðeod-sceaða*.
- scēawlan**, W2, *behold*: pret. 3 sg. *scēawode* 839.
- scēnan**, *see* *gescēnan*.
- scēor**, m., *shower, storm*: ns. 512. *See* *hægelseūr*.
- scēoran**, 4, *cut*: inf. 1181.
- scerp**, adj., *sharp*: nsf. 1133.
- scerwen**, *see* *meoduscerwen*.
- sceððan**, 6, *injure*: 3 sg. *scyðeð* 1561; inf. 1147, *scyððan* 1047. *See* *gescceððan*.
- scīnan**, 1, *shine*: 3 sg. *scīneð* 1720; inf. 836. *See* *ymbscīnan*.
- scingelāc**, n., *magic*: dp. *scingelācum* 766.
- scīp**, n., *ship*: as. 240; ip. *scipum* 512. *See* *hornscīp*.
- scīpfērend**, m., *sailor*: dp. *scīpfērendum* 250.
- scīppend**, *see* *scyppend*.
- scīpweard**, m., *guardian of the ship*: np. *scīpweardas* 297.
- scīre**, adv., *brightly*: 836.
- scīrpla**, *see* *gescīrpla*.
- scræf**, *see* *dūn-*, *eorðscræf*.
- scrīd**, adj., *rapid*: nsm. 496.
- scrīfan**, *see* *gescrīfan*.
- scrīðan**, 1, *speed, glide*: inf. 1457.
- scua**, *see* *dimscua*, *heolstor-*, *hlīn-scuwa*.
- scūfan**, *see* *bescūfan*.
- sculan**, anv. 1. *must, must needs (obligation and command)*: 1 sg. *sceal* 66, *sceall* Ap. 109; 2 sg. *scealt* 174, 216, 943, 950, 1208, 1366, 1520, 1669, *scealtū* 220; 3 sg. *sceal* 185, 435, 1309, Ap. 100, *scell* 1483; 3 pl. *sceolon* 614, 733; pret. 1 sg. *sceolde* 924, 1403, 1414; pret. 3 sg. 1137, 1244, Ap. 35; pret. 3 pl. *sceoldon* 137, 796, Ap. 10, 79. — 2. *will, shall (futurity)*: 1 sg. *sceal* 341; 2 sg. *scealt* 1383, 1467; 3 sg. *sceal* 520, 890, 947, *scel* 952; 1 pl. *sceolon* 1487; pret. 3 sg. *sceolde* 757, 1100, 1132, 1697; pres. opt. 1 sg. *scyle* 77. — 3. *be accustomed*: 3 sg. *sceall* 181.
- scūr**, *see* *scēor*.
- scūrheard**, adj., *effective in battle*: nsf. 1133.
- scyldan**, *see* *gescyldan*.
- scyldend**, *see* *gescyldend*.
- scyldhata**, m., *wicked persecutor, enemy*: np. *scyldhatan* 1047, 1147; dp. *scyldhetum* 85.
- scyldig**, adj., *guilty*: npm. *scyldige* 1216. *See* *morðor-*, *unscyldig*.
- scýne**, adj., *bright, beautiful*: nsm. wk. *scýna* 766.
- scyppend**, m., *Creator*: ns. 119, 396, 434, 486, 787, *scippend* 278; vs. *scyppend* 192.
- scýrdan**, *see* *gescýrdan*.
- scyrian**, *see* *bescyrian*, *gescyrlgan*.
- sē**, *sēo*, *ðæt*, 1. dem. pron., def. art., *the, this, that*: nsm. *sē* 118, 168, 225, 239, 262, 313, 346, 359, 371, 382, 639, 661, 696, 751, 766, 773, 799, 815, 843, 977, 990, 996, 1029, 1045, 1103, 1115, 1126, 1138, 1190, 1195, 1253, 1296, 1307, 1395, 1455, 1523, 1575, 1581, 1587, 1607, 1632, 1635, 1647, 1660, 1687, Ap. 14, 25, 60; nsf. *sēo* 107, 449, 613, 758, 1074, 1210, 1561, *sio* 167, 207, 1634; nsn. *ðæt* 558, 636, 1199, 1437, 1620, *hæt* 7, 19, 205, 248, 511, 573, 609, 682, 804, 906, 960, 1119, 1135, 1228, 1242, 1489, 1532, 1562, 1659, 1689, 1702, 1722; gsmn. *hæs* 29, 145, 155, 204, 211, 215, 261, 307, 480, 649, 718, 810, 1056, 1117, 1121, 1238, 1247, 1279, 1499, 1530, 1592, Ap. 99, 107, 117; gsf. *hære* 177; dsmn. *ðām* 658, 1205, *hām* 14, 22, 47, 48, 119, 179, 294, 381, 467, 598, 666, 683, 697, 699, 728, 795, 796, 846, 854, 889, 988, 1004, 1008, 1029, 1034, 1043.

- 1068, 1080, 1086, 1098, 1118, 1130, 1142, 1146, 1222, 1226, 1298, 1315, 1339, 1351, 1353, 1356, 1359, 1369, 1436, 1460, 1544, 1650, 1659, 1662, 1683, 1702, þæm 795, AP. 58; dsf. ðære 1270, þære 40, 113, 137, 185, 275, 281, 287, 719, 828, 1168, 1462, 1491, 1649, 1672; asm. ðone 752, þone 86, 227, 831, 978, 1171, 1175, 1324, 1431, 1566, AP. 45, 68, 81, 90; asf. ðā 1111, 1386, 1541, 1690, þā 25, 41, 101, 216, 284, 286, 588, 642, 777, 911, 929, 939, 1120, 1160, 1476, 1637, 1655, 1680, 1697, AP. 116; asn. ðæt 194, 329, 1418, þæt 15, 28, 261, 322, 429, 433, 566, 762, 799, 896, 920, 945, 956, 1172, 1288, 1299, 1308, 1361, 1400, 1435, 1463, 1483, 1540, 1663, 1669, AP. 63; is. ðon 970, þon 361, 501, 1522, þē 368, 932, AP. 115, þý 733, 1266, 1365, 1594, 1643; np. ðā 559, 763, 801, 1053, 1249, 1592, AP. 75, 85, þā 67, 401, 720, 790, 805, 857, 1027, 1049, 1070, 1458, 1617; gp. þāra 569, 886, 890, 1051, þæra 1495; dp. ðām 885, þām 184, 209, 718, 1014, 1219, 1646, 1649, AP. 106; ap. þā 419, 605, 829, 1089, 1486, AP. 3, ðā AP. 47.—2. rel. pron., *who, which*, nsm. sē 12, 35, 1105, 1198, 1499, 1377, 1541, 1604; gsm. þæs 1056; gsn. ðæs 1453; dsm. þām 1322; asn. þæt 1482, þæt = double relative, *id quod*, 73, 346; ap. þā 625, 1295, 1624, ðā 816. *See further sē ðe, ðæs, ðæs ðe, ðý læs.*
- sealt**, adj., *salt, briny*: asm. sealtne 1532; apm. sealte 196, salte 749.
- searocræft**, m., *treachery*: as. 109.
- searohæbbend**, m., *warrior*: np. searohæbbende 1528; gp. searohæbbendra 1468.
- searonet**, n., *wile, snare*: as. 64; ip. searonettum 943.
- searodanc**, m., *sagacious thought*: ip. searodancum 1255.
- searn**, fn., *cunning, treachery*: as. searwe 1348, AP. 13; ip. searwum 1396, searowum 745. *See gūð-searo.*
- searuðancol**, adj., *wise, clever*: npm. searuþancle 1161.
- sec**, *see seeg*.
- sēcan**, W1. 1. *visit, go to*: 3 pl. sē-cāð 600; pret. 3 sg. sōhte 28, AP. 28; pret. 3 pl. sōhton 641, AP. 77; opt. 3 sg. pres. sēce 731; inf. 226, 308, 698, 809, 977, 1502, 1658, 1677, AP. 81.—2. *search out, try to find, ask for*: 3 sg. sēceð 909, 1153; 1 pl. sēcaþ 1568; opt. 2 sg. pres. sēce 320; inf. 943, 1539. *See gesēcan.*
- secg**, m., *man*: ns. sec 1225; np. secgas 1368; gp. secga 1636, 1656. *See gārsecg.*
- secgan**, W3. 1. *say, declare, tell, narrate*: 1 sg. secge 618; 2 pl. secgaþ 345; 3 pl. secgað 681; pret. 3 sg. sægde 755, 1207, 1654, sāde 1022; pret. 3 pl. sægdon 1080; opt. pres. 3 sg. secge 733; imper. 2 sg. saga 557; ptc. nsm. secgende 949; ger. secganne 1481; inf. 458, 648, 764, 851.—2. *give (thanks)*: pret. 3 sg. sægde 1469; inf. 1006. *See gesecgan.*
- secgplega**, m., *battle*: ds. secgplegan 1353.
- sefa**, m., *mind, heart*: ns. 1251; ds. sefan 98, 1165, AP. 2. *See mōdsefa.*
- segl**, mn., *sail*: ds. segle 505.
- segl**, n. 1. *sun*: ns. 89, sæg1 1456.—2. *eye*: as. segl 50.
- sel**, *see sæl*.
- sēl**, adv., *better*: 745.
- sele**, m., *hall*: gs. seles 714; ds. sele 1311.
- seledream**, m., *festivity*: as. 1656.
- selerædend**, m., *hall-ruler, house-owner*: np. 659.
- sellan**, *see gesellan*.
- sēlost**, *see sēlra*.

- sētra**, adj., comp. and sup. only, *better*: comp. nsm. sýlla 1509; nsn. sētre 320, 1563; asm. sētran 471; asn. sētre 1353; sup. nsm. sēlost 329, 411; nsn. 1565.
- semninga**, adv., *suddenly*: 464, 820.
- sencan**, see **bisencan**.
- sendan**, W1, *send*: pret. 3 sg. sende 1613; pret. 3 pl. sendon 1028; inf. AP. 116. See **onsendan**.
- sēoc**, adj., *sad, troubled*: dsm. sēocum AP. 2. See **himsēoc**.
- seofon**, num. adj., *seven*: uninfl. 114, 1673; npm. seofone 994; gpm. seofona 1311.
- seolf**, see **sýlf**.
- seolfor**, n., *silver*: as. 338.
- seolhpæð**, n., *ocean*: ap. seolhpæðu 1714.
- seomian**, W2, *remain, endure*: 3 sg. seomaþ AP. 121; inf. 183.
- sēon**, 5, *see, behold*: pret. 3 pl. sēgon 711, sāwon 1679. See **be-**, **gesēon**.
- seonodolg**, n., *sinew-wound*: np. 1406. See **synu**.
- sēoðan**, 2, lit. *boil, cook*, met. *afflict*: pp. soden 1239.
- sēowan**, W2, *sew, weave*: 3 pl. sēowað 64.
- seppan**, W1, *teach*: pret. 3 sg. septe 742.
- Seraphim**, pr. n., *Seraphim*: n. 719.
- sessian**, W2, *subside*: pret. 3 sg. sessade 453.
- set**, n., *setting*: ds. sete 1248, 1304. See **geset**.
- settan**, see **ā-**, **be-**, **gesettan**.
- sē ðe**, pron., *who, which*: nsm. 161, 254, 261, 519, 521, 535, 566, 1164, 1386, AP. 88, 97, 107; gsmn. þæs þe 344, 1266, 1479, þæs ðe 1012; dsm. þām þe 314, 638, 909, 980, 1154; asm. þone þe 747; np. ðā ðe 1194, þā ðe 282, 600, þā þe 130, 1370, 1445, ðā þe 579; gp. þāra þe 28, 379, 974, 1152.
- sīd**, adj., *extensive*: asn. sīde 762; npm. 652, 1067.
- sīde**, f., *side (of the body)*: ds. sidan 968.
- sīde**, adv., *wide*: 1637.
- sigebroðor**, m., *victorious brother*: as. 183.
- sigedēma**, m., *triumphant judge*: ns. 661.
- sigedryhten**, m., *Lord of victory*: ds. sigedryhtne 877; as. sigedryhten 60; vs. 1453.
- sigelēan**, n., *reward of victory*: as. AP. 81.
- Sigelware**, pr. n., *Ethiopians*: dp. Sigelwarum AP. 64.
- sigerōf**, adj., *brave*: asm. sigerofne 1225.
- sigespēd**, f., *success, ability*: as. 646.
- sigetorht**, adj., *victorious*: nsm. 1246.
- sigewang**, m., *plain of victory*: ns. 1581.
- sigor**, m., *victory*: gs. sigores 760, AP. 62; is. sigore 116; gp. sigora 329, 714, 987, 1406.
- sigorspēd**, f., *prosperity, success*: ns. 909; as. 1435.
- Simon**, pr. n., *Simon*: ns. 691, AP. 77.
- sīn**, poss. pron., *his*: dsm. sīnum 1021; dsn. 989; asm. sīnne 1464; asn. sīn AP. 59; npm. sīne 1515; gpm. sīnra 663, 713; dpf. sīnum 813; apm. sīne 427, 823, 847; ip. sīnum 522, 750.
- sinc**, see **fātedsine**.
- sincgestrōn**, n., *treasure*: as. 1656.
- sincgifu**, f., *gift of treasure*: ds. sincgife 1509.
- sincroden**, adj., *richly adorned*: apn. 1673.
- sincweorðung**, f., *costly gift, gift of treasure*: gp. sincweorðunga 272, 477.
- singal**, adj., *continuous, unending*: nsm. 869.
- singan**, 3, *sing, offer in song*: pret. 3 pl. sungon 877.
- sinnan**, 3, w. gen., *cease from, have relief from*: pret. 3 sg. sann 1277.

- sittan**, *sit, sit down*: pret. 3 sg. sæt 305, 1007; pret. 3 pl. sæton 362, 591; inf. 247. See *be-*, *gesittan*.
- sittend**, see *burh-*, *hām-*, *ðrym-* *sittend*.
- sīð**, m. 1. *journey*: gs. sīðes 1041, AP. 34; ds. sīðe 795; as. sīð 44, 340, 515, 860, AP. 111; is. sīðe 175, 845, AP. 32. — 2. *time, occasion*: is. sīðe 706, 808, 1391, 1458, 1675, 1700; ip. sīðum 490, 605. — 3. *fate, experience*: ns. 155. See *earfoð-*, *ge-*, *will-*, *wræcsið*.
- sīðfæt**, m., *journey, expedition*: ns. 420; gs. sīðfætēs 204, 211; ds. sīðfæte 358, 1662, sīðfate 663.
- sīðfrom**, adj., *ready for the journey, expeditious*: npm. sīðfrome 641, AP. 77; apm. sīðfrome 247.
- sīðgēomor**, adj., *sad or weary from traveling*: nsm. AP. 1.
- sīðlgean**, W2, *go, journey*: inf. 829.
- sīððan**, see *syððan*.
- slagu**, see *mānslagu*.
- slæp**, m., *sleep*: ns. 464, 820, 826, 862; ds. slæpe 795, 849; is. 1527.
- slæpan**, see *ofslæpan*.
- slāw**, see *unslāw*.
- slēan**, *strike*: pret. 3 pl. slōgon 964; imper. 2 pl. slēað 1300.
- slege**, m., *blow*: as. 956. See *dolg-*, *gegn-*, *sārslege*.
- slūpan**, see *tōslūpan*.
- smeolt**, adj., *gentle, pleasant*: nsm. 1581; npn. smylte 453.
- smið**, see *gryn-*, *lār-*, *wrōhtsmið*.
- smylt**, see *smeolt*.
- snāw**, m., *snow*: ns. 1255.
- snel**, adj., *swift*: nsm. 505.
- snellīc**, adj., *swift*: nsm. 267.
- snēome**, adv., *quickly*: 795.
- snēowan**, W1, *hasten, proceed*: 3 sg. snōweð 504; inf. 242, 1668.
- snottor**, adj., *wise*: nsm. 469; npm. snottre 659. See *rædsnottor*.
- snōwan**, see *snēowan*.
- snūd**, n., *speed, swiftness*: is. snūde 267.
- snytrru**, f., *wisdom, sagacity*: as. snyt-
tro 554, 1165; gp. snyttra 631; dp.
snytrum 1153; ip. snytrum 646.
- snyððan**, see *besnyððan*.
- somme**, see *ætosome*.
- sōna**, adv., *immediately*: 72, 450, 529,
849, 999, 1334, 1535, 1567, 1579.
- sorg**, f., *care, sorrow*: ns. 1690; ds.
sorge 1568; ip. sorgum 116.
- sorgbyrðen**, f., *burden of sorrow*: ns.
sorgbyrþen 1532.
- sorgian**, W2, *regard, be solicitous*: pret.
3 pl. sorgodon 1227.
- sōð**, n., *truth*: ns. 526, AP. 64; ds.
sōðe 114, 458, 618; as. sōð 603, 631,
644, 764, 851, 965, 1558, 1563.
- sōð**, adj., *true*: nsm. 1602; asm. sōðan
AP. 81; gpn. sōðra 710.
- sōð**, adv., *in truth, in sooth*: 1435.
- sōðewide**, m., *truthful speech*: ip. sōð-
cwidum 733.
- sōðfæst**, adj., *truthful, just*: nsm. 386;
gsm. sōðfæstes 673; npm. sōðfæste
1514; gpm. sōðfæstra 228.
- sōðfæstlic**, adj., *truthful, sincere*: asn.
877.
- sōðlice**, adv., *truly*: 681.
- spanan**, R, *persuade, allure*: pret. 3 sg.
spēon 597.
- spann**, see *gespann*.
- spannan**, see *onspannan*.
- spēd**, see *mægen-*, *sige-*, *sigor-*,
woruldspēd.
- spēdan**, see *āspēdan*.
- spēdig**, see *wuldorspēdig*.
- spell**, n., *tale, narrative*: as. 815. See
fær-, *god-*, *lādspell*.
- spildan**, W1, w. inst., *destroy*: opt.
pres. 2 sg. spilde 284.
- spor**, n., *track, mark*: as. 1180.
- spōwan**, R, *succeed*: inf. 1544. See
gespōwan.
- sprec**, spræc, see *edwitspræc*, *ge-*
sprec.

- sprecan**, 5, *speak*: pret. 1 sg. spræc 904; pret. 3 sg. 1557; opt. pres. 3 sg. sprece 732; pp. spreccen 1622; inf. 1315. See *gesprecan*.
- springan**, 3, *extend, be diffused*: pret. 3 sg. sprang AP. 6. See *onspringan*.
- stæf**, see *endestæf*.
- stæfn**, see *brondstæfn*.
- stæfna**, see *stefna*.
- stān**, m., *stone*: ns. 738, 766, 1523; gs. stānes 741; ds. stane 738; as. stān 774, 841. See *marmanstān*.
- standan**, 6. 1. *stand*: 3 sg. standeþ AP. 98; 3 pl. standað 722; pret. 3 sg. stōd 254, 737; pret. 3 pl. stōdon 842, 871, 1157, 1712; opt. pres. 3 sg. stande 502; inf. 882, 993, 1062, 1448, 1494.—2. *rise up*: pret. 3 sg. stōd 375.—3. *last, endure*: 3 sg. standeð AP. 120. See *ā-*, *for-*, *ge-*, *wiðstandan*.
- stānfāg**, adj., *adorned with stones, paved*: npf. stānfāge 1236.
- stānhlið**, n., *stony slope, cliff*: ap. stānhleoðu 1577, stānhleoðo 1233.
- stapa**, see *hildstapa*.
- stæppan**, 6, *go, proceed*: pret. 3 sg. stōp 985, 1577. See *gestæppan*.
- stapul**, m., *column*: as. 1062; ap. stapulas 1494.
- stærceðferhð**, adj., *stout-hearted*: asm. stærceðferhþne 1233.
- stæð**, see *bord-*, *brimstæð*.
- staðol**, m., *base, pedestal*: ds. staþole 1503.
- staðolfæst**, adj., *established, firm*: nsm. 121, staðulfæst 1336.
- staðolian**, W2. 1. *confirm, make steadfast*: 1 sg. staþolige 82; imper. 2 sg. staðola 1210, 1213.—2. *create, establish*: pret. 3 sg. staðolade 799. See *gestaðolian*.
- steald**, see *wuldorgesteald*.
- stealla**, see *gestealla*.
- stēap**, adj., *steep*: npm. stēape 840; apm. 1306.
- stede**, see *burh-*, *colh-*, *folc-*, *meðel-*, *ðing-*, *wangstede*.
- stedewang**, m., *plain*: ds. stedewange 774; np. stedewangas 334.
- stefn**, m., *time*: is. stefne 123, 1303.
- stefn**, m., *prow*: ds. stefne 291. See *hēahstefn*.
- stefn**, f., *voice*: ns. 92, 167, 738, 1429; is. stefne 56, 61, 96, 537, 873, 1126, 1360, 1399, 1456; ip. stefnum 722, 1054.
- stefna**, m., *prow*: ds. stefnan 403; as. 1707, stæfnan 495.
- stellan**, see *onstellan*.
- stēman**, see *bestēman*.
- steng**, m., *stake, cudgel*: gs. stenges AP. 72.
- steora**, m., *steersman*: as. steoran 495.
- stēorend**, m., *pilot, guide*: ns. 1336, stýrend 121.
- sticce**, n., *piece, portion*: ip. sticcum 1448.
- stīg**, f., *path, way*: ns. 985; as. stige 1442.
- stīgan**, 1, *ascend, mount*: pret. 2 pl. stigon 429; pret. 3 pl. 349. See *ā-*, *ge-*, *oferstīgan*.
- stillan**, W1. 1. *become quiet*: inf. 1576.—2. w. dat., *make quiet*: pret. 3 sg. stilde 451. See *gestillan*.
- stille**, adj., *still, motionless*: nsm. 502.
- stiðferð**, adj., *firm of heart*: npm. stiðferðe 722.
- stiðhygende**, adj., *resolute*: dp. stiðhygendum 741, 1429.
- stiðmōd**, adj., *resolute*: nsm. AP. 72.
- stōl**, see *cynstōl*.
- storm**, m., *storm*: ns. 502, 1236 (figuratively); is. storme 1494; ap. stormas 1576.
- stōw**, f., *place*: gp. stōwa 121.
- stræl**, m., *dart*: vs. 1189.
- strang**, adj., *hard, severe*: nsm. 313; asf. strangan 1336; dpm. strangum 1210; ipm. 162, 536; comp. nsm. strengra 1385.

- stranglice**, adv., *sternly*: 167.
- stræt**, f., *street*: ns. 1580; ds. stræte 774, 985, 1062; np. 1236; ap. 334. See **farod-**, **herestræt**.
- strēam**, m., *stream, flood*: ns. 1280, 1523; as. 852, 1538; np. strēamas 374; ap. 1503. See **brim-**, **ēa-**, **ēagor-**, **firgend-**, **lagu-**, **mere-**, **sāestrēam**.
- strēamfaru**, f., *current*: as. strēamfare 1576.
- strēamracu**, f., *water-course*: as. strēamræce 1580.
- strēamwel**, m., *billow*: ns. 495.
- streng**, m., *rope, cordage*: np. strengas 374.
- strēon**, see **gestrēon**.
- strēonan**, W1, w. gen., *win*: inf. 331.
- stund**, f., *time, hour*: ns. 1210.
- stunde**, adv., *straightway*: 416, 1497.
- stýran**, W1, *arrange*: pp. stýred 1092.
- stýrend**, see **stēorend**.
- styrian**, W2, *stir, be in commotion*: pret. 3 pl. styredon 374.
- sum**, pron., *one, certain one*: nsm. 11, 967, 1174, 1311; npm. sume AP. 11.
- sund**, n. 1. *course, sailing*: as. 381, 488. — 2. *ocean, flood*: ns. sund 424, 1528; as. 747.
- sund**, adj., see **onsund**.
- sunder**, adv., *apart, asunder*: 1161.
- sundrian**, see **āsundrian**.
- sunne**, f., *sun*: ns. 1248, 1304; ds. sunnan 1013.
- sunu**, m., *son*: ns. 879, 1684; ds. suna 681, 881; as. sunu 1109; np. suna 691.
- sūsl**, n., *torture*: is. sūsle 1379.
- swā**, adv. 1. *so, thus*: 157, 177, 438, 461, 524, 661, 692, 1053, 1137, 1149, 1245, 1323, 1328, 1343, 1344, 1393, 1455, 1562, 1670, AP. 113. — 2. *so, very*: 710, 895, 922, 1243.
- swā**, conj. 1. *as, according as*: 5, 67, 149, 269, 297, 304, 322, 345, 348, 357, 389, 418, 594, 622, 649, 786, 789, 845, 931, 949, 972, 1045, 1231, 1274, 1321, 1341, 1476, 1514, 1696, AP. 102. — 2. *inasmuch as, for*: 327, 937, 1115. — 3. *so that (result)*: 986. — 4. *as if*: 261, 501. — 5. *yet*: 493. — 6. *likewise*: 582, 1288. — 7. *where*: 1441, 1449, 1582. — 8. **swā . . . swā**, *as . . . as* (adv. and conj.): 192-193, 333, 926-927, 1234. See **swā ðeah**.
- swanrād**, f., *swan-road, ocean*: as. swanrāde 196.
- swaru**, **-swarian**, **-swerian**, see **ondswaru**, etc.
- swæs**, adj., *dear*: asm. swæsne 1009.
- swæsende**, n., *food, repast*: gp. swæsenda 386.
- swāt**, m., *blood*: ns. 1275, 1425, 1441; as. swāt 968; is. swāte 1239.
- swätig**, adj., *bloody*: npm. swätige 1406.
- swā ðeah**, conj., *yet, nevertheless*: 813, 1250.
- swaðrian**, see **sweðrian**.
- swaðu**, f., *path, track*: ds. swaðe 1422; as. 673, swaðe 1441.
- swebban**, see **āswebban**.
- swefan**, 5. 1. *sleep*: inf. 832, 849. — 2. *lie dead*: pret. 3 pl. swæfon 1002.
- swēg**, m., *tumult, noise*: ns. 93; as. 1532.
- swegeldrēam**, m., *heavenly joy*: dp. swegeldrēamum 720.
- swegeltorht**, adj., *radiant*: nsf. 1248.
- swegl**, n., *heaven*: gs. swegles 208, 455, 641, 760, 809, 832, 869; ds. swegle 98, 1009; as. swegl 749.
- swegle**, adj., *bright*: apm. AP. 32.
- swelc**, see **swyle**.
- swelgan**, 3, w. acc. and inst. 1. *accept, receive*: pret. 3 pl. swulgon 710. — 2. *flow over, swallow up*: pret. 3 sg. swealg 1276. See **forswelgan**.
- sweltan**, 3, *die*: pret. 3 pl. swulton 1530.
- swencan**, W1, *trouble*: inf. 109. See **geswencan**.

sweng, m., *stroke*: as. Ap. 72. See **heorusweng**.

sweorcan, 3, *darken, become dim*: pret. 3 sg. **swearc** 372.

sweord, n., *sword*: gs. **sweordes** 1132, Ap. 34; ip. **sweordum** 72.

sweodræs, m., *attack with the sword*: ns. Ap. 59.

sweotol, adj., *clear, evident*: gpn. **sweotulra** 565; ipn. **sweotolum** 742.

sweoðerian, see **sweðrian**.

swēr, m., *column*: ap. **swēras** 1493.

sweðrian, W2. 1. *subside, become still*: pret. 3 sg. **swaðrode** 1585, **sweoðerade** 465; pret. 3 pl. **swæðorodon** 533.—2. *vanish*: pret. 3 pl. **sweðerodon** 836.

swīcan, 1, w. dat., *desert*: 1 pl. **swīcað** 407; opt. pres. 2 sg. **swīce** 958. See **be-**, **geswīcan**.

swīgian, W2, *be silent*: pret. 3 pl. **swīgodon** 762.

swilt, see **geswing**.

swing, see **geswing**.

swingan, 3, *scourge, chastise, afflict*: pret. 3 pl. **swungon** 964; pp. **swungen** 1246, 1275.

swið, adj., *strong*: nsm. 1207, 1513.

swiðan, see **geswiðan**.

swiðe, adv., *very, exceedingly*: 423, 618, 926.

swyle, pron., *such*: nsm. **swelc** 25; nsn. **swylc** 29.

swylce, adv., *likewise, also, thus*: 166, 584, 589, 621, 704, 712, 881, 1029, 1036, 1257, 1687, Ap. 16, 50.

swylce, conj. 1. *as if*: 247.—2. *like as, as*: 89.

swylt, m., *death*: ns. 994; as. 1610, **swilt** 1348, Ap. 71.

swyltewalu, f., *death-torture*: ds. **swyltcwale** 156; as. 1368.

syb, f., *peace, good will*: ns, 1013, **sybb** 1568; as. **sybbe** 98, 358, 809, 832. See **brōðorsybb**.

sýfre, see **unsýfre**.

-syhð, see **gesyhð**.

sylf, pron., *self, himself*: nsm. 5, 248, 665, 845, 1509, **sylfa** 329, 433, 860, 1348, 1701, Ap. 111, **seolfa** 340, 505; gsm. **sylfes** 651, 1109, 1417, **seolfes** 1300, 1441; dsm. **sylfum** 644, 648, 1662; asm. **seolfne** 921, **sylfne** 1212; npm. **sylfe** 1558; dpm. **sylfum** 949.

sylfæta, m., *cannibal*: np. **sylfætan** 175.

sýlla, see **sēlra**.

syllan, W1, *give, give over*: 1 sg. **sylle** 97; pret. 3 sg. **sealde** 577, 1513; inf. 272, 366, 477, 1109. See **gesellan**.

syllic, adj., *strange, wonderful*: comp. asm. **syllicran** 500.

symbeldæg, m., *feast-day*: ds. **symbeldæge** 1527.

symbelgifa, m., *entertainer, provider*: vs. 1417.

symble, adv., *always, ever*: 157, 659, 1384, 1581, **symle** 411, 651, 1153, **symles** 64.

symle, **symles**, see **symble**.

sýn, see **onsýn**.

sýne, see **æg-**, **ge-**, **onsýne**.

synfull, adj., *sinful*: npm. **synfulle** 764; gpm. **synfulra** 987.

synn, f., *sin*: as. **synne** 926; dp. **synnum** 1243; ip. 407.

synnig, adj., *sinful*: nsm. 921; asm. **synnigne** 1300; npm. **synnige** 109, 565, 710, 964; gp. **synnigra** 956, 1610.

synu, f., *sinew*: ns. 1422; np. **sionwe** 1425.

syrian, W2, *plot, devise*: pret. 3 pl. **syredon** 610.

syððan, adv. 1. *after, from the time that*: 5, 295, 455, 1075, 1337, 1381, 1599, 1678, Ap. 27, 40, 54, **syðþan** 240, 893, **syþþan** 43, 180, Ap. 21, **siþþan** 1223, **seoðþan** 534.—2. *afterwards*: **syððan** 33, 1193, 1379, 1674, 1704, **syðþan** 1514, **syþþan** 706, **siððan** 1106.

syxtýne, num. adj., *sixteen*: 490.

T

tācan, *see* **getācan**.

tācen, n. 1. *sign*: ns. 88; as. 1338; gp. *tācna* 711; ip. *tācnum* 742. — 2. *mark, characteristic*: ns. 29. — 3. *covenant*: as. 214. *See* **wēatācen**.

tācnian, *see* **getācnian**.

tāel, f., *blame*: ds. *tāle* 633.

tallgan, W₂, *count, consider*: 1 sg. *talige* 1563, *talige* 1484.

tælmet, n., *measure, portion*: ns. 113.

tān, m., *lot*: ns. 1103; as. *taan* 1099.

teala, adv., *well, thoroughly*: 1612.

tēam, *see* **heretēam**.

tēar, m., *tear*: ip. *tēarum* 59.

teldan, *see* **beteldan**.

tellan, 1, *count, calculate*: pret. 3 pl. *teledon* 1103. *See* **getellan**.

tempel, n., *temple*: ns. 667; ds. *temple* 707; as. *tempel* 1634. [Lat. *templum*.]

tēon, W₂, *fashion, create*: pret. 3 sg. *tēode* 797. *See* **getēon**.

tēon, 2, *draw, drag*: inf. 1230.

tēoncwīde, m., *censure*: as. 633, 771.

Thaddēus, pr. n., *Thaddeus*: ns. AP. 77.

Thōmas, pr. n., *Thomas*: ns. AP. 50.

tīd, f., *time*: ds. *tīde* 113, 1407; as. *tīd* 214, 911, 1091, 1160.

tigelfāg, adj., *adorned with tiles*: npn. *tigelfāgan* 842. [Lat. *tegula*.]

tihhian, *see* **getihhian**.

tilmōdig, adj., *noble-minded*: npm. *tilmōdige* AP. 86.

tīmbran, *see* **getīmbran**.

tīngan, *see* **getīngan**.

tīr, m., *glory*: gs. *tīres* 105; as. *tīr* 485, AP. 86.

tīrēadig, adj., *glorious*: npm. *tīrēadige* 665, AP. 4; apm. 2, 883; gpm. *tīrēadigra* 1681.

tō, prep. w. gen. and dat. 1. w. gen. in phrases *tō ðæs, tō ðæs ðe, there, where*: 1059, 1070, 1123. — 2. w. dat., *to, towards, unto, into, upon*: 40, 47, 81, 90, 113, 119, 236, 287, 294, 398, 483,

598, 622, 658, 666, 778, 808, 828, 909, 918, 969, 974, 1027, 1068, 1098, 1118, 1152, 1186, 1188, 1196, 1203, 1205, 1248, 1250, 1270, 1304, 1307, 1311, 1351, 1398, 1410, 1423, 1460, 1568, 1682, 1683, 1693, 1698, 1707, AP. 43, 115. — 3. *as, for, in*: w. dat. 27, 76, 106 (*tō wīdan fēore* = *forever*), 111 (2), 132, 136, 153 (2), 160, 234, 311, 313, 324, 342, 458, 567 (2), 588, 606, 618, 794, 795, 810, 938, 1039, 1081, 1101, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1123, 1161, 1162, 1284, 1369, 1452, 1507, 1605, 1641, 1721, AP. 62, 74, 95. — 4. *on, at*: w. dat. 221, 1539. — 5. *of, from*: w. dat. 449. — 6. *accord-ing to*: w. dat. 653, 796. — 7. w. inf. 1160, 1481, 1659, 1689; w. ger. 23, 73, 206, 295, 424, 1136.

tō, adv. 1. *too*: 98, 212, 612, 1301, 1432, 1609. — 2. *there, thither*: 711, 1234, 1348.

Tobias, pr. n., *Tobias*: ns. 1516.

tōbregdan, 4. 1. *tear, rend*; pret. 3 pl. *tōbrugdon* 159. — 2. *shake off* (w. inst.): pret. 3 pl. *tōbrugdon* 1527.

tōdālan, W₁, *portion out*: inf. 152.

tōdrīfan, 1, *scatter, dispel, destroy*: pret. 3 sg. *tōdrāf* 1688; pp. npm. *tōdrifene* 1426.

toga, *see* **foletoga**.

tōgadore, adv., *together*: 1438.

tōgēnes, prep. w. dat., *towards, in the direction of*: 45, 657.

tōgēnes, adv., *towards*: 1101.

tōgīnan, 1, *separate, split*: pret. 3' sg. *tōgān* 1523.

tōglīdan, 1, *glide away, disappear*: 3 sg. *tōglīdeð* AP. 102; pret. 3 sg. *tōglād* 123.

tōhlīdan, 1, *open up*: pret. 3 sg. *tōhlād* 1587.

tōhrēosan, 2, *perish, pass away*: inf. AP. 101.

tohte, f., *battle, conflict*: gs. *tohtan* AP. 75.

tōlūcan, 2, *dislocate, pull apart*: pp. tōlocen 1404.

tōlȳsan, W1, *separate*: inf. 151.

torht, adj., *bright, glorious*: nsm. 105; nsn. 1612; npm. torhte AP. 4. *See*

heofon-, **morgen-**, **sigel-**, **swegel-**, **wuldortorht**.

torhte, adv., *brightly*: 715.

torhtlice, adv., *gloriously*: 1681.

torngeniðla, m., *fierce enemy*: np. torngeniðlan 1230.

torr, m., *tower*: np. torras 842. [Lat. *turris*.]

tōslūpan, 2, *relax, destroy*: 'pp. tōslofen 1425.

tōsomne, adv., *together*: 33, 1093.

tō ðæs, **tō ðæs ðe**, *see* tō.

træf, n., *tent, building*: np. trafu 842. *See* **helltræf**.

trahtian, *see* **getrahtian**.

tredan, 4, *traverse*: inf. 775, 802.

trēowwe, adj., *faithful*: asn. 214. *See* **getrēowe**.

trēowgeðofta, m., *trusty comrade*: np. trēowgeðoftan 1050.

trum, adj., *sound, whole*: nsm. 1477. *See* **getrum**.

trymman, W1, *encourage, cheer*: pret. 3 sg. trymede 463, 1051, 1681; inf. 428, 1419.

tū, *see* **twēgen**.

tungol, n., *star*: dp. tunglum 2.

twēgen, num., *two*: nm. 689, AP. 75; dm. twām 249, 589, twām 779; af. twā 715; an. tū 1035, 1050.

twelf, num., *twelve*: nm. twelfe AP. 4, XII AP. 86; am. twelfe 2, 883, 1419.

twelfta, num., *twelfth*: nsm. 665.

twēntig, num., *twenty*: ns. 114.

twēogan, 1, *doubt*: ptc. nsn. twēogende 771.

twēonde, *see* **untwēonde**.

twēonum, *see* **betwēonum**.

tȳddre, *see* **untȳddre**.

tyn, num., *ten*: dn. 1512.

tȳnan, *see* **ontȳnan**.

tȳr, *see* **tīr**.

tyrgan, W1, *tease, torment*: pret. 3 pl. tyrgdon 963.

D

ðā, adv., *then, thereupon*: 92, 122, 143, 147, etc., þā 40, 45, 59, 118, etc. *See* **nū ðā**.

ðā, conj., *when*: 626, 1177, 1409, þā 385, 429, 899, 1319, 1419, AP. 82.

ðaligan, W2, *agree, consent*: inf. 402.

ðā gēn, adv., *again, a second time*: 601, þā gēn 727.

ðā gīt, adv. 1. *yet, as yet*: þā gīt 15, þā gȳt 380. — 2. *still*: 632, þā gīt 51. — 3. *further, moreover*: þā gīt 383, þā gȳt 1039, ðā gȳt 1195.

ðan, *see* **ær þan, forðan**.

ðanc, m. 1. *thought*: gs. þances 557; as. þanc 1622. — 2. *thanks*: ns. ðanc 1451, þanc 1150; ds. tō þance (*gladly, thankfully*) 1112; as. þanc 384, 1469. *See* **fore-**, **ge-**, **hyge-**, **inge-**, **inwit-**, **searoðanc**.

ðancian, W2, trans., *thank*: pret. 3 sg. þancade 1011.

ðancul, *see* **ge-**, **hyge-**, **searuðancul**.

ðanon, adj., *thence*: þanon 1065, AP. 31, 38, þanon AP. 61.

ðær, adv., *there, in that place*: 183, 244, 562, 875, 1007, 1080, 1296, 1547, þær 21, 41, 48, 90, 181, 199, 263, 279, 280, 445, 654, 662, 770, 869, 878, 887, 888, 907, 979, 1001, 1037, 1039, 1049, 1083, 1153, 1192, 1222, 1225, 1349, 1382, 1534, 1542, 1554, 1555, 1569, 1571, 1588, 1591, 1625, 1647, 1701, 1708, AP. 52, 60, 98.

ðær, conj. 1. *where*: 217, 657, þær 15, 105, 168, 175, 228, 294, 305, 502, 598, 607, 667, 695, 711, 790, 940, 1379, 1634, 1684, 1693, AP. 10, 118, 119. — 2. *wherever*: þær 224, 935, 1403. — 3. *when*: þær 805, 923, 967.

ðæs, adv., *so, to that extent*: 1365, 1372.

ðæs, conj., *as*: 687.

- Þæs ðe**, conj., *as, because*: þæs ðe 472, 1012, 1151, þæs þe 1563.
- Þæt**, conj. 1. *that*, in noun clauses (subj. and obj.): 85, 207, 308, 319, 403, 485, 610, 618, 928, 1329, 1617, þæt 26, 30, 71, 91, 159, 178, 273, 276, 284, 319, 321, 378, 430, 434, 438, 459, 499, 511, 527, 530, 534, 550, 559, 563, 574, 618, 661, 673, 681, 700, 757, 765, 766, 844, 852, 894, 898, 922, 928, 933, 962, 1073, 1080, 1121, 1137, 1167, 1267, 1285, 1289, 1344, 1416, 1420, 1437 (2), 1485, 1505, 1517, 1559, 1564, 1606, 1653, 1655, 1660, 1690, AP. 43, 64, 70, 89, 108. — 2. *that, so that*, in result clauses: ðæt 731, þæt 37, 261, 303, 603, 707, 737, 788, 916, 958, 1327, 1373, AP. 56. — 3. *that, in order that*, in purpose clauses: ðæt 1333, þæt 368, 860, 1183, 1214, 1357, AP. 117. — 4. *when, where*, in temporal clauses: þæt 108, 115, 150, 185, 1211, 1523, 1697. — 5. *that*, with ellipsis of principal sentence: þæt 203. See **oððæt**.
- Þætte**, conj., *such that*: 546.
- Þæt ðe**, conj., *that*: ðæt þe 1602.
- Þe**, indecl. particle. 1. *who, which, that*: 815, þe 101, 164, 263, 718, 799, 828, 886, 890, 945, 1130, 1318, 1440, 1486, 1548, 1615. — 2. *than*: 1040. See **sē, þæs, ðæt, ðeah ðe**.
- Þeah**, conj., *though, although*: 1217, þeah 476, 710, 975, 1243, 1628, þēh 271, 507, 515, 630, 856, 955, ðēh 900. See **swā ðeah**.
- Þeah ðe**, conj., *although*: þeah ðe 53, 564, þēh þe 1609.
- Þearf**, f. 1. *need, necessity*: ns. þearf 1166, 1605. — 2. *advantage, benefit*: ds. þearfe 1652.
- Þearfende**, see **mete-, wineþearfende**.
- Þearl**, adj., *severe, excessive*: gpn. þearlra 1598.
- Þearle**, adv., *severely, excessively*: þearle 1115.
- Þearlic**, adj., *severe*: nsn. þearlic 1136.
- Þēaw**, m., *custom, habit*: ns. þēaw 25, 177; ds. ðēawum 462.
- Þeccan**, W1, *cover*: pret. 3 sg. þehte 966, AP. 22; pret. 3 pl. þehton 1525. See **beðeccan**.
- Þegn**, m., *servant, retainer, disciple*: ns. þegn 384, 417, þegen 528; as. þegn 1391, 1678; vs. 557; np. þegnas 43, 237, 323, 344, 363, 376, 391, 402, 726, 872, 1026, AP. 87; gp. þegna 696, AP. 8; dp. þegnum 1329; ap. þegnas 3, 245, 462. See **duru-, ombeht-, maguþegn**.
- Þegnian**, W2, *serve*: pret. 3 pl. þegno-don 884.
- Þegu**, see **beor-, foddor-, wilþegu**.
- Þēh**, see **ðeah**.
- Þel**, see **wægðel**.
- Þencan**, W1, *resolve, consider*: 2 sg. þencest 212; pret. 3 pl. þōhton 150, 693.
- Þenden**, conj., *while, as long as*: ðendon 1397, þendon 1713, þenden 1288, þyn-den 1323.
- Þeod**, f., *people, nation*: ns. þeod 1098, 1112; ds. þeode 185, 571; as. 25, 1185; gp. þeoda 107, 547, 1451, ðeoda 1622; dp. þeodum 520, 1605, 1652. See **ell-, werðeod**.
- Þeodan**, see **oððeodan**.
- Þeodbealo**, n., *great evil*: as. þeodbealo 1136.
- Þeodcyning**, m., *king of the people*: gs. ðeodcyninges AP. 18.
- Þeoden**, m., *prince, Lord*: ns. þeoden 290, 323, 364, 415, 696, 773; gs. þeodnes 3, 94, AP. 8; ds. ðeodne 1007; as. þeoden 872, 900; vs. 288, 479; np. þeodnas 363.
- Þeodenhold**, adj., *loyal to the prince, submissive*: nsm. þeodenhold 384.
- Þeodig**, see **ellþeodig**.
- Þeodōm**, m., *service*: as. þeodōm AP. 105.
- Þeodsceaða**, m., *enemy of the people*: ns. 1115.

ðeon, *see* **geðeon**.

ðēs, pron., *this*: nsm. þēs 420, 496; nsf. ðeos 1437, þeos 731, 1428; nsn. ðis 717, þis 751, 1506, ðys 492; gsm. þisses AP. 108, bysses AP. 89; dsnn. ðyssum 1198, þissum 77, 550, byssum 112, 358; dsf. bysse 684, 973, þisse AP. 112; asm. ðisne 1604, bysne AP. 1; asf. þās 111, 207, 914, AP. 98; gp. þissa 268, 386; dp. þyssum 88, 100, 761, 1026; apn. þās AP. 49, 83.

ðiegan, 5. 1. *receive*: pret. 3 pl. þēgon 1112. — 2. *receive food, eat*: pret. 3 pl. ðēgon 25, þēgon 593.

ðin, pron., *thy, thine*: nsm. þin 70, 194, 541, 542, 604, 940, 952, 1023, 1317, 1321, 1441; gsm. þines 65, 1417; gsn. 1383; dsm. þinum 959, 1503; asm. þinne 183, 213, 479, 1209, 1213, 1216, 1316; asf. þine 288, 548, 635, 1190, 1384, 1424; asn. þin 216, 954, 1295, 1418; isn. þine 284; npm. þine 399; gp. þinra 482; dp. þinum 1285, 1289, 1292; ap. þine 421.

ðing, n., *meeting*: as. þing 157, 930. *See* **geðing**, **gūðgeðingu**.

ðinggemearc, n., *appointed time*: gs. þinggemearces 148.

ðinglan, *see* **wiððinglan**.

ðingstede, m., *council-place*: ds. þingstede 1098.

ðingu, *see* **gūðgeðingu**.

ðisa, *see* **brimþisa**.

-ðofta, *see* **geðofta**.

-ðoht, *see* **geðoht**.

ðollan, W2, *endure*: pres. opt. 2 sg. ðolie 955, þolige 1217; inf. þolian 1414. *See* **geðollan**.

ðonne, adv., *then*: 655, AP. 103, þonne 152, 347, 399, 1309, AP. 88.

ðonne, conj. 1. *when*: þonne 4, 9, 142, 252, 409, 412, 512, 891, 1500, AP. 92. — 2. *than*: þonne 924, 1089, 1178, 1428, 1484, 1519, AP. 49.

-ðræc, *see* **geðræc**.

-ðracu, *see* **holmðracu**.

ðræg, f., *time*: ns. þräh 107; gs. ðräge 1598; as. þräge 790, AP. 30.

ðrægmaelum, adv., *from time to time*: 1230.

ðrēa, f., *trouble, affliction*: ns. þrēa 1166; as. 107.

ðrēagan, W1, *cast down, scourge, subdue*: pret. 3 sg. þrēade 452, 1687; pp. npm. geþrēade 391.

ðrēanēd, f., *affliction, suffering*: dp. þrēanēdum 1264.

ðrēat, n., *host, multitude*: ns. þrēat 870, 1095, 1269; as. 1608; is. þrēate 1636; gp. þrēata 376.

ðrēatlan, W2, *scourge, control*: 3 sg. þrēatað 520. *See* **geðrēatlan**.

ðreodian, W2, *hesitate, fear*: pret. 3 sg. þreodode AP. 18.

ðrida, adj., *third*: asm. þridan 793; ism. 1391.

ðriness, f., *the Trinity*: gs. þrinness 1685.

ðring, *see* **geðring**.

ðringan, 3, *crowd, throng*: pret. 3 pl. þrungon 126, 1203. *See* **æt-**, **ge-**, **ingeðringan**.

ðrist, **ðriste**, adj., *bold*: nsm. þrist 1139, 1264, þriste 237.

ðriste, adv., *boldly*: þriste 1652, AP. 50.

ðristlice, adv., *boldly, rashly*: 1185.

ðritig, num., *thirty*: 157.

ðrothheard, adj. 1. *strong to endure, patient*: nsm. þrothheard 1264; asm. þrothheardne 1391; npm. þrothearde 402. — 2. *grievous, hard to endure*: nsm. þrothheard 1139.

ðrōwian, W2, *suffer, endure*: 3 pl. þrōwiað 281; pret. 3 sg. þrōwode 1610, AP. 71; pret. 2 pl. þrōwodon 431; pret. 3 pl. þrōwedon 414, 1071; inf. þrōwian 80, 615, 1468, þrōwigan 1367, AP. 80.

ðrȳ, num., *three*: nm. þrȳ 801; nf. þrēo 185; gf. þrēora 930; df. þrīm 148; am. þrȳ 245, 1414.

- Þrym**, n. 1. *glory, majesty*: ns. þrym 3, 887, AP. 8; ds. þrymme 1685; as. þrym 344, 723, 998. — 2. *multitude, power, strength*: ns. þrym 1260, 1536, 1572; ds. þrymme AP. 18; as. þrym 957. See **cyne-**, **heofon-**, **hilde-**, **wuldorþrym**.
- Þrymfæst**, adj., *strong, glorious*: nsm. þrymfæst 323, vsm. 479.
- Þrymfull**, adj., *illustrious*: npm. þrymfulle 363.
- Þrymlic**, adj., *glorious*: apm. þrymlice 245.
- Þrymlíce**, adv., *gloriously*: 547.
- Þrymma**, m., *strong man, warrior*: np. þrymman 1139.
- Þrymsittende**, adj., *dwelling in glory*: gsm. þrymsittende 417, 528; npm. þrymsittende 884.
- Þrýð**, f., *strength, power*: ip. þrýðum 376, 1148.
- Þrýðbearn**, n., *glorious son*: as. þrýðbearn 494.
- Þrýðcyning**, m., *king of glory*: as. þrýðcining 436.
- Þrýðfull**, adj., *glorious, powerful*: dpm. þrýðfullum 1329.
- Þrýðweorc**, n., *glorious work*: as. þrýðweorc 773.
- Þū**, pron., *thou*: ns. 73, 85, 98, 105, etc.; þū 68, 283, 943, 1187, etc.; for gs. see **Þin**; ds. ǵē 275, 386, 483, 618, etc., þē 81, 83, 97, 102, etc.; as. ǵē 112, 292, 534, 633, etc.; þē 99, 100, 101, 108, etc.; np. gē 256, 295, 337, 344, 345, 346, 348, 429(2), 430, 676, 744, 746, 1179, 1183, 1197, 1333, 1558, 1609, 1612; dp. ēow 297, 338, 346, 458, 758, 851, 970, 1176, 1343, 1344, 1611; ap. ēow 336, 347, 884, ēowic 259, 882.
- Þurfan**, PP, *need*: 2 pl. þurfan 337. See **beðurfan**.
- Þurh**, prep. w. acc. 1. *through, by, because of, in accordance with (condition and agency)*: þurh 66, 315, 633, AP. 34, 68, 80, þurh 34, 79, 109, 187, 218, 436, 525, 585, 597, 611, 631, 635, 642, 651, 670, 688, 699, 725, 771, 827, 912, 941, 965, 971, 975, 1000, 1092, 1294, 1336, 1348, 1418, 1440, 1442, 1444, 1475, 1476, 1520, 1530, 1532, 1552, 1580, 1586, 1616, 1629, 1635, 1651, 1692, AP. 26, 29, 39, 53, 56, 60, 67, þurg AP. 13, 63, þurg AP. 72. — 2. *through, out of (place)*: þurh 739, 1276, 1279.
- Þurhdrifan**, 1, *pierce through*: pp. þurhdrifen 1397.
- Þus**, adv., *thus*: 1411, AP. 85, þus 62, 173, 354, 539, 686, 818, 1716.
- Þusend**, num., *thousand*: ap. þusends 591.
- Þusendmælum**, adv., *in thousands*: þusendmælum 872.
- Þyder**, adv., *thither*: þyder 282.
- Þy læs**, conj., *lest, that not*: þy læs 77, 1147, þē læs 1047.
- Þyldig**, see **geðyldig**.
- Þyn**, 1, *suppress*: 3 sg. ǵyð 520. See **geðyn**.
- Þyncan**, W1, *seem*: 3 sg. þinceð 609, þynceð 472; pret. 3 sg. þūhte 740, 1135; pret. 3 pl. þūhton 440.
- Þynden**, see **þenden**.
- Þyssa**, see **mereðyssa**.

U

U = rune \sqcap AP. 101; for meaning, see *Notes*.

ūhta, m., *dawn*: ds. ūhtan 235, 1388.

unbræce, adj., *imperishable*: asm. unbræcne AP. 86.

uncūð, adj., *unknown, strange*: asn. AP. 93; npn. AP. 112; gp. uncūðra 178.

under, prep., *under, beneath, in*: w. dat. 2, 93, 98, 505, 512, 545, 837, 1009, 1204, 1402, 1493; w. acc. 128, 208, 455, 1305, 1457, 1595, 1600; case indeterminate 46, 95, 141, 144, 420, 832, 940, 1005, 1013, 1038, 1065, 1071, 1253.

undyrne, adj., *manifest, famous*: nsf. AP. 42; asf. 1480.
unēaðe, adj., *difficult*: nsn. 205.
unforēuð, adj., *noble, illustrious*: nsm. 1263; vsm. 745.
unfyrn, adv., *soon*: 1371.
unhēore, adj., *harmful, murderous*: asm. unhēorne 34.
unhwīlen, adj., *eternal*: asf. 1154; asn. AP. 20, 120.
unhȳðig, adj., *wretched*: npm. unhȳðige 1078.
unlād, adj., *wretched, wicked*: np. unlāde 744; gp. unlādra 30, 142.
unlȳtel, adj., *not little, great*: nsm. 1237; nsf. 1270; nsn. AP. 8; asn. 876; apm. unlȳtle 1493.
unmāete, adj., *very great*: nsn. 1219; asn. 653, 1682.
unnan, PP, w. gen., *grant*: inf. 146, 298. See **geunnan**.
unriht, n., *wrong*: ds. unrihte 1559.
unrim, n., *great number*: as. 704.
unsælig, adj., *unhappy, ill-fated*: npm. unsælige 561.
unscyldig, adj., *guiltless, innocent*: nsm. 1137.
unslāw, adj., *not slow, hastening*: asm. unslāwne 1711.
unsȳfre, adj., *dirty*: asn. 1310.
untwēonde, adj., *not doubting, unhesitating*: asn. 1242.
untȳddre, adj., *courageous*: nsm. 1252.
unweaxen, adj., *not fully grown, young*: npm. unweaxne 1627.
ūp, adv., *up, above*: 792, upp 443, 979, 1125, 1236, 1303, 1318, 1625.
ūpengel, m., *heavenly angel*: gp. ūpengla 226.
ūpgemynd, n., *thought of heaven*: as. 1064.
ūphefon, m., *heaven above*: as. 798.
ūplic, adj., *upper, celestial*: dsn. ūplican 119.
uppe, adv., *above, on high*: 749.
ūpweg, m., *ascent*: as. 830.

ūre, see **ūser**.

ūser, pron., *our*: nsn. ūre 454; asm. ūserne 340, 397, 860; asf. ūsse AP. 116; gpn. ūssa 1319.
ūt, adv., *out, forth*: 15, 968, 1221, 1272, 1279, 1390, 1523, 1537, 1577.
ūtan, adv., *outside, from without*: 28, 871.
utan, interj., *let us*: 1356, utu AP. 115.
ūðweota, m., *wise man, sage*: ns. 1105.

W

W = rune † AP. 100; for meaning, see *Notes*.
wāc, adj., *weak, yielding*: nsm. 212.
wacan, see **onwacan**.
wād, n., *wave, flood*: np. wādu 533, wadu 1545; gp. wāda 439; ap. waðu 1457.
wād, f., *sail*: np. wādo 375.
wadan, 6, *traverse, go*: 2 pl. wadað 677; inf. 1271. See **ge-**, **onwadan**.
wāg, m., *wall*: ds. wāge 714, 732. See **sælwāg**.
wāg, m., *wave*: ns. 533; gs. wāges 632, wēges 601; as. wēg 1532; is. wāge 1594; np. wāgas 373, 1545; gp. wēga 932; ap. wāgas 456, 748, 1589, wēgas 198.
wāgan, see **āwāgan**.
wāgfaru, f., *sea-way, ocean*: ds. wāgfære 923.
wāgflota, m., *ship*: ds. wāgflotan 487.
wāgðel, n., *ship*: ds. wægþele 1711.
wālan, see **bewālan**.
walca, m., *wave*: np. walcan 1524.
waldend, see **wealdend**.
wælgīfre, adj., *eager for carnage*: nsm. 372; nsf. 1271.
wælgreādig, adj., *greedy for slaughter*: npm. wælgreādige 136.
wælgrim, adj., *grievous, cruel*: apn. 1415.
wælm, see **wylm**.
wælreaf, n., *body*: as. AP. 95.

- wælrēow**, adj., *murderous*: nsm. AP. 69; npm. wælrēowe 1211.
- wælwang**, m., *field of battle*: ds. welwange 1226.
- wælwulf**, m., *warrior*: np. wælwulfas 149.
- wana**, indecl. adj., *lacking, minus, less*: 1040.
- wang**, m., *plain, field*: ds. wonge 22; as. wang 839. *See* **beadu-**, **dēað-**, **meotud-**, **neorxna-**, **sæl-**, **sigē-**, **stede-**, **walwng.**
- wangstede**, m., *place*: ds. 988.
- wanhāl**, adj., *sick*: np. wanhāle 580.
- wann**, adj., *dark*: nsm. 1169; npn. wonn 837. *See* **brūnwann.**
- wansælig**, adj., *unblest*: npm. wansælige 963.
- wāpen**, n., *weapon*: gs. wāpnes 1180; ap. wāpen 1145; gp. wāpna 71; dp. wāpnum 1291; ip. 1069, AP. 69.
- wāpenhete**, m., *armed hostility, battle*: as. AP. 80.
- wær**, n., *sea*: is. wære 269, 487.
- wær**, f. 1. *faith*: as. wære 213. — 2. *protection*: as. wære 824; is. 535, 988. *See* **freoðuwær.**
- wārfæst**, adj., *faithful*: nsm. 416, 1310; asm. wārfæstne 1273.
- wārlēas**, adj., *faithless*: gp. wārlēasra 1069.
- wārloga**, m., *traitor*: ns. 1297; ds. wārlogan 613; np. 71, 108.
- waroð**, m., *shore*: ds. waroðe 263, waruðe 236, 240; gp. waroða 306.
- waroðfaruð**, m., *surf*: gp. waroðfaruða 197.
- waru**, *see* **burgwaru**, **ceaster-**, **eorð-**, **Sigelware.**
- waruðgewinn**, n., *surf*: as. 439.
- wætan**, *see* **gewætan.**
- wæter**, n., *water*: ns. 333; gs. wæteres 22, 452, 1260, 1536; ds. wætere 587, wætre 953; as. wæter 201, 222, 253, 1507; np. 1553, 1572.
- wæterbrōga**, m., *water-terror*: as. wæterbrōgan 197, 456.
- wæteregesa**, m., *water-terror*: ns. 435, wæteregsa 375.
- wæterflōd**, m., *flood*: np. wæterflōdas 503.
- wāð**, f., *going, journey*: ds. wāðe 593.
- wāðu**, *see* **wæd.**
- wāðuma**, m., *flood*: gs. wāðuman 1280.
- wēa**, m., *woe, lamentation*: is. wēan 675.
- wealc**, *see* **gewealc.**
- weald**, conj., with **hū**, *however*: 1355.
- weald**, *see* **ge-**, **æhtgeweald.**
- wealda**, *see* **ealwealda.**
- wealdan**, R, w. gen., *rule*: 3 sg. wealdeð 1603, 1685. *See* **gewealdan.**
- wealdend**, m., *ruler, Lord*: ns. 225, 248, 325, 604, 799, waldend 388, 702, 855; gs. wealdendes 576; as. waldend 213, 539, 1056; vs. 193, 920, 1451.
- weall**, m., *wall*: ds. wealle 726, 736, 1492; np. weallas 843; ap. 1553. *See* **burhweall.**
- weallan**, R. 1. *flow, well out, flow forth*: 3 pl. weallað 1405; pret. 3 sg. wēoll 1240, 1275, 1280, 1546; ptc. nsn. weallende 1574; inf. 1503. — 2. *be agitated, excited*: pret. 3 sg. wēoll 769; ptc. nsm. weallende 1709. *See* **āweallan.**
- weallgeat**, n., *wall-gate*: dp. weallgeatum 1203.
- weard**, m., *ward, guardian*: ns. 227, 596, 601, 632, 987; as. 52, 56; vs. 82, 1406. *See* **burh-**, **helm-**, **herig-**, **līd-**, **scipweard.**
- weard**, *see* **and-**, **innanweard.**
- weardigan**, W₂, *guard, inhabit*: 3 pl. weardigað 176; inf. 599.
- wēatācen**, n., *sign of grief*: ns. 1119.
- wēaxan**, 6, *grow, increase*: pret. 3 sg. wēox 568, 1536, 1677; pret. 3 pl. wēoxon 373, 1545.
- wēaxen**, *see* **unwēaxen.**

- webblan**, W₂, *weave*: pret. 3 sg. webbade 672.
- weccean**, W₁, *awaken*: inf. 850. *See* āweccean.
- wecgan**, *see* āwecgan.
- wedd**, n., *promise*: is. wedde 1631.
- weder**, n. 1. *sky*: gs. wederes 837. — 2. *air, breeze*: np. 1256.
- wederburg**, f., *pleasant city*: as. 1697.
- wedercandel**, f., *light of heaven, sun*: ns. 372.
- weg**, m., *way, road*: as. 170, 191, 252, 1173, 1680, AP. 31; np. wegas 1234; gp. wega 65. *See* bæð-, feor-, fold-, grund-, holm-, ūpweg.
- wegan**, 5, *bear, endure, experience*: pret. 3 pl. wēgan AP. 87.
- wel**, adj., *well*: 212, well 885.
- wela**, m., *riches, prosperity*: gs. welan 1159; as. 302, 318; ip. welum 755. *See* āht-, ār-, bold-, ead-, lifwela.
- wellan**, *see* āwellan.
- welm**, *see* wylm.
- welwang**, *see* wālwang.
- wēman**, W₁. 1. *sound, be heard*: pret. 3 sg. wēme 740. — 2. *proclaim, announce*: pret. 1 sg. wēme 1480.
- wemman**, *see* gewemmed.
- wēn**, f., *hope, expectation*: ns. 1074; dp. wēnum 1087.
- wēna, *see* orwēna.
- wēnan**, W₁, w. gen., *expect*: pret. 3 sg. wēnde 377; pret. 3 pl. wēndan 1072, 1597.
- wendan**, W₁, *change, turn*: inf. 587. *See* onwendan.
- wende, *see* lēofwende.
- wenian**, W₁, *direct, guide*: pret. 3 sg. wenede 1682.
- weorce**, n. 1. *work, fabric*: as. 799. — 2. *occupation*: is. weorce 1365. — 3. *pain, affliction*: ns. 1659; gs. weorcæs 1277; as. weorc AP. 80. *See* ellen-, frum-, fyrn-, ge-, gūð-, ōrýð-, wundorweorce.
- weorm**, m., *worm*: ns. 769; dp. weorum AP. 95.
- weorn**, *see* weorn.
- weorod**, n., *host, throng*: ns. weorud 761, werod 1219; gs. weorodes 1039, 1271, 1592; ds. weorode 1659; as. weorod 1046, 1682; is. weorode 1706, weorude 1390; np. werod 1069; gp. weoroda 870, 1206, 1415, weoruda 62, 173, 388, 435, 727, 1282, 1663; dp. weorodum 564, 736, AP. 55, weorudum AP. 61.
- weorp**, *see* ge-, wintergeweorp.
- weorpan**, *see* ymbweorpan.
- weorðan**, 3. 1. *be, become*: 2 sg. wyrðest 483; 3 sg. weorðeð 1383, wyrðeð 219, 972; pret. 2 sg. wurde 1408; pret. 3 sg. wearð 90, 92, 350, 369, 467, 524, 566, 770, 910, 960, 1085, 1090, 1106, 1149, 1386, 1529, 1550, 1569, 1595, 1702, AP. 42, 52, 64, 82; pret. 3 pl. wurdon 376, 447, 453, 1339, 1583; opt. pres. 2 sg. weorðe 276; opt. pres. 3 sg. wyrðe 208; opt. pret. 3 sg. wurde 156, 1066, 1228, 1423; opt. pret. 3 pl. wurdan 1619; imper. 2 sg. weorð 902; inf. weorðan 137, 211, 758, 890, 953, weorþan 204, 948, wyrðan 215, 437, wyrþan 182. — 2. *befall, happen*: pret. 3 sg. wearð 1343, 1526, AP. 78. *See* geweorðan.
- weorðian**, W₂, *honor*: pret. 2 sg. wyrðodest 551; pret. 3 sg. weorðode 755, weorðade 1268, wyrðode 55, wyrðude 538; pret. 3 pl. weorðodon 806, weorðadon 1055, weorðedon 1715; inf. AP. 48. *See* geweorðian.
- weorðung**, *see* dōm-, slincweorðung.
- weota**, *see* wita.
- wēpan**, R. 1. *cry out, weep*: pret. 3 sg. wēop 1400; ptc. nsm. wēpende 59. — 2. *beweep, be grieved at*: imper. 2 sg. wēp 1431.
- wer**, m., *man*: ns. 168, 1395; gs. weres AP. 27; as. wer 1171, 1648; np. weras 963, 1536, 1637, 1666; gp.

- wera** 35, 135, 620, 650, 705, 730, 787, 1145, 1155, 1200, 1507, 1554, 1597; dp. werum 22, 153, 558, AP. 106; ap. weras 428.
- wergan**, *see* **āwergan**.
- werlan**, W1, *ward off, defend*: pret. 3 sg. werede 743, 1053.
- wērīg**, adj. 1. *wearry, wretched*: nsn. 1278; npm. wērige 580, 593; dpm. wēregum 59. — 2. *evil, cursed*: gs. wērīges 1169; np. wērīge 615; dp. wērīgum 86, 615. *See* **līd-**, **sāwērīg**.
- wērīgferð**, adj., *sad at heart*: nsm. 1400.
- wērīgmōd**, adj., *wearry in spirit*: nsm. 1366.
- werðeod**, f., *people, nation*: gs. werðeode 855; ds. werþeode 137, 573; ap. werþeoda 543, AP. 15.
- wesan**, anv., *be, exist*: 1 sg. eom 636, bēo 72; 2 sg. eart 505, 527, 1188, 1291, 1508; 3 sg. is 102, 113, 120, 177, 313, 324, 393, 394, 420, 422, 424, 492, 496, 501, 526, 542, 544, 549, 682, 717, 719, 724, 751, 758, 906, 907, 940, 951, 979, 1165, 1166, 1173, 1199, 1317, 1372, 1425, 1427, 1434, 1481, 1489, 1562, 1563, 1565, 1602, 1605, 1611, 1664, 1717, 1718, 1722, AP. 14, 118; (w. neg.) nis 107, 205, 1210, 1432; bið 185, 275, 320, 637, 885, 889, 935, 1056, 1153, 1384, 1567, 1693, AP. 113; 1 pl. synd 323; syndon 264; biōð 408; 2 pl. sint 348; synd 744; syndon 344, 676; 3 pl. sint 1404, 1425; synt 198, 391; synd 1365; sindon 201, 1369, AP. 112; syndon 686, 689, 720, 973; pret. 1 sg. wæs 64, 489, 949; pret. 2 sg. wære 898; pret. 3 sg. wæs 11, 19, 25, 29, 36, 40, 41, 57, 122, 147, 158, 161, 169, 230, 231, 232, 239, 248, 262, 385, 594, 665, 667, 684, 700, 854, 869, 874, 878, 887, 892, 967, 981, 1010, 1013, 1018, 1097, 1105, 1112, 1116, 1119, 1138, 1155, 1201, 1223, 1225, 1238, 1242, 1245, 1250, 1251, 1253, 1274, 1302, 1307, 1322, 1382, 1394, 1395, 1476, 1532, 1534, 1537, 1542, 1547, 1554, 1571, 1573, 1579, 1581 (2), 1584, 1622, 1627, 1643, 1659, 1689, 1708, AP. 25, 37, 41, 48, 57, 66, 106; (w. neg.) næs 21, 380, 662, 888, 1113, 1162, 1471, 1522, AP. 33; pret. 3 pl. wæron 7, 46, 250, 579, 791, 1016, 1041, 1114, 1259, 1334, 1695, AP. 4; (w. neg.) næron AP. 75; opt. 2 sg. sīe 417; opt. 3 sg. 70, 1439, 1451, AP. 107; opt. 3 pl. sīen 734; pret. opt. 3 sg. wære 563, 765, 799, 1178; imp. 2 sg. bēo 98, 214; wes 540, 914, 959; imp. 2 pl. bēoð 1609.
- wēste**, adj., *desolate*: asn. 1159.
- wēstenn**, n., *desert*: ds. wēstenne 699.
- wex**, n., *wax*: ds. wexe 1145.
- wīc**, fn., *habitation*: as. 131, 1310; np. AP. 112. *See* **eardwīc**.
- wīcg**, n., *horse*: dp. wīcgum 1095.
- wīd**, adj. 1. *broad, wide*: asm. wīdne 283. — 2. w. **feorh**, **ealdor**, = *forever*: dsn. wīdan 106, 810, 938, 1452, 1721; asn. 1383.
- wīde**, adv., *widely, far and wide*: 333, 576, 1119, 1234, 1554, 1637, AP. 2, 6, 15, 42.
- wīdfæðme**, adj., *broad-bosomed*: nsm. 533; asn. 240.
- wīdfērende**, adj., *far-traveling*: np. 279.
- wīdland**, n., *earth, broad earth*: as. 198.
- wīdlāst**, m., *far journey*: ap. wīdlāstas 677.
- wīdrynīg**, adj., *far-flowing*: asn. 1507.
- wīf**, n., *woman*: np. 1666; gp. wīfa 1039, 1597.
- wīg**, m., *idol*: as. AP. 48.
- wīg**, n., *war, battle*: gs. wīges 839, 1183, 1226, 1355, AP. 74.
- wīga**, m., *warrior*: as. wīgan 1711.
- wīgend**, m., *warrior*: np. 1053, 1203; gp. wīgendra 506, 887, 896, 1450, 1572, 1608, 1672, wīgendra 1095; ap. wīgend 850, 1297.

- wiht**, fn., *aught*: is. *wihte* 1522, 1661.
See eall-, ðwihht.
- willa**, m., *will, desire*: ns. 70; gs. *willan* 65, 106; ds. 1401, 1641; as. 304, 356; ip. *willum* (*blissfully*) 810.
- willan**, anv., *will, wish, desire*: 1 sg. *wille* 84, 347, 458, 474, 648, 1412; 2 sg. *wilt* 288; 1 pl. *willað* 292; 3 pl. 178, 298; pret. 1 sg. *wolde* 271, 478, 483, 970; pret. 2 sg. *woldest* 203, *woldes* 308; pret. 3 sg. *wolde* 146, 894, 1109, 1130, 1655, 1658, 1660, 1699, AP. 47; pret. 1 pl. *woldon* 1424; pret. 3 pl. 129, 402, 803, 1072, 1141, 1392, 1460, 1538, 1639; opt. 2 sg. *wille* 75, 342, 1286.
- willgedryht**, f., *faithful band*: as. 914.
- willgeofa**, m., *gracious dispenser*: as. *wilgeofan* 62; vs. *willgeofa* 1282.
- wilnian**, W₂, w. gen., *desire*: 2 sg. *wilnast* 283; pret. 3 sg. *wilnode* 918; pret. 3 pl. *wilnedon* 448; inf. 1128.
- wilsid**, m., *pleasant journey*: as. 1046.
- wilþegu**, f., *desired feast*: ds. *wilþege* 153.
- wīn**, n., *wine*: as. 587. [Lat. *vinum*.]
- wīnburg**, f., *city of festivity*: as. 1637; ds. *wīnbyrig* 1672.
- wind**, m., *wind*: ns. 269, 503; np. *windas* 373; ap. 452, 456.
- windan**, 3, *wind, gyrate*: pret. 3 sg. *wand* 372. *See be-, onwindan.*
- windig**, adj., *windy*: npm. *windige* 843.
- wine**, m., *friend*: as. 1464; vs. 307, 1431; np. *winas* 198. ^d
- winedryhten**, m., *friendly lord*: as. 919.
- wineðearfende**, adj., *in need of a friend*: nsm. *wineþearfende* 300.
- winn**, *see ge-, gārge-, gūðge-, hand-gewinn.*
- winna**, *see gewinna.*
- winnan**, 3, *endure, suffer*: pret. 2 sg. *wunne* 1380.
- wīnræced**, n., *wine-hall*: as. 1159.
- winter**, m., *winter, i.e. year*: dp. *wintrum* 506.
- winterceald**, adj., *wintry cold*: asf. *wintercealdan* 1265.
- wintergeworp**, n., *winter storm*: ip. *wintergeworpum* 1256.
- wīr**, m., *wire, bracelet*: gp. *wīra* 302.
- wīs**, adj., *wise*: nsm. 316, 470, 919, 1497, *wīsa* 843; asm. 552; vsm. *wīs* 624; comp. asm. *wīsan* 474.
- wīsdōm**, m., *wisdom*: ns. 569, 1678; gs. *wīsdōmes* 645; as. *wīsdōm* 650.
- wīsfæst**, adj., *wise*: asm. *wīsfæstne* 1648; gp. *wīsfæstra* 1167.
- wīsian**, W₂. 1. trans. w. acc. and dat., *guide, direct*: pret. 3 sg. *wīsode* 381, AP. 9; opt. 2 sg. *wīsigde* 488; inf. 1099. — 2. intrans., *lead or indicate the way*: pret. 3 sg. *wīsode* 985.
- wīslīc**, adj., *wise*: asn. 509.
- wīst**, f., *food*: ns. 21; ds. *wīste* 153; as. 302, 312, 318, 593, 1074, *wīst* 388. *See ondwīst.*
- wit**, *see edwītspærce, ge-, inwīt.*
- wīta**, *see fyrrnwīta, ūðweota.*
- witan**, PP, *know*: 1 sg. *wāt* 183, 199, 433, 498, 814, 904, 941; 2 sg. *wāst* 932, *wæst* 1186, 1282; pret. 3 sg. *wīste* 261; opt. 1 sg. *wīte* 603; opt. 3 sg. 546; w. neg., 1 sg. *nāt* AP. 111; 2 pl. *nyton* 745; pret. 3 pl. *nyston* 1088.
- wītan**, *see ge-, oðwītan.*
- wīte**, n., *punishment, torture*: ns. 889; np. *wītu* 1365; gp. *wīta* 1470, 1490, 1618; dp. *witum* 1299; ap. *wītu* 1052, 1415, 1611; ip. *witum* 580, 1211, 1361, 1631.
- wītebend**, mf., *torture-bonds*: ip. *wītebendum* 108, 1561.
- wītian**, W₂, *order, appoint, decree*: pp. *witod* 889, *weotod* 951, *weotud* 1366, asf. *weotude* 1074.
- wītīg**, adj., *wise*: nsm. 743.
- wītīga**, m., *prophet*: np. *wītigan* 801.
- wīð**, prep. w. dat. and acc. 1. w. dat., *against*: 425, 560, 1210, 1291, 1359. — 2. postpositive, w. dat., *in reply to*:

299. — 3. w. dat., *from* (separation): AP. 37, 83. — 4. w. dat., *from* (source): 275. — 5. w. acc., *to, towards*: 213, 389(?), 921, 1188, 1387, 1495.
- wīðferohtend**, m., *enemy*: as. 1183.
- wīðerhygende**, adj., *hostile, opposing*: nsm. 1172; npm. 1072.
- wīðerhȳdig**, adj., *hostile*: nsm. 675.
- wīðermēde**, adj., *hostile*: nsm. wīðermēda 1195.
- wīðstandan**, 6, w. dat. *oppose, defeat*: pret. 3 sg. wīðstōd 167.
- wīðinglan**, W2, w. dat., *talk with, bargain with*: pret. 3 sg. wīðingode 263, 306, 632.
- wlīte**, m., *appearance, beauty*: ns. 1471. *See* mægwlīte.
- wlītelēas**, adj., *ugly*: ns. 1169.
- wlītīg**, adj., *fair, beautiful*: nsm. 870; nsf. 732, wlītīge (weak) 1437; npm. wlītīge 363.
- wlītīge**, adv., *fairly, beautifully*: 716, 1721.
- wlītīgian**, *see* gewlītīgian.
- wlōh**, f., *fringe*: ns. 1471.
- wolcen**, n., *cloud, sky*: dp. wolcnum 93, 837; ip. 1046.
- wōma**, m., *tumult, terror*: as. wōman 1355. *See* dægred-, hildewōma.
- wong**, *see* wang.
- wōp**, m., *lamentation, weeping*: ns. 1155, 1554, 1666; gs. wōpes 1278.
- word**, n., *word, speech*: ns. 569, 1678; gs. wordes 261, 474, 1648; as. word 416, 650, 732, 801, 855, 896, 1172, 1299, 1358, 1361, 1381, 1400, 1418, 1439, 1497, 1663, AP. 53; is. worde 193, 210, 304, 418, 584, 716, 727, 743, 778, 850, 913, 1019, 1206, 1280, 1450; gp. worda 509, 904, 923, 1439; dp. wordum 88, 761, 1026, 1167, 1219, 1512, AP. 106; ip. 13, 55, 62, 173, 300, 354, 428, 539, 596, 624, 630, 740, 755, 806, 812, 919, 963, 1053, 1195, 1200, 1268, 1464, 1480, 1510, 1608. *See* hosp-, husc-, lēoðword.
- wordewīde**, m., *speech*: dp. wordewīdum 552, 1447.
- wordhlēoðor**, n., *speech, speaking*: ns. 708; gs. wordhlēoðres 93.
- wordhord**, n., *treasury of words*: as. 316, 601.
- wordlatu**, f., *delay in obeying*: ns. 1522.
- wordlaūu**, f., *speech, eloquence*: as. wordlaūe 635.
- wordloca**, m., *treasury of words*: as. wordlocan 470.
- worn**, m., *multitude, number*: as. 812, 904, weorn 677; gp. weorna 1490.
- worp**, *see* wintergeworp.
- woruld**, f. 1. *world, earth*: ds. worulde 304, 356, 948, AP. 112; as. woruld 576. — 2. *mankind*: ds. worulde 509. — 3. *in woruld worulda = forever*: as., gp. 1686.
- woruldspēd**, f., *worldly prosperity*: as. woruldspēde 318.
- woruldwunlgende**, adj., *dwelling on earth*: np. AP. 100.
- wōð**, f., *sound, voice, song*: as. wōðe 675.
- wræc**, n., *exile, misery*: gs. wræces 1383; as. wræc 1380.
- wræcsið**, m., *exile, misery*: ns. 889; as. 1358, 1431.
- wraecu**, f., *punishment*: as. wræce 615.
- wrāsen**, *see* fetor-, inwltwrāsen.
- wrætlic**, adj. 1. *skillful, beautiful*: asf. wrætlice 712. — 2. *wondrous*: nsm. wrætlic 740; nsf. 93; ipn. wrætlicum 630, 1200.
- wrāð**, adj., *angry*: nsm. 1297; dsm. wrāðum 613; gp. wrāðra 1273, 1317.
- wrecan**, 5. 1. *avenge*: inf. 1180. — 2. *utter, send forth*: pp. wrecen 1548. *See* bewrecan.
- wreðlan**, W1, *support*: pret. 3 sg. wreðede 523.
- wrīdian**, W2, *grow, flourish*: 3 sg. wrīdað 635; pret. 3 sg. wrīdode 767.

- writan**, 1, *write*: pret. 3 sg. wrāt 1510; inf. 13. See **āwritan**.
- wrōht**, f., *blame, calumny*: as. 672.
- wrōhtsmið**, m., *evil-doer*: dp. wrōhtsmiðum 86.
- wudubāt**, m., *wooden ship*: ds. wudubāte 905.
- wuldor**, n., *glory, heavenly glory, heaven*: ns. 171, 555, 854, 1317, 1452, 1463; gs. wuldres 55, 70, 88, 193, 210, 354, 535, 539, 596, 708, 726, 758, 806, 870, 887, 913, 1026, 1056, 1268, 1380, 1510, 1611, 1631, 1661, 1678, 1715, AP. 27, 48, 61, 87, wuldras 523; ds. wuldre 356, 948, 1682, 1721; is. 543, 669, 1618; vs. wuldor 1411, wuldur 899.
- wuldorcyning**, m., *king of glory*: gs. wuldorcyninges 418, 801, 1430, 1447; as. wuldorcining AP. 74.
- wuldorgesteald**, n., *heavenly habitation*: gp. wuldorgestealda 1686.
- wuldorgifu**, f., *glorious gift*: ip. wuldorgifum 938.
- wuldorspēdig**, adj., *glorious*: apm. wuldorspēdige 428.
- wuldortorht**, adj., *gloriously bright*: nsn. 1457.
- wuldorǫym**, m., *heavenly glory*: gs. wuldorǫymmes 325, 702.
- wulf**, see **wælwulf**.
- wund**, f., *wound*: ns. 1473; dp. wundum 953, 1278.
- wund**, adj., *wounded, crippled*: nsm. AP. 61; npm. wunde 407.
- wundor**, n., *wonder, miracle*: ns. 736; ds. wundre 620; as. wundor 620, 730; gp. wundra 564, 569, 584, 699, 812; dp. wundrum = adv. *wondrous* 1492, 1497; ap. wundor 604, 712.
- wundorcraeft**, m., *wondrous power*: is. wundorcraefte 13, 645, AP. 55.
- wundorweorc**, n., *miracle*: gp. wundorworca 705.
- wunian**, W2. 1, *occupy, dwell in*: pret. 3 pl. wunedon 131; imper. 2 sg. wuna 1672; inf. 1310, 1697.— 2, *support, stand by*: 1 sg. wunige 99, 1218.— 3, *remain, stand, abide*: 3 pl. wuniað 101; pret. 3 sg. wunode 163, 1262; pret. 3 pl. wunedon 868, 1158; opt. pres. 3 sg. wunige 945; inf. wunigean 802, AP. 95. See **gewunian**.
- wunigende**, see **woruldwunigende**.
- wunn**, see **wynn**.
- wurd**, see **wyrd**.
- wylm**, m., *surge, billow*: as. 367, 863; dp. wælmum 452. See **flōd-**, **heaðo-**, **strēamwylm**.
- wynn**, f. 1, *joy*: ns. 887, 1113, 1162; ip. wynnum 635, winnum 1019.— 2, *choice, best* (w. gen. pl.): ns. 1223; as. wunn 1713.
- wyrcan**, W1, *make, fashion*: pret. 3 sg. worhte 523, 1479. See **gewyrcan**.
- wyrd**, f. 1, *fate*: ns. 613, 1561.— 2, *event, happening*: ns. 758, wurd AP. 42; as. wyrd 1480; gp. wyrda 630, 1056. See **forwyrd**.
- wyrht**, see **gewyrht**.
- wyrhta**, m., *Creator*: ns. 325, 702. See **gewyrhta**.
- wyrresta**, see **yfel**.
- wyrðian**, see **weorðian**.
- wyrðmynd**, fn., *honor*: ip. wyrðmyndum 905.

Y

Y = rune 𐌺 AP. 103; for meaning, see Notes.

yfel, n., *evil*: ns. 695; gs. yfles 1382; gp. yfela 1312.

yfel, adj., *bad, evil*: sup. asm. wyrrestan 86; sup. npm. 1592.

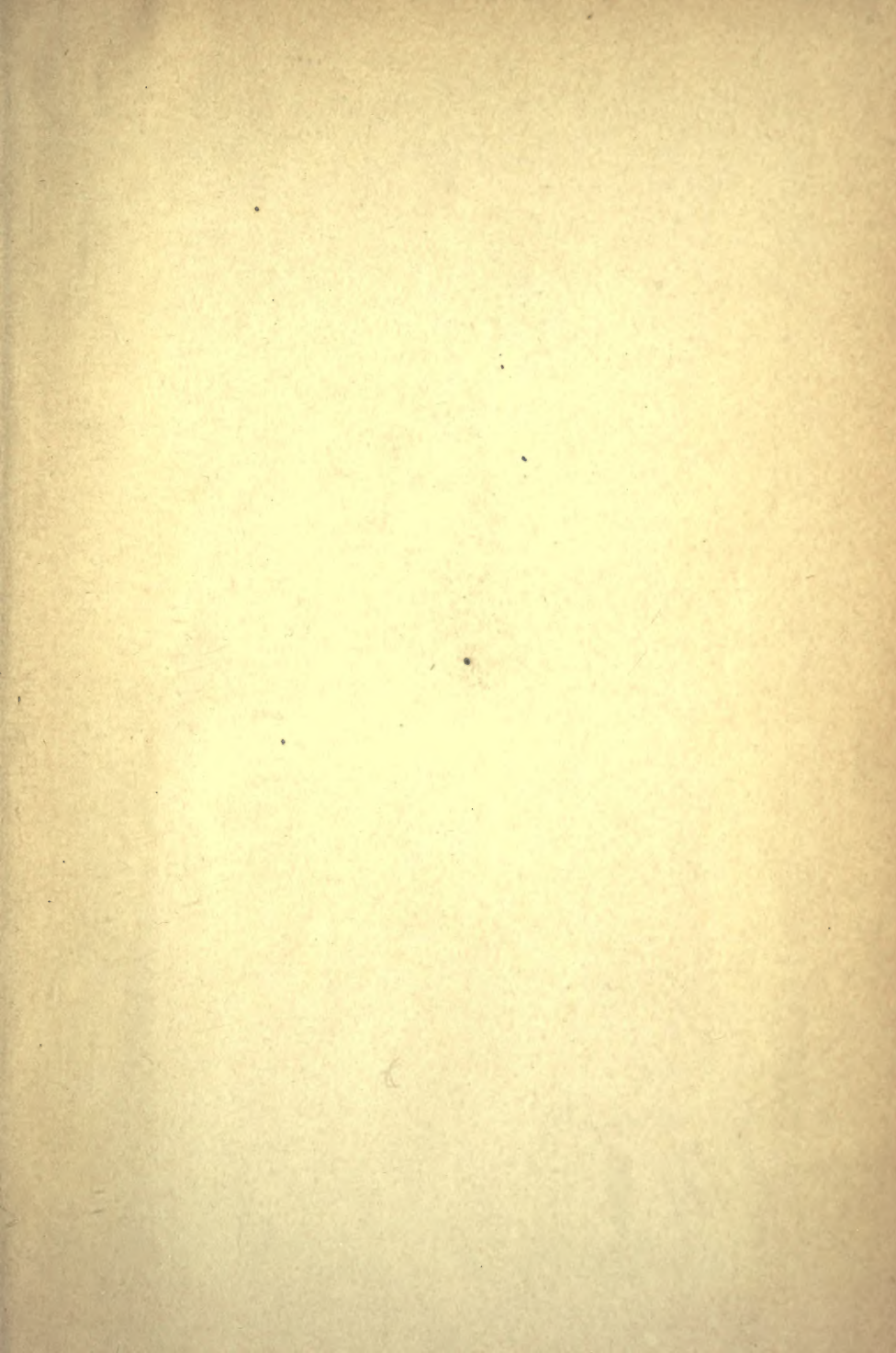
yld, mpl., *men*: gp. ylda 182, 1555.

ylding, f., *delay*: ns. 215.

ymb, prep. w. acc. 1, *round, about*: 872, 1233, 1247, ymbe 841, 871, 1577.— 2, *after, after every* (temporal): 157.— 3, *concerning*: 1117.

ymbscīnan, 1, *shine about*: pret. 3 sg. ymbscān 1017.

- ymbweorpan**, 3, *surround*: pret. 3 pl. ymbwurpon 1553.
- yppan**, *see* **geyppan**.
- yppe**, adj., *manifest, revealed*: nsn. AP. 64.
- yrmðu**, f., *distress, affliction*: as. 1384, yrmðo 1190, ermðu 1162; gp. yrmþa 970; dp. yrmðum 163.
- yrre**, adj., *angry*: asm. yrne AP. 68; npm. eorre 47, 1076.
- ȳst**, f., *tempest*: ns. 1586.
- ȳð**, f., *wave*: ns. 443; as. ȳðe 1591; gp. ȳða 259, 352, 368, 466, 823, 863; dp. ȳðum 451, 514, 1713; ap. ȳða 519; ip. ȳðum 1240, 1275, 1546. *See* **āryð**.
- ȳðbord**, n., *ship*: as. 298.
- ȳðfaru**, f., *flood*: ds. ȳðfare 900.
- ȳðfynde**, adj., *easy to find*: nsn. 1547.
- ȳðlād**, f., *ocean*: ds. ȳðlāde 499.
- ȳðlid**, n., *ship*: ds. ȳðlide 278; as. ȳðlid 445.
- ȳwan**, W1, *show*: pp. ȳwed 972. *See* **æt-**, **oðȳwan**.



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Andreas (Anglo-Saxon poem)

PR
1644

Andreas and the fates of the
apostles

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K7

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