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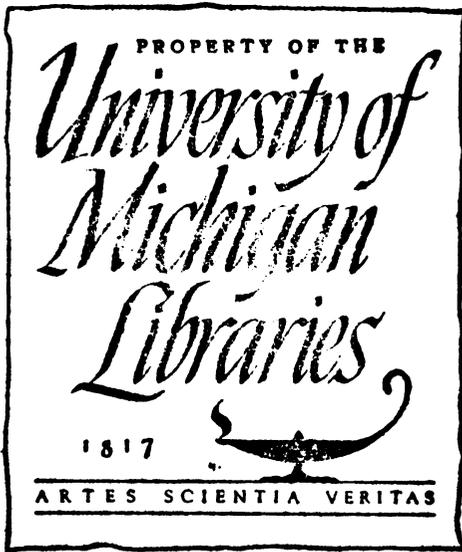
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### CYNEWULF

Across the centuries we spell thy name,  
Wrought deep within thy verse by runic sign,  
For though thy soul was rapt with things divine,  
Thou yet couldst not forego the dream of fame.  
The virgin martyr's faith thou dost acclaim;  
Dost sing the cross revealed by Heaven's design;  
The Advent's hope, the Ascent of Christ benign,  
The trump of Judgment, and its hurtling flame.

THE OLD ENGLISH  
ELENE, PHCENIX, AND  
PHYSIOLOGUS

EDITED BY  
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# INTRODUCTION

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## ELENE

### MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript in which the *Elene* is found is No. cxvii of the library of the Cathedral of Vercelli, in Northern Italy, midway between Turin and Milan, and is hence known as the Codex Vercellensis, or Vercelli Book. It was discovered in 1822 by a German jurist, Friedrich Blume, who then and there copied out the poetical pieces; the result of his investigations in this and other Italian libraries was made known in his book *Iter Italicum*,<sup>1</sup> the first volume of which was published in 1824.

The manuscript belongs to the later decades of the tenth century.<sup>2</sup> It contains 135 written leaves, and the average size of the written page is 9½ by 6 inches, while that of the complete page approximates 12¼ by 8.<sup>3</sup> It comprises twenty-three homilies and six interspersed poems, the arrangement of the latter being as follows: *Andreas* (fol. 29<sup>b</sup>—52<sup>b</sup>) and *Fates of the Apostles* (52<sup>b</sup>—54<sup>a</sup>), after the fifth homily; *Address of the Soul to the Body* (101<sup>b</sup>—103<sup>b</sup>), *Falsehood of Men* (104<sup>a</sup>—104<sup>b</sup>), *Dream of the Rood* (104<sup>b</sup>—106<sup>a</sup>), after the eighteenth; and *Elene* (121<sup>a</sup>—133<sup>b</sup>), after the twenty-second. The language is Late West Saxon, interspersed with occasional Early West Saxon

<sup>1</sup> i. 99. It seems to be mentioned by G. F. Leone in an inventory of the Cathedral Library compiled in 1602 (cf. Förster, *Il Codice Vercellese*, p. 40), and is certainly mentioned in a letter written by Giuseppe Bianchini (printed by Förster, p. 41), who suspected that it was German ('lingua Theotisca'), and reproduced a portion of one of the homilies, with many errors. Cf. *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach*, pp. 54-5.

<sup>2</sup> Brandl, in Paul, *Grundriss der Germ. Phil.*, 2d ed., 2. 1110; Förster, p. 14 (*Festschrift*, p. 26). Wülker and others have said the early part of the eleventh century; cf. Förster, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Förster, p. 7; *Festschrift*, p. 21.

and many Anglian forms, and a few traces of Kentish. The poems were probably Anglian, and have been changed by passing through West Saxon hands, but it is not necessary to suppose that the West Saxon elements were introduced by the latest scribe. The manuscript perhaps originated at Worcester, and in any case resembles the language as written at Worcester in that period.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing is known as to the manner in which the manuscript reached Vercelli, but various theories have been proposed. That of Wülker may thus be translated from his own words<sup>2</sup>:

As I was informed in Vercelli, there sprang up there in early times a hospice for Anglo-Saxon pilgrims on their journeys to and from Rome. This is intelligible enough if one considers that Vercelli lies directly on the road to Rome by Mont. Cenis or the Little or Great St. Bernard, and that these were the passes over which English pilgrims in the Middle Ages journeyed toward Rome. At this hospice a library of edifying books may gradually have been formed, to which our manuscript may have belonged.

This theory has but little to recommend it. The existence of the Anglo-Saxon hospice reposes upon modern hearsay, so far as appears; the library is purely hypothetical; and the presence of this volume in the hypothetical library is at least equally hypothetical. Is it likely that so large and precious a volume would have been contributed to the library of a mere hospice? And is it likely that pilgrims on their way to Rome would have had time to pore over any edifying books but their breviaries?

The other theory was first broached by an unnamed writer in the *Quarterly Review* for December, 1844, and March, 1845; it is to the effect that the book was presented to the church of St. Andrew in Vercelli by Cardinal Guala Bicchieri, not long after 1219. This theory I revived, and supported with new considerations, in Library Bulletin No. 10 of the University of California (1888). I thus briefly summarized the earlier arguments:

<sup>1</sup> Förster, pp. 19-21; *Festschrift*, pp. 33-5. A facsimile of the poetical texts was published by Wülker in 1894, and of the whole manuscript by Förster in 1913.

<sup>2</sup> *Codex Vercellensis*, pp. vi, vii.

1. Cardinal Guala was in England from 1216 to 1218.
2. While in England he had in his possession a priory of St. Andrew.<sup>1</sup>
3. After his return to Italy he founded the collegiate church of St. Andrew at Vercelli, and bestowed upon it relics of English saints.
4. The income from his English benefices perhaps enabled him to establish and endow the church at Vercelli.
5. The plan and many of the details of the church are Early English.
6. One of the chief poems of the Vercelli book is *St. Andrew*.

To the foregoing I added :

The facts not hitherto adduced in support of the hypothesis, and which seem to be as conclusive as circumstantial evidence can well be, are: Guala was a learned man, zealous for learning and religion, and the owner of perhaps the finest private library possessed at that time in Western Europe. The funds for the establishment of the monastery and the purchase of his books must have come largely from England—and why not certain books also? He must have been open-minded, and appreciative of the good he found in foreign parts, and especially anxious to testify his appreciation of English art; then why not of English letters? His spirit of good-will toward England was to some extent reciprocated there, and he sought to perpetuate it by selecting as abbot an ecclesiastic who, though French, should have English connections and sympathies, and a stake in English prosperity. The wisdom of his course is attested by the renown of the monastery school, and the fact that it immediately attracted one of the greatest Englishmen of the Middle Ages, who remained a firm friend after his departure, and perhaps gained other friends for its head. Guala must have thought oftenest of St. Martin and St. Andrew, patrons of France and North Britain respectively, especially revered by the two foreign nations in which his lot was cast, and which he afterwards honored on his return to his native country and his native town. Several circumstances must have conspired to deepen the impression thus made, particularly with reference to St. Andrew. We need not be surprised, then, at his immediate commemoration of that saint (by founding the monastery of St. Andrew in 1219), nor should we be surprised if a book once belonging to him commemorated both St. Martin and St. Andrew. By evincing a special interest in the Vercelli Book, he would have been honoring another saint (St. Helena) pecu-

<sup>1</sup> Of Chesterton, near Ely. Cf. Förster, p. 25; *Festschrift*, p. 39.

liarily dear to the English heart. Finally, his library did contain one or more books in English chirography, was bequeathed to this monastery, and, with whatever augmentations it had received, was a notable one at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In replying to the above arguments, Wülker admits (*Codex Vercellensis*, p. vi) the possibility of this mode of transmission, but urges that Guala probably understood no English, let alone Anglo-Saxon, and that if he be supposed to have presented this book to his foundation because it contained a poem on St. Andrew, that implies a good knowledge of Old English on his part. Besides, asks Wülker, who among his countrymen was to read the manuscript? To this it may be answered: Collectors of rare and precious volumes are not always familiar with the languages in which they are written, and yet are frequently aware of the notable matters they contain. In the case of a fine book like the Vercelli manuscript, we may either assume that there were Englishmen living who could read it, or that its contents were known in a general way by tradition. If it were venerated by the English, that would be a reason why a collector might be anxious to acquire it, whether he could read it or not; but we have seen, besides, that his monastery school at Vercelli attracted into residence a great Englishman (Adam de Marisco), so that his book may not have lacked readers on Italian soil, though we should grant that Italians found it unreadable.

The matter has recently been reopened by Förster,<sup>1</sup> who adduces the following facts as bearing upon the problem:

1. Guala's church, or rather monastery, was erected on the site of a former church of St. Andrew.

2. The monastery was erected by, and for the use of, Augustinians whom Guala brought from St. Victor, near Paris, and a well-known French archæologist has declared the architecture to be Gothic of Northern France.

3. The catalogue of the books which Guala left to his monastery contains no mention of our manuscript.

4. In 1748, and perhaps in 1602, the manuscript belonged to

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff.; *Festschrift*, pp. 35 ff.

the cathedral library, and we are not sure that it was ever in the possession of the monastery.

5. No member of the higher clergy at the time of Guala's residence in England would probably have cared for an Old English manuscript, or have been able to read it, or even have been able to spell out the characters in which it was written.<sup>1</sup> Even the English themselves could hardly understand Old English perfectly at the end of the 12th century. Hence the 'Andrea(s)' of the manuscript (occurring 32 times, by the way) would not have been likely to attract their attention, especially as it is nowhere conspicuous on the page.

Förster then suggests that, as Blume found in 1822 in the cathedral library a Gregorian sacramentary which had been lent by Erkanbald, Abbot of Fulda, to Henry, Bishop of Würzburg between 997 and 1011, either Fulda or Würzburg, both centres of British learning, might perhaps have been the means of transmitting the Vercelli Book to Italy in the 11th or 12th century. Other monasteries which might be thought of are Luxeuil and Fleury.

The objections raised by Förster under (1) and (2) seem valid. To (3) it might be replied, as Förster himself admits, that Guala might already have presented the manuscript to his monastery; to (4) that the books of the monastery may have been turned over, at least in part, to the cathedral library, since no one seems to know what became of them.<sup>2</sup> With respect to (5), I will quote from Earle<sup>3</sup> (pp. cviii-cxix) a few sentences already used in my brief paper, 'Archaic English in the Twelfth Century'<sup>4</sup>: 'Priority of attention to Latin, with a growing neglect of the mother tongue, was the prevailing tendency in the first half of the twelfth century; but then came a reaction, perhaps only

<sup>1</sup> Förster explicitly says (p. 33) that the period between 1000 and 1175 is the only one in which the writing and the language could have been read, and that, in fact, at any time after 1125, the dominant French theology would have rendered a knowledge of Old English manuscripts the possession of only the occasional amateur. Cf. *Festschrift*, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> So Förster, pp. 28-9; *Festschrift*, pp. 42-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Hand-book to the Land Charters, and other Saxon Documents*.

<sup>4</sup> *Scottish Historical Review* 12. 213-5.

partial and local, of which our best specimens are in a book from Winchester. . . . Consequently we observe all the tokens of a Renaissance of the mother tongue. . . . The study has manifestly engendered a real taste for the royal style of the old language, and a sincere passion to master the charm of it.' Earle then speaks of 'the genuine early forms that here and there peep out through the scholastic text' [of the charters that he cites], and adds: 'This brings us to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.' Again he speaks (p. 348) of the 'scholastic attention to the ancient forms of the language,' and of 'an Anglosaxon Renaissance at the close of the twelfth century,' and remarks of one of the charters in question<sup>1</sup> that it is 'a work of the thirteenth century.'<sup>2</sup> Evidently, then, there were ecclesiastics, higher or lower, who could read Old English at this time, and who would strive to communicate their enthusiasm to others.<sup>3</sup>

As to the transmission of English manuscripts to Vercelli by way of French or German monasteries, is it not more likely that any such should have come direct from England by the passes that Wülker designates? As late as the fourteenth century, at least, parties descending the Alps by the Mont Cenis passed through Vercelli on their way to larger and more important towns.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cott. Claud. C. ix of the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> For examples of the influence of a dominating foreign culture in stimulating the spirit of nationality, and reviving a vernacular literature, see Gaston Paris, *La Poésie du Moyen Age* 2. 35, 72, 74; Ker, *English Literature: Medieval*, pp. 65, 75 ff., 80; Morley, *English Writers* 3. 206; Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, p. 195; Taylor, *The Medieval Mind* 2. 164, 223; Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 2d ed., pp. 235, 397-8.

<sup>3</sup> Since Layamon's 'English book that St. Bede made' is held to refer to Alfred's translation of the *Ecclesiastical History*, we must agree with Skeat that he 'could read the old version of Bede intelligently' (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 16. 311). Of his language Sir James Murray has said (*ibid.* 9. 591): 'The language, though forty years later than the specimen from the Chronicle [1140], is much more archaic in structure, and can scarcely be considered even as Early Middle English.' Cf. Morley, *English Writers* 3. 211-2.

<sup>4</sup> See my paper, *The Last Months of Chaucer's Earliest Patron* (*Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* 21. 43).

We are evidently reduced to hypotheses; and, of all that have been proposed, that concerning Guala still seems to me the most plausible.

## AUTHOR AND DATE

On the evidence of the interspersed runes near the end of the poem, the *Elene*, like the *Juliana*, the *Christ*, and the *Fates of the Apostles*, was written by Cynewulf. The *Juliana* and the *Elene* spell the name Cynewulf, while the *Christ*, and probably the *Fates of the Apostles*, have Cynwulf. *Cyne-* in such words is the earlier spelling, and obtains from about 750 A. D.; *Cyn-* belongs almost wholly to the ninth century, but does not altogether crowd out the earlier *Cyne-*, which in turn had succeeded a still earlier *Cyni-*, again without completely displacing it.<sup>1</sup> The prevailing view among scholars is that Cynewulf was a Northumbrian, or at least an Anglian, ecclesiastic, who wrote in the second half of the eighth century,<sup>2</sup> or possibly as late as the very beginning of the ninth.<sup>3</sup> Greater precision than this does not at present seem

<sup>1</sup> *Christ*, ed. Cook, p. lxxviii; Tupper, in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* 26 (1911). 240-244.

<sup>2</sup> See Carleton F. Brown, in *Eng. Stud.* 33 (1907). 225; Brandl, *Gesch. der Altengl. Lit.* (1908), p. 100; cf. *Christ*, ed. Cook, p. lxxi.

<sup>3</sup> So Henry Bradley, in *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 7. 691. Certain reasons which I advanced in 1892 (*Angl.* 15. 9-20; cf. *Christ*, pp. lxx-lxx) in favor of this view were proved untenable by Carleton F. Brown (following Trautmann in *Anglia Beiblatt* 11. 325) in 1903 (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* 18. 308-334). The date could be established more exactly if the poet could be identified with the Bishop of Lindisfarne who died in 783, as conjectured by Bouterwek (1857), and accepted by Dietrich (1865), Grein (1880), Trautmann (1898), and Brown (1907); cf. *Christ*, ed. Cook, pp. lxx-lxxiii; Brown, in *Eng. Stud.* 38. 225-233. The latter says (p. 226): 'Bishop Cynewulf was appointed to the see of Lindisfarne in 740. After forty years' service, he resigned his office in 780, and died in 783. The date of his birth may by reasonable inference be fixed between 705 and 710.' After traversing my objections, he concludes (pp. 232-3): 'The poet was certainly an ecclesiastic; he was in all probability a Northumbrian; his poems were written during the second half of the eighth century. All these conditions are satisfied by Bishop Cynewulf. Outside of York, there is no place in Northumbria more likely to have been the poet's home than Lindisfarne—from the time of Aidan a distinguished seat of Christian learning. In the library of this ancient monastery Cynewulf would certainly have found

possible. A *terminus a quo* for the composition of the *Elene* may be assumed, if my conjecture regarding 1206<sup>b</sup>—12<sup>a</sup> is accepted. According to this, he would have written after 731.

#### SOURCES OF THE LEGEND

The *Elene* is based upon a Latin version of a legend which, in its fully developed form, seems to be Syriac in origin,<sup>1</sup> and which probably, though not certainly, entered Latin through the medium of Greek. This elaborated legend must have arisen about the beginning of the fifth century, though its larger outlines may have established themselves about 375 A. D.<sup>2</sup> It became pretty well diffused over Latin Christendom from about the middle of the fifth century.<sup>3</sup> Cynewulf's direct source, as Carleton F.

the writings of the Fathers, which he used so extensively, and the "books" to which he refers in the epilogue of *Elene*. Everything, in a word, which we know of Lindisfarne and of the bishop accords well with what we infer concerning Cynewulf from a study of the poems to which he has signed his name. Further than this, present evidence will not carry us.'

<sup>1</sup> Probably at Edessa, the seat of Syrian learning and literature in that period. Cf. Tixeront, *Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse*, pp. 7-8: 'Édesse a été la première fondée de ces chrétientés [de Mésopotamie]; c'est de son sein que sont partis les missionnaires qui les ont évangélisées; elle est restée le centre des églises de langue syriaque. Admirablement située entre le monde grec et le monde oriental, communiquant, d'une part, avec Antioche, dont elle relevait, et de l'autre, avec la Perse, la grande Arménie, et même avec l'Inde, la capitale d'Osrhoène était bien placée pour profiter à la fois et de la culture hellénique et de la puissante originalité des pays barbares. Elle était comme le confluent où les idées de deux mondes venaient se mêler et se confondre.' See also Holthausen's second edition of the *Elene*, p. xi.

The foundation of the developed story is not Syrian, as the various extracts quoted below will show.

<sup>2</sup> Tixeront, pp. 189-191; Lipsius, *Die Edessenische Abgar-Sage*, pp. 91-2; Ryssel, in Herrig's *Archiv* 93. 2; *Byz. Zs.* 4. 342 ff.; Holder, *Inventio Sanctæ Crucis*, pp. x-xi; Lejay, in *Revue Critique*, 1890, p. 40; Wotke, in *Wiener Studien* 13. 300-2.

<sup>3</sup> For bibliographies of the various versions, see Nestle, in *Byz. Zs.* 4 (1895). 319-345; Holthausen, in *Zs. für Deutsche Phil.* 37 (1905). 2-4. Holthausen lists, besides a prose version in Old English (Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*), others in Icelandic, Old Swedish, Middle English, and Middle High German, not to speak of those in Syriac, Greek, and Latin.

Brown has shown, may well have been derived from Ireland, and he even inclines to suppose that 'the legend made its way to Ireland in a Greek text, and was there translated into Latin.'<sup>1</sup>

If one undertakes to trace the growth of the legend, he finds it extremely difficult to determine where authentic history ends, and embellishment and invention begin. In what follows, the principal documents are quoted or summarized in order, beginning in the later years of Constantine's reign, and continuing down to about 500 A. D.<sup>2</sup>

Our earliest authority is Eusebius of Cæsarea (ca. 260—ca. 340), the most learned man of his age, highly esteemed by Constantine, and favored with access to many original sources of information which are now lost.

(ABOUT 335 A. D.)

Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, Book 3, chaps. 26-30.

[The heathen had endeavored to obliterate from memory the sepulchre of Christ by covering it with earth, and laying over this a stone pavement. Eusebius continues:] They prepare on this foundation a truly dreadful sepulchre of souls, by building a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols to the impure spirit whom they call Venus.<sup>3</sup> . . . He [Constantine] . . . gave orders that the place should be thoroughly purified. . . . He gave further orders that the materials of what was thus destroyed, both stone and timber, should be removed and thrown as far from the spot as possible. . . . Once more, . . . he directed that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth. . . . This also was accomplished without delay. But as soon as the original surface of the ground, beneath the covering of earth, appeared, immedi-

<sup>1</sup> *Engl. Stud.* 40. 14-29. Cf. Schirmer, *Die Kreuzeslegenden im Leabhar Breac* (St. Gall, 1886).

<sup>2</sup> See Lipsius, pp. 71 ff.; Tixeront, pp. 163-170. For the original texts see Holder, pp. 45 ff.; Nestle, *De Sancta Cruce*, pp. 100, 101, 114.

<sup>3</sup> This is also asserted by Rufinus, *Eccl. Hist.* 10. 7; Paulinus of Nola, *Epistle to Severus* 31 (11). 3; Jerome, *Epistle to Paulinus* 58. 3 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 22. 581): 'For about 180 years, from the time of Hadrian to the reign of Constantine, an image of Jupiter was worshiped on the site of the resurrection, and a statue of Venus, erected by the heathen, on the site of the cross; the authors of the persecution imagining that if they polluted the holy places with idols, they would rob us of our faith in the resurrection and the cross.' Cf. Schürer, *Hist. Jewish People* 1<sup>2</sup>. 314-320.

ately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hallowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection was discovered.<sup>1</sup> . . . Immediately after the transactions which I have recorded, the emperor sent forth instructions, . . . commanding that a house of prayer worthy of the worship of God should be erected near the Saviour's tomb, on a scale of rich and royal greatness. . . . He also dispatched the following letter to the bishop who at that time presided over the church at Jerusalem:

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, TO MACARIUS:

. . . That the monument of his most holy passion, so long ago buried beneath the ground, should have remained unknown for so long a series of years, until its reappearance to his servants, is a fact which truly surpasses all admiration. . . . With regard to the erection and decoration of the walls, this is to inform you that our friend Dracilianus,<sup>2</sup> the deputy of the prætorian prefects, and the governor of the province, have received in charge from us.

Independent contemporary testimony to the discovery of the tomb and the erection of the church is furnished by the following:

(332 A. D.)

*Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem* (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society), pp. 23-4.

About a stone's throw from thence [Golgotha] is a vault wherein his body was laid, and rose again on the third day. There, at present, by the command of the Emperor Constantine, has been built a basilica, that is to say a church, of wondrous beauty.

Thus far, there has been no mention of the discovery of the cross, but only of the tomb. The first author to speak of the former is Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386):

(347 A. D.)

Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 4. 10 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 33. 468-9).

<sup>1</sup> A. D. 326 (Ryssel, p. 3).

<sup>2</sup> The existence of this Dracilianus as deputy of the prætorian prefects is otherwise attested by instructions sent to him by Constantine in the years 325 and 326 (Lipsius, p. 72).

He was indeed crucified for our sins; shouldst thou be disposed to deny it, the very place which all can see refutes thee, even this blessed Golgotha, in which, on account of him who was crucified on it, we are now assembled; and further, the whole world is filled with the fragments of the wood of the cross.

*Ibid.* 10. 19 (*ibid.* 685, 688).

The holy wood of the cross is his witness, which is seen among us to this day, and, through the agency of those who have in faith received it, has already from this place almost filled the whole world.

*Ibid.* 13. 4 (*ibid.* 776-7).

For though I should now deny it, this Golgotha confutes me, near which we are now assembled; the wood of the cross confutes me, which has from hence been distributed piecemeal to all the world.<sup>1</sup>

One of the most important testimonies is contained in an inscription from the Roman province of Africa:

(359 A. D.)

#### Inscription at Tixter

Three or four miles south of the railway station of Tixter, which is about sixteen miles from Sétif, on the railway leading to Algiers, there was found in October or November, 1889, an inscribed stone some 51 inches square, which, according to the date near the end, was erected in the year 320 of the province of Mauretania, that is, 359 of our era.<sup>2</sup> This stone originally marked the place of a basilica which, according to the inscription, possessed a portion of the wood

<sup>1</sup> Still more specific is an *Epistle to Constantius* of May 7, 351, attributed to Cyril, but of somewhat doubtful authenticity (cf. Lipsius, pp. 73-4; Ryssel, p. 3, note 1; Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 33. 1153 ff.). The passage runs (*Patr. Gr.* 33. 1168): 'In the days of thy father Constantine, dear to God and of blessed memory, the saving wood of the cross was found in Jerusalem, divine grace granting the discovery of the hidden sacred places to him who sought piety aright.'

<sup>2</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* (École Française de Rome) 10. 440-468; *Comptes-Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions* (M. Duchesne) 17. 417; 18. 233; *Analecta Bollandiana* 10. 366-7. The report in the *Mélanges*, by M. Audollent, contains an excellent study of the inscription, and on p. 441 a photographic reproduction. The text of the inscription follows (*ligno* is actually *lignu*):

✠ *Memoria sa(n)cta.—Victorinus Miggin, septimu(m) idus sept(e)m(b)r(es), bdv et dabulail, de lign(o) crucis, de ter(ra) promis-*

of the cross, as well as some of the soil of the Holy Land. This date is extremely important, since it is only 33 years, or less, after the reputed discovery by Helena, and only 25 years after the death of Constantine. The stone is now in the Christian Museum of the Louvre.

(BEFORE 363 A. D.)

Julian the Apostate, quoted by Cyril of Alexandria, *Cont. Jul.*, Bk. 6 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 76. 796-7).

You worship the wood of the cross; you outline figures on your foreheads, and paint them in front of your houses.

(ABOUT 385 A. D.)

*Pilgrimage of St. Sylvia* (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society), pp. 63-4.

A chair is placed for the bishop in Golgotha, behind the cross which stands there now; the bishop sits down in the chair; there is placed before him a table covered with a linen cloth, the deacons standing round the table. Then is brought a silver-gilt casket, in which is the holy wood of the cross; it is opened, and, the contents being taken out, the wood of the cross and also its inscription are placed on the table. When they have been put there, the bishop, as he sits, takes hold of the extremities of the holy wood with his hands, and the deacons, standing round, guard it. It is thus guarded because the custom is that every one of the people, faithful and catechumens alike, leaning forward, bend over the table, kiss the holy wood, and pass on. And as it is said that one time a person fixed his teeth in it, and so stole a piece of the holy wood, it is now guarded by the deacons standing round, so that no one who comes may dare to do such a thing again. And so all the people pass on one by one, bowing their bodies down, first with their forehead, then with their eyes, touching the cross and the inscription, and so kissing the cross they pass by, but no one puts forth his hand to touch it.

*Ibid.*, p. 76.

The dedication-festival of these holy churches [at Golgotha and the site of the Resurrection] is observed with the greatest honor, since the cross of the Lord was found on that day [Sept. 13].

(si)onis ub(i) natus est C(h)ristus, apostoli Petri et Pauli, nomina m(a)rt(y)rum Datiani Donatiani C(y)priani Nemes(i)ani (C)itini et Victo(ri)as. An(n)o prov(inciae) (tr)ecenti(vi)g(es)imo—Posuit Ben-enatus et Pequarla.

(386 A. D.)

*Letter of Paula and Eustochium* (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society), p. 14.

When will the day come when we shall be able . . . to weep with our sister and with our mother in the sepulchre of the Lord? Afterwards, to kiss the wood of the cross?

(BEFORE 387 A. D.)

Chrysostom, *That Christ is God* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 48. 826).

How is this very wood, on which the holy body was stretched and impaled, struggled for by all? For many, both men and women, taking a small portion of it, and setting it in gold, suspend it from their necks as an ornament.

Helena is first introduced by Eusebius, in connection with the churches of the Nativity and the Ascension:

(ABOUT 335 A. D.)

Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, Book 3, chaps. 41-43 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 20. 1101, 1104).

In the same country he discovered two other places, venerable as being the localities of two sacred caves, and these also he adorned with lavish magnificence. . . . And while he thus nobly testified his reverence for those places, he at the same time eternized the memory of his mother, who had been the instrument of conferring so valuable a benefit on mankind. For this empress, having resolved to discharge the duties of pious devotion to the supreme God, . . . had hastened to survey this venerable land. . . . As soon, then, as she had rendered due reverence to the ground which the Saviour's feet had trodden, . . . she immediately bequeathed the fruit of her piety to future generations, for without delay she dedicated two churches<sup>1</sup> to the God whom she adored. . . . Thus did Helena Augusta, the pious mother of a pious emperor, erect these two noble and beautiful monuments of devotion, . . . and thus did she receive from her son the countenance and aid of his imperial power.

<sup>1</sup> The church of the Nativity is thus referred to in the *Pilgrimage of St. Sylvia*, about 385 A. D. (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society), p. 50: 'And what shall I say of the decoration of that structure which Constantine, with the assistance of his mother, adorned, as far as the resources of his kingdom would go, with gold, mosaic, and precious marbles?'

(395 A. D.)

Ambrose, *Oration on the Death of Theodosius*, chaps. 43, 45-48 (*Migne, Patr. Lat.* 16. 1400-2).

Helena, wishing to revisit the holy places, went thither. Now the Spirit put it into her head to demand the wood of the cross. So, approaching Golgotha, . . . she opens the ground, and removes the dust; there she finds three indistinguishable crosses, which ruin had covered, and the enemy had concealed, though unable to obliterate the triumph of Christ. She remains undecided, . . . but the Holy Spirit suggests a clue in the fact that two thieves were crucified with the Lord. She therefore casts about to find the middle cross. Yet it might have happened that the crosses had become shifted in the ruins. Returning to the text of the Gospel, she finds that the inscription on the middle cross ran: 'Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews.' From this the truth was determined: the cross of salvation was made known by its title. . . . She therefore found the inscription, and adored the King, not the wood—for this is the error of the heathen, and the vanity of the wicked; him she adored who hung upon the wood. . . . Then she sought the nails with which the Lord was crucified, and found them. Of one she commanded a bridle to be made, of another a crown to be fashioned. . . . She sent to her son Constantine the crown adorned with gems, . . . and also the bridle. Constantine made use of both, and transmitted the faith to the kings who followed.

(ABOUT 400 A. D.)

Rufinus, *Eccl. Hist.* 10. 7, 8 (*Migne, Patr. Lat.* 21. 475 ff.).

[This in the main is like the account by Ambrose, up to the identification of the Saviour's cross. The inscription was found, but could not be assigned to any one of the crosses in particular.] Now it happened that there lay grievously ill in that city a woman of rank. At that time Macarius was bishop of that church. When he saw that the queen and those with her lingered, he said: 'Bring hither all the crosses which have been found, and God will show us which one bore the Lord.' Then, proceeding with the queen and the people to the house of her who was lying ill, he kneeled down and prayed thus: 'O Lord, thou who hast vouchsafed to bestow salvation on mankind by the passion of thy only begotten Son on the cross, and in these latter times hast inspired in the heart of thy handmaid to seek the blessed wood on which our salvation hung, show plainly which of these three was for the glory of the Lord, and which for slavish punishment, by causing this woman, who lies half dead, to return to life from the gates of death, so soon as she shall touch the saving

wood.' When he had said this, he brought one of the three, but it had no effect. He brought the second, but nothing occurred. But when he had brought the third, the woman suddenly opened her eyes and sat up; having recovered her strength, she began to go about the house much more blithely than before she had been taken ill, and to magnify the power of the Lord. . . . Part of the saving wood Helena sent to her son, and part she deposited in a silver case and left on the spot, where it is still preserved as a memorial.

(ABOUT 403 A. D.)

Paulinus of Nola, *Epistle to Severus* 31 (11). 73 ff. (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 61. 326 ff.).

[Paulinus relates that Hadrian, thinking to injure the Christian religion, had erected a temple of Jupiter on the site of the passion. At the request of Helena, Constantine gives her authority to destroy all temples and idols which had profaned the holy places, and to erect churches in their stead. Arrived at Jerusalem, she knows not how to find the cross. Eventually she seeks out and consults, not only Christian men full of learning and sanctity, but also the cleverest of the Jews. She commands to dig at the spot designated. Citizens and soldiers join in the work. The crosses are found. God inspires her to make trial with the corpse of one newly dead. This is done, but the two crosses produce no effect. The Lord's cross raises the dead. A church is erected, which preserves the cross in a secret shrine.]

(ABOUT 450 A. D.)

Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist.* 2. 1.

[Sozomen reproduces, in general, earlier accounts, but, after mentioning the temple of Venus, adds a significant statement:] At length, however, the secret was discovered, and the fraud detected. Some say that the facts were first disclosed by a Hebrew who dwelt in the East, and who derived his information from some documents which had come to him by paternal inheritance.

(ABOUT 496 A. D.<sup>1</sup>)

(Pseudo-) Gelasius, *Conciliar Decree on Canonical and Apocryphal Books* (Mansi, *Concil.* 8. 163<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> According to Duchesne, early 6th century.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* 2. 618 ff.; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, I. CVII; *Epistolæ Romanorum Pontificum*, ed. Thiel, I. 460.

Likewise the writing concerning the invention of our Lord's cross, and the other writing concerning the invention of the head of the blessed John the Baptist, are new stories (*novellæ quidem relationes sunt*). Some Catholics read them; but when they come into the hands of Catholics, let it be with the prefatory text from St. Paul [1 Thess. 5. 21]: *Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.*

According to another form of the legend, the cross was found in the reign of Tiberius (14-37 A. D.), while St. James the Greater was Bishop of Jerusalem, by Protonike, wife of the Emperor Claudius (41-54 A. D.). This form has by some scholars been regarded as earlier than the story of Helena, but is now considered by the most competent authorities to be merely an adaptation of the latter.<sup>1</sup>

#### CONSTANTINE AND THE VISION OF THE CROSS

Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 1. 28-31 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 20. 944-5, 948).

Accordingly, he called on him with earnest prayer and supplications that he would reveal to him who he was, and stretch forth his right hand to help him in his present difficulties. And while he was thus praying with fervent entreaty, a most marvelous sign appeared to him from heaven, the account of which it might have been difficult to receive with credit, had it been related by any other person. But since the victorious emperor himself long afterwards declared it to the writer of this history, when he was honored with his acquaintance and society, and confirmed his statement by an oath, who could hesitate to accredit the relation, especially since the testimony of after-times has established its truth? He said that about midday, when the sun was beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, 'Conquer by this.' At this sight, he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which happened to be following him on some expedition, and witnessed the miracle.

He said, moreover, that he doubted within himself what the import of this apparition could be. And while he continued to ponder and reason on its meaning, night imperceptibly drew on; and in his sleep

<sup>1</sup> See Nestle, *De Sancta Cruce*, pp. 1 ff., 65 ff.; Lipsius, pp. 88-92; Tixeront, pp. 184-191; Ryssel, pp. 1-3. The 11th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (7. 506) is wrong, then, in calling the legend of Protonike the older.

the Christ of God appeared to him with the same sign which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to procure a standard made in the likeness of that sign, and to use it as a safeguard in all engagements with his enemies. At dawn of day he arose, and communicated the secret to his friends; and then, calling together the workers in gold and precious stones, he sat in the midst of them, and described to them the figure of the sign he had seen, bidding them represent it in gold and precious stones. And this representation I myself have had an opportunity of seeing.

Now it was made in the following manner. A long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of the cross by means of a piece transversely laid over it. On the top of the whole was fixed a crown, formed by the intertexture of gold and precious stones; and on this, two letters indicating the name of Christ symbolized the Saviour's title by means of its first characters—the letter P being intersected by X exactly in its centre; and these letters the emperor was in the habit of wearing on his helmet at a later period. From the transverse piece which crossed the spear was suspended a kind of streamer of purple cloth, covered with a profuse embroidery of most brilliant precious stones; and which, being also richly interlaced with gold, presented an indescribable degree of beauty to the beholder. This banner was of a square form; and the upright staff, which, in its full extent, was of great length, bore a golden half-length portrait of the pious emperor and his children on its upper part, beneath the trophy of the cross, and immediately above the embroidered streamer. The emperor constantly made use of this salutary sign as a safeguard against every adverse and hostile power, and commanded that others similar to it should be carried at the head of all his armies.

Lactantius, *Of the Manner in which the Persecutors died*, chap. 44 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 7. 260-2).

And now a civil war broke out between Constantine and Maxentius. . . . They fought, and the troops of Maxentius prevailed. At length Constantine, with steady courage and a mind prepared for every event, led his whole forces to the neighborhood of Rome, and encamped them opposite to the Milvian bridge. . . . Constantine was directed in a dream to cause the heavenly sign to be delineated on the shields of his soldiers, and so to proceed to battle. He did as he had been commanded, and he marked on their shields the letter X, with a perpendicular line drawn through it and turned round at the top, thus, , being the cipher of Christ. Having this sign, his troops stood to arms. The enemy advanced, but without their emperor, and they crossed the bridge. The armies met, and fought

with the utmost exertions of valor, and firmly maintained their ground. . . . [At length Maxentius went to the field.] The bridge in his rear was broken down. At sight of that the battle grew hotter. The hand of the Lord prevailed, and the forces of Maxentius were routed. He fled towards the broken bridge; but the multitude pressing on him, he was driven headlong into the Tiber. The destructive war being ended, Constantine was acknowledged as emperor, with great rejoicings, by the senate and people of Rome.

PHENIX  
MANUSCRIPT

The *Phœnix* is contained on leaves 55<sup>b</sup>-65<sup>b</sup> of the Codex Exoniensis, or Exeter Book, which has been in possession of Exeter Cathedral since about the middle of the eleventh century, having been presented to it, among other valuable gifts, by Leofric, Bishop of Devon and Cornwall from about 1046, who was enthroned at Exeter in 1050, and died in 1072.

The manuscript is 14 centimetres in height by 18½ in breadth—approximately 5½ by 7½ inches. It is written on vellum, apparently by a single hand of the early eleventh century. Thorpe calls the writing 'fair and rather fine,' and Conybeare speaks of 'the clearness and beauty of its characters.' At present the volume proper consists of 123 leaves, or 246 pages, from 8<sup>a</sup> to 130<sup>b</sup>. Only one leaf is wanting in the interior of the volume, that between fol. 37 and fol. 38. On the other hand, several leaves are missing at the beginning and end. Only the commonest abbreviations are found. The whole manuscript must have been corrected by another hand after writing, the corrections being in a paler ink.

Among the other poems of the Exeter Book are the *Christ*, *Guthlac*, *Azarias*, *Juliana*, *Wanderer*, *Seafarer*, *Harrowing of Hell*, and *Ruin*. With the exception of a few fragments at the end of the manuscript, then thought undecipherable, the poems were all published by Thorpe in 1842, under the title *Codex Exoniensis*. Opposite p. 293 of that volume is a facsimile of part of page 77<sup>a</sup> of the manuscript, the beginning of the *Gifts of Men*. The first volume of a republication of the Exeter Book, containing the *Christ*, *Guthlac*, *Azarias*, *Phœnix*, *Juliana*, *Wanderer*, *Gifts of Men*, and *A Father's Instruction*, was issued by Gollancz (E. E. T. S. 104) in 1895. A careful collation by Schipper was published in 1874 (*Germania* 19. 327-338), and another was made by Assmann for the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*.

For further particulars concerning the manuscript and its donor, see my edition of *The Christ of Cynewulf*, pp. xiii-xvi.

#### AUTHOR AND DATE

Beginning with Kemble, in 1840, many scholars, including such as Klipstein (1849), Dietrich (1859), Sweet (1871), Ten Brink (1877), Gaebler (1880), Grein (1880), Sarrazin (1886), Brooke (1892), have believed that Cynewulf was, or may have been, the author of the *Phænix*. Holtbuer (1884) was the first to reject this view, and such scholars as Sievers (1885), Ebert (1887), Bülbring (1891), Wülker (1896), Trautmann (1907), Brandl (1908), and Strunk (1904) have come to a similar negative conclusion.

As the *Phænix* contains no runic passage embodying the name of the author, the ascription of it to Cynewulf rests upon identities or similarities of diction, subject, or general treatment with the undoubted works of Cynewulf, or with such as are ascribed to him by practically universal consent.

Dietrich<sup>1</sup> adduces, besides certain correspondences with the *Elene* (and with *Guthlac* and *Andreas*, which he ascribes to Cynewulf), such as these between the *Phænix* and the *Christ*: *Ph.* 420: *Chr.* 142, 250-253, 367, 587; *Ph.* 50-70, 589, 611-617: *Chr.* 1634-1664; *Ph.* 56, 613: *Chr.* 1660-1661; *Ph.* 329, 493: *Chr.* 1228; *Ph.* 516: *Chr.* 1079; *Ph.* 525: *Chr.* 811; *Ph.* 584: *Chr.* 820; *Ph.* 604: *Chr.* 505; *Ph.* 628: *Chr.* 726.

Dr. Arthur W. Colton, in an unpublished investigation, discovered (about 1892) that the verbal and phrasal correspondence between the *Christ* and the *Phænix* was even greater than between the *Christ* and either the *Elene* or the *Juliana*, undoubted poems of Cynewulf. Words and phrases were listed separately, and these were divided into four main categories, according as the expression occurred in one, two, three, or four poems besides the *Christ*, the plan being that formulated in my first edition of the *Judith*. The ratio of correspondence between the *Christ* and the *Elene* was .085, this ratio being the result of dividing the

<sup>1</sup> *Commentatio*, pp. 9, 10.

total number of correspondences by the number of lines in the poem. In the case of the *Juliana* it was .084; in that of the *Phœnix*, .09. This result would accordingly create a presumption that the *Phœnix* was the work of Cynewulf.

The chief arguments against such a presumption lie (as Strunk has said<sup>1</sup>) in 'the absence of the runic signature, and the metrical necessity of admitting quantities and inflectional forms (as *glǣdum*, *glādum*, *Ph.* 92, 303; *fōtas*, *Ph.* 311) not found in the acknowledged poems. Further, it must be admitted that the resemblances of word, phrase, and idea extend in varying degree through practically the whole body of Old English religious poetry.'

Brand<sup>2</sup> (1908) would place the author of the *Phœnix* among the contemporaries or immediate successors of Cynewulf<sup>3</sup>: in style and syntax they resemble each other; both acknowledge indebtedness to books (*Ph.* 424; cf. my edition of *The Christ of Cynewulf*, p. lxxxiii); and both make use of rhyme; on the other hand, the author of the *Phœnix* employs sharp antitheses, and ends his poem with macaronic verses.

I can not better express my own opinion than by quoting a paragraph already in print<sup>4</sup>: 'The theme of the *Phœnix* would have been congenial to Cynewulf, and his reading may well have included Lactantius.<sup>5</sup> The verbal parallels and similarities of thought are striking, and the percentage of correspondences in Dr. Colton's table agrees remarkably with that of the *Juliana* and the *Elene*. In respect to the prominence of color, flowers, fragrance, and music, of brooks, trees, groves, and plains, the *Phœnix* excels the undoubted poems; but against this must be set Cynewulf's impressibility—the fact that his vocabulary and imagery change to some extent with his mood and with the

<sup>1</sup> *Juliana*, p. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesch. der Alteng. Lit.*, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Schlotterose, in his edition of the *Phœnix* (p. 92), holds a somewhat similar opinion: the *Phœnix* is later than Cynewulf, but was strongly influenced by him. Barnouw (1902) is in doubt, but is sure that, if Cynewulf wrote it, the *Phœnix* was his latest work.

<sup>4</sup> *The Christ of Cynewulf*, pp. lxiv-lxv.

<sup>5</sup> Lactantius was among the authors included in the York Library, according to Alcuin.

original upon which he is working. From no three of his undoubted poems could one, on stylistic grounds, and in the absence of the runic testimony, have ascertained his fourth. When he is paraphrasing long, didactic speeches he is another man than when he is telling a stirring tale, or reproducing the spirit of a poem full of sublime sentiment and magnificent appeals to the imagination. There is therefore no *a priori* ground for assuming that the *Phænix* cannot be by Cynewulf. Much of the sentiment is demonstrably his; the correspondences in phraseology indicate the hand of a master, so inwoven are they into the tissue of the style; and a doxology like that of lines 615-629 would of itself almost persuade the critic to believe in Cynewulf's authorship, so similar is it in tone and setting to those of the *Elene*<sup>1</sup> and the *Christ*.<sup>2</sup> It cannot be said that the question is decided; but I believe that scholars will end by assigning the *Phænix*, like the *Andreas*, to Cynewulf.<sup>3</sup>

On the supposition that the *Phænix* is by Cynewulf, reference may be made to the Introduction to the *Elene* (pp. xiii-xiv), where his date and personality are discussed. If it is not by Cynewulf, we can hardly say more than that the writer must have been a monk or ecclesiastic, apparently under the influence of the Cynewulfian poetry, and likely to have lived either within the period of Cynewulf's poetic activity (about 750-800),<sup>4</sup> or soon after.

#### LACTANTIUS

It has long been recognized that the *Phænix* was largely derived from the *De Ave Phænice*<sup>5</sup> attributed to Lactantius. We shall therefore first give a brief account of Lactantius, and then review the evidence in favor of his authorship of the *De Ave Phænice*.

<sup>1</sup> 744-754.

<sup>2</sup> 385-415.

<sup>3</sup> For the history of opinion on this subject, see Jansen, *Die Cynewulf-Forschung von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Bonn, 1908, pp. 105-8; Schlotterose, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-92.

<sup>4</sup> This is the period assigned by Carl Richter (*Chronologische Studien zur Ags. Literatur*, 1910) to both Cynewulf and the *Phænix*.

<sup>5</sup> First by Conybeare, *Arch.* 17 (1814). 193.

The name of Lactantius was Lucius Cælius (or perhaps Cæcilius) Firmianus Lactantius.<sup>1</sup> Born in Africa, not far from the year 260, he became a pupil of Arnobius, who taught rhetoric with brilliant success at Sicca Veneris<sup>2</sup> in Proconsular Africa, near the borders of Numidia. At this time both Lactantius and his master were heathen. Here he must have applied himself with much diligence to the study of Latin literature. He modeled his style so closely on Cicero that he far surpassed Arnobius as a writer, and already Jerome characterized him as 'a river of Ciceronian eloquence.'<sup>3</sup> In consequence of this devotion, his diction shows comparatively few traces of Africanisms, such as were not infrequent in the writings of others who lived in that province of the Roman Empire. His philosophical training must have been largely in the doctrines of the Stoics, and to the end he seems more deeply imbued with their philosophy than with the teachings of Scripture.

About four or five years after Diocletian's accession to the throne, or in the neighborhood of A. D. 288, he was called by that

<sup>1</sup> This sketch reposes chiefly upon Brandt, *Ueber das Leben des Lactantius* (*Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.*, Vol. 120), who has criticized in several points the statements of Jerome, our chief ancient authority for the biography of Lactantius, and is in turn criticized by Seeck, *Gesch. des Untergangs der Antiken Welt* i. 456-460. The longest statement of Jerome's is the following (*On Illustrious Men*, chap. 80): 'Firmianus, also known as Lactantius, a pupil of Arnobius, received a call in the reign of the emperor Diocletian, along with the grammarian Flavius, whose book in verse, *On Things Medical*, is still extant. He taught rhetoric at Nicomedia, but on account of the lack of pupils—for the city was a Greek one—betook himself to authorship. We have from him the *Banquet*, which he wrote as a young man in Africa; an *Itinerary* (*Hodæporicon*) from Africa to Nicomedia, written in hexameters; another book entitled *The Philologist* (*Grammaticus*); the fine treatise, *On the Anger of God*; seven books of *Divine Institutions*, directed against the heathen; an *Epitome* of the last-named work; one book ἀκέφαλον; two books *To Asclepiades*; one book *On Persecution*; four books of letters *To Probus*; two books of letters *To Severus*; two books of letters *To Demetrianus*, an attendant on his lectures; one book to the same *On the Work of God in the Formation of Man*. In extreme old age he was the tutor in Gaul of Crispus Cæsar, the son of Constantine, who was afterward put to death by his father.'

<sup>2</sup> Now Kef, east of Constantine.

<sup>3</sup> *Epist.* 58. 10.

emperor to the chair of rhetoric, or oratory, in his new capital of Nicomedia, which he was then adorning with public buildings, little imagining that it was so soon to be superseded by Constantinople as the seat of the Eastern Empire. This call indicates what celebrity Lactantius had already achieved.

Arrived in Nicomedia, he must have devoted himself to his professional work for fifteen or eighteen years, without endeavoring to engage in the practice of forensic oratory. In his Christian zeal, he afterwards came to disprize the teaching of oratory, almost in the spirit of Plato.<sup>1</sup>

It was probably while in Nicomedia that Lactantius became a Christian, though he would undoubtedly have had opportunities of coming in contact with Christians while still in Africa. There were several communities of Jews in North Africa,<sup>2</sup> and in these the first conversions to Christianity would be almost certain to occur.

His profession of Christianity may well have been the cause of his degradation from the professorial rank, since Diocletian's edict of Feb. 24, 303 expressly commanded that Christians should be deprived of their honors and dignities.<sup>3</sup> That he had reason to shrink from too great publicity with regard to his Christian belief is shown by his tractate, *On the Work of God*, written about this time. In the first place, the doctrines which he here professes are virtually Stoic—those of monotheism and Providence. In the second place, he is extremely guarded in his allusions to the faith professed in common by himself and his correspondent, while at the same time he shows that he had given up other pursuits, and was devoting himself to authorship.<sup>4</sup>

Lactantius must have remained in Bithynia for two years after the persecuting decree of Diocletian.<sup>5</sup> The fifth book of his *Divine Institutes* shows, by its allusions, that he was not at that time in Nicomedia. Now scholars are practically agreed that the *Institutes* were completed not later than 310, or 311 at latest.

<sup>1</sup> *Inst.* I. I. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See Hastings, *Dict. Bible*, Extra Vol., p. 97; Monceaux, in *Revue des Études Juives* 44. 1-28.

<sup>3</sup> Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 8. 2; Lactantius, *Deaths of the Persecutors* 13.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *De Opif.* I. I. 1-4, 9; 20. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Inst.* 5. II. 15.

Hence it becomes natural to think of 308, or thereabouts, as the year when he accepted Constantine's invitation to Gaul as the tutor of his son Crispus.<sup>1</sup>

If we may attach full weight to Jerome's words, *extrema senectute*, he may have died about 340, and possibly in Trier, but this date, like that of his birth, is merely inferential, and at best approximate.

We have no certain knowledge that Lactantius ever visited Egypt, but since he presents in his poem on the Phœnix an epitome of extant knowledge on the subject, in this respect, and in his reflections on the theme, much surpassing his predecessors, it would not be surprising if his deep interest in it had been either occasioned or strengthened by a sojourn in that country. Certain of the ancient authorities on the Phœnix were themselves Egyptians (such as Nonnus and Horapollo), or had resided in Egypt (Hecatæus, Herodotus' informant, and Claudian,<sup>2</sup> for example). The worship of Isis flourished at Rome during this period, and for that reason, and because the Egyptians had tenaciously maintained their ancient religion in the face of innovation, their institutions may well have attracted the curiosity of a young and highly educated traveler, already a celebrity. Then, too, Lactantius manifests some knowledge of Egyptian history in his undoubted works—especially the *Divine Institutes*<sup>3</sup>—though this, it is true, might have been derived from books.

If he did visit Egypt, it might have been in the train of Diocletian, on the occasion of the latter's military expedition thither in 295 or 296. Since we must infer that Constantine the Great spent some time in Egypt,<sup>4</sup> either with Diocletian,<sup>5</sup> or later in

<sup>1</sup> Authorities are not at one concerning this date, however. Cf. Brandt, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Seeck, *Gesch. des Untergangs der Antiken Welt*, 2d ed., I. 458, 475.

<sup>2</sup> Jeep (*Claudii Claudiani Carmina* I. xxx) assumes that his poems on the Nile and the Phœnix were written while he was living in Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Inst.* I. 20. 36; 2. 13. 10, 11; 2. 5. 35, 36 (here he calls this worship enduring); 5. 20. 12; *Epit.* 50 (55). 3. For other references see the index to Brandt's *Lactantius (Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat. 27. 280)* under *Aegyptii, Aegyptus*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. his *Oration to the Saints* 16. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Schiller, *Gesch. der Röm. Kaiserzeit* 2. 138-140.

302,<sup>1</sup> it might have been in his company. This supposition is strengthened by the consideration that Constantine stood in peculiar relations to two scholars—Eusebius, who wrote his biography, and Lactantius. Eusebius was in Egypt, according to his own testimony (*Eccl. Hist.* 8. 9), and Lactantius, whose doctrines furnished the basis for Constantine's oration mentioned above, may likewise have been there.<sup>2</sup>

A man of warm friendships,<sup>3</sup> the best Latin prose writer of his time, and with the instinct of a born teacher, Lactantius was a mediator between ancient culture and the new faith, recommending the latter by his suavity and moderation, and the charms of his style, to educated and courtly circles who otherwise would have remained contentedly ignorant of it, or have cherished toward it an invincible aversion. He dwelt upon what was common to Christianity with the austere moral creed of antiquity, and thus conciliated the most virtuous element in the society of his time. Born in Africa, passing his middle life in Asia, and dying (as is probable) in Europe, he served in this sense, too, as a mediator between the Orient and the Occident, between the old and the new. Called to teach ancient literature by a heathen emperor and persecutor, he so far gained the favor of the first Christian emperor as to be entrusted by him with the education of the heir to his throne. Graced with a learning which enabled him to associate on terms of intimacy with the great, he seems to have known the pangs of poverty and disgrace, yet to have preserved his equanimity, and illustrated his enforced leisure. If we do not feel justified in calling him a time-server, we can but admire the dexterity with which, without sacrificing any conviction which

<sup>1</sup> Seeck, *op. cit.* I. 479-480.

<sup>2</sup> It is worthy of note that Eusebius (*Vita Const.* 4. 72) is the only ancient author who calls the Phoenix Egyptian. Constantine paid peculiar attention to the symbol of the Phoenix, no doubt because he was especially addicted to the worship of the sun. The Phoenix is found on his coins and those of his sons, with such legends as *Felix Reparatio Temporum*, and *Perpetuitas* (see Schöll, *Vom Vogel Phönix*, p. 12); and John of Salisbury (*Policr.* I. 13; see Schöll, p. 46) reports that Constantinople was founded on the occasion of the appearance of a Phoenix, which is interesting as showing how later ages associated the two.

<sup>3</sup> Brandt, in *Sitzungsberichte*, p. 41.

seemed to him vital, he yet contrived to escape martyrdom while urging the claims of truth and virtue, and to win the favor of a Christian emperor while not falling under the worst displeasure of his heathen predecessor.

Such a character as we have seen Lactantius to be would be sure to attract the men of the Renaissance, and accordingly we find that he appealed strongly to its protagonists, men like Petrarch and Pico della Mirandola. Petrarch<sup>1</sup> speaks of him as 'rolling forth in a milky torrent,' with an obvious allusion to the name Lactantius. Perhaps with Jerome's estimate<sup>2</sup> in mind, Pico della Mirandola calls him the Christian Cicero, and even suggests that he may be Cicero's superior in eloquence.<sup>3</sup> The estimation in which he has since been held is attested by the fact that, up to 1905, there are said to have been 112 editions of his works, a number greater than that of any other church-writer, the earliest being dated in 1465, at Subiaco, and being the first book printed in Italy.<sup>4</sup>

#### LACTANTIUS AND THE *DE AVE PHŒNICE*.

The question of Lactantius' authorship of the *De Ave Phœnice* has been much debated.<sup>5</sup> Those who answer it in the affirmative rely upon four arguments, urged by various scholars with various force. These are: (1) the testimony of the manuscripts; (2) the attribution of the poem to Lactantius by mediæval writers; (3) the similarity of its sentiments and diction to those of Lactantius' undoubted prose works; (4) the Christian character of the poem. Of these it is the last which has been most vigorously contested by the opponents.

<sup>1</sup> *De Otio Religiosorum*, Bk. 2 (*Opera*, Basel, 1554, p. 363; 1581, p. 322).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. xxix.

<sup>3</sup> *De Studio Divinæ atque Humanæ Philosophiæ*, Bk. 1, chap. 7 (*Opera*, Basel, 1573, p. 21).

<sup>4</sup> Schanz, in Müller, *Handbuch*, 2d ed., 8<sup>e</sup>. 474.

<sup>5</sup> Bibliographies may be found in Brandt, *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.* 27. xxi; Manitius, *Gesch. der Christl.-Lat. Poesie*, p. 44; Teuffel, *Gesch. der Lat. Litt.*, § 397, note 8; Schanz, *op. cit.*, pp. 468-70; cf. also Löbe, *Jahrbb. für Prot. Theol.* 18. 37.

As to the first argument, the best manuscript, the Parisinus of the eighth century, assigns no title to the poem; the next, the Veronensis of the ninth century, after giving Claudian's *Phœnix*, subjoins: *Item Lactatii de eadem Ave*; the third, the Vossianus (Leiden University), of the nineteenth century, has: *Versus Lactantii de Ave Fœnice*.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, Gregory of Tours<sup>2</sup> (before 582), treating of the wonders of the world, and coming to the third one, begins: *Tertium [miraculum] est quod de Phœnice Lactantius refert*. He then passes on to an abstract of the poem, partly in the original words, but with some difference of detail, as if Gregory might have been quoting from memory.<sup>3</sup> Again, a grammarian of the seventh century<sup>4</sup> ascribes the poem to Lactantius, and quotes it eight times. Finally, Alcuin,<sup>5</sup> in a list of books in the York Library, names, among Christian poets,

Quid Fortunatus vel quid Lactantius edunt,<sup>6</sup>

which would seem to refer to the *Phœnix*.

Thirdly, various correspondences have been traced between the *Phœnix* and Lactantius' undoubted works.<sup>7</sup> A few of these may be here noted:

1. The description of Paradise accords in general with that of *Inst.* 2. 12. 15; *Épit.* 27. 2.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Löbe, p. 40; Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* 3 (1881). 247-8; Manitius, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *De Cursu Stellarum*, chap. 12.

<sup>3</sup> The passage of Gregory is quoted, and the differences emphasized, by Baehrens, pp. 250-252; cf. below, p. xxxviii.

<sup>4</sup> *De Dubiis Nominibus*, in Keil, *Gram. Lat.* 5. 577. 14-593. 26.

<sup>5</sup> *De Sanctis Eccl. Ebor.* 1552.

<sup>6</sup> Manitius, p. 45; Brandt, *Corpus* 27. 135.

<sup>7</sup> Thus by Dechent (*Rhein. Mus.* 35 (1880). 50 ff.), but especially by Löbe.

<sup>8</sup> If, as Pichon asserts (see p. xxxv), Constantine's *Oration to the Saints* reposes on Lactantian doctrine, it is significant that the oration contains this passage (2. 5): 'And immediately he transferred our newly created parents (ignorant at first, according to his will, of good and evil) to a happy region, abounding in flowers and fruits of every kind. At length, however, he appointed them a seat on earth, befitting creatures endued with reason.'

2. Lines 64 and 109 indicate a dualistic doctrine, which is also reflected in *Epit.* 27. 4; *Inst.* 2. 12. 19; 2. 9. 5 ff.; cf. 2. 9. 19, 21 with *Ph.* 22, 24.

3. Lines 57, 58, which make the Phœnix a priest in the sun's temple, find a parallel in *De Ira* 14. 1.

4. Line 164, in praise of chastity, may be illustrated by *Epit.* 66; *De Ira* 23. 22, 27; *De Opif.* 19. 10, but especially 6. 23 ff.; 7. 27.

5. Line 58, with its mention of 1000 years, may correspond to *Inst.* 7. 22. 7 ff.; *Epit.* 27. 5; 72. 3 ff.

6. In various respects the use of words, the constructions, and the figures of speech employed by Lactantius are like those of the *Phœnix*.<sup>1</sup>

7. The extent and minuteness of knowledge displayed by the author of the *Phœnix* is such as one would expect in the work of a student, one may say a philologist,<sup>2</sup> like Lactantius.<sup>3</sup>

8. Jerome tells us that Lactantius wrote poetry; there is therefore no intrinsic improbability of his writing such a poem as the *Phœnix*.

To these we may add three others:

9. Lines 11-14, referring to the destruction of the earth by fire and water, refer to Phaethon and Deucalion; but so also does *Inst.* 2. 10. 23, and in the same order: 'All may perish, . . . either . . . by the conflagration of the world, as is said to have happened in the case of Phaethon, or by a deluge, as is reported in the time of Deucalion.'

10. Pichon,<sup>4</sup> in a literary appreciation of Lactantius as a prose writer, says: 'He possesses all the serious classical qualities—regularity, equilibrium, moderation, clearness, precision, noble gravity, simple and sober eloquence, ingenious and patient industry; in one word, intellectual probity. On the other hand, we find in him the defects, or rather the gaps and limits of classicism: he is neither very deep, very impassioned, very clever, nor very

<sup>1</sup> Löbe, pp. 53 ff.

<sup>2</sup> We must remember that Lactantius wrote a *Grammaticus*.

<sup>3</sup> Löbe, pp. 38-9, 43, 64-5.

<sup>4</sup> *Lactance*, p. 455.

original.' Would not much of this serve to characterize the *Phœnix*?

11. Lactantius himself says (*Inst.* 5. 1. 9-11): 'Many waver, and especially those who have any acquaintance with literature. For in this respect philosophers, orators, and poets are pernicious, because they are easily able to ensnare unwary souls by the sweetness of their discourse, and of their poems flowing with delightful modulation. These are sweets which conceal poison. And on this account I wished to connect wisdom with religion, that that vain system may not at all injure the studious; so that now the knowledge of literature may not only be of no injury to religion and righteousness, but may even be of the greatest profit.' Is there anything in the *Phœnix* which militates against this conception?

Fourthly, as to the Scriptural character of the poem:

1. Lines 25-30 describe a spring—living, transparent, in the midst of the grove, which it waters every month, and which bears fruit. This corresponds to Rev. 22. 1-2; Ezek. 47. 7, 12; Gen. 2. 9, 10 (cf. Ps. 1. 3; 46. 4; Jer. 2. 13; 17. 8, 13; Ezek. 19. 10; John 4. 10, 14).<sup>1</sup> It is evident that 'tree of life,' Rev. 22. 2, is a collective, and stands for a number (cf. Ezek. 47. 7, 12).

A slight difficulty is occasioned by the word *fons*, which, however, reposes on Gen. 2. 6, a verse followed by other Christian writers of the first centuries. Thus the poem *Ad Flavium Felicem* (Vienna *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.* 3<sup>s</sup>. 318) has (238-9):

Fons illic placido perfundit agmine campos;  
Quattuor inde rigant partitam flumina terram.<sup>2</sup>

The other difficulty is with respect to the monthly irrigation, but this is merely an inference, it would seem, from the fact of the monthly bearing of fruit (see esp. Ezek. 47. 12).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, pp. lii-liiii.

<sup>2</sup> So also Pseudo-Cyprian, *De Laude Mart.* 21 (*ibid.*, p. 44); Alcimus Avitus, *Poem.* 1. 252, 259, 260 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 59. 329); Isidore of Seville, *Etymol.* 14. 3. 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 82. 496); cf. Milton, *P. L.* 4. 229.

<sup>3</sup> The use of the number 12 in line 8 may also be due to a Biblical reminiscence, e. g. Ezek. 43. 16.

2. Line 64 speaks of the reign of death. This must refer to such conceptions as those conveyed by Rom. 5. 12, 14, 17 (cf. Gen. 2. 17; 3. 19, 23).

3. Line 93, 'commends his spirit,' is apparently due to Lk. 23. 46 (cf. *Inst.* 4. 26. 32).

4. More remote and doubtful are such parallels as 78: Lk. 24. 26; 116: Jn. 14. 2; 155: Mk. 1. 45.<sup>1</sup>

Ebert (*Gesch. der Christl.-Lat. Lit.*, 2d ed., I. 100) points to the praise of chastity (lines 164-5), the reference to the earth as the abode of death (line 64), and the emphasis on voluntary death (line 93-4), as evidences of Christian influence.

The apparent introduction of chiliastic doctrine (cf. above, p. xxxv) is perhaps sufficiently accounted for by the belief in a phoenix-cycle of a thousand years entertained by Martial, Pliny (29. 1. 29), Claudian, and certain Jewish Rabbis (see Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, ed. 1796, 3. 810). Most of the earlier Christian authorities prefer the term of 500 years, while that of 1000 years is preferred by Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen, Ausonius, and Nonnus.<sup>2</sup>

Those who do not distinctly favor the attribution of the *Phoenix* to Lactantius fall into two classes: (1) those who have no decided opinion, who, in discussing Lactantius, fail to mention this poem, or who assign no reasons for their rejection of it (Heumann, Fritzsche, Bernhardt, Kotze, Nirschl, Alzog, Ritschl); and (2) those who adduce reasons, of whom Baehrens may be regarded as the type. These reasons, so far as they deserve our attention, reduce themselves to six<sup>3</sup>:

1. No ancient author assigns the poem to Lactantius.
2. It exhibits no traces of Christian influence.
3. The argument from chiliastic doctrine is weak.
4. A Christian author would have 'improved' much further the opportunities which the poem afforded him.
5. Lines 33 ff., 58 seem to point to sun-worship.

<sup>1</sup> Adduced by Löbe, pp. 50, 51.

<sup>2</sup> See note on *Ph.* 151.

<sup>3</sup> See especially Löbe, p. 37; *Poet. Lat. Min.*, ed. Baehrens, 3. 248 ff.

6. The passage from Gregory of Tours,<sup>1</sup> attributing the poem to Lactantius, exhibits some divergences from the *De Ave Phœnice*, so that Gregory's rendering may repose upon a portion of Lactantius' *Hodæporicon* in which he might have incorporated the *Phœnix* of an earlier heathen author, that is, our very poem.

(1), (2), and (3) demand no further comment than is given above; (4) is sufficiently met by the consideration that Lactantius may have become a Christian by slow degrees, and certainly, as we have seen (p. xxx), hesitated at times to avow the Christian faith in an explicit manner; under (5), as Löbe points out,<sup>2</sup> the reference may as easily be to Christ; and (6) is too involved a hypothesis, when the difficulties may be met as well by supposing Gregory to have quoted from memory.<sup>3</sup>

The arguments in favor of Lactantius' authorship are, then, convincing, if not overwhelming; and in the light of all the considerations, I am inclined to think he published it after his conversion to Christianity, after he arrived in Nicomedia, and perhaps during the Diocletian persecution, or at least before Constantine had manifested his intention of favoring the Christians. The ambiguity which has so perplexed scholars is no doubt incident to the syncretism which the poem manifests, and which at precisely this time was so much in vogue.

#### THE PHŒNIX AS A SYMBOL.

The Phœnix, as represented upon Egyptian monuments, is a bird of the heron family, with the two characteristic long feathers streaming from the back of the head, and a tuft on the breast.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. xxxiv, above.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 49, 51.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Manitius, p. 45, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> According to Lepsius, followed by Wiedemann, it is the *Ardea cinerea*, or *purpurea* (*Alteste Texte des Todtenbuches*, p. 51; *Zs. für Ägypt. Spr.* 16. 104); according to Brugsch (*Geog. Inschr.* 1. 258), the *Ardea garzetta*; according to Renouf (*Book of the Dead*, p. 45), the common heron or heronshaw; according to Rawlinson (*Hist. Anc. Egypt*, 1881, 1. 82), the *Ardea bubulcus*. Singularly enough, the peasants of French Guiana call the *Ardea helias* the "bird of the sun" (Littré, *Dict. s. v. Oiseau*, 7). Gruppe (*Griech. Myth.* 2. 795) thinks that Ovid, in describing the heron

The Egyptian name of the Phoenix is *bennu*,<sup>1</sup> from a root meaning 'to turn,' so that the *bennu* signifies, as it were, the returning traveler.<sup>2</sup> This is an appropriate name for the heron, since he is a bird of passage, spending the summer in the north, and the winter in the south.<sup>3</sup>

The *bennu*, or heron, was evidently a symbol among the Egyptians—but of what? Some have said, of the planet Mercury (thus Seyffarth), others of Venus (Brugsch, Lauth),<sup>4</sup> but the generally accepted theory is that the Phoenix is a symbol of the rising sun. In a secondary sense, no doubt, it stands for other things, but the legend is constructed around this conception as its core. To become convinced of this, it will be necessary to examine the evidence of the texts.

#### CLASSICAL TEXTS

I. The goal of the Phoenix's solemn flight to Egypt is generally Heliopolis,<sup>5</sup> or the city of the sun (Tacitus, Ovid, Pliny (who adds, 'near Panchaia'), Clement of Rome, Aelian, Epiphanius, Pseudo-Epiphanius, Horapollo, the Greek *Physiologus*, Lactantius (if we emend *ortus* to *urbem*, as was first done by Gryphiander, 1618), Claudian, Achilles Tatius). Others add or substitute 'temple of the sun' (Herodotus, Ovid, Pseudo-Epi-

which flew away from the burning city of Ardea (*Met.* 14. 573 ff.), has in mind this identification. Other writers have thought of the hawk (Maspero), of the golden pheasant (Cuvier, Lenz, Benecke), of the lapwing (Keller), or of the flamingo (*Fundgruben des Orients* 1. 202). Ebers (*Egypt. Princess*, chap. 20) suggests a resemblance to the bird of paradise.

<sup>1</sup> The identification first made by Seyffarth (*ZDMG.* 3 (1849). 63), and confirmed from monumental evidence by Brugsch (*Nowvelles Recherches*, etc., Berlin, 1856; *Geog. Inschr.* 1. 258; *ZDMG.* 10. 649 ff.; cf. Wiedemann, *Aegypt. Gesch.*, p. 45, note; Schöll, *Vom Vogel Phönix*, p. 42, note 4).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Horapollo 1. 35; 2. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Wiedemann, 'Die Phönix-Sage im Alten Ägypten' (*Zs. für Agypt. Sprache* 16. 104).

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of some of the various theories see Lauth, 'Die Phönixperiode,' in *Abh. d. Phil.-Phil. Classe der Bayer. Akad.* 52 (1881). 348 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See below, pp. xlv-li.

phanus); 'altar of the sun' (Tacitus, Pliny, Clement of Rome, *Apostolical Constitutions*, Pseudo-Epiphanius, the Greek *Physiologus*, Nonnus).

2. Its pyre is lighted from the sun's rays (Dionysius, Pseudo-Eustathius, *De Aucupio*, Lactantius, Claudian, Pseudo-Jerome).

3. It dies at sunrise (Horapollo), or faces the sunrise (Horapollo, Pseudo-Jerome), or turns to the sun's ray (Isidore of Seville>Rabanus Maurus), or prays to the sun (Claudian), or stands toward the East and prays to the sun (*Apost. Const.*).

4. It is sacred to the sun (Tacitus, Pliny).

5. It is a symbol of the sun (Horapollo, Johannes Gazæus).

6. It rejoices more than other birds in the sun (Horapollo).

7. It is the sun's bird (Claudian).

8. It is the friend of the sun (Dracontius).

9. It is descended from the sun (Achilles Tatius).

10. It resembles the sun (Pseudo-Eustathius).

11. It is the priest of the sun (Lactantius).

12. Its head is crowned by a splendid circle, the very image of the sun (Achilles Tatius; cf. Claudian, *Ph.* 17-20).

#### EGYPTIAN TEXTS<sup>1</sup>

1. 'The temple of obelisks' of the Pankhy-inscription (below, p. xlviiii), in which, as we shall see, Rā, the Sun-god, was adored, is in Egyptian *ha-[t]-benben-[t]*. Now on a hypocephalus in Paris a deceased person is represented as saying: 'I am in the form of the Phoenix, which issues from *ha-t-benben* in Heliopolis.'

2. The obelisk of the Porta del Popolo at Rome, which represents near the top an adoration of Rā by one of the kings who erected it, bears in the left line of the northern face the words, 'Rameses II, son of Rā, who filled the temple of the Phoenix [*ha-t-bennu*] with his splendors.'<sup>2</sup>

3. In the *Book of the Dead*, chap. 17, we read<sup>3</sup>: 'I am that

<sup>1</sup> What here follows reposes chiefly upon Wiedemann, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Marucchi, *Gli Obelischi Egiziani di Roma*, pp. 58, 146; cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 17. 4; Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Wiedemann's translation; somewhat different in Budge, *Book of the Dead*.

great Phoenix which is in Heliopolis; I unite everything which is there.' What is the meaning of this? The Phoenix signifies the Osiris which is in Heliopolis; the union of everything which is there signifies his body, or, in other words, eternity and everlastingness, eternity signifying the day, and everlastingness the night.'

The Phoenix, then, signifies the union of day and night, or, one might say, of life and death; now as, according to Egyptian religious conceptions, Osiris represents the deceased, or, we might here say, death, and as the union of day and night, the point where the two come together, is represented by the Phoenix, the Phoenix must be the rising sun, with the emphasis not on the night from which he emerges, but on the attributes of the sun as it issues from darkness or death.<sup>1</sup>

4. *The Book of the Dead*, chap. 13, has, in Budge's translation: 'I go in like the Hawk, and I come forth like the Bennu bird [the Phoenix], the morning star (?) of Rā'<sup>2</sup>—where, for 'morning star,' Wiedemann prefers to read 'morning divinity,' i. e., morning sun.<sup>3</sup>

5. On the wooden coffin of Hetepher-t-s in the Vatican we have, on each side of a central picture, a hawk and a Phoenix respectively. On the right, seated on a standard planted on the mountain of the sun, which is painted in red, is the hawk, with the legend, 'Glory be to Rā in the underworld!' On a similar standard on the left is the Phoenix, with the legend, 'Glory be to Rā when he rises!'

So, too, on the door of a tomb figured by Lepsius,<sup>4</sup> the middle is occupied by a picture of the bark of the sun; on the right is a Phoenix, with the legend, 'He rises each day in the morning; he traverses the heaven as . . .'; while on the left is a hawk, with the words, 'He enters into the underworld; he shines.'

<sup>1</sup> So I understand Wiedemann, pp. 93-4.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly in chap. 122 (Budge, p. 185).

<sup>3</sup> Those who identify the Phoenix with Venus rely on the words 'morning star,' but Wiedemann shows (p. 100) that elsewhere Venus is called 'the star of the bark of Bennu-Osiris.' Now Bennu-Osiris, as we have seen under 3, means the rising sun, and hence Venus is here called, with all propriety, the star of the rising sun's bark.

<sup>4</sup> *Denkmäler aus Aegypten* 3. 272<sup>a</sup>.

6. In the *Book of the Dead*, chap. 24, we have<sup>1</sup>: 'I am Cheperā [the rising sun], who brings himself into being . . . in order to traverse the heaven like the Phœnix among the great gods.'

7. In the *Book of the Dead*, chap. 64, we read (Wiedemann): 'He [Osiris] comes from Sekhem to Heliopolis to make known to the Phœnix the things of the underworld. "Hail, . . . thou creator of forms, like the god Cheperā [the rising sun], issuing as sun-disk above the *auta*-incense."'

8. In a Louvre papyrus, No. I. 2, the Phœnix appears with the red sun-disk on his head.

9. On the coffin of Suti-mes in the Louvre, and similarly on the coffin of Tent-Amon in Berlin, 'the great god Phœnix' says: 'I am the Phœnix who begets himself, who gives incense to the Osiris.'

10. In a Louvre papyrus, No I. 1, we read: 'Glory to thee, O Rā, . . . thou who comest into being above Heliopolis, O Phœnix, great god!' Beside this are two pictures, one of Rā, and one of the Phœnix.

11. On a monument at Leiden he is called 'the Phœnix, the soul of Rā,' a scarab calls him 'the heart of the renewed Rā,' and a papyrus 'the Phœnix of Rā.'<sup>2</sup>

To the foregoing may be added a few passages from the *Book of the Dead* (tr. Budge). Chap. 29 B (p. 77): 'I am the *Bennu* [Phœnix], the soul of Rā.' Chap. 77 (p. 132): 'Those who were dwelling in their companies have been brought unto me, and they bowed low in paying homage unto me, and in saluting me with cries of joy. I have risen, and I have gathered myself together like the beautiful hawk of gold, which hath the head of a *Bennu* bird, and Rā entereth in day by day to hearken unto my words.' Chap. 125 (p. 189): 'He hath caused me to come forth like a *Bennu* bird, and to utter words.'

The ancient Egyptians conceived of the sun as describing a circle round the earth, and hence they gave it the name of *bennu*, the returning traveler. Now it happened that *bennu* was also

<sup>1</sup> So Wiedemann; Budge differs.

<sup>2</sup> Some other texts, cited by Wiedemann, are here omitted, as their bearing is less readily understood.

the name of a bird of passage which regularly disappeared and returned, and so this was declared holy to the sun, and one of its manifestations. The return of the sun took place in the morning, and so the *bennu* became the symbol of the rising sun. From this idea was evolved the further one that the sun engendered itself anew, and so likewise the *bennu*. He combined night and day into one whole, fashioned and guided time in a mystical and holy manner, and each morning rose to a spherical music, while the songs of gods and men resounded in joyful chorus to his praise. At his birth the heaven flamed in splendor, the new sun was born in fire, and from the dying flames of dawn he flew new-born up the sky. To him may be applied the words of the Boulak hymn to Rā<sup>1</sup>: 'Glory is his in the temple when he arises from the house of flames; all the gods love his perfume when he approaches from Arabia; he is the lord of dew when he comes from Matáu; he draws nigh in beauty from Phœnicia, encompassed by the gods.'<sup>2</sup>

Since the Phœnix in this, his central mythological aspect, may thus be identified with the deified sun at his rising, the hymns to Rā (or Kheperā) will yield other passages applicable to the Phœnix of our poem. Thus the birds which follow and salute him are paralleled by the gods who follow Rā: 'Rā riseth in his horizon, and his company of the gods follow after him.'<sup>3</sup> 'All the gods rejoice when they behold thee, the King of heaven.'<sup>4</sup>

Rā is self-begotten:

Thou self-begotten one, O thou who didst give thyself birth.<sup>5</sup>

O thou beautiful being, thou dost renew thyself in thy season in the form of the disk. . . . O Rā, . . . the divine man-child, the heir of eternity, self-begotten and self-born, king of earth.<sup>6</sup>

Thou art crowned with the majesty of thy beauties; thou mouldst thy limbs as thou dost advance, and thou bringest them forth without birth-pangs in the form of Rā, as thou dost rise up unto the upper air.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also translated in *Records of the Past* 2. 127-136.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph closely follows Wiedemann.

<sup>3</sup> *Book of the Dead*, tr. Budge, chap. 133, p. 214.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37; similarly pp. 4, 7, 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

As rising with fragrance :

The land of Punt<sup>1</sup> is stablished [to give] the perfumes which thou smellest with thy nostrils.<sup>2</sup>

Let me snuff the air which cometh forth from thy nostrils.<sup>3</sup>

With reference to the egg associated with the Phœnix :

O thou who art in thine egg (*i. e.*, Rā), who shinest from thy disk and risest in thy horizon.<sup>4</sup>

With reference to one of the colors attributed to the Phœnix :

Thou illuminest the two lands with rays of turquoise light.<sup>5</sup>

Thou hast made heaven and earth bright with thy rays of pure emerald light.<sup>6</sup>

The Phœnix, as the symbol of the rising sun, is at the same time, among a people so keen for immortality as were the Egyptians, a natural symbol of the resurrection.<sup>7</sup> In this sense it is taken by the Christians of the first centuries, who drew for illustration of the renewed life, now upon the cycles of vegetation (*cf. Ph. 243, note*), and now upon the phases of the heavenly bodies (sun, moon, stars; day and night; winter and spring).<sup>8</sup> Among the patristic writers who employ the Phœnix in this sense may be named Clemens Romanus, the author or authors of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, Tertullian, Eusebius, Zeno, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose, and Epiphanius.<sup>9</sup> Other writers who employ the same figure are Commodian, Nonnus, Sidonius, Ennodius, Dracontius, and the Englishman, Ælfric.

As both the Old and the New Testament associate God and Christ with light<sup>10</sup>; as Jehovah is explicitly called a sun in Ps.

<sup>1</sup> S. W. Arabia.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Cf. Froude, Short Studies in Great Subjects*, pp. 24-5.

<sup>8</sup> See the citations in Thalhofer, *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter* 405. 77.

<sup>9</sup> Thalhofer, *op. cit.* 415. 286.

<sup>10</sup> So Ps. 42. 3; Isa. 9. 2; Wisd. 5. 6; 7. 29, 30; Eccclus. 42. 2-5, 16; Matt. 4. 5-6; Lk. 1. 78-9; Jn. 1. 4-5, 9; 9. 5; 12. 46; 1 Tim. 6. 16;

84. 11; and as the early Fathers identify the sun of righteousness<sup>1</sup> (Mal. 4. 2; cf. Lk. 1. 78) with Christ,<sup>2</sup> it is not surprising that the Phoenix should come to be employed as a figure of the Saviour.

#### HELIOPOLIS

The name of the Phoenix is indissolubly associated with that of Heliopolis, to which reference is made by Lactantius, *Ph.* 121, *Solis ad urbem* (rendered in our poem by *sunbeorht gesetu*, 278). About 586 B. C., in the reign of Apries, or Uahabra, Jeremiah, being then in Tahpanhes, the modern Defneh, wrote thus of Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon: 'He shall also break the pillars [obelisks?] of Bethshemesh, that is in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of Egypt shall he burn with fire'; and in 568 B. C. Nebuchadrezzar actually invaded Egypt. Bethshemesh, a translation into Hebrew of the Egyptian Per-Rā, 'house or city of the sun,' was the city known to the Greeks as Heliopolis, of which nothing now remains but the ruins shown at Matarieh, some five miles northwest of Cairo. In Jeremiah's time it must have already been about 3400 years old, if we may I Jn. 1. 5; especially Mal. 4. 2; Jn. 8. 12. Cf. Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 183-5, *Dict. Christ. Antiqq.* 1. 357-8, and my note on *Chr.* 104-129. A whole series of modern poets continue the tradition. Thus Dante (*Purg.* 7. 26; *Par.* 9. 8; 10. 53; 18. 105; 25. 54; 30. 126; *Conv.* 3. 12. 51-6); and, to instance a poet five hundred years later, and of quite different character, Byron (*Sardanapalus* 2. 1. 14-7):

Oh! thou true sun!  
The burning oracle of all that live,  
As fountain of all life, and symbol of  
Him who bestows it.

<sup>1</sup> The motto of Rutgers College is: *Sol justitiæ, et Occidentem illustra.*

<sup>2</sup> As early as 242-3 A. D. (Cumont, *Textes et Monuments Figurés Relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* 1. 355). This led some of the Christians of the first centuries to identify the physical sun with Christ, an error which was combated by Augustine, among others. The 'Deo soli' of Exod. 22. 20 was even sometimes interpreted as 'to God, the sun' (*Civ. Dei* 19. 23); and there were pagans who appear honestly to have believed that the sun was the god of the Christians (Tertullian, *Apol.* 16, etc.). As late as the fifth century, Pope Leo the Great complained that the faithful still persisted in adoring the sun at the instant of his rising. On the whole subject, see Cumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-6.

trust the assignment of it to the time of King Menes,<sup>1</sup> or Mena, the founder of the First Dynasty. In the Second Dynasty (ca. 3100 B. C.), the worship of Mnevis, the sacred bull, was established there, according to Manetho.<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions of the Fourth Dynasty (ca. 2900-2750) mention it.<sup>3</sup> The Fifth Dynasty (ca. 2750-2625), according to one tradition, starts from a high priest of Heliopolis, and claims divine descent from Rā, the sun-god.<sup>4</sup> In the Twelfth Dynasty, Sesostris I (1980-1935 B. C.) is said to have built in Heliopolis a temple to the sun; and a leathern roll, dating from the time of Amenhotep IV<sup>5</sup> (1375-1358 B. C.), professes to contain a record of this founding.<sup>6</sup> The hymn sung or recited on this occasion included the sentence, 'the works will last' (or, as the German translation has it, 'Das Gemachte sei bleibend'); but all that *has* lasted is one obelisk,<sup>7</sup> the most beautiful now in Egypt.

Somewhere about 1640 B. C.,<sup>8</sup> in the Seventeenth Dynasty, may perhaps be placed the period of Joseph's residence in Egypt. Joseph's wife was of Heliopolis, for we are told in Gen. 41. 45<sup>9</sup> that 'Pharaoh gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Potiphera<sup>10</sup> priest of On,<sup>11</sup> that is, high priest (probably) of Heliopolis.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *Chron.* 1. 326; cf. Petrie, *Hist. Egypt* 1. 20; Breasted, *Hist. Egypt*, p. 44. Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 493, says it is as old as the oldest inscribed monuments.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie 1. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Hastings, *Dict. Bible* 3. 622.

<sup>4</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-3.

<sup>5</sup> He also erected a temple to Rā in Heliopolis (Petrie 2. 221).

<sup>6</sup> Petrie 1. 157; *Zs. für Agypt. Spr.* 12 (1874). 85-96; *Records of the Past* 12. 51-5; Breasted, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-7, and Fig. 87.

<sup>7</sup> Ephraem the Syrian has an account of the obelisks in his *Commentary on Jeremiah*, chap. 33 (*Oper. Syr.* 2. 144-5; Pinkerton's *Voyages* 15. 827). Various Arabic writers of the Middle Ages mention them (cf. Pinkerton 15. 807, 827 ff.).

<sup>8</sup> See Hastings, *Dict. Bible* 2. 771; cf. Petrie 3. 115.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. 41. 50; 46. 20.

<sup>10</sup> 'He whom Rā (the Sun-god) gave'; see Hastings, *Dict. Bible* 4. 23.

<sup>11</sup> In hieroglyphics Anu, Annu, On, Un.

<sup>12</sup> The Septuagint version of Jer. 43 (Sept. 50). 13 identifies On with Heliopolis, and so in Exod. 1. 11, in an addition to the text of the passage,

According to an account preserved by Eusebius,<sup>1</sup> the Jews whom Joseph brought into Egypt were assigned to Heliopolis and Sais, and afterwards built a temple in Heliopolis (cf. 9. 27).<sup>2</sup>

It was at Heliopolis that human sacrifices were abolished, if we may believe Manetho,<sup>3</sup> by King Aahmose, or Amasis (1580-1557 B. C.).

Heliopolis<sup>4</sup> was, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the centre of one of the greatest religious reforms known to history, a reform associated with the name of Amenhotep IV (see p. xlvi), later known as Akhenaten or Ikhnaton ('the splendor of the sun's disk'). The nature of this reform, which, as an exotic, was destined to expire with its promoter, may be described in the words of Petrie<sup>5</sup>:

Other ages had worshiped the human-figured sun-god Ra, or a hawk as his emblem; and when the sun itself was represented, it was as a concrete solid ball. But a more refined and really philosophical worship was substituted for this by Akhenaten, that of the radiant energy of the sun, of the sun as sustaining all life by his beams. No one—sun-worshiper or philosopher—seems to have realized until within this [19th] century the truth which was the basis of Akhenaten's worship, that the rays of the sun are the means of the sun's action, the source of all life, power, and force in the universe. . . . If this were a new religion, invented to satisfy our modern scientific conceptions, we could not find a flaw in the correctness of this view of the energy of the solar system. . . . Not a rag of superstition or of falsity can be found clinging to this new

Epiphanius (*Ancor.* 84) says of the name Heliopolis that it is 'a translation from the Egyptian and Hebrew On' (cf. Sayce, *Rel. of Anc. Egypt and Bab.*, pp. 86-7). See also Ephraem the Syrian, *Comm. on Jeremiah*, chap. 33. The Aven of Ezek. 30. 17 is the same word (*Hastings* 3. 621).

<sup>1</sup> *Præp. Evang.* 9. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius also preserves a statement (9. 18; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1. 7. 2) according to which 'Abraham dwelt with the Egyptian priests in Heliopolis, and taught them many things; and it was he who introduced astronomy and the other sciences to them, saying that the Babylonians and himself had found these things out.' We of course know that Abraham, according to the Biblical account, was in Egypt (*Gen.* 12. 10 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Quoted from Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 2. 55, by Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* 4. 16; *Praise of Constantine* 13. See also Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, pp. 495-6.

<sup>4</sup> Wiedemann, *Agypt. Gesch.* 1. 46-47, 397.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Egypt* 2. 213 ff.

worship evolved out of the old Aten of Heliopolis, the sole lord or Adon of the universe.

Petrie then quotes the great hymn to the Aten, which he thinks may have been composed by the King. One stanza runs:

How many are the things which thou hast made!  
 Thou createst the land by thy will, thou alone,  
 With peoples, herds, and flocks,  
 Everything on the face of the earth that walketh on its feet,  
 Everything in the air that fieth with its wings.

He then adds:

In this hymn all trace of polytheism, and of anthropomorphism, or theriomorphism, has entirely disappeared. . . . It would tax any one in our days to recount better than this the power and action of the rays of the sun. . . . In ethics a great change also marks this age. The customary glorying in war has almost disappeared; only once, and that in a private tomb, is there any indication of war during the reign. The motto 'Living in Truth' is constantly put forward as the keynote to the king's character, and to his changes in various lines. And domestic affection is held up as his ideal of life, the queen and children being shown with him on every occasion. In art the aim was the direct study of nature, with as little influence as possible from convention; animals in rapid motion, and natural grouping of plants, were specially studied, and treated in a manner more natural than in any other Oriental art.<sup>1</sup>

Rameses III (1198-67 B. C.) gave to Heliopolis, among other things, 12,963 serfs, 45,544 cattle, and 103 Egyptian towns<sup>2</sup>; and in the great Harris papyrus he tells of the gardens, lakes, sculptures, jewels, and scrolls which he there made for Râ.<sup>3</sup> The temple he built is at Tell el Yehudeh, north of Heliopolis.<sup>4</sup>

One of the most interesting mentions of Heliopolis belongs to the period of the Twenty-third Dynasty, under what is called the Ethiopian Dominion. A stele recording the events of an expedition undertaken by Pankhy, or Piankhi I, describes the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Erman, *Aegypten*, pp. 73 ff.; Brugsch, *Hist. Egypt* I. 441 ff.; Sayce, *Rel. of Anc. Egypt*, pp. 11, 35, 92 ff., 195; Steindorff, in Hilprecht's *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 674; Breasted, *op. cit.*, pp. 361 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *Hist. Egypt* 3. 154; *Records of the Past* 6. 59 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Records of the Past* 6. 52-70.

<sup>4</sup> Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 285.

elaborate ceremonies and solemn devotion attending this monarch's visit to Heliopolis. Here we have several things of interest in relation to our poem—the lake or fountain in which the sun-god bathes his face, adoration to the rising sun,<sup>1</sup> the offering of incense, and the temple of the sun entered by the king with solemn priestly ceremonial.<sup>2</sup>

Strabo (ca. 60 B. C.-ca. 25 A. D.) says<sup>3</sup>:

There, too, is Heliopolis, situated upon a large mound. It contains a temple of the sun. . . . In front of the mound are lakes, into which the neighboring canal discharges itself. At present the city is entirely deserted. . . . At Heliopolis we saw large buildings, in which the priests lived. For it is said that anciently this was the principal residence of the priests, who studied philosophy and astronomy; but there are no longer either such a body of persons or such pursuits. . . . The residences of Plato and of Eudoxus were shown to us. Eudoxus came here with Plato,<sup>4</sup> and, according to some writers, lived thirteen years in the society of the priests. For the latter were distinguished for their knowledge of the heavenly bodies, but were mysterious and uncommunicative, yet after a time were prevailed upon by courtesy to acquaint them with some of the principles of their science, but the barbarians concealed the greater part of them.

In the period of Plato and Eudoxus, Egypt had been groaning for more than a century under Persian rule; Nebuchadrezzar and Cambyses<sup>5</sup> had laid waste the noble edifices of Heliopolis, and burned them with fire; Egypt, as Petrie says, 'was a carcase'<sup>6</sup>; yet Heliopolis still remained the university of Egypt, the home of philosophy, and astronomy, and medicine.

<sup>1</sup> Apion reported that Moses offered all his prayers toward the sun-rising, and in the open air, while at Heliopolis (Josephus, *Contra Apion* 2. 2).

<sup>2</sup> For a full account of this, see note on *Ph.* 107 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 17. 27-9.

<sup>4</sup> To these Plutarch (*Is. and Osir.* 10) adds Pythagoras, his teacher being Oinuphis; and Solon (*Solon* 26), his teacher being Psenophis. The teacher of Plato was Sechnuphis (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1. 15. 69); that of Eudoxus, Chonuphis (*Diog. Laert.* 8. 8. 6). For full references on the visits of famous Greeks to Egypt, see Parthey's edition of Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*, pp. 162, 183 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, as above.

<sup>6</sup> *Hist. Egypt* 3. 387.

It had brooded over the whole course of Egyptian history; but its end was not yet. Influential from at least the period of the Fifth Dynasty (2750-2625 B. C.) in laying down religious law for Egypt,<sup>1</sup> its spirit, when now its vigor was almost spent, may have imbued the philosophy and science of Greece, and so eventually have tinged the barbarism of Western Europe.

Nearly all the longer accounts of the Phoenix either mention the city by name or refer to it in an unmistakable manner; and to this circumstance, more than any other, was Heliopolis indebted for its European reputation in ancient times.

It is singular that Heliopolis often emerges into prominence when a foreign influence, especially a Mesopotamian or Syrian, manifests itself. It would seem that the purest and most vital conceptions associated with it might have been of foreign birth, or have been most keenly appreciated by foreigners.

The obelisks of London and New York were originally from Heliopolis (Petrie 2. 127), and of the seven genuine obelisks of the older period now in Rome, five are from Heliopolis—those of the Porta del Popolo, Pantheon, Villa Mattei, Monte Citorio, and Dogali.<sup>2</sup> The obelisk now standing at Matarieh (68 feet high) is the oldest Europe temple-obelisk still in position. This was erected in the reign of Sesostris (Senwosri I), of the Twelfth Dynasty (ca. 1980-1935 B. C.).<sup>3</sup>

There are two objects associated with Heliopolis which are of peculiar interest in relation to our poem. These are a tree and a fountain. On the Metternich stele we read: 'Thou art the great Phoenix, which comes into being on the tip of the trees in the

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Études de Mythologie* 2. 372 ff. The first historical recension of the *Book of the Dead* (see Budge's trans., p. LXXIV) was made by the priests of Heliopolis, and, with reference to these texts, 'the general testimony of their contents indicates an Asiatic home for their birth-place' (*ibid.*, p. XLVI). The oldest copies belong to the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (*ibid.*, p. LXXIV).

<sup>2</sup> Marucchi, *Gli Obelîschî Egiziani di Roma*, p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 9. 79, 82; 19. 945. This authority says (19. 945): 'The pyramidions were sheathed in bright metal, catching and reflecting the sun's rays as if they were thrones of the sunlight. They were dedicated to solar deities, and were especially numerous at Heliopolis.'

great hall in Heliopolis.' Cleopatra's needle, now in London, speaks of the venerable tree in the interior of the temple of the Phœnix. This was properly the Persea tree, which afterwards becomes a palm, an acacia, or a sycamore. In the Louvre papyrus No. 3092, there is an adoration of a yellow tree with green leaves, above which the red disk of the sun is rising. In Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*<sup>1</sup> we find a picture of a tomb, near which is a tree surmounted by a Phœnix, with the legend, 'The soul of Osiris.'<sup>2</sup>

The Phœnix poised on one of the upper branches of a palm is represented at Rome in the mosaics of Saints Cosmas and Damian, St. Praxed, the Lateran, Santa Maria Maggiore, and St. Cecilia in Trastevere. In that of the apse of SS. Cosmas and Damian, which is the oldest, the bird is evidently a heron, with head, breast, and wings of red, feet and legs of gold, and the rest of the body light blue.

For the fountain of the sun at Heliopolis, see note on *Ph.* 107 ff.; cf. Hastings, *Dict. Bible* 5. 189; Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 20-1, 92; Ephraem Syrus, *Opera Syr.* (Rome, 1740) 2. 50, 51.

For the palm-tree in the desert which, during the Flight into Egypt, bent over at the command of the infant Jesus, and refreshed the Holy Family with its fruit, and which afterwards opened a spring of water from its roots, see the Apocryphal Gospel of Matthew, chap. 20. According to the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, this was a sycamore at Matarieh, while Sozomen<sup>3</sup> attaches a similar story to a Persea tree at Hermopolis. Travelers are still shown a sycamore and a spring at Matarieh.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Birch, 3. 349.

<sup>2</sup> This is regarded by Erman, *Aegypten*, p. 368, as the tree described by Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 20. On the general subject, cf. Brugsch, *Geog. Inschr.* 1. 258-9; Hastings, *Dict. Bible* 3. 622; 5. 190; Erman, *Life*, pp. 272, 348.

<sup>3</sup> *Eccl. Hist.* 5. 21.

<sup>4</sup> See Wilkinson, *Handbook for Travellers in Egypt* (London, 1847), p. 168; Sandys, *Travailes*, 6th ed. (London, 1658), p. 99; E. D. Clarke, *Travels* (London, 1814) 3. 99; John Evesham, in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (Glasgow, 1904) 6. 38, and cf. Hakluyt 5. 338.

## THE EARTHLY PARADISE

What may be called the central tradition concerning the Earthly Paradise, the tradition which is reflected in the *Phœnix*, is Oriental and very ancient. Whether originally Semitic or not, it is not without representative in Aryan texts as well. According to this central tradition, the elements of the Earthly Paradise are :

1. An extremely high mountain.
2. Noble trees, often forming a grove.
3. A fountain of living water, or one or more rivers.
4. Absence of the ugly, irksome, and noxious, and abundance of what is delightful and invigorating.

To these are sometimes added :

5. A tree distinguished above the rest.
6. A bird which sits upon the tree, or stands in a peculiar relation to it.

The Semitic tradition, with which we are more immediately concerned, is perhaps most familiar to us from the account in Genesis (2. 8-10) :

And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed. And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.

Here we are explicitly told of the trees, the river, and the pleasure afforded by the trees. The height of the garden is only to be inferred from the fact that the river, parting into four—the Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Euphrates—through these four irrigates vast tracts, including no doubt the whole inhabited earth, as the writer conceived it.

Parts of the conception are developed in Ezek. 47. 7-9, 12 :

Behold, at the bank of the river were very many trees on the one side and on the other. Then said he unto me, These waters issue out toward the east country, and go down into the desert, and go into the sea: which being brought forth into the sea, the waters shall be healed. And it shall come to pass, that everything that

liveth, which moveth, whithersoever the rivers shall come, shall live: and there shall be a very great multitude of fish, because these waters shall come thither: for they shall be healed; and everything shall live whither the river cometh. . . . And by the river upon the bank thereof, on this side and on that side, shall grow all trees for meat, whose leaf shall not fade, neither shall the fruit thereof be consumed: it shall bring forth new fruit according to his months, because their waters they issued out of the sanctuary: and the fruit thereof shall be for meat, and the leaf thereof for medicine.

Here the water has an active principle of life and healing, as have the fruit and foliage of the trees. This thought is resumed in Rev. 22. 1-2:

And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.

Akin to the river of the water of life is the fountain, though the Bible does not expressly place it in Paradise. Thus Ps. 36. 9: 'For with thee is the fountain of life'; Jer. 2. 13 (cf. 17. 13): 'They have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters'; Jn. 4. 14: 'The water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life'; Rev. 21. 6 (cf. 22. 17): 'I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely.'<sup>1</sup> In all these instances, the terms are used figuratively; but so also they are in the passages from Ezekiel and the Apocalypse referring to the river.

As to the absence of what is hurtful and unpleasing, and the positive delights, in that New Jerusalem which is the Apocalyptic's substitute for Paradise,<sup>2</sup> reference may be made to Rev. 21. 1-4, 10, 11, 23 ff.; 22. 3-5.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Professor E. W. Hopkins' learned article, 'The Fountain of Youth,' in *JAOS.* 26 (1905). 1-67, 411-5. There is a spring at the foot of the tree Yggdrasil of Scandinavian mythology, which is a tree of life (cf. *Havamal*). For such trees and waters in Egyptian mythology, see above, pp. 1-li.

<sup>2</sup> Yet there is mention of Paradise in Rev. 2. 7: 'To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.'

Hindu mythology tells of the mountain Meru, somewhat over 500,000 miles high, upon whose summit the Ganges first flows from heaven, and then divides into four rivers, which water the world. The trees are always covered with fruits and flowers. Among them are the Kālāmra(-ba) tree and the Jamvu(-bu) tree, some 6600 miles in height, whose fruit makes one ever youthful.<sup>1</sup> This has been identified in a general way with the Pamirs in Central Asia, the so-called Roof of the World, which Parsis consider as the original seat of the Aryan race, and the Mohammedans of the region regard as having been the terrestrial paradise.

In the *Avesta* and the *Bundahish*, the mountain is Albûrz, or the Hara Berezaïti, the rivers are twenty in number, there are the 'tree opposed to harm' and the Gôkard tree, and the bird is the griffon, the Kamrôs, or the Sin or Simurgh.<sup>2</sup>

Akin to these Aryan legends, if not derived from them, is the view<sup>3</sup> advanced by Ephraem the Syrian in the 4th century. He says of Paradise<sup>4</sup>:

It is situated on a very high spot, and looks down on all the highest mountains. For this reason the waters of the deluge, that were spread over all the world, did not touch even its root with the tops of their billows, and, as it were, kissing its feet, worshiped the approach to it.

He then goes on to speak of Paradise as being very far from our world, and as surrounding the sea and the earth.

Among those who held similar opinions<sup>5</sup> were (Pseudo-)Basil, Theophilus of Antioch, Gregory of Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Tertullian, and Cosmas Indicopleustes. To take a single example, (Pseudo-)Basil thus describes Paradise<sup>6</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mahabharata* 6. 7; 3. 163; *Vishnu Purana*, tr. Wilson, 2. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Sacred Books of the East* 5. 22-23, 29, 31, 35, 42-3, 47, 65-7, 89-91, 99-100, 176-7; 23. 131-2, 173.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Uhlemann, 'Ephräm des Syrers Ansichten von Paradies' (*Zs. für Hist. Theol.* 1 (1832). 155 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> *Hom. 1 on Paradise (Opera, 1743, 3. 563).*

<sup>5</sup> The works of Ephraem were early translated into both Greek and Latin (they were known to both Chrysostom and Jerome). In the Eastern Church, and perhaps in the Western, lessons from them were read after those from the Bible (cf. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 23. 708).

<sup>6</sup> *Hom. de Paradiso (Migne, Patr. Gr. 30. 64).*

A place superior by nature to all created spots, over which, by reason of its height, there was no shadow, of wonderful beauty. . . . Here, then God planted Paradise, where there was neither violence of winds, nor inclemency of the seasons, nor hail, etc.

One of the most important utterances in its bearing upon the *Phœnix* is that by Bede, *Hexameron* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 91. 43) :

Nonnulli volunt quod in orientali parte orbis terrarum sit locus paradisi, quamvis longissimo interjacente spatio vel oceani vel terrarum a cunctis regionibus quas nunc humanum genus incolit secretum. Unde nec aquæ diluvii, quæ totam nostri orbis superficiem altissime cooperuerunt, ad eum pervenire potuerunt. Verum seu ibi seu alibi Deus noverit; nos tantum locum hunc fuisse et esse terrenum dubitare non licet: . . . locum scilicet amœnissimum, fructuosis nemoribus opacatum, eundemque magnum et magna fonte fecundum.<sup>1</sup>

Bede says that it is far removed from the knowledge of men.<sup>2</sup> This phrase is literally derived from Augustine.<sup>3</sup>

Dante's conception of the Earthly Paradise has much in common with those of the Fathers mentioned, situated, as it was, far from the world of men, upon a lofty mountain, and embracing a forest, a fountain from which issued limpid waters, and one tree which 'would be marveled at for its height by Indians in their woods.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 91. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Thus *Patr. Lat.* 91. 43-44, 207.

<sup>3</sup> In *Gen.* 8. 7. For the patristic and mediæval views of Paradise, see the Bible dictionaries under Paradise and Eden; McClintock and Strong, *Encyclopædia of Bibl., Theol., and Eccl. Lit.* 7. 652-9; Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexikon* 2. 49-50; Schaff-Herzog, *Encyc. of Religious Knowledge*, ed. Jackson, 8. 348-9; Zöckler, *Gesch. der Beziehungen zwischen Theologie und Naturwissenschaft* 1. 127-9, 173, 287, 349; Renan, *Hist. Gén. des Langues Sém.*, 2d ed., pp. 466-479. A brief popular account is given by Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, pp. 250-265. Cf. also Patch, 'Some Elements in Mediæval Descriptions of the Otherworld' (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* 33 (1918). 601-643).

<sup>4</sup> *Purg.* 28; 32. 38 ff. For analogies with Dante's Terrestrial Paradise, see the notes of Scartazzini, Plumptre, and Longfellow, on *Purg.* 28. 1 ff.; Kraus, *Dante*, p. 417; Coli, *Il Paradiso Terrestre Dantesco*. With his doctrine of the dissemination of seeds or germs might be compared several of the passages cited above from the *Avesta* and the *Bundahish*.

A synopsis of the views of Ephraem, Bede, and others who hold kindred opinions, may be found in Raleigh's *History of the World* (I. 3).

From the Middle Ages on, and particularly during the Renaissance, poets like Chaucer (*Parl. Fowls* 172-210), Boccaccio (*Teseide*, Bk. 7), Tasso (*Gerusalemme Liberata*, Bk. 15), and Milton (*Par. Lost*, Bk. 4), have been in part indebted for their Paradises and enchanted gardens to classical writers, in such passages as the following from the *Odyssey* (tr. Cotterill):

Here comes never the snow, nor a violent tempest and rain-storm;  
Here incessantly breatheth the breeze of the soft-voiced Zephyr.<sup>1</sup>

Which winds ne'er shake nor ever a rain-storm  
Wetteth, and never a snowflake falleth, but cloudless the æther  
Spreadeth above, and over it floateth a radiant whiteness.<sup>2</sup>

The descriptions of the Golden Age are likewise drawn upon for this purpose.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 4. 566-7.

<sup>2</sup> 6. 43-5.

<sup>3</sup> For references to such classical writers, see Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, pp. 172 ff., 512 ff.; 2d ed., pp. 183 ff., 545 ff.

## PHYSIOLOGUS

### THE PHYSIOLOGUS IN GENERAL

The *Physiologus*—also known as the *Bestiary*—is a book of popular theology and morality, illustrating some of the chief doctrines of the Christian religion by means of the real or supposed characteristics of actual or fabulous animals, or employing these same characteristics as alluring or warning examples.<sup>1</sup> It is not unlikely that this Christian *Physiologus* reposes upon earlier pagan books of natural history, setting forth the qualities of animals, and incidentally of plants and stones. Heliodorus, writing his Greek romance of *Theagenes and Chariclea* in the second half of the third century,<sup>2</sup> has one of his characters, an Egyptian, exclaim (3. 8): 'If you wish an example from natural history, here is one taken out of *our sacred books*. The bird Charadrius cures those who are afflicted with the jaundice. If it perceives at a distance any one coming towards it who labors under this distemper, it immediately runs away and shuts its eyes—not out of an envious refusal of its assistance, as some suppose, but because it knows by instinct that, on the view of the afflicted person, the disorder will pass from him to itself, and therefore it is solicitous to avoid encountering his eyes.'<sup>3</sup> Now as a similar trait is ascribed to the Charadrius in the *Physiologus*, it has been thought that these Egyptian sacred books contained much of the matter appropriated by the *Physiologus*, and that probably the original collection which was to constitute the basis of the later *Physiologus* may have been formed under such a ruler as Ptolemy Euergetes II (176-117 B. C.).<sup>4</sup>

Whenever such earlier compilations may have been made, the book that we understand by the term *Physiologus* (the word

<sup>1</sup> Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Croiset, *Hist. Litt. Gr.* 5. 796.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly Aelian (ca. A. D. 225) *Nat. An.* 17. 13; Plutarch (ca. 100), *Sympos.* 5. 7. 2. 8; cf. Pliny 30. 11. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hommel, *Die Aethiopische Uebersetzung des Physiologus*, p. xii.

means Naturalist) seems clearly to have been put together in Alexandria,<sup>1</sup> before 140 B. C.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest texts of it must have been in Greek, though the Greek manuscripts of it at present known are late. About the beginning or middle of the fifth century it was translated into Ethiopic<sup>3</sup> and Syriac,<sup>4</sup> and somewhat later into Armenian<sup>5</sup> and Arabic.<sup>6</sup> The Latin translation must have been made before 431.<sup>7</sup> There are also complete or partial translations into Old High German, Flemish, Dutch, Provençal, Old French (4), Middle English, Italian, Waldensian, Roumanian, Icelandic, Mediæval Greek, Servian, and Russian, besides Old English.<sup>8</sup> One writer has said: 'With the exception of the Bible, there is perhaps no other book in all literature that has been more widely current in every cultivated tongue and among every class of

<sup>1</sup> That it is of Egyptian, and specifically of Alexandrian origin is shown by various considerations: (1) the mention of the ibis, ichneumon, crocodile, and Phoenix; (2) the occurrence of fifteen of the stories in the work of the Egyptian priest, Horapollo; (3) the mention of the Nitrian desert, northwest of Cairo; (4) the mention of Indian products, and references to Indian fables, which would naturally find their way to Alexandria; (5) the Alexandrian origin of the symbolism by which the animal stories were adapted to Christian uses; etc.

<sup>2</sup> It seems to be referred to by Justin Martyr (d. 168 A. D.), by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and other early Fathers (Lauchert, pp. 65, 68 ff.; Hommel, p. xxxi; Land, *Anec. Syr.* 4. 126-7).

<sup>3</sup> Translation into German by Hommel, pp. 45 ff.; also *Rom. Forschungen* 5. 13-36.

<sup>4</sup> Translation into Latin by Tychsen in *Physiologus Syrus*, Rostock, 1795. A later Syriac version in Land, *Anec. Syr.*, Vol. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Translated into French by Cahier, *Nouveaux Mélanges d'Archéologie* 1. 117-138.

<sup>6</sup> Translated into Latin by Land, *op. cit.* 4. 137 ff. For all four translations, see Lauchert, pp. 79 ff., and cf. Mann, *Anglia Beiblatt* 10. 278-9.

<sup>7</sup> Lauchert, p. 89. Texts in Mai, *Class. Auct.* 7 (1835). 589-596; Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, Vols. 2, 3, and 4. Cf. Mann, as above, pp. 279-280.

<sup>8</sup> Lauchert, pp. 110-155, 300-2; Mann, as above, pp. 280-5; Reinsch, *Das Thierbuch des Normannischen Dichters Guillaume Le Clerc*, pp. 46-56. Concerning the sea-monster, Holbrook (*Dante and the Animal Kingdom*, p. 204) says: 'From my friend Sándor L. Landeau I learn that he heard the tale in his childhood from the lips of peasants in Hungary.'

people.<sup>1</sup> Certain it is that current notions of the pelican, the Phoenix, the unicorn, and the salamander are due to the former popularity of the *Physiologus*.

The mention of the Bible suggests how often, in parable, allegory, or metaphor, natural objects are employed to enforce spiritual lessons, or human beings are characterized by comparison with animals or plants:

Go to the ant, thou sluggard (Prov. 6. 6).

But ask now the beasts, and they shall teach thee; and the fowls of the air, and they shall tell thee; or speak to the earth, and it shall teach thee; and the fishes of the sea shall declare unto thee (Job. 12. 7, 8.).<sup>2</sup>

The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed (Matt. 13. 31).

The field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked one (Matt. 13. 38).

I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman (John 15. 1).

Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves (Matt. 10. 16).

Their wine is the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps (Deut. 32. 33).

Go ye, and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils (Lk. 13. 32).

Ye are the salt of the earth (Matt. 5. 13).

Inwardly they are ravening wolves (Matt. 7. 15).

They are greedy dogs that can never have enough (Isa. 56. 11).

The sense of the spiritual meaning within the material fact is what makes poets, and all supreme artists. It is what led Mrs. Browning<sup>3</sup> to say:

Earth's crammed with heaven,  
And every common bush afire with God. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Sokoll, *Zum Angelsächsischen Physiologus*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The Ethiopic text of the *Physiologus* ends: 'The Holy Scriptures have said nothing at random concerning animals and birds'; the Armenian says they 'do not mention animals without some mystery.' Cf. Cahier, *Mélanges* 3, 239 (MS. C): 'Nihil Scripturæ sine similitudine nobis dixerunt' (with manifest allusion to Matt. 13. 34).

<sup>3</sup> *Aurora Leigh*, Bk. 7.

If a man could feel,  
 , Not one day, in the artist's ecstasy,  
 But every day, feast, fast, or working-day,  
 The spiritual significance burn through  
 The hieroglyphic of material shows,  
 Henceforward he would paint the globe with wings,  
 And reverence fish and fowl, the bull, the tree,  
 And even his very body as a man.

Hence, however severely we may condemn the abuses of the allegoric method in its application to Scripture, there is at the root of symbolism something natural and necessary. We all take the sign for the thing signified. We all understand what is meant when a person is called a bear, a serpent, a cur, or a cat.<sup>1</sup> We all, to refer specifically to the *Physiologus*, attribute human virtues and vices to animals, and find pleasure and instruction in Aesop's fables, *Reynard the Fox*, and the Uncle Remus stories.

### THE OLD ENGLISH PHYSIOLOGUS

#### MANUSCRIPT

These three poems, like the *Phœnix*, are contained in the Exeter Book (95<sup>b</sup>—98<sup>a</sup>), for which see p. xxv.

#### COHERENCE OF THE POEMS

The standard form of the *Physiologus* has 49 chapters, corresponding to as many topics, though the various translations differ with respect to the number. Of the whole, Old English poetry has made use of only three—the *Panther*, the *Whale* (*Asp-Turtle*), and the *Partridge*—or, if we add the *Phœnix*, four.

Do these three short poems which follow the *Phœnix* in the Exeter Book form a brief *Physiologus*? Do they constitute a portion of a longer Old English poetical *Physiologus*, the rest of which has been lost? Or are they unrelated—merely versions of three unconnected chapters which happened to strike the translator's eye, or his fancy?

The third hypothesis is easily disproved, at least on the assump-

<sup>1</sup>For echoes of the *Physiologus* in certain Elizabethan writers see Lauchert, *Englische Studien* 14. 188-210.

tion (see p. lxxxviii) that the third poem is the *Partridge*: for (1) the order found here is that of Pitra's Greek MS. A, of MS. Royal 2. C. XII, of Cahier's B, of the fragment found in Jerome's writings, of the Arabic, the Ethiopic, the archetype of the Syriac version at Leiden, and of Cahier's MS. C, so far as the first two animals are concerned (the third is missing); (2) the second and third have a backward reference in the word *gēn* ('further'); (3) the first poem, the *Panther*, has a general introduction, referring to the variety of birds and animals upon the earth, under the second of which classes the author proceeds to speak of the *Panther*; (4) the first poem has 'We heard tell' (8-9), while the third poem begins, 'I heard tell'; (5) the third poem ends in the same hortatory manner as the second, with a sentence beginning with *Uton* (see p. lxxxviii); (6) the third poem ends with *Fimit*, which, under the circumstances, is more likely to mark the end of a series than of a single short poem. Hence the three poems are not versions of unconnected chapters, nor did the Old English poet treat them as unconnected.

Do they, then, constitute a portion of a larger poetic cycle? The answer to this depends upon the reply to the question raised by the gap in the third poem. If this gap represents only a part of this single poem, the cycle, upon the basis of the facts adduced above, must have consisted, so far as we can see, of only these three members<sup>1</sup>; and the evidence adduced under the head of the *Partridge* (pp. lxxxvi ff.) points to this conclusion.<sup>2</sup>

#### AUTHOR AND DATE

Dietrich<sup>3</sup> believed the *Physiologus* to have the same author as the *Phœnix*, *Guthlac*, and *Juliana*, that is, Cynewulf. This he argues from similarity of diction, and from general likenesses in conception and treatment. However, the scant page which he devotes to the subject does not afford him scope for detailed

<sup>1</sup> Dietrich (*Commentatio*, p. 11) suggested that three orders of animals were represented by the three poems—quadrupeds, fishes, and birds; Ebert (*Anglia* 6. 241) modified this to animals of the land, of the sea, and of the air.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tupper, *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* 11. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Commentatio*, pp. 10-11.

proof. Sokoll goes into the subject much more fully. He says<sup>1</sup> that almost the whole vocabulary of the *Physiologus* belongs also to the *Phœnix*, and likewise affirms a close relationship between the diction of the *Physiologus* and that of the *Christ*. Several pages<sup>2</sup> of his monograph are devoted to an examination of the vocabulary, metre, style, etc., of the *Physiologus*, in order to prove that it must be ascribed to Cynewulf.

On the other hand, Lefèvre, Wülker, Körting, Brandl, Mann, and Schwarz oppose this view.<sup>3</sup> Trautmann thinks that the *Physiologus* may be ascribed to Cynewulf with some probability.<sup>4</sup> Barnouw<sup>5</sup> will go no further than to assert that, if the *Physiologus* is by Cynewulf, it is later than the *Elene*.

If I did not hesitate before assigning to Cynewulf so many Old English poems,<sup>6</sup> I should associate myself on this point with Dietrich and Sokoll. If the *Physiologus* is not by Cynewulf, it must be by some disciple or close imitator; if by him, it is probably one of his later productions. As for the date, it is in general that of Cynewulf's period, the second half of the eighth century.<sup>7</sup>

#### THE PANTHER

The account of the panther in the *Physiologus* may be typically represented by the Greek text published by Lauchert.<sup>8</sup> In the Biblical passage which serves as a foundation, 'panther' is due to the Septuagint, the 'young lion' of the Authorized Version representing the Hebrew. The sentence from Hosea, however, serves as a mere pretext for this chapter.

The prophet prophesied and said: 'I am become as a panther to Ephraim' [Hos. 5. 14]. The Naturalist said concerning the panther

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 11-21.

<sup>3</sup> Jansen, *Die Cynewulf-Forschung*, pp. 115-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Kynewulf*, pp. 42, 122.

<sup>5</sup> *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, p. 206.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. my edition of the *Christ*, p. lxxv.

<sup>7</sup> Brandl, *Gesch. der Altengl. Lit.* (Paul, *Grundriss*, 2d ed., 2. 1034, 1044, 1047); Trautmann, *Kynewulf*, p. 122 (A. D. 740-780); Richter, *Chronologische Studien*, p. 101.

<sup>8</sup> Pp. 248-9.

that he has this natural property: He is beloved by all the animals, but a foe of the dragon. He is as variegated as Joseph's coat. He is exceeding quiet and meek. When he has eaten and is filled, he sleeps in his den. And the third day he arises from sleep, crying out with a loud voice. And the animals that are nigh and that are afar off hear his voice. From his voice there streams all the fragrance of spices. And the animals follow the fragrance of the panther's smell, running up to it.

Thus when Christ was roused on the third day and rose from the dead, all fragrance came to us, both the peaceable ones that are nigh and those that are afar off [Eph. 2. 17; cf. Ps. 57. 19]. Manifold is the intellectual wisdom of God, as the Psalmist said [Ps. 45. 9, 13]: 'Upon thy right hand did stand the queen, clothed in vesture wrought with gold, and arrayed in divers colors.' She is the Church. Manifold is Christ, since he is virginity, temperance, compassionateness, faith, virtue, patience, concord, peace. Well, therefore, did the Naturalist speak concerning the panther.

#### THE WHALE (ASP-TURTLE)

##### THE GROWTH OF THE LEGEND

There can be no doubt that the germ of that chapter of the *Physiologus* which is concerned with the sea-monster (or so-called whale) is to be found in a story related by Nearchus, who was admiral of Alexander's fleet during the voyage from the mouth of the Indus to the coast of Persia. In late October or November of 325 B. C., he sailed past the island of Ashtóla (Astóla) or Sungadeep (Sangadip),<sup>1</sup> off the coast of Baluchistan, in Lat. 25° 7', Long. 63° 40', and between Ras Ormárah (Hormárah, Urmárah, Aruba, Arabah) and Ras Jaddi (Cape Pässenoe, Passenoe, Pessaní, Pasni).<sup>2</sup> From the Ichthyophagi of the opposite coast of Mekrán (Makrán) he heard the tale preserved by Arrian († ca. 180 A. D.) and Strabo († ca. 25 A. D.). The fuller form of the legend is thus reported by Arrian<sup>3</sup>:

<sup>1</sup>The island was and is known by a great variety of names (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Wissenschaften*, s. v. Ashtola; *Cyclopædia of India*, s. v. Ashtola; *Geographi Græci Minores*, ed. Müller, I. 344). Among these are Karnina, Seléra, Satáluh, Island of the Sun.

<sup>2</sup>Among the writers who mention it are Ptolemy (6. 8, 20, 21), Pliny (6. 26), Solinus (54), Mela (3. 7), Curtius (10. 1).

<sup>3</sup>*Indica*, chap. 31 (cf. chap. 26).

(BEFORE 300 B. C.)

While Nearchus was passing the coast of the Ichthyophagi, he heard tell of an island about a hundred stadia distant from the mainland, where no one dwelt. The natives said that it was consecrated to the Sun, and bore the name of Nosala, and that no one was willing to land there, but that if any one did so through ignorance, he was never seen again. Nearchus goes on to relate that one of his cutters, manned by Egyptians, disappeared not far from this island, whereupon the leaders of the expedition affirmed that they had landed on the island without being aware of the danger, and so had vanished. Nearchus then sent a thirty-oared vessel to circumnavigate the island, warning the crew not to land, but rather to sail close to the shore, and call out to the steersman by name, or to any others whose names they knew. Since no one answered, Nearchus himself rowed to the island, and forced his sailors, against their will, to land. He then went ashore, and thus proved that the talk about the island was an idle tale.

Another story that he heard about it was to the effect that one of the Nereids dwelt there, though her name is not mentioned; she, it was said, would take her fill of love with any man who came, but afterward would turn him into a fish, and cast him into the sea.<sup>1</sup> On this account, the Sun grew angry with the Nereid, and at length commanded her to depart. This she promised to do, but at the same time solicited his love, which the Sun granted; but, having compassion upon the men whom she had turned into fishes, he restored them to their former state. From these had descended the race of the Ichthyophagi, which had come down to Alexander's time.

<sup>1</sup> According to Philostratus (*Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 3. 56), this Nereid was 'a dreadful female demon, which would snatch away many mariners, and would not even allow them to fasten a cable to the rock.' He calls the 'sacred island' Seléra. Cf. below, p. lxxviii, note 3.

The Nereid may be related to the Siren which Boiardo, Berni, and Ariosto represent as lying further out to sea than the whale which is two miles long, and rises eleven paces above the water, and which Alcina accordingly persuades Astolfo is an island (*Orl. Innam.* 2. 13. 58, 62, 64; 2. 14. 6; (Berni) 42. 60, 64-68; *Orl. Fur.* 6. 37, 40-42. Shakespeare's (*M. N. D.* 2. 1. 150-2)

mermaid on a dolphin's back

Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath

That the rude sea grew civil at her song

is the siren of Ariosto (6. 40),

Che col suo dolce canto accheta il mare,

but the position upon the dolphin's back carries us directly back to classical mythology and art (see, for example, Pliny 36. 5. 4).

A shorter form is found in Strabo<sup>1</sup>:

Nearchos says that he proved the falsehood of a story which was firmly believed in by the sailors in his fleet—that there was an island situated in the passage which proved fatal to those who anchored on its shores, since a bark disappeared when it came to this island and was never seen again, and some men who were sent in search did not dare to land upon the island, but before sailing away from it shouted and called to the crew, when, as no one returned an answer, they took their departure. But as all blamed the island for the loss of the men, Nearchos tells us that he himself sailed to it, and having anchored, disembarked with a part of his crew, and made a circuit of the island. But as he could find no trace of the men of whom he was in search, he gave up the task and returned.

Various theories have been proposed to account for the legend:

1. Mela seems to imply that the heat in the island was unendurable. He is somewhat confused regarding the geography, though he appears to be speaking of our island (3. 7): 'Opposite the mouths of the Indus lie the regions of the sun, so called. These are so uninhabitable that the power of the surrounding air causes instant death; and between those mouths is the district of Patalene, which in some parts is without any one to till the soil, on account of the intolerable heat.'

2. Müller suggests<sup>2</sup> that the island was a rendezvous for pirates, who might be interested to keep their haunts to themselves. Pliny tells us (6. 26) that companies of archers were carried on board the vessels plying between Arabia and the west coast of India, because the Indian seas were infested by pirates. Curzon (*Persia* 2. 448) remarks of certain Arab tribes skirting the southern littoral of the Persian Gulf that 'they have been addicted from time immemorial to piratical escapades.'<sup>3</sup> Near this same coast, Lingah, on the Persian side, is the chief town

<sup>1</sup> 15. 2. 13, p. 726, translated by McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 91-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Geogr. Gr. Min.* I. 352.

<sup>3</sup> Marco Polo (3. 24, 25) tells of the pirate vessels, more than a hundred in number, that went on summer cruises from the coast below Goa, twenty or thirty vessels together. For those at Socotra, cf. Marco Polo 3. 32.

of the piratical Joasmees<sup>1</sup> (Jowasmis, Jewasimis, Jowasimees), who, at least previous to 1820, frequented Ashtola: 'This island was once famous as the rendezvous of the Jowásimee pirates; and here they committed many horrid and savage murders on the crews of the vessels which they captured.'<sup>2</sup> The vessels they burnt, after massacring the crew.

3. The air of the island may have been unhealthy in antiquity, if no longer so. Thus Lord Curzon says of Gwadur, only about a hundred miles away (*Persia* 2. 431): 'Gwadur was once one of the most popular stations of the Telegraph Line, and was regarded as the *sanitarium* of the Gulf ports, the temperature being very equable, and existence quite endurable even in the summer months. From some unknown cause, however, attributed by some to the sea-water, which is here so strongly impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen that the fish are often killed in great numbers, a malarial fever has developed itself, which attacks every new-comer; and the place is now as much shunned as it was once sought.'

4. As large numbers of turtles are caught upon the island for the sake of their shells, it may be that the legend was invented by those who were engaged in this pursuit, in order to keep possible intruders at a distance; or the air may have been so infected<sup>3</sup> by the abandoned carcasses of the turtles which were caught only for the sake of their shells as to be, or seem, poisonous to those who attempted to land, especially as there appears to be but one good landing-place. To do justice to this theory, and to gain a tolerable idea of the character of the island, it is desirable to consider two comparatively modern accounts. Lieutenant G. B. Kempthorne,<sup>4</sup> describing in 1835 a survey made in 1828, thus writes:

<sup>1</sup> *Cycl. of India*.

<sup>2</sup> Lieut. G. B. Kempthorne, *Jour. Royal Geog. Soc.* 5 (1835). 268.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny says that in the island 'every animal instantly dies'; Mela that it is 'so uninhabitable that the power of the ambient air instantly kills those who land.' Kempthorne found no living animal there except rats (see opposite page). Holdich (*Gates of India*, p. 160) says that 'sea-urchins and sea-snakes abounded in such numbers as to make the process of exploration quite sufficiently exciting.'

<sup>4</sup> *Jour. Royal Geog. Soc.* 5. 266-8.

Ashtola is a small desolate island, about four or five miles in circumference, situated twelve miles from the coast of Mekrán. Its cliffs rise rather abruptly from the sea to the height of about three hundred feet; and it is inaccessible except in one place, which is a sandy beach, about one mile in extent, on the northern side. Great quantities of turtle frequent this island for the purpose of depositing their eggs. . . . Not a vestige of any habitation now remains. . . . A party went on shore one night for the purpose of catching turtle, a description of which may not be uninteresting. We left the ship at sunset, and reached the shore about dark, then hauled the boat up on the beach; and when this was done formed ourselves into two distinct parties, and dispersed to different parts along the beach. Having reached the place where we thought it likely that the turtle would land, we lay down, keeping a sharp look out and making as little noise as possible. . . . We were thus all in anxious expectation of the appearance of the turtle; and six bells had just gone on board—that is, it was eleven o'clock, P. M.—when we saw the first, to our great delight, coming on shore just opposite us. It looked like a black rock moving slowly and steadily out of the water. We did not interrupt its progress until it had got some distance upon the beach, when a rush was made towards it, and it was immediately turned over on its back, without giving it time either to defend itself or blind its assailants by throwing the sand with its flippers or fins, which they do with such force that it is almost dangerous to come near them. It took six stout men thus to turn the largest that was caught. . . . We caught seven turtle that night, and six more the night after. . . .

The Arabs come to this island and kill immense numbers of these turtle, not for the purpose of food, for they never partake of it, considering it as an unclean animal; but they traffic with the shell to China, where it is made into a kind of paste, and then into combs, ornaments, &c., in imitation of tortoiseshell. The carcases of the poor animals are thus strewed about the beach in all directions, causing a stench so great that it was scarcely bearable; in fact, we could smell it some distance off the shore. The only land-animals we could see on the island were rats, and they were swarming; they feed chiefly on the dead turtle.

And earlier, according to Vincent,<sup>1</sup> Captain Blair had written:

We were warned by the natives of Passenoe that it would be dangerous to approach the island of Ashtola, *as it was enchanted*;

<sup>1</sup> *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean* I. 299.

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle (*Ancient India*, p. 92, note 1) says: 'It is still regarded with superstitious fear by the natives of the neighbouring coast.'

and that a ship had been turned into a rock. This superstitious story did not deter us; we visited the island, found plenty of excellent turtle, and saw the rock alluded to, which at a distance had the appearance of a ship under sail.<sup>1</sup> The story was probably told to prevent our disturbing the turtle; it has, however, some affinity to the tale of Nearchus's transport.

According to Charles Masson,<sup>2</sup> Ashtóla is now a goal of Buddhist pilgrimage:

Many votaries and pilgrims proceed no farther than Hinglátz,<sup>3</sup> but it is deemed to be especially praiseworthy and beneficial to extend the pious tour to Satadip, an island off the coast of Mekrán, and between Hormára and Pessani. I was surprised at discovering that this celebrated island was no other than the Ashtola of our maps, the Asthílál of Arabs and Baloches, the Carnina and Enchanted Isle of Nearchus, and the Asthæ[a] of Ptolemy.

Holdich (*Gates of India*, p. 160) remarks: 'I have been to that island, the island of Astola, and the tales that were told to Nearchos are told of it still. There, off the southern face of it, is the "sail rock," the legendary relic of a lost ship.'

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *Odysee* 13. 154 ff.

<sup>2</sup>*Narrative of Various Journeys in Belochistan*, etc., 4. 391-3; cf. 4. 295, and, for Masson himself, Holdich's *Gates of India*, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup>'Sacred to the goddess Nana (now identified with Siva by Hindus). . . . The Assyrian or Persian goddess Nana . . . was a well-established deity in Mesopotamia 2280 years B. C.' According to Holdich, this shrine, 'next possibly to Juggernath, draws the largest crowds of pilgrims (Hindu and Mussulman alike) of any in India.' The character of Nana is outlined by Jastrow (*Hastings, Dict. Bible, Extra Vol.*, p. 541): 'At Erech, in the extreme south, there flourished the cult of a goddess known as *Nanâ*, who appears to have been conceived as a deity of a violent character, punishing severely those who disobey her—a war-goddess rather than a mother of life—but who in later texts is identified with Ishtar.' Elsewhere Jastrow says (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed. 14. 870-1): 'She [Ishtar] appears under various names, among which are *Nanâ*, etc. . . . Ishtar is celebrated and invoked as the great mother, as the mistress of lands, as clothed in splendor and power—one might almost say as the personification of life itself. But there are two aspects to this goddess of life. She brings forth, she fertilizes the fields, she clothes nature in joy and gladness, but she also withdraws her favors, and when she does so the fields wither, and men and animals cease to reproduce. In place of life, barrenness and death ensue. She is thus also a grim goddess, at once cruel and destructive. We can, therefore,

The germ of the later legend is thus seen to be as follows:

An enchanted island, or the being that inhabits it, causes the disappearance or transformation of men who touch upon its shores. As a historical fact, the island in question was and is the resort of large turtles in great numbers; and it is possible that there may be some connection between the capture of these turtles and the reputation of the island.

The story enters upon a new phase with the romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes, or rather with the apocryphal letter of Alexander to Aristotle, which must have been already extant when the romance was compiled.<sup>1</sup> As the romance was composed at Alexandria about 200 A. D.,<sup>2</sup> and as the outlines of the work are to be ascribed to the age of the Ptolemies (323-247 B. C.), it is apparent that no great interval is likely to have elapsed between the story related by Nearchus and that of the Pseudo-Callisthenes.

The kernel of the new story is to this effect: A reputed island, being approached by a boat, proves to be an animal, suddenly sinks, and causes the occupants of the boat to be engulfed. The tale runs, translated from the Greek<sup>3</sup>:

understand that she was also invoked as a goddess of war and battles and of the chase.'

May not the Nereid (p. lxiv, above), then, so seductive and so ruthless, represent this Naná-Ishtar worshiped at Hinglátz, and might not the antiquity of the legend thus bear some relation to Babylonian mythology? Erech is hardly more than 200 miles in a straight line from the Persian Gulf, and Susa, where, according to Holdich (p. 163), Nana dwelt for 1635 years (to 645 B. C., when she was reinstated at Erech), not so far. As to the sea-route in ancient times through the Persian Gulf, along the coast of Baluchistan, to India, see Holdich, pp. 54-57.

<sup>1</sup> Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, 2d ed., p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> So Zacher, *Pseudocallisthenes*, p. 102. Rohde is disposed to think that the earliest form of the romance was actually written down in the Ptolemaic era (*op. cit.*, p. 197, note 1). See also C. Müller, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. xx (in *Arriani Anabasis et Indica*, Paris, 1846).

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Müller, 3. 17. The Latin version by Julius Valerius, composed between 270 and 330 A. D. (so Kuebler in the Teubner edition of Valerius, p. vii), will be found at the foot of the page in Müller's edition, as well as in the Teubner volume. The Latin, while making certain points of the Greek clearer, misses the essential thing for us by failing to identify the island with an animal.

When we had come to the city of Prasiaka, which seemed to be the metropolis of India, we discovered a fertile promontory. When I had set out with a few of my men for this promontory, we ascertained that the inhabitants subsisted on fish, and had the form of women. On questioning some of them, I found that they were of barbarous speech. When I made inquiry about the region, they pointed away to an island, which was visible off at sea. This, they said, was the sepulchre of a very ancient king, and contained much consecrated gold. Hereupon the barbarians disappeared, leaving their boats, to the number of twelve, behind.

My kinsman and friend, Philo, together with Hephæstion and Craterus, were unwilling that I should cross over. Philo's words were: 'Let me go in your stead, so that, should it turn out badly, I may run the risk, and not you; while if all goes well, I will send a boat back for you. Even should Philo perish, you would never want for other friends'; but if anything should happen to you, Alexander, all the world would suffer.' Thereupon I allowed myself to be dissuaded. He then set off for the island, but, when an hour had elapsed, all at once the animal sank to the bottom of the sea. Thus, while we were looking on,<sup>2</sup> the animal disappeared, and the whole boat's crew perished miserably, to our great sorrow. But when I searched for the barbarians, they were nowhere to be found.

We remained on that promontory for eight days, and there we saw the Hebdomadarion, an animal with elephants on its back.<sup>3</sup>

This story is pieced together from several earlier ones. The promontory is probably Ras Ormárah,<sup>4</sup> since, after passing it, Nearchus came to the fishermen who fled at the sight of his vessels. The island containing the sepulchre of the ancient king, however, was not Ashtóla, but was situated at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, the ancient name being Ogyris<sup>5</sup> (Organa), or Oarakta,<sup>6</sup> the former probably representing Ormuz, and the latter, Kishm. Curtius relates (10. 1) that those who were attracted by the rumors of gold to seek the island that contained the monument of this king, Erythras, were never seen again. The rest of the tale in Pseudo-Callisthenes seems to be an echo of the story related by Nearchus of Ashtóla.

<sup>1</sup> A play on the word Philo.

<sup>2</sup> *δοξαίνων*. The translation is guesswork.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the later Hindu stories of the earth supported by an elephant on the back of a tortoise.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Arrian, *Indica*, chap. 26, with Holdich, *Gates of India*, p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo 16. 766-7; Mela 3. 8; Pliny 6. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Arrian, *Indica*, chap. 37.

There is an important parallel in Pseudo-Callisthenes 2. 38,<sup>1</sup> where we are told that Alexander, having encamped on the seashore, embarked his soldiers, and sailed to an island not far away, where they heard, but did not see, men speaking Greek. Some of the soldiers, persuaded by a diver, leaped overboard and swam ashore, in order to explore the island; but no sooner had they landed than crabs issued from it, and dragged them back into the water. This frightened Alexander, so that he ordered the sailors to return to land.

The legends of Pseudo-Callisthenes are thus reducible to this: *An island, or a sea-beast (crab) representing in some sort an island or its destructive power, plunges the seafarer who would land upon it into the deep.*

The tale is next related in Hebrew by Rabbah bar bar Hana, a Babylonian rabbi who lived between A. D. 257 and 320. One of the journeys he undertook was through the desert in which the children of Israel wandered for forty years, and where his Arab guide pointed out to him Mount Sinai, and the place where Korah had been swallowed up by the earth. From this guide or other Arabs he may have heard the fantastic tales which he afterwards recounted, and which caused his colleagues to remark, 'All Rabbahs are asses, and all bar bar Hanas fools.'<sup>2</sup> Since the Arabs were the active carriers or intermediaries in the commercial intercourse between Egypt and India in those times,<sup>3</sup> nothing is more natural that that they should pick up such a legend in passing and repassing Ashtóla.<sup>4</sup> Rabbah's version is in the Babylonian Talmud (Baba Bathra 73b):

<sup>1</sup> Müller's ed., p. 89; cf. Zacher, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> *Jewish Encyclopædia* 10. 291.

<sup>3</sup> Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 3 ff.; Vincent, *Periplus*, pp. 37, 59, 60.

<sup>4</sup> It was while sailing to the East Indies by way of the Persian Gulf that Sindbad, on his first voyage, came to the 'island like one of the gardens of Paradise.' While the passengers were disporting themselves on the shore, and some had lighted the fires in their fire-pots, the master of the ship called upon them to embark speedily, 'for this apparent island upon which ye are is not really an island, but it is a great fish that hath become stationary in the midst of the sea, and the sand hath accumulated upon it, so that it hath become like an island, and trees have

Once, while on a ship, we came to a gigantic fish at rest, which we supposed to be an island, since there was sand<sup>1</sup> on its back, in which grass<sup>2</sup> was growing. We therefore landed, made a fire, and cooked our meal. But when the fish felt the heat, he rolled over, and we should have drowned had not the ship been near.

grown upon it since times of old.' He spoke, but too late for some, although they abandoned their goods, including the fire-pots. 'The island had moved, and descended to the bottom of the sea, with all that were upon it, and the roaring sea, agitated with waves, closed over it' (Lane's translation of the *Arabian Nights*). Cf. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, 2d ed., pp. 191-6; 'De Reizen von Sindbad,' *De Gids* (1889) 3. 278-312.

<sup>1</sup> So in the Latin texts of Mai (*Class. Auct.* 7. 590) and Cahier (*Mélanges d'Archéologie* 3. 253, MS. B): 'habens super corium suum tamquam sabulones qui sunt (B, sicut) iuxta litora (B, littore) maris.' So likewise in the Sindbad story, in Kazwini, Philipp de Thaon ('Le sablon de mer prent, sur sun dos l'estent. . . . Les graveles sunt les richeises del mund'), Guillaume le Clerc (ed. Reinsch, ll. 2259-60; also 2272-3, 'Font granz pels el sablon ficher, Qui semble terre a lor avis'; ed. Cahier, *Mélanges* 3. 255, 'Altretel est come sablon L'eskerdes de son dos en som'), Olaus Magnus, Brunetto Latini (*Tresor*, ed. Chabaille, p. 186, 'Li vent aporte sablon et ajostent sor lui, et i naist herbes et petiz arbrissiaus'), etc. There is no mention of sand in the Ethiopic or the two Syriac versions; the Armenian has (Cahier, *Nouv. Mél.* 1. 129), 'He keeps to sandy places,' with which compare R. F. Burton's statement (*Zanzibar* 1. 200): 'When fewer ships visited the port, the sandspit projecting from "Frenchman's Island" was covered with bay-turtle [green turtle].'

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this trait may owe something to the islands of shrubbery which float away from estuaries into tropical seas (Dana, *Manual of Geology*, 4th ed., p. 156). Floating islets of matted trees are sometimes seen fifty or a hundred miles off the mouth of the Ganges (and perhaps the Indus as well; cf. Curtius 9. 8), and among the Moluccas or the Philippines (Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, 11th ed., 2. 364-6). According to Lyell, ships have sometimes been in imminent peril, as these islands have often been mistaken for *terra firma*, when in fact they were in rapid motion. Less pertinent are the ancient stories concerning the islands of Rhodes, Anaphe, Thera, and Delos (for volcanic islands like Thera (Santorin), see Lyell 2. 58 ff., 67 ff.). On the disappearance of islands along the Baluchistan coast, see *Jour. Royal Soc. Arts* 49. 419, 424. Under date of Sept. 12, 1913, a report came from San Francisco: 'Falcon and Hope Islands, of the Friendly or Tonga group, in the South Pacific, have disappeared from view. With them several hundred natives and a few white men also have disappeared.'

Here, at length, are the particulars which belong to the mediæval form of the story.

In the *Arabic Book of Indian Marvels*, edited and translated by Van der Lith and Devic (Leyden, 1883-6), consisting of stories collected by the captains of trading vessels between 900 and 950 (Préface, p. vi), we have the following version:

I have also heard very curious stories about turtles, which the mind has difficulty in crediting. Here is one that I have from Abu Mohammed-al-Haçan, son of Amr. He had heard a respectable sailor relate that a ship, sailing from India for some country or other, was driven from its course by the violence of the wind, notwithstanding the efforts of the captain, and sustained some damage. They finally reached a little island, entirely destitute of wood and water, where they were forced to stop. The cargo was unloaded, and they remained there long enough to repair the damage, after which the bales were put back on board, in order that they might continue their journey. While this was in progress, the New Year festival arrived, and, in order to celebrate it, the passengers carried ashore to the island such pieces of wood, palm-leaves, and rags as they could find aboard ship, and set them on fire. Suddenly the island shook beneath their feet. Being near the water, they threw themselves in, and made for the small boats. At that instant the island sank into the waves, producing such a swirl that they all narrowly escaped drowning, and only saved themselves with the greatest difficulty, being terrified beyond measure. Now the island was nothing but a turtle asleep on the water, which, awakened by the heat of the fire, sought to escape. I asked my informant how that happened. 'Every year,' he replied, 'there is a number of days when the turtle rises to the surface of the water to rest from his long sojourn in the caverns of the submarine mountains; for at these depths there grow frightful trees and prodigious plants, much more wonderful than our terrestrial trees and plants. It comes, then, to the surface of the water, and passes whole days there deprived of sensation, like a drunken man. When it has regained its senses, and becomes tired of its position, it dives.'

#### THE NAME OF THE MONSTER

The *Physiologus* differs from a mere account of animal-traits in that it tags the characterization of each animal with a moral called an interpretation, which is sometimes formally labeled as such, and sometimes not. This will be apparent from the Greek chapter which deals with our incident, which will also show that

another peculiarity of our sea-monster, or some other fabulous sea-monster, is combined with it. The Greek chapter is found in two forms, a shorter and longer. The first is printed by Pitra<sup>1</sup>:

There is a sea-beast in the ocean, called asp-turtle, which has two natural properties.

(1) Its first nature is this. When it is hungry, it opens its mouth, and from its mouth there streams all fragrance. The little fishes, attracted by the odor, swarm into its mouth, and the monster drinks them down. But you will not find the big and perfect fishes coming near the beast.

Such a perfect fish was Job, Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the whole company of the prophets. In this manner did Judith escape from Holofernes, and Esther from Artaxerxes.

(2) The second natural property of the sea-monster: it is very large, like an island. Not being aware of this, the seamen fasten their boats to it as to an island, and attach the anchors and the stakes. They build a fire on the back of the sea-monster, in order to boil somewhat for themselves. When he is scorched, he plunges to the bottom, and wrecks the boats.

*Interpretation.* Well then did Solomon say in the Proverbs: 'Give no heed to a worthless woman; for honey drops from the lips of a harlot; but afterwards thou wilt find her more bitter than gall.' So if thou shalt depend upon the hope of the devil, he will plunge thee with himself down to the hell of fire.

The other is edited by Lauchert<sup>2</sup>:

Solomon teaches in the Proverbs, [in the Septuagint 5. 3-5], saying: 'Give no heed to a worthless woman; for honey drops from the lips of a harlot, who for a season pleases the palate: but afterwards thou wilt find her more bitter than gall, and sharper than a two-edged sword. For the feet of folly lead those who deal with her down to the grave with death.'

There is a monster in the sea, called asp-turtle, which has two natural properties. Its first is this. When it is hungry, it opens its mouth, and all fragrance issues from its mouth. And the little fishes crowd into its mouth, and he swallows them, but the large and perfect it does not find approaching it. Thus the devil and the heretics by their fair speeches and the guile of their supposed fragrance entice the simple and unschooled in understanding, but are unable to lay hold of those who are perfect in mind. Such a perfect fish was Job, Moses, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and the whole com-

<sup>1</sup> *Spicilegium Solesmense* 3. 352.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 249-251.

pany of the prophets. In this manner did Judith escape from Holofernes, Esther from Artaxerxes, Susanna from the elders, and Thecla from Thamyris.

Its other natural property is as follows. The monster is very large, like an island. Not being aware of this, the seamen fasten their boats to it as to an island, and also their anchors and their stakes. So they disembark as on an island, and build a fire to boil them food. And the whale, being burned, plunges to the bottom, and wrecks the boat and all that belongs to it. And if thou, O man, dost hang upon the false hopes of the devil, he will plunge thee with himself down to the hell of fire. Well, therefore, did the Naturalist speak concerning the asp-turtle.

Ignoring, for the moment, the new 'nature,' or trait, introduced, let us consider what manner of sea-beast is intended by this version of the legend. The word here translated 'sea-beast' is in the original *κῆτος* (Lat. *cetus*), the same that in Gen. 1. 21 is, in the plural, translated 'whales' in the Authorized Version, while the Revised Version more accurately renders 'sea-monsters.' The word itself, then, does not demand to be translated 'whale' in this place, any more than in the great majority of other occurrences in Greek and Latin. The exacter term is *ἀσπίδοχελώνη*, and this must be translated either by 'shield-turtle' or 'asp-turtle,' since the Greek *ἀσπίς* has two principal meanings, 'round shield,' and 'asp.' In any case, the second element, *χελώνη*, must mean 'turtle.'<sup>1</sup> This designation of the fabulous beast by 'turtle' is supported by various considerations:

1. Kazwini, an Arab writer of the latter half of the thirteenth century, begins his story thus,<sup>2</sup> in his account of water-animals: 'The tortoise is a sea- and land-animal. As to the sea-turtle, it is very enormous, so that the people of the ship imagine that it is an island.'

2. When the *χελώνη* of this chapter is translated into Latin, it is always as *testudo*.

3. The folk-tales of widely separated peoples, who cannot have borrowed from one another, unite in giving a similar account of the tortoise. Thus Catlin heard among the Mandan Indians<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. lxxxii ff.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Lane in his translation of the *Arabian Nights*, on Sindbad's First Voyage.

<sup>3</sup> *North American Indians*, 6th ed., 1. 181.

that 'the earth was a large tortoise, that it carried the dirt on its back—that a tribe of people, who are now dead, and whose faces were white, used to dig down very deep in this ground to catch badgers; and that one day they stuck a knife through the tortoise-shell, and it sank down so that the water ran over its back, and drowned all but one man.' And Callaway<sup>1</sup> has the following Zulu story:

It happened that some boys went to play on the banks of the river Umtshezi; on their arrival they said, 'There is a beautiful rock. . . .' But it was a tortoise. . . . A little boy said, 'This rock has eyes.' The others said, 'No; you are telling lies.' He said, 'It has eyes.' He was silent; and took his stick, and thrust it into the tortoise's eye, saying, 'What is this eye? See, the eye stares.' They said, 'There is no eye, child.' The little boy came home, and said, 'There is a rock which has eyes.' His father answered, 'What kind of eyes are in the rock?' He said, 'Indeed, there are eyes.' It happened on another day the tortoise turned over with them; one little boy crossed the river at a great distance; he went crying home; they asked, 'What is the matter?' He said, 'The rock has turned over with the other boys; it went with them into the pool.' They were all lost; there escaped that one only, who went home crying.

4. The roughness and hardness of its body are sometimes mentioned. Thus in Pseudo-Eustathius of Antioch<sup>2</sup>: 'Its body resembles rough stones,' reminding us that Pacuvius<sup>3</sup> had already characterized the tortoise as 'aspera.' In the *Voyage of St. Brandan*<sup>4</sup> we are told: 'Erat autem illa insula *petrosa* sine herba.' In the fragment of Pseudo-Jerome (Vallarsi's ed. of Jerome, Venice, 1771, II. 219) we have: 'Ostendit se in ipso mari tamquam *petram*.' Finally, the turtle in Kempthorne's description (p. lxxvii) looks like a 'black rock.'

5. The back of a whale is not well adapted for the comfortable sojourn of several people. Bullen says<sup>5</sup>: 'By dint of hard work I pulled myself right up the sloping, slippery bank of

<sup>1</sup> *Nursery Tales, Traditions, and Histories of the Zulus*, pp. 341-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Migne, Patr. Gr.* 18. 724.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, *De Div.* 2. 64. 133. Similarly Oppian, *Hal.* 5. 396, 404.

<sup>4</sup> *Brendans Meerfahrt*, ed. Wahlund, Upsala, 1900, p. 24; cf. pp. 239-243.

<sup>5</sup> *Cruise of the Cachalot*, chap. 15.

blubber.<sup>1</sup> Nor would the Greenland whale, at least, remain passive under such a sojourn, the lighting of fires, etc. 'It is indeed an extremely timid beast. It has been remarked that a bird alighting upon its back sometimes sets it off in great agitation and terror.'<sup>2</sup>

6. The size of the turtle at its largest affords some color of plausibility to the story. According to the ancients, their shells were used as barks by the Chelonophagi,<sup>3</sup> or served as roofs over their heads.<sup>4</sup> We are told of green turtles so large that they will crawl about on land with as many as fourteen men upon their back.<sup>5</sup> In the *Voyage of François Leguat*<sup>6</sup> there is a picture, reproduced from De Bry's *India Orientalis*, of a tortoise-shell with ten men seated upon it. From the same work of De Bry is quoted a statement concerning the tortoises of Mauritius at the end of the sixteenth century that readily carried two men. El Bekri, an Arabian geographer (A. D. 1067-8), relates a story<sup>7</sup> told him by a jurisconsult whom he names, to the effect that a company of travelers bound for Tirca, near Timbuctoo, stopped for the night at a place infested with white ants, which are very destructive. Nothing is safe from them which is not deposited on heaps of stones or on poles stuck in the ground. One of the travelers, espying what he took for a rock, deposited on it two camel-loads of luggage (perhaps 2000 or 3000 pounds; certainly

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Camb. Nat. Hist.* 10. 341. Arngrim Jonas, *The True State of Iceland*, 1582 (Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, Glasgow, 1904, 4. 138), thus mocks: 'O silly Mariners, that in digging cannot discern Whales flesh from lumps of earth, nor know the slippery skin of a Whale from the upper part of the ground.' Even Milton's 'scaly rind' in the well-known passage (*P. L.* 1. 200-208) would suit the turtle rather better than the whale; the direct allusion is of course to the crocodile (*Job* 41. 15).

<sup>2</sup> *Camb. Nat. Hist.* 10. 359.

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus Siculus 3. 20; Pliny 9. 10; Aelian, *Nat. Animal.* 16. 14; El Bekri, in *Jour. Asiat.* 5. 13. 500.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny 6. 28. 24; 9. 10; cf. Aelian 16. 17; Diodorus Siculus 3. 20; Tennant, *Ceylon*, 4th ed., 1. 90; *Camb. Nat. Hist.* 10. 384; Bullen, *Denizens of the Deep*, pp. 122-3.

<sup>5</sup> Brehms, *Thierleben* 7. 80.

<sup>6</sup> Hakluyt Soc. 2. 375.

<sup>7</sup> *Jour. Asiatique* 5. 13. 517-9.

not less than 1000). In the morning the goods and the rock were missing, but he found them several miles away by following the track of the tortoise.<sup>1</sup> Whatever we may think of this, there is no difficulty in accepting the statements of Darwin<sup>2</sup> and Bullen<sup>3</sup> concerning their rides on the backs of tortoises.<sup>4</sup> In the *Fourth Voyage to Virginia, 1587*,<sup>5</sup> mention is made of tortoises 'of such bigness, that sixteene of our strongest men were tired with carying one of them but from the sea side to our cabbins'; and Darwin<sup>6</sup> was told by the vice-governor of the Galapagos of several tortoises so large that it required six or eight men to lift them from the ground. Of existing species of (sea-)turtles, some are known that are seven feet or more in length,<sup>7</sup> and that weigh at least 1800 pounds.<sup>8</sup>

Of fossil or extinct species, the shell of the *Colossochelys Atlas* of the Siwalik Hills, in India, was estimated by Hugh Falconer, its discoverer, to have been 12 feet 3 inches long (15 feet 9 inches, measured along the curve of the back), 8 feet in diameter, and 6 feet high.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Later writers garble this story. Thus Leo Africanus, Bk. 9 (Hakluyt Soc. 3. 950), turns 'Bekri' into 'Bikri,' has the traveler go to sleep on the rock for fear of serpents and venomous beasts, and wake up three miles from the point of departure. He is followed by Konrad Gessner, *Icones Animalium Quadrupedium*, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Voyage of the Beagle*, chap. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Cruise of the Cachalot*, chap. 10.

<sup>4</sup> One with a shell-length of 40 inches can carry two full-grown men (*Camb. Nat. Hist.* 10. 377).

<sup>5</sup> Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Glasgow ed., 8. 387.

<sup>6</sup> *Voyage of the Beagle*, chap. 17.

<sup>7</sup> *Cycl. of India*, 3d ed., 3. 960; cf. 1. 672.

<sup>8</sup> Bullen, *Idylls of the Sea*, p. 162. Agassiz is reported to have seen some weighing over a ton (*Camb. Nat. Hist.* 10. 333).

<sup>9</sup> *Palæontological Memoirs* 1. 363; cf. 1. 374. This is accepted by Bronn, *Klassen und Ordnungen des Thier-Reichs* 6<sup>e</sup>. 408, and Brehms 7. 41, but the *Camb. Nat. Hist.* (40. 372) thinks it can not have been more than 6 feet long.

The Peabody Museum of Yale University has the skeleton of the largest known marine turtle (*Archelon Schyros*), from South Dakota, which is 10 feet 10 inches long, must have measured nearly 12 feet across the front flippers, and have weighed not far from 3½ tons. Lieutenant Nelson, in *Trans. Geol. Soc. of London*, 2d Ser., 5. 111, tells

7. Pseudo-Eustathius<sup>1</sup> speaks of the monster as sinking when it is heated by the *sun*. Various writers, following Agatharchides,<sup>2</sup> refer to the pleasure of turtles in sleeping about midday in the sunshine on the surface of the Indian Ocean, with their backs entirely out of water, while at night they feed at the bottom of the sea; but Aristotle<sup>3</sup> and Pliny<sup>4</sup> report in addition that, under these circumstances, their shells dry up, so that they are unable to dive easily, and thus become a prey to fishermen. Thus, though the effect of the sun is described as different in the two cases, the susceptibility of the turtle to its heat is emphasized.

8. The method of catching green turtles, in the Indian Ocean and elsewhere, has some features which remind us of our tale. The pursuer approaches noiselessly from behind, jumps upon the animal's back, catches it with both hands by the shell of the neck, and attempts to turn it over, and secure it with a rope.<sup>5</sup> In the process,<sup>6</sup> as well as when he first catches sight of the pursuers,<sup>7</sup> the turtle seeks to dive. The fact that they are sometimes shot by arrows<sup>8</sup> might also suggest a relation to the insertion of anchor-flukes or stakes.

9. The first 'nature' of the animal (see p. lxxiv) may also possibly point to the turtle. On the one hand, it is true, the man-of-skeletons of turtles in the Bermuda Islands measuring 9 feet by 7. Aelian knows of Indian ocean-turtles 15 cubits long (16. 17), and of river-turtles whose shells would hold 205 gallons (16. 14); but this is surpassed by Sindbad's estimate (Third Voyage) of one 20 cubits in each direction!

<sup>1</sup> As above.

<sup>2</sup> *Geogr. Gr. Min.*, ed. Müller, 1. 138-9; Diod. Sic. 3. 20; Pliny 9. 10; cf. *Cycl. of India*, 3d ed., 3. 960.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. An.* 8. 4.

<sup>4</sup> 9. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Cycl. of India*, 3d ed., 3. 960; Darwin, *Voyage of the Beagle*, chap. 20. Francis Beaumont, *Karamania*, 2d ed., London, 1818, pp. 299-300, relates: 'Some of the large turtles were so powerful as to escape with two heavy fellows lying on their backs, who in vain strove to turn them before they got into deep water.'

<sup>6</sup> Bullen, *Idylls of the Sea*, pp. 169-170.

<sup>7</sup> Darwin, chap. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Oppian, *Hal.* 5. 401; cf. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazon*, 3d ed., pp. 292-4.

ner in which it swallows its prey belongs to the whale rather than the turtle, though the green turtle, and perhaps some other kinds, eat fish readily.<sup>1</sup> But when we are told that all fragrance issues from the animal's mouth, we are at a loss for an explanation. Can this imputed trait be an adaptation of that attributed to the panther? If not, there may conceivably be a reference to the 'strong, odoriferous oil' secreted, according to Agassiz,<sup>2</sup> from glands in the lower jaw of certain species of turtle, or to the musky odor emitted by other turtles and tortoises.<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing considerations render it practically certain that, in the *Physiologus*-account of the second 'nature,' the author is chiefly indebted to legends which involve the turtle, and that, even in the first 'nature,' where there seems to be a clear reference to the whale, one trait may at least be derived from the chelonian race.

The confusion between the monster tortoise and the whale may have been facilitated by the exaggerated classical accounts<sup>4</sup> of the latter's size, or by Basil's (and subsequently Ambrose's) comparison<sup>5</sup> of them to mountains or islands. Tychsen<sup>6</sup> thinks that

<sup>1</sup> Brehms 7. 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Cont. to the Nat. Hist. of the U. S.* 1. 289-290.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Camb. Nat. Hist.* 10. 339; Bullen, *Denizens of the Deep*, p. 123; Brehms 7. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny (9. 2) knows of whales four jugera (about 2½ acres) in extent, and others 100 yards long; cf. 32. 4. 10. Nearchus, followed by Strabo and Arrian, tells of whales 140 or 150 feet long. Hercules leaped into a whale, according to Homer (*Il.* 20. 147). The whale that swallowed Lucian (*True Hist.* 1. 30; cf. 2. 2) was 200 miles long. The longest whale known, Sibbald's Rorqual, actually measures 85 feet, or a little more (*Camb. Nat. Hist.* 10. 340).

<sup>5</sup> 'They equal the greatest mountains in size. . . . They often create the impression (*φανταστικῶς*, fantasy) of islands, when they rise to the surface of the water' (*Hex.* 7. 6: Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 29. 161; cf. 7. 4: 29. 156). Ambrose says (*Hex.* 5. 11. 32: *Patr. Lat.* 14. 220-1; cf. 5. 10. 28: 14. 218) that when they float on the waves you would think them islands, or lofty mountains lifting their peaks to the sky. Both writers say they are only to be found well off shore in the Atlantic Ocean.

<sup>6</sup> *Phys. Syr.* p. 163; cf. Pontoppidan, *Nat. Hist. of Norway* 2. 121 (2. 5. 8); Lacépède, *Hist. Nat. des Cétacées*, p. 65.

Pontoppidan blends the physical traits of the giant squid, or octopus, with those of our fabulous animal, and thus obtains his kraken. In

the shellfish, etc., which collect on the back of an old whale, is responsible for the description of the sea-beast as stony.

The word ἀσπιδοχελώνη, of the Greek text, often paraphrased by 'whale,'<sup>1</sup> occasions some difficulty, because of the twofold meaning of the Greek ἀσπίς—'shield' and 'asp.'

Oppian (ca. 180 A. D.) is the first datable author to conjoin the two words which may be translated 'asp' and 'turtle' (*Hal.* I. 397), in the phrase ἀσπιδόεσσα χελώνη, where the first word is an adjective. Shall we translate 'shielded turtle' ('shield-turtle') or 'aspine turtle' ('asp-turtle')? The scholiast on the passage gives us but little help: the adjective either refers to the circularity of the turtle's shell, or to the turtle's having the head (*lit.* face) of an asp. The sixteenth-century Latin translation has *scutata testudo* (similarly Salvini's Italian translation of 1728). This must be wrong, if the first of the scholiast's alternatives is right, since *scutata* could not refer to a *circular* shield, which would rather require *clipeata*; but then, this emendation being granted, it remains that the shell of the turtle is not circular. Ger. *Schildkröte* might seem to afford some ground for a compound like 'shield-turtle,' and indeed Ebert says,<sup>2</sup> 'Der rücken des tieres ragte wie ein gleich einem schild gewölbter felsblock aus dem meere hervor'; but, while it is true that Ger. *Schild* represents 'shield,' *Kröte* does not mean 'turtle,' but 'toad.' *Schildkröte*, 'shield-toad,' might thus signify 'turtle'; but since the Greek χελώνη already has this meaning, no real parallel to the German compound would result from the addition of a word or element signifying 'shield.'

Lowell's allusion (*Ode to France*) we find ourselves on familiar ground:

Ye are mad, ye have taken  
A slumbering kraken  
For firm land of the Past.

Cf. Tennyson's early poem, *The Kraken*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. lxxv, above. Basil (*Hex.* 7. 3: *Patr. Gr.* 29. 150) apparently regards turtles and whales as of the same general class, and, so late as the sixteenth century, Rondelet (*De Piscibus Marinis, Universæ Aquatiliū Historiæ*) classed turtles as medium-sized whales, while Gessner (*Nomenclator Aquatiliū Animalium*, p. 183) would go no further than to call them cetacean.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia* 6. 244; cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes* 9. 65.

In favor of the rendering 'aspine,' there are these considerations:

1. The scholiast, as we have seen, admits it as a possibility.
2. In the line of Oppian cited above, the turtle is reported to couple with the eel, the two being thus treated as akin, just as both are classed among 'cruel sea-beasts' (1. 394).<sup>1</sup> This kinship seems to be confirmed by the common belief in antiquity that the moray (*muræna*), a species of eel, couples with serpents.<sup>2</sup>
3. Pacuvius, as quoted by Cicero,<sup>3</sup> attributes to the turtle a serpent's neck and a ferocious aspect (*cervice anguina, aspectu truci*).

Turning from Oppian's ἀσπιδόεσσα χελώνη to the form in the *Physiologus*, ἀσπιδοχελώνη, we may note that the Armenian version renders it by 'shield-turtle,'<sup>4</sup> though it immediately adds, 'similar to the dragon or the whale,' on which Cahier remarks: 'Cette fois, le mot *ασπιδος* aura conduit en outre à l'idée d'un serpent aquatique, ou dragon de mer.'

Against this may be set the following considerations:

1. The compound is rendered by 'asp-turtle' in Sophocles' *Lexicon of Byzantine Greek*.

2. Bearing in mind that Lat. *aspis* never means 'shield,' but always 'asp,' it is significant that the first element is left untranslated in Latin. Thus<sup>5</sup>: 'Aspis Chelone belua est immanis, quæ a Latinis *aspis testudo* nominari potest.' Cahier's text B begins,<sup>6</sup> 'De Aspedocalone,' and proceeds, 'Est belua in mari quæ dicitur

<sup>1</sup> Antiquity believed in many hybrid animals, such as the leopard (Pliny 8. 17; Rabanus Maurus 8. 1), the camelopard (Horace, *Ep.* 2. 1. 195; Diodorus Siculus 2. 51), the progeny of the partridge and the domestic cock (Aristotle, *De Gen.* 2. 738 b). Add the griffin (Pausanias 1. 24. 6), the chimæra (Homer, *Il.* 6. 181), the Triton (Pausanias 9. 21. 1), the centaur, the harpy, the mediæval basilisk, the popular notions of the mermaid (cf. Horace, *Art of Poetry* 4), etc.

<sup>2</sup> Oppian, *Hal.* 1. 554 ff.; Aelian, *Hist. An.* 1. 50; 9. 66; Athenæus, 7. 90; Pliny 9. 39; 32. 2; Nicander, *Ther.* 826-7; Basil, *Hex.* 7. 5 (cf. 7. 2); Ambrose, *Hex.* 5. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *De Div.* 2. 64. 133.

<sup>4</sup> Cahier, *Nouv. Mélanges* 1. 129.

<sup>5</sup> Mai, *Class. Auct.* 7. 590.

<sup>6</sup> *Mélanges* 3. 253.

aspido testudo'; his text C begins, 'De Ceto Magno Aspido-helunes,' and proceeds, 'Est cætus in mare, aspido helune.' The first element is found in a corrupt form in a Latin manuscript at Leipzig as *fastilon*<sup>1</sup> (cf. the OE. *fastitocalon*). In like manner the Icelandic has *aspedo*<sup>2</sup>; the Syrian version published by Land,<sup>3</sup> *aschelone*; the Syrian version published by Tychsen, *espes*<sup>4</sup>; the Ethiopic version, *Aspadaklônî*<sup>5</sup>.

3. In a tract entitled, *On Female Companions*,<sup>6</sup> by Basil the Great († 379), there is an important occurrence of the word *ἀσπιδοχελώνη*.<sup>7</sup> Basil is discoursing on the danger which lies in the association of unmarried religious, vowed to virginity, with unrelated women. He describes in eloquent terms the temptations incident to such association, and the blandishments to which the unfortunate monk would be exposed. While he does not quote Prov. 5. 3-5, as the *Physiologus* does,<sup>8</sup> he more than once alludes to verses 3 and 4: 'Whose words are eloquent, and her voice sweet'<sup>9</sup>; 'Her sweet words shall at last be more bitter to thee than gall.'<sup>10</sup> Accordingly, we may suppose that he had the *Physiologus* in mind, and that the occurrence of *ἀσπιδοχελώνη* is to be accounted for by this fact. On that supposition, it is significant that the women in question are frequently referred to as being venomous, or resembling serpents. Thus:

All the prophets compare women to venomous beasts (815 D).  
Her mind that of dragons, and her purposes those of serpents (817 A).

If the dragon is not harmed by living with the asp, neither will you be harmed (820 C).

Tell me, O wily beast, who . . . dost cherish in thy bosom the mind of the asp (820 D-821 A).

<sup>1</sup> Carus, *Gesch. der Zoologie*, p. 127, note.

<sup>2</sup> Hommel, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Anec. Syr.* 4. 86.

<sup>4</sup> *Physiologus Syrus*, p. 161.

<sup>5</sup> Hommel, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 30. 812-828; cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes* 9 (1894). 67.

<sup>7</sup> 824 C.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. lxxiv.

<sup>9</sup> 817 A.

<sup>10</sup> 824 B.

To whom do I speak this? To a rational being who pursues the policy of a crawling dragon (821 C).

Finally, we come to the passage particularly in question :

Her sweet words shall at last be more bitter to thee than gall; her delicate aspect shall drag thee down to the gates of hell, whereas the love of a brother would purchase for thee the kingdom of heaven. Why dost thou prefer the feigned love of this asp-turtle to the genuine love of thy brother (824 B, C)?

In the light of the earlier references to the serpent, and to the asp in particular, would it be natural to translate here by 'shield-turtle'?<sup>1</sup>

4. In this same tract, Basil, addressing the monks, exclaims, with reference to Ps. 58. 4, 'You have shut your ears like the deaf asp.'<sup>2</sup> This is developed in the Latin *Physiologus* published by Mai<sup>3</sup>: 'Illæ ne audiant vocem incantantis, ponunt capita sua ad terram, et unam quidem aurem suam premunt in terram, aliam vero aurem de cauda sua obturant.'<sup>4</sup> The French of Guillaume le Clerc is (ed. Reinsch, ll. 2555-6):

Qui ses oreilles clot e serre  
Od sa cue encontre la terre.

Now in the passage of the *Voyage of Brandan* which deals with our subject, Brandan explains to his followers<sup>5</sup>: 'Insula non est ubi fuimus, sed piscis, prior omnium natantium in oceano, et querit semper ut suam caudam jungat capiti suo, et non potest

<sup>1</sup> There is an explicit reference to the *Physiologus*-story by Peter of Sicily (*Patr. Gr.* 104. 1281 A, B), writing between 868 and 871, in which our word occurs.

<sup>2</sup> 817 A. The word in the Septuagint is 'asp' (AV. 'adder').

<sup>3</sup> *Class. Auct.* 7. 591.

<sup>4</sup> For a sculptured representation of the adder pressing one ear against the ground, and stopping her other with her tail, see the picture of 'le beau Dieu' of Amiens Cathedral treading upon the lion and the adder (Ps. 91. 13) in Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle en France*, p. 61. For a miniature of the same subject, see Cahier, *Mélanges* 2. 147 (also *Nouv. Mélanges* 1. 134), with accompanying Latin text (2. 149-150). For the asp as the type of the devil, see Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense* 3. 92.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Wahlund, p. 24.

pre longitude.<sup>1</sup> It seems evident, then, that at this stage there is a relation between the sea-beast and the asp.

5. A miniature described by Strzygowski<sup>2</sup> depicts the sea-monster, not as a whale, but with a serpent's body and a fish's tail—brown, with a golden head.

6. In the *Avesta*<sup>3</sup> the sea-monster is a green horny dragon, swallowing men and horses, poisonous. When Keresâspa once undertook to cook his meat at noonday in an iron cauldron on the monster's back, the latter started up, sprang away, and dashed out the boiling water, while Keresâspa fled in fear.<sup>4</sup>

7. In the Ethiopic version the Aspadaklôni is the 'chief of snakes.'<sup>5</sup>

8. In Tychsen's Syriac version, the heading, translated into Latin, is, 'De Aspide s[eu] Testudine,'<sup>6</sup> and the story goes on concerning 'illa testudo.'

From the evidence, then, there would seem to be no doubt that the monster is conceived as possessing the qualities of a serpent—which the turtle of course is—often designated as an 'asp'; and that where it is denominated ἀσπιδοχελώνη we should translate 'asp-turtle,' and not 'shield-turtle.'

#### THE PARTRIDGE

As in the case of the *Panther*, the Greek text of Lauchert (p. 251) may be taken as typical:

Jeremiah the prophet says [17. 11]: 'The partridge gathers what she did not lay; so is a man gaining his wealth unjustly; in the midst of his days his riches shall leave him, and at his latter end he will be a fool.' The Naturalist said concerning the partridge that it broods and hatches the eggs of others. And when they are grown, each sort flies away and goes to its own, leaving the partridge alone.

<sup>1</sup> See the French text on p. 27. The Middle English thinks of him as trying to put his tail in his mouth (*Percy Soc. Pub.* 16. 8, 39).

<sup>2</sup> *Byz. Arch.* 2. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Sacred Books of the East* 31. 234.

<sup>4</sup> In *op. cit.* 23. 295, the snake, called Srvara, is yellow, and Keresâspa is cooking his food in a brazen vessel. At the time of noon the fiend felt the heat, and stood upon his feet—at once a snake and, we may suppose, a turtle.

<sup>5</sup> Hommel, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> P. 161.

In like manner does the devil<sup>1</sup> get possession of the foolish in heart. But when they have come to full age, they begin to recognize their heavenly parents, our Lord Jesus Christ and the Church, the apostles and the prophets, and betake themselves to them. Well, therefore, did the Naturalist speak concerning the partridge.

Thorpe was the first to recognize that there was a gap after 3<sup>a</sup>. He said<sup>2</sup>: 'Here the want of connexion, both in sense and grammatical construction, clearly shows that a leaf or more is wanting; the latter part being merely the religious application of what has been related of the bird, if not the end of some other poem.' Grein<sup>3</sup> thought that one leaf of the manuscript was wanting. If one leaf were missing, it would follow that about 65 lines of the poetry had been lost. But it is not necessary to accept this hypothesis, for (1) there is no sign of such a missing leaf, and (2) the loss may have been in an earlier manuscript, and the pages of that manuscript may easily have been smaller. To the latter alternative Sokoll<sup>4</sup> objects that it would be odd if the gap in another manuscript should exactly coincide with the end of a page in this one. Suppose, then, for the sake of argument, we assume the loss of one leaf of the Exeter Book,<sup>5</sup> this would mean, supposing that both of the existing fragments belong to the *Partridge*, that the latter poem was about 80 lines long (*Panther*, 74; *Whale*, 89). Sokoll<sup>6</sup> argues that the second fragment can hardly belong, then, to the *Partridge*, since the corresponding chapter of the *Physiologus* is shorter than those devoted to the *Panther* and the *Whale*; but his argument is vitiated by the fact that, according to him, these two poems occupy only about a page each in the MS., and that therefore the *Partridge* would be over twice as long as either, the truth being that the *Panther* and the *Whale* each occupy more than a leaf—not page. The *Partridge*, then, on the above supposition, would be longer than the *Panther*, and shorter than the *Whale*; but, as we have seen, the gap may

<sup>1</sup> So Rabanus Maurus (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* III. 249, 949), and similarly Eustathius (*ibid.* 53. 949) and Isidore (*ibid.* 82. 467).

<sup>2</sup> *Codex Exoniensis*, p. 365.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliothek* I. 237.

<sup>4</sup> *Zum Angelsächsischen Physiologus*, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Tupper, *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* II. 9, note 39.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

have been due to a defect in an earlier manuscript, and therefore not be so great as Sokoll supposes.<sup>1</sup>

Sokoll's argument from this point on is of a piece with his mistaking a leaf for a page. Since there is no sign of a missing leaf, he assumes a missing *quire*—eight leaves—sufficient to contain about seven versified chapters<sup>2</sup> of the *Physiologus*. He next assumes that the fragmentary end of the *Partridge* is the close of the *Charadrius*. Now the *Charadrius* is a bird—No. 3 of the Greek *Physiologus*, No. 5 of Cahier's Latin MS. B. (supposed to stand nearest to the Old English)—which, brought to the bedside of a sick man, shows whether he is to recover or not. If the bird turns from him, he dies; if to him, the bird takes over his sickness. So Christ turned from the Jews, and to the Gentiles.<sup>3</sup> To substantiate his view, Sokoll quotes Jn. I. 11, to which there is no reference in the Greek *Charadrius*, as illustrating lines 5-11. Then, because in certain Latin manuscripts—not, be it observed, in Cahier's B and C—the *Charadrius* is followed by only one chapter, the *Phœnix*, Sokoll will have it that the author of the Old English *Physiologus* closed his version with the *Charadrius*, perhaps because he had already covered the *Phœnix* in our longer poem. Hence he would have dealt in succession with the partridge, weasel, ostrich, turtle-dove, hart, salamander, and ape<sup>4</sup>—following the order of MS. B—and would have ended with the *charadrius*, which in MS. B stands fifth in the total *Physiologus*. Moreover, since the author is not likely to have been ignorant of important parts of the *Physiologus*, and as there is no reason why he should have suppressed them, he must, according to Sokoll, have translated all the chapters which preceded the *Panther*; in other words, only three chapters out of a complete Old English *Physiologus* have come down to us.<sup>5</sup>

All these 'men in buckram' grow out of Sokoll's assumption that the Biblical passage versified toward the end of the *Partridge*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the gap in the *Whale*, lines 82<sup>b</sup> ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Angl.* 6. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Lauchert, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Lauchert, p. 109; Peebles, *Mod. Phil.* 8. 577; but cf. Ebert, *Angl.* 6. 247.

<sup>5</sup> Sokoll, pp. 6-7.

belongs more naturally to the *Charadrius*. Let us see. Sokoll assumes that the passage in question is Jn. 1. 11: 'But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God'—a historical statement, while the poem requires direct address. Such direct address we find in 2 Cor. 6. 17, 18: 'Come out from among them (cf. 11. 5-6<sup>a</sup>), . . . and touch not the unclean thing (6<sup>b</sup>-7<sup>a</sup>); and I will receive you (7<sup>b</sup>-9<sup>a</sup>), and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters' (9<sup>b</sup>-11). This, too, is by St. Paul, as is *Panther* 70-74. Christ here represents 'the Lord Almighty,' in the character of father. In the Greek (p. lxxxvi), Christ and the Church are the parents; the Ethiopic version says that they 'hear the name of their Father Christ'<sup>1</sup>; and the Latin B has the following important passage<sup>2</sup>: 'Ubi vox Christi a parvulis fuerit audita, . . . evolant et se Christo commendant; qui statim eos potissimum *paterno quodam munere et amore* sub umbra alarum suarum ipse suscipit, et matri dat Ecclesiae nutriendos.'<sup>3</sup> In the poem, it is true, the author, remembering that Christ frequently calls his disciples brethren (see note on 11<sup>a</sup>), reconciles this fact with the general tenor of the passage.

Since this quotation, then, is in perfect keeping with the 'improvement' of the *Partridge*, and since the poem concludes with a *Uton*-passage, similar to that which forms the close of the *Whale*, there seems no reason to doubt that the fragments we have are the beginning and end of the *Partridge*, immediately following the *Whale*. Hence it follows that the fragment of a lost quire, and consequently of a series of lost chapters, is baseless.

The traits here ascribed to the partridge do not seem to have been known to Aristotle, though he calls it<sup>4</sup> a bird of an evil and cunning disposition. Aelian goes only so far as to say<sup>5</sup> that they

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tennyson's 'And so thou lean on our fair father Christ' (*Guinevere*).

<sup>2</sup> Cahier, *Mélanges* 3. 248.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently from Ambrose, *Hex.* 6. 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 14. 246-7); cf. *Epist.* 32 (16. 1071).

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. An.* 9. 8.

<sup>5</sup> 3. 16.

do not lay their eggs in the place where they brood them, fearing other birds and flowers. Origen, however, cites<sup>1</sup> as an authority a certain *History of Animals* (ἐν τῇ περὶ ζώων ἱστορίᾳ). Rabanus Maurus makes this statement,<sup>2</sup> apropos of the partridge:

Aiunt scriptores naturalis historiae, tam bestiarum et volucrum quam arborum herbarumque, quorum principes sunt apud Græcos Aristoteles et Theophrastus; apud nos, Plinius Secundus: hanc perdicis esse naturam, ut ova alterius perdicis, id est, aliena, furetur, et eis incubet foveatque; cumque fetus adoleverint avolare ab eo, et alienum parentem relinquere.<sup>3</sup>

It is natural to suppose that the traits of the partridge may have been confused with those of the cuckoo, about which antiquity was tolerably well informed.<sup>4</sup> According to a recent authority,<sup>5</sup> the cuckoo waits till the bird she has chosen as foster-mother begins sitting, and then carries one of her own eggs in her claws, and deposits it in the selected nest, pushing out for the purpose one or two of the eggs already there. The fledgling stranger, as soon as it is strong enough, ousts the other eggs or nestlings. Meanwhile, its own parents watch near by—but not to feed it—until it is ready to fly away.

<sup>1</sup> *Patr. Gr.* 13. 565.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.* III. 948.

<sup>3</sup> For references to patristic authorities in general, see note in *Patr. Gr.* 13. 455. Add Ephraem Syrus, *Opp. Syr.* 2. 130; Bochart, *Hierozoicon* 2. 1. 12; Horapollon, ed. Leemans, p. 380.

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle, *H. A.* 6. 7; 9. 20, 29; Pliny 10. 9; Aelian 3. 30; Oppian (?), *Ixeut.* 1. 11; etc.

<sup>5</sup> Oliver G. Pike, *Farther Afield in Bird Life*.



## THE TEXT OF THE POEMS

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For the readings of the *Elene*, I have relied upon the collation of Wülker (properly Assmann), checked by the facsimiles of the Vercelli Book; for those of the *Phœnix*, upon Gollancz, Wülker, and Schlotterose; for the *Physiologus*, upon Wülker. Emendations are enclosed in square brackets, those by the present editor being also italicized; common contractions are expanded without notice. Punctuation and the use of capitals are my own, as are the divisions of poems into sections, with their headings. The manuscript-divisions of the *Elene* are indicated in the variants; those of the *Phœnix* would seem to be (I) 1-84, (II) 85-181, (III) 182-264, (IV) 265-349, (V) 350-423, (VI) 424-517, (VII) 518-588, (VIII) 589-677; and so Gollancz divides. The text of Lactantius is from Brandt (*Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.*, Vol. 27), with consonantal *i* and *u* printed as *j* and *v* respectively.

The authors quoted in the variants are as follows (see the Bibliography) :

- Barn. = Barnouw.
- BB. = Bonner Beiträge.
- Bl. = Blackburn.
- Br. = Bright.
- Con. = agreement of two following.
- Con.<sup>1</sup> = Conybeare, 1814.
- Con.<sup>2</sup> = Conybeare, 1826.
- Cos.<sup>1</sup> = Cosijn, 1896.
- Cos.<sup>2</sup> = Cosijn, 1898.
- Ett. = Etmüller.
- Först. = Förster.
- Gm. = Grimm.
- Go. = Gollancz.
- Gr.<sup>1</sup> = Grein, 1857-8.
- Gr.<sup>2</sup> = Grein, 1865.
- Grdt. = Grundtvig.
- Hart = Hart.
- H.<sup>1</sup> = Holthausen, 1905.
- H.<sup>2</sup> = Holthausen, 1910.
- Holt.<sup>1</sup> = Holthausen, 1899.
- Holt.<sup>2</sup> = Holthausen, 1904.
- K. = Kemble.
- Kal. = Kaluza.

- Klaeb.<sup>1</sup> = Klaeber, 1904 (*Archiv*).  
Klaeb.<sup>2</sup> = Klaeber, 1906.  
Klip. = Klipstein.  
Kö. = Körner.  
PBB. = Paul and Braune's Beiträge.  
Schl. = Schlotterose.  
Siev. = Sievers.  
Sw. = Sweet.  
Th. = Thorpe.  
Tr.<sup>1</sup> = Trautmann, 1898.  
Tr.<sup>2</sup> = Trautmann in Schlotterose's ed., 1908.  
Tr.<sup>3</sup> = Trautmann, 1907.  
Wa. = Warth.  
Wan. = Wanley.  
Wü. = Wülker.  
Z.<sup>1</sup> = Zupitza, 1877.  
Z.<sup>2</sup> = Zupitza, 1899.

# ELENE

## I. CONSTANTINE AND HIS FOE PREPARE FOR WAR

- Pā wæs āgangen gēara hwyrfum  
tū hund ond þrēo geteled rīmes,  
swylce ðritig ēac, þingemearces,  
wintra for worulde, þæs þe Wealdend God  
5 ācenned wearð, cyninga Wuldor,  
in middangeard þurh mennisc hēo,  
sōðfæstra Lēoht; þā wæs syxte gēar  
Constantīnes cāserdōmes,  
þæt hē Rōmwara in rīce wearð  
10 āhæfen, hildfruma, tō heretēman.  
Wæs se l[of]hwata l[ēo]dgeb[y]rga  
eorlum ārfæst; æðel[i]nges wēox  
rīce under roderum; hē wæs riht cyning,  
gūðwear[d] gumena. Hine God trymede  
15 mārðum ond mihtum, þæt hē manegum wearð  
geond middangeard mannum tō hrōðer,  
werþeodum tō wræce, syððan wāpen āhōf  
wið het[t]endum.  
Him wæs hild boden,  
wīges wōma. Werod samnodan  
20 Hūna lēode ond Hrēðgotan;  
fōron fyrðhwate Francan ond Hū[g]as.  
Wāron hwate weras, . . . . .

3 MS. xxx; Gm. þrittig. — 11<sup>a</sup> MS. leod-; Gr.<sup>2</sup> lind-; H.<sup>2</sup> lof-. — 11<sup>b</sup> MS. lind-; Gr.<sup>2</sup> leod-; MS. -geborga; Z.<sup>2</sup> -gebyrga. — 12 MS. æðelnges; em. Th. — 14 MS. -wearð; em. Th. — 16 MS. -g; em. Th.; Gm. hrōðre. — 18 MS. hetendum; em. Rieger (*Zeitschrift f. D. Phil.* 7. 52). — 21 MS. Hunas; em. Z.<sup>1</sup> — 22 No break in MS., but one assumed by Th., Gm., K., Z.<sup>1</sup> — 22<sup>a</sup> MS. hwate; H.<sup>2</sup> hearde; Wa. hwate weras wæron; Tr.<sup>2</sup> wæron hwate hæleðas; Klaeb. (*Angl.* 29. 271) swylce Hetware(-an). — 22<sup>b</sup> Ett. hildemeogas; Gr.<sup>2</sup> on herebyrnan; Kō. herepreatas; Siev. (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1882, p. 997) hilde gefysde; Tr.<sup>3</sup> heaðurofe weras; Klaeb. wæron hwate weras; H.<sup>2</sup> hearde for hwate.

- gearwe tō gūðe. Gāras lixtan,  
 wriðene wæhlencan; wordum ond bordum  
 25 hōfon he[o]r[u]c[u]mbol: Þā wæron hearingas  
 sweotole gesannod ond eal [syb] geador;  
 fōr folca gedryht. Fyrdlēoð āgōl  
 wulf on wealde, wælrūne ne mād;  
 ūrigfeðera earn sang āhōf  
 30 lādum on lāste. Lungre scynde  
 ofer burg[locan] beaduprēata mæst  
 hergum tō hilde, swylce Hūna cyning  
 ymsittendra āwer meahthe  
 ābannan tō beadwe b[yrn]wigendra.  
 35 Fōr fyrda mæst— fēðan trymedon  
 ēoredcestum— þæt on ælfylce  
 deareðlācende on Dānūbie  
 stærcedfyrhðe stæðe wicedon  
 ymb þæs wāteres wylm, werodes breahme;  
 40 woldon Rōmwara rice geþringan,  
 hergum āhyðan. Þær wearð Hūna cyme  
 cūð ceasterwarum. Þā se cāsere heht  
 ongēan gramum gūðgelācan  
 under earhfære ofstum myclum  
 45 bannan tō beadwe, beran ūt þræce  
 rincas under roderum. Wæron Rōmware,  
 secgas sigerōfe, sōna gegearwod  
 wæpnum tō wigge, þeah hie werod lāsse  
 hæfdon tō hilde þon[n]e Hūna cining  
 50 ridon ymb rōfne. Þonne rand dynede,  
 campwudu clynede; cyning þrēate fōr,  
 herge, tō hilde. Hrefen uppe gōl,  
 wan ond wæfel. Werod wæs on tyhte;  
 hlēoþon hornþoran, hrēoþan friccan;

25 MS. herecombol; Z.<sup>1</sup> -cumbol; H.<sup>2</sup> -woman. — 26 Gm. eal sweet geador; Gr.<sup>1</sup> eal siðmægen geador; Siev. (Gött. Gel. Anz.) eal sib geador; Kō. siðwerod eal geador. — 31 MS. -enta; H.<sup>1</sup> -locan. — 34 MS. burg-; Gr.<sup>1</sup> byrn-?; H. byrn-. — 35 MS. for :::: fyrda. — 49 MS. þone; em. Th. — 54<sup>a</sup> Th. hleowon; Ett. bleowon. — 54<sup>b</sup> Th. hreowan.

55 mearh moldan træd. Mægen samnode,  
cāfe, tō cēase.

Cyning wæs āfyrhted,  
egsan geāclad, siððan elþeodige,  
Hūna ond Hrēða here, scēawed[ē],  
ðæt hē on Rōmwara rices ende

60 ymb þæs wæteres stæð werod samnode,  
mægen unrieme. Mōdsorge wæg

Rōmwara cyning; rices ne wēnde  
for werodlēste; hæfde wigena tō lýt,

65 eaxlgestealna, wið ofermægene  
hrōr[r]a tō hilde.

## 2. THE VISION OF THE CROSS

Here wīcode,

eorlas ymb ædeling ēgstrēame nēah  
on nēaweste nihtlangne fyrst,  
þæs þe h[i]e fēonda gefær fyrrest gesāgon.

Þā wearð on slāpe sylfum ætýwed

70 þām cāsere, þær hē on cordre swæf,  
sigerōfurn gesegen swefnes wōma.

Þūhte him wlitescýne on weres hāde  
hwit ond hīwbeorht hælēða nāthwylc  
geýwed, ænlicra þonne hē ær oððe sið

75 gesēge under swegle. Hē of slāpe onbrægd,

eofurcumble beþeapt. (Him se ār hraðe,  
wlitig; wuldres boda, wið þingode,

ond be nāman nēmdē— nihthelm tōglād—:

‘Constantīnus, heht þē Cyning engla,

80 wyrda Wealdend, wære bēodan,

duguða Dryhten. Ne ondræd þū ðē,

ðeah þē elþeodige egesan hwōpan,

heardre hilde. Þū tō heofenum beseoh

on wuldres Weard; þær ðū wraðe findest,

58 MS. sceawedon; em. *Ten Brink* (*Zs. f. D. Alt., Anz.* 5. 58):— 59 MS. he; Gr.<sup>1</sup> þe; *Ten Brink* hic.— 60 *Ett.* samnodon?; *Ten Brink* samnodon.— 65 MS. hrora; Gr.<sup>1</sup> hrorra?; em. Z.<sup>1</sup>— 68 MS. he; em. Th.

85 sigores tācen.'

Hē wæs sōna gearu

burh þæs hālgan hāes, hreðerlocan onspēon,  
 ūp lōcade, swā him se ār ābēad,  
 fāle friðowebba. Geseah hē frætwwum beorht  
 wlitig wuldres trēo ofer wolcna hrōf

90 golde ge[g]lenged; gimmas lixtan.

Wæs se blāca bēam bōcstafum āwriten  
 beorhte ond lēohte: 'Mid þys bēacne ðū  
 on þām frēcnan fære fēond oferswīðesð,  
 geletest lād werod.'

Þā þæt lēoht gewāt,

95 ūp siðode, ond se ār somed,

on clānra gemang. Cyning wæs þy bliðra  
 ond þē sorglēasra, secga aldor,  
 on fyrhōsefan burh þā fāgeran gesyhð.

### 3. THE HOLY STANDARD IS VICTORIOUS

Heht þā onlice æðelinga hlēo,

100 beorna bēaggifa, swā hē þæt bēacen geseah,  
 heria hildfruma, þæt him on heofonum ær  
 geiewed wearð, ofstum myclum,  
 Constantīnus, Cristes rōde,  
 tīrēadig cyning, tācen gewyrca.

105 Heht þā on ūhtan mid ærdæge  
 wigeñd wreccan ond [tō] wæpēnþræce  
 hebban heorucumbul, ond þæt hālige trēo  
 him beforan ferian, on fēonda gemang,  
 befan beacēn Godes. Býman sungon

110 hlūde for hergum. Hrefn weorces gefeah;  
 ūrigfeðra earn sið behēold,  
 wælhrēowra wīg; wulf sang ahōf,  
 holtēs gehlēða. Hildegesa stōd.

Þær wæs borda gebrec ond beorna geþrec,

115 heard handgeswing ond herga [c]ring,

89 MS. wlitig; em. Gm.—90 MS. gelenged; em. Th.—99 Before this line MS. has II.—106 MS. ond; Wa. ond to?—107 Th. om. hebban.—115 MS. gring; em. Ett.

- syððan hēo earhfære ærest mēttan.  
 On þæt fæge folc flāna scūras,  
 gāras ofer geolorand on gramra gemang,  
 het[t]end heor[u]grimme, hildenædran,  
 120 þurh fingra geweald forð onsendan.  
 Stōpon stūhīdige, stundum wræcon,  
 bræcon bordhrē[o]ðan, bil in dufan,  
 þrungon þræchearde. Pā wæs þūf hafen,  
 segn for swēot[u]m, sigelēoð galen.  
 125 Gylden grīma, gāras lixtan  
 on her[e]felda. Hæðene [c]rungen,  
 fēollon friðelēase. Flugon instæpes  
 Hūna lēode, swā þæt hālige trēo  
 ārāran heht Rōmwara cyning  
 130 heaðofremmende. Wūrdon heardingas  
 wīde tōwrecene. Sume wīg fornam;  
 şume unsōfte aldor generedon  
 on þām heresīðe; sume healfwice  
 flugon on fæsten ond feore burgon  
 135 æfter stānclifum, stede weardedon  
 ymb Dānūbie; sume drenc fornam  
 on lagostrēame lifes æt ende.  
 Ðā wæs mōdigra mægen on luste,  
 ēhton elpēoda oð þæt æfen forð  
 140 fram dægēs orde; daroð[as] flugon,  
 hildenædran. Hēap wæs gescyrded,  
 lādra lindwered; lýthwōn becwōm  
 Hūna herges hām eft þanon.  
 Pā wæs gesýne þæt sige forgeaf  
 145 Constantīno Cyning ælmihtig  
 æt þām dægweorce, dōmweorðunga,  
 rice under roderum, þurh his rōde trēo.

119 *MS.* hetend; *em. Kluge (Litbltt. 1884, p. 139)*; *MS.* heora-; *Th.*  
*heoru-?*; *em. Gr.<sup>1</sup>*—122 *MS.* -hreðan; *em. Gm.*—124 *MS.* sweotolum;  
*em. Th.*—126 *MS.* herafelda; *em. Gm.*; *MS.* grungen; *em. Ett.*—140  
*MS.* daroð æsc; *em. Z.<sup>1</sup>*—141 *MS.* gescyrded; *Gm.* gescyrted; *Z.<sup>1</sup>*  
 gescynded.

## 4. THE MIRACLE BEING EXPLAINED, CONSTANTINE IS CONVERTED

- Gewāt þā heriga helm hām eft þanon  
 hūðe hrēmig — hild wæs gescēaden —  
 150 wiggeweorðod. Cōm þā wigena hlēo  
 þegna þrēate þrýðbo[1]d sē[c]an,  
 beaurōf cyning burga nēosan.  
 Heht þā wigena weard þā wīsestan  
 snūde tō sionoðe, þā þe snyttro cræft  
 155 þurh fyrngewrito gefrigen hæfdon;  
 hēoldon higeþancum hāleða rādas.  
 Ðā þæs fricggan ongan folces aldor,  
 sigerōf cyning, ofer sid weorod,  
 wære þær ænig yldra oððe gingra  
 160 þe him tō sōðe secggan meahte,  
 galdrum cýðan, hwæt se God wære,  
 b[læ]des Brytta, 'þe þis his beācen wæs  
 þe mē swā lēoht oðýwde, ond mīne lēode generede,  
 tācna torhtost, ond mē tīr forgeaf,  
 165 wīgspēd wið wrāðum, þurh þæt wlitige trēo.'  
 Hīo him andsware ænige ne meahton  
 āgīfan tōgēnes, nē ful gearu cūðon  
 sweotole gesecggan be þām sigebēacne.  
 Þā þā wīsestan wordum cwædon  
 170 for þām heremægene þæt hit Heofoncyniges  
 tācen wære, ond þæs twēo nære.  
 Þā þæt gefrugnon þā þurh fulwihte  
 lārde wæron, him wæs leoht sefa,  
 ferhð gefēonde — þeah hira fēa wæron —  
 175 ðæt hīe for þām cāsere cýðan mōston  
 godspelles gife, hū se gāsta Helm —  
 in þrýnesse þrymme geweorðad —  
 ācenned wearð, cyninga Wuldor;

151 *MS.* -bord; *em. Sarrazin* (*Zs. f. D. Phil.* 32. 548); *MS.* stenan;  
*Gm.* scenan; *Kö.* stun(i)an? stendan?; *Sarrazin* secan.—156 *Gm.*  
 hāleðas.—159 *MS.* oððe; *Tr. (Kynnewulf, p. 24)* ðe?—162 *MS.* boldes;  
*Kö.* goldes; *Z.* blædes; *H.* bledes.

- ond hū on galgan wearð Godes āgen Bearn  
 180 āhangen for hergum heardum wītum,  
 ālysde lēoda bearn of locan dēofla,  
 gēomre gāstas, ond him gife sealde  
 þurh þā ilcan gesceaft þe him geýwed wearð  
 sylfum on gesyhðe, sigores [tō] tǣcne  
 185 wið þēoda þræce; ond hū ðý þridan dæge  
 of byrgenne beorna Wuldor,  
 of dēaðe, ārās, Dryhten ealra  
 hæleða cynnes, ond tō heofonum āstāh.  
 Ðus glēawlice gāstgerýnum  
 190 sægdon sigerōfum swā fram Silvestre  
 lārde wæron. Æt þām se lēodfruma  
 fulwihte onfēng, ond þæt forð gehēold  
 on his dagana tid, Dryhtne tō willan.  
 Ðā wæs on sǣlum sinces brytta,  
 195 niðheard cyning: wæs him nīwe gefēa  
 befofen in fyrhðe; wæs him frōfra mǣst  
 ond hyht[a] [h]ihst heofonrices Weard.  
 Ongan þā Dryhtnes æ dæges ond nihtes  
 þurh Gāstes gife georne cýðan,  
 200 ond hine, sōðlice, sylfne getengde  
 goldwine gumena in Godes þēowdōm,  
 æscrōf, unslāw.

## 5. CONSTANTINE ORDERS THE SEARCH FOR THE ROOD

- Pā se æðeling fand,  
 lēodgebyrga, þurh lārsmiðas,  
 gūðheard, gārþrist, on Godes bōcum  
 205 hwær āhangen wæs heriges beorhtme  
 on rōde trēo rodora Waldend  
 æfstum þurh inwit, swā [hīe] se ealda fēond  
 forlārde ligesearwum, lēode fortyhte,  
 Iūdēa cyn, þæt hīe God sylfne

184 MS. tacne; Z.<sup>1</sup> tacen; Tr.<sup>s</sup> to tacne. — 194 Before this line MS. has  
 III. — 197 MS. hyht nihst; Z.<sup>1</sup> hyhta hihst; Kō. hyhta nihst; Wü. hyhta  
 nihst. — 207 MS. swa; Siev. (Angl. i. 579) swa hie.

- 210 āhēngon, herga Fruman;— þæs hie in hȳnðum  
 sculon  
 tō wīdan feore wergðu drēogan.  
 Þā wæs Crīstes lof þām cāsere  
 on firhōsefan; [he wæs] forð gemyndig  
 ymb þæt mære trēo; ond þā his mōdor hēt  
 215 fēran f[lō]dwege folca þrēate  
 tō Iūdēum, georne sēcan  
 wīgena þrēate hwær se wuldres bēam  
 hālig under hrūsan hȳded wære,  
 Æðelcyniges rōd.

## 6. THE VOYAGE AND THE LANDING

## Elene ne wolde

- 220 þæs siðfates sǣne weorðan,  
 nē ðæs wilgīfan word gehyrwan,  
 hieres sylfre suna, ac wæs sōna gearu  
 wīf on willsið, swā hire weoruda helm,  
 byrnwīgendra, beboden hǣfde.  
 225 Ongan þā ofstlice eorla mengu  
 tō flote fȳsan. Fearoðhengestas  
 ymb geofenes stæð gearwe stōdon,  
 sǣlde sǣmearas, sunde getenge.  
 Ðā wæs orcnǣwe idese siðfæt,  
 230 siððan wāges [w]elm werode gesōhte.  
 Þær wlanc manig æt Wendelsǣ  
 on stæðe stōdon. Stundum wrǣcon  
 ofer mearcpaðu, mægen æfter oðrum;  
 ond þā gehlōdon hildesercum,  
 235 bordum ond ordum, byrnwīgendum,  
 werum ond wīfum wāghengestas.  
 Lēton þā ofer fifelwæg fāmige scrīðan

213 Before forð Z.<sup>2</sup> assumes the loss of two hemistichs, such as fæste bewunden, folces aldor (hyrde, ræswa, etc., but not fruma); Pogatscher (*Angl.* 23. 289) he wæs forð.—215 MS. fold-; em. Gr.<sup>2</sup>—217 MS. þrēate; *Ten Brink* werode?—229 Th. on cnawen; Gm. (p. 115) oncnawe?; K. oncnawe.—230 MS. helm; Gm. holm; Z.<sup>2</sup> welm.—233 MS. -paðu; Th. -waðu.—237 MS. fifel-; H.<sup>3</sup> fifl-.

- bronte brimþis[s]an; bord oft onfēng  
ofer earhgeblond yða swengas;  
240 sǣ swinsade. Ne hȳrde ic sið nē ǣr  
on ēgstrēame idese lǣdan,  
on merestrǣte, mægen fæg[e]rre.  
Pǣr [gesion meahte], se ðone sið behēold,  
brecan ofer bæðweg brimwudu snyrgan  
245 under s[w]ellingum, sǣmearh plegean,  
wadan wægflotan. Wigan wǣron bliðe,  
collenferhðe; cwēn siðes gefeah.  
Syþþan tō hȳðe hringedstefnan  
ofer lagofæsten geliden hæfdon  
250 on Crēca land, cēolas lēton  
æt sǣ[w]aroðe s[u]nde bewrecene,  
ald yð[h]ofu, oncrum fæste  
on brime bīdan beorna gepinges,  
hwon[n]e hēo sio gūðcwēn gumena þrēate  
255 ofer ēastwegas eft gesōhte.  
Ðær wæs on eorle ēðgesȳne  
brogden byrne ond bill gecost,  
geatolic gūðscrūd, grīmhelm manig,  
ǣnlic eoforcumbul. Wǣron æscwigan,  
260 secggas ymb sigecwēn, siðes gefȳsde:  
fyrdrinca frome fōron on luste  
on Crēca land, cāseres bodan,  
hilderincas hyrstum gewerede;  
þær wæs gesȳne sincgim locen  
265 on þām hereþrēate, hlāfordes gifu.  
Wæs sēo ēadhrēðige Elene gemyndig,  
þriste on gebance, þēodnes willan,  
georn on mōde þæt hio Iūdē[a]  
ofer herefeldas hēape gecoste  
270 lindwigendra land gesōhte,

238 MS. -þisan; em. Z.<sup>2</sup>—242 MS. fægrrre; em. Th.—243 MS. meahte  
gesion; em. Wa.—245 MS. spell-; em. Th.—251 MS. fearoðe; *Krapp*  
(*Mod. Phil.* 2. 407) -wearoðe; MS. sande; Gr.<sup>1</sup> sunde?; Z.<sup>1</sup> sunde.—  
252 MS. -liofu; em. Th.—254 MS. hwone; em. Gr.<sup>1</sup>—268 MS. Iudeas;  
Z.<sup>1</sup> Iudea?; Z.<sup>2</sup> Iudea.

secga þrēate; swā hit siððan gelamp  
ymb lýtel fæc þæt ðæt lēodmægen,  
gūðrōfe hæleþ, tō Hierusālem  
cwōmon in þā ceastre corðra mæste,  
275 eorlas æscrōfe, mid þā æðelan cwēn.

## 7. HELENA'S FIRST EXHORTATION

Heht ðā gebēodan burgsittendum  
þām snoterestum sīde ond wīde  
geond Iūdēas, gumena gehwylcum,  
meðelh[e]gende, on gemōt cuman,  
280 þā ðe dēoplicost Dryhtnes gerýno  
þurh rihte æ reccan cūðon.  
Ðā wæs gesamnod of sīdwegum  
mægen unlýtel þā ðe Moyses æ  
reccan cūðon; þær on rīme wæs  
285 þrēo [þūsendu] þæra lēoda  
ālesen tō lāre.  
Ongan þā lēoflic wif  
weras Ebrēa wordum nēgan:  
'Ic þæt gearolice ongiten hæbbe,  
þurg wītgena wordgerýno  
290 on Godes bōcum, þæt gē gēardagum  
wyrðe wæron Wuldorcyninge,  
Dryhtne dýre ond dæðhwæte.  
Hwæt, gē [ealle] snyttro unwislice,  
wrāðe, wiðw[u]rpon, þā gē wergdon þane  
295 þe ēow of wergðe þurh his wuldre[s] miht,  
fram ligcwale, lýsan þōhte,  
of hæftnēde. Gē mid horu spēowdon

276 Before this line MS. has IIII. — 279 MS. -hengende; Gm. -hegende.  
— 285 MS. m̄; Gm. þusend; Siev. (PBB. 10. 518) þusendu. — 293<sup>a</sup> MS.  
snyttro; K. swicon snyttro; Ten Brink (Zs. f. D. Alt., Anz. 5. 59) ealre  
snyttro; H.<sup>2</sup> ealle. — 293<sup>b</sup> MS. unwislice; Gm. unwislice swicon?; Gr.<sup>1</sup>  
soð unwislice; Gr.<sup>2</sup> swiðe unwislice; Siev. (Angl. I. 579) swicon  
unwislice?; Cos. (Tijdschrift I. 144) samwislice; Z.<sup>3</sup> . . . unwislice.—  
294<sup>a</sup> MS. -weorpon; Gm. -wurpon?; Z.<sup>1</sup> -wurpon. — 295 MS. wuldre;  
em. Th.

- on þæs andwlitan þe ēow ēagena lēoht,  
 fram blindnesse bōte, gefremede  
 300 edniowunga þurh þæt æðele spāld,  
 ond fram unclānum oft generede  
 dēofla gāstum. Gē [tō] dēaþe þone  
 dēman ongunnon se ðe of dēaðe sylf  
 wor[n] āwehte on wera corþre  
 305 in þæt ærre lif ēowres cynnes.  
 Swā gē mōdblīde mēgan ongunnon  
 lige wið sōðe, lēoht wið þystrum,  
 æfst wið āre, inwitþancum  
 wrōht webbedan. Eow sēo wergōu forðan  
 310 sceðþeð scyldfullum; gē þā scīran miht  
 dēman ongunnon, [in] gedw[o]lan lifdon,  
 þēostrum geþancum, oð þysne dæg.  
 Gangað nū snūde, snyttro geþencað  
 weras wīsfæste, wordes [glēawe],  
 315 þā ðe ēowre æ, æðelum cræftige,  
 on ferhðsefan fyrrest hæbben,  
 þā mē sōðlice secgan cunnon,  
 andsware cýðan for ēow[ic] forð  
 tæcna gehwylces þe ic him tō sēce.'

## 8. HELENA'S SECOND EXHORTATION

- 320 Eōdan þā on gerūm[an] rēonigmōde  
 eorlas æ[g]lēawe, egesan geþrēade,  
 gehðum gēomre; [g]eorne sōhton

302 MS. deaþe; Z.<sup>1</sup> to deaþe. — 304 MS. woruld; Z.<sup>1</sup> worn. — 311 MS. ond gedweolan; Gm. ond gedwolan; Siev. (*Angl. I.* 579) in gedwolan; Klæb. (*Angl. 29.* 271) opposes Siev., citing *Jul.* 410; *Beow.* 99, 2144; *Gen.* 73. — 313 MS. gangað; H.<sup>2</sup> secað?; MS. -þencað; *Wa.* -secað. After this line H.<sup>1</sup> inserts ond findað gen ferhðgleawe men; cf. *Jud.* 41; *El.* 327, 373. — 314<sup>b</sup> MS., *Edd.* cræftige. — 315 MS. cræftige; Z.<sup>1</sup> . . . cræftige; Z.<sup>1</sup> gode?; H.<sup>1</sup> gode; for the inst. with cræftig, see *Crafts* 98. — 318 MS. eow; em. Siev. (*PBB.* 10. 518). — 320 MS. gerū; Gr.<sup>1</sup> gerun; other early *Edd.* gerum; *Frucht* (*Metrisches, etc.*, p. 74) geruman; *Schwarz* (*Cynewulfs Anteil am Christ*, p. 67) geryne, gerune; H. (*Anglia Beibl.* 17. 177, but not H.<sup>1</sup>, H.<sup>2</sup>), *Wa.* þa on gerum eodan. — 321 MS. -cleawe; em. Th. — 322 MS. eorne; em. Th.

- þā wīsestan wordgerýno  
 þæt hīo þære cwēne oncweðan meahton,  
 325 swā tiles, swā trāges, swā hīo him tō sóhte.  
 Hīo þā on þreate [þūsend] manna  
 fundon ferhðglēawra, þā þe fyrngemynd  
 mid Iūdēum gearwast cūðon.  
 Þrungon þā on þreate þær on þrymme bād  
 330 in cynestōle cāseres mæg,  
 geatolic gūðcwēn golde gehyrsted.  
 Elene maþelode, ond for eorlum spræc:  
 ‘Gehýrað, hīgeglēawe, hālige rūne,  
 word ond wīsdōm. Hwæt, gē wītgena  
 335 lāre onfēngon, hū se Liffurma  
 in cildes hād cenned wurde,  
 mihta Wealdend. Be þām Moyses sang,  
 ond þæt [word] gecwæð, weard Israhela:  
 “Ēow ācenned bið Cniht on dēgle,  
 340 mihtum mære, swā þæs mōdor nē bið  
 wæstmum geēacnod þurh weres frīge.”  
 Be ðām Dāwid cyning dryhtlēoð āgōl,  
 frōd fyrnweota, fæder Salomōnes,  
 ond þæt word gecwæþ, wīgona baldor:  
 345 “Ic fr[y]mþa God forescēawode,  
 sigora Dryhten; hē on gesyhðe wæs,  
 mægena Wealdend, mīn on þā swīðran,  
 þrymmes Hyrde. Þanon ic ne wen[de]  
 æfre tō aldre onsīon mīne.”  
 350 Swā hit eft be ēow Essāias,  
 wītga for weorodum, wordum mælde,  
 dēophycggende þurh Dryhtnes Gāst:  
 “Ic ūp āhōf eaforan ging[e],  
 ond bearn cende, þām ic blæd forgeaf,  
 355 hālige hīgefrōfre; ac hīe hyrwdon [m]ē,

323 *MS.* -geryno; *H.*<sup>2</sup> -geryna. — 326 *MS.* m̄; *Gm.* þusenda; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> þusend. — 338 *MS.* þæt; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> þæt word. — 345 *MS.* frumþa; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> frymða?; *Z.*<sup>1</sup> frymða. — 348 *MS.* weno; *Th.* wende?; *Gm.* wende. — 353 *MS.* gingne; *em. Z.*<sup>1</sup> — 355 *MS.* þe; *em. Z.*<sup>1</sup>

- fēodon þurh fēondscipe, nāhton foreþanc[a]s,  
 wīsdōmes gewitt; ond þā wēregan nēat,  
 þe man daga gehwām drifeð ond þirscēð,  
 ongitap hira gōddēnd, nales gnyrnwræcum  
 360 fēogað frýnd hiera þe him fōdder gif[a]ð;  
 ond mē Israhela æfre ne woldon  
 folc oncnāwan, þeah ic feala for him  
 æfter woruldstundum wundra gefremede.”  
 Hwæt, wē þæt gehýrdon þurh hālige bēc  
 365 þæt ēow Dryhten geaf dōm unscýndne,  
 Meotod, mihta spēd, Moýse sægde  
 hū gē Heofoncýninge hýran sceoldon,  
 lāre lāstan. Eow þæs lungre āþrēat,  
 ond gē þām ryhte wīðroten hæfdon,  
 370 onscunedon þone scíran Scippend eallra,  
 [dryhtna] Dryhten, ond gedwolan fylgdon  
 ofer riht Godes. Nū gē raþe gangap,  
 ond findap gēn þā þe fyrngewritu  
 þurh snyttro cræft sēlest cunnen,  
 375 æriht ēower, þæt mē andsware  
 þurh sídne sefan secgan cunnen.’

## 9. HELENA'S THIRD EXHORTATION

- Eodan ðā mid mengo mōd[e] cwānige,  
 collenferhðe, swā him sīo cwēn [be]bēad;  
 fund[o]n þā [fif hund] forþsnotter[r]a  
 380 alesen[ra] lēodmæga, þā ðe leorningcræft  
 þurh mōdgemynd mæste hæfdon,  
 on sefan snyttro. Hēo tō salore eft

356 MS. -þances; *Siev.* (*Angl.* 1. 580) -þancas?; Z.<sup>2</sup> -þancas. — 360 MS. gifeð; *em.* Z.<sup>1</sup> — 364 *Before this line MS. has V.* — 369 MS. ryhte wīðroten; *H.*<sup>1</sup> soðe ond ryhte wīðsecen; *H.*<sup>2</sup> soðe wīðsecen? — 370 *Edd. before Gr. end line with scippend; MS. eallra; Z.*<sup>1</sup> (*but not Z.*<sup>2</sup>) eowerne, || ealra dryhten. — 371 MS. dryhten; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> dryhtna dryhten. — 377 MS. modcwanige; *Tr.* (*Kynewulf, p. 82*) mode(s) cwange; *H.* (*Angl.* 23. 516) modcwange guman. — 378 MS. bead; *em. Siev.* (*PBB.* 10. 518). — 379 MS. funden; *em. Gm.; MS. d; Th. fihund; MS. -snottera; em. Gm.* — 380 MS., *Edd. alesen; for the metrical type (D) see Chr. 978, tobrocene burgweallas, and Frucht, p. 63.*

ymb lýtél fæc laðode wæron,  
ceastre weardas.

- Hio sio cwēn ongan  
385 wordum genēgan — wlát ofer ealle —:  
'Oft gē dyslice dæd gefremedon,  
wērgē wræcmæcggas, ond gewritu herwdon,  
fædera lāre; nāfre furður þonne nū  
ðā gē blindnesse bōte forsēgon,  
390 ond gē wiðsōcon sōðe ond rihte  
þæt in Bethleme Bearn Wealdendes,  
Cyning ānboren, cenned wære,  
æðelinga Ord. Ðeah gē þā æ cūðon,  
witgena word, gē ne woldon þā,  
395 synwycende, sōð oncnāwan.'  
Hie þā ānmōde andswer[edon]:  
'Hwæt, wē Ebreisce æ leornedon,  
þā on fyrndagum fæderas cūðon  
æt Godes earce, nē wē [g]eare cunnon  
400 þurh hwæt ðū ðus hearde, hlæfdige, ūs  
eorre wurde. Wē ðæt æbylgð nyton  
þe wē gefremedon on þysse folcscere,  
þeodenbealwa [sum] wið þec æfre.'  
Elene maðelade, ond for eorlum spræc  
405 undearninga; ides reordode  
hlūde for herigum: 'Gē nū hraðe gangað,  
sundor āsēcaþ þā ðe snyttro mid ēow,  
mægn ond mōdcraeft, mæste hæbben,  
þæt mē þinga gehwylc þriste gecyðan  
410 untrāglice, þe ic him tō sēce.'

#### 10. THE DISCLOSURE OF JUDAS

Ēodon þā fram rūne, swā him sio rīce cwēn  
bald in burgum beboden hæfde;  
gēomormōde georne smēadon,

392 MS. wære wære. — 396 MS. -swēr; *em. Th.* — 399 MS. eare; *em. Th.* — 403 MS. þeodenbealwa; *H.*<sup>1</sup> þeodbealwa ænig; *Wa.* þeodenbealwa sum (*or an*); *H.*<sup>2</sup> þeodenbealwa sum.

- sōhton searoþancum, hwæt sīo syn wære  
 415 þe hīe on þām folce gefremed hæfdon  
 wið þām cāsere, þe him sīo cwēn wite.  
 Ðā þær for eorlum ān reordode  
 gidða gearosnot[*t*]or — ðām wæs Iūdas nama —  
 wordes cræftig: ‘Ic wāt geare  
 420 þæt hīo wile sēcan be ðām sigebēame  
 on ðām þrōwode þēoda Waldend  
 eallra gnyr[*n*]a lēas, Godes āgen Bearn,  
 þone [or]scyld[*ne*] eofota gehwylces  
 þurh hete hēngon on hēanne bēam  
 425 in fyrndagum fæderas ūsse —  
 þæt wæs þrēalīc gebōht! Nū is þearf mycel  
 þæt wē fæstlice ferhð stabēlien,  
 þæt wē ðæs morðres meldan ne weorðen,  
 hwær þæt hālige trīo beheled wurde  
 430 æfter wigþræce, þý-læs tōworpen sien  
 frōd fyrngewritu, ond þā fæderlican  
 lāre forlēt[*e*]n. Ne bið lang ofer ðæt  
 þæt Israhela æðelu mōten  
 ofer middangeard mā rīcsian,  
 435 æcræft eorla, gif ðis yppe bið;  
 swā þā þæt ilce gīo mīn yldra fæder  
 sigerōf sægde — þām wæs Sachius nama —  
 frōd fyrnwiota, fæder[*e*] mīnum,  
 [þe wæs Sýmon hāten, swæsūm] eaferan  
 440 — wende hine of worulde — ond þæt word  
 gecwæð:  
 “Gif þē þæt gelimpe on lifdagum  
 þæt ðū gehýre ymb þæt hālige trēo  
 frōde frignan, ond geflitu ræran  
 be ðām sigebēame on þām Sōðcýning

418 *MS.* -snotor; *Wa.* -snottor. — 422 *MS.* gnyrnra; *Bouterwek* (*Cædmon*, p. 136) gnyrna. — 423 *MS.* scyldū; *Th.* unscyldigne?; *Z.* orhlytne?; *Tr.* orscyldne. — 432 *MS.* -leton; *em. K.* — 438 *MS.* fæder; *em. Siev.* (*PBB.* 10. 483). — 439 *MS.* eaferan; *em. H.*<sup>1</sup>; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> þe hit siððan cyðde sylfa his eaferan.

- 445 āhangen wæs, heofonrices Weard,  
eallre sybbe Bearn, þonne þū snūde gecyð,  
mīn swæs sunu, ær þec swylt nime.  
Ne mæg æfre ofer þæt Ebrēa þeod,  
ræðþeahtende, rice healdan,  
450 duguðum wealdan; ac þāra dōm leofað,  
ond hira dryhtscipe . . . . .  
in woruld w[o]rlda willum gefylled,  
ðe þone āhangnan Cyning heriaþ ond lofiað.”  
‘Pā ic fromlice fæder[e] mīnum,  
455 ealdum æwitan, āgeaf andsware:  
“Hū wolde þæt geweorðan on woruldrice  
þæt on þone Hālgan handa sendan  
tō feorhlege fæderas ūsse  
þurh wrāð gewitt, gif hīe wiston ær  
460 þæt hē Crist wære, Cyning on roderum,  
sōð Sunu Meotudes, sāwla Nergend?”  
‘Ðā mē yldra mīn āgeaf andsware,  
frōd on fyrhðe fæder reordode:  
“Ongit, guma ginga, Godes hēahmægen,  
465 Nergendes naman. Sē is nið[ð]a gehwām  
unāsecgendlic; þone sylf ne mæg  
on moldwege man āspyrigean.  
Nāfre ic þā geþeahte þe þeos þeod ongan  
sēcan wolde, ac ic symle mec  
470 āscēd þāra scylda, nales sceame worhte  
gāste mīnum. Ic him georne oft  
þæs unrihtes andsæc fremede,  
þonne ūðweotan æht bisæton,  
on sefan sōhton hū hīe Sunu Meotudes  
475 āhēngon, Helm wera, Hlāford eallra  
engla ond elda, æðelust bearna.  
“Ne meahton hi[m] swā disige dēað oðfæstan

451<sup>b</sup> *Gm.* mid yldrūm deah; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> bið gedyrsoð æfre; *Gr.*<sup>2</sup> dreames  
bruceð; *H.*<sup>1</sup> deorlice bið (*comparing El. 1159*). — 452 *MS.*, *Edd.* weorulda.  
— 454 *Before this line MS. has VI; MS. fæder; em. Siev. (PBB. 10. 483).*  
— 465<sup>b</sup> *MS.* niða; *Z.*<sup>2</sup> niðða. — 476 *MS.* bearna; *Gm.* beorna. — 477 *MS.*  
hie; *Z.*<sup>1</sup> him.

- weras wonsǣlige swā hie wēndon ǣr,  
 sārūm settan, þēah hē sume hwile  
 480 on galgan his gāst onsende,  
 Sigebearn Godes. Ðā siððan wæs  
 of rōde āhæfen rodera Wealdend,  
 eallra þrymma Þrym; þrēo niht siððan  
 in byrgenne bīdende wæs  
 485 under þēosterlocan; ond þā þý þriddan dæg  
 ealles lēohtes Lēoht lifgende ārās,  
 Ðēoden engla, ond his þegnum [hine],  
 sōð sigora Frēa, seolfne geýwde,  
 beorht on blāde.  
 Ðonne brōðor þīn  
 490 onfēng æfter fyrste fulwihtes bæð,  
 lēohtne gelēafan. Ðā for lufan Dryhtnes  
 Stēphānus wæs stānum worpod;  
 ne geald hē yfel yfele, ac his ealdfēondum  
 þingode þrohthe[a]rd, bæd Þrymcýning  
 495 þæt hē him þā wēadǣd tō wræce ne sette —  
 þæt h[i]e for æfstum unscyldigne,  
 synna lēasne, Sa[u]les lārūm  
 feore beræddon, swā hē þurh fēondscipe  
 tō cwale monigē Cristes folces  
 500 dēmdē, tō dēape. Swā-þēah him Dryhten eft  
 miltse gefremede, þæt hē manegum [wearð]  
 folca tō frōfre. Syððan him frymða God,  
 nið[ð]a Nergend, naman oncyrde,  
 ond hē syððan wæs Sanctus Paulus  
 505 be naman hāten; ond him nǣnig wæs  
 ǣlǣrendra oðer betera  
 under swegles hlēo syðþan ǣfre,  
 þāra þe wif oððe wer on woruld cendan,  
 þēah hē Stēphanus stānum hehte  
 510 ābrēotan on beorge, brōþor þīnne.

487 MS. þegnum; Gr.<sup>1</sup> þegnum hine. — 494 MS. -herd; em. Gm. — 496  
 MS. he; em. K.; H.<sup>2</sup> hine. — 497 MS. sawles; em. K. — 501 MS. mane-  
 gum; K. manegum wearð. — 503 MS. niða; em. Z.<sup>2</sup>

- “Nū ðū meah̄t geh̄ran, h̄aleð mīn se l̄eofa,  
 hū ārfæst is ealles Wealdend,  
 þēah wē æbylgð wið hine oft gewyrcen,  
 synna wunde, gif wē sōna eft  
 515 þāra bealudāda bōte gefremmaþ,  
 ond þæs unrihtes eft geswicap̄.  
 Forðan ic, sōðlice, ond mīn swæs fæder  
 syðþan gelyfdon [þissum leofspelle,]  
 þæt geþrōwade eallra þrymma God,  
 520 lifes Lättiow, lāðlic wite  
 for oferþearfe ilda cynnes.  
 Forðan ic þē lāre þurh lēo[ð]rūne,  
 hyse lēofesta, þæt ðū hospcwide,  
 æfst nē eofulsac æfre ne fremme,  
 525 grimne geagncwide, wið Godes Bearne;  
 þonne ðū gearnast þæt þē bið ēce lif,  
 sēlust sigelēana, seald in heofonum.”  
 ‘Dus mec fæder mīn on fyrndagum  
 unweaxenne wordum lārde,  
 530 septe sōðcwidum —þām wæs Sýmon nama—,  
 guma g[id]dum frōd. Nū gē geare cunn[iað]  
 hwæt ēow þæs on sefan sēlest þince  
 tō gecýðanne, gif ðeos cwēn ūsic  
 frigneð ymb ðet [frēo]trēo, nū gē fyrhðsefan  
 535 ond mōdgeþanc mīnne cunnon.’  
 Him þā tōgēnes þā glēawestan  
 on wera þrēate wordum mældon:  
 ‘Næfre wē hýrdon h̄aleð ænigne  
 on þysse þēode būtan þec nūða,  
 540 þegn oðerne, þyslic cýðan  
 ymb swā dýgle wyrd. Dō swā þē þynce,

518<sup>a</sup> *Th.* assumes gap before syðþan. — 518<sup>b</sup> *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> in lifes fruman; *H.*<sup>2</sup> leohtum geþoncum; *Wa.* þissum leofspelle (*cf.* *El.* 1017). — 522 *MS.* leoða-; *em.* *Siev.* (*PBB.* 10. 504). — 530 *MS.* septe; *Th.* sewde. — 531<sup>a</sup> *MS.* gehdum; *Th.* gehðum; *Z.*<sup>1</sup> giddum; *H.*<sup>1</sup> gidda (*but* *H.*<sup>2</sup> gehðum). — 531<sup>b</sup> *MS.* ge; *H.*<sup>2</sup> ge eal; *MS.*, *Edd.* cunnon. — 532 *MS.* on sefan selest; *H.*<sup>2</sup> selest on sefan; *MS.* þince; *H.*<sup>2</sup> þinceð. — 534 *MS.* treo; *Z.*<sup>2</sup> ða rode?; *H.* (*Angl.* 23. 516) fyrntreo; *H.*<sup>1</sup> foldgræf; *H.*<sup>2</sup> freotreo.

fyrngidda frōd, gif ðū frugnen sie  
 on wera corðre. Wisdōmes beðearf,  
 worda wærlīca ond witan snyttro,  
 545 sē ðære æðelan sceal andwyrde āgifan  
 for þyslicne þrēat on meple.'

## II. HELENA'S THREAT, AND THE SURRENDER OF JUDAS

Wēoxan word cwidum; weras þeahtedon  
 on healfa gehwæ[ne], sume hyder, sume þyder,  
 þrydedon ond þōhton. Þā cwōm þegna hēap  
 550 tō þām heremeðle. Hrēopon friccan,  
 cāseres bodan: 'Ēow þeos cwēn laþaþ,  
 secgas, tō salore, þæt gē seonoðdōmas  
 rihte reccen. Is ēow rādes þearf  
 on meðelstede, mōdes snyttro.'  
 555 Hēo wæron gearwe, gēomormōde  
 lēodgebyrgean, þā hie laðod wæron  
 þurh heard gebann; tō hofe ēodon  
 cýð[a]n cræftes miht.  
 Þā sio cwēn ongan  
 weras Ebresce wordum nēgan,  
 560 fricggan fyrhðwērige ymb fyrngewritu,  
 hū on worulde ær witga[n] sungon,  
 gāsthālige guman, be Godes Bearne,  
 hwær se Þeoden geþrōwade,  
 sōð Sunu Meotudes, for sāwla lufan.  
 565 Hēo wæron stearce, stāne heardran,  
 noldon þæt gerýne rihte cýðan  
 nē hire andsware ænige secgan,  
 torngenīðlan, þæs hio him tō sōhte,  
 ac hio worda gehwæs wiðersæc fremedon  
 570 fæste on fyrhðe þæt hēo frignan ongan,  
 cwædon þæt hio on aldre ōwiht swylces

547 Before this line MS. has VII. MS. weoxan; Cos. (*Tijdschrift*  
 1. 144) wrixledan; Th. joins word and cwidum.—548 MS. gehwær;  
 em. Z.<sup>1</sup>—558 MS. cyðdon; em. Z.<sup>1</sup>—561 MS. witga; em. Th.

nē ær nē sið æfre hýrdon.

- Elene maþelade, ond him yrre oncwæð:  
 'Ic eow tō sōðe secgan wille,  
 575 ond þæs in life lige ne wyrðeð,  
 gif gē þissum lēase leng gefylgað  
 mid fæcne gefice, þe mē fore standað,  
 þæt eow in beorge bæ̅l fornimeð,  
 hättost heaðowelma, ond eower hrā bryttað,  
 580 lācende lig, þæt eow [sēo] lēas[ung sceal]  
 ā[we]nd[e]d weorðan tō woruldgedale;  
 ne magon gē ðā word gesēðan þe gē hwile nū on  
 unriht  
 wrigon under womma scēatum; ne magon gē þā  
 wyrd bemīðan,  
 bedyrnan þā dēopan mihte.'

- Ðā wurdon hīe dēaðes on wēnan,  
 585 ādes ond endelīfes; ond þær þā ænne betæhton  
 giddum gearusnottorne — þām wæs Iūdas nama  
 cenned for cnēomāgum; þone hīe þære cwēne  
 āgēfon,  
 sægdon hine sundorwisne: 'Hē þe mæg sōð ge-  
 cýðan,  
 onwrēon wyrda gerýno, swā ðū hine wordum  
 frignest,  
 590 æriht from ord[e] oð ende forð;  
 hē is for eorðan æðeles cynnes,  
 wordcræftes wis ond wítgan sunu,  
 bald on meðle; him gebyrde is  
 þæt hē gēncwidas glēawe hæbbe,

578 MS. bæ̅l fornimeð; *Frucht* bæ̅lfyr nimeð. — 580 MS. sceal þæt leas; *Gm.* sceal þæs leas; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> sceal þæt leasspell; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> þæt leas sceal?; *Z.*<sup>2</sup> seo leasung sceal; *H.*<sup>1</sup> þæt lease spel; *H.*<sup>2</sup> retains MS. reading, but transfers apundrad to end of line. — 581 MS. apundrad; *Th.* awundrad; *Gm.* awended?; *Z.*<sup>1</sup> awended; *Strunk* (*M. L. N.* 17. 187) asundrad; *H.*<sup>2</sup> reads 582<sup>a</sup> as the second hemistich of this line. — 582<sup>a</sup> *Z.*<sup>1</sup> conjectures the loss of two hemistichs after this, and *H.*<sup>1</sup> so prints; *H.*<sup>2</sup> assumes a gap for this hemistich, but conjectures (p. 90) hydan þa halgan geryno (*cf.* 589). — 590 MS. ord; *em. Th.*

595 cræft in brēostum; hē gecyðeð þē  
for wera mengo wīsdōmes gife  
þurh þā myclan miht, swā þin mōd lufað.’

## 12. CONFERENCE BETWEEN HELENA AND JUDAS

Hio on sybbe forlēt sēcan gehwylcne  
āgenne eard, ond þone ænne genam  
600 Iūdas tō gīslē, ond þā georne bæd  
þæt hē be ðære rōde riht getæhte  
þē ær in legere wæs lange bedyrned,  
ond hine seolfne sundor ācīgde.  
• Elene maþelode tō þām ānhagan,  
605 tīrēadig cwēn: ‘Þē synt tū gearu —  
swā lif, swā dēað, swā þē lēofre bið  
tō gecēosanne. Cȳð ricene nū  
hwæt ðū þæ[ra] þing[a] þafian wille.’  
Iūdas hire ongēn þingode — ne meahte hē þā  
gehðu bebūgan,  
610 oncyrran [*cwealm*]geniðlan; hē wæs on þære  
cwēne gewealdum —:  
‘Hū mæg þām geweorðan þe on wēstenne  
mēðe ond metelēas mōrland trydeð,  
hungre gehæfted, ond him hlāf ond stān  
on gesihðe bū [samod] geweorðað,  
615 st[earc]c ond hnesce, þæt hē þone stān nime  
wið hungres hlēo, hlāfes ne gīme,  
gewende tō wædle, ond þā wiste wiðsæce,  
beteran wiðhyccge, þonne hē bēga beneah?’  
Him þā sēo ēadige andwyrde āgeaf  
620 Elene for eorlum undearnunga:  
‘Gif ðū in heofonrice habban wille

608 *MS.*, *Edd.* hwæt; *MS.* þæs to þinge; *H.*<sup>1</sup> pissa þinga; *H.*<sup>2</sup> þæs to þance. — 610 *MS.* rex; *Siev.* (*Angl. I.* 580) cyninges; *Cos.* (*Tijdschrift I.* 145) cyningan (= queen); *H.*<sup>1</sup> cræfte; *Tr.* (*BB.* 23. 102) carena; *H.*<sup>2</sup> cyning-. *The emendation in the text posits nex for rex.* — 614 *MS.* on gesihðe bu; *Gm.* on gesihðe beorne bu; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> gebroht on gesihðe bu; *Z.*<sup>1</sup> on gesihðe bu samod; *Ten Brink* (*Zs. f. D. Alt., Anz.* 5. 60) on gesihðe bu gesette. — 615 *MS.* streac; *H.*<sup>1</sup> stearc. — 619 *Before this line MS.* has VIII

- eard mid englum ond on eorðan lif,  
 sigorlēan in swegle, saga ricene mē  
 hwær sēo rōd wunige, Radorcyninges [bēam],  
 625 hālig under hrūsan, þe gē hwile nū  
 þurh morðres mǎn mannum dyrndun.  
 Iūdas maðelade — him wæs gēomor sefa,  
 hāt æt heortan, ond gehwæðres wā:  
 ge hē heofonrices [hyht] swā m[ærne]  
 630 ond þis andwearde ānforlēte  
 rice under roderum, g[if] hē ðā rōde ne tæhte —:  
 ‘Hū mæg ic þæt findan þæt swā fyrrn gewearð  
 wintra gangum? Is nū worn sceacen,  
 [tū hund] oððe mā geteled rīme;  
 635 ic ne mæg āreccan, nū ic þæt rīm ne can.  
 Is nū feal[a] siðþan forðgewitenra  
 frōdra ond gōdra þe ūs fore wæron,  
 glēawra gumena; ic on geogoðe wearð  
 on siddagum syððan ācenned,  
 640 cnihtgeong hæleð; ic ne can þæt ic nāt —  
 findan on fyrhðe þæt swā fyrrn gewearð.’  
 Elene maðelade him on andsware:  
 ‘Hū is þæt geworden on þysse werpēode  
 þæt gē swā monigfeald on gemynd witon,  
 645 alra tǎcna gehwylc swā Trōiāna[s]  
 þurh gefeoht fremedon? Þæt wæs f[yr] myc[le],  
 open ealdgewin, þonne þeos æðele gewyrd,  
 gēara gongum. Gē þæt gearu cunnon

624 MS. radorcyninges; *Wa.* radorcyninges beam.—629<sup>a</sup> MS. he; Z.<sup>1</sup> him.—629<sup>b</sup> MS. swa; *Gm.* hwurfe swa; *hygde* swa; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> hyhte swa; Z.<sup>1</sup> hyht?; Z.<sup>2</sup> hyht; *Wū.* hogde; *Klaeb.* (*Angl.* 29. 272) hyhtwynne; *Wa.* hyht wyne; *MS.* mode; *Gr.*<sup>2</sup> niode; Z.<sup>1</sup> swamode? (*uniting the two words*); *H.*<sup>1</sup> meðe; *Cos.* (*Tijdschrift* 1. 145), *Klaeb.* (*Angl.* 29. 272) samod (*for two words*); *Wa.* micelne?—630 MS. ond; *Tr.* (*BB.* 23. 102) ge.—631 MS. ge; *Tr.* gif; *MS.* ne tæhte; Z.<sup>1</sup> tæhte.—634 MS. cc; *Gm.* twa hund.—636 MS. feale; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> feala; *H.*<sup>1</sup> fealo.—645 MS. Troiana; *em.* *H.*<sup>2</sup>—646 MS. fær mycel; *Gm.* fyr micle; *Klaeb.* (*Angl.* 29. 272) fir (fier) mycle; *H.*<sup>2</sup> fior mycle.—647 MS. open; *H.*<sup>2</sup> opene; *after ealdgewin* *H.*<sup>1</sup> inserts ær geworden || *Israhela folce, and Wa.* þæt þe ær cuð wearð || *eowrum ægleawum.*

- 650 ēdre gereccan, hwæt þær eallra wæs  
 on manrime morðorslehtes,  
 dareðlācendra dēadra gefeallen  
 under bordhagan. Gē þā byrgenna  
 under stānhleoðum, ond þā stōwe swā some,  
 ond þā wintergerim on gewritu setton.'
- 655 Iūdas maðelade — gnornsorge wæg —:  
 'Wē þæs hereweorces, hlǣfdige mīn,  
 for nýðbearfe nēan myndgiþ,  
 ond þā wiggþræce on gewritu setton,  
 þēoda gebæru; ond þis nǣfre
- 660 þurh æniges mannes mūð gehýrdon  
 hǣleðu[m] cýðan, þūtan hēr nūða.'  
 Him sēo æðele cwēn āgeaf andsware:  
 'Wiðsæcest ðū tō swiðe sōðe ond rihte  
 ymb þæt lifes treow; ond nū lýtle ær
- 665 sægdest sōðlice be þām sigebēame  
 lēodum þinum, ond nū on lige cyrrest.'  
 Iūdas hire ongēn þingode, cwæð þæt hē þæt  
 on gehðu gespræce  
 ond [on] twēon swiðost, wēnde him trāge hnāgre.  
 Him oncwæð hraðe cāseres mæg:  
 670 'Hwæt, wē ðæt hýrdon þurh hālige bēc  
 hǣleðum cýðan þæt āhangen wæs  
 on Calvārie Cyninges Frēobearn,  
 Godes Gāstsunu. Þū scealt geagninga  
 wīsdōm onwrēon, swā gewritu secgaþ,  
 675 æfter stedewange hwær sēo stōw sie  
 [on] Calvār[i]e, ær þec cwealm nime,  
 swilt, for synnum, þæt ic hīe syððan mæge  
 geclǣnsian Criste tō willan,  
 hǣleðum tō helpe, þæt mē hālig God
- 680 gefylle, Frēa mihtig, feores ingeþanc,  
 weoruda Wuldorgeofa, willan mīnne,  
 gāsta Geocend.'

657 *MS.* nean; *K.* near; *Z.*<sup>1</sup> neah. — 661 *MS.* hǣleðu; *Th.* hǣleðas;  
*Gm.* hǣleðum. — 668 *MS.* tweon; *Gm.* on tweon?, tweonde?; *Siev. (Angl.*  
*i. 580)* on tweon. — 676 *MS.* calvare; *Th.* calvarie; *Wa.* on calvarie.

- Hire Iūdas oncwæð
- stiðhycgende: 'Ic þā stōwe ne can,  
 nē þæs wanges wiht nē þā wisan cann.'
- 685 Elene maðelode þurh eorne hyge:  
 'Ic þæt geswerige þurh Sunu Meotodes,  
 þone āhangnan God, þæt ðū hungre scealt  
 for cnēomāgum cwylned weorðan  
 būtan þū forlæte þā lēasunga,  
 690 ond mē sweotollice sōð gecyðe.'
- Heht þā swā cwicne corðre lædan,  
 scūfan scyldigne — scealcas ne gældon —  
 in drýgne sēað, þær hē duguða lēas  
 siomode in sorgum [seofon] nihta fyrst  
 695 under hearmlocan hungre geþrēatod,  
 clommum beclungen. Ond þā cleopigan ongan  
 sārūm besylced on þone seofeðan dæg,  
 mēðe ond metelēas — mægen wæs geswiðrod —:  
 'Ic ēow healsie þurh heofona God  
 700 þæt gē mē of ðyssum earfeðum ūp forlæten,  
 hēanne fram hungres geniðlan; ic þæt hālige trēo  
 lustum cyðe, nū ic hit leng ne mæg  
 helan for hungre. Is þes hæft tō ðan strang,  
 þrēanýd [tō] þæs þearl, ond þes þroht tō ðæs  
 heard  
 705 dōgorrimum; ic ādrēogan ne mæg,  
 nē leng helan be ðām lifes trēo,  
 þeah ic ær mid dysige þurhdrifen wære,  
 ond ðæt sōð tō late seolf gecnēowe.'  
 Þā ðæt gehýrde sīo þær hæleðum scēad,  
 710 beornes gebæro, hīo bebēad hraðe  
 þæt hine man of nearwe ond of nýdcleofan,  
 fram þām engan hofe, ūp forlēte.  
 Hīe ðæt ofstlice efnedon sōna,  
 ond hine mid ārum ūp gelæddon  
 715 of carcerne, swā him sēo cwēn bebēad.

683 *MS.* can; *H.*<sup>1</sup> wat. — 694 *MS.* vii; *Gm.* seofon. — 697 *MS.* besylced; *Th.* besyled (*reading MS. as besyleed*). — 709 *Before this line MS. has VIII.* — 709<sup>b</sup> *MS.* scead; *Gm.* sceod; *Ten Brink (Zs. f. D. Alt., Anz. 5. 60)* scraf; *Tr. (BB. 3. 117)* weold.

## 13. THE PRAYER OF JUDAS, AND ITS RESULT

- Stöpon þā tō þære stowe stīðhycgende  
 on þā dūne ūp ðe Dryhten ær  
 āhangen wæs, heofonrices Weard,  
 Godbearn, on galgan, ond hwæðre geare nyste  
 720 hungre gehýned hwær sīo hālig[e] rōd  
 721-2 þurh [fēondes] searu foldan getýned,  
 lange legere fæst lēodum dyrne,  
 wunode wælreste. Word stunde āhōf  
 725 elnes oncýðig, ond on Ebrisc spræc:  
 'Dryhten Hælend, þū ðe āhst dōma geweald,  
 ond þū geworhtest þurh þīnes wuldres miht  
 heofon ond eorðan ond holmþræce,  
 sæs sīdne fæðm, samod ealle gesceaft;  
 730 ond þū āmæte mundum þīnum  
 ealne ymbhwyrft ond ūprador;  
 ond þū sylf sitest, sigora Waldend,  
 ofer þām æðelestan engelcynne,  
 þe geond lyft farað lēohte bewundene,  
 735 mycle mægenþrymme; ne mæg þær manna gecynd  
 of eorðwegum ūp gefēran  
 in lichoman mid þā lēohtan gedryht,  
 wuldres āras. Þū geworhtest þā,  
 ond tō þegnunge þīnre gesettet,  
 740 hālig ond heofonlic. Þāra on hāde sint  
 in sindrēame syx genemned;  
 þā ymbsealde synt mid syxum ēac  
 fiðrum, gefrætwad, fægere scīnaþ.  
 Þāra si[n]t [fēower] þe on flihte ā  
 745 þā þegnunge þrymme beweotigaþ  
 fore onsýne ēces Dēman,  
 singallīce singaþ in wuldre  
 hædrum stefnum Heofoncinges lof,  
 wōða wlitegaste, ond þās word cweðap

716 MS. þære stowe; *Wa.* stowe. — 720 MS. halig; *em.* Z.<sup>1</sup> — 721 MS. þurh searu; *Th.* assumes a gap; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> conjectures þurh searucraeft besenced læg on fyrndagum foldan getýned; *Gr.*<sup>2</sup> þurh feonda searu; Z.<sup>1</sup> feondes for feonda. — 744 MS. sit; *em.* *Th.*; MS. iii; *Gm.* feower.

- 750 clānum stefnum — þām is ceruphīn nama—:  
 “Hālig is se hālgā hēahengla God,  
 weoroda Wealdend. Is ðæs wuldres ful  
 heofun ond eorðe ond eall hēahmāgen,  
 tīre getācnod.” Syndon tū on þām,
- 755 sigorcynn, on swegle, þe man sēraphīn  
 be naman hāteð. Hē sceal neorxnawang  
 ond lifes trēo lēgene sweorde  
 hālig healdan; heardecg cwacaþ,  
 beofaþ brogdenmāel, ond blēom wrixleð
- 760 grāpum gryrefæst. Þæs ðū, God Dryhten,  
 wealdest wīdan fyrhð, ond þū womfulle  
 scyldwyrcente sceaðan of radorum  
 āwurpe wonhȳdige. Þā sīo wēрге sceolu  
 under heolstorhofu hrēosan sceolde
- 765 in wīta forwyrð; þær hīe in wylme nū  
 drēogaþ dēaðcwale in dracan fæðme,  
 þēostrum forþylmed. Hē þīnum wīðsōc  
 aldordōme; þæs hē in ermðum sceal,  
 ealra fūla ful, fāh þrōwian,
- 770 þēownēd þolian. Þær hē þīn ne mæg  
 word āweorpan, is in wītum fæst,  
 ealre synne fruma, sūsle gebunden.  
 ‘Gif þīn willa sīe, Wealdend engla,  
 þæt rīcsīe se ðe on rōde wæs,
- 775 ond þurh Mārian in middangeard  
 ācenned wearð in cildes hād,  
 Þēoden engla — gif hē þīn nāre  
 Sunu synna lēas, nāfre hē sōðra swā feala  
 in woruldrice wundra gefremede
- 780 dōgorgerīnum; nō ðū of dēaðe hine  
 swā þrymlīce, þēoda Wealdend,  
 āweahte for weorodum, gif hē in wuldre þīn  
 þurh ðā beorhtan [*mægð*] Bearn ne wære —

756 MS. he; Gr.<sup>1</sup> þe; Z.<sup>1</sup> hie; MS. sceal; Z.<sup>1</sup> sceolon.—768 *Siev.*  
 (*Angl. I. 580*) reads fūl as sb.—775 MS. middang; *em. Th.*—780 MS.  
 no; Z.<sup>1</sup> ne?—782 MS. þīn; *Gm.* þīnum.

- gedō nū, Fæder engla, forð bēacen þīn.  
 785 Swā ðū gehyrdest þone hālgan wer  
 Moyses on meðle, þā ðū, mihta God,  
 ge[ȳ]wdest þām eorle on þā æðelan tid  
 under beorhhlīðe bān Iōsephes,  
 swā ic þē, weroda W[yn], gif hit sīe willa þīn,  
 790 þurg þæt beorhte gesceap biddan wille,  
 þæt [ðū] mē þæt goldhord, gāsta Scyppend,  
 geopenie, þæt yldum wæs  
 lange behyded. Forlæt nū, lifes Fruma,  
 of ðām wangstede wynsumne ūp  
 795 under radores ryne rēc āstīgan  
 lyftlācende. Ic gelyfe þē sēl,  
 ond þy fæstlicor ferhð staðelige,  
 hyht untwēondne, on þone āhangnan Crist,  
 þæt hē sīe sōðlice sāwla Nergend,  
 800 ēce, ælmihtig, Israhela Cining,  
 walde wīdan ferhð wuldres on heofenum,  
 ā būtan ende ēcra gestealda.  
 Ðā of ðære stōwe stēam ūp ārās,  
 [r]ēc under radorum. Þær āræred wearð  
 805 beornes brēostsefa; hē mid bām handum,  
 ēadig ond æglēaw, ūpward plegade.  
 Iūdas mabelode, glēaw in geþance:  
 ‘Nū ic þurh sōð hafu seolf gecnāwen  
 on heardum hige þæt ðū Hælend eart  
 810 middangeardes. Sīe ðē, mægena God,  
 þrymsittendum þanc būtan ende,  
 þæs ðū mē swā mēðum ond swā mænweorcum  
 þurh þīn wuldor [o]nwrige wyrda geryno.  
 Nū ic þē, Bearn Godes, biddan wille,  
 815 weoroda Willgīfa, nū ic wāt þæt ðū eart

787 *MS.* gehywdest; *Gm. interprets as geywdest.*—789 *MS.* w; *Th.* weroda; *Siev. (PBB. 10. 518)* wen, but later (*Angl. 13. 3*) wyn; *Z.*<sup>2</sup> weard.—791 *MS.*, *Edd.* þæt me.—803 *Before this line MS. has X.*—804 *MS.* swylce rec; *Schwarz (Cynewulfs Anteil am Christ, p. 59)* om. swylce.—813 *MS.* inwrige; *em. Th.*

gecyðed ond acenned allra cyninga Þrym,  
 þæt ðū mā ne sīe mīnra gylta,  
 þāra þe ic gefremede nalles fēam sīðum,  
 Metud, gemyndig. Læt mec, mihta God,  
 820 on rīmtale rīces þīnes  
 mid hāligra hlýte wunigan  
 in þære beorhtan byrig, þær is brōðor mīn  
 geweorðod in wuldre, þæs hē wære wið þec,  
 Stēphanus, hēold, þeah hē stāngreopum  
 825 worpod wære; hē hafað wīgges lēan,  
 blæd būtan blinne. Sint in bōcum his  
 wundor þā hē worhte, on gewritum, cyðed.'

## 14 THE DISCOVERY AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE CROSS

Ongan þā wilfægen æfter þām wuldres trēo,  
 elnes ānhýdig, eorðan delfan  
 830 under turfhagan, þæt hē on [twēntigum]  
 fōtmælum feor funde behelede,  
 under nēolum niðer næsse gehýdde  
 in þeostorcofan; hē ðær [þrēo] mētte  
 in þām rēoni[g]an hofe rōða ætsomne,  
 835 grēote begravene, swā hīo gēardagum  
 ārlēasra sceolu eorðan beþeahton,  
 Iūdēa [cynn] — hīe wið Godes Bearne  
 nið āhōfun, swā hīe nō sceoldon,  
 þær hīe leahtra fruman lārum ne hýrdon.  
 840 Þā wæs mōdgemynd myclum geblissod,  
 hige onhyrded, þurh þæt hālige trēo,  
 inbryrded brēostsefa, syððan bēacen geseh  
 hālig under hrūsan. Hē mid handum befēng  
 wuldres wynbēam, ond mid weorode āhōf  
 845 of foldgræfe. Fēðegestas  
 ēodon, æðelingas, in on þā ceastre.  
 Āsetton þā on gesyhðe sigebēamas [þrīe]

824 *MS.* -greopum; *Gm.* -greetum. — 830 *MS.* xx; *Gm.* twentigum;  
*H.*<sup>2</sup> transposes the hemistichs. — 833 *MS.* iii; *em. Gm.* 834 *MS.* reonian;  
*Z.*<sup>2</sup> reongan. — 837 *MS.* iudea; *em. Gr.*<sup>1</sup> — 841 *MS.* -hyrded; *Gm.* -hyrted.  
 — 847 *MS.* iii; *Gm.* þry.

eorlas ānhȳdige fore Elenan cnēo,  
collenferhðe.

Cwēn weorces gefeah

- 850 on ferhðsefan, ond þā frignan ongan  
on hwylcum þāra bēama Bearn Wealdendes,  
hæleða Hyhtgifa, [ā]hangen wære:  
'Hwæt, wē þæt hȳrdon þurh hālige bēc  
tācnum cȳðan þæt twēgen mid him  
855 geþrōwedon, ond hē wæs þridda sylf  
on rōde trēo — rodor eal geswearc  
on þā slīðan tid. Saga, gif ðū cunne,  
on hwylcre þyssa þrēora Þēoden engla  
geþrōwode, þrymmes Hyrde.'
- 860 Ne meahthe hire Iūdas — ne ful ge[a]re wiste —  
sweotole gecȳþan be ðām sigebēame,  
on hwylc[n]e se Hælend āhafen wære,  
Sigebearn Godes, [ac] hē āsettan heht  
on þone middel þære mæran byrig  
865 bēamas mid bearhtme, ond gebīdan þær  
oððæt him gecȳðde Cyning ælmihtig  
wundor for weorodum be ðām wuldres trēo.  
Gesæton sigerōfe, sang āhōfon,  
rædþeahende, ymb þā rōða þrēo  
870 oð þā nigoðan tid; hæfdon nēowne gefēan  
mærdūm gemēted. Þā þær menigo cwōm,  
folc unlytel, ond gefærenne man  
brōhton on bære beorna þrēate  
on nēaweste — wæs þā nigoðe tid —  
875 gingne gāstlēasne. Þā ðær Iūdas wæs  
on mōdsefan miclum geblissod;  
heht þā āsettan sāw[o]llēasne,  
life belidenes lic, on eorðan,  
unlifgendes, ond ūp āhōf  
880 rihtes wēmend þāra rōða twā

860 MS. gere; *em. Gr.*<sup>1</sup>—862 MS. hwylcre; *em. Gr.*<sup>1</sup>—863 MS. ær;  
Z.<sup>2</sup> ac?; H.<sup>2</sup> ac.—877<sup>b</sup> MS., *Edd.* sawl-; H.<sup>2</sup> notes that the metre requires  
a disyllable.—880 MS. wemend; *Th.* reniend.

fyrhðglēaw on fæðme ofer þæt fæge hūs,  
 dēophycgende. Hit wæs dēad swā ær,  
 lic legere fæst; leomu cōlodon  
 þrēanēdum beþeagt. Þā sio þridde wæs  
 885 āhafen hālig. Hrā wæs [o]n bide  
 oððæt him uppan Æðelinges wæs  
 rōd āræred, Rodorcyninges bēam,  
 sigebēacen sōð; hē sōna ārās  
 gāste gegearwod, geador bū samod  
 890 lic ond sāv[o]l. Þær wæs lof hafan  
 fæger mid þý folce; Fæder weorðodon,  
 ond þone sōðan Sunu Wealdendes  
 wordum heredon. Sie him wuldor ond þanc  
 ā būtan ende eallra gesceafta!

## 15. DEBATE OF THE DEVIL AND JUDAS

895 Ðā wæs þām folce on ferhðsefan  
 ingemynde, swā him ā scyle,  
 wundor þā þe worhte weoroda Dryhten  
 tō feorhnere fira cynne,  
 lifes Lättiow. Þā þær ligesynnig  
 900 on lyft āstāh lācende fēond;  
 ongan þā hlēoðrian helledēofol,  
 eatol æ[g]lāca, yfela gemyndig:  
 ‘Hwæt is þis, lā, manna, þe minne eft  
 þurh fyrngflit folgaþ wyrdeð,  
 905 iceð ealdne nið, æhta strūdeð?  
 Þis is singal sacu. Sāwla ne mōton  
 mānfremmende in mīnum leng  
 æhtum wunigan, nū cwōm Elþēodig  
 þone ic ær on firenum fæstne talde,  
 910 hafað mec berēafod rihta gehwylces,  
 feohgestrēona; nis ðæt fæger sið.  
 Feala mē se Hælend hearma gefremede,  
 niða nearolicra, se ðe in Nazareð

885 MS. anbide; *em. Frucht* (p. 30).—890<sup>a</sup>. See 877<sup>b</sup>.—890<sup>b</sup> MS. hafan; *Tr.* (BB. 23. 105) ahafen.—902 MS. æclæca; *em. Gr.*<sup>1</sup>

- 915 āfēded wæs. Syððan furþum wēox  
 of cildhāde, symle cirde tō him  
 æhte mīne. Ne mōt ænige nū  
 rihte spōwan. Is his rice brād  
 ofer middangeard; mīn is geswiðrod  
 rād under roderum. Ic þā rōde ne þearf  
 920 hleahstre herigean. Hwæt, se Hælend mē  
 in þām engan hām oft getýnde,  
 gēomrum tō sorge. Ic þurh Iūdas ær  
 hyhtful gewearð; ond nū gehýned eom,  
 gōða gēasne, þurh Iūdas eft,  
 925 fāh ond frēondlēas. Gēn ic findan [c]an  
 þurh wrōhtstafas wiðercyr [s]iððan  
 of ðām wearhtreafum: ic āwecce wið ðe  
 oðerne cyning se ēhteð þīn,  
 ond hē forlæteð lāre þīne  
 930 ond mǎnþeawum mīnum folgaþ,  
 ond þec þonne sendeð in þā sweartestan  
 ond þā wyrrestan witebrōgan,  
 þæt ðū, sārūm forsōht, wiðsæcest fæste  
 þone āhangnan Cyning, þām ðū hýrdest ær.  
 935 Him ðā glēawhýdig Iūdas oncwæð,  
 hæleð hildedēor — him wæs Hālig Gāst  
 befole fæste, fýrhāt lufu,  
 weallende gewitt þurh wī[t]gan snyttro —  
 ond þæt word gecwæð wīsdōmes ful:  
 940 ‘Ne þearft ðū swā swīðe, synna gemyndig,  
 sār nīwigan ond sæce rāran,  
 morðres mǎnfrēa; þ[ec] se mihtiga Cyning  
 in nēolnesse nyðer bescūfeð,  
 synwyrcende, in sūsla grund,  
 945 dōmes lēasne, se ðe dēadra feala

921 MS. oft; Gr.<sup>1</sup> eft.—924 MS. geasne; Kluge (*Litbl. for 1884*, p. 138) gæsne.—925 MS. ne can; em. Gr.<sup>2</sup>—926 MS. wiððan; Gr.<sup>1</sup> siððan; Gr.<sup>2</sup> wið ðan; Brown (*Eng. Stud.* 40. 20) wið ðe.—938 MS. wigan; Gr.<sup>1</sup> witan; Gr.<sup>2</sup> witgan.—942 MS. þæt; Z.<sup>1</sup> þæt þe; Cos. (*Aanteekeningen op den Beowulf*, p. 32) þec.

worde āwehte. Wite ðū þē gearwor  
 þæt ðū unsnyttrum ānforlēte  
 lēohta beorhtost ond lufan Dryhtnes,  
 þone fāgran gefēan, ond on fýrbæþe  
 950 sūslum beþrunge syððan wunodest,  
 āde onǣled, ond þær āwa scealt,  
 wiðerhycgende, wergðu drēogan,  
 yrmðu būtan ende.'

Elene gehýrde  
 hū se fēond ond se frēond geflitu rǣrdon,  
 955 tīrēadig ond trāg, on twā halfa,  
 synnig ond gesǣlig. Sefa wæs þē glædra  
 þæs þe hēo gehýrde þone hellesceapan  
 oferswiðe[dn]e, synna bryttan,  
 ond þā wundrade ymb þæs weres snyttro,  
 960 hū hē swā gelēafful on swā lýtlum fæce —  
 ond swā [o]ncýðig æfre wurde —  
 glēawnesse þurhgoten. Gode þancode,  
 Wuldorcyninge, þæs hire se willa gelamp  
 þurh Bearn Godes bēga gehwæðres —  
 965 ge æt þære gesyhðe þæs sigebēames,  
 ge ðæs gelēafan þe hīo swā lēohte oncnēow,  
 wuldorfæste gife in þæs weres brēostum.

16. WORD IS BROUGHT TO CONSTANTINE, WHO COMMANDS  
TO BUILD A CHURCH

Ðā wæs gefrēge in þære folcsceare,  
 geond þā werþeode wide lǣded,  
 970 mære morgenspel manigum on andan  
 þāra þe Dryhtnes ā dyrnan woldon,  
 bod[e]n æfter burgum swā brimo fæðm[a]ð,  
 in castra gehwæ[m], þæt Crīstes [rōd],  
 fýrn foldan begræfen, funden wære,  
 975 sēlest sigebēacna þāra þe sið oððe ær  
 hālig under heofenum āhafen wurde,

958 MS. -swiðende; *em. Gr.*<sup>1</sup> — 961 MS. un-; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> onc-?; *em. H.*<sup>1</sup> —  
 972 MS. bodan; *Gm.* boden?, bodod?; *K.* boden; *MS.* fæðmeð; *Gm.*  
 fæðmiað?; *Z.*<sup>1</sup> fæðmað. — 973 MS. gehwære; *em. Siev.*; *Th.* suggests rod.

- ond wæs Iūdēum gnornsorga mæst,  
 werum wansæligum, wyrda lāðost —  
 þær hie hit for worulde wendan meahton,  
 980 Crīstenra gefēan.      Ðā sīo cwēn bebēad  
 ofer eorlmægen āras fýsan  
 ricene tō rāde; sceoldon Rōmwarena  
 ofer hēanne holm hlāford sēcean,  
 ond þām wiggende wilspella mæst  
 985 seolfum gesecgan — þ[æt] ðæt sigorbēacan  
 þurh Meotodes ēst mēted wære,  
 funden in foldan, þæt ær feala mæla  
 behýded wæs hālgum tō tēonan,  
 Crīstenum folce. Þā ðām cininge wearð  
 990 þurh þā mæran word mōd geblissod,  
 ferhð gefēonde. Næs þā fricendra  
 under goldhoman gād in burgum  
 feorran gefered[ra]. Wæs him frōfra mæst  
 geworden in worlde æt ðām willspelle,  
 995 hlih[h]ende hyge, þe him hereræswan  
 ofer ēastwegas, āras, brōhton —  
 hū gesundne sīð ofer s[w]onrāde  
 secgas mid sigecwēn āsete[d] hæfdon  
 on Crēca land.      Hīe se cāsere heht  
 1000 ofstum myclum eft gearwian  
 sylfe tō sīðe; secgas ne gældon  
 syððan andsware ēdre gehýrdon,  
 æðelinges word. Heht hē Elenan hæl  
 ābēodan beadurōfre, gif hīe brim nes[a]n,

979 MS. þær; Gr.<sup>1</sup> þæt; MS. meahton; K. ne meahton. — 985 MS. þe;  
 Siev. (Angl. i. 580) þæt? — 993 MS. geferede; em. Siev. (Angl. i. 580).  
 — 995 MS. hlihende; em. Ten Brink (Zs. f. D. Alt., Anz. 5. 54). — 997  
 MS. spon-; Th. reads swon-. — 998 MS. aseten; em. Dietrich. — 1000  
 MS. gearwian; Ten Brink (Zs. f. D. Alt., Anz. 5. 60) gegearwian. —  
 1004 MS. brim nesen; Th. brimnesen; Gm. (pp. 109-110) brimnesen,  
 -nēsen, -nesan; Z.<sup>1</sup> brim nesan; Z.<sup>2</sup> brim . . . nesen; Cos. (Tijdschrift  
 i. 146) brim nēsen; H.<sup>1</sup> hæfdon brim nesen; Tr. (BB. 23. 106) brim  
 nēsen (= nāsen).

- 1005 ond gesundne sið settan mōsten,  
 hæleð hwætmōde, tō þære hālgan byrig.  
 Heht hire þā aras ēac gebēodan  
 Constantīnus þæt hīo cirican þær  
 on þām beorhhlīðe bēgra rædum
- 1010 getimbrede, tempel Dryhtnes  
 on Calvarie Crīste tō willan,  
 hæleðum tō helpe, þær sīo hālige rōd  
 gemēted wæs, mærost bēama  
 þāra þe gefrugnen foldbūende
- 1015 on eorðwege. Hīo geefnde swā,  
 siððan winemāgas westan brōhton  
 ofer lagufæsten lēofspell manig.  
 Ðā sēo cwēn bebēad cræftum getyde  
 sundor āsēcean, þā sēlestan,
- 1020 þā þe wrætlicost wyrcan cūðon  
 stāngefōgum, on þām stedewange  
 girwan Godes tempel. Swā hire gāsta Weard  
 reord of roderum, hēo þā rōde heht  
 golde beweorcean ond gimcynnum,
- 1025 mid þām æðelestum eorcnanstānum  
 besett[a]n searocræftum, ond þā in seolfren fæt  
 locum belūcan. Þær þæt lifes trēo,  
 sēlest sigebēama, siððan wunode  
 æðelu[m] [u]nbræce; þær bið ā gearu
- 1030 wraðu wannhālum wīta gehwylces,  
 sæce ond sorge; hīe sōna þær  
 þurh þā hālgan gesceaft helpe findaþ,  
 godcunde gife.

17. JUDAS IS BAPTIZED, AND IS HALLOWED AS  
 BISHOP CYRIACUS

- Swylce Iūdas onfēng  
 æfter fyrstmearce fulwihtes bæð,  
 1035 ond geclænsod wearð Crīste getrywe,  
 Lifwearde lēof. His gelēafa wearð

1029 *MS.* æðelu; *em. Z.²*; *MS.* anbræce; *Th.* anbroce; *Z.²* unbræce.

- fæst on ferhðe, siððan frōfre Gāst  
wīc gewunode in þæs weres brēostum,  
bylde tō bōte. Hē þæt betere gecēas,  
1040 wuldres wynne, ond þām wyrstan wiðsōc,  
dēofulgildum, ond gedwolan fylde,  
unrihte æ. Him wearð ēce [Cyning],  
Meotud, milde, God, mihta Wealdend.  
Þā wæs gefulwad se ðe ær feala tīda  
1045 lēoht gearu . . . . .  
inbryrðed brēostsefa on þæt betere lif,  
gewended tō wuldre. Hūru, wyrd gescr[ā]f  
þæt hē swā gelēaffull ond swā lēof Gode  
in worldrice weorðan sceolde,  
1050 Crīste gecwēme. Þæt gecyðed wearð,  
siððan Elene heht Eusēbium  
on rædgeþeaht, Rōme bisceop,  
gefetian on fultum, forðsnot[t]erne,  
hæleða gerædum tō þære hālgan byrig,  
1055 þæt hē gesette on sācerdhād  
in Ierusalēm Iūdas þām folce  
tō bisceope, burgum on innan,  
þurh Gāstes gife tō Godes temple  
cræftum gecoren[n]e, ond hine Cyriacus  
1060 þurh snyttro geþeaht syððan nemde  
nīwan stefne. Nama wæs gecyrred  
beornes in burgum on þæt betere forð —  
æ Hælendes.

## 18. THE DISCOVERY OF THE NAILS

- Þā gēn Elenan wæs  
mōd gemynde ymb þā mæran wyrd  
1065 geneahhe, for þām næglum þe ðæs Nergendes

1042 *MS.* rex; *H.*<sup>1</sup> cyning. — 1044 *Before this line MS. has XIII.* — 1045 *MS.* gearu; *H.*<sup>1</sup> gearolice; *Edd.* assume a gap at second hemistich; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> lange forhogode; *H.*<sup>1</sup> leahre forhogode. — 1047 *MS.* gescreaf; *em.* *Gm.* — 1050 *H.*<sup>1</sup> (*but not H.*<sup>2</sup>) inserts after this line þæt þæs landes bisceop hæfde lif ofgifen. — 1053 *MS.* -snoterne; *em.* *Z.*<sup>2</sup> — 1059 *MS.* -corene; *em.* *Gm.*

- fēt þurhwōdon ond his folme swā some,  
mid þām on rōde wæs rodera Wealdend  
gefæstnod, Frēa mihtig. Be ðām frignan ongan  
Crīstentra cwēn; Cyriācus bæd  
1070 þæt hire þā gīna Gāstes mihtum  
ymb wundorwyrð willan gefylde,  
onwriga wuldorgifum, ond þæt word ācwæð  
tō þām bisceope, bald reordode:  
‘Þū mē, eorla hlēo, þone æðelan bēam  
1075 [r]odera Cining[es] ryhte getæhtesð,  
on þā[m] āhangen wæs hǣðenum folmum  
gāsta Gēocend, Godes āgen Bearn,  
Nerigend fīra; mec þæra nægla gēn  
on fyrhōsefan fyrwet myngaþ.  
1080 Wolde ic þæt ðū funde þā ðe in foldan gēn  
dēope bedolfen dierne sindon,  
heolstre behýded. Ā mīn hige sorgað,  
rēonig rēoteð, ond gerested nō  
ǣrþan mē gefylle Fæder ælmihtig,  
1085 wereda Wealdend, willan mīnne,  
nið[ð]a Nergend, þurh þāra nægla cyme,  
Hālig of hiehða. Nū ðū hrædlice  
eallum ēaðmēdum, ār sēlesta,  
þīne bēne onsend in ðā beorhtan gesceaft,  
1090 on wuldres W[yn]: bide wigena Þrym  
þæt þē gecýðe, Cyning ælmihtig,  
hord under hrūsan þæt gehýded gēn,  
duguðum dyrne, dēogol bīdeð.’  
Þā se hālga ongan hyge staðolian,  
1095 brēostum onbryrðed, bisceop þæs folces.  
Glædmōd ēode gumena þrēate  
God hergendra; ond þā geornlice

1075 *MS.* rode rodera; *Siev.* (*PBB.* 5. 518) rodera; *MS.* cining; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> cyninges?; *Z.*<sup>1</sup> cininges; *MS.* -tæhtesð; *Th.* -tæhtest. — 1076 *MS.* þa; *em.* *K.* — 1086 *MS.* niða; *em.* *Z.*<sup>2</sup> — 1087 *MS.* hiehða; *Th.* hiehðum?; *Gm.* hiehðo. — 1090 *MS.* w; *Th.* wealdend; *Gr.*<sup>2</sup> wenne (=wynne); *Siev.* (*PBB.* 1. 518) wen, but later (*Angl.* 13. 3) wyn.

- Cȳriacus on Calvarie  
hlēor onhylde, hygerūne ne mād,  
1100 Gāstes mihtum tō Gode cleopode  
eallum ēaðmēdum, bād him engla Weard  
geopenigean uncūðe wyrd,  
niwan on nearwe, hwær hē þāra nægla swiðost  
on þām wangstede wēnan þorfte.
- 1105 Leort ðā tācen forð, þær hie tō sǣgon,  
Fæder, frōfre Gāst, ðurh fȳres blēo  
ūp ēðigean þær þā æðelestan  
hæleða gerædum hȳdde wæron  
þurh nearusearwe, næglas on eorðan.
- 1110 Ðā cwōm semninga sunnan beorhtra  
lācende lig. Lēode gesāwon  
hira Willgifan wundor cȳðan,  
ðā ðær of heolstre, swylce heofonsteorran  
oððe go[l]dgimmas, grunde getenge,
- 1115 næglas of nearwe neoðan scinende  
lēohte lixton.
- Lēode gefǣgon,  
weorud willhrēðig, sǣgdon wuldor Gode  
calle ānmōde, þeah hie ær wæron  
þurh deofles spild in gedwolan lange,  
1120 ācyrrad fram Crīste. Hie cwædon þus:  
'Nū wē seolfe gesēoð sigores tācen,  
sōðwundor Godes, þeah wē wiðsōcun ær  
mid lēasingum; nū is in lēoht cymen,  
onwriġen, wyrda bigang. Wuldor þæs āġe  
1125 on hēānesse heofonrīces God!'  
Ðā wæs geblissod se ðe tō bōte gehwearf  
þurh Bearn Godes, bīscop þāra lēoda,  
niwan stefne. Hē þā[m] nægl[um] onfēng  
egesān geāclod, ond þære ārwyrdan

1107 *MS.* eðigean; *Siev.* (*Angl.* i. 578) siðigean; *Cos.* (*Tijdschrift* i. 147) ewigean.—1114 *MS.* god-; *Z.*<sup>1</sup> gold-; *H.*<sup>1</sup> gold ond.—1122 *MS.* þeah; *Z.*<sup>1</sup> þæt.—1123 *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> om. in.—1128 *MS.* þan næglan; *em.* *Th.*

- 1130 cwēne brōhte; hæfde Ciriācus  
eall gefylled, swā him sēo æðele bebēad,  
wifes willan. Þā wæs wōpes hring,  
hāt hēafodwylm, ofer hlēor goten,  
nalles for torne — tēaras fēollon
- 1135 ofer wīra gespon — wuldr[e] gefylled  
cwēne willa. Hēo [hīe] on cnēow sette  
lēohte gelēafan, lāc weorðode,  
blissum hrēmig, þe hire brungen wæs  
gnyrna tō gēoce; Gode þancode,
- 1140 sigora Dryhtne, þæs þe hīo sōð gecnēow  
andweardlice þæt wæs oft bodod  
feor ær beforan fram fruman worulde,  
folcum tō frōfre. Hēo gefylled wæs  
wisdōmes gife; ond þā wic behēold
- 1145 hālig heofonlic Gāst, hreðer weardode,  
æðelne innoð; swā hīe ælmihtig  
Sigebearn Godes siōððan freoðode.

## 19. THE NAILS ARE FASHIONED INTO A BIT

- Ongan þā geornlice gāstgerýnum  
on sefan sēcean sōðfæstnesse
- 1150 weg tō wuldre. Hūru, we[ro]da God  
gefullæste, Fæder on roderum,  
Cining ælmihtig, þæt sēo cwēn begeat  
willan in worulde. Wæs se witedōm  
þurh fyrnwitan beforan sunge
- 1155 eall æfter orde, swā hit eft gelamp  
ðinga gehwylces. Þeodcwēn ongan  
þurh Gāstes gife georne sēcan  
nearwe geneahhe, tō hwan hīo þā næglas sēlost  
ond dēorlicost gedōn meahhte,
- 1160 dugodum tō hrōðer, hwæt þæs wære Dryhtnes  
willa.

1135 *MS.* wuldres gefylled; *Z.*<sup>1</sup> wuldre wæs gefylled; *Cos.* wuldre gefylled. — 1136 *MS.* heo; *Z.*<sup>1</sup> heo hie. — 1137 *MS.* leohte; *Th.* leohtne. — 1148 *Before this line MS. has XIII.* — 1150 *MS.* weorda; *Th.* weoruda; *Z.*<sup>1</sup> weroda; *W.* weoroda. — 1160 *MS.* hroðer; *Gm.* hroðre.

- Heht ðā gefetigean forðsnotterne  
 ricene tō rūne, þone þe rædgeþeaht  
 þurh glēawe miht georne cūðe,  
 frōdne on ferhðe; ond hine frignan ongan  
 1165 hwæt him þæs on sefan sēlost þūhte  
 tō gelāstenne; ond his lāre gecēas  
 þurh þeodscipe. Hē hire [þriste] oncwæð:  
 ‘Þæt is gedafenlic þæt ðū Dryhtnes word  
 on hyge healde, hālige rūne,  
 1170 cwēn sēlest[e], ond þæs Cininges bebod  
 georne begange, nū þē God sealde  
 sāwle sigespēd ond snyttro cræft,  
 Nerigend fira. Þū ðās næglas hāt  
 þām æðelestan eorðcyninga  
 1175 burgāgendra on his bridel’s dōn,  
 meare tō mīdlum. Þæt manigum sceall  
 geond middangeard mære weorðan,  
 þonne æt sæcce mid þy oferswiðan mæge  
 fēonda gehwylcne, þonne fyrðhwate  
 1180 on twā healfe tohtan sēcaþ,  
 sweordgeniðlan, þær hīe ymb [sigor] wi[nn]að,  
 wrāð wið wrāðum. Hē āh æt wīgge spēd,  
 sigor æt sæcce, ond sybbe gehwær,  
 æt gefeohte frið, se ðe fo[r]an lādeð  
 1185 bridel’s on blancan, þonne beadurōfe  
 æt gārþræce guman gecoste  
 berað bord ond ord; þis bið beorna gehwām  
 wið æglāce unoferswiðed  
 wæpen æt wīgge. Be ðām se wītga sang  
 1190 snottor searuþancum — sefa dēop gewōd,  
 wīsdōmes gewitt; hē þæt word gecwæð:  
 “Cūþ þæt gewyrðeð þæt þæs cyninges sceal

1165 *MS.* on sefan selost; *H.*<sup>2</sup> selost on sefan. — 1167 *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> supplies þriste. — 1170 *MS.* selest; *em. Siev.* (*PBB.* 10. 518). — 1181 *MS.* ymb willað; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> ymbśacan willað, later ymb sige (segen?) wigað?; *Z.*<sup>1</sup> ymb sige winnað; *Z.*<sup>2</sup> ymb sigor winnað. — 1184 *MS.* fonan; *em. Th.* — 1187 *MS.* þis; *Th.* þus?

- mearh under mōdegum mīdlum geweorðod,  
 brīdelshringum; bið þæt bēacen Gode  
 1195 hālig nemned, ond sē h[rēð]ēadig,  
 wīgge [ge]weorðod, se þæt wicg byr[e]ð."'  
 Ðā þæt ofstlice eall gelæste  
 Elene for eorlum; æðelinges heht,  
 beorna bēaggifan, brīdels frætwan;  
 1200 hire selfre suna sende tō lāce  
 ofer geofenes strēam gife unscynde.

20. HELENA EXHORTS THE CHRISTIANS, AND RETURNS HOME

- Heht þā tōsomne þā hēo sēleste  
 mid Iūdēum gumena wiste,  
 hæleða cynnes, tō þære hālgan byrig,  
 1205 cuman in þā ceastre. Ðā sēo cwēn ongan  
 lāran lēofra hēap þæt hīe lufan Dryhtnes,  
 ond sybbe swā same sylfra betwēonum,  
 frēondræ[d]enne, fæste gelæston  
 leahorlēase in hira lifes tīd,  
 1210 ond þæs lāttēowes lārum hýrdon,  
 Crīstenum þēawum, þe him Cyriacus  
 bude, bōca glēaw. Wæs se bi[s]ceophād  
 fægere befæsted; oft him feorran tō  
 laman, limsēoce, lēfe cwōmon,  
 1215 healte, heorudrēorige, hrēofe, ond blinde,  
 hēane, hygegēomre; symle hālo þær  
 æt þām bisceope, bōte, fundon  
 ēce tō aldre. Ðā gēn him Elene forgeaf  
 sincweorðunga þā hīo wæs siðes fūs  
 1220 eft tō ēðle, ond þā eallum bebēad  
 on þām gumrice God hergendum,  
 werum ond wifum, þæt hīe weorðeden  
 mōde ond mægene þone mæran dæg,  
 heortan gehigdum, in ðām sīo hālige rōd

1195 *MS.* hwæt-; *em. H.*<sup>1</sup>—1196 *MS.* wiggē weorðod; *em. Cos.*;  
*MS.* byrð; *em. Z.*<sup>2</sup>—1208 *MS.* -ræddenne; *em. Th.*—1212 *MS.* bissceop-;  
*em. Gm.*

- 1225 gemēted wæs, mǣrost bēama  
 þāra þe of eorðan ūp āwēoxe  
 geloden under lēafum. Wæs þā lencten āgān  
 būtan [syx] nihtum ær sumeres cyme  
 on Maias k[a]l[end]. Sīe þāra manna gehwām
- 1230 behliden helle duru, heofones ontȳned,  
 ēce geopenad engla rīce,  
 drēam unhwīlen, ond hira dǣl scīred  
 mid Mārian, þe on gemynd nīme  
 þære dēorestan dægweorðunga
- 1235 rōde under roderum, þā se rīces[t]a  
 ealles Oferwealdend earne beþeahte. Finit.

## 21. THE RUNIC PASSAGE

- Þus ic, frōd ond fūs þurh þæt fǣ[g]e hūs,  
 wordcræft[e] wæf ond wundrum læs,  
 þrāgum þreodude ond geþanc [h]reodode
- 1240 nihtes nearwe. Nysse ic gearwe  
 be ðære [rōde] riht ær mē rūmran geþeaht  
 þurh ðā mǣran miht on mōdes þeaht  
 Wisdōm onw[r]ā[h]. Ic wæs weorcum fāh,  
 synnum āsǣled, sorgum gewǣled,
- 1245 bitr[e] gebunden, bisgum beþrunge,  
 ær mē lāre onlāg þurh lēohtne hād  
 gamelum tō gēoce, gife unscynde  
 Mægencyning āmæt, ond on gemynd begēat,  
 torht ontȳnde, tīdum gerȳmde,
- 1250 bāncofan onband, brēostlocan onwand,

1228 MS. vi; *Gm.* six.—1229 MS. maias kl; *Gm.* maias kalendas; *Imelmann* (*Angl. Beibl.* 17. 226) maius kalend.—1235 MS. ricesða; *K.* rīcesta.—1237 Before this line MS. has XV; MS., *Edd.* fæcne; *Rieger* (*Zs. f. D. Phil.* 1. 315) fæge.—1238 MS. -cræft; *Siev.* (*PBB.* 1. 518) -cræftum.—1239 MS. reodode; *Gm.* reordode; *Leo* hreodode; *H.*<sup>1</sup> frēoðode.—1241<sup>a</sup> MS. riht; *Ett.* rihtæ; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> rode riht; *Wü.* riht . . . ; *Wü.* note rihtan æ; *H.*<sup>1</sup> rode reht.—1241<sup>b</sup> MS. ærme; *Gm.* earne; *Ett.* areaht; *Leo* ær me; *Ms.* -þeaht; *H.*<sup>1</sup> -þæht.—1242 MS. miht; *H.*<sup>1</sup> mæht; MS. þeaht; *H.*<sup>1</sup> æht.—1243 MS. -wreah; *em. Gm.*—1245 MS. bitrum; *em. Siev.* (*Angl.* 1. 578).—1247 MS. -scynde; *Ett.* -seoce.—1248 MS. -geat; *H.*<sup>1</sup> -gæt.

- leoð[c]ræft onlēac, þæs ic lustum brēac,  
 willum, in worlde. Ic þæs wuldres treowes  
 oft, nales æne, hæfde ingemynd  
 ær ic þæt wundor onwriġen hæfde  
 1255 ymb þone beorhtan bēam, swā ic on bōcum fand  
 wyrda gangum, on ġewritum, cýðan  
 be ðām sigebēacne. Ā wæs s[e]c[g] oð ðæt  
 cnyssed cearwelnum, h drūsende,  
 þēah hē in medohealle māðmas þēge,  
 1260 æp[þ]lede gold. h gnornode  
 † gefēra, nearusorge drēah,  
 enġe rūne, þær him M fore  
 mīlpaðas mæt, mōdig þrægde  
 wīrum ġewlenced. † is ġeswiðrad,  
 1265 ġomen, æfter ġēarum; ġeogoð is ġecyrred,  
 ald onmēdla. h wæs ġēara  
 ġeogoðhādes ġlām. Nū synt ġēardagas  
 æfter fyrstmearce forð ġewitene,  
 lifwynne ġeliden, swā † tōġlideð,  
 1270 flōdas ġefýsde. † æġhwām bið  
 lāne under lyfte; landes frætwe  
 ġewitap under wolcnum winde ġeli[c]ost  
 þonne hē for hāleðum hlūd āstigeð,  
 wæðeð be wolcnum, wēdende færeð,  
 1275 ond eft semninga swīge ġewyrðeð  
 in nēdcleofan nearwe ġeheaðrod,  
 þrēam forþrycced.

22. THE LAST JUDGMENT, AND THE REWARD OF  
 MEN'S DEEDS

- Swā þeos wor[u]ld eall ġewīteð,  
 ond ēac swā some þe hire on wurdon  
 ātýdrede tīonlēġ nīmeð,  
 1280 ðonne Dryhten sylf dōm ġesēceð

1251 MS. leoðu-; H.<sup>2</sup> leoð-? — 1252 MS. willum; *Rieg. r* (*Zs. f. D. Phil.* i. 317) hwilum. — 1257 MS. -beacne; *Ett.* -beame; MS. sæcc; *Leo* secg. — 1260 MS. æplede; *Gm.* æflede; MS. gnornode; *Ett.* geornode. — 1262 *Tr.* (*BB.* 2. 120; 23. 139) fōre. — 1272 MS. -liccost; *em. Th.* — 1277<sup>b</sup> *Gr.*<sup>2</sup> notes the metrical difficulty, and *Siev.* (*PPB.* 10. 518) declares the

- engla weorude. Sceall æghwylc ðær  
 reordberendra riht gehýran  
 dæda gehwylcra þurh þæs Dēman mūd,  
 ond worda swā same wed gesyllan,  
 1285 eallra unsnyttr[a] ær gespreccena,  
 þristra geþonca. Þonne on þrēo dæleð  
 in fýres feŋg folc ānra gehwylc,  
 þāra þe gewurdon on wīdan feore  
 ofer sīdne grund. Sōðfæste bið  
 1290 yfemest in þām āde, ēadigra gedryht,  
 duguð dōmgeorne, swā hīe ādrēogan magon  
 ond būtan earfeðum ēaþe geþolian,  
 mōdigra mægen. Him gemetgaþ eall  
 [æld]es lēoma, swā him ēðost bið,  
 1295 sylfum gesēftost. Synfulle bēoð,  
 māne gemengde, in ðām midle þrēad,  
 hæleð higegēomre, in hāt[um] wylm[e],  
 þrosme beþehte. Bið se þridda dæl,  
 āwyrgede womsceaðan, in þæs wylmes grund,  
 1300 lēase lēodhatan, lige befæsted  
 þurh ærgewyrht, ārlēasra sceolu,  
 in glēda gripe. Gode nō syððan  
 of ðām morðorhofe in gemynd cumað,  
 Wuldorcyninge; ac hīe worpene bēoð  
 1305 of ðām heaðuwylme in helle grund,  
 torngeniðlan. Bið þām twām dælum  
 ungelīce.

## Mōton engla Frēan

gesēon, sigora God, [þ]e āsodene bēoð,  
 asundrod fram synnum, swā smæte gold

*hemistisch impossible; Frucht (p. 30) justifies it as an A-verse with double alliteration; H. (Angl. 13. 358) reads þeod for swa þeos world; H.<sup>2</sup> substitutes in þeosterlocan, reading as the next full line swa þeos woruldgesceaft gewiteð eall, H.<sup>2</sup> having swa þeos æðele world eall gewiteð; Wa. reads, as the second hemistisch of 1277, swa þeos world eall þonan gewiteð.—1294 MS. eðles; Leo æledes or eledes?; Z.<sup>1</sup> eldes; Z.<sup>2</sup> ēldes.—1296 MS., Edd. þread; Gm. dreogað?—1297 MS. in hatne wylm; Ett. in hatum wylme; H.<sup>2</sup> hate wylme.—1308 MS., Edd. hie; for þe cf. 1278; þā þe might be substituted for þe (cf. 373), but would involve more change; þe hie would also be possible (cf. Harr. Hell 8).*

- 1310 þæt in wylme bið womma gehwylces  
 þurh ofnes fȳr eall geclænsod,  
 āmered ond gemylted: swā bið þāra manna ælc  
 āscyred and āsceāden scylda gehwylcre,  
 dēopra firena, þurh þæs dōmes fȳr;
- 1315 mōton þonne siðþan sybbe brūcan,  
 ēces ēadwelan. Him bið engla Weard  
 milde ond bliðe, þæs ðe hie māna gehwylc  
 forsāwon, synna weorc, ond tō Suna Metudes  
 wordum cleopodon; forðan hie nū on wlite scīnaþ
- 1320 englum gelice, yrfes brūcaþ  
 Wuldorcyninges tō wīdan feore. Amen.

# PHŒNIX

## 1. THE PARADISE OF THE PHŒNIX

- Hæbbe ic gefrugnen þætte is feor heonan  
ēastdælum on æþelast londa  
firum gefræge. Nis sē foldan scēat  
ofer middangeard mongum gefēre  
5 folcāgendra, ac hē āfyrred is  
þurh Meotudes meaht mǎnfremmendum.  
Wlitig is sē wong eall, wynnum geblissad,  
mid þām fægrestum foldan stencum;  
ǣnlic is þæt iǵlond, æþele sē Wyrhta,  
10 mōdīg, meahtrum spēdīg, sē þā mōldān gesette.  
Ðær bið oft open ēadgum tōgēanes,  
onhliden hlēopra wyn, heofonrīces duru.  
Þæt is wynsum wong, wealdas grēne,  
rūme under roderum. Ne mæg þær rēn nē snāw,  
15 nē forstes fnǣ[s]t, nē fýres blǣst,  
nē hægles hryre, nē hrīmes dryre,  
nē sunnan hǣtu, nē sincaldu,  
nē wearum weder, nē winterscūr  
wihte gewyrdan, ac sē wong seomað  
20 ēadig and onsund. Is þæt æþele lond  
blōstmum geblōwen. Beorgas þær nē muntas

5 *MS.*, *Con.* folc agenda; *Sw.*, *Br.* foldagenda; *Tr.*<sup>2</sup> feorhagenda; *other Edd.* folc(-)agenda.—10 *Tr.*<sup>2</sup> se þe þa.—12 *Tr.*<sup>2</sup> hleodora.—15 *MS.* fnǣft, n on erasure; *Con.* frǣst (*tr.* 'gelu,' 'fettlers'); *Grdt.* fnǣst.—17 *Tr.*<sup>2</sup> sunhætu; *Tr.*<sup>2</sup> om. ne?—21 *Schl.* om. þær.

*Est locus in primo felix oriente remotus,  
Qua patet æterni maxima porta poli,  
Nec tamen æstivos hiemisve propinquus ad ortus,  
Sed qua sol verno fundit ab axe diem.*

- stēape ne stondað, nē stānclifu  
 hēah hlīfiað, swā hēr mid ūs,  
 nē dene nē dalu, nē dūnscrafu,  
 25 hlāwas nē hlincas, nē þær hleonað oo  
 unsmēðes wiht; ac se æpela feld  
 wrīdað under wolcnum wynnnum geblōwen.  
 Is þæt torhte lond twelfum hērr[e],  
 folde fæðmrīmes, swā ūs gefreogum glēawe  
 30 wītgan þurh wīsdōm on gewritum cýpað,  
 þonne ænig þāra beorga þe hēr beorhte mid ūs  
 hēa hlīfiað under heofontunglum.  
 Smylte is sē sigewong; sunbearo lixeð,  
 wuduholt wynlic. Wæstmas ne drēosað,  
 35 beorhte blēde, ac þā bēamas ā  
 grēne stondað, swā him God bibēad;  
 wintres and sumeres wudu bið gelice  
 blēdum gehongen. Nāfre brosniað  
 lēaf under lyfte, nē him lig scepeð  
 40 æfre tō ealdre, ærþon edwenden  
 worulde geweorðe. Swā iū wætres þrym  
 ealne middangeard, mereflōd þeahte  
 eorþan ymbhwyrft, þā sē æpela wong  
 æghwæs onsund wið yðfare

23 *Ett.* heah ne hlīfiað. — 25 *Con.* hleonað ||; *Grdt.* om. oo; *Klip.* on for  
 oo; *Cos.* ower?, which *Holt.* rejects. — 28 *MS.* herra; *Ett.* hearre  
 (= heahre)?; *Schl.* herre. — 29 *Th.* fealde?; *Klip.* fealdum; *Grdt.*  
 gefrægum?; *Th., Sw.* gefreogum; *Klip.* gefrugnon; *Ett.* interprets as  
*inst.* — 31 *Schl.* þon. — 40 *Th.* æt ende for edwenden?; *Klip.* edwendung.

- 5 *Illic planities tractus diffundit apertos,*  
*Nec tumulus crescit nec cava vallis hiat,*  
*Sed nostros montes, quorum juga celsa putantur,*  
*Per bis sex ulnas eminent ille locus.*  
*Hic Solis nemus est et consitus arbore multa*  
 10 *Lucus, perpetuæ frondis honore virens.*  
*Cum Phaethonteis flagrasset ab ignibus axis,*  
*Ille locus flammis inuolatus erat,*  
*Et cum diluuium mersisset fluctibus orbem,*  
*Deucalioneas exsuperavit aquas.*

- 45 gehealden stōd hrēora wāga,  
 ēadig, unwemme, þurh ēst Godes:  
 bīdeð swā geblōwen oð bæles cyme,  
 Dryhtnes dōmes, þonne dēaðræced,  
 hæleþa heolstorcofan, onhliden weorþað.
- 50 Nis þær on þām londe lāðgeniðla,  
 nē wōp nē wracu, wēatācen nān,  
 yldu nē yrmðu, nē se enga dēað,  
 nē lifes lyre, nē lāpes cyme,  
 nē synn nē sacu, nē sārwracu,
- 55 nē wædle gewin, nē welan onsýn,  
 nē sorg nē slæp, nē swār leger.  
 Ne wintergeweorp, nē wedra gebregd  
 hrēoh under heofonum, nē se hearda forst  
 caldum cylegicelum cnyseð ænigne.
- 60 Þær nē hægl nē hrīm hrēos[e]ð tō foldan,  
 nē windig wolcen, nē þær wæter fealleþ  
 lyfte gebysgad; ac þær lagustrēamas,  
 wundrum wrætlice wyllan onspringað,  
 fægnum f[lō]dwylmum foldan leccaþ,
- 65 wæter wynsumu of þæs wuda midle;  
 þā mōnþa gehwām of þære moldan tyrf  
 brimcald brecað, bearo ealne geondfarað

48 *Ett.* dome?; *Klip.* -recedas. — 54 *Grdt., Th., Gr.*<sup>1</sup> *Sw.* sar wracu; *Ett.* sar ne wracu. — 55 *Ett.* wædla. — 56 *Hart* sorgende for sorg ne; *Schl.* ne sorglic slæp. — 57 *Grdt.* wēdragebrec?; *Klip.* wedergebregd. — 60 *MS., Edd.* hreosað. — 61<sup>a</sup> *Tr.*<sup>2</sup> winneþ, or wind wedeþ; *Schl.* windeþ? wæðeþ? — 64 *MS.* fold-; *em. Gr.*<sup>1</sup>

- 15 *Non huc exsanguis morbi, non ægra senectus,  
 Nec mors crudelis nec metus asper adest,  
 Nec scelus infandum nec opum vesana cupido  
 Aut ira aut ardens cædis amore furor:  
 Luctus acerbus abest et egestas obsita pannis*
- 20 *Et curæ insomnes et violenta fames.  
 Non ibi tempestas nec vis furit horrida venti  
 Nec gelido terram rore pruina tegit,  
 Nulla super campos tendit sua vellera nubes,  
 Nec cadit ex alto turbidus umor aquæ.*

- prægum þrymlice: is þæt Ðeodnes gebod  
 þætte twelf siþum þæt tīrfæste  
 70 lond geondlāce laguflōða wynn.  
 Sindon þā bearwas blēdum gehongene,  
 wlitigum wæstmum; þær n[e] w[a]niað ð,  
 hālge under heofonum, holtes frætwe,  
 nē feallað þær on foldan fealwe blōstman,  
 75 wudubēama wlite; ac þær wrætlice  
 on þām treowum symle telgan gehladene  
 ofet[e] edniwe in ealle tīd.  
 On þām græswoŋge grēne stond[e]þ,  
 gehroden hyhtlice Hāliges meahtum,  
 80 beorhtast bearwa; nō gebrocen weorþeð  
 holt on hiwe. Ðær se hālga stenc  
 wunaþ geond wynlond; þæt onwended ne bið  
 æfre tō ealdre ærþon endige  
 frōd fyrngeweorc se hit on frymþe gescōp.

## 2. THE ATTENDANT OF THE SUN

- 85 Ðone wudu weardaþ wundrum fæger  
 fugel feþrum strong, sē is Fenix hāten;  
 þær se ānhaga eard bihealdeþ,  
 dēormōd drohtað; nāfre him dēaþ sceþeð

70 *Sw.* lond ||. — 71 *Siev.* (*PBB.* 10. 459) gehongne. — 72 *Grdt.*, *Sw.* ne;  
*MS.*, other *Edd.* no; *MS.*, *Grdt.* wuniað; *em. Th.*; *Grdt.* || onhalge,  
 || unhale?; *Klíp. om.* o. — 76 *MS.* symle; *Tr.*<sup>2</sup> syndon. — 77 *MS.* ofett;  
*Cos.*<sup>2</sup> ofete. — 78 *MS.* stondaþ; *em. Schl.* — 79 *Ett.* gehrodne. — 80 *Grdt.*  
 ne. — 84 Half-line space between the sections.

- 25 *Sed fons in medio [est], quem vivum nomine dicunt,*  
*Perspicuus, lenis, dulcibus uber aquis,*  
*Qui semel erumpens per singula tempora mensum*  
*Duodecies undis inrigat omne nemus.*  
*Hic genus arboreum procero stipite surgens*  
 30 *Non lapsura solo mitia poma gerit.*  
*Hoc nemus, hos lucos avis incolit unica Phoenix,*  
*Unica, sed vivit morte refecta sua.*

- on þām willwonge þenden woruld stondeþ.  
 90 Sē sceal þære sunnan sið bihealdan,  
 and onġean cuman Godes condelle,  
 glædum gimme, georne bewitigan  
 hwonne ūp cyme æþelast tungla  
 ofer yðmere ē[a]stan lixan,  
 95 Fæder fyrngeweorc frætwwm bličan,  
 torht tæcen Godes. Tungol bēoþ āhyded,  
 gewiten under wāþeman westdælas on,  
 bidēglad on dægred, and sēo deorce niht  
 won gewiteð; þonne wāþum strong  
 100 fugel feþrum wlonc on firgenstrēam  
 under lyft ofer lagu lōcað georne  
 hwonne ūp cyme ēastan glidan  
 ofer si[d]ne sǣ swegles lēoma.  
 Swā se æþela fugel æt þām æspringe  
 105 wlitigfæst wunað wyllestrēamas.  
 Þær se tīrēadga twelf siþum hine  
 bibaþað in þām burnan ær þæs bēacnes cyme,  
 sweglcondelle, and symle swā oft  
 of þām wilsuman wyllgespryngum  
 110 brimcald beorgeð æt baða gehwylcum.  
 Siþþan hine sylfne æfter sundplegan  
 hēahmōd hefeð on hēanne bēam,  
 þonan yþast mæg on ēastwegum  
 sið bihealdan, hwonne swegles tapur

94 MS. estan; em. Klip. — 96 Klip. ahydede; in the case of such past participles with a plural noun, Klip. frequently gives the plural form (so 97, 98, etc.); Tr.<sup>1</sup> hyded (p. 25). — 103 MS. siðne; em. Th. — 105 Klip. -streamum. — 110 Klip. -caldum; Tr. (p. 25) gehwam.

*Paret et obsequitur Phæbo memoranda satelles:*

*Hoc natura parens munus habere dedit.*

- 35 *Lutea cum primum surgens Aurora rubescit,  
 Cum primum rosea sidera luce fugat,  
 Ter quater illa pias inmergit corpus in undas,  
 Ter quater e vivo gurgite libat aquam.  
 Tollitur ac summo considit in arboris alta  
 40 Vertice, quæ totum despicit una nemus,*

- 115 ofer holm[þ]ræce hǣdre bliþe,  
 lēohtes lēoma. Lond bēoð gefrætwad,  
 woruld gewlitedad, siþþan wuldres gim  
 ofer geofones gong grund gescineþ  
 geond middangeard, mǣrost tungla.
- 120 Sōna swā sēo sunne sealte strēamas  
 hēa oferhlifað, swā se haswa fugel  
 beorht of þæs bearwes bēame gewiteð,  
 fareð feþrum snell flyhte on lyfte,  
 swinsað and singeð swegle tō[g]ēanes.
- 125 Ðonne bið swā fāger fugles gebæru,  
 onbryrded brēostsefa, blissum [h]rēmig;  
 wrixleð wōðcræfte wundorlicor,  
 beorhtan reorde, þonne æfre byre monnes  
 hýrde under heofonum, siþþan Hēahcýning,
- 130 wuldres Wyrhta, woruld stapelode,  
 heofon and eorþan. Biþ þæs hlēoðres swēg  
 eallum songcræftum swētra and wlitigra  
 and wynsumra wrenca gehwylcum.  
 Ne magon þām breahrtme býman nē hornas,
- 135 nē hearpan hlyn, nē hǣleþa stefn  
 ænges on eorþan, nē organan  
 swēg[h]lēoþres geswin, nē swanes feðre,

115 MS. -wræce; em. Th. — 116 Klip. byð. — 124 MS. toheanes; em. Grdt. — 126 MS. remig; em. Klip. — 128 Tr. beorhtran? — 134 Cos.<sup>1</sup> be þam? — 136 MS. organan sweg; Th., Klip. organon-sweg ||; Ett. organon-sweg ||; Gr.<sup>1</sup> organon ||; Grdt., Br., Go. organan sweg ||; Wü. organan ||. — 137 MS. leoþres; Grdt. hleoðres?; Gr.<sup>1</sup> swegleoðres; Br. ne hleoðres; Go. hleoþres; Ett. geswins?; Gr.<sup>1</sup> Br. geswins.

*Et conversa novos Phœbi nascentis ad ortus  
 Expectat radios et jubar exoriens.*

*Atque ubi Sol pepulit fulgentis limina portæ  
 Et primi emicuit luminis aura levis,*

45 *Incipit illa sacri modulamina fundere cantus  
 Et mira lucem voce ciere novam,*

*Quam nec ædoniæ voces nec tibia possit  
 Musica Cirrhæis adsimulare modis,*

*Sed neque olor moriens imitari posse putetur*

50 *Nec Cylleneæ fila canora lyræ.*

- nē ænig þāra drēama þe Dryhten gescōp  
 gūmum tō glīwe in þās gēomran woruld.  
 140 Singeð swā and swinsað sǣlum geblissad,  
 oþþæt sēo sunne on sūðrodor  
 sǣged weorþeð; þonne swiað hē  
 and hlyst gefē[h]ð, hēafde onbrygdeð  
 þri[wa] þonces glēaw, and þriwa āscæceð  
 145 feþre flyhthwate: fugol bið geswīged.  
 Symle hē twelf sīpum tīda gemearcað  
 dæges and nihtes.

## 3. THE FLIGHT TO THE PALM-TREE

- Swā gedēmed is  
 bearwes biġenga[*n*] þæt hē þær brūcan mōt  
 wonges mid willum, and welan nēotan,  
 150 lifes and lissa, londes frætwa,  
 oðþæt hē þūsen[d] þisses lifes,  
 wudubearwes weard, wintra gebīdeþ.  
 Ðonne bið gehefgad haswigfeðra  
 gomol, gēarum frōd. [G]rēne eorðan  
 155 aflyhð fugla [wyn], foldan geblōwene,

142 *Klīp.* sigen for sǣged.—143 *MS.* gefeð; *em. Ett.*—144 *MS.* þrist;  
*Klīp.* þryste; *Schl.* þriwa.—151 *MS.* þusende; *Klīp., Bl.* þusend (*Bl.*  
*would be willing to regard þusende as sing.*); *Ett.* þusendo.—154 *MS.*  
 rene; *Grdt.* grene?; *em. Th.*—155 *Grdt.* fugel?; *Ett.* fugla betst?; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>  
 fugla wynn.

- Postquam Phæbus equos in aperta effudit Olympi*  
*Atque orbem totum protulit usque means,*  
*Illa ter alarum repetito verbere plaudit*  
*Igniferumque caput ter venerata silet.*  
 55 *Atque eadem celeres etiam discriminat horas*  
*Innarrabilibus nocte dieque sonis,*  
*Antistes luci nemorumque verenda sacerdos*  
*Et sola arcanis conscia, Phæbe, tuis.*  
*Quæ postquam vitæ jam mille peregerit annos*  
 60 *Ac se reddiderint tempora longa gravem,*  
*Ut reparet lapsum spatium vergentibus ævum,*  
*Adsuetum nemoris dulce cubile fugit.*  
*Cumque renascendi studio loca sancta reliquit,*  
*Tunc petit hunc orbem, mors ubi regna tenet.*

- and þonne gesēceð side rice  
 middangeardes, þær nō men bŷgað,  
 eard and ēpel. Þær hē ealdordōm  
 onfēhð foremihtig ofer fugla cynn,  
 160 gebungen on þēode, and þrāge mid him  
 wēsten weardað. Þonne wāþum strong  
 west gewiteð, wintrum gebysgad,  
 flēogan feþrum snel. Fugas þringað  
 ūtan ymbe æpelne; æghwylc wille  
 165 wesan þegn and þēow þēodne mærum,  
 oþþæt h[ē] gesēc[e]ð Syrwaralond  
 corðra mæste. Him se clæna þær  
 oðscūfeð scearplice, þæt hē in sc[e]ade weardað  
 on wudubearwe wēste stōwe  
 170 biholene and bihýdde hæleþa monegum.  
 Ðær hē hēanne bēam on holtwuda  
 wunað and weardað, wyrtum fæstne  
 under heofu[n]hrōfe, þone hātað men  
 fenix on foldan, of þæs fugles noman.  
 175 Hafað þām treowe forgiefen tīrmeahtig Cyning  
 Meotud moncynnes, mīne gefræge,  
 þæt [h]ē āna is ealra bēama  
 on eorðwege ūplædendra  
 beorhtast geblōwen; ne mæg him bitres wiht  
 180 scyldum sceððan, ac gescylded ā  
 wunað ungewyrded þenden woruld stondeð.

156 MS. side from siðe; Th. siðe.—164 Grdt., Th., Klip., Ett., Gr.<sup>1</sup>  
 wesan ||; Siev., Br., Go., Wü., Schl. wille ||.—166 MS., Grdt., Go., Schl.  
 hy gesecað; Th. he gesecað; other Edd. he gesecede.—167 Ett. corðre?;  
 Br. clæne.—173 MS. heofum-; Grdt. heofun-?; em. Th.—177 Ett., Br.  
 he; MS., other Edd. se.—181 One-line space between the sections.

- 65 *Dirigit in Syriam celeres longæva volatus,*  
*Phænices nomen cui dedit ipsa vetus,*  
*Secretosque petit deserta per avia lucos,*  
*Sicubi per saltus silva remota latet.*  
*Tum legit ærio sublimem vertice palmam,*  
 70 *Quæ Graium phænix ex ave nomen habet,*  
*In quam nulla nocens animans prorpere possit,*  
*Lubricus aut serpens aut avis ulla rapax.*

## 4. THE BUILDING OF THE NEST

- Donne wind ligeð,   weder bið fæger,  
 hlūttor heofones gim   hālig scīneð,  
 bēoð wolcen tōwegen,   wætra brýþe  
 185 stille stondað,   biþ storma gehwylc  
   āswefed under swegle,   sūþan bličeð  
   wedercondel wearm,   weorodum lýhteð;  
   ðonne on þām telgum   timbran onginneð,  
   nest gearwian. Bið him nēod micel  
 190 þæt hē þā yldu   ofestum mōte  
   þurh gewittes wylm   wendan tō life,  
   feor[h] geong onfōn.   Ponne feor and nēah  
   þā swētestan   somnað and gædrað  
   wyrta wynsume   and wudublēda  
 195 tō þām eardstede,   æþelstenca gehwone,  
   wyrta wynsumra   þe Wuldorcýning,  
   Fæder frymða gehwæs,   ofer foldan gescōp  
   tō indryhtum   ælda cynne,  
   swētes[t] under swegle.   Ðær hē sylf biereð  
 200 in þæt treow innan   torhte frætwe;  
   þær se wilda fugel   in þām wēstenne  
   ofer hēanne bēam   hūs getimbreð  
   wlitig and wynsum,   and gewicað þær  
   sylf in þām solere,   and ymbseteð ūtan  
 205 in þām lēafsceade   lic and feþre  
   on healfa gehwā[m]   hālgum stencum,  
   and þām æþelestum   eorþan blēdum.

191 *Tr.*<sup>2</sup> gewyrtes; *Schl.* gewices? — 192 *MS.* feorg; *em. Ett.* — 199 *Go.*, *Schl.* swetest; *MS.*, *other Edd.* swetes. — 206 *MS.* gehware; *Grdt.* gehwære; *Siev.* gehwam.

- Tum ventos claudit pendentibus Aeolus antris,  
 Ne violent flabris aera purpureum*  
 75 *Neu concreta noto nubes per inania cæli  
 Submoveat radios solis et obsit avi.*  
*Construit inde sibi seu nidum sive sepulchrum:  
 Nam perit, ut vivat, se tamen ipsa creat.*  
*Colligit hinc sucos et odores divite silva,*

## 5. THE DEATH BY FIRE

Siteð siþes fūs þonne swegles gim  
 on sumeres tīd, sunne hātost,  
 210 ofer sceadu scīneð, and gesceapu drēogeð,  
 woruld geondwliþeð. Þonne weorðeð his  
 hūs onhæted þurh hādor swegl,  
 wyrta wearmiað, willsele stýmeð  
 swētum swæccum, þonne on swole byrneð  
 215 þurh fýres feng fugel mid neste.  
 Bæl bið onæled; þonne brond þeceð  
 heor[o]drēorges hūs, hrēoh onetteð,  
 fealo lig feormað; and Fenix byrneð  
 fyrngēarum frōd þonne fýr þigeð.  
 220 lænne lichoman; lif bið on siðe,  
 fæges feorhhord, þonne flæsc and bān  
 ādlēg æleð.

217 MS. heore-; Th. heoro-?; Grdt. heoro-; Tr.<sup>2</sup> heaþo-; Ett. -dreorig;  
 Tr.<sup>2</sup> -deores.

80 *Quos legit Assyrius, quos opulentus Arabs,  
 Quos aut Pygmæa gentes aut India carpit  
 Aut molli generat terra Sabæa sinu.  
 Cinnamon hinc auramque procul spirantis amomi  
 Congerit et mixto balsama cum folio:*  
 85 *Non casia mitis nec olentis vimen acanthi  
 Nec turis lacrimæ guttaque pinguis abest.  
 His addit teneras nardi pubentis aristas  
 Et sociam myrræ vim, panacea, tuam.  
 Protinus instructo corpus mutabile nido*  
 90 *Vitalique toro membra vieta locat.  
 Ore dehinc sucos membris circumque supraque  
 Incit exsequiis inmoritura suis.  
 Tunc inter varios animam commendat odores,  
 Depositi tanti nec timet illa fidem.*  
 95 *Interea corpus genitali morte peremptum  
 Aestuat et flammam parturit ipse calor,  
 Aetherioque procul de lumine concipit ignem:  
 Flagrat et ambustum solvitur in cineres.*

## 6. THE NEW BIRTH

- Hwæpre him eft cymeð  
 æfter fyrstmearce feorh edniwe,  
 sibþan þā yslān. eft onginnað  
 225 æfter ligþræce lūcan tōgædere,  
 geclungne tō clēo[w]ne. Þonne clāne bið  
 beorhtast nesta bæle forgrunden,  
 heaþorōfes hof; hrā bið ācōlad,  
 bānfæt gebrocen, and se bryne sweþrað.  
 230 Þonne of þām āde æples gelicnes  
 on þære ascan bið eft gemēted;  
 of þām weaxeð wyrm wundrum fāger,  
 swylce hē of āg[e] ūt ālāde,  
 scīr of scylle. Þonne on sceade weaxeð,  
 235 þæt hē ārest bið swylce earnes brid,  
 fāger fugeltimber; ðonne furþor gīn  
 wrīdað on wynnum, þæt hē bið wæstmum gelic  
 ealdum earne; and, æfter þon,  
 feþrum gefrætwad, swylc hē æt frymðe wæs,  
 240 beorht geblōwen. Þonne brād weorþeð  
 eal edniwe eft ācenned,  
 synnum āsundrad — sumes onlice

226 MS. cleowenne; *Klīp.* cleofanne; *Ett.* cleowanne; *Siev.* cleo(w)ne;  
*Br.* cleowne; *Schl.* cleowene. — 228 MS. hof; *Ett.* hus. — 233<sup>a</sup> MS.  
 ægerum; *Grdt.* ægerum wæs?; *Th.* æge wære?, which *Klīp.* accepts;  
*Br.* æge. — 233<sup>b</sup> MS. ut alæde; *Th.* utalæded?, which *Klīp.* accepts; *Ett.*  
 ut alude (from *aleodan*, 'grow'). — 236 *Tr.*<sup>2</sup> -umber. — 237 *Br.* wrīdeð;  
 MS., other *Edd.* wrīdað. — 240 *Klīp.* brad. — 242 *Th.* sumeres on lice (*tr.*  
 'like as in summer')?

- Quos velut in massam cineres natura coactos*  
 100 *Conflat, et effectum seminis instar habet.*  
*Hinc animal primum sine membris fertur oriri,*  
*Sed fertur vermi lacteus esse color.*  
*Crescit, at emenso sopitur tempore certo*  
*Seque ovi teretis colligit in speciem.*  
 105 *Ac velut agrestes, cum filo ad saxa tenentur,*  
*Mutari tineæ papilione solent,*  
*Inde reformatur qualis fuit ante figura,*  
*Et Phœnix ruptis pullulat exuviiis.*

- swā mon tō andleoƿne eorþan wæs[t]mas  
 on hærfeste hām gelædeð,  
 245 wiste wynsume, ær wintres cyme,  
 on rypes tīman, þȳ-læs hī rēnes scūr  
 āwyrde under wolcnum; þær hī wraðe mētað,  
 fōdorþege gefē[a]n, þonne forst and snāw  
 mid ofermægne eorþan þeccað  
 250 wintergewædum. Of þām wæstmum sceal  
 eorla eadwel[a] eft alædan  
 þurh cornes gecynd, þe ær clæne bið  
 sæd onsāwen, þonne sunnan glæm  
 on lenctenne, lifes tæcen,  
 255 weceð woruldgestrēon, þæt þā wæstmas beoð  
 þurh āgne gecynd eft ācende,  
 foldan frætwe. Swā se fugel weorþeð,  
 gomel æfter gēarum, geong, edniwe  
 flæsce bifongen. Nō hē fōddor þigeð,  
 260 mete on moldan, nemne meledēawes  
 dæl gebyrge, se drēoseð oft  
 æt middre nih[t]; bi þon se mōdga his  
 feorh āfēdeð, oþþæt fyrngesetu,  
 āgenne eard, eft gesēceð.  
 265 Þonne bið āweaxen wyrtum in gemonge  
 fugel feþrum deal; feorh bið niwe,  
 geong, geofona ful. Þonne hē of grēote his  
 lic leoþucræftig, þæt ær lig fornōm,

243 *MS.* wæsmas; *em. Th.*—248 *MS.* gefeon; *Grdt.* gefean?; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>  
 gefeoð?; *Klip.* gefean.—251 *Th.* eorl?; *Klip.* eorl; *Schl.* eorþe; *MS.,*  
*other Edd.* eorla; *MS.* eadwelan; *em. Gr.*<sup>1</sup>—262 *Siev. (PBB. 10. 485),*  
*Schl.* niht; *MS., other Edd.* nihte.—264 *One-line space between the*  
*sections.*—267 *Schl. om. he; Barn. (p. 198) om. his.*

- Non illi cibus est nostro concessus in orbe*  
 • 110 *Nec cuiquam implumem pascere cura subest.*  
*Ambrosios libat cælesti nectare rores,*  
*Stellifero tenues qui cecidere polo.*  
*Hos legit, his alitur mediis in odoribus ales,*  
*Donec maturam proferat effigiem.*  
 115 *Ast ubi primæva cæpit florere iuuenta,*

270 somnað, swoles lāfe, searwum gegædrað  
 bān gebrosnad æfter bælþræce,  
 and þonne gebringeð bān and ýslan,  
 ādes lāfe, eft ætsomne,  
 and þonne þæt wælrēaf wýrtum biteldeð,  
 fægre gefrætwed.

## 7. THE RETURN

Ðonne āfýsed bið

275 āgenne eard eft tō sēcan,  
 þonne fōtum ymbfēhð fýres lāfe,  
 clām biclyppeð, and his cýþþu eft,  
 sunbeorht gesetu, sēceð on wynnum,  
 ēadig ēpellond. Eall bið genīwad  
 280 feorh and feþerhoma swā hē æt frympe wæs,  
 þā hine ārest God on þone æpelan wong  
 sigorfæst sette. Hē his sylfes þær  
 bān gebringeð, þā ær brondes wylm  
 on beorhstede bæle forþylmde,  
 285 ascan tōēacan; þonne eal geador  
 bebyrgeð beaducræftig bān and ýslan  
 on þām ēalonde. Bið him edniwe  
 þære sunnan þegn, þonne swegles lēoht,  
 gimma glādost, ofer gārsecg ūp,  
 290 æþeltungla wyn, ēastan lixeð.

272 Schl. gives æþomne as MS. reading. — 274 Th. gefrætwað?, which  
 Ett. accepts. — 288 MS. þegn; Th. segn.

*Evolat ad patrias jam reditura domus.  
 Ante tamen proprio quidquid de corpore restat  
 Ossaque vel cineres exuviasque suas  
 Unguine balsameo myrraque et ture soluto  
 120 Condūt et in formam conglobat ore pio.  
 Quam pedibus gestans contendit Solis ad urbem  
 Inque ara residens promit in æde sacra.  
 Mirandam sese præstat præbetque verendam:  
 Tantus avi decor est, tantus abundat honor.*

## 8. THE APPEARANCE OF THE PHŒNIX

- Is sē fugel fāger forweard hīwe,  
 (blēobrygdum fāg ymb þā brēost foran;  
 is him þæt hēafod hindan grēne,  
 wrætlice wrixleð wurman(geblonden)  
 295 þonne is se finta fāgre gedæled,  
 sum brūn, sum basu, sum blācum splottum  
 (searolice beseted.) Sindon þā fīfru  
 hwīt hindanweard, and se hals grēne  
 niopoweard and ufeweard, and þæt nebb lixeð  
 300 swā glæs oþþe gim, geafas scýne  
 innan and ūtan. Is sēo ēaggebyrd  
 stearc, and hīwe stāne gelīcast,  
 glādum gimme, þonne in goldfate  
 smiþa orþoncum biseted weorþeð.  
 305 Is ymb þone swēoran, swylce sunnan hring,  
 bēaga beorhtast br[o]gden feðrum.  
 Wrætlic is sēo womb neoþan, wundrum fāger,  
 scīr and scýne; is se scyld ufan  
 frætwwum gefēged ofer þæs fugles bæc;  
 310 sindon þā scancan scyllum biweaxen,  
 fealwe fōtas. Se fugel is on hīwe

294 MS. wrixleð; *Th.* wrixled. — 300<sup>a</sup> *Tr.*<sup>2</sup> þe for oþþe? — 301 *Tr.*<sup>2</sup>  
 -gebrygd. — 306 MS. bregden; *em. Ett.* — 311 MS. se fugel; *Barn.* (p. 195)  
*om. se.*

- 125 *Principio color est, quali est sub sidere Cancri*  
*Mitia quod corium pumica grana tegit,*  
*Qualis inest foliis quæ fert agreste papaver,*  
*Cum pandit vestes Flora rubente solo.*  
*Hoc humeri pectusque decens velamine fulget,*  
 130 *Hoc caput, hoc cervix summaque terga nitent.*  
*Caudaque porrigitur fulvo distincta metallo,*  
*In cuius maculis purpura mixta rubet.*  
*Alarum pennas insignit desuper iris,*  
*Pingere ceu nubem desuper acta solet.*  
 135 *Albicat insignis mixto viridante smaragdo*  
*Et puro cornu gemmea cuspis hiat.*  
*Ingentes oculi, credas geminos hyacinthos,*  
*Quorum de medio lucida flamma micat.*  
*Aptata est rutilo capiti radiata corona*

- æghwæs ænlic, onlicost pēan  
 wynnum geweaxen, þæs gewritu secgað.  
 Nis hē hinderweard nē hygegālsa,  
 315 swār nē swongor, swā sume fuglas  
 þā þe late þurh lyft lācað fīþrum;  
 ac hē is snel and swift and swīþe leoht,  
 wlitig and wynsum, wuldre gemearcad;  
 ēce is se Æþeling se þe him þæt ēad g[i]feð.

## 9. THE RETINUE OF BIRDS

- 320 Þonne hē gewīteð wongas sēcan,  
 his ealdne eard, of þisse ēþeltyrf.  
 Swā se fugel flēogeð, folcum oðēawe[d],  
 mongum monna, geond middangeard,  
 þonne somn[i]að sūþan and norþan,  
 325 ēastan and westan, ēoredciestum;  
 farað feorran and nēan folca þrýþum  
 þær hī scēawiaþ Scyppendes gife  
 fāgre on þām fugle, swā him æt fruman sette  
 sigora Sōðcyning sellicran gecynd,  
 330 frætwe fæg[er]ran ofer fugla cyn.  
 Ðonne wundriað weras ofer eorþan

312 *Th.* æghwær?, *which Ett. accepts.* — 319 *Schl. om.* þe; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> *om.* þæt; *MS.* gefeð; *Grdt.* gifeð?; *Klip.* gyfeð; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> gifeð. — 324 *MS.* somnað; *Klip., Gr.*<sup>1</sup> (*Spr.*) somniað. — 330 *MS.* fægran; *Th.* fægerran?, *which Ett. accepts.*

- 140 *Phæbei referens verticis alta decus.*  
*Crura tegunt squamæ fulvo distincta metallo,*  
*Ast ungues roseo tinguūt honore color.*  
*Effigies inter pavonis mixta figuram*  
*Cernitur et pictam Phasidis inter avem.*  
 145 *Magnitiem terris Arabum quæ gignitur ales*  
*Vix æquare potest, seu fera seu sit avis.*  
*Non tamen est tarda ut volucres quæ corpore magno*  
*Incessus pigros per grave pondus habent,*  
*Sed levis ac velox, regali plena decore:*  
 150 *Talis in aspectu se tenet usque hominum.*  
*Huc venit Aegyptus tanti ad miracula visus*  
*Et raram volucrem turba salutat ovans.*

wlīte and wæstma, and gewritu[m] cýþað,  
 mundum mearciað on marmstāne,  
 hwonne sē dæg and sēo tid dryhtum geēawe  
 335 frætwe flyhthwates.

Ðonne fugla cynn  
 on healfa gehwo[n]e hēapum þringað,  
 sīgað [of] sīdwegum, songe lofiað,  
 mærað mōdigne meaglum reordum,  
 and swā þone hālgan hringe beteldað,  
 340 flyhte on lyfte; Fenix biþ on middum  
 þrēatum biþrunge. Þēoda wlītað,  
 wundrum w[ā]fiað hū sēo wilgedryht  
 wildne weorþiað, worn æfter oðrum,  
 cræftum cýþað and for cyning mærað  
 345 lēofne lēodfruman, lædað mid wynnum  
 æðelne tō earde, oþþæt se ānhoga  
 oðflēogeð feþrum snel, þæt him gefylgan ne mæg  
 drymendra gedryht, þonne dūgūða wyn ?  
 of þisse eorþan tyrf ēþel sēceð.  
 350 Swā sē gesæliga æfter swylthwīle  
 his ealdcýðþe eft genēosað,  
 fægre foldan. Fugelaz cyrrað  
 from þām gūðfrecan gēomormōde  
 eft tō earde, þonne sē æþeling bið  
 355 giong in geardum. God āna wāt,

332 *MS.* gewritu; *Grdt.* gewritum?; *Th.* gewritum; *Cos.*<sup>2</sup> on gewritum.  
 — 334 *Schl. om.* se and seo. — 336 *MS.* gehwore; *Grdt.* gehware; *Ett.*  
 gehwære; *Th.* gehwone; *Br.* gehwam (against *Siev., PBB. 10. 485*). —  
 342 *MS.* wefiað; *em. Th.* — 354 *Schl. om.* se.

*Protinus exculpant sacrato in marmore formam  
 Et titulo signant remque diemque novo.*  
 155 *Contrahit in cætum sese genus omne volantum  
 Nec prædæ memor est ulla nec ulla metus.  
 Alituum stipata choro volat illa per altum  
 Turbaque prosequitur munere læta pio.  
 Sed postquam puri pervenit ad ætheris auras,  
 160 Mox redit: illa suis conditur inde locis.*

Cýning ælmihtig, hū his gecyn[d] bið,  
 wifhādes þe weres; þæt ne wāt ænig  
 monna cynnes, būtan Meotod āna,  
 hū þā wísān sind, wúndōrlíce,  
 360 fæger fyrngesceap, ymb þæs fugles gebyrd.

## 10. DEATH NOT DREADED

Dǣr sē ēadga mōt eardes nēotan,  
 wyllestreāma, wuduholdum in,  
 wunian in wonge, oþþæt wintra bið  
 þusend [ā]urnen; þonne him weorpeð  
 365 ende lifes, hine ād þeceð  
 þurh æledfȳr; hwæpre eft cymeð,  
 āweaht wrætlice wundrum tō life.  
 Forþon hē drūsende dēað ne bisorgað,  
 sāre swyltcwale, þe him symle wāt  
 370 æfter ligþræce lif edniwe,  
 feorh æfter fülle, þonne fromlice  
 þurh briddes hād gebr[ē]dad weorðeð  
 eft of ascan, edgeong weseð  
 under swegles hlēo.

Bið him self gehwæðer  
 375 sunu and swāes fæder, and symle ēac  
 eft yrfeward ealdre lāfe.  
 Forgeaf him se meah[tig]a moncynnes Fruma

356 MS. gecynde; em. Klip. — 364 MS. urnen; Cos.<sup>2</sup> suggests aurnen, which Schl. adopts. — 372 MS. gebreadad; Klip. gebrædad. — 373 Grdt. wexeð? — 374 Tr.<sup>2</sup> suggests hleowe. — 377 MS. mehta; Grdt. meahtiga?; Ett. meahtiga; Schl. meahtiga.

*At fortunatæ sortis finisque volucrem,  
 Cui de se nasci præstitit ipse deus!  
 Femina [seu sexu] seu mas est sive neutrum,  
 Felix, quæ Veneris fœdera nulla colit.*  
 165 *Mors illi Venus est, sola est in morte voluptas:  
 Ut possit nasci, appetit ante mori.  
 Ipsa sibi proles, suus est pater et suus heres,  
 Nutrix ipsa sui, semper alumna sibi.*  
*Ipsa quidem, sed non [eadem est.] eademque nec ipsa est,  
 170 Aeternam vitam mortis adepta bono.*

þæt hē swā wrætlice weorþan scēolde  
 eft þæt ilce þæt hē ærþon wæs,  
 380 feþrum bifongen, þeah hine fyr nime.  
 Swā þæt ēce lif ēadigra gehwylc  
 æfter sārwræce sylf gecēoseð  
 þurh deorcne dēað, þæt hē Dryhtnes mōt  
 æfter gēardagum geofona nēotan  
 385 on sindrēamum, and sipþan ā  
 wunian in w[u]ld[r]e weorca tō lēane.  
 Þisses fugles gecynd fela gelices  
 bi þām gecor[e]num Crīstes þegnum  
 bēacnað in burgum — hū hī beorhtne gefēan  
 390 þurh Fæder fultum on þās frēcnan tid  
 healdað under heofonum, and him hēanne blād  
 in þām ūplīcan ēðle gestrynaþ.

## II. THE LOSS OF EDEN

Habbað wē geāscad þæt se Ælmihtiga  
 worhte wer and wif þurh his wundra spēd,  
 395 and hī þā gesette on þone sēlestan  
 foldan scēat[a], þone fira bearn  
 nemnað neorxnawong, þær him nānges wæs  
 ēades onsȳn þenden Eces word,  
 Hālges hlēoþorcwide, healdan woldan  
 400 on þām niwan gefēan. Þær him niþ gescōd,  
 ealdfēondes æfest; sē him æt gebēad,  
 bēames blēde, þæt hī bū þēgun  
 æppel unrædum ofer est Godes,  
 byrgdon forboden[n]e. Þær him bitter wearð  
 405 yrmpū æfter ætē, and hýra eáferum swā  
 sārlic symbel, sunum and dohtrum;

380 *Grdt.* has a space after this line. — 384 *Grdt.* heofona; *Ett.* geofene.  
 — 386 *MS.* worulde; *Klaeb.*<sup>2</sup> wuldre. — 387 *Th.* gelic is?, which *Klip.*  
*accepts.* — 392 *Grdt.* has a space after this line. — 396 *MS.* sceates; *Th.*  
*sceata?*, which *Ett.* *accepts.* — 400 *Schl.* gives *cescod* as *MS.* reading. —  
 404 *MS.* -bodene; *em.* *Klip.*

- † wurdon tēonlice tōpas idge  
 āgeald æfter gylte; hæfdon Godes yrre,  
 410<sup>A</sup> bittre bealosorge; þæs þā byre sibban  
 gyrnē onguldon þe hī þæt gyfl þeguð  
 ofer Ēces word. Forþon hī ēðles wyn  
 gēomormōde ofgiefan sceoldon  
 þurh nādran niþ; þā hīo nearwe biswāc,  
 yldran ūsse, in ærdagum  
 415 þurh fācne fer[h]ð, þæt hī feor þonan  
 in þās dēaðdene drohtað sōhton,  
 sorgfulran gesetu. Him wearð sēlle lif  
 heolstre bihýded, and se hālg a wong  
 þurh fēondes searo fæste bitýned  
 420 wintra mengu, oþþæt [hine] Wuldorcýning  
 þurh his hidercýme hālgum tō[g]ēanes,  
 monncýnnes Gefēa, mēþra Frēfrend,  
 and (se ānga Hyht) eft ontýnde.

## 12. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEST

- { Is þon gelicast — þæs þe ūs l[ā]rē[ow]as  
 425 {w[o]rdum secgað and [ge]writu[m] cýpað —  
 þisses fugles gefær. Þonne frōd ofgiefēð  
 x eard and ēþel, and geealdad bið,  
 gewiteð wērigmōd, (wintrum gebýsgad,  
 þær hē holtes hlēo hēah gemēteð,  
 430 in þām hē getimbreð tānum and wýrtum  
 þām æðelestum eardwíc niwe,  
 X nest on bearwe. Bið him nēod micel  
 . þæt hē feorh geong eft onfōn mōte  
 þurh līges blāest, lif æfter dēaþe,

407<sup>a</sup> *Grdt.* to þas idge ageald ||; *Th.* to þas . . . idge, note 'Apparently defective'; *Klip. om.* 407<sup>b</sup>; *Ett.* to þas . . . idge; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> tōpas idge; *Br.* (*Reader*, p. 228) grædige for idge, and quotes Hart idæge?; *Tr.*<sup>2</sup> torne scylde. — 408 *Klip.* agealde; *Tr.*<sup>2</sup> agæled. — 409 *Ett.* þe. — 420 *Grdt.* mengum?; *Klip.* mangum. — 421 *MS.* to heanes; *Grdt.* togeanes?; *Th.* togeanes. — 424 *MS.* leorneras; *Th.* lareowas?, which *Klip.* accepts. — 425 *MS.* weordum; *em. Grdt.*; *MS.* writu; *Cos.*<sup>3</sup> on gewritum?; *Ett.* writum; *Schl.* gewritum.

435 edgeong wesan; and his ealdcȳðþu,  
 x sunbeorht gesetu, sēcan mōte  
 (æfter fȳrbaðe.)

Swā ðā forengan,  
 x x yldran ūsse, ānforlēton  
 (þone wlitigan wong) and wuldres setl  
 440 lēoflic on lāste, tugon longne sīð  
 in hearmra hond, þær him hettende,  
 earme āglæcan, oft gescōdan.

Wæron hwæpre monge þā þe Meotude we[1]  
 gehȳrdun under heofonum hālgum ðēawum,  
 445 x dædum dōmlicum, þæt him Dryhten wearð,  
 x heofona Hēahcȳning, hold on mōde.  
 Ðæt is se (hēa bēam) in þām hālgē nū  
 wic weardiað, þær him wihte ne mæg)  
 ealdfēonda nān ātre sceþþan,  
 450 { fācnes tācne, [on þā[s] frēcnan tīd]

Þær him nest wyrceð wið nīþa gehwām  
 x dædum dōmlicum Dryhtnes cempa,  
 þonne hē ælmessan earmum dæleð,  
 dugeþa lēasum, and him Dryhten gecȳgð,  
 455 Fæder, on fultum, forð onetteð,  
 x lænan lifes leahtras dwæsceþ,  
 mirce māndæde. Healdeð Meotudes æ  
 beald in brēostum, and gebedu sēceð  
 clænum gehygdum, and his cnēo bīgeð  
 460 (æpele tō eorþan) fīhð yfla gehwylc,  
 grimme gieltas, for Godes egsan;  
 glædmōd gȳrneð þæt hē gōðrā mæst  
 dæda gefremme; þām bīþ Dryhten scyld  
 in sīþa gehwane, sigora Waldend,  
 465 weoruda Wilgiefa. Þis þā wyrta sind,

438 *Schl.* gives yldan as *MS.* reading. — 441 *MS.* hond; *Grdt.* lond?; *Klip.* hearma land; *other Edd.* hond. — 442 *Schl.* gescodon. — 443 *MS.* we; *Grdt.* wel?; *Th. om.*; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> wel. — 450 *MS.* þa; *em. Barn.* (p. 201). — 453 *Schl. om.* he. — 464-5 *Th.* sigora wilgiefa, weoruda waldend?, and is followed by *Klip.* and *Ett.*

- wæstma blēde, þā sē wilda fugel  
 somnað under swegle sīde and wīde  
 tō his wīcstōwe, þær hē wundrum fæst  
 wið nīþa gehwām nest gewyrceð.
- 470 Swā nū in þām wīcum willan fremmað  
 mōde and mægne Meotudes cempan,  
 mārða tilgað; þæs him meorde wile  
 Ece, Ælmihtig, ēadge forgildan.  
 Bēoð him of þām wyrstum wīc gestapelad
- 475 in wuldres byrig, weorca tō lēane,  
 þæs þe hī gehēoldan hālge lāre  
 hāte æt [h]eortan, hige weallende  
 dæges and nihtes Dryhten lufiað,  
 lēohte gelēafan Lēofne cēosað
- 480 ofer woruldwelan; ne biþ him wynne hyht  
 þæt hī þis lēne lif long[e] gewunien.  
 Þus ēadig eorl ēcan drēames,  
 heofona hāmes, mid Hēahcýning  
 earnað on elne, oþþæt ende cymeð
- 485 dōgorrīmes. Þonne dēað nimeð,  
 wiga wælgīfre, wæpnum geþrýped,  
 ealdor ānra gehwæs, and in eorþan fæðm  
 snūde send[e]ð sāwlum binumene  
 lēne lichoman, þær hī longe bēoð,
- 490 oð fýres cyme, foldan biþeahte.

## 13. THE LAST JUDGMENT

- Ðonne monge bēoð on gemōt læd[ed]  
 fýra cynnes; wile Fæder engla,  
 sigora Sōðcýning, seonop gehēgan,  
 duguða Dryhten, dēman mid ryhte.
- 495 Þonne æriste ealle gefremmaþ  
 men on moldan, swā se m[ea]htiga Cýning  
 bēodeð, Brego engla, býman stefne

477 *MS.* eortan; *Grdt.* heortan?; *Th.* heortan. — 481 *MS.* long; *Klip.*  
 lange. — 483 *Th.* heofonlican? — 488 *MS.* sendað; *em.* *Klip.* — 491 *MS.*  
 lædaþ; *Grdt.* lædad; *Th.* læded?; *Et.* læded; *Klip.* lædde. — 496 *MS.*,  
*Edd.* mihtiga.

- ofer sīdne grund, sāwla Nergend;  
 bið se deorca dēað Dryhtnes meahtrum  
 500 ēadgum geendad; æðele hweorfað,  
 þrēatum þringað, þonne þeos woruld,  
 scyldwyrce, in scome byrneð,  
 āde onæled. Weorpeð ānra gehwylc  
 forht on fer[h]þe þonne fȳr briceð  
 505 læne londwelan, lig eal þigeð  
 eorðan æhtgestrēon, æpplede gold  
 gifre forgrīpeð, grædig swelgeð  
 londes frætwe. Þonne on lēoht cymeð  
 ældum þisses in þā openan tīd  
 510 fæger and gefēalīc fugles tācen,  
 þonne Anwald[a] eal ūp āstell[e]ð  
 of byrgen[n]um, bān gegædrað —  
 leomu lic somod — and li[f]es gæst  
 fore Cristes cnēo. Cyning þrymlīce  
 515 of his hēahsetle hālgum scīneð,  
 wlitig wuldres Gim. Wel biþ þām þe mōt  
 in þā gēomran tīd Gode līcian.  
 Ðær þā lichoman leahtra clāne  
 gongað glædmōde, gæstas hweorfað  
 520 in bānfatu, þonne bryne stīgeð  
 hēah tō heofonum. Hāt bið monēgum  
 egeslic æled þonne ānra gehwylc,  
 sōðfæst ge synnig, sāwel mid lice,  
 from moldgrafum sēceð Meotudes dōm,  
 525 forht, āfæred. Fȳr bið on tihte,  
 æleð uncyste.

Ðær þā ēadgan bēoð  
 æfter wræchwīle weorcum bifongen,  
 āgnum dædum; þæt þā æþelan sind  
 wyrta wynsume mid þām se wilda fugel

498 Gr.<sup>1</sup> sidan. — 500<sup>a</sup> Tr.<sup>2</sup> eallum?; Tr. ædre? — 511 MS. astellað; em. Klīp. — 512 MS. of; Th. on; MS. byrgenum; em. Siev. — 513 MS. liges; Grdt. lifes?, which Br. accepts; Th. interprets gæst as 'guest.' — 517 One-line space between the sections. — 523 Schl. þe for ge? — 525 MS. ontihte; Th. on tihte?; Klīp. ontiht; Ett. on tyhte; Gr.<sup>1</sup> on tihte. — 526 Grdt. æled; Klīp. uncystan; Ett. uncysta.

- 530 his sylfes nest biseteð ūtan,  
 þæt hit færinga fýre byrneð,  
 forswēleð under sunnan, and hē sylfa mid,  
 and þonne æfter lige lif eft onfehð  
 edniwinga. Swā bið ānra gehwylc  
 535 flæsce bifongen fira cynnes  
 ænlic and edgeong, se þe his āgnum hēr  
 willum gewyrceð þæt him Wuldorcýning  
 mehtig æt þām mæðle milde geweorðeð.  
 Þonne hlēopriað hālgē gāstas,  
 540 sāwla sōðfæste song āhebbað,  
 clāne and gecorene, hergað Cýninges þrym  
 stefn æfter stefne, stīgað tō wuldre  
 wlitige gewyrtað mid hyra weldædum.  
 Bēoð þonne āmerede monna gāstas,  
 545 beorhte ābýwde, þurh bryne fýres.

## 14. THE TESTIMONY OF JOB

- Ne wēne þæs ænig ælda cynnes,  
 þæt ic lygewordum lēoð somnige,  
 wriþe wōðcræfte. Gehýrað witedōm,  
 Iōbes gieddinga. Þurh Gāstes blæd  
 550 brēostum onbryrðed, beald reordade,  
 wuldre geweorðað hē þæt word gecwæð:  
 ‘Ic þæt ne forhycge heortan geþoncum,  
 þæt ic in mīnum neste nēobed cēose,  
 hæle hrāwērig, gewiþe hēan þonan  
 555 on longne sið lāme bitolden,  
 gēomor gūðāda in grēotes fæðm;  
 and þonne æfter dēaðe, þurh Dryhtnes giefe —  
 swā sē fugel Fenix — feorh edniwe  
 æfter æriste āgan mōte,  
 560 drēamas mid Dryhten, þær sēo dēore scolu  
 Lēofne lofiað. Ic þæs lifes ne mæg  
 æfre tō ealdre ende gebīdan,

545 *Th.* abysde?, *which Klip. accepts*; *Ett.* ætywde. — 553 *Ett.* on; *Th.* neabed?; *Klip.* neobed; *Ett.* neabed. — 554 *Th.* hra werig; *Gr.* hrawerig.

- lēohtes and lissa. Pēah mīn līc scyle  
 on moldærne molsnad weorþan,  
 565 wyrnum tō willan, swā-þēah weoruda God  
 æfter swylthwīle sǣwle ālýseð,  
 and in wuldor āweceð; mē þæs wēn nǣfre  
 forbirsteð in brēostum, ðe ic in Brego engla  
 forðweardne gefēan fæste hæbbe.’
- 570 Ðus frōd guma on fyrndagum  
 gieddade glēawmōd, Godes spelboda,  
 ymb his æriste in ēce lif,  
 þæt wē þȳ geornor ongietan meahten  
 tīrfæst tǣcen þæt sē torhta fugel
- 575 þurh bryne bēacnað. Bāna lāfe,  
 ascan and ȳslan, ealle gesomnað  
 æfter līgbyrne, lādeþ sīþþan  
 fugel on fōtum tō frēan geardum,  
 sunnan tōgēanes, þær h[ē] siððan forð
- 580 wun[a]ð wintra fela wæstmum geniwad,  
 ealles edgiong, þær ænig ne mæg  
 in þām lēodscipe læþpum hwōpan.  
 Swā nū æfter dēaðe þurh Dryhtnes miht  
 somod sīþiāþ sǣwla mid lice,
- 585 fāgre gefrætwed, fugle gelicast,  
 in ēadwela[n] æþelum stencum,  
 þær sēo sōpfæste Sunne lihteð  
 wlitig ofer weoredum in wuldres byrig.

## 15. THE JOYS OF THE BLESSED

- Ðonne sōðfæstum sǣwlum scīneð  
 590 hēah ofer hrōfas hǣlende Crīst,  
 him folgiað fuglas scȳne,

568 *Grdt.* þæt ic. — 569 *Ett.* forðwearde? — 570 *MS.* on; *Th.* in. — 579 *MS.* hi; *Grdt.* him; *Th.* he?; *Klip.* he. — 580 *MS.* wuniað; *Th.* wunað?, which *Ett.* accepts. — 581 *Cos.*<sup>2</sup> þær him ænig? — 582 *Grdt.* hwepan or wepan?; *Th.* assumes a gap after hwopan: ‘Here some lines are evidently wanting, though the *MS.* has no hiatus’; *Klip.* indicates a hiatus; *Ett.* says that nothing is lost. — 585 *Klip.* gefrætweðe; *Klip.* gelicaste. — 586 *MS.* -welam (*Schl.*); *Grdt.*, *Schl.* -welan; other *Edd.* -welum. — 588 One-line space between sections. — 591 *Ett.* fiðrum for fuglas?

- beorhte gebrēdade, blissum hrēmige,  
 in þām glādan hām, gǣstas gecorene,  
 ēce tō ealdre. Ðær him yfle ne mæg  
 595 fāh fēond gemāh, fācne, sceþþan,  
 ac þær lifgað ā lēohte werede —  
 swā se fugel Fenix — in freoþu Dryhtnes,  
 wlitige in wuldre. Weorc ānra gehwæs  
 beorhte bliþeð in þām bliþa[n] hām  
 600 fore onsýne ēcan Dryhtnes,  
 symle in sibbe sunnan gelice.  
 Ðær se beorhta bēag, brogden wundrum  
 eorcnanstānum, ēadigra gehwām  
 hlifað ofer hēafde; heafelan lixað,  
 605 þrymme biþeahte; Ðēodnes cynegold  
 sōðfæstra gehwone sellic glengeð  
 lēohte in life þær sē longa gefēa,  
 ēce and edgeong, æfre ne sweþrað;  
 ac hý in wlite wuniað, wuldre bitolden,  
 610 fāgrum frætsum, mid Fæder engla.  
 Ne bið him on þām wīcum wiht tō sorge —  
 wrōht nē wēþel nē gewindagas,  
 hungor sē hāta nē sē heard[a] þurst,  
 yrmþu nē yldo: him se æþela Cyning  
 615 forgifeð gōda gehwylc. Ðær gǣsta gedryht  
 Hǣlend hergað and Heofoncyninges  
 meakte mǣrsiað, singað Metude lof;  
 swinsað sibgedryht swēga mǣste,  
 hǣdre ymb þæt hǣlge hēahseld Godes.  
 620 Bliþe blētsiað Bregu sēlestan,  
 ēadge mid englum, efenhlēoþre þus:  
 ‘Sib sī þē, sōð God, and snyttucræft,  
 and þē þonc s[ie] þrymsittendum  
 geongra gyfena, gōda gehwylces,

592 *Schl. queries* gebredade; *Tr.*<sup>2</sup> gewerede or besweðade?; *Schl.*  
 gehrodene? — 593 *Ett.* þone for þam? — 599 *Klip.* blicað; *MS.* bliþam;  
*em. Th.* — 600 *Ett.* eces. — 609 *Klip.* betoldne. — 613 *MS.* hearde; *em.*  
*Gr.* — 623 *MS.* sy; *Siev. sie.* — 624 *Klaeb.* (*Mod. Phil.* 2. 141) ginra; *MS.,*  
*other Edd.* geongra.

- 625 micel, unsmæte, mægnes stren[g]ðu,  
 hēah and hālig! Heofonas sindon  
 fægre gefylled, Fæder ælmihtig,  
 ealra þrymma Þrym, þīnes wuldres,  
 uppe mid englum and on eorðan somod.
- 630 Gefreopa ūsic, frymþa Scyppend. Þū eart Fæder  
 ælmihtig  
 in hēanresse, heofuna Waldend.  
 Ðus reordiað ryhtfremmente,  
 mānes āmerede, in þære mæran byrig,  
 cyneþrym cýþað. Cāseres lof
- 635 singa[ð] on swegle sōðfæstra gedryht:  
 'Ðām ānum is ēce weorðmynd  
 forð būtan ende. Næs his frymð æfre,  
 ēades ongyn. Þēah hē on eorðan hēr  
 þurh cildes hād cenned wære
- 640 in middangeard, hwæpre his meahta spēd  
 hēah ofer heofonum hālig wunade,  
 dōm unbryce. Þēah hē dēaþes cwealm  
 on rōde treow[e] ræfnan sceolde,  
 þearlic wite, hē þý þridan dæge
- 645 æfter lices hryre lif eft onfēng  
 þurh Fæder fultum. Swā Fenix bēacnað,  
 geong in gearдум, Godbearnnes meaht,  
 þonne hē of ascan eft onwæcne[ð]  
 in lifes lif, leomum geþungen.
- 650 Swā se Hælend ūs [h]elpe gefremede  
 þurh his lices gedāl, lif būtan ende,  
 swā sē fugel swētum his fiþru tū  
 and wynsumum wyrtum gefylleð,  
 fægnum foldwæstmum, þonne āfýsed bið.

625 *MS.* strenðu; *Grdt.* strengðu?; *Th.* strengðu.—635 *MS.* singad;  
*Edd.* singað.—643 *MS.* treow; *Klip.* -treowe.—648 *MS.* onwæcned;  
*Grdt.* onwæcneð?, which other *Edd.* adopt.—650 *MS.*, *Grdt.* elpe; *Grdt.*  
 helpe?, which other *Edd.* adopt.

## 16. EPILOGUE

- 655 Pæt sindon þā word, swā ūs gewritu secgað,  
hlēoþor hāligra þe him tō heofonum bið,  
tō þām mildan Gode, mōd āfýsed  
in drēama drēam; þær hī Dryhtne tō giefē  
worda and weorca wynsumne stenc
- 660 in þā mæ[r]an gesceaft Meotude bringað,  
in þæt lēohte lif. Sý him lof symle  
þurh woruld worulda, and wuldres blæd,  
ār and onwald, in þām ūplican  
rodera rice! Hē is on ryht Cyning
- 665 middangeardes and mægenþrymmes,  
wuldre biwunden in þære wlitigan byrig.  
Hafað ūs ālyfed *lucis Auctor*  
þæt wē mōtun hēr *mer[itare]*  
gōddædum begietan *gaudia in celo,*
- 670 þær wē mōtu[n] *maxima regna*  
sēcan, and gesittan *sedibus altis,*  
lifgan in lisse *lucis et pacis,*  
āgan eardinga *alm[e] letiti[e],*  
brūcan blæddaga, *bland[um] et mi[t]em*
- 675 gesēon sigora Frēan *sine fine,*  
and him lof singan *laude perenne*  
ēadge mid englum. *Alleluia.*

655 *Schl.* þæt þa word sindon. — 660 *MS.* mærum (*Schl.*); *em. Grdt.* — 668 *MS.*, *Wan.*, *Con.*<sup>2</sup>, *Grdt.*, *Th.*, *Klip.*, *Ett.*, *Siev.*, *Br.*, *Go.* merueri; *Ett.* meruisse?; *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wü.*, *Kal.* mereri; *Holt.*<sup>2</sup> meri et veri; *Tr.*<sup>2</sup> meritare. — 670 *Wan.*, *Con.*<sup>2</sup> þæt; *MS.* motum; *em. Con.* — 673 *MS.* alma; *Ett.* almæ; *MS.* letitię; *Con.* lætitia. — 674 *MS.*, *Edd.* blandem; *MS.* mättem; *Grdt.* mitem. — 676 *MS.* perenne; *Wan.*, *Con.*<sup>2</sup>, *Klip.*, *Ett.* perenni. — 677 *Two-line space follows.*



# PHYSIOLOGUS

## I. PANTHER

Monge sindon geond middangeard  
unrīmu cynn, [þāra] þe wē æþelu ne magon  
ryhte āreccan nē rīm witan;  
þæs wīde sind geond wor[u]l[d] innan  
5 fugla and dēora foldhrērendra  
wornas widsceope, swā wæter bibūgeð  
þisne beorhtan bōsm, brim grymetende,  
sealtýþa geswing.

Wē bi sumum hýrdon  
wrætlic[um] gecynd[el] wildra secgan,  
10 firum frēamærne, feorlondum on,  
eard weardian, ēðles nēotan,  
æfter dūnscafum. Is þæt dēor Pandher  
bi noman hāten, þæs þe niþþa bear[n],  
wīsfæste weras, on gewritum cýþa[ð]  
15 bi þām ānstapan.

Sē is æ[g]hwām frēond,  
duguða ēstig, būtan dracan ānum;  
þām hē in ealle tīd andwrāð leofaþ,  
þurh yfla gehwylc þe hē gæafnan mæg.

Ðæt is wrætlic dēor, wundrum scýne,  
20 hīwa gehwylces. Swā hæleð secgað,  
gæsthālge guman, þætte Iōsēphes  
tunece wære telga gehwylces  
blēom bregdende, þāra beorhtra gehwylc,  
æghwæs ænlicra, oþrum līxte  
25 dryhta bearnum, swā þæs dēores hīw,

4 MS. worl; Th. worlde?; Gr.<sup>1</sup> world. — 6 Th. widsceapene? — 7 Tr.  
(*Kynewulf*, p. 28) bearm (for bosm)? — 9 MS., Edd. wrætlice gecynd;  
Th. gecynde? — 13 MS. beard; em. Gr.<sup>1</sup> — 14 MS. cyþan; Gr.<sup>1</sup> cyðað?;  
Gr.<sup>2</sup> cyðdan. — 15 MS., Edd. æthwam.

- blāc, brigda gehwæs, beorhtra and scýnra  
wundrum lixeð, þætte wrætlicra  
æghwylc oþrum, ænlicra gien  
and fægerra, frætstum blíceð,  
30 symle sëllicra.
- Hē hafað sundorgecynd,  
milde, gemetfæst. Hē is monþwære,  
lufsum and lēoftæl: nele lāpes wiht  
æ[ng]um geæfnan bûtan þām ättorsceaþan,  
his fyrngelitan, þe ic ær fore sægde.  
35 Symle, fülle fægen, þonne föddor þigeð,  
æfter þām gereordum ræste sēceð,  
dýgle stōwe under dūnscafum;  
ðær se þeo[d]wiga þrēonihta fæc  
swifeð on swe[o]fote, slæpe gebiesga[d].  
40 Þonne ellenrōf ūp ästondeð,  
þrymme gewelga[d], on þone þridan dæg,  
snēome of slæpe. Swēghlēoþor cymeð,  
wōþa wynsumast, þurh þæs wildres mūð;  
æfter þære stefne stenc üt cymeð  
45 of þām wongstede — wynsumra stēam,  
swēttra and swīþra swæcca gehwylcum,  
wyrta blōstmum and wudublēdum,  
eallum æpelicra eorþan frætst[um].  
Þonne of ceastrum and cynestolum  
50 and of burgsalum beornþrēat monig  
farað foldwegum folca þryþum;  
ēoredcystum, ofestum gefýsde,  
dareðlācende — dēor [s]wā some —  
æfter þære stefne on þone stenc farað.  
7 55 Swā is Dryhten God, drēama Rædend,  
eallum ēaðmēde oþrum gesceaftum,  
duguða gehwylcre, bûtan dracan ānum,

33 MS. ægnum; em. Th. — 38 MS. þeoð-; em. Gr.<sup>1</sup> — 39 Th. swefeð;  
MS. gebiesgað; em. Gr.<sup>1</sup> — 41 MS. gewelgað; em. Gr.<sup>1</sup> — 48 MS. frætwa;  
em. Gr.<sup>1</sup> — 53 MS., Edd. efne swa some. — 56 MS. -mede corr. from  
-medum; Th. -medum.

- ättres ordfruman — þæt is se ealda fēond  
 þone hē gesælde in sūsla grund,  
 60 and gefetrade fýrnum tēagum,  
 biþeahte þrēanýdum; and þý þridðan dæge  
 of ðigle ārās, þæs þe hē deað fore ūs  
 þrēo niht þolade, Þēoden engla,  
 sigora Sellend. Þæt wæs swēte stenc,  
 65 wlitig and wynsum, geond woruld ealle.  
 Siþþan tō þām swicce sōðfæste men,  
 on healfa gehwone, hēapum þrungon  
 geond ealne ymbhwyrft eorþan scēat[a].  
 Swā se snottra gecwæð Sanctus Paulus:  
 70 'Monigfealde sind geond middangeard  
 gōd ungnýðe þe ūs tō giefe dæleð  
 and tō feorhnere Fæder ælmihtig,  
 and se ānga Hyht ealra gesceafta  
 uppe ge niþre.' Þæt is æpele stenc.

## 2. WHALE (ASP-TURTLE)

- Nū ic fitte gēn ymb fisca cynn  
 wille wōðcræfte wordum cýþan  
 þurh mōdgemynd, bi þām miclan hwale. *concerning*  
 Sē bið unwillum oft gemēted,  
 5 frēcne and fer[h]ðgrim, fareðlācendum,  
*men's* niþþa gehwylcum; þām is noma cenned,  
 fyr[ge]nstrēama geflotan, Fastitocalon.  
*hue* Is þæs hīw gelic hreofum stāne,  
 swylce wōrie bi wædes ofre,  
 10 sonðbeorgum ymbseald, sǣryrica mǣst,  
 swā þæt wēnaþ wægliþende  
 þæt hý on ēalond sum ēagum wliten;  
 and þonne gehýd[i]að hēahstefn scipu

66 *Th.* swæcce.—68 *MS.* sceatan; *em. Gr.*<sup>1</sup>—71<sup>a</sup> *Th.* -gneðe?—74  
*Line-space follows.*—7 *MS.* fyrn-; *Th.?*, *Klíp.*, *Ett.* firgen-; *Bugge*  
 (*PBB.* 12. 79) Fascitocalon.—8 *Cos.*<sup>2</sup> hreowum.—9 *Ett.* makes worie =  
 wār (*Dutch* wier), 'seaweed'; *Cos.* sæwar?—13 *MS.* gehyðað; *Th.?*,  
*Klíp.*, *Ett.* gehyðað.

tō þam unlonde oncyrrāpum,  
 15 s[æ]lāþ sǣmearas sundes æt ende,  
 and þonne in þæt ēglond ūp gewitað  
 collenfer[h]þe; cēolas stondað  
 bi staþe fæste strēame biwunden.  
 Ðonne gewiciað wērigfer[h]ðe,  
 20 faroðlācende, frēcnes ne wēnað.

On þām ēalonde æled weccað,  
 hēah fȳr ælað. Hæleþ bēoþ on wynnum,  
 rēonigmōde, ræste gel[y]ste.  
 Ðonne gefēleð fācnes cræftig  
 25 þæt him þā fērend on fæste wuniaþ,  
 wīc weardiað, wedres on luste,  
 ðonne semninga on sealtne wæg  
 mid þā nōþe niþer gewiteþ,  
 gārsecges gæst, grund gesēceð,  
 30 and þonne in dēaðsele drencē bifæsteð  
 scipum mid sealcum.

Swā bið scinn[en]a þēaw,  
 dēofla wīse, þæt hī droht[i]ende  
 þurh dyrne meahht duguðe beswīcað,  
 and on teosu tyhtaþ tilra dāda,  
 35 wēmað on willan, þæt hȳ wraþe sēcen,  
 frōfre to fēondum, oþþæt hȳ fæste ðær  
 æt þām wærlogan wīc gecēosað.  
 Ðonne þæt gecnāweð of cwicsūsle  
 flāh fēond gemāh, þætte fīra gehwylc  
 40 hæleþa cynnes on his hringe biþ  
 fæste gefēged, hē him feorgbona,  
 þurh sliþen searo, siþþan weorþeð,  
 wloncum and hēanum þe his willan hēr

15 *MS.*, *Edd.* setlāþ. — 18 *Klip.* bewundne. — 22 *MS.* ælað; *Edd.* æleð; *Cos.* wealleð? — 23 *Klip.* dreorig-; *Gr.* (*Spr.*) reomig-?, as *An.* 592 reads; but cf. *Krapp* on this latter line; *MS.* geliste; *Ett.* gelyste. — 25 *Klip.* ferende. — 28 *Cos.* nophlope? — 31 *Th.* scip?; *MS.*, *Edd.* scinna. — 32 *MS.*, *Gr.*, *Wü.* drohtende; *Th.*?, *Klip.*, *Ett.* drohtiende. — 35 *Gr.*<sup>1</sup> weniað. — 39 *Cos.* hwylc. — 40 *Cos.* hricge.

firenum fremmað; mid þām hē færinga,  
 45 heolophelme biþeaht, helle sēceð,  
 gōða gēasne, grundlēasne wylm  
 under mistglōme, swā se micla hwæl  
 se þe bisenceð sǣliþende  
 eorlas and yðmearas.

Hē hafað ðþre gecynd,  
 50 wæterþisa wlonc, wrætlicran gien. *still*  
 Þonne hine on holme hungor bysgað,  
 and þone āglæcan ætes lysteþ,  
 ðonne se mereward mūð ontýneð,  
 wīde weleras; cymeð wynsum stenc  
 55 of his innoþe, þætte ðþre þurh þone,  
 sǣfisca cynn, beswicen weorðar.  
 Swimmað sundhwate þær se swēta stenc  
 út gewit[e]ð. Hī þær in farað,  
 unware weorude, oþþæt se wīda ceaff  
 60 gefylled bið; þonne færinga  
 ymbe þā herehūþe hlemmeð tōgædre  
 grimme gōman.

Swā biþ gumena gehwām  
 se þe oftost his unwærlice,  
 on þās lænan tīd, lif biscēawað:  
 65 læteð hine beswīcan þurh swētnē stenc,  
 lēasne willan, þæt hē biþ leahtrum fāh  
 wið Wuldorcýning. Him se āwyrġda ongēan  
 æfter hinsīþe helle ontýneð,  
 þām þe lēaslice lices wynne  
 70 ofer ferh[ð]gereiht fremedon on unræd.  
 Þonne se fæcna in þām fæstenne  
 gebrōht hafað, bealwes cræftig,  
 æt þām [ā]dwylme, þā þe him on cleofað,

49 *Klip.* gecynde. — 50<sup>a</sup> *Klip.* -wisa. — 56 *Klip.* beswicne. — 58 *MS.* gewitað; *em. Ett.* — 70 *MS., Th., Gr., Wü.* ferht(-)gereiht; *Th.?, Ett.* ferhð-; *Klip.* ferhðgeriht; *Klaeb. (Mod. Phil. 2. 142)* ferhte reht?, 'contrary to just law'; *MS.* fremedon; *Ett.* fremede. — 71<sup>b</sup> *Klip.* þæt. — 73<sup>a</sup> *MS.* ed-; *Th.?, Klip., Ett., hæst-; Gr.ª* ad-?

- 75 gyltum gehrodene, and ær georne his  
 in hira lifdagum lārum hýrdon, *heard*  
 þonne hē þā grimman gōman bihlemmeð,  
 æfter feorhcwale, fæste tōgædre,  
 helle hlinduru. Nāgon hwyrft nē swice,  
 útsīþ æfre, þā [þe] þær in cumað,  
 80 þon mā þe þā fiscas, faraðlācende,  
 of þæs hwæles fenge hweorfan mōtan.  
 Forþon is eallinga . . . . .  
 dryhtna Dryhtne, and ā deoflum wiðsace  
 85 wordum and weorcum, þæt wē Wuldorcýning  
 gesēon mōton. Uton ā sibbe tō him,  
 on þās hwīlnan tid, hælu sēcan,  
 þæt wē mid swā lēofne in lofe mōtan  
 tō wīdan feore wuldres nēotan!

## 3. PARTRIDGE

- heard* Hýrde ic secgan <sup>heard</sup>gēn bi sumum fugle *concerning*  
 wundorlicne . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . fæger  
 þæt word þe gecwæð wuldres Ealdor:  
 5 'In swā hwylce tiid swā gē mid trēowe tō mē  
 on hyge hweorfað, and gē hellfirena  
 sweartra geswīcað, swā ic symle tō ēow  
 mid siblufan sōna gecyrre  
 þurh milde mōd; gē bēoð mē sīþþan  
 10 torhte, tīrēadge, talade and rīmde,  
 beorhte gebrōþor on bearna stæl.'

79 *Th.* þa þe þær?; *Klip.* þam-þe þær.—82 *Th.* Here a line or more is wanting; *Ett.* us ofest selast || þæt we gecweman [*subj.*] cýninga wuldre?; *Gr.* ofost selast || þæt we wuldorcýninge wel gecweman?—84 *Ett.* wiðsacan.—89 *MS.* has line-space following.—2 *Holt.* wundorlicne [cwide þe wæs wynlic and] fæger?; *Tupper (Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* 11. 9) gewunan?

1 Uton wē þý geornor Gode ðliccan,  
firene fēogan, friþes earnian,  
duguðe tō Dryhtne, þenden ūs dæg scīne,  
15 þæt swā æþelne eardwīca cyst  
in wuldres wlite wunian mōtan. Finit.



## NOTES



## NOTES ON ELENE

1 ff. The year designated is the 233d after the cross was buried, according to the legend; see H.,<sup>2</sup> p. 82.

1. *wæs*. Note the singular.

2<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 634<sup>b</sup>. *rīmes*. See Shipley, *The Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, pp. 112-3.

3. *þinggemearces*. So *An.* 148.

4. *wintra*. 'Winters' = 'years'; see 633, 654.

5. So 178.

6. *hēo*. *Ph.* always *hīw*.

7. *Lēoht*. So 486; cf. John 8. 1.—*syxte*. This identifies the year as 312 A. D., since Constantine had been acclaimed as emperor in 306, when he was about 18 years old, by the army in Britain. The author has blended the events of three different years in these opening lines: (1) the war with the Franks (21), which occurred in 306; (2) the original vision (cf. 69 ff.) of the flaming cross, with the legend, 'By this conquer,' in 312; (3) the war culminating in Constantine's victory (April 20, 322) over the Goths (or Scythians) in Dacia, the modern Rumania, on which occasion the standard of the cross was borne at the head of the army.

11. Holthausen justifies *lofhwata*, otherwise unknown, by citing *ārhwæt*, *dōmhwæt*, and *lofgeorn*.—*lēodgebyrga*. So 203, 556; cf. *Beow.* 269.

13. *riht cyning*. 'His claim to greatness rests mainly on the fact that he divined the future which lay before Christianity, and determined to enlist it in the service of his empire. . . . There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Constantine's conversion to Christianity. . . . The moral precepts of the new religion were not without influence upon his life, and he caused his sons to receive a Christian education' (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 6. 989). Cf. *Encyc. Brit.* 23. 656-63: 'His reign of fourteen years was marked by two events of first-rate importance—the recognition of Christianity as the religion of the empire, and the building of the new capital at Byzantium.' And again (*ib.* 23. 510): 'The reign of Constantine the Great forms the most deep-reaching division in the history of Europe.'

16. For *hrōðer* as dative, see (Sievers-Cook) *Gram.* 289.

19<sup>b</sup>. *Werod*. The Middle Irish version goes into detail: 'All the barbarous, idolatrous, rude tribes from the north of Europe, namely from the Danube and Mæsia and the Riphæan mountains in the north, and over the river Don, and from the Mæotic marshes, and Alania, and Dacia, and Germany, and the land of the Goths, and over the river Danube in the north, and over the Rhine to the Elbe, even to the summits and verges of the Alps in the south' (Schirmer, *Die Kreuzeslegenden im Leabhar Breac*, pp. 31-2).

20. Cf. 58<sup>a</sup>. The names are coupled in *Widsith* 57. The Huns do not appear in the history of Europe till nearly half a century later. About 374 they were fighting against the Goths (*not with them*) under Athanaric in the general region of this battle between Constantine and the Goths. Athanaric first retreated to the Danube, and then northward over the mountains into Transylvania, leaving the Huns in possession of Rumania. A little later they settled south of the Danube, and about this time professed Christianity (*Encyc. Brit.* 11th ed., 13. 933; 12. 273).—Hrēð = 'glorious.'

21. The Hugas are coupled with the Franks and Frisians in *Beow.* 2502, 2914. The *Quedlinburg Annals* (*Mon. Germ. Script.* 3. 31) say that all the Franks bore this name from a certain leader, Hugo.

23<sup>b</sup>. So 125<sup>b</sup>; cf. 90<sup>b</sup>.

24<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 235<sup>a</sup>, 1187<sup>a</sup>.

25<sup>a</sup>. The emendation according to 107, *herecumbol* not being found.

26<sup>b</sup>. The emendation according to *Beow.* 1164; cf. *Exod.* 214; *Beow.* 387, 729; the vowel as elsewhere in *Elene*.

27<sup>b</sup> ff. Cf. 110<sup>b</sup> ff.

29<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 112<sup>b</sup>.

31. *burglocan*. So *Beow.* 1928; *Gen.* 2537, etc. Cf. *Angl.* 25. 386.

34<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 45<sup>a</sup>.

34<sup>b</sup>. The emendation according to 224, 235; *Jud.* 17.

35<sup>b-6</sup><sup>a</sup>. Holt translates: 'Bands of picked horsemen strengthened the force [forces ?] of the foot-soldiers.' For a variety of translations, see H.<sup>2</sup>'s note on the passage. The subject of *trymedon* is implied; *ëored* is originally a compound—*eoh-rād* = 'horse-riding.' A *cyst* comprises a thousand men in *Exod.* 230-2, where the whole army of the Israelites (600,000 men, according to *Exod.* 12. 37) was divided into the 12 tribes (*fēðan*), with 50 *cysta* to the tribe; but *cyst* in general is a more vague expression. Whether *cyst* is the same as the *cyst* which means 'the choicest' (cf. *Pr.* 15) is somewhat doubtful: Grimm translates *ëoredcest* here as 'electa legio,' and Körner as 'ausgewählte Reiterschar,' which H.<sup>2</sup> inclines to accept; the poet seems to have the Roman legion in mind, in which the cavalry was normally not more than one-fifteenth of the whole.

36. *þæt* here = 'until.'

37. *Dänübie*. Rumania 'consists of a single inclined plane stretching upwards, with a north-westerly direction, from the left bank of the river to the summits of the Carpathians. It is divided into three zones—steppe, forest, and alpine. The first begins beyond the mud-flats and reed-beds which line the water's edge, and is a vast monotonous lowland. . . . The surface is a yellow clay' (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 23. 826). 'For 290 miles, the Rumanian shore is a desolate fen-country. . . . East of Bucharest, a chain of lagoons and partially drained marshes stretches inland for 45 miles,' and is followed for 110 miles by a barren plain (*ib.*, pp. 825-6).

It is perhaps a testimony to the impression made by Constantine upon the peoples of that region that Rumanian literature still preserves his story. Cf. *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 23. 848: 'Next [to the history of Alexander the Great] comes the legend of Constantine, of his tours and his exploits—a remarkable collection of purely Byzantine legends. In addition to these there is the history of St. Sylvester and the conversion of Constantine, &c., all still in MS.'

50<sup>b</sup>-1<sup>a</sup>. Note the rhyme.

50. *rand.* H.<sup>2</sup> notes this and other singulars for plurals: 55, 125, 245, 256, 264, etc.

53. With *-fel* cf. Mod. Eng. *felon* in *N. E. D.* (H.<sup>2</sup>).

56<sup>b</sup> ff. The Latin has: 'Videns autem quia multitudo esset innumerabilis, contristatus est, et timuit vehementer.'

58<sup>a</sup>. *Hrēða*. Cf. 20<sup>b</sup>.

59<sup>a</sup>. *ðæt* = 'so that.'—*hē* = Constantine; Pogatscher (*Angl.* 23, 289) assumes that it is the king of the Huns.

69-104. See Introduction, pp. xxii-xxiv.

72. Latin: 'vir splendidissimus.'

74<sup>a</sup>. *geŷwed*. Supply *wesan*.

85<sup>a</sup>. In allusion to *in hoc signo vinces*. Hence *tācen*, like *bēacen*, frequently = 'cross.'

86<sup>b</sup>. Holt: 'he opened wide the secret places of his heart.' Körner interprets: 'he breathed free again.'

88<sup>b</sup>-90. Latin: 'vidit signum crucis ex lumine claro constitutum.' The poet had in mind the ecclesiastical crosses which he may have seen; cf. the beginning of the *Dream of the Rood*.

93<sup>b</sup>. *oferswiðesð*. Cf. *Gram.* 201. 6; 356, note 1.

96<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 108<sup>b</sup>, 118<sup>b</sup>.

96<sup>b</sup>. *þŷ*. Cf. 796-7, 946, 956.

99<sup>a</sup>. *Heht þā*. So 105, 153, 276, 691, 877, 1161, 1202.

99<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 150<sup>b</sup>, 1074<sup>a</sup>.

100<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 1199<sup>a</sup>.

103<sup>b</sup>-4. *rōde* . . . *tācen* = 'sign of the cross.'

105-27<sup>a</sup>. The Latin basis is: 'Et surgens impetum fecit contra barbaros, et fecit antecedere sibi signum crucis; et veniens cum suo exercitu super barbaros cœpit cædere eos proxima luce.'

105. *on* . . . *ærdæge*. So *Beow.* 126; *An.* 235, 1388.

110<sup>a</sup>. So 406; cf. 180.

110<sup>b</sup> ff. Cf. *Jud.* 204 ff.; *Exod.* 160 ff.; *Brun.* 60 ff.; *By.* 160 ff.; *Beow.* 3024 ff.; *Gen.* 1983-4.

110<sup>b</sup>. *weorces gefeah*. So 849.

114-5. Note the rhymes.

121<sup>b</sup>. So 232<sup>b</sup>.

123. *þūf*. Lat. *tufa*.

125<sup>a</sup>. For the singular, cf. 257 ff.

127. Trautmann (*BB.* 23. 99) would read *instāþes*, for the sake of the metre.

131-6. 'Sume . . . sume. So *Chr.* 668-680; *Jul.* 473-490, etc.

134. So *By.* 194.

135<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 2540.

139<sup>a</sup>. So *Jud.* 237<sup>a</sup>.

140<sup>a</sup>. So *An.* 1535<sup>a</sup>.

140<sup>b</sup>. For a defense of *darod æsc*, the reading of the manuscript, see Klaeber, *Archiv* 112. 147-8.

141<sup>a</sup>. See *Jud.* 220<sup>b</sup>-223.

142<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Jud.* 298<sup>a</sup>.

142<sup>b</sup>-3<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Jud.* 311<sup>b</sup>-2<sup>a</sup>.

144<sup>a</sup>. So 264<sup>a</sup>.

146<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Jud.* 266<sup>a</sup>.

148 ff. The Latin has: 'Veniens autem Constantinus in suam civitatem'; the Middle Irish has (H.<sup>2</sup>): 'Thereupon the king came with great triumph to his own city.'

149<sup>a</sup>. So *Beow.* 124<sup>a</sup>.

151<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 215, 217, 254, 271, 1096.

151<sup>b</sup>. *þryðbold*. Cf. *þryðærn*, *Beow.* 657.

154<sup>a</sup>. *sionodē*. Lat. *synodus*.

160. Cf. 574.

162<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *blædgifa*, *An.* 84, 656.

162<sup>b</sup>. 'whose beacon this was.'—*bēacen*. See note on 85<sup>a</sup>.

166-7<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 536-7.

173. *him wæs*. So 18, 627, 936; cf. *wæs him*, 195, 993.

184<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *tires ið tæcne*, *Beow.* 1654.

192<sup>a</sup>. Constantine was baptized in 337, by Eusebius, the Arian bishop of Nicomedia. The Latin of the legend has (H.<sup>2</sup>): 'Mittens autem rex . . . ad . . . Silvestrum papam, fecit eum venire ad se, et . . . baptizavit eum.' Cf. McKilliam, *Chronicle of the Popes*, p. 29: 'Notwithstanding the fact that Constantine's baptism in Rome is well known to be legendary, the spot on which it is pretended to have taken place is marked in the church of St. John Lateran by an obelisk.'

194. So *Beow.* 607.

199<sup>a</sup>. So 1058<sup>a</sup>, 1157<sup>a</sup>.

199<sup>b</sup>. *cýðan*. Various orations, of the nature of sermons, are attributed to Constantine.

201<sup>b</sup>. One of the greatest services to the Church with which Constantine was credited in the Middle Ages was represented by the spurious Donation of Constantine, a document forged between 750 and 800. In virtue of this, 'it was believed that the first Christian emperor, in withdrawing to Constantinople, had bestowed on the pope all the provinces of the Western Empire, and that in consequence all sovereignty in the West, even that of the emperor, was derived from pontifical concessions.

From all points of view, both religious and political, the pope was thus the greatest man of the West, the ideal head of all Christendom' (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 20. 689). Dante believed in the fact of the Donation, but regarded it as a source of the greatest evils (*Inf.* 19. 115-7). His lines have thus been translated by Milton:

Ah Constantine! of how much ill was cause,  
Not thy conversion, but those rich domains  
That the first wealthy pope received of thee.

Petrarch goes so far as to imprecate the pains of hell upon Constantine for his gift. In his *Sixth Eclogue* (158-9), the apostle Peter (Pamphilus) speaking to Clement VI (Mitio), exclaims (ed. Avena, p. 124):

Eternum gemat ille miser, pastoribus aule  
Qui primus mala dona dedit!

On this the comment of Benvenuto da Imola is (Avena, p. 219): 'Exclamat contra Constantinum, qui dedit primo dotem Ecclesie, ideo dicit: "Ille miser Constantinus ploret et crucietur perpetualiter in abisso inferni, quia primus Constantinus dedit mala dona prelati Ecclesie."' See also the last two lines of Petrarch's sonnet, *Fontana di dolore* (tr. Cayley, p. 193).

Lorenzo Valla (ca. 1406-1457) was the first to assail (1440) the genuineness of this document, but its falsity was not universally admitted till the end of the 18th century (cf. *Encyc. Brit.* 8. 408-9; Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums*, 3d ed., 1. 469-470).

203. *lārsmiðas*. *Lārsmið*, 'artificer of learning,' as *lārēow* (*lār-ðēow*), 'servant of learning.'

213<sup>b</sup>. The emendation seems required: the 'praise' (*lof*) can hardly have been 'mindful' (*gemyndig*).

214<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 442<sup>b</sup>, 664<sup>a</sup>.

214<sup>b</sup>. *hēt*. An exceptional form in *El*.

214<sup>b</sup>-271<sup>a</sup>. The Latin basis is (H.<sup>2</sup>): 'Misit suam matrem, Helenam, cum magno exercitu, ut exquireret sanctum lignum crucis Domini. . . . Helena . . . non est moras passa, donec victoriæ Christi invenit lignum.'

215<sup>a</sup>. *flōdwege*. *Foldweg* also exists, but Elene went by sea; cf. *Ph.* 64<sup>a</sup>.

218<sup>a</sup>. So 625<sup>a</sup>, 843<sup>a</sup>; cf. 1092.

218<sup>b</sup>. *hýded*. The Middle Irish text has (H.<sup>2</sup>) 'that Christ was crucified and his cross hidden by the Jews.'

229<sup>a</sup>. *orcnæwe*. *An.* 770 has *orcnāwe*.

230<sup>a</sup>. So *Jul.* 680; cf. 39<sup>a</sup>.

232<sup>a</sup>. *stōdon*. Note the subject.

233<sup>b</sup>. *Stundum* = 'time after time,' 'in succession.'

235<sup>a</sup>. Rhyme. Cf. 1187<sup>a</sup>; *An.* 1205<sup>b</sup>.

- 237<sup>a</sup>. The metre requires *fist-*; cf. *PBB.* 10. 481.  
 238<sup>a</sup>. For *-bissan* cf. *An.* 257, 446.  
 247<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 849<sup>b</sup>.  
 248. Cf. *Beow.* 32: 'ƿær æt hýðe stōd hringedstefna.'  
 250<sup>b</sup>, 253. Cf. *Beow.* 397-8.  
 251<sup>a</sup>. See Krapp's note on *An.* 236.  
 251<sup>b</sup>. *sunde*. Cf. *An.* 269, where the corresponding word is *wære*, 'by the ocean.'  
 252. Cf. *Chr.* 864.  
 255<sup>a</sup>. So 996<sup>a</sup>.  
 256 ff. Cf. *Beow.* 1110 ff., 1243 ff.  
 274<sup>b</sup>. So *Ph.* 167<sup>a</sup>.  
 279. *meðelhēgende* would seem to be the direct object of *Heht*, 276.  
 284. *wæs*. But plural subject.  
 289<sup>b</sup>. So 323<sup>b</sup>.  
 295<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 727<sup>b</sup>.  
 297<sup>b</sup>-8<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 1126<sup>b</sup>-7<sup>a</sup>. The Latin has: 'Eum qui per sputum oculos vestros illuminavit, immundis potius sputis injuriastis.'  
 302<sup>b</sup>. *tō*. So 500.  
 304<sup>b</sup>. So 543<sup>a</sup>.  
 314. *glēawc*. Cf. *An.* 1648, *wisfæstne and wordes glēawne*. The poet is not likely to have ended 314 and 315 with the same word; but cf. 419.  
 319<sup>b</sup>. So 410<sup>b</sup>; cf. 325<sup>b</sup>, 517<sup>b</sup>.  
 320<sup>a</sup>. H.<sup>2</sup> cites *Rid.* 16. 16, and alleges the metrical necessity. Cf. Sievers, in *PBB.* 29. 312.  
 323. *wordgerýno*. There is no necessity for Holthausen's emendation, as suggested by Shipley (*The Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 84), and thus making *-gerýno* depend upon *wisestan*.  
 324. *þæt*. Introducing a final clause. One is tempted to emend to *þā*, referring to *wordgerýno*.  
 332. So 404.  
 336. Cf. 776.  
 337. *Moyses*. Rather Isaiah (7. 14).  
 338<sup>a</sup>. So 344<sup>a</sup>.  
 339 ff. The Latin has: 'Puer [vobis] nascetur [in secretis], et mater ejus virum non cognovit.'  
 345 ff. Ps. 16. 8; cf. Jer. 2. 27.  
 350. *Essāias*. The spelling with *ss* is most naturally explained on the ground of Irish influence, according to Carleton F. Brown (*Eng. Stud.* 40. 10).  
 353 ff. Isa. 1. 2-3.  
 369. For his emendations, Holthausen compares 390 and 663.  
 371<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 405; *Jul.* 594, etc.  
 372<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 406<sup>b</sup>.  
 375. Supply *hie* after *þæt*, and so 409 (H.<sup>1</sup>).  
 378. *bebēad*. So 715, 980, 1018, 1131, 1220.

389. *forsēgon*. But *forsāwon*, 1318; *sāgon*, 1105. Cf. *Gram.* 391. 2, and note 7.

402<sup>a</sup>. H.<sup>2</sup> takes *þe* as *þē* (= *þǝ*), but cf. 513-4, where *æbylgð* = *synna wunde*.

403<sup>a</sup>. *þeodenbealwa*. Perhaps better *þeodbealwa*, as in *Chr.* 1268; *An.* 1136.

418<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 586<sup>a</sup>.

423. *orscyldne*. This word is not found, but there are half a dozen other compounds with *or-* (= 'destitute of'): thus *mæte*, 'small'; *ormæte*, 'immense.'

426<sup>b</sup>. So *Chr.* 751<sup>b</sup>, 848<sup>b</sup>; cf. *Jul.* 695<sup>b</sup>.

429. *trīo*. No doubt miswritten for *trēo*.

437. *Sachius*. Carleton F. Brown supposes that the S, for Z, is due to Irish influence (*Engl. Stud.* 40. 13).

439. Cf. 447<sup>a</sup>, 517<sup>b</sup>, 530<sup>b</sup>.

441. Here the Middle English poem has (l. 183): 'If it bifall, sun, in þi live.'

447<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 676<sup>b</sup>.

448-453. The Latin is: 'Jam enim amplius Hebræorum genus non regnabit, sed regnum [et gloria] eorum erit qui adorant Crucifixum; ipse autem regnabit in seculum seculi.'

457. *sendan*. Lat. *injecerunt*. *Weorþan* is similarly used: Mk. 14. 46 (*injecerunt*), Lk. 20. 19 (*mittere*); the Wycliffite version has 'sente into him hondis', Jn. 7. 30.

461<sup>a</sup>. So 564<sup>a</sup>.

471. *him*. Not singular (H.), but the plural implied in *ðeod* (468). The Latin has: 'multoties contradicebam illis.'

477. *him*. Not plural (H.), but singular (= Christ). Latin: 'putantes mortificare Immortalem.'

489. *brōðor*. Holthausen, after Schirmer and Nestle, comments on the fact that the martyr Stephen (Acts 7. 59) is here made contemporary with Constantine, an anachronism of 300 years. The historic Judas (Cyriacus) suffered as a martyr in A. D. 134.

493. *yfel yfele*. Rom. 12. 17.

495 ff. Acts 7. 60.

497. *Saules*. Acts 7. 58; 8. 1.

498<sup>b</sup> ff. Acts 8. 3; 22. 4; 26. 10. H.<sup>2</sup> places a period after 498<sup>a</sup>, and a comma after 500<sup>a</sup>.

503<sup>a</sup>. So 1086<sup>a</sup>.

504-5<sup>a</sup>. Acts 13. 9.

505<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 756<sup>a</sup>.

505<sup>b</sup>. *him* = 'than he.'

508<sup>a</sup>. *oððe*. Here = 'and.' Cf. *Fates of Men* 2: 'þætte wer and wif in woruld cennað.'

511<sup>a</sup>. So *Rood* 78<sup>a</sup>; *An.* 811<sup>a</sup>.

511<sup>b</sup>. So *Rood* 78<sup>b</sup>, 95<sup>b</sup>.

- 514<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 1314; *Jul.* 710.  
 515<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 299<sup>b</sup>.  
 520<sup>a</sup>. So 899<sup>a</sup>.  
 523<sup>a</sup>. So *An.* 595<sup>b</sup>, 811<sup>b</sup>.  
 523<sup>b-4</sup>. The Latin has: 'noli blasphemare eum.'  
 530. *septe*. See H.'s note, and Krapp's note on *An.* 742.  
 531<sup>a</sup>. *giddum*. Cf. 418, 542, 586; *Wid.* 139.  
 531<sup>b-4</sup>. *Nū . . . nū* = 'Now . . . since.' Cf. 814-5, and the other instances given by Grein, *Sprachschatz* 2. 301.  
 531<sup>b</sup>. *geare cunnon* (*cūðon*) occurs 167<sup>b</sup>, 399<sup>b</sup>, 648<sup>b</sup>; *Chr.* 573<sup>b</sup>; cf. *Beow.* 2070. However, the difficulties with this reading are here too great. H.<sup>2</sup> ends 531 with a period, and 535 with a question-mark; while other editors end 531 with a comma, and 535 with a period. In both cases there is repetition (531<sup>b</sup>, 535<sup>b</sup>), and Holthausen, besides, has a question (532<sup>a-5</sup><sup>b</sup>), which does not employ the inverted order, and ignores the parallelism of *Nū . . . nū*. The emendation provides a verb equally fit to govern *hwæt*, avoids the repetition, renders unnecessary the change of *þince* (cf. 541<sup>b</sup>, and the optatives in *Gen.* 2846, *By.* 215, *Ps.* 70. 10), and preserves the parallelism of *Nū . . . nū*. For the phrase, *Nū gē . . . imp. pl.*, see 372<sup>b</sup>, and cf. 406<sup>b</sup>, 607<sup>b</sup>.  
 534<sup>a</sup>. *frēotrēo* is not otherwise found, but cf. *frēobearn*, 672.  
 538. Cf. 572.  
 547<sup>a</sup>. H.<sup>2</sup> quotes from the old Saxon *Heliand* 5959-60: 'thuo bigunnun im quidi managa under thēm weron wahsan,' which would be in OE.: 'ðā begunnon him cwidas manige under ðām werum weaxan.'  
 575. *wyrðeð*. *Ph.* has *weorðeð*.  
 578<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 131<sup>b</sup>, 136<sup>b</sup>, but also 1279<sup>b</sup>.  
 581<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 617<sup>a</sup>, 1047<sup>a</sup>.  
 583<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Ps.* 73. 6; 109. 18, 29.  
 589<sup>a</sup>. *wyrda gerÿno*. So 813<sup>b</sup>.  
 591<sup>a</sup>. for *eorðan* = 'on earth.'  
 606-7<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 596-7<sup>a</sup>.  
 608<sup>a</sup>. For the emendation, cf. *Jul.* 465<sup>b-6</sup><sup>a</sup>: 'ic sceal þinga gehwylc þolian and þafian.'  
 609-10. Expanded lines, like 667-8, 701.  
 610. The MS. *rex* is apparently miswritten for *nex*, which might naturally be translated by *cwealm* (cf. 676<sup>b</sup>), and is so translated in the Wright-Wülker *Vocabularies* 456. 32. *Cwealmgeniðla* would resemble *sweordgeniðla*, *El.* 1181; *torngeniðla*, *El.* 568, 1306; *An.* 1230; cf. *māngeniðla*, *An.* 916. The latter designate persons, while *cwealmgeniðla* must be abstract (= 'deadly enmity'), like *hungres geniðlan*, *El.* 701.  
 612<sup>a</sup>. So 698<sup>a</sup>.  
 616<sup>a</sup>. Holt: 'to ward off his hunger.' Read *wið hungre tō hlēo*?  
 624<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 887<sup>b</sup>.  
 627<sup>b-8</sup><sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 499-500; *Gu.* 1181-2; add *Beow.* 49, 2419, 2632; *Chr.* 539; *Gu.* 1310; *An.* 1709.

629 ff. *ge* . . . *ond*. See *Gen.* 752-3. The *ge* . . . *ge* of *El.* 965-6 must be taken into account in deciding on our interpretation; the passage is difficult, at best. For *heofonrices hyht*, see *An.* 1052; for *swā* in this sense, *Chr.* 306; *Jul.* 170; *W.* 88; *An.* 922; *Gen.* 252 ff., etc. *mārne*. Cf. 990, 1064, 1223, 1242; *Chr.* 971; *Jul.* 731; *Ph.* 633, 660; *An.* 227, 815; *Gu.* 42; *Gen.* 950; *Ap.* 67, etc.

634. Cf. 2.

644<sup>b</sup>. *gemynd*. Cf. *Gram.* 267. b.

646<sup>b</sup>. *fyr*. This form of the comparative in *Beow.* 143, 252; cf. *El.* 1142<sup>a</sup>.

657. *ond*. Klaeber (*Angl.* 29. 271) would interpret almost as 'since.'

667. Cf. 609.

662. Cf. 619.

676<sup>b</sup>-7<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 447<sup>b</sup>.

697<sup>a</sup>. The stem of *besylced* must be derived from the strong verb *seolcan*; cf. *besolcen* (= 'torpid,' 'inert'), *Cura Past.* 239. 3; 289. 15; *āseolce* (= 'grow weak, languid'), *Cura Past.* 275. 20; *āsealcan* (for *āseolcan*), *Gen.* 2167: 'ne læt þū þē þin mōd āsealcan.'

709<sup>b</sup>. *scēad*. See *Gram.* 395. 2. b, note 4.

721<sup>a</sup>. So *Ph.* 419.

724<sup>b</sup>. So *An.* 416<sup>b</sup>, 1497<sup>b</sup>.

726<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 228<sup>b</sup>; *Rood* 107<sup>b</sup>; *Gifts of Men* 27.

730. *Ps.* 95. 5; 102. 25; *Isa.* 40. 12.

731-2. *Ps.* 99. 1.

734. The Latin has: 'sunt currentia in aera . . . luce immensa.'

734<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 1642<sup>b</sup>; *Rood* 5<sup>b</sup>; *Ph.* 596<sup>b</sup>.

740<sup>b</sup> ff. Cf. *Chr.* 385 ff.; *An.* 717 ff.

741<sup>b</sup>. *syx*. The Latin has *sex*.

743-4<sup>a</sup>. *Isa.* 6. 2.

744. *Ezek.* 1. 5.

745<sup>b</sup>-6. *Ezek.* 1. 25-8.

747. Latin: 'incessabili voce clamant.'

747<sup>b</sup>-8. Cf. *Ph.* 616-7, 634-5.

750. *ceruphīn*. *Isa.* 6. 2. The spelling with *ph*, instead of *b*, is a definite mark of Irish orthography, according to Carleton F. Brown (*Engl. Stud.* 40. 6).

751-4<sup>a</sup>. *Isa.* 6. 3. Cf. *Chr.* 403-5<sup>a</sup>, 408-9; *Ph.* 626<sup>b</sup>-9.

755. *sēraphīn*. But see *Gen.* 3. 24.

757. *lēgene sweorde*. *Gen.* 3. 24. Cf. *fýrene sweorde*, *Gen.* 947, 1575.

759-771. See Abbetmeyer, pp. 9, 17.

763. *āwurpe*. *Rev.* 12. 9.

767<sup>b</sup> ff. Cf. *Isa.* 14. 12-5; *Rev.* 20. 3.

769<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Matt.* 23. 27. For *ful* with the genitive, see 939<sup>b</sup>.

776. Cf. 336; *Ph.* 639; *Gu.* 1335.

782<sup>b</sup>. *þīn*. Modifies *Bearn*, 783<sup>b</sup>.

783<sup>a</sup>. *mægð*. For the emendation, see 775<sup>a</sup>, 790<sup>a</sup>, 1255<sup>a</sup>; *Jud.* 58, 254.

787-8. Cf. Exod. 13. 19. For the Hebrew legend, see Emerson, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 14. 166, and the references in Holthausen's note.

790<sup>a</sup>. þurg. Unusual spelling. Cf. 289.—gesceap. Hardly 'universe,' as in *Jul.* 273. In 183, 1032, *gesceaft* = 'cross.' Here possibly 'Mary'; cf. 783. See also 686, 699.

793<sup>b-6a</sup>. The Latin has: 'Fac ab eodem loco fumum . . . suavitatis ascendere.'

796<sup>b</sup>. Ic gelyfe. 'I shall believe'; the Latin has: 'ut et ego credam.'

801<sup>a</sup>. walde = 'that he rules'; in the same construction as *sie*, 799<sup>a</sup>. The verb governs *wuldres*. Cf. *wuldres W(e)aldend*, *Beow.* 17, 183, 1752; *An.* 193, 539; *Dan.* 13; add *wuldres Cyning*, *Jul.* 516; *Wuldorcynning*, *Ph.* 196, cf. *El.* 291. The idea is derived from *Ps.* 24. 7-10.

802<sup>a</sup>. So 894<sup>a</sup>.

805<sup>b-6</sup>. Latin: 'Ita ut admiratus Judas, plauderet ambabus manibus suis.'

826<sup>b</sup>. bōcum. Latin: 'qui [Stephanus] scriptus est in Actibus . . . apostolorum.'

838<sup>b-9</sup>. 'As they should [and would] not have done, had they not listened to the representations of the author of sins.' H.<sup>2</sup> takes *fruman* as nom. plur. = 'the Jews.'

839. þær. 'If'; cf. 979.—leahtra *fruman*. See 772<sup>a</sup>; *Jul.* 347, 362.—*hýrdon*. Cf. 1210.

852<sup>b</sup>. āhangen. For the emendation cf. 445, 671, 862<sup>b</sup>.

853-6<sup>a</sup>. The Latin has: 'Scimus autem [de sanctis Evangeliis] quia ceteræ duæ latronum sunt qui cum eo crucifixi sunt.'

856<sup>b-7a</sup>. *Matt.* 27. 45.

881<sup>b</sup>. þæt fæge hūs. See *Job* 4. 19; *2 Cor.* 5. 1. Cf. 1237.

883<sup>a</sup>. legere fæst. So 723<sup>a</sup>.

884<sup>b-90a</sup>. The Latin has: 'Imposita autem tertia, cruce Dominica, super mortuum, statim surrexit qui mortuus fuerat juvenis.'

890<sup>b-3a</sup>. Latin: 'Omnes qui aderant glorificabant Dominum.'

895. Before this line the MS. lacks XI.

895<sup>a</sup>. wæs. Has the plural *wundor* as predicate nominative; cf. 1 ff.

903. manna might possibly be nom. sg.; cf. *Ps.* 143. 4.

909. Cf. *Acts* 2. 24; *Ps.* 18. 4; 116. 3.

911<sup>b</sup>. fæger is used in a familiar modern sense.

916<sup>b-7a</sup>. 'I can not now succeed with respect to any right (of my rights).' Cf. 910<sup>b</sup>.

919<sup>b-20a</sup>. In *Gen.* 72, the devils in hell *ne þorftan hlāde hlihhan*, and in *By.* 47 the defeated foes *hlihhan ne þorftan* (Klaeber, Herrig's *Archiv* 113. 148). Holt (following Grein) translates: 'I dare not despise this cross with scoffing laugh'; and Simons (*Cynewulfs Wortschutz*, p. 79) renders *hleahtra* by 'Hohngelächter,' and suggests (p. 78) that *herigeaen* may = *herwan*, 'mock'; but cf. Klaeber, *loc. cit.*

921<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Jul.* 323<sup>a</sup>, of þām engan hām.

921<sup>b</sup>. oft. The devils were continually escaping from hell, and needing to be returned thither; cf. *Jul.* 321 ff.

922<sup>b</sup>. Iudas. Iscariot.

926. wiðercyr. Cf. *wiðerlĕan*, *wiðertrod*, and Ger. *Wiederkehr*.—*siððan*. Against Brown's emendation is the *wið ðē* of the next line.

928<sup>a</sup>. Julian the Apostate (331-363). 'Though there was no direct persecution, he exerted much more than a moral pressure to restore the power and prestige of the old faith' (*Encyc. Brit.* 15. 548).

938<sup>b</sup>. He himself being regarded as the prophet.

940-52. See Abbtmeyer, pp. 9, 17.

941<sup>a</sup>. sār nīwigan. No doubt from Virgil (*Aen.* 2. 3): *renovare dolorem*.

959<sup>b</sup>. weres snyttro. Cf. 938<sup>b</sup>.

962<sup>b</sup>-3. Cf. *Beow.* 625-6: 'Gode þancode wiðfæst wordum, þæs þe hire [Wealhtheow] se willa gelamp.'

967. wuldor-. To be pronounced as a monosyllable (H.<sup>2</sup>).

968. Before this line the MS. lacks XII.

968-1017. There is no direct Latin source for this part.

972<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 93, *swā wæter bebūgeð*, and *An.* 333, *swā wīde swā wæter bebūgeð*.

979. þær = 'in consideration of their desire that they might.' Commenting on the parallel line, *Jul.* 570, 'þær hē hit for worulde wendan mehte,' Strunk remarks: 'þær is to be translated by "if," i. e., "if only!" "would that!"' See my note on *Chr.* 1312; *Soul* 141; and cf. *Angl.* 29. 271.

993. him. Constantine.

1004<sup>b</sup>. The metrical scheme is xx<sup>∟</sup> | √ x, if *brim* be counted long, as in *An.* 442<sup>b</sup>, 504<sup>b</sup>, 513<sup>b</sup>, 1543<sup>a</sup>, 1574<sup>b</sup>, etc. Cf. *PBB.* 10. 252.

1005. Cf. 997<sup>a</sup>, 998<sup>b</sup>.

1023<sup>b</sup>-7<sup>a</sup>. The Latin has: 'Cum magno autem studio collocans pretiosam crucem, auro et lapidibus pretiosis faciens loculum argenteum, in ipso collocavit crucem Christi.'

1037<sup>b</sup>. frōfre Gāst. John 14. 26.

1051-63<sup>a</sup>. The Latin has: 'Beata autem Helena accersivit episcopum Eusebium urbis Romæ, et ordinavit Iudam episcopum in Ierosolyma ecclesiæ Christi; mutavit autem nomen ejus, et vocatus est Cyriacus.'

1052<sup>b</sup>. Pope Eusebius (310 ?) is here confused with Eusebius, the Arian bishop of Nicomedia, who baptized Constantine (Holder, *Inventio Sanctæ Crucis*, p. 10).

1059. Cyriācus. Properly, Quiriacus. He was the 15th Bishop of Jerusalem († May 1, 134); cf. Holder, p. 16.

1063. æ Hælendes. The name (1061<sup>b</sup>), Gr. *Kυριακός*, is properly an adjective, 'of the Lord,' from the Greek *Κύριος*, used in the Bible for God or Christ; æ is not necessarily implied.

1072<sup>a</sup>. wuldor-. See note on 967.

1075. getæhtesð. Cf. note on 93<sup>b</sup>.

- 1077<sup>a</sup>. So 682<sup>a</sup>.  
 1078<sup>b</sup>-85. Latin: 'De fixoriis . . . imminet tristitia [animæ meæ]. Sed non requiescet et de hoc, donec Dominus compleat desiderium meum.'  
 1087<sup>b</sup>-93. Latin: 'De hoc precare Dominum.'  
 1089<sup>b</sup>. *beorhtan gesceaft* = 'heaven.'  
 1106. *frōfre Gast*. So 1037.  
 1108<sup>a</sup>. So 1054<sup>a</sup>.  
 1114<sup>a</sup>. Latin: 'tamquam aurum.'  
 1121-4<sup>a</sup>. Latin: 'Nunc cognoscimus in quem credimus' (cf. 2 Tim. I. 12).  
 1132<sup>b</sup>. *wōpes hring*. See the note in my edition on *Chr.* 537.  
 1135<sup>b</sup>. Understand *wæs* before *gefylled*.  
 1136<sup>b</sup>. H.<sup>3</sup> takes *hēo* as the Anglian acc. sing. fem., and so does not follow Zupitza.  
 1144<sup>b</sup>. *þā wīc*. Cf. 1038<sup>a</sup>, 1144<sup>a</sup>.  
 1155<sup>a</sup>. *eall æfter orde*. In due succession (?). Cf. 590; *An.* 1483<sup>a</sup>.  
 1156<sup>a</sup>. So *Met.* 27. 28; cf. *þinga gehwylce*, *Hy.* 4. 12; *ælces þinges*, *Chr.* 333, etc. Holt translates: 'in every respect.'  
 1167<sup>b</sup>. *þriste*. Cf. 409.  
 1173<sup>a</sup>. So 1078<sup>a</sup>.  
 1181<sup>b</sup>. *sigor*. An objection to this word is that it occurs again in 1183<sup>a</sup>.  
 1182<sup>b</sup>-4<sup>a</sup>. Latin: 'Victoria vero erit regis et pax belli.'  
 1192-6. *Zech.* 14. 20.  
 1195<sup>b</sup>. *hrēðēadig*. So *Chr.* 945<sup>a</sup>.  
 1196<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 150<sup>a</sup>.  
 1196<sup>a</sup>. *se*. The accusative is of course demanded, and H. would therefore read *se þone þe*. One is tempted to read *þe* for *se* (cf. 415, 625, 966, 995); but blunders in case are not unexampled in the poetry, as in *An.* 747 ff.: 'þone þe . . . heofan ond eorþan . . . āmeacode mundum sinum.'  
 1206<sup>b</sup>-12<sup>a</sup>. Not in the Latin of the legend. Cf. Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* 4. 3, on Chad: 'Admonuit eos ut virtutem dilectionis et pacis ad invicem . . . servarent; instituta quoque disciplinæ regularis, quæ . . . ab ipso didicissent, et in ipso vidissent, . . . indefessa instantia sequerentur'; or, in the Old English translation: 'Monade hē hēo . . . þæt hēo *betwēonan* him þæt mægen *lufan ond sibbe* . . . geornlice hēolde; ond . . . þā gesetenesse . . . þe h̄y from him geleornodon ond on him gesēgon . . . þæt hēo þā . . . *læsten*.' It looks as though Cynewulf had here been indebted to Bede.  
 1209<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Ph.* 77<sup>b</sup>.  
 1213<sup>b</sup>-8<sup>a</sup>. Latin: 'ut . . . omnes hominum sanaret infirmitates.'  
 1219<sup>b</sup>. *sīðes fūs*. So *Ph.* 208<sup>a</sup>.  
 1226. *āwēoxe*. For the singular with *þara þe*, see Wülfing, *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen* I. 416; Grimm, *Andreas und Elene*, p. 94; cf. *El.* 976, but also 1288.

1227<sup>b</sup>-8. Summer began on May 9, so that six days earlier would be May 3, the date of the Invention of the Cross. The Latin of the legend has: 'quinto nonarum Maiarum.'

1229<sup>a</sup>. Grein has shown (*Germania* 10. 424) that this means the *month* of May, referring to *Menologium* 83 ff. The following passage (*Men.* 75<sup>b</sup>-79, 83-93<sup>a</sup>) is noteworthy on other accounts as well.

1229<sup>b</sup>-36. The Latin has: 'Quicumque vero memoriam faciunt sanctæ crucis accipiant partem cum . . . Maria et cum Domino nostro Jesu Christo.' At this point the Latin legend ends.

1237 ff. Rhyme or assonance binds many of these hemistichs together. In certain cases the rhyme would be more perfect if the forms appeared in the Anglian dialect; for Holthausen's attempts at restoration see the variants.

1237<sup>b</sup>. 'Through the mortality of my earthly tabernacle.'—fæge. So 881<sup>b</sup>; cf. *Beow.* 1568, 1755; *Gu.* 1004; *An.* 1085. *Fæcne* would make no sense.

1239. hreodode. See *hridrude* (*hrydrode*), Lk. 22. 31 (cf. *Otfrid* 4. 13. 16, 'redan iu thaz muat'); Eng. *riddle*, 'sieve.'

1240<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 1181-3<sup>a</sup>: 'Oft mec gëomor sefa gehða gemanode, | hāt æt heortan hyge gnornende nihtes nearwe'; also *Seafarer* 7: 'nearo nihtwaco.' H.<sup>2</sup> calls *nihtes* an adverb.

1241<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 601.

1242<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 597<sup>a</sup>; 295<sup>b</sup>, 727<sup>b</sup>.

1242<sup>b</sup>. þeaht. It seems rather inartistic to repeat this syllable from the preceding line.

1243<sup>a</sup>. *Wisdöm* = Christ. See 1 Cor. 1. 24; *The Christ of Cynewulf*, ed. Cook, note on 239.

1243<sup>b</sup>. weorcum fāh. Cf. *firendædum fāh*, *Chr.* 1001<sup>a</sup>.

1245<sup>a</sup>. So *Harr. Hell* 65<sup>a</sup>.

1246<sup>a</sup>. onlāg = onlāh, from onlēon; the subject from 1248<sup>a</sup>.

1246<sup>b</sup>. Cf. Rieger, *Zs. f. D. Phil.* 1. 319; Wülker, *Angl.* 1. 504; Klaeber, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 15. 493; Brown, *Engl. Stud.* 38. 219.

1247<sup>b</sup>. So 1201<sup>b</sup>.

1248<sup>b</sup>. begēat. H.<sup>2</sup> would read *begæt*, for *begeat* (cf. 1152); but see *Tobit* 3. 22 Vulg., 'exultationem infundis.'

1249<sup>b</sup>. tidum. 'Now and then,' 'once and again.'

1253<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 1194<sup>a</sup>.

1257<sup>b</sup>-71<sup>a</sup>. Holt translates: 'Ever until that time was the man buffeted in the surge of sorrow, was he a weakly flaring torch (C), although he had received treasures and appled gold in the mead-hall; wroth (Y) in heart he mourned; a companion to need (N), he suffered crushing grief and anxious care, although before him his horse (E) measured the miles and proudly ran, decked with gold. Hope (W) is waned, and joy through the course of years; youth is fled, and the pride of old. Once (U) was the splendor of youth (?); now after that allotted time are

the days departed, are the pleasures of life dwindled away, as water (L) glideth, or the rushing floods. Wealth (F) is but a loan to each beneath the heavens.'

Garnett's rendering is:

Ay till then was the man  
 With care-waves oppressed, a flickering pine-torch (C),  
 Though he in the mead-hall treasures received,  
 Apples of gold. Mourned for his bow (Y)  
 The comrade of sorrow (N), suffered distress,  
 His secret constrained, where before him the horse (E)  
 Measured the mile-paths, with spirit ran  
 Proud of his ornaments. Hope (W) is decreased,  
 Joy, after years, youth is departed,  
 The ancient pride. The bison (U) was once  
 The gladness of youth. Now are the old days  
 In course of time gone for ever,  
 Life-joy departed, as ocean (L) flows by,  
 Waves hurried along. To each one is wealth (F)  
 Fleeting 'neath heaven.

In both of these, 'hope' (*wēn*, for *wyn*) is of course wrong.

Carleton F. Brown (*Eng. Stud.* 38. 207, 212) thus translates 1257<sup>b</sup>-64<sup>a</sup>: 'Always was there *strife* [retaining MS. *sæcc*] until then (i. e., the Redemption of the Cross)—the *hero* overwhelmed with care-waves, dying, though [reading *þeah*] in the mead-hall he shared treasures of appled gold. The *need-journeyer* (i. e. one obliged to die) lamented *evil* (or *misery*), endured grievous sorrow, the anxious secret, though for him the *horse* coursed, measured the mile-paths, proudly ran, adorned with wires.' He adds (p. 218): 'The lines in *Elene* are capable of an intelligible and consistent explanation, without reading personal allusions into them. The attempt to interpret them autobiographically, on the other hand, involves perplexities.'

For other renderings, see the Bibliography.

1258-70. For a discussion of Cynewulf's various runic passages, see my edition of the *Christ*, pp. 151 ff. (cf. *Andreas*, ed. Krapp, pp. 167 ff.; Brown, *Eng. Stud.* 38. 198-219; Tupper, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 27. 131-7). These runes, taken in order, spell the name CYNEWULF, and each letter, if rightly interpreted, would, in general, represent a noun, or the first element of a compound noun. Each rune has a name, the name always beginning with the letter which the rune represents, and it is this name which should designate the appropriate object which the line demands. Unfortunately, though there is a late Old English poem (the *Runic Poem*) which presents these equivalences, we cannot always be sure that every rune represented the same object throughout the Old English period, nor in precisely what sense the object is to be regarded. The names and meanings are as follows (cf. Wyatt's convenient table in his *Old English Riddles*, p. xxxix):

Rune	Name	Meaning
ᚱ	cēn	torch, pine(-splinter)
ᚷ	ȝr	
ᚠ	nīed	need
ᚱ	eh, eoh	horse
ᚹ	wynn	joy
ᚱ	ūr	bison, wild ox
ᚱ	lagu	ocean, water
ᚱ	feoh	money, wealth

Perhaps *ūr* and *ȝr* occasion the greatest difficulty. Among the meanings proposed for *ūr* are 'of old' (Kemble, Grein), 'money' (Leo), 'ours' (Gollancz); for *ȝr*, 'misery' (Kemble), 'the bow' (Grimm, Grein), 'evil' (Gollancz). *Cēn* has been read as *cēne*, 'bold' (Kemble, Gollancz).

1257<sup>b</sup>. *secg*. Cynewulf.

1260. *æpplede gold*. Cf. *Jul.* 686<sup>b</sup>-8<sup>a</sup>: 'þæt h̄y in wīnsele | ofer bēorsetle bēagas þēgon, | æpplede gold'; *Ph.* 505<sup>b</sup>-7<sup>a</sup>: 'līg eal þīgeð | eorðan æhtgestrēon, æpplede gold | gifre forgrīpeð.' From the passages in *Elene* and *Juliana* it is clear that the 'appled gold,' or golden apples, were among the gifts received in the banqueting-hall (*medoheall, wīnsele*), and this forbids us to think of the imperial orb, which was occasionally called an apple of gold in Middle English. Thus we are told of the bronze equestrian statue of Justinian, erected in 543 by his order in Constantinople, that it held in its left hand a globe (πῶλος) surmounted by a cross (Procopius, *De Aedificiis* 1. 2). Godfrey of Viterbo (quoted by Du Cange, *Gloss. Med. et Infim. Lat.*, s. v. Palla) says:

Aureus ille globus pomum vel palla.

Of Justinian's orb William of Boldensele (1332) says: 'Manu sinistra pomum, quod orbem repræsentat.' The Pseudo-Mandeville, referring to the same orb (ed. Warner, Roxburghe Club, p. 4): 'The ymage was wont to hold in his hand a rounde appel of gold'; where the French reads: 'Et soleit tenir un pomme rounde dooree en sa mayn.' So, too, in Johann Schiltberger's *Bondage and Travels* (Hakluyt Society, 1879, p. 79), we have: 'At one time the statue had a golden apple in the hand.' It is not, however, of imperial orbs that there can be question in the *Elene*.

Such being the case, the poet might have had in mind the 'apples of gold' of Prov. 25. 11, except that he seems to have referred, not to a historical text so much as to objects with which he was personally acquainted. There remains only, then, so far as I can see, to think of early examples of the pomander-case, or something like it, brought from the Orient through the agency of the Byzantines, perhaps originally by a Theodore of Tarsus, or by Syrian traders (cf. Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* 8. 1). The *pom-* of *pomander* of course represents 'apple' (*pomander* = *pomme d'ambre*), and a pomander itself was 'a ball made of perfumes, such as ambergris (whence the name), musk, civet, &c., and formerly worn or carried in a case, also known by the same name,

as a protection against infection in times of pestilence, or merely as a useful article to modify bad smells. The globular cases . . . were hung from a neck-chain or attached to the girdle, and were usually perforated, and made of gold or silver' (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 22. 46). How early these pomanders were known in the West I can not pretend to say; but it is certain that the Old Man of the Mountain sent to St. Louis, between May 1250 and March 1251, apples of various sorts of crystal, on which 'amber' was fastened by means of gold clasps (Joinville, ed. Natalis de Wailly, p. 250). In the *Roman de la Rose* (ca. 1280) 'pomme d'ambre' is used as a standard of fragrance (21,008). Another name for it was musk-ball, for which see *New Eng. Dict.* (= *pomme de musk*, Wylie, *Hist. of England under Henry IV* 4. 195; *Anc. Kal. and Inv.*, ed. Palgrave, 3. 341). See also Douet d'Arco, *Choix de Pièces* (Paris, 1863) 2. 306, 341, 347, 508; *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes* (6. 1). 354, 356; Heyd, *Gesch. des Levantehandels* 2. 566. Sometimes they were attached to each corner of a pillow-case (Paulin Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde [Lancelot du Lac]* 4. 367-8, cf. 304). The apple of gold in the *Mabinogion* (Temple Classics, p. 169) was probably not a pomander: 'And the huge red youth dismounted before Arthur, and he drew a golden chain out of the pack, and a carpet of diapered satin. And he spread the carpet before Arthur, and there was an apple of ruddy gold at each corner thereof.' Quite different must have been the apple of gold on a standard in a Servian ballad (*Heroic Ballads of Servia*, tr. Noyes and Bacon, p. 61).

The pomander must have been used at a much earlier date in the Orient, from which, through Byzantium, supplies might have been distributed to the West (compare, too, such embassies, bearing presents, as those of Haroun-al-Rashid to Charlemagne, A. D. 797 and 801).

There is the difficulty in *Jul.* 687-8 (quoted above) that *æpplede gold* seems to be equated with *bēagas*; or is this not so?

1267<sup>b</sup>. So *Gu.* 1107<sup>b</sup>.

1272<sup>b</sup>-7<sup>a</sup>. Apparently imitated from Virgil, *Aen.* 1. 50-63, the account of Aeolus and his winds. Cf. *Riddle* 4. For the influence of the *Aeneid* on *Beowulf*, see Klaeber, in Herrig's *Archiv* 126. 40-48, 339-359.

1273<sup>b</sup>. hlūd. Cf. *fuwentibus* (51), *sonoras* (53), *magno* . . . *murmure* (55), *fremunt* (56).

1276<sup>a</sup>. nēdcleofan. Cf. *antro* (52), *claustra* (56), *speluncis* (60):

1277<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu.* 1171; cf. *Jul.* 520.

1277<sup>b</sup>-1321. For other descriptions of the Judgment, see Deering, *The Anglo-Saxon Poets on the Judgment Day* (Halle, 1890); Grau, *Quellen und Verwandtschaften*.

1277<sup>b</sup>-9. Cf. 2 *Pet.* 3. 10-12.

1280-6. Cf. *Matt.* 16. 27; 12. 36.

1286<sup>b</sup> ff. Cf. Ambrose, *Comm. on Ps.* 36 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 14. 980-1), as quoted by H.<sup>2</sup> (p. 98) from Brown, in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* 18. 313:

'Ergo omnes igne examinabimur. . . . *Ecce venit Dominus, . . . et sedebit conflans et purgans sicut aurum.* . . . Sed hi etsi per ignem examinabuntur, dicant tamen: *Transivimus per ignem et aquam.* Alii in igne remanebunt: illis rorabit ignis, ut Hebræis pueris, qui incendio fornacis ardentis objecti sunt; ministros autem impietatis ultor ignis exuret. . . . Præcipitabuntur sacrilegi in lacum ignis ardentis.' Add from Migne 14. 950 (Brown, p. 318; H.<sup>2</sup>, p. 98): 'Unde videntur qui bene crediderunt, et fidem suam etiam operibus executi sunt, . . . surgere in consilio justorum; peccatores autem . . . surgent in iudicio. Habes duos ordines. Tertius superest impiorum, qui . . . non surgunt in iudicio, sed ad pœnam.'

Brown remarks (p. 329): 'In the *Elene* . . . the Judgment precedes the purgatorial fire. After the three groups enter the fire, they are not again assembled for a final separation into two congregations. The wicked are precipitated thence into the abyss, while the other two groups pass directly from the fire to paradise. Nor is the order of events in the *Elene* to be explained as merely an instance of confusion or inaccuracy on the part of the poet. For in the earlier Fathers also the Judgment arraignment precedes the purging fire.'

1286<sup>b</sup>. The subject of *dæleð* is *hē* understood.

1294<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 1005; cf. *æledlōma*, *Beow.* 3125.

1297<sup>b</sup>. in *hātum wylme*. The dat. (or inst.) is evidently required. One might think of *hātan wylme* (inst.), for which compare *Beow.* 1423; *An.* 1277, 1542; *Exod.* 122; *Ruin* 40.

1302<sup>b-3</sup>. From Cæsarius of Arles, *Sermo* 251 (*Patr. Lat.* 39. 2210), as I pointed out in my note on *Chr.* 1537<sup>b-8a</sup>: 'Non venient unquam in memoriam apud Deum.'

1309<sup>b</sup>. See *Zech.* 13. 9; *Mal.* 3. 3; 1 *Pet.* 1. 7.

1317<sup>a</sup>. So *Ps.* 66. 1; 118. 88; 144. 9.

1320<sup>a</sup>. So *Gen.* 185, of Adam and Eve.

## NOTES ON PHOENIX

1 ff. Similar to the beginning of Lactantius' poem are *Ad Flavium Felicem* 193 (Cyprian, *Opera*, ed. Hartel, 3. 316); Dracontius, *Carmen de Deo* 1. 178; Avitus, *De Origine Mundi* 193-5. Cf. Manitius, *Gesch. der Christlich-Lateinischen Poesie*, p. 347, note 1.

For a translation of Lactantius' poem, see pp. 124-8.

1<sup>a</sup>. The epic formula with which the poem opens is illustrated by Krapp on *An.* 1.—*hæbbe*. So 569; *El.* 808 has *hafu*.

2<sup>a</sup>. For the postpositive *on*, see 97; *Beow.* 2357; *Gen.* 1052; *Exod.* 67; *Pn.* 10.

2<sup>b</sup>. For the conception of Paradise in general, see Introduction, pp. lii-lvi. Manitius (p. 46, note 2) is not willing to identify Lactantius' paradise of the Phoenix with that of Genesis.

3-4. *nis . . . mongum*. Is to no one.

4<sup>a</sup>. Probably to be taken as modifying *folcægendra*.

5. Sweet's emendation to *foldægendra* is unnecessary, and is unsupported by any other instance of the word, whereas *folcægende* occurs *Jul.* 186; *Beow.* 3113 (where it by no means designates kings); cf. *folc ahte*, *Beow.* 522.

6. *meaht*. So always in *Ph.* (but see 496), except in *æl-*, *foremihtig*; *El.* always *miht(-)*.—*mānfremendum*. An exclusively Cynewulfian word: *El.* 907; *Jul.* 137; *Chr.* 1437.

7<sup>a</sup>. For the form of the sentence see 9, 33<sup>a</sup>, 319<sup>a</sup>.

8. *stencum*. Odors are rife in this poem. Cf. *Gu.* 1247-50.

9. *iglund*. Cf. 287. Krapp, commenting on *An.* 15, says: 'The word in the above passages [including *An.* 28] 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 carries with it the connotation of remoteness; in both the *Phœnix* and the *Andreas* it is used for the Orient. Cf. also *Sal. and Sat.* 1 ff.:

Hwæt! ic iglanda eallra hæbbe  
böca onbyrged.

The elaboration of this passage makes *iglanda* refer to Lybia [Libya?], Greece, and India, none of them islands.' So, too, Osgood, on *Pearl* 693: 'M. E. *yle* more often means "island," yet the meaning "remote province or land" is common: in *Destr. Troy* 101 Thessaly is an *yle* (translating *regnum*); in *Alex.* 1039, Italy; *ib.* 2116, Phrygia; at 2800 the provinces of India are thus designated, as are those of Italy and Egypt at 5110; "in O. T., after the equivalent Hebrew, applied to lands beyond the sea" (*N. E. D.* s. v. *isle*, I. b.).' But cf. 103<sup>a</sup>.

10<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 667: *mōdig Mundbora, meahum spēdig.*

10<sup>b</sup>. *moldan.* Not the inhabited globe, as usually in Old English, but a specific region; cf. 66.

11. *open.* Lactantius' line is indebted to that of Ennius which he quotes in *Div. Inst.* 1. 18. 11: *Mi soli cæli maxima porta patet.* Virgil knows the gate of heaven (*Georg.* 3. 261), Ennius (quoted in Cicero, *De Republica*) has it, and in Homer the Hours are warders of the gates of heaven (*Il.* 5. 749; 8. 393). Jacob exclaims after his vision (*Gen.* 28. 17): 'This is the gate of heaven,' and the heavens are conceived as opened in *Ezek.* 1. 1; *Matt.* 3. 16 (*Mk.* 1. 10; *Lk.* 3. 21); *Acts* 7. 56; 10. 11; *Rev.* 4. 1; 19. 11.

12<sup>a</sup>. For this music, see 615-654.

13<sup>a</sup>. *wong.* A favorite word in the *Ph.* For its application to Paradise, cf. *neorxnawong*, 397.

13<sup>b</sup>. Adam and Eve wander into *þone grēnan weald*, *Gen.* 841. See also 24-5, 53-5; *Chr.* 591-6; *El.* 114-5, 1237-46, 1248-51; *Rid.* 294-6.

14-21. Kōlbing (*Eng. Stud.* 1. 169) compares the Middle English *Orison of Our Lady* 37-8:

Per bloweð inne blisse blostmen hwite and reade.

14<sup>b</sup>-19<sup>a</sup>. Considerably expanded from Lactantius' l. 3, and somewhat anticipatory of 57 ff. (*Lact.* 21-4); cf. *Chr.* 1661-2: 'nē sunnan bryne, nē cyle.' Winter appears again in 248-250, summer in 209 ff. The general conception is familiar enough in the classics. Thus Homer, *Od.* 4. 563 ff.: 'No snow is there, nor yet great storm, nor any rain.'

15<sup>a</sup>. *fnæst* seems more appropriate in the only other instance of its occurrence, *Jul.* 588: *fýres fnæst.*

For other passages with correlative *nē*, see 51 ff., 134 ff., 612 ff.

15<sup>b</sup>. Though there is no *fýres blæst* here, it will be observed that the Phœnix receives new life *þurh līges blæst*, 434<sup>a</sup>.

16. There is a similar rhymed passage, describing the joys of Paradise by negatives, in *Gu.* 799-802, 801-2<sup>b</sup> being:

nē lifes lyre, nē lices hryre,  
nē drēames dryre.

19<sup>a</sup>. See 181<sup>a</sup>.

20<sup>b</sup>-1<sup>a</sup>. An anticipation of 43<sup>b</sup>-7: observe *ēadig*, *onsund*, *apele(-a)*, *geblōwan*. With 20<sup>b</sup>-1<sup>a</sup> cf. 26<sup>b</sup>-7. The author seems to miss Lactantius' point in great measure. Not only does he make no explicit mention of spring, but he does not see that Lactantius is emphasizing the notion of 'east,' already found in line 1; in his *Div. Inst.* 2. 9. 9, he attributes 'ver scilicet orienti, æstatem meridianæ plagæ; occidentis autumnus est, septentrionis hibernum.'

21<sup>b</sup>-6<sup>a</sup>. That is, above the surface of the plateau; the plateau itself is higher than the top of any earthly mountain (28-32).

25<sup>a</sup>. *hlæwas*. Originally *hlæw* meant a cairn or tumulus; thus *Beow.*

2802, 3158.—*hlincas*. Golf-players will recognize this word, though it has changed its meaning.

25<sup>b</sup>. *hleonað*. Sievers renders by 'gedeiht' = 'thrives,' and is followed by Schlotterose. This is clearly against the sense in *Beow.* 1415, for instance, where trees lean over a rock (see the *minare*, *imminere* of *Aen.* 162 ff.), and can not be reconciled with Mod. Eng. *lean* (cf. *Gu.* 44). The poet is describing a perfectly level, smooth plain, admitting nothing rugged (*unsmæðes*), neither crag (*stænclifu*), nor cave (*dānsrafu*). Schlotterose understands by *unsmæðes* rough vegetation, weeds, presumably having briars and brambles in mind.

28. *twelfum. Bis sex*. One hardly knows whether this is classical or Biblical; cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 11. 9; Ovid. *Met.* 6. 72, etc., with 1 Kings 7. 15; Jer. 52. 21; Ezek. 43. 16. It will be remembered that six cubits made a reed, as used for measuring: Ezek. 40. 5; 41. 8. Others speak of twenty cubits; see Raleigh, *Hist. World* 1. 3; McClintock and Strong, *Encyclopædia* 7. 657.

29<sup>b</sup>-30. Cf. 313<sup>b</sup>, 424<sup>b</sup>-5, 655<sup>b</sup>.

31. *hēr*. In this world (so 23); see Introduction, p. 1v.

32<sup>a</sup>. So 23<sup>a</sup>; cf. 121<sup>a</sup>.

33<sup>a</sup>. *sigewong*. A curious reminiscence of the heroic poetry; cf. the same word, *Jud.* 295.

33<sup>b</sup>. *sunbearo. Solis nemus*.

34. *wuduholt*. There is considerable pleonasm in the compounds with *wudu*. Thus not only do we have *holt* and *wudu*, but *wuduholt*, as here (and 362), and *holtwudu* (171). So not only *bearu* (67, etc.), but *wudubearu* (152, 169). This practice is continued into Middle English: *holte wodez*, *Pearl* 75 (see Osgood's note); *Gaw.* 742; *Dest. Troy* 1350.

36<sup>a</sup>. So 78<sup>b</sup>.

37-8. Kölbing (see note on 14-21) compares *Orison of Our Lady* 39:

Per ne mei non valuwen, vor þer is eche sumer,  
Per ham never ne mei snou ne vorst ivreden,

and hence concludes—a rather daring assumption—that the Middle English author must have been acquainted with our poem. A closer parallel is *Odyssey* 7. 117-8 (tr. Cotterill):

Here doth the fruit of the trees ne'er perish or fail in its bearing,  
Winter and summer alike perpetual.

37<sup>a</sup>. A mere form of expression, since the cold of winter and the heat of summer were alike wanting.

39<sup>b</sup>-40<sup>a</sup>. Lact. 11-12.

40-1<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 83-4<sup>a</sup>. 40<sup>a</sup> = 562<sup>a</sup>.

41<sup>b</sup>-6. Lact. 13-14. Ovid has an account of the deluge in Book I of the *Metamorphoses*; but Lactantius no doubt had the Biblical account

in mind (see Introduction, pp. liv-lv). Only one peak of Parnassus stood out above the deluge in Lucan, *Phars.* 5. 75 ff.; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1. 318-9.

41<sup>b</sup>. Swā. When. Cf. 322.

43<sup>b</sup>. See 26<sup>b</sup>.

47<sup>b</sup>. See 2 Pet. 3. 7, and cf. 490<sup>a</sup>, 501<sup>b</sup> ff., 521<sup>b</sup> ff.

50-6. Cf. Lact. 15-20, which is influenced by Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 273 ff. See also *Ph.* 611 ff.; *Chr.* 1660<sup>b</sup>-2<sup>a</sup>.

50-2. Kölbing compares with *Orison of our Lady* 36:

þer ðe nevre deað ne com, ne herm ne sorinesse.

See also Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience* 7814-7, and the other quotations in *The Christ of Cynewulf*, pp. 222 ff., where the ultimate source is indicated as Homily 15 of (Pseudo?) Boniface, which in turn reposes upon Augustine or Cæsarius of Arles.

52<sup>a</sup>. See 614<sup>a</sup>.

53<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu.* 801<sup>a</sup>.

54 ff. Note the rhymes.—*nē synn nē sacu.* Cf. *Beow.* 2472.

55. For the justification of *onsyn* as 'lack, want,' see my note on 480 in *The Christ of Cynewulf*. It was Thorpe who first suggested the meaning 'desire.'

56. Cf. *Chr.* 1661<sup>a</sup>.

56<sup>a</sup>. Against Hart's emendation, *ne sorgende slæp*, I have adduced the following arguments (*Mod. Lang. Notes* 14. 225-6): (1) *sorgian*, in the poetry, is always used of persons; (2) *sorgende slæp* is not a translation of *curæ insomnes*; (3) the reading of the MS. is supported by various parallels. The deprecation of sleep may be illustrated by Rev. 21. 23-25; 22. 5; and I adduced certain passages from early Christian writers to the same general effect. Cf. *Chr.* 1661; *Sal.* 311; *Wand.* 39-40; *Wulfstan* 139. 28.

57 ff. Lact. 21-4.

59<sup>a</sup>. So *An.* 1260<sup>a</sup>.

61<sup>a</sup>. *windig wolcen.* This seems to require a different verb from *feallep*. Cf. Schlotterose's note, and Tupper, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* 25. 173.

62<sup>b</sup>-70. Lact. 25-8. Lactantius is no doubt thinking of Gen. 2, 6, and connecting it with Gen. 2. 10 ff. These are, in the Vulgate: 'Sed fons ascendebat e terra, irrigans universam superficiem terræ. . . . Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum paradysum, qui inde dividitur in quatuor capita.' He conceives the fountain as giving birth to the river, or being itself the river, as do other early Christian Latin poets. Thus Pseudo-Cyprian, *De Laude Mart.* 21 (Cyprian, ed. Hartel, Vol. 3, App., p. 44): 'Ubi fons scaturiens medius sinu alvei prorumpentis emergit, et rauco per intervalla circuito sinuosis flexibus labitur'; *Ad Flavium Felicem* 238-9 (*Op. cit.*, App., p. 318):

Fons illic placido perfundit agmine campos,  
Quattuor inde rigan partitam flumina terram.

Avitus I. 252, 259, 260:

Hic fons perspicuo resplendens gurgite surgit. . . .  
 Eductum leni fontis de vertice flumen,  
 Quattuor in largos confestim scinditur amnes.

Isidore of Seville, *Etymol.* 14. 33: 'E cuius medio fons prorumpens totum nemus irrigat, dividiturque in quattuor nascentia flumina.'

Other Biblical passages are related to Gen. 2. 6, 10, and must have been in Lactantius' mind at the same time. Such are Ezek. 47. 7, 9, 12; Rev. 22. 1 ff. (7. 17; 21. 6; 22. 17); cf. John 4. 10, 14; Ps. 36. 9; Jer. 2. 13; 17. 13. See also Ovid, *F.* 2. 250.

63. *wyllan*. The identification of the fountain with the one river, which afterwards becomes four, is no doubt responsible for this plural; cf. the *lagustrēamas* of 62, and the plurals of 65<sup>a</sup>. On the other hand, 104.

64. *flōdwylmum*. *An.* 516 has *flōdwylm*, whereas there is no *foldwylm* in the poetry. Moreover, the *flōd-* repeats the idea of *lagu-* (62, 70). Cf. *El.* 215.

66<sup>a</sup>. Cf. Ezek. 47. 12; Rev. 22. 2.

66<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 349<sup>a</sup>.

67. *brimcald*. Cf. 110.

68<sup>b</sup>. See 36<sup>b</sup>.

76. For metrical reasons, as Sievers observes (*PBB.* 10. 490), the first syllable of *treowum* is short.

77. For the accusative with *in*, cf. 509, 517, *El.* 1209.

79. Cf. *Chr.* 330<sup>b</sup>.

85<sup>b</sup>. So 232<sup>b</sup>, 307<sup>b</sup>.

86<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 266<sup>a</sup>, 347<sup>a</sup>.

86<sup>b</sup>. *Fenix*. The first syllable is short, for metrical reasons (Sievers *PBB.* 10. 499). In Ælfric's *Grammar*, ed. Zupitza, p. 70, we have, as an illustration of nouns ending in long *-ix*: *hic Fenix*, with this explanation: 'Swā hātte ān fugel on Arabiscre dēode, se leofað fif hund gēara, and æfter dēaðe eft ārist geedcucod; and se fugel getācnað ūrne ārist on ðām endenēxtan dæge.'

87. Lactantius is probably here dependent on Ovid, *Am.* 2. 6. 54:

Et vivax Phœnix, unica semper avis.

88<sup>b-9</sup>. See 179-181.

91. *condelle*. Similarly 108, 187; also *tapur*, 114. One must think of the mild, serene light of the wax candle, associated, as it would be in the minds of the Anglo-Saxon, with the altar, the music, and the services of the church. Shakespeare designates the stars as *candles*, as in 'Night's candles are burnt out,' and 'Those gold candles fixed in heaven's air.' Milton designates the sun by the word *lamp* (*P. L.* 7. 370):

First in his east the glorious lamp was seen,  
 Regent of day.

Cf. *P. L.* 3. 22.

92. *glædum*. For metrical reasons, *glæd* is always long in this text. Perhaps we should here read *glādum*; cf. 303; *Gram.* 50, 294.

*gimme*. Applied to the sun, literally or figuratively, also in 117, 183, 208, 289, 516.

93-4. See 102-3, 114<sup>b</sup>-5.

93<sup>b</sup>. *æpelast tungla*. So *Chr.* 607<sup>a</sup>.

94<sup>b</sup>. See 102<sup>b</sup>, 290<sup>b</sup>.

95<sup>b</sup>. In *Chr.* 507, the disciples see two angels, and, in *Chr.* 522, Christ himself, *frætuum blīcan*. So in *Jul.* 564, an angel comes *frætuum blīcan*.

96. *tācen Godes*. It is not clear whether *Godes* is an objective or a subjective genitive, that is, whether the sign signifies God, or belongs to God. In favor of the former is the interpretation of 254<sup>b</sup> given below.

97. *waþeman*. Not to be confounded with the word in 99.

99<sup>b</sup>. So 161<sup>b</sup>.

100<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 86<sup>a</sup>.

100. *firgenstrēam*. A Beowulfian word; there = 'mountain-stream.' Here it seems to be 'ocean,' as in *An.* 300 (*frigend-*). The Goth. *fairguni* means 'mountain.'

105. *wunað*. Construction as in 172.

106. *twelf siðum*. So 69, 146. The number is apparently due to a misunderstanding of Lactantius' *ter quater*, or else to an effort to extend the notion of (28), 69, 146, to this case. *Ter quater* is used in Latin for an indefinite number, like our 'repeatedly': see, for example, Virgil, *Aen.* 12. 155; Ovid, *Met.* 4. 733; Horace, *Od.* 1. 31. 13; Tibullus 3. 3. 26. On the other hand, by the time of Alcuin († 804), *ter quater* seems to mean twelve; cf. his verses in *Epist.* 28 (*Mon. Alc.*, p. 208), where he refers to the twelve bishops of Britain:

Urbs æterna Dei, terræ sal, lumina mundi,  
Bis sex signa poli, *menses et ter quater anni*,  
Atque diei horæ.

The eagle is said to renew his youth by plunging three times into a fountain (Hopkins, 'The Fountain of Youth,' *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.* 26 (1905). 38-41), who quotes, among other authors, Pseudo-Jerome, *Epist. ad Præsidium* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 30. 187): 'Quæritque fontem et erigit pennas, et colligit in se calorem, et sic oculi ejus sanantur, et in fontem se ter mergit, et ita ad juventutem redit.' There are points of contact between the mythical eagle and the Phoenix, as Professor Hopkins points out, but the precise historical relation between them is difficult to clear up. The familiar Biblical allusion, 'so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's,' is from Ps. 103. 5.

107 ff. The Phoenix here appears in a priestly character, as it were, such as was sustained by the Egyptian kings in their ceremonial visits to Heliopolis and similar shrines. We have the record of such a visit by

Pankhy, or Piankhi I, whose original seat was at Napata, now Jebel Barkal, and who, being called in by the rulers of Middle and Upper Egypt to repel the invasion of Tafnekht, probably a Libyan chief, curbed the latter's power about 728 B. C. In his progress northward he visited one place after another, and among them Heliopolis. The stele on which he recorded the chief events of his reign, set up at Napata, and now in the Cairo Museum (translations in *Records of the Past* 2. 81 ff.; Brugsch, *Hist. Egypt* 2. 231 ff.; Griffith, *Egypt. Lit.*, pp. 5275 ff.; Breasted, *Anc. Records of Egypt* 4. 418-444; the part relating to Heliopolis also by Wiedemann, *Zs. für Aegypt. Spr.* 16 (1878). 92-3), gives an account of his visit to Heliopolis. First telling of his arrival, the stele proceeds (*Rec. Past* 2. 97-8): "Then the King went to the royal headquarters [a garden or park, a *paradisus*, with a residence] on the west of the lake of Horus, and offered his oblations. Then he purified himself in the heart of the cool lake, washing his face in the stream of the heavenly waters in which Rā laves his face [cf. *Book of the Dead*, chap. 145, Budge's translation, p. 244: 'I have washed myself in the water wherein the god Rā washeth himself when he leaveth the eastern part of the sky']. Then he proceeded to the sandy height in Heliopolis, making a great sacrifice on that sandy height of Heliopolis before the face of Rā at his rising, with milch-cows [Wiedemann, 'white oxen'], milk, odorous gums, frankincense, and all precious woods delightful for scent.

'He went in procession to the temple of Rā, the great sanctuary, with solemn adoration. Then the Chief Priest offered supplications to ward off calamity from the King, performing the rite of lustration girded with the (sacred) vestments. He then purified him with incense and sprinkling, and brought to him garlands from the temple of obelisks [probably the temple erected by Sesostri I; see above p. xlvi]. When the garlands were brought to him, he ascended the flight of steps to the great shrine, to behold Rā in the temple of obelisks.

'The King himself stood, the great one alone; he drew the bolt, he opened the folding doors, he saw his father Rā in the temple of obelisks, (and) the bark of Rā, and the vessel of Tum. Then he closed the doors, and set sealing-clay with the King's own signet, and enjoined the priests, (saying): "I have set my seal; let no other king whatever enter therein."

'Then he stood, while they prostrated themselves before His Majesty, saying: "All hail for ever, indestructible Horus, lover of Heliopolis! Thou who comest as one entering into the temple of Tum, ministering to the image of father Tum Chepera, great god of Heliopolis."

107. *burnan*. For this, the fountain of the sun, but at the same time the Biblical fountain of life, see the Introduction, pp. xxxvi, liii.

*bēacnes*. Perhaps in allusion to Gen. 1. 14: 'let them be for *signs*.' Cf. *tācen*, 96.

112. This station on the tree is significant; see Introduction, pp. 1-li.

114<sup>a</sup>. See 90<sup>b</sup>.

115. *holmþræce* is warranted by *An.* 467; *El.* 728; *Chr.* 678; while *holmuræce* does not occur, and would have no sense.

116<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu.* 631.

119<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 93<sup>b</sup>.

120<sup>b</sup>. An anticipation of Shakespeare, *M. N. D.* 3. 2. 391-3:

Even till the eastern gate, all fiery-red,  
Opening on Neptune with fair blessed beams,  
Turns into yellow gold his salt green streams.

121. *swā*. Almost = 'then.' See Pn. 7.—*haswa*. Cf. 153. This is a term applied to the eagle (*Rid.* 25. 4); to the dove (*Gen.* 1451); and to smoke (*Rid.* 2. 7). The appropriateness here is not evident, in view of 291 ff.; it is probably reproduced merely as a traditional epithet.

123<sup>a</sup>. *feþrum snell*. So 163<sup>a</sup>, 347<sup>a</sup>.

123<sup>b</sup>. So 340<sup>a</sup>; *An.* 866<sup>b</sup>.

124<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 140<sup>a</sup>; *Chr.* 884<sup>a</sup>.

125<sup>a</sup>. *swā*. Has no correlative, and so is apparently a mere intensive.

126<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *El.* 842<sup>a</sup>.

126<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 592<sup>b</sup>.

127. *wrixleð*. Used again of song in *Rid.* 9. 2.

128<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 510<sup>a</sup>. Appositive with *wöðcræfte*.

129. *Hēahcýning*. So 446, 483. Cf. *Cæsere*, 634.

131. *swēg*. For the words of the Phœnix, according to Egyptian sources, see Introduction, p. xlii. The Hebrew poet Ezekiel, ca. 200 B. C. (Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* 9. 29), attributes to him 'a voice unparalleled' (*φωνήν δὲ πάντων εἶχεν ἑκπνευστάτην*). This is repeated from Ezekiel by Pseudo-Eustathius, *Comm. in Hexæm.* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 18. 730). According to Claudian, he sings to the sun just before his death.

The singing of the Phœnix at sunrise naturally suggests that of other birds, especially of the cock. It is disputed what bird is intended in Sophocles, *El.* 18: 'Already the sun's bright ray is waking the songs of the birds into clearness.' Similarly, Ovid, *F.* 4. 165-6:

Nox ubi transierit, cælumque rubescere primo  
Cœperit, et tactæ rore querentur aves.

So Virgil, *Aen.* 8. 456:

Et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus.

For the cock, see Ovid, *F.* 2. 767:

Jam dederat cantum lucis prænuntius ales.

Pausanias 5. 25. 9: 'The cock, they say, is sacred to the sun, and heralds his approach.' In Heliodorus 1. 18 we are left undecided 'whether a natural instinct induces them to salute the returning sun.' The cock eventually became a Christian symbol. Thus in the Ambrosian hymn, 'Aeterne rerum Conditor':

Præco diei iam sonat  
 Noctis profundæ pervigil,  
 Nocturna lux viantibus  
 A nocte noctem segregans.

And thus in Prudentius' morning-hymn (*Cath.* I. 1-2, 13-16, 29-32):

Ales diei nuntius  
 Lucem propinquam cecinit. . . .  
 Vox ista qua strepunt aves  
 Stantes sub ipso culmine  
 Paulo ante quam lux emicet,  
 Nostri figura est iudicis. . . .  
 Sed vox ab alto culmine  
 Christi docentis præmonet,  
 Adesse jam lucem prope,  
 Ne mens sopori serviat.

Cf. Ambrose, *Hexaem.* 5. 24, and see the notes to *Cath.* I in the *Temple Classics* translation. At a much later time, Alfonso Vigliegus, translated in Alexander, *Libro d'Oro*, p. 448, compares the angels at the birth of Christ with the birds of dawn: 'When the sun rises in the morning, the birds sing sweetly as if saluting him and rejoicing at his coming; so when the Sun of Righteousness was born into the world, it was the duty of the birds of heaven, who are the angels, to make music, singing melodiously.' For the matin-hymn of the catreus, see note on 260.

134 ff. Cf. Tennyson, *The Holy Grail* 113-5. For Old English musical instruments, see Padelford, *Old English Musical Terms*, Bonn, 1899.

134. *magon*. 'May be compared.' Cosijn<sup>1</sup> suggests the insertion of *be* before *þam*, comparing *Oros.* 2. 6. 5; *Beow.* 1284.

136<sup>b</sup>-7<sup>a</sup>. I interpret: 'the strain of the organ's melody.'

137<sup>a</sup>. *swēghlēopres* is confirmed by *Pn.* 42; cf. *Ph.* 131<sup>b</sup>. Grein's rendering of *swēgle(o)ðer* (in his variants) as 'sound-leather,' 'bag-pipe,' may be noted as a curiosity. In his *Sprachschatz* he renders by *clangoris sonitus*, though he still questions whether *swegleðer* may not be the word.

137<sup>b</sup>. *swanes feðre*. The belief that the music of the swan was produced in this way is illustrated by *Rid.* 8, which may be found in modern English in Cook and Tinker's *Select Translations from Old English Poetry*, p. 72.

139<sup>b</sup>. It is difficult to account for the accusative, since *woruld* here does not primarily mean 'age, period' (cf. 517).

143. *gefēhð*. There is an Anglian form *gefēð* (*Gram.* 374, note 2; cf. 373), but the *h* is indicated by the *onfēhð* of 159, 533.

144. *þriwa*. Lact. *ter.* Perhaps the Latin is here indefinite; see note on 106.

144<sup>b</sup>-5<sup>a</sup>. *āscæceð feþre flythwate*. Lact. *alarum repetito verbere*

*plaudit*. The flapping of its wings (beating of its breast) is generally associated with the lighting of its pyre, as a fanning process; thus in Epiphanius, *Ancoratus* 84 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 43. 174); Isidore of Seville, *Etymol.* 12. 7. 22 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 82. 462), from whom Rabanus Maurus, *De Universo* 8. 6 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 111. 246); Pseudo-Jerome, *Epist. ad Præsidium* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 30. 187). A better illustration of the present lines is Ovid, *Met.* 8. 238-9. Here the partridge

Et plausit pennis, testataque gaudia cantu est.

Again (*Met.* 14. 576-7), of the heron:

Congerie e media tunc primum cognita præpes  
Subvolat, et cineres plausis everberat alis.

The Middle English *Pearl* has (93-4):

For quen þose bryddez her wynggez bete,  
Pay songen wyth a swete asent.

The *Pearl* knows the 'Fenyx of Arraby' (430), it may be observed in passing.

146<sup>a</sup>. See note on 106.

146<sup>b</sup>. *tīda*. Thus the cock, according to Alain de Lille (*De Planctu Naturæ*), in a passage used by Chaucer (*Nun's Priest's Tale* 33-4), marks the hours: 'Illic gallus, tamquam vulgaris astrologus, suæ vocis horologio horarum loquebatur discrimina.' With Lactantius' *discriminat* compare Alain's *discrimina*.

148. *bigengan*. The dative seems to be required, as in *Dan.* 245; *Chr.* 803, etc.

150<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 508<sup>b</sup>.

151. *þūsend*. Authorities differ greatly as to the number:

1000. Martial, Ausonius, Claudian (*Ph.*), Ambrose (*Fid. Res.*), Nonnus, Gregory Nazianzen, and various Rabbis.

500. Herodotus, Ovid, Tacitus (one account), Aelian, Seneca, Epiphanius, Pseudo-Epiphanius, Aurelius Victor, Philostratus, Ambrose (*Hexaemeron*), Greek *Physiologus*, Clement of Rome, Pseudo-Eustathius, Pseudo-Jerome, *Apostolical Constitutions*, Ælfric.

540. Pliny (10. 2), Solinus.

580. Horapollo.

500 and more. Isidore of Seville, Rabanus Maurus.

654. Suidas.

1469. Tacitus (one account).

Other estimates may be found in Hesiod, Ausonius, and Claudian.

152. *wudubearwes*. Cf. *Wulf.* 221. 17; 262. 6.

154<sup>a</sup>. *gēarum frōd*. Cf. 219<sup>a</sup>.

154<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 13, 36, 78.

155. *wyn*. Cf. 12<sup>a</sup>, 70<sup>b</sup>, 290<sup>a</sup>, 348<sup>b</sup>.

156. In other words, he reaches this world.

157<sup>b</sup>-8<sup>a</sup>. A wilderness (cf. 161<sup>a</sup>), inhabited by no man, *mors ubi regna tenet*.

158<sup>b</sup> ff. An anticipation of 335<sup>b</sup> ff. There seems no reason why he should pass with a retinue to the place of his burning, and our author has no authority for his statement.

158<sup>b</sup>. *ealdordōm*. Cf. *cyning*, 344.

159. *fugla cynn*. So 335.

160. *þrāge*. Accusative of extent of time.

164<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 339.

166<sup>b</sup>. According to many of the authorities, the Phœnix goes to Egypt. Others make him build his nest in the country where he has passed his life, or leave the matter undecided.

167<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 274; cf. *hēapum*, 336.

167<sup>b</sup>-8<sup>a</sup>. Possibly, as I have translated elsewhere: 'Here the pure one thrusts them abruptly away.'

168. *oðscūfeð*. Cf. *oðflēogeð*, 347.—in *sceade*. Cf. *on sceade*, 234; *in þām læafsceade*, 205; *ofer sceadu*, 210.

170. Cf. 3<sup>b</sup> ff. *Cos.*<sup>2</sup> thinks *hæleþa* = 'birds'—those accompanying him.

171<sup>a</sup>. *hēanne bēam*. So 112<sup>b</sup>, 202<sup>a</sup>.

173<sup>a</sup>. *hē*. The gender follows *bēama*, not *treowe*.

174. *fenix*. Lact. *palmam*. According to Ovid, too, it is a palm (*Met.* 15. 396):

*Ilicet [var. ilicis] in ramis tremulæque cacumine palmæ.*

Isidore of Seville (*Etymol.* 17. 7. 1) in like manner: 'Hanc [palmam] Græci *phœnicem* dicunt, quod diu duret, ex nomine avis illius Arabiæ, quæ multis annis vivere perhibetur.' Philip the Presbyter († 456 A. D.), *Comm. on Job* 29. 18, says: 'Palma autem arbor secundum Græcos *φοίνιξ* dicitur. Avis quoque illa, quam multi facile vivere autumant, *φοίνιξ* eodem nihilo minus vocabulo nuncupatur.' Cf. Pliny 13. 9. 13. The Coptic name for Phœnix and palm-tree is said to be the same (Seyffarth, p. 63). When, according to the Hebrew poet Ezekiel, the Phœnix is discovered, it is at the point of his story represented by Exod. 15. 27 (cf. Num. 33. 9): 'And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and three score and ten palm trees; and they encamped there by the waters.' On the confusion between the Phœnix and the palm, see note on 552-69.

175<sup>b</sup>. So *Chr.* 1165<sup>a</sup>.

177. *hē*. The manuscript-reading can hardly be retained, in view of the weight of evidence in favor of *hē*: *Dan.* 477; *Sat.* 261, 584; *Beow.* 1714, 2658; *Gu.* 72, 129, 421; *An.* 1007; *Jul.* 562, etc. *se þe . . . āna*, Ps. 71. 19; *Gn. Ex.* 173, does not militate against this reading; neither does *nymðe se āna God, Rid.* 41. 21; nor, when closely considered, does *Rid.* 41. 90: *Waldend ūser, se mec āna mæg . . . geþēon. Hē* here follows the gender of *bēama*.

179<sup>b</sup>-80<sup>a</sup>. Tupper translates (see on 61<sup>a</sup>): 'nor does aught that is grievous hurt him with evils.'

189<sup>b</sup>. So 432<sup>b</sup>; cf. *Chr.* 245<sup>b</sup>; *An.* 158<sup>b</sup>; *Fates of Men* 84 (without following clause). For the punctuation, see the first three passages referred to above.

191<sup>a</sup>. þurh gewittes wylm. Either 'through perturbation of spirit' or 'through excitement of mind' (culminating in resolve). He can not summon up resolution enough to endure the flame, nor can he actually endure it, without a struggle. For a somewhat similar phrase, cf. *Beow.* 2882, *wēoll of gewitte*, and see the compounds *brēost-*, *cear-*, *sār-*, *sorg-wylm*, in *Beowulf*, *Elene*, and *Guthlac*, and *dēaðes wylm*, *Beow.* 2269. Cosijn (*PBB.* 23. 123) adduces *Cura Past.* 162. 24: *se wielm ðæs mōdes* (*frixura mentis*). Cf. Tupper (as on 61<sup>a</sup>). Trautmann's *gewyrtes wylm* is unsupported by any other example of *gewyr*, as is Schlotterose's *gewīces*.

192<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 433<sup>a</sup>, 266<sup>b</sup>-7<sup>a</sup>, 223<sup>b</sup>, 558<sup>b</sup>.

192<sup>b</sup>. feor and nēah. Cf. 467<sup>b</sup>: *sīde and wīde*.

194. wyrta. It is often difficult to distinguish the various senses of *wyr* in the poem. Here the meaning seems to be 'plant'; but in 196, where the adjective is the same, the sense is as plainly 'spice,' or rather 'spicy odor,' unless we make *wyrta* there depend upon *æpelstenca*, which would involve a departure from customary usage.

196<sup>b</sup>. Wuldorcýning. So 420<sup>b</sup>, 537<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Ps.* 24. 7 ff.

197<sup>a</sup>. See *frymþa Scyppend*, 630.

198. indryhtum. Grein gives *nobilitas* as the meaning of *indryht* (also *Seaf.* 89), and *nobilissimus* as that of *indryhten* (*Wand.* 12; *Rid.* 44. 1; 89. 1).

199. swētest. Agrees with *gehwone*, 195; cf. 193<sup>a</sup>.

200<sup>b</sup>. The names of the individual spices are not given. Presumably but few of them were known in England at this time.

201. se wilda fugel. So 466, 529; cf. *ānhaga*, 87, 346.

202<sup>a</sup>. See Introduction, pp. 1-11.

202<sup>b</sup>. hūs. So 212, 217, 228. Cf. *nest*, 189, 215.

209. hātost. Cf. *Gn. C.* 7: 'swegel bið hātost'; *Sax. Leechd.* 3. 2: 'wið hātre sunnan.'

210. drēogeð. Namely, the Phoenix, not the sun (as Grein, *Spr.*, s. v. *gesceap*). Cf. *gesceap drēogeð*, *Hy.* 11. 9.

212. hādor. *El.* has a different vowel (748).

213. willsele. Cf. *wil(l)-*, 89, 109, 149.

214<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Pn.* 46; *swecca swēta*, *Gu.* 1247.

221. flæsc and bān. Epiphanius, whom our author could not have known, has the same expression: 'and this consumes itself, flesh and bone.'

230. æples gelicnes. Apparently original with our poet.

232. wyrm. Some authorities say nothing of the worm; such are Ovid, Tacitus, Dionysius (Pseudo-?) Oppian, Pseudo-Epiphanius, Isidore of Seville. The first author who mentions the worm is Pliny, or rather

his authority, Manilius: 'From its bones and marrow there springs at first a sort of small worm, which in time changes into a little bird.'

233<sup>a</sup>. *æge*. Herodotus seems to be the only author besides Lactantius to use the simile of an egg, but of the sepulchre of the parent: 'First he molds an egg of myrrh as large as he is able to carry; then he tries to carry it, and, when he has made the experiment, he hollows out the egg and puts his parent into it,' etc.

233<sup>b</sup>. *ālāde*. There is no occasion to emend, if we regard the verb as intransitive; cf. 251. In 178, *ūplāddendra* is also intransitive. Cf. *Rood* 5.

234. *on sceade*. See note on 168. Can this be an allusion to the night, during which the sun is recreated, to Christ's descent into Hades, or to the night of death which every soul must pass through? Cf. Pseudo-Cyprian, *Ad Flavium Felicem* 130-134 (Cyprian, ed. Hartel, Vol. 3, App., p. 313):

Solque cadit supero splendorifer lumine claro,  
*Lux perit umbrato venienti vespere mundo,*  
 Et remeat toto renovatque gaudia sæclo;  
 Sic cremata suo vivit de funere Fœnix,  
 Extemploque suo volucris resurgit e busto.

Add Zeno, *De Res.* 8 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* II. 380): 'Sol quotidie nascitur, eademque die qua nascitur moritur; nec tamen instantis finis sorte terretur, suos ut repigret cursus, ut horas ac momenta producat, ut saltem paulo diutius diei sui demoretur in vita; sed fidelis semper, semper intrepidus, ad sepulcrum noctis cognatæ contendit, scius in ipso se habere quod vivit; denique admittitur ei ortus si ei auferatur occasus.'

235. *earnes*. Herodotus was the first to compare the Phœnix to an eagle: 'In outline and size he is very like an eagle.' Then Pliny: 'We are told that the bird is of the size of an eagle.' So also Philostratus. To Ezekiel he is about twice as large as an eagle, and to Pseudo-Eustathius of the size of a peacock.—brid. Cf. 372.

236<sup>a</sup>. *fugeltimber*. *Timber* has, in Old English, the sense of material or substance of which a thing is made. The author has here coined a compound which the Germans might represent by *Vogelstoff*, and which aptly expresses the half-formed condition of the incipient bird. Against Trautmann's emendation, *fugelumber*, is to be urged that *umbor* is not found as the last element in compounds.

236<sup>b</sup>. *furðor gēn*. Several Christian authors represent the time required as three days. Thus Epiphanius: 'The remnants of its flesh, . . . after about a day, produce a worm. The worm grows feathers, and is transformed into a young bird. The third day it arrives at maturity.' Pseudo-Epiphanius: 'The next day he [the priest] finds it winged. At the end of the third day, it salutes the priest with its wings.' Pseudo-Jerome: 'Crastino die de cinere gignitur vermis, secundo plumas effert,

tertio ad antiquam redit naturam.' Greek *Physiologus*: 'The next day the priest, upon examining the altar, finds a worm in the ashes. The second day it puts forth wings, and the third it is restored to its former state.' These three days of course correspond to the three which intervened between Christ's death and resurrection. In the Old English we have three stages: (1) *brid, fugeltimber*; (2) *gelic ealdum earne*; (3) *swylc hē at frymðe wæs*.

239<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 280<sup>b</sup>.

240. *bræd*. Perhaps related to *gebrēdad*, 372; *gebrēdade*, 592.

242<sup>a</sup>. The appropriateness of this is not evident; cf. *āsundrod fram synnum*, *El.* 1309.

242<sup>b</sup>. So *Met.* 8. 47.

243. *swā*. The image drawn from the transformation of a butterfly, which Basil the Great had adopted (*Hex.* 8. 8; cf. Zöckler, *Gesch. der Beziehungen zwischen Theologie und Naturwissenschaft*, pp. 195, 292), ignoring or repudiating that of the Phœnix, is here replaced by that of seed, already found in the New Testament: *Jn.* 12. 24; *1 Cor.* 15. 35-8. It is thus developed by Pseudo-Cyprian, *Ad Flavium Felicem* 121-5:

Semina sic versis creduntur arida terris,  
Et penitus fixis putrescunt mortua sulcis,  
Onde reparatis animatur culmus aristas,  
Et iterum vivis flavescunt fortia granis,  
Consurguntque novæ vario cum fœnore messes.

Others who employ this figure are Clemens Romanus, *Ep.* 1 *ad Cor.* 24; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 5. 8 ff.; Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* 1. 13; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 18. 6; Tertullian, *Apol.* 48; *De Resur.* 12; Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 34; Dracontius 1. 621 ff. Cf. Sayce, *Rel. Anc. Egypt and Bab.*, p. 167.

*mon*. So always in *Ph.*; *El.* always *man*(-).

246. *hī*. So always (with *hȝ*) in *Ph.*, while *El.* has *hīe*, *hīo*, *hēo*.

247<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *El.* 84<sup>b</sup>.—*hī*. Men.

251. *ālædan*. Cf. note on 233<sup>b</sup>.

252<sup>a</sup>. Grein (*Dichtungen*), 'durch des Kornes Keimkraft.'

252<sup>b</sup>. *clæne*. One might think of *1 Cor.* 15. 37; Grein (*Dicht.*) translates as 'klein,' but this can hardly be right.

254<sup>b</sup>. Thorpe translates 253<sup>b</sup>-5<sup>a</sup>: 'Then the sun's gleam in spring wakens the sign of life, the world's production'; and Grein translates (*Dicht.*): 'Wenn der Sonne Lichtglanz in des Lenzes Zeit des Lebens Zeichen erweckt und Weltreichtum.' So, too, Grein (*Spr.*) makes *tæcen* acc. (plur.). It is better, however, to equate *lifes tæcen* with *sunnan glæm*. Surely the sun, or sunshine, is a symbol of life, if anything is. Cf. note on 96<sup>a</sup>.

258. *geong*. *El.* always has *ging*.

259<sup>a</sup>. So 535<sup>a</sup>.

259<sup>b</sup>. Ovid says: 'It lives not on corn or grass, but on drops of frankincense and the juices of the amomum.' Pliny: 'No one has seen it eat.' Claudian, translated by Henry Vaughan:

His appetite he never doth assuage  
 With common food, nor doth he use to drink,  
 When thirsty, on some river's muddy brink;  
 A purer, vital heat, shot from the sun,  
 Doth nourish him, and airy sweets, that come  
 From Tethys' lap, he tasteth at his need;  
 On such abstracted diet doth he feed.

Pseudo-Epiphanius: 'It passes its life without food or drink, . . . subsisting on air.' Cf. also Lactantius.

260. *meledēawes*. Pliny says of honey-dew (*N. H.* 11. 12. 12): 'This substance is engendered from the air, mostly at the rising of the constellations. . . . Hence it is that at early dawn the leaves of the trees are found covered with a kind of honey-like dew. . . . Whether it is that the liquid is the sweat of the heavens, or whether a saliva emanating from the stars, or a juice exuding from the air while purifying itself, would that it had been, when it comes to us, pure, limpid, and genuine, as when first it took its downward descent.' Seneca (*Epist.* 84) tells of a honey found in India in the leaves of reeds, and questions whether it may be dew from the Indian sky. The ordinary food of the Nabathæans, according to Diodorus Siculus (19. 94) is a wild honey which flows in great abundance from certain trees, and which they mix with water; cf. Strabo 12. 3. 18; 2. 1. 14. But the most interesting parallel is found in Nonnus (26. 183-214). In Arizantia, according to him, there are trees which, being impregnated in the early morning by an aerial dew, distil honey, which drips from the leaves, and itself resembles dew. Attracted by its sweetness, birds come swiftly flying in flocks, and hover over the branches; dragons drink of it, and their bitter venom is converted into honey itself. On these boughs sits the horion, and by his side the catreus, brilliant of plumage and melodious of voice. Of these, the catreus, sitting on a branch of a lofty tree, 'all resplendent with its purple wings, pours forth his song; at this matin-hymn of the catreus, one would take him for a nightingale, with joyous carol saluting the dawn.'

264. Cf. 275, and *El.* 598-9.

267<sup>b</sup>. Barnouw would omit *his* for metrical reasons; but cf. 262<sup>b</sup>.

269. *swoles lāfe*. Cf. 272<sup>a</sup>, 276<sup>b</sup>.

277. *clām*. See *Gram.*<sup>8</sup> 112, note 1; 259, note.

278<sup>a</sup>. *sunbeorht gesetu*. This is properly Heliopolis in Egypt, as Gryphiander's (1618) emendation (*urbem* for *ortus*) would suggest (see Introduction, p. xxxix). The Old English poet is likely, however, to have read *ortus*, which would carry him back to line 1 of the Latin; accordingly, he seems to have no suspicion that Egypt (see Lact. 151)

is an intermediate stopping-place, but identifies *sunbeorht gesetu* with *cŷþþu* (277<sup>b</sup>) and *eadig eþellond* (279<sup>a</sup>). See note on 331 ff.

281-2<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 395 ff.

284. *beorhstede*. Cf. *El.* 578.—forþylmde. So only *Jud.* 118; *El.* 767.

286. This statement is an invention of the Old English poet, who apparently sees no connection between the Latin here and at 331 ff. He could not well introduce an allusion to a heathen altar, and any reference to a Christian altar would of course be meaningless. Achilles Tatius is the only other author who states that the remains were buried.

287. *æalonde*. The *iglund* of 9, as the *þām* seems to indicate.

288<sup>a</sup>. Thorpe translates: 'the sign of sun'; Grein (*Dicht.*): 'der Leuchtglanz der Sonne'; Go.: 'the sign of the sun'; Bright says: '*sunnan segn*, "the sign of the sun" = "the sun," just as the sun is also called *tācen* (l. 96) and *bēacen* (l. 107); the same figure is merely varied in expression to suit the alliteration.' Against this is to be said: (1) the MS. has *þegn*; (2) this term sufficiently corresponds to *satelles*, Lact. 33, and lines 90-147<sup>b</sup> of the Old English; (3) *segn* is used in the poetry only in the sense of 'ensign,' 'standard,' literally or figuratively, if we except *Gen.* 2370, when it is used of circumcision as a sign of God's covenant; *Sal.* 236, where it is used of the cross; and *Beow.* 1204, where it is employed to mean 'cognizance.' Now *þære sunnan segn* could not mean 'standard of the sun'; the Phoenix is nowhere treated in the poem as a sign of the sun, that is, as standing for or designating him, though there is reason enough for us so to conceive him (see Introduction, pp. xxxviii ff.); the explanation of *bēacen* and *tācen* suggested in the note on 107 would not apply here. There is, accordingly, no ground for departing from the MS. reading.

288<sup>b</sup>-90. Cf. 92-94, 102-3. One is reminded of Tennyson, *Lucretius* 133-4:

King of the East altho' he seem, and girt  
With song and flame and fragrance.

289. *glādost*. Silver is called *glād*, *Gen.* 2719, and gold is so referred to in *Sal.* 488; *Rid.* 64. 3.

291 ff. In reading any description of the Phoenix, we must remember how hard it is to picture the sun in his thousand liveries at his rising and his setting. The earliest non-Egyptian account is that by Herodotus: 'The plumage of his wings is partly golden-colored and partly red; in outline and size he is very like an eagle.' Ezekiel, the Hebrew poet: 'In size he was about twice as large as an eagle, with wings of many colors. His legs were red, and his neck adorned with yellow feathers. His head resembled that of the domestic cock, and the pupil of his eyes was of a quince yellow, and round like a seed.' Pliny (similarly Solinus): 'The bird is of the size of an eagle, and has a brilliant golden plumage about the neck, while the rest of the body is of a purple [crimson] color, except

the tail, which is azure, with long feathers intermingled of a roseate hue; the throat is adorned with a crest, and the head with a tuft of feathers.' Achilles Tattius: 'He is about the size of a peacock, but superior to him in beauty; his plumage is bedripped with gold and purple, and he boasts of being descended from the sun—a claim which is borne out by the appearance of his head, which is crowned by a splendid circle, the very image of that orb. The hues are mingled rose and azure, and the disposition of the feathers represents the rays.' Pseudo-Epiphanius: 'The Phœnix is more beautiful than the peacock. The peacock has its wings overspread with gold and silver, but the Phœnix with sapphire, emerald, and other precious stones. It has a diadem on its head.' Pseudo-Eustathius: 'The Phœnix is of the size of a peacock, but differs from it in color and beauty. Its wings are of crimson and gold, and its head is distinguished by a goodly diadem of circular form. The circle is of dark-blue, and resembles a rose. Beautiful to look upon, and with a crest of rays, it is like the sun on high.' Philostratus: 'It emits rays, and blazes with gold, having the size and shape of an eagle.' Isidore of Seville: 'So-called, because he has the Phœnician [Tyrian] color.' Tacitus: 'Differs from all other birds in its beak and the tints of its plumage.' Ausonius (*Ep.* 20): 'Next in beauty to the peacock.' Claudian (tr. Vaughan):

A secret light there streams from both his eyes;  
A fiery hue about his cheeks doth rise;  
His crest grows up into a glorious star,  
Given to adorn his head, and shines so far  
That, piercing through the bosom of the night,  
It rends the darkness with a gladsome light.  
His thighs like Tyrian scarlet, and his wings—  
More swift than winds are—have sky-colored rings  
Flowery and rich, and, round about enrolled,  
Their utmost borders glisten all with gold.

294. *wrixleð*. Thorpe's emendation, *wrixled* (adopted by Gollancz), is attractive, but cf. *līxreð*, 299.

301. *ēaggebyrd*. For *gebyrd* in the sense of 'nature,' see 360. For Trautmann's *-gebyrgd*, see Schlotterose's note.

302. *stāne*. The jacinth (so Lactantius), which may mean the sapphire.

311. *fōtas*. For *fēt* (*Jul.* 472; *El.* 1066). Tupper says, with reference to the bearing of this form upon Cynewulfian authorship (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* 26. 268): 'What then shall we say to the use of both *fōtas* and *fēt* in the *Metrical Psalter*; and to the appearance of *fōte* and *fēt* (dat.) in two riddles [32 and 33] certainly from the same hand?'

312. *pēan*. The poet makes no mention of Lactantius' pheasant.

317. Like the sun.

322<sup>a</sup>. *Swā*. When. Cf. 41, and also 121.

- 324<sup>b</sup>-5<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 884<sup>b</sup>-5<sup>a</sup>.  
 331 ff. This is referred by Lactantius to Egypt.  
 337<sup>a</sup>. of. So *El.* 282; *Gu.* 859. Cf. *PBB.* 10. 280 (18. c).  
 340<sup>a</sup>. So 123<sup>b</sup>, *An.* 868<sup>b</sup>. The passage relating the flight of the eagles, *An.* 865 ff., may be compared with 335<sup>b</sup> ff.  
 342. wilgedryht. So *An.* 914; cf. *wilgestiðas*, *Beow.* 23.  
 344. cyning. The poet Ezekiel says (cf. note on 174): 'He seemed the king of all birds, for all the winged things together hastened after him in fear.' For the retinues, compare the accounts of Tacitus, Achilles Tatius, Statius (*Silv.* 2. 4. 16-7), Claudian (*Ph.* 76-80; *De Cons. Stil.*).  
 349<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 66<sup>b</sup>.  
 355<sup>a</sup>. So 647<sup>a</sup>; *Beow.* 13<sup>a</sup>; cf. *Chr.* 201<sup>a</sup>.  
 364. Cosijn's emendation, *āurnen* for *urnen*, is recommended by *Gen.* 1626: 'oðþæt his dōgora wæs rim āurnen'; *Edg.* 16: 'swā nēah wæs þūsend [wintra] āurnen.'  
 372<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 639<sup>a</sup>.  
 373<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 435<sup>a</sup>.—weseþ. Of forms from this stem in the ind. pres., Cos. knows only *Bl. Hom.* 153. 11: 'þonne.wesaþ þine handa sōna geed-nēowede.' Cf. *Gram.* 427, note 10.  
 383. deorcne dēað. See 499<sup>a</sup>.  
 385-6. Cf. *Gu.* 811-2.  
 386<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 347; *Rood* 143; cf. *Dan.* 367; *Rood* 135.  
 386<sup>b</sup>. So 475<sup>b</sup>.  
 390<sup>a</sup>. So 646<sup>a</sup>.  
 390<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 450<sup>b</sup>, 509<sup>b</sup>, 517<sup>a</sup>.  
 393<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 1<sup>a</sup>.  
 393-423. Abbetmeyer (p. 28) thinks this is derived from a common source with *Gu.* 791-850, 947-8, 953-969; *Chr.* 1379-1413; *Sat.* 410-421, 478-488; *Jul.* 494-505. The resemblance is especially striking with the first of these passages.  
 395-6<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 1389-90; *Gu.* 804<sup>b</sup>-5<sup>a</sup>.  
 397-8<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 799-800<sup>a</sup>.  
 398<sup>b</sup>-9. Cf. *Gu.* 814.  
 400<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 805<sup>a</sup>.  
 402<sup>b</sup>-4<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 819<sup>b</sup>-820.  
 405<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 827<sup>a</sup>.  
 407<sup>b</sup>. Seems hopelessly corrupt.  
 408<sup>a</sup>. āgeald. Construction not apparent.  
 408<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 711<sup>b</sup>.  
 409. Cf. *Gu.* 958.  
 411<sup>b</sup>-2. Cf. *Chr.* 1405-6.  
 413<sup>a</sup>. So *Sat.* 412<sup>a</sup>.  
 415<sup>b</sup>-6. Cf. *Chr.* 1408<sup>b</sup>-9: 'ond þā bidrifen wurde on þās þeostran woruld'; similarly *Gu.* 827<sup>b</sup>-9<sup>a</sup>. The Paradise from which they were banished was not on this earth (see Introduction, pp. liv-lv). Cf.

Sulpicius Severus, *Eccl. Hist.*, Bk. 1, beginning: 'They were banished as exiles into our earth'

417. *sēlle*. But *betere*, *El.* 1046.

420<sup>b</sup>. An object is required for *ontŷnde*, 423.

421<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 587<sup>a</sup>.

421<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 11<sup>b</sup>.

423<sup>a</sup>. So *Pn.* 73<sup>a</sup>.

424<sup>b-5</sup>. Cf. *Pn.* 13<sup>b-14</sup>.

425<sup>b</sup>. So 332<sup>b</sup>; cf. 30<sup>b</sup>, 655<sup>b</sup>; *El.* 827<sup>b</sup>, 1256<sup>b</sup>.

426<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 153 ff.

428<sup>b</sup>. So 162<sup>b</sup>.

432 ff. See 189 ff., and cf. *Chr.* 245; *An.* 158.

432. *micel*. *El.* prefers *myc-* (except 876).

433. *feorh geong* . . . *onfōn*. Cf. 192<sup>a</sup>.

435. *ealdcŷðpu*. See 351, *Chr.* 738.

436. Cf. 278.

437<sup>b</sup> ff. Cf. 411<sup>b</sup> ff.

438<sup>b</sup> ff. Cf. *Jul.* 502<sup>b</sup> ff.

440. *longne sīð*. So 555.

441. *lond*. This conjecture of Grundtvig's is sufficiently supported by *Gen.* 737, *þŷstre land*, but in favor of the MS. reading may be adduced *An.* 216-7, *feorh beran in gramra gripe*; *An.* 950-1, *genēðan in gramra gripe*; *Dan.* 307, *on hæft heorugrimra*.

450<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 1565, *fācentācen*.

450<sup>b</sup>. So 390<sup>b</sup>.

451 ff. Cf. 188 ff.

454<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 1508<sup>b</sup>.

461. *gieltas*. For normal *gyltas*.

463<sup>b</sup>. See *Gen.* 15. 1; *Ps.* 3. 3; 28. 7, etc.

465 ff. See 2 *Cor.* 2. 15; *Eph.* 5. 2; *Phil.* 4. 18; *Rev.* 5. 8; *Ambrose, Hexaemeron* 23. 80 (*Migne, Patr. Lat.* 14. 238); *Rabanus Maurus, De Universo* 8. 6. Also *Pn.* 64<sup>b</sup> ff., and notes.

469. Cf. 451.

475<sup>b</sup>. So 386<sup>a</sup>.

481<sup>b</sup>. *longe*. See 489<sup>b</sup>.

491-588. Cf. 48, and see the references to other poems in *The Christ of Cynewulf*, note on 1660<sup>b-2a</sup>.

491. Cf. *Chr.* 795.

492<sup>b</sup>. *wile Fæder*. So *Chr.* 1073.—*Fæder engla*. So 610<sup>b</sup>.

497<sup>a</sup>. *Brego engla*. So 568<sup>b</sup>.

502. Cf. *Jul.* 445.—*scome*. Cf. the form *sceame*, *El.* 470.

504<sup>b</sup> ff. Cf. 219<sup>b</sup> ff.

506<sup>b</sup>. So *Jul.* 688<sup>a</sup>; *El.* 1260<sup>a</sup>.

508-45. Cf. *Brown, Pub. M. L. A.* 18. 308-334, especially 331-3.

509<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 1570<sup>b</sup>.

510<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu.* 797<sup>a</sup>.

511. *Anwalda*. *Anwald* means 'power' (cf. 663), which does not fit the context, while *anw(e)alda* (*onwealda*), as found in *Beow.* 1272, *Rood* 153, *Rid.* 41. 4, *Sat.* 642, and *Gu.* 610, offers just the sense required. In the second hemistich, *eal* now bears the alliteration, as in *El.* 803, instead of *ūp*; cf. *Beow.* 835<sup>a</sup>; *Chr.* 1183<sup>a</sup>, 1378<sup>b</sup>; *An.* 1485<sup>a</sup>; *Dan.* 275<sup>b</sup>.

513. So *Gu.* 810; cf. *Gu.* 1149; *Chr.* 777<sup>a</sup>.—*gæst*. So always in *Ph.*, but *gäst* in *El.*; cf. *gæst-*, *Pn.* 21; *gäst*, *W.* 29.

514<sup>b</sup>-5. Cf. *Chr.* 1009.

516<sup>b</sup>-7. Cf. *Chr.* 1079<sup>b</sup>-80, 1333.

525<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 892<sup>a</sup>, which is conclusive against Schlotterose's emendation.

525<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 811<sup>b</sup>.

526 ff. Cf. 188 ff., 451 ff.

538. *geweorþeð*. Note the different form in *El.* 1192, 1275; cf. also *Ph.* 80, etc., with *El.* 575.

539 ff. Cf. 337 ff.

541<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 331<sup>a</sup>; *Jul.* 613<sup>a</sup>; *Hy.* 7. 53.

549<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *þurh Gæstes gi(e)fe*, *Chr.* 649, 710; *Gu.* 1088; *El.* 199, 1058, 1157. Job was inspired by the Holy Ghost; therefore receive his testimony.

550<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 1095<sup>a</sup>; *An.* 1120<sup>a</sup>; cf. *Jul.* 535<sup>a</sup>; *Gu.* 626<sup>a</sup>.

552-69. This passage paraphrases Job 29. 18 and 19. 25, 26, these latter verses having been illustrated by the Phœnix as early as Clemens Romanus († A. D. 100), *First Epistle to Corinthians*, chap. 26. The Vulgate of 29. 18 has *palma* (*In nidulo meo moriar, et sicut palma multiplicabo dies*), while the English renders by 'sand.' Here the Septuagint has *ὡς στέλεχος φοίνικος*, 'stump of a palm,' *palm* in Greek being represented by the same word, *φοινίξ*, as Phœnix (cf. note on 174). Neither 'sand' nor 'palm' has any relation to 'nest.' Since the Hebrew words for *Phœnix* and *sand* are identical—*khōl*—it is easy to see how the confusion might arise. The consensus of opinion among the best Hebrew scholars is, I believe, at present in favor of rendering this Hebrew word in Job 29. 18 by 'Phœnix,' a view which is supported by Rabbinical tradition, and is in consonance with the opinion of many scholars that the author of the book of Job had resided in Egypt, as shown by his intimate acquaintance with that country.

It remains to be seen from what Latin source the author of our poem could have gained the information which enabled him to use Job 29. 18 for his purpose, seeing that the Vulgate gave no hint of the Phœnix. This author is commonly said to be Bede (*Grundtvig*, *Gaebler*, *Bright*, *Schlotterose*, etc.), to whom the following passage has been attributed:

'Palma autem arbor secundum Græcos phoinix dicitur. Avis quoque illa, quam multi facile quidem vivere autumant, phoinix eodem nihilominus vocabulo nuncupatur. Potuit fortassis de eadem hoc loco dixisse, ut sicut illa, nidum sibi faciens, in ipso post multa tempora a semetipsa

dicitur concremari, et rursus de eisdem nidi cineribus fertur intra breve tempus resurgere, quæ deinceps multis vivat temporibus; fieri ergo potest ut sanctus Job in similitudine avis illius dicat se post mortem in cinere carnis velut in nido pro tempore futurum et inde resurrecturum in gloriam, atque hos esse æternos ac beatos dies, quos multiplicandos sibi fidelis Dei cultor expectet. Ita enim et superius est locutus, dicens: Et rursum circumdabor pelle mea, et in carne mea videbo Deum.'

This passage is indeed found in two uncritical editions of Bede—that of Basel, 1563 (4. 757), and that of Cologne, 1612 (Vol. 4), as part of a commentary on Job; but Bede himself attributes the commentary, in his *De Ratione Temporum* (Chap. 4, 'De Ratione Unciarum': ed. Giles, 6. 148), to Philip the Presbyter († 456), an account of whose life is given by Gennadius, *De Viris Illustribus* (chap. 62). There is also said to be a Bodleian manuscript, written in Old English characters, which makes the same attribution (cf. Giles' ed. of Bede, 9. x-xi). The commentary has also been edited under Philip's own name (thus Basel, 1527), and sometimes with the works of Jerome, of whom Philip was a disciple (thus the Benedictines in their Vol. 5, and Vallarsi in his Vol. 11).

556. *gūdæd*. For *īudæd*.

560. *scolu*. *El*. has *sceolu*.

563<sup>a</sup>. *lēohtes* and *lissa*. Cf. *līfes and lissa*, 150; *līfes nē lissa*, *Chr.* 1366; *Gu.* 806.

565. *wynnum*. From Job 19. 26.

566. *ālȳseð*. This is the only word that suggests the 'redeemer' of Job 19. 25.

575<sup>b</sup> ff. Cf. 267<sup>b</sup> ff.

581-677. Cf. *Chr.* 1660 ff.

587. *Sunne*. Cf. *Chr.* 106, 696. For Christ as the sun, see Introduction, pp. xlv-xlv.

591 ff. Cf. 337 ff., 539 ff.

595<sup>a</sup>. See *W.* 39<sup>a</sup>.

597<sup>a</sup>. So 558<sup>a</sup>.

598<sup>b</sup> ff. See 1 Cor. 3. 13.

604<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 505<sup>b</sup>.

608<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 1070.

611 ff. Cf. 50 ff.

613. Cf. *Rid.* 44. 3 (Cosijn).

614<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 52<sup>a</sup>.

622-6<sup>a</sup>. An adaptation of Rev. 7. 12.

624<sup>a</sup>. *geongra gyfena*. This finds parallels in *Gifts of Men 2: geongra geofona*; *Gu.* 1015: *gingra geafena*. Otherwise one might think of *ginfastra gyfena*, 'ample gifts,' this adjective and noun being conjoined in *Beow.* 1271, 2182; *Gen.* 2919; *Jul.* 168; *Met.* 20. 227; the metrical type, however, is rare: *Beow.* 1199<sup>a</sup>, *hordmāðum hæleða* (*PBB.* 10. 310).

626<sup>b</sup>-31. A paraphrase of the *Sanctus*. See the note on 403-415 in *The Christ of Cynewulf*. Other paraphrases are the lines just mentioned and *El.* 750-3. The Latin is: 'Pleni sunt cæli et terra gloria tua. Osanna in excelsis.'

631<sup>a</sup>. 'In excelsis.'

639. See *El.* 776.

639<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu.* 1335<sup>b</sup>; *El.* 336<sup>a</sup>.

646<sup>a</sup>. So 390<sup>a</sup>.

646<sup>b</sup> ff. Cf. 222<sup>b</sup> ff.

647<sup>a</sup>. So 355<sup>a</sup>.

650<sup>b</sup>. So *Chr.* 424<sup>b</sup>.

651<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 1652<sup>b</sup>.

652 ff. Cf. 188 ff., 451 ff., 526 ff.

658<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 580<sup>a</sup>, and note in *The Christ of Cynewulf*.

659. The Greek *Physiologus* has: 'The Phœnix resembles our Saviour, who came from heaven with his two wings full of fragrance, that is, of virtuous celestial words, in order that we with holy prayers may extend our hands, and send up *spiritual fragrance by means of our good lives*.'

659<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *worda and weorca, Beow.* 289<sup>a</sup>.

661<sup>b</sup>-3<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Rev.* 4. 11; 1. 6; *Jude* 25.

661<sup>b</sup>-2<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 777<sup>b</sup>-8<sup>a</sup>.

665. So *Chr.* 557; *Jul.* 164.

667 ff. For other examples of such macaronic verse in Old English, see Conybeare, *Illustrations*, pp. ix, x.

667<sup>b</sup>. *lucis Auctor*. Cf. *El.* 486: *ealles læohtes Læoht*.

SUPPLEMENT TO NOTES ON PHŒNIX

TRANSLATION OF LACTANTIUS, *De Ave Phœnicē*<sup>1</sup>

- In the far east there lies a blessed place,  
Remote from man, where open stand the gates  
Of the eternal heavens; no summer's heat  
Nor winter's cold comes ever near that land,  
But there an everlasting spring abides.
- 5 The country stretches out, a wide champaign;  
There yawn no hollow vales, there rise no hills,  
Yet higher by twelve cubits length that land  
Than mountains we call high. A grove is there,  
Sacred to Phœbus, and a wood thick set
- 10 With trees whose leaves for evermore are green.  
When Phaeton's chariot set the world aflame,  
That place was all inviolate by fire;  
And when the earth was whelmed beneath the waves  
Of the great flood, it lifted up itself
- 15 Above Deucalion's waters. There is found  
No wan disease, nor suffering old age,  
Nor cruel death, sharp fear, nor dreadful crime,  
Nor maddening lust, nor wrath, nor rage that glows  
With love of slaughter; nor is bitter grief,
- 20 Or poverty in rags, or sleepless care,  
Or wretched famine there. There rage no storms,  
No winds blow there with puissance terrible,  
Earth is not covered there with cold, wet snow,  
Nor do the clouds stretch o'er the earth their fleece,  
Nor violent rain-storms fall. But in the midst
- 25 A fountain springs—living, so runs its name—  
Clear, gently flowing, an abundant stream  
Of sweetest waters; ceaselessly it flows  
Through all the twelve months of the passing year,  
And keeps the woodland green. Here grows a tree  
That lifts its branches high, and bears a fruit
- 30 Mellow and fair, that never falls to earth.  
Within these groves there dwells a wondrous bird,  
The Phœnix, solitary satellite  
Of the great sun it follows and obeys;  
Ever it lives, by its own death restored—  
Great Mother Nature gave to it this power.

<sup>1</sup> The line-numbering is that of the Latin original.

- 35 When bright Aurora rising first grows red,  
 When fly the stars before the dawn's first light,  
 Ofttimes it plunges in the sacred flood,  
 And of the living fount as often drinks;  
 Then upward flies, and on the highest bough
- 40 Of a tall tree that overtops the grove  
 It lights, and, turning toward the place whence comes  
 The new-born Phœbus, waits his first bright rays,  
 The glory of his rising. When the sun  
 Touches the threshold of his shining gates,  
 And the light breeze of early morn springs up,
- 45 Singing it pours a flood of sacred song,  
 Invokes the new light with a wondrous voice,  
 To which no music of the Delphic flute  
 Nor Philomelian warblings can compare;  
 The dying swan's last song is thought less sweet,
- 50 Less sweet Cyllenean lyre's sonorous strings.  
 When, ever moving, o'er the whole round world  
 Phœbus has shed his light, and loosed his steeds  
 In the Olympian fields, thrice does it beat  
 Alarum with repeated stroke, and thrice
- 55 Is silent, worshiping the fiery one.  
 Priest of the light and of the sacred grove,  
 Conscious alone of thy great mysteries,  
 O Phœbus, thus it fills the flying hours  
 Of day and night with rarest melody.
- But when a thousand years have passed away,
- 60 And the long ages weigh upon its head,  
 It leaves its fair, accustomed resting-place  
 Within the grove, that so it may renew  
 Its youth. When thus, desirous of new birth,  
 It leaves the sacred groves, it seeks the earth  
 Where death is regnant. Into Syria
- 65 The aged one directs its swift-winged flight,  
 Into the land which from itself is named  
 Phœnicia; there it seeks through pathless tracts  
 A secret spot, if anywhere there be  
 Within the forest a thick place remote.  
 It seeks a certain palm with lofty top,
- 70 Named by the Grecians phœnix, from the bird;  
 Nothing can break through this to do it harm,  
 Nor gliding serpent nor harsh bird of prey.  
 Then Aeolus within his pendent cave  
 Shuts up the winds, lest their harsh blasts should stir  
 The purple air; through heaven's empty vault

- 75 No cloud may move to dim the sun's bright rays,  
 Or shut them from the bird. There doth it build  
 Or nest or tomb—it dies that it may live,  
 And by itself creates itself anew.  
 From the rich wood it gathers here sweet balm,
- 80 And fragrant spices which Assyrians pluck,  
 Or rich Arabians, or the pigmy race,  
 Or Indians; such as the Sabæan land  
 Nourishes in its warm and fertile breast.  
 Cinnamon, and the rich amomum-fruit  
 With its far-breathing fragrance, and sweet balm
- 85 Hither it brings, nor are the pliant withes  
 Of mildest cassia, odorous acanthus,  
 Or fragrant incense-gum, or drops of oil  
 Wanting. It adds to these the tender beards  
 Of juicy nard; thy virtue too it brings,  
 All-healing myrrh. Then on the new-made nest
- 90 It rests, and, old and withered, seeks repose  
 Upon this bed of life. Then from its beak,  
 Dying it breathes its body's spirit forth,  
 Amid the mingled odors yields its life,  
 Nor fearing trusts itself to such repose.
- 95 Then by life-giving death destroyed, its form  
 Grows hot, the heat itself produces flame,  
 And from the distant sun conceives a fire;  
 It burns, and into ashes is dissolved.  
 These ashes come together in a mass,
- 100 As if compelled; the mass is like a seed.  
 Thence first there comes a creature without limbs,  
 A milk-white worm; when this has grown with time,  
 Into the semblance of a rounded egg  
 It curls itself, just as, when ugly worms
- 105 Hold to the rocks by slender filaments,  
 The worms are wont to be transformed to moths.  
 Thence is it framed in fashion as before,  
 And from the broken shell the Phœnix springs.
- 110 It does not on our earth partake of food;  
 Of dew ambrosial from the starry skies  
 It drinks; on this, in midst of odorous airs,  
 The winged one is nourished till it grows  
 To full maturity. When early spring
- 115 Begins to bloom, it takes its flight toward home,  
 But first, lest aught of its old form remain,  
 It mingles with myrrh, frankincense, and oil  
 The ashes, bones, or aught that still may be,

- 120 And moulds it with its beak into a ball;  
 The ball it in its talons takes, and flies  
 East to the City of the Sun, and lights  
 Upon an altar, leaves its burden there  
 Within the sacred temple's holy shrine.  
     Glorious is it, and wondrous to behold;  
 Great is the fame and beauty of the bird.
- 125 Its color is of Tyrian purple dyed  
 In grain—such color as the poppy-leaves  
 Show in the spring, when Flora spreads her robes  
 On the red earth; its wings and lovely breast  
 Shine with this color, and its head and neck
- 130 And all its back are of this brilliant hue;  
 Its tail, spread out like shining gold, is flecked  
 With purple spots; above, between the wings,  
 Are the bright rainbow-colors Iris paints
- 135 Upon the clouds; clear white with vivid green  
 Mingled, its beak is ivory, bright with gems;  
 You would believe its eyes twin sapphires were,  
 Smit with a lucent flame; a radiant crown  
 Surrounds its head, like the bright rays that make
- 140 The glorious insignia of the sun;  
 Spots of bright gold cover its legs, its claws  
 With the fair color of the rose are dyed.  
 Like peacock, or like Phasis' bright-hued bird,
- 145 It seems. In size 't is like the bird,  
 Which, huge of bulk, stalks o'er Arabia's sands,  
 But yet not slow, like the great-bodied fowl  
 Whose ponderous weight compels a heavy flight,  
 But light and swift, and full of regal grace—
- 150 Such has it ever looked when seen of man.  
     Great Egypt came to see this miracle,  
 And all the host, rejoicing, worshiped there  
 The wondrous bird. Straightway they sculptured it  
 In sacred marble, gave the day and year  
 From this another name. The race of birds
- 155 Gathered together, fear and prey forgot;  
 Supported by a thronging choir it flew;  
 A joyous multitude with pious gifts  
 Followed its flight. But when at last it came  
 To the pure ether, then the throng turned back,
- 160 Each seeking its own place.  
     O happy bird, how fortunate thy lot,  
 Whom God himself has caused to be new born  
 From thine own self! In thee there is no sex,

Nor is there lack. O happy bird, that knows  
 No bond of love! Death is thy only love,  
 165 Thy one delight is death! Thou long'st for death,  
 That thou may'st be new born. Thou art thyself  
 Child to thyself, thy father and thy heir,  
 Both thine own nurse and nursling; still thyself,  
 Yet not the same, thyself yet not thyself,  
 170 Attaining life eterne through fecund death.

ELLA ISABEL HARRIS

#### THE LATE OLD ENGLISH VERSION OF THE PHOENIX

Two manuscripts—Vespasian D. 14 of the British Museum and 198 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge—contain an abstract of our Phoenix-story, introduced by a brief account of the Earthly Paradise, which St. John is reported to have seen in vision. The passage in the Vespasian manuscript seems to have been first mentioned by Thomas Wright in his *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, 1844, pp. 25-6, who translates a few lines at the beginning; from him it was taken by Soames, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1856, p. 211, note 3, and Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, 1869, pp. 255-6. Both manuscripts are excerpted by Kluge, *Englische Studien* 8 (1885). 474-9, who concludes, from the metre, that the version must be dated 1050-1100.

I subjoin a somewhat emended version of MS. CCCC. 198 (374<sup>b-7a</sup>), as published by Kluge, with a few notes calling attention to correspondences with the standard Old English version of the *Phœnix*. Variants are designated by *V.* when they come from the Vespasian manuscript; otherwise they are from the Cambridge manuscript. No attempt has been made to register all the different readings of *V.*, and differences of spelling are virtually disregarded.

The notes are almost exclusively devoted to pointing out correspondences with the standard version, or referring to Biblical originals.

Sanctus Johannes geseah ofer gārsecge swilce hit land wære. Ða  
 genam hine se engel, and gebrōhte hine to Paradisum, þæt is,  
 neorxnawonge. Paradisum nis nāðor nē on heofonum nē on eorþan  
 Fēowærtig fæðma hēah wæs Noes flōd ofer ðā hēhstan dūne þe on  
 5 worulde is—sēo dun is on Bōcleden gehāten Armenia; nū is  
 Paradisum fēowærtig fæðma hēhgra þonne Noes flōd wæs.  
 Paradisus hangað betwýnon heofonan and eorðan wundorlice, swā  
 hit se Ealwældend gescēop. Paradisus is eall efenlang and efenbrād.  
 Nis ðær nāðor nē dæl nē dūne, nē þær ne bið snāw, nē forst, nē  
 10 hagol, nē rēn; ac þær is *fons vite*, þæt is, lifæs wylle. Donne  
 1 Scs. — 4 fædma. — 9 *V.* denne for dæl.

kalendas Januarii inn gād, þonne flōwæð sēo welle swā fægere and swā smoltlice swā hunig, and nā dēopre þonne mon mæg wætan his finger forwyrdne. Ofer þæt land eall hīo flōweð ælce mōnðe æne siðe, þonne se mōnaþ in cymeð Januarii. And þær is se fægere  
 15 wuduholt þe is on bōcum gehāten *radion saltus*; þær is ælc trēow swā riht swā bolt, and swā hēah þætte nǣfre ne on eorðan nān man gesēon meahhte, nē ēac hwilces cynnes hīo syndon. Ne fealð þær nǣfre lēaf of, ac ā hē bið singrēne—

wlitig and wynsum, welena unrīm.

20 Paradisus is ūprihte on ēastewearde ðysse worulde. Nis þær nē hete nē hungor, nē þær niht nǣfre ne cymeð, ac ā simble dæg. Sunne þær scineð seofen siðe brihtlycor ðone hēr deð. Ðær wuniaþ on Godes ænglas unrīm, mid þām hālgum sāulum, of Dōmæsdæg.

Ðær wunað on

25           ān fæger fugol, Fenix hāten;  
               hē is mycel and mære, swā se Ælmihtiga hine scēop.

Hē is hlāford ofer eall fugelcynn. Ælcere wucan æne siþe se fægere fugol hine baþað in þām lifæs wylle; and þonn flēogeð se fugol, and āsett hine on þæt hēagoste trēow þe is on Paradisum, ongēan

30 þā hātan sunnan. Þonne scīnæð hē swā sunnan lēoman,  
               and glitenað swā swylce hē sīo eall gylden.

His fīðera syndon ænglas feðerum gelīce,  
               his brēost and his bile beorht syndon  
               fægere and fāge— fēawe synden swylce;  
 35 hwæt! his ēagan æðele sendon,  
               swā clǣne swā cristal,

and swā scīre swā sunnan lēoma. His fēt syndon  
               blōdrēade bēgen twēgen, and se bile hwīt.  
               Hwaet! se fægera fugol flēogeð of his earde,  
 40 se þe is fægertlice Fenix haten.

Witodlice wunað hē on Egypta land

fīftēne wucan fæste ætgædere;

11 otun gæð; *V.* inn gād. — 13 *V.* on forewarde; monað; *V.* monde. — 14 ana; *V.* ane. — 15 radian; *V.* radion. — 16 *V.* þæt nan eorðlic man ne gesch swa heh, ne seggen ne cann hwilces. — 21 mete; *V.* hete; *V.* byð for cymeð. — 22 seofanfealdlycor and beorhtlicor; *V.* seofen siðe brihtlycor; *V.* on þissen earde for her deð. — 25 *V.* an fugel fæger. — 26 *V.* mihtige hine gescop. — 28 *V.* on þære. — 29 *V.* gesett uppe for asett hine on. — 31 *V.* swilc he gyldene seo. — 33<sup>b</sup> *V.* brihte scineð. — 34<sup>b</sup> æghwilces cynnes; *V.* feawe synden swylce. — 35<sup>a</sup> *V.* eagene twa. — 35<sup>b</sup> ethelice; *V.* æðele. — 38 *V.* om. twegen. — 40<sup>a</sup> *V.* fægere.

- ðonne cumaþ tō him, swylce hī cyning wære,  
 fægnaþ and folgiaþ eall fugolcynn.  
 45 Hwæt! þæt fugolcynn eall fægere Fenix grētaþ,  
 writigað and singað onbūtan him—  
 ælc on his wisan ænne heriaþ.  
 ðonne færð þæt folc feorran swiþe,  
 wāfiaþ and wundriaþ, wellcumiað Fenix;  
 50 'Hāl wes þū, Fenix,  
 fugela fægerest! feorran hider cumen!  
 Ðū glitenast swā rēad gold,  
 ealra fugela cyning, Fenix gehāten.'  
 ðonne wercað hīo of weaxe, writiað Fenix,  
 55 mētað Fenix, and hine mærlīce þær wordum heriað,  
 fugela fægerest, Fenix hāten.  
 ðonne fagniaþ þær fugelas ealle,  
 fægere and fāge fela ætgedere,  
 feallað tō fōtum, Fenix grētað.  
 60 His stæfn is swā beorht swā býme,  
 and his swēora swilce smæte gold,  
 and his forebrēost fægre gehiwod,  
 swylce marmorstān mærost cynnes.  
 And him ān rēad hīow rudaþ on þām ricge;  
 65 goldfylle gelīc glitonaþ Fenix.  
 Hwæt! þes fugol fērde fægere tō his lande,  
 ymbe fiftēne wucan; fugelas manige  
 eall embūton efne fērdon,  
 ufene and neþone and on ælce healfe;  
 70 ða hīo becōmon þær heora cyning sceolde,  
 Fenix se fægere fugol gehāten,  
 faraþ forþ intō Paradisum,  
 þæt is under heofonan hāma hēgost.  
 Ðā wunede þær on Paradisum  
 75 Fenix se fægere fugel eall hālig;  
 and þæt fugolcynn eall fērdon heom hāmweard,  
 ælc tō his earde; āredon Fenix.

43 *V.* þonne cumeð him to swaswa to heora kinge (*prose*).—44-5 *V.* fageninde swyðe eall þæt fugelcinn || fægere gegreteð ealle Fenix.—47 ænne; *V.* ealle hine.—51 hider cumen; *V.* þu come.—55-6 *V.* and meteð hine fægere þær se madme stant.—63<sup>b</sup> *V.* mæres.—64<sup>a</sup> ræd; *V.* read.—64<sup>b</sup> ricge; *V.* hyrnge.—66<sup>a</sup> *V.* þonne færð eft se fugel.—66<sup>b</sup> lande; *V.* earde.—69 *after this, V. has the following, instead of the next eight lines:* oððet heo nehiget neorxenewange. Þær inn gefærð Fenix, fugele fægerest; and eall oðer fugelcinn to heora earden gewænded.

Nū sagað hēr Sanctus Johannes sōðum wordum,  
 wīslīce and wærlice swā se wertācen,  
 80 þæt six þūsend hēr ón worolde Crīst forestihtē.

Ðone æfre embe ān þūsend gēara  
 farað Fenix, se fāgra fugel,  
 wlitig and wundorlīc.

Þynceð him þæt hē forealdod sý, and gaderað þonne ofer eall Para-  
 85 disum tōgædere ealle þā dēorwurðan bōgas, and macaþ mycelne  
 hēap tōgædere. And þurh Godes mihte se hāte sunne scīneþ; and  
 þurh þāra sunnan hātnesse and hire lioman, se hēap wyrðeþ onāled  
 þe hē—se hāga fugol Fenix—geworht hafað. Hē feallað þonne  
 90 þone þriddan dæg āriseð

se fāgere fugol Fenix of dāðe,

and bið edgung, and farað tō þām lifes wylle, and baþaþ hine  
 þærinne; and him wexan ongīnað þā fepera swā fāgere swā hīo  
 æfre fāgereste wæron. And þus ā emb þūsend wintra hē hine  
 95 forbærneþ, and eft for fāger edīung ūp āriseþ. And nafaþ hē  
 nenne gemacan, nē nān man ne wāt hweþer hit is—þe carlfugol  
 þe cwēnfugol—būton Crīst sylf. Hē is—þes hālgē fugel—Fenix ge-  
 hāten, wlitig and wynsum, swā hīe Eallwealdend gescēop; and þus  
 drēogan sceal Drihtnes willan. Nū is ūs andgyt forgyfen—  
 100 mancenne: fugelas heriaþ Crīst; nū gedafenað ūs þæt wē herian  
 ūrne Drihten mid ælmæssan and mid hālgum bedum, and mid  
 eallum þīngum þæt wē witon þæt Gode lēof is, and gescildan ūs wiþ  
 ðā eahta hēahsynna, þæt wē þā ne fremman—þæt is, morþor and stala,  
 māne āþas, and unrihtgītsunge, and unrihtthæmedu, and gīfernesse,  
 105 lēasunga and āttorcraeftas dyrne līgera, and twispæce, and ofer-  
 mōdignæss. Beorgan wē ūs wiþ ealle þās hēahsynna, and lufian  
 ūrne Drihten mid eallum mægene and mid eallum mōde—se God  
 þe leofað and rīxaþ,

se ðe on heofonum is hēah and hālig,  
 110 ealra cyninga Cyning. Crīst ūs generie,  
 þæt wē on wynne wunian mōton,

se ðe leofað and rīxað sōðlice mid Fæder, and Sunu, and mid þām  
 Hālgan Gāste, ā būton ænde. *Amen.*

78 Scs.—79 *For this line and the next V. has:* swa se wyrhte cann.  
*From this point on V. differs considerably.*—95 eft for fāger; *V. eft.*—  
 97 buton Crīst sylf; *V. but* God ane; þas halgan fugeles; *V. as in text.*  
 —98 eallwealdend; *V. God.*—99 *After willan V. has only:* se þe is on  
 heofone heh and halig ealra kinge king. Crīst us generie þæt we on  
 wynne wunigen mote mid þam þe leofeð and rixeð a bute ænde. *Amen.*  
 —101 halgum *em. from* halgunge.—102 *we supplied.*

## NOTES.

4. Fēowærtig fæðma. Cf. *Ph.* 28 ff., 41<sup>b</sup> ff.
8. efenlang and efenbrād. Cf. *Rev.* 21. 16.
9. nē dūne. Cf. *Ph.* 21<sup>a</sup> ff.—snāw, etc. Cf. *Ph.* 14<sup>b</sup> ff.—forst. Cf. *Ph.* 15, 58.
10. hāgol. Cf. *Ph.* 16, 60.—lifæs wylle. Cf. *Ph.* 62<sup>b</sup> ff.
13. ælce mōnðe. Cf. *Ph.* 66.
15. wuduholt. Cf. *Ph.* 34.
17. Ne fealð. Cf. *Ph.* 71<sup>b</sup> ff.
18. singrēne. Cf. *Ph.* 35<sup>b</sup>-36<sup>a</sup>.
19. wlitig and wynsum. So *Ph.* 318; cf. *Ph.* 7, 13.
20. ēastewearde. Cf. *Ph.* 2.
21. hungor. So *Ph.* 613.—niht. Cf. *Rev.* 21. 25.
22. seofen sīðe. Cf. *Isa.* 30. 26; 60. 19, 20; *Rev.* 21. 23; 22. 5.
- 25<sup>a</sup>. fæger fugol. Cf. *Ph.* 85<sup>b</sup>-6<sup>a</sup>.
- 25<sup>b</sup>. Fenix hāten. So *Ph.* 86<sup>b</sup>.
27. hlāford. Cf. *Ph.* 158<sup>b</sup>-9.
28. baþað. Cf. *Ph.* 107.
29. hēagoste trēow. Cf. *hēahne bēam, Ph.* 171.
35. ēagan. Cf. *Ph.* 301<sup>b</sup> ff.
37. fet. Cf. *Ph.* 311.
39. flēogeð. Cf. *Ph.* 322.
41. Egypta. Not in *Ph.*
- 45 ff. Cf. *Ph.* 335<sup>b</sup> ff.
54. Cf. *Ph.* 332<sup>b</sup> ff.
60. bȳme. Cf. *Ph.* 134.
72. Cf. *Ph.* 351.
76. Cf. *Ph.* 352<sup>b</sup> ff.
81. þūsend. Cf. *Ph.* 364.
84. gaderað. Cf. *Ph.* 193.
86. scīneþ. Cf. *Ph.* 210.
87. onæled. Cf. *Ph.* 216.
90. þriddan dæg. So *Ph.* 644.
91. dæðe. Cf. *Ph.* 434.
92. edgung. Cf. *Ph.* 373, 435.
93. feþera. Cf. *Ph.* 239.
96. carlfugol þe cwēnfugol. Cf. *Ph.* 357<sup>a</sup>.
97. Crīst sylf. Cf. *V.* 'God āne'; *Ph.* 355, 'God āna wāt.'
98. wlitig and wynsum. So 19.
107. eallum mægene. Cf. *Mk.* 12. 30; *Lk.* 10. 27.
109. hēah and hālig. Only *Chr.* 379, 653.
110. ealra cyninga Cyning. So *Chr.* 136, 215; *Jul.* 289, etc.
111. wunian mōton. So *Pr.* 16.

## NOTES ON PHYSIOLOGUS

### I. PANTHER

- 1 ff. Cf. *Gu.* 1 ff.
1. Cf. 70.
  2. *pāra*. The genitive is demanded, as in *Chr.* 1184; *Exod.* 353, etc. 2<sup>b</sup>-3<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Jul.* 314; *An.* 546.
  3. Cf. *El.* 635.
  - 4<sup>b</sup>. So *Chr.* 469<sup>b</sup>; cf. *Pn.* 65<sup>b</sup>.
  - 6<sup>b</sup>. So *Beow.* 93; *An.* 333; cf. *Beow.* 1223: 'swā sǣ bebūgeð.'
  8. *sealtȳða geswing*. Cf. *ȳða geswing*, *An.* 352; *Beow.* 848; also *sealtȳða gelāc*, *Seafarer* 35.
  9. *wrǣtlicre*. Cf. 19, 27; *W.* 50.—*wildra*. See *Gram.* 43.
  10. Cf. *Ph.* 2<sup>a</sup>, 3<sup>a</sup>.
  - 10<sup>a</sup>. *frēamǣrne*. Subject accusative after *hȳrdon*.
  - 10<sup>b</sup>. *feorlundum on*. The preposition follows, as in *Ph.* 2, 97, 362; *Chr.* 399; *Jul.* 83; *Gu.* 1337.
  11. Cf. *An.* 176.
  - 12<sup>a</sup>. *dūnsctrafum*. So 37.
  - 12<sup>b</sup>. *Pandher*. For *Pand̄er*. Cahier's MS. B, referring to the etymology of the Greek word, thus comments: 'Panthera enim *omnis fera*, quasi *omne animal odore capiens*, interpretatur.' Rabanus Maurus (8. 1) gives a somewhat different interpretation (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 111. 219): 'Panther dictus sive quod *omnium animalium* sit amicus, excepto dracone, sive,' etc.
  - 13<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 505; cf. *El.* 756; *Chr.* 1071.
  14. *cȳpað*. So *Ph.* 30 (cf. *Ph.* 332, 425, 655; *El.* 827, 1256); but possibly we should read *cyððan*.
  15. *ānstapan*. Perhaps because he resorts to caves; cf. *ānhaga* of the Phoenix, *Ph.* 87, 346.—*Sē*. For *hē*.
  16. *duguða ēstig*. Cf. *ēste* with the genitive, *Gen.* 1509-10.
  17. *in ealle tid*. Accusative as in *Ph.* 77, etc.
  18. *yfla gehwylc*. So *Ph.* 460.—*hē*. The panther, who inflicts all possible injuries upon the dragon.
  19. *wrǣtlic*. The panther is called beautiful in Pitra's Greek, Mai's Latin, Cahier's Latin MS. B, and the Ethiopic. MS. B refers the beauty to Christ, quoting Ps. 45. 2: 'Thou art fairer than the children of men.'—*wundrum*. So 27.—*scȳne*. Cf. 26, and see *Ph.* 307.
  20. *hiwa*. Cf. 25.—*gehwylces*. Dependent on *scȳne*; cf. 26<sup>a</sup>.
  - 21<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 562<sup>a</sup>.
  - 21<sup>b</sup>. *Iōsēphes*. Cf. *Gen.* 37. 3.
  - 22<sup>b</sup>. A Latin manuscript of the *Panther*, in applying this to Christ, quotes *Wisd.* 7. 22, 23 (Cahier, *Mélanges* 3. 239-240). Other versions at

this point refer Ps. 45. 9, 13 (in the Septuagint and Vulgate) to the Church; thus the Greek, the Armenian, and the Ethiopic. For the variety of qualities that appertain to Christ, they quote Gal. 5. 22, 23; 2 Pet. 1. 5-8 (Lauchert's Greek; cf. Pitra's Greek, the Ethiopic, the Armenian, and the Arabic).

23. *beorhtra*. These adjectives in *-ra* are comparatives.

24. *æghwæs ænlicra*. Cf. *Ph.* 312: *æghwæs ænlic*. See the description of the colors of the Phoenix, *Ph.* 291-312.—*lixte*. Only *Chr.* 505; *El.* 23, 96, 105.

26. *gehwæs*. See note on 20.

28. *æghwylc*. 'Each (color) shines more beautiful than another.'—*giæn*. Qualifies the comp.; cf. *W.* 50.

29<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *frætsum blican*, *Ph.* 95; *Chr.* 507, 522; *Jul.* 564.—*frætsum*. So 48.

31-2. Pitra's MS. B illustrates the Lat. *mansuetum* by Matt. 21. 5 (Zech. 9. 9).

31<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 1080: 'milde and gemetfæst.'

32. *lufsum*. Only *Chr.* 913.

35. *fylle fægen*. Cf. *Beow.* 562, 1014, 1333.—*föddor þigeð*. So *Ph.* 259.

36. *gereordum*. Probably plur. for sing., like Lat. *epulæ*.

37<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu.* 130; cf. *Gu.* 186.

37<sup>b</sup>. *under dūnscrifum*. The Greek and Latin have 'in his den.'

39. *swifeð*. But *swefeð* 6 times in *Beow.* (Gr. has *swefeð* here in *Spr.*).

40<sup>b</sup>, 42<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 888-9: 'upp āstandan snēome of slæpe'; *An.* 792<sup>b</sup>, 795<sup>a</sup>: 'ūp āstandan . . . snēome of slæpe.'

41<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 61.

42<sup>a</sup>. The poet adopts a ready-made formula, and misapplies it. *Snēome*, here translating the Latin *statim* of Mai and MS. B (*statim emittit mugitum magnum*) should modify *cymeð*, rather than *āstondeð* (cf. Ebert, *Angl.* 6. 243).

42. *swēghlēoþor*. Cf. *Ph.* 137.

43. *wildres*. See 9.

44 ff. Cf. *Ph.* 192 ff.

44. *stefne*. In the application to Christ, the voice, according to Cahier's MS. B, is illustrated, with reference to its attractive power, by Ps. 19. 4; Matt. 28. 20; Jn. 14. 3, 18; 16. 33; 17. 12; 20. 17.—*stenc*. Various ancient writers—Aelian (5. 40; 8. 6), Pliny (8. 17. 23. 62), Solinus, Plutarch, Theophrastus, Horapollo, etc.—beginning with Aristotle, report that the odor of the panther attracts other animals. Aristotle's account is (*Hist. An.* 9. 6. 2; cf. *Probl.* 13. 4): 'They say that the panther is aware that its peculiar odor is grateful to other wild animals, and that it preys upon them in ambush, and, when deer approach, it catches hinds.' The tradition persists in literature into the 17th century. Thus Nash, *Anat. of Absurditie, Works* (ed. Grosart 1. 29): 'As the Panther smelleth sweetelie

but onely to brute beastes, which she draweth unto her to theyr destruction,' etc. Other instances may be found in Lyly, *Euphues* (Arber, p. 54); *Euphues and his Ephoebus* (Arber, p. 149); Greene, *Euphues his Censure, Works* (ed. Grosart) 6. 174; *Mamillia* (2. 44, 51, 279); S. Hawes (1503), *Examp. Virt.* 9. 4; Shirley, *The Royal Master* 3. 1; Randolph, *To a Deformed Gentlewoman*; Jonson, *Volpone* 3. 6; Glapthorne, *The Hollander*; Rogers, *Naaman*, Ep. Ded. 4; Dryden, *Hind and Panther* 2. 228. Cf. Lauchert, *Eng. Stud.* 14. 196-7.

45<sup>a</sup>. of þām wongstede. Ebert (*Angl.* 6. 243) conceives of this as explaining, in the poet's intention, the fragrance; but is it not rather a reminiscence of *El.* 794, where the smoke does actually rise from the plain?

45<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 65, and *W.* 54: 'wynsum stenc.'

46. swæcca. Cf. *swæccum*, *Ph.* 214; *swecca*, *Gu.* 1247; *swicce*, *Pn.* 66.

47. Cf. *Ph.* 194.

49 ff. Cf. *Ph.* 324 ff.

50. beornðreat. Ebert calls attention to this anticipation of the exegesis—the introduction of men here.

51. farað foldwegum. The notion of distance is ultimately derived from Eph. 2. 17 (see p. lxiii, above), where Jews and Gentiles are no doubt implied (cf. Ps. 148. 14).—farað. The subject is quasi-collective.

52-3. Cf. *El.* 36<sup>a</sup>, 37<sup>a</sup>: *ēoredcestum*, *deareðlācende*.—*dareðlācende*. The word only besides in *El.* 651.

53. efne swā some is not found elsewhere, and *swā some* regularly follows a word that receives a principal stress: *El.* 653, 1066, 1207, 1278, 1284, etc. In *Met.* 20. 124, 'and efne swā same,' *efne* takes the stress.

54. æfter. Grein (*Spr.*, s. v., 6) understands as 'following after' (and so *Dichtungen* I. 219, 'dem Gesange folgend'); but cf. 44<sup>a</sup>.

55. drēama. Grein interprets this in one place as earthly joys (*Spr.*, s. v.), and in another (*Dicht.*) as 'Hochjubil,' which would seem rather to refer to heavenly joys.

58. se ealda fēond. Only *El.* 207. See I Pet. 5. 8; Rev. 12. 9.

58-61. Christ is represented as binding Satan during his Descent into Hell, between the Crucifixion and the Ascension. Cf. *El.* 181 ff., *Chr.* 558 ff., the Latin hymn on the Ascension quoted on p. 117 of my edition of the *Christ*, ll. 87-8, and Abbtmeyer, p. 31.

59 ff. Cf. *Sat.* 444 ff.

59-60. Cf. *Chr.* 732 ff.; *An.* 1378-9.

59<sup>a</sup>. gesælde. Based on Rev. 12. 9; 20. 2, 3; cf. *Gen.* (B) 371-385.

59<sup>b</sup>. in sūsla grund. Only *El.* 944. This is the 'bottomless pit' of Rev. 20. 3.—grund. Syntax requires *grunde*, but the expression is probably a reminiscence of the phrase in *El.* 944; cf. *El.* 1305.

61<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *El.* 884<sup>a</sup>.

63. þrēo niht. Cf. 38.

64<sup>a</sup>. sigora Sellend. So *Jul.* 668, 705.

64<sup>b</sup>. swēte stenc. Cf. Eph. 5. 2 (so Dietrich). The poet seems to

mean that the conquest of hell and the victory over death are the sweet odor, while in 74<sup>b</sup> it is rather the gifts imparted to men. Both are covered by Eph. 4. 8; cf. note on 64<sup>b</sup>, and *Chr.* 662 ff.

65 ff. Cahier's MS. B refers to Eph. 4. 8 ff. (Ps. 68. 18).

65<sup>a</sup>. So *Ph.* 318<sup>a</sup>.

67. Almost identical with *Ph.* 336.—on *healfa gehwone*. Cf. *Chr.* 61, 928; *Ph.* 206; *El.* 548.

68. Cf. *Ph.* 42<sup>a</sup>, 43<sup>a</sup>.

69. *Sanctus Paulus*. Only *El.* 504.

71. *ungnȳðe*. Cf. *tō gnēað gifa*, *Beow.* 1930.

72. *tō feorhnere*. So *Chr.* 610; *El.* 898; cf. *Chr.* 604 ff. See Ps. 65. 9 ff.; Acts 14. 17.

73<sup>a</sup>. So *Ph.* 423<sup>a</sup>.

74<sup>a</sup>. *nīpre*. Only *Chr.* 1466.

74<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 19<sup>a</sup>; *Beow.* 11, etc.—*æpele stenc*. Cf. *æðelum stencum*, *Ph.* 586<sup>b</sup>.

## 2. WHALE (ASP-TURTLE)

1. *gēn*. Referring to the *Panther*, it would seem.—*fisca*. Contrast- ing with *wildra*, *Pn.* 9; *dēor*, *Pn.* 12.

2<sup>a</sup>. *wōðcræfte*. Only *Ph.* 127<sup>a</sup>, 548<sup>a</sup>.

3<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 381<sup>a</sup>.

3<sup>b</sup>. *hwale*. See pp. lxxiii ff.

4. *gemēted*. Cf. *Ph.* 231.

5<sup>a</sup>. *frēcne* and *ferhðgrim*. Only *Jul.* 141<sup>a</sup>.—*ferhðgrim*. Only *Jul.* 141<sup>a</sup>.

5<sup>b</sup>. *fareðlācendum*. The word only 20, 80; *An.* 507. Cf. the similar formation, *Pn.* 53.

6<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *nīþa gehwān*, *El.* 465.—*nīþa*. So *Pn.* 13.

6<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *wæs him noma cenned*, *Jul.* 24; see also *El.* 586<sup>b</sup>-7<sup>a</sup>.

7<sup>a</sup>. *fyrgestrēama*. This word means 'ocean' in *Ph.* 100; *An.* 390. *Fyrnstrēama* is without parallel, and *fyrn-* always designates antiquity, and is never compounded with words signifying inanimate natural objects.

7<sup>b</sup>. *Fastitocalon*. Grein (*Spr.*) was the first to see that this stood for ἀσπίδοχελώνη (cf. above, pp. lxxxi ff.). He quotes from Tychsen's ed. of the Syrian *Physiologus* (p. 163) a sentence of Eustathius' *Hexaemeron*: 'Balæna, quam Aspidochelonem dicunt,' etc. Dietrich had suggested (*Commentatio*, p. 10, note 18) that perhaps the first element was ἄσπρ, and the second τὸ κάλόν—'the beautiful city'!

8<sup>a</sup>. *þæs*. For *his*; cf. *Gen.* 2108.

8<sup>b</sup>. *hrēofum stāne*. Cf. p. lxxvi.

9. *wōrie*. The general appearance of the sea-beast is as if great reeds, surrounded by sand-dunes, were waving on the seashore; cf. lxxi-lxxii.

10. *-rȳrica*. Cf. Ger. *Röhrich* (for *Rō(h)ric*), 'canebrake, reed-bank,' Lat. (*h*)*arundinetum*.

12. *ēalond*. Cf. Matthew Arnold's 'matted rushy isles' (*Sohrab and Rustum*, near end). See the different form, 16.

13 ff. For the anchoring of ships, see *Beow.* 226, 301-3; *El.* 246 ff.; *Chr.* 862-3.

13<sup>a</sup>. **gehȳdiað.** *Gehȳdað*, the MS. reading, makes no sense. Grein (*Dicht.*) translates by 'behüten'; in the *Spr.* he brings the word under *gehēdan* (cf. Eng. 'heed'), and renders by 'in Sicherheit bringen.' Thorpe, properly enough, translates by 'fasten,' to which, indeed, the context virtually forces him. But the dictionaries tell us nothing of a *gehȳdan* with this meaning. Thorpe conjectures *gehȳðað*, and is followed by Klipstein and Etmüller. This, presumably, he meant as a derivative of *hȳð*, 'haven' (the verb *hȳðan*, from *hūð*, 'booty,' means 'devastate'); but this would hardly yield the sense required. The difficulty is solved if we remember that the cordage of a ship (including no doubt cables and hawsers) in King Alfred's time was (at least sometimes) made of walrus-hide or seal-hide, as in Homer's of twisted oxhide (*Od.* 2. 426; 15. 291), which may also have been employed in England, though such use is apparently not recorded. Othhere (Alfred's *Orosius*, ed. Sweet, p. 18) knows of such ship-ropes (*sciprāpas*) sixty ells long, which indicates that they must have been spliced or otherwise pieced. If the anchor-cables were thus made of hide, one could as naturally speak of vessels being 'hided' to the island as we might of their being 'roped.' The word in question, then, I take to be from an otherwise unknown *gehȳdian*, formed from the noun *hȳd* in this specific sense. 'Hide,' in the sense of 'flog with a whip of hide,' is still in use.

13<sup>b</sup>. **hēahstefn.** Only *An.* 266.

14<sup>a</sup>. **unlonde.** 'Land which is no land.' Not found elsewhere.

14<sup>b</sup>. **oncyrrāpum.** Synonyms are found in *Beow.* 1918, '*oncerbendum* fæst,' and *Beow.* 302, '*seomode on sǣle*' (cf. Ger. *Seil*). Other terms are *streng* and *ancerstreng*, found in Alfred's version of Augustine's *Soliloquies* (ed. Hargrove, p. 22). Here we have some interesting details: one end of the *streng* is fast on the earth, the other in the ship (cf. p. 28); in another place the *ancerstreng* is stretched taut from ship to ocean (*mere*).

15. Cf. *Beow.* 223<sup>b</sup>-4<sup>a</sup>; *El.* 228; *Chr.* 862.

15<sup>a</sup>. **sǣlaþ.** For MS. *setlaþ*, which Thorpe translates 'settle,' Grein (*Dicht.*) 'machen sitzfest,' (*Spr.*) 'collocare.' Old English has no other instance of *setlan*, whereas *sǣlan* (from *sǣl*; see note on 14<sup>b</sup>) is found *Beow.* 226, 1917; *Chr.* 862; *El.* 228, etc. If the emendation is accepted, *setlan* should disappear from the Old English dictionaries.

16<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 28<sup>a</sup>.

20. **frēcnes.** Cf. 5<sup>a</sup>.

21<sup>b</sup>. **ǣled weccaþ.** Cf. *Gen.* 2901, *ǣled weccan*.

22. **hēah fȳr ǣlað** must be regarded as synonymous with *ǣled weccað*; *ǣled*: *ǣlað* is of course infelicitous.

24<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 72<sup>b</sup>.

25. **fērend.** Only *Jul.* 60.—*fæste.* So 36, 41, 77.

26. **wic weardiað.** So *Ph.* 448; cf. *Jul.* 92.

27. *sealtne wæg*. So *Dan.* 323; cf. *Dan.* 384.
28. *nōþe*. Only *Jul.* 343. Thorpe suggests ON. *gnōð*, and translates 'bark,' as do Ettmüller and Grein (*Dicht.*), though in *Spr.* Grein hesitatingly renders by 'prey.'
29. Cf. *Chr.* 973.—*gæst*. Barnouw (*Textkritische Untersuchungen*, p. 204) prints as *gæst*. Grein (*Spr.* and *Dicht.*) understands the word as *gæst*, and so Thorpe. The asp-tortoise can hardly be the *spirit* of the sea.
30. *dēaðsele*. Anticipatory of *helle*, 45.—*drence*. The word only *El.* 136.
- 31<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *An.* 512.—*scipu*. Cf. 13<sup>b</sup>.
- 31<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 390, 538; *An.* 177, etc.
- 34<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Sol.* 493.
38. *cwicsūsle*. Only *Chr.* 561.
- 39<sup>a</sup>. *flāh fēond gemāh*. Cf. *Ph.* 595<sup>a</sup>: *fāh fēond gemāh*.
44. *mid þām*. Like Ger. *in dem*. He becomes their slayer *by*, etc.
45. *healoðhelme*. Cf. *Gen.* 444.—*helle sēceð*. Cf. *Jul.* 682.
46. *gōða gēasne*. So *El.* 924; cf. *Jul.* 216, 381.—*grundlēasne*. See p. lxxv.—*wylm*. Cf. *El.* 1297, *hātne wylm*.
49. *þōrmearas*. Only *Chr.* 863.
50. *wæterþisa*. Only *Gu.* 1303.—*giēn*. Cf. *Pn.* 28<sup>b</sup>.
53. *ontýneð*. Cf. 68.
55. *þone*. For *hine*.
59. *wida*. Suggests the whale; cf. 54<sup>a</sup>.—*ceafi*. Applied to hell in *An.* 1705.
61. *hlemmeð*. Cf. 76<sup>b</sup>.
63. *unwærlice*. Cf. 59<sup>a</sup>.
64. *on þās lænan tid*. Only *Chr.* 1558, 1585; cf. *W.* 87.
66. *leahtrum fāh*. Only *Chr.* 829, 1538.—*fāh*. Construed with *leahtrum*, but also with the following, in a very peculiar manner; therefore = 'guilty,' but also 'hostile.'
67. *wið Wuldorcýning*. Cf. *Beow.* 811; *An.* 1188; *Sat.* 97.—*Wuldorcýning*. So 85.
69. *leaslice lices wynne*. So *El.* 1297.—*wynne*. Plural.
- 70<sup>a</sup>. *ferhðgereahht*. Klaeber's ingenious emendation has much in its favor, but involves a considerable change—*ferht gereahht* to *ferhte riht* (not *reht*, as he writes), while Thorpe's emendation requires only the substitution of a single letter. The verb *gereccan* is frequently used in the sense of 'guide,' 'direct,' so *gereahht*, if a noun, might mean 'guidance' (in the right way, as frequently implied in the case of the verb). *Ofer ferhðgereahht* would then signify 'contrary to the wise guidance of the soul.'
- 70<sup>b</sup>. *fremedon*. Klaeber is right in defending this MS. reading.
- 71<sup>b</sup>. One would rather expect *in þæt fæsten*; but see similar instances of *dat.* for *acc.* in Grein (*Spr.* 2. 137-8), and with *on* (2. 331).
73. *ādwyłme*. One might think of *egewylme*, supported by *egewylmum*,

*Ps.* 104. 26, but Grein's emendation requires less change, and *ād* is used for the fire of hell, *El.* 951 (cf. *Gu.* 884).

75<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 1224, on *hyra lifdagum*.

75<sup>b</sup>. *lārum hyrdon*. Only *El.* 839, 1210.

76. *grimman gōman*. Cf. 62<sup>a</sup>.—*bihlemmeð*. Only *Chr.* 869; cf. *W.* 61.

77. *feorhcwale*. Only *Jul.* 573.—*tōgædre*. So 61.

78. *hlinduru*. The word only *An.* 993.—*nāgon hwyrft*. Cf. *Exod.* 210, *nāhton māran hwyrfti*; more remote *Rid.* 3(4). 6.

80. *þon mā þe*. 'Any more than.'

82. *Forþon*. As in *Chr.* 756, 766, 815, 1578, etc.

82<sup>b</sup>-3. Ettmüller's emendation, and the adaptation by Grein, can not be right, for (1) *wiðsace* requires a singular subject; (2) *Wuldorcyninge* would hardly be used so frequently; cf. 67<sup>a</sup>, 85<sup>b</sup>, the latter only two lines away. Besides, the phrase for 82<sup>b</sup> is not introduced in the usual way; one might think rather of *æghwylcum men* (cf. *Hy.* 7. 16; *Met.* 27. 22; *Run.* 23; and especially *Sol.* 404).

85<sup>b</sup>-6<sup>a</sup>. *Wuldorcyning gesēon mōton*. Cf. *El.* 1307<sup>b</sup>-8<sup>a</sup>, *mōton engla Frēan gesēon*; also *Chr.* 501-2<sup>a</sup>.

86<sup>b</sup>. *sibbe*. Cf. *Chr.* 1338; *An.* 810.

87<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 64<sup>a</sup>.

87<sup>b</sup>. *hælu sēcan*. Cf. *Chr.* 752, *hælo sēcan*.

88<sup>a</sup>. *swā lēofne*. So *Chr.* 501.

89. Cf. *Chr.* 1343; *An.* 811; also *An.* 106; *Gu.* 1345-7.

### 3. PARTRIDGE

1. Cf. *Pn.* 8<sup>b</sup>-9.—*gēn*. A link with the *Whale* (*W.* 1).

4. *wuldres Ealdor*. Cf. *W.* 67<sup>a</sup>, 85<sup>b</sup>.

5-11. Cf. 2 *Cor.* 6. 17, 18.

5-9<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Isa.* 55. 7.

5. *hwylce*. The acc. after *in* (*on*), as frequently with *īd*.

8. *mid siblufan*. So *Chr.* 635.

9<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 1210<sup>a</sup>.

11. Cf. *Heb.* 2. 10, 11.

11<sup>a</sup>. *gebrōþor*. Cf. *Matt.* 12. 50; 25. 40; 28. 10; *Jn.* 20. 17; *Rom.* 8. 29; *Heb.* 2. 11.

12. *Uton*. So *W.* 86.

14<sup>a</sup>. *tō*. From.

14<sup>b</sup>. *þenden ūs dæg scine*. Cf. *Chr.* 597, 771<sup>b</sup>-2, 817, 1325, 1579, but especially 1593<sup>b</sup>-4.

16. Cf. *Sat.* 233; *Chr.* 347; *Ph.* 609.

16<sup>a</sup>. So *Jul.* 311.

16<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 818, 1464.



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1902. A. J. BARNOUW, *Textkritische Untersuchungen nach dem Gebrauch des Bestimmten Artikels und des Schwachen Adjektivs in der Altenglischen Poesie*. Leiden dissertation.
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1902. W. STRUNK, 'Notes on Cynewulf,' *Mod. Lang. Notes* 17. 371 ff. (On *El.* 581.)
1903. ABBETMEYER, as below, p. 148.
1903. C. F. BROWN, 'Cynewulf and Alcuin,' *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* 18. 308-334.
1904. F. KLAEBER, 'Zu Altenglischen Dichtungen,' *Herrig's Archiv* 113. 147-9. (On *El.* 140, 919-20.)
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1905. F. HOLTHAUSEN, 'Zur Quelle von Cynewulfs Elene,' *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie* 37. 1-19.

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1906. F. KLAEBER, 'Notizen zu Cynewulfs Elene,' *Anglia* 29. 271-2. (On *El.* 21-2, 311, 629 ff., 646, 657, 979.)
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1907. M. TRAUTMANN, 'Berichtigungen, Erklärungen, und Vermutungen zu Cynewulfs Werken,' *Bonner Beiträge* 23. 85-146.
1907. C. F. BROWN, 'The Autobiographical Element in the Cynewulfian Rune Passages,' *Engl. Stud.* 38. 196-233.
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1912. F. TUPPER, 'The Cynewulfian Runes of the Religious Poems,' *Mod. Lang. Notes* 27. 131-7.

## PHOENIX

## I. EDITIONS

## (a) Complete:

1840. N. F. S. GRUNDTVIG, *Phenix-Fuglen, et Angelsachsisk Kvad*. Copenhagen. Based on the MS. With the Latin of Lactantius.
1842. BENJAMIN THORPE, *Codex Exoniensis*. London. Based on the MS. With the Latin of Lactantius.
1849. LOUIS F. KLIPSTEIN, *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, Vol. 2. New York and London. Based on Thorpe, with some changes. With the Latin of Lactantius.
1850. LUDWIG ETTMÜLLER, *Engla and Seaxna Scopas and Boceras*. Quedlinburg and Leipzig. Based on Thorpe. With the Latin of Lactantius.
1857. CHRISTIAN W. M. GREIN, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*, Vol. 1. Göttingen. Based on Thorpe.
1891. JAMES W. BRIGHT, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*. New York. Based on Grein. With the Latin of Lactantius.
1895. ISRAEL GOLLANZ, *The Exeter Book*. London. E. E. T. S. 104. Based on the MS.
1897. RICHARD P. WÜLKER, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*, Vol. 3. Leipzig. A re-edition of Grein's *Bibliothek*. Based on the MS.
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## (b) Partial:

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1880. KÖRNER, as above, p. 141. (Ll. 1-84.)
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## 2. TRANSLATIONS

## (a) Complete:

## Danish:

1840. GRUNDTVIG, as above, p. 145. Paraphrastic; 152 stanzas of 9 short lines each.

## English:

1842. THORPE, as above, p. 145.
1844. GEORGE STEPHENS, in *Archæologia*, Vol. 30. From Grundtvig's text. Also published separately as: *The King of Birds, or the Lay of the Phœnix*. London, 1844.
1895. GOLLANZ, as above, p. 145.
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1910. KENNEDY, as above, p. 142.

## German:

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1857. CHRISTIAN W. M. GREIN, in *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen*, Vol. 1. Göttingen.
1908. SCHLOTTEROSE, as above, p. 145.

## (b) Partial:

## Danish:

1873. FREDERIK HAMMERICH, as above, p. 142. (Ll. 1-84.)

## English:

1814 and 1826. CONYBEARE, as above, p. 146. (Ll. 1-27.)

1849. KLIPSTEIN, as above, p. 145. (Ll. 33-68<sup>a</sup>.)

1885. ROBINSON, as above, p. 141. (Ll. 1-84.)

1890. ANNA R. BROWN, in *Poet-Lore*, Vol. 2. (Ll. 1-84.)

1892. WILLIAM R. SIMS, in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 7. (Ll. 1-84.)

1892. BROOKE, as above, p. 144. (Ll. 1-27, 33-41<sup>a</sup>, 50-84, 90-145, 182-6<sup>ä</sup>.)

1898. BROOKE, as above, p. 144. (Ll. 11-17<sup>a</sup>, 33-39<sup>a</sup>, 62<sup>b</sup>-69, 90-145.)

1902. SIDNEY LANIER, *Shakspeare and his Predecessors*, Vol. 1. New York. Partly verse, partly prose, and with occasional condensation. Ll. 1-149 (verse), 151-173 (prose), 182-241 (prose, condensed), 259-264 (prose), 265-287 (prose, cond.), 335-349, 387-392, 437-442 (all prose, cond.), 424-457 (prose, much cond.), 465-475, 491-520, 539-549 (all prose, cond.).

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1880. KÖRNER, as above, p. 141. (Ll. 1-84.)

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1859. DIETRICH, as above, p. 143.

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1874. J. SCHIFFER, 'Zum Codex Exoniensis,' *Germania* 19. 327-338.

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1885. F. KLUGE, 'Zum Phönix,' *Engl. Stud.* 8. 474-9.
1885. SIEVERS, as above, p. 143.
1885. WÜLKER, as above, p. 143.
1886. A. SALZER, *Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens*. Linz.
1887. EBERT, as above (and Vol. I, 1874), p. 143.
1887. KÖRTING, as above, p. 143.
1888. CREMER, as above, p. 143.
1890. H. BAUER, *Ueber die Sprache und Mundart der Altenglischen Dichtungen Andreas, Guðlac, Phönix, Hl. Kreuz und Höllenfahrt Christi*. Marburg dissertation.
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1894. M. TRAUTMANN, 'Zur Kenntnis des 'Altgermanischen Verses,' *Anglia Beiblatt* 5. 87-96.
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1896. P. J. COSIJN, 'Anglosaxonica III,' Paul und Braune's *Beiträge* 21. 25-6. (On *Ph.* 134<sup>a</sup>.)
1896. E. FULTON, 'On the Authorship of the Anglo-Saxon Poem Phoenix,' *Mod. Lang. Notes* 11. 73-85.
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1898. P. J. COSIJN, 'Anglosaxonica IV,' Paul und Braune's *Beiträge* 23. 121-3.
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1899. A. S. COOK, 'Phoenix 56,' *Mod. Lang. Notes* 14. 225-6.
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1903. M. KALUZA, *Anglia Beiblatt* 14. 162-3. (On *Ph.* 324, 643, 668.)
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- 1904-5. F. KLAEBER, 'Emendations in Old English Poems,' *Mod. Phil.* 2. 141. (On *Ph.* 624.)
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1908. K. JANSEN, *Die Cynewulf-Forschung*, pp. 105-8.
1908. GRAU, as above, p. 145.
1910. RICHTER, as above, p. 145.
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1913. F. KLAEBER, 'Notes on Old English Poems,' *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* 12. 258. (On *Ph.* 407-8.)

## PHYSIOLOGUS

(For a copious bibliography of the *Physiologus* in general, see Mann, in *Anglia Beiblatt* 10. 274-87; 12. 13-23; 13. 18-21, 236-9; cf. Jellinek, *ib.* 13. 236-9.)

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## (a) Complete:

1842. THORPE, as above, p. 145. London. Based on the MS.
1857. GREIN, as above, p. 145. Göttingen. Based on Thorpe.
1888. RICHARD P. WÜLKER, as above, p. 145.

## (b) Partial:

1849. KLIPSTEIN, as above, p. 145 (*Whale*).
1850. ETTMÜLLER, as above, p. 145 (*Whale*).
1885. ROBINSON, as above, p. 141. (*Panther* 1-18; *Whale* 1-31; *Partridge* 1-2, 12-16.)

## 2. TRANSLATIONS

## (a) Complete:

## English:

1842. THORPE, as above.

German (*Panther* and *Whale*):

1857. GREIN, as above, p. 146.

## (b) Partial:

## English:

1885. ROBINSON, as above, p. 149.  
 1888. HENRY MORLEY, *English Writers*, Vol. 2. (*Panther* 61<sup>b</sup>, 64<sup>b</sup>-74;  
*Whale* 61<sup>b</sup>-65, 78-81.)  
 1892. BROOKE, as above, p. 144. (*Whale* 7-15, 17<sup>b</sup>-18.)  
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## 3. CRITICISM

1840. KEMBLE, as above, p. 143.  
 1851. CAHIER and MARTIN, as above, p. 147.  
 1859. DIETRICH, as above, p. 143.  
 1865. GREIN, as above, p. 143.  
 1874. SCHIPPER, as above, p. 147.  
 1883. EBERT, 'Der Angelsächsische Physiologus,' *Anglia* 6. 241-7.  
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 1887. EBERT, as above, p. 143.  
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 1890. F. LAUCHERT, *Geschichte des Physiologus*. Strassburg.  
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 1898. TRAUTMANN, as above, p. 144.  
 1898. COSIJN, as above, p. 148.  
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 Liège.  
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 1905. SCHWARZ, as above, p. 149.  
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 1908. BRANDL, as above, p. 145.  
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## GLOSSARY

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[The order of words is strictly alphabetical, *æ* coming between *ad* and *af*, but initial *ð* following *t*. Roman numerals indicate the class of ablaut-verbs; *W1*, etc., that of the weak verbs; *rd*, the reduplicating; *prp*, the preteritive present; *anv.*, the anomalous. The double dagger, †, is used to designate words not elsewhere found in the poetry, according to Grein. Where the designations of mood and tense are omitted, 'ind. pres.' is to be understood, unless some other designation has just preceded; when of mood only, supply 'ind.' if no other has preceded, otherwise the latter.]

### A.

- ā**, adv., *ever, always*: El. 744, 802, 894, 896, 1029, 1082, 1257; Ph. 35, 180, 385, 596; W. 84, 86. See *āwa*, *ō*.
- ābannan**, *rd.*, *summon, convoke*: inf. El. 34.
- ābēodan**, *II*, *command, order*: pret. 3 sg. *ābēad*, El. 87; *wish, offer*: inf. El. 1004.
- ābrēotan**, *II*, *kill, slay*: inf. El. 510.
- † **ābȳwan**, *W1.*, *purge, purify*: pp. npm. *ābȳwde*, Ph. 545.
- ac**, conj., *but*: El. 222, 355, 450, 469, 493, 569, 863, 1304; Ph. 5, 19, 26, 35, 62, 75, 180, 317, 596, 609.
- ācennan**, *W1.*, *bear, bring forth, produce*: pp. *ācenned*, El. 5, 178, 339, 639, 776, 816; Ph. 241; npm. *ācende*, Ph. 256.
- ācigan**, *W1.*, *call*: pret. 3 sg. *ācigde*, El. 603.
- āclian**, see *geāclian*.
- ācōlian**, *W2.*, *grow chill*: pp. *ācōlad*, Ph. 228.
- ācweðan**, *V*, *speak, utter*: pret. 3 sg. *ācweðð*, El. 1072.
- ācyrran**, *W1.*, *turn away*: pp. *ācyrrred*, El. 1120.
- ād**, m., *fire*: ds. *āde*, El. 951, 1290; is. *āde*, Ph. 503; *pyre*: ns. Ph. 365; gs. *ādes*, El. 585; Ph. 272; ds. *āde*, Ph. 230.
- † **ādliġ**, m., *flame of the pyre*: ns. Ph. 222.
- ādrēogan**, *II*, *endure*: inf. El. 705, 1291.
- † **ādwyllm**, m., *lake of fire*: ds. *ādwyllme*, W. 73.
- æ**, f., *law*: as. El. 198, 281, 283, 315, 397, 971; Ph. 457; *Scripture*: as. El. 393; *faith, religion*: ns. El. 1063; as. El. 1042.
- æbylgð**, n., *offense, sin, transgression*: as. El. 401, 513.
- æcraeft**, m., *religion*: ns. El. 435.
- æfen**, n., *evening*: as. El. 139.
- æfest**, n., *malice, hatred*: ns. Ph. 401; as. *æfst*, El. 308, 524; dp. *æfstum*, El. 496; ip. *æfstum*, El. 207.
- æfre**, adv., *ever*: El. 349, 361, 403, 448, 507, 524, 572; Ph. 40, 83, 128, 562, 608, 637; W. 79; *always*: El. 961.
- æfter**, prep., w. dat., *after* (in time): El. 430, 490, 1034, 1265, 1268; Ph. 111, 223, 225, 270, 350, 370, 371, 382, 384, 405, 434, 437, 527, 533, 542, 557, 559, 566, 577, 583, 645; Pn. 36, 44, 54; W. 68, 77;

- after* (in space): El. 233; Ph. 343; *from*: El. 1155; *accord- ing to*: Ph. 258, 408 (*after?*); *among*: El. 135, 972; Pn. 12; *in the course of*: El. 363; *con- cerning*: El. 675; *in search of*: El. 828.
- æfter ðon*, adv., *afterwards*: *æfter þon*, Ph. 238.
- æg*, n., *egg*: ds. *æge*, Ph. 233.
- æghwā*, pron., *every one*: ds. *æghwām*, El. 1270; Pn. 15.
- æghwæs*, adv., *in every respect, en- tirely*: Ph. 44, 312; Pn. 24.
- æghwylc*, pron., *each, every one*: nsm. El. 1281; Ph. 164; Pn. 28.
- æglæc*, n., *terror*: ds. *æglæce*, El. 1188.
- æglæca*, see *æglæca*.
- æglēaw*, adj., *skilled in the law*: nsm. El. 806; npm. El. *æglēawe*, El. 321.
- æht*, f., *council*: as. El. 473.
- æht*, f., *possession*: dp. *æhtum*, El. 908; ap. *æhta*, El. 905; *æhte*, El. 916.
- æhtgestrēon*, n., *riches, posses- sions*: ap. Ph. 506.
- ælærend*, m., *teacher of the law*: gp. *ælærendra*, El. 506.
- ælan*, W1., *consume*: 3 sg. *æleð*, Ph. 222, 526; *kindle*: 3 pl. *ælað*, W. 22. See *onælan*.
- ælc*, pron., *each one*: ns. El. 1312.
- ælde*, mpl., *men*: g. *ælda*, Ph. 198, 546; *elda*, El. 476; *ilda*, El. 521; *ylda*, El. 792; d. *ældum*, Ph. 509.
- æled*, m., *fire*: ns. Ph. 522; gs. *ældes*, El. 1294; as. Pn. 21.
- ‡ *æledfyr*, n., *conflagration*: as. Ph. 366.
- ælfylce*, n., *foreign land*: ds. El. 36.
- ælmesse*, f., *alms*: as. *ælmessan*, Ph. 453.
- ælmihhtig*, adj., *almighty*: nsm. El. 145, 800, 866, 1084, 1091, 1146, 1152; Ph. 356, 473, 630; Pn. 72; nsm. wk. *ælmihhtiga*, Ph. 393; vsm. Ph. 627.
- æne*, adv., *once*: El. 1253.
- ænig*, pron., *any*: ns. El. 159; Ph. 31, 138, 357, 546, 581; gsm. *ænges*, Ph. 136; dsm. *ængum*, Pn. 33; asm. *ænigne*, Ph. 59; adj. *any*: gsm. *æniges*, El. 660; asm. *ænigne*, El. 538; asf. *ænige*, El. 166, 567; isn. *ænige*, El. 916.
- ænlic*, adj., *beautiful*: nsm. Ph. 312, 536; nsn. El. 259; gpm. *ænlicra*, El. 74; comp. nsm. *ænlicra*, Pn. 24, 28; *peerless* (?), nsn. Ph. 9.
- æppel*, m., *apple*: gs. *æples*, Ph. 230; as. Ph. 403.
- æpplede*, adj., *apple-shaped*: asn. El. 1260; Ph. 506.
- ær*, adv., *before, formerly, sooner*: El. 74, 101, 240, 459, 478, 561, 572, 602, 664, 707, 717, 909, 922, 934, 975, 987, 1044, 1118, 1122, 1142, 1285; Ph. 252, 268, 283; Pn. 34; W. 74. See *ærest*.
- ær*, prep., *before*: w. dat., El. 1228; Ph. 107, 245.
- ær*, conj., *before*: El. 447, 676, 1241, 1246, 1254.
- ærdæg*, m., *dawn*: ds. *ærdæge*, El. 105; *former day*: dp. *ærdagum*, Ph. 414.
- ærest*, adv., *at first, first*: El. 116; Ph. 235, 281. See *ær*, adv.
- ærgewyrht*, n., *former deed*: as. El. 1301.
- ‡ *æriht*, n., *law*: as. El. 375, 590.
- ærist*, f., *resurrection*: ds. *æriste*, Ph. 559; as. *æriste*, Ph. 495, 572.
- ærn*, see *molðærn*, carcern.
- ærra*, adj., *former*: asn. *ærre*, El. 305.
- ær ðon*, adv., *formerly*: *ærþon*, Ph. 379.

- ærdon**, conj., *before*: ærþan, El. 1084; *until*: ærþon, Ph. 40, 83. See ær.
- æscrōf**, adj., *brave with the spear, warlike*: nsm. El. 202; npm. æscrōfe, El. 275.
- ‡ **æscwiga**, m., *spear-fighter*: np. æscwigan, El. 259.
- æspring**, n., *spring, fountain*: ds. æspringe, Ph. 104.
- æt**, prep., w. dat., *at*: El. 137, 146, 231, 251, 399, 628, 965; Ph. 110, 239, 262, 477; W. 15; *in*: El. 1178, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1189; Ph. 280, 328, 538; *near*: Ph. 104; *from*: El. 191, 994, 1217; *to*: W. 73; *with*: W. 37.
- æte**, m. f., *repast*: ds. æte, Ph. 405; *food*: gs. ætes, W. 52; as. Ph. 401.
- ædelcynning**, m., *noble king*: gs. ædelcyninges, El. 219.
- æðele**, adj., *noble, excellent*: nsm. æþele, Ph. 9, 460; nsm. wk. æþela, Ph. 26, 43, 104, 614; nsf. El. 647, 662, 1131; nsn. wk. æþele, Ph. 20; gsn. æðeles, El. 591; dsf. wk. æðelan, El. 545; asm. æðelne, El. 1146; æþelne, Ph. 164, 346; Pr. 15; asm. wk. æðelan, El. 1074; æþelan, Ph. 281; asf. wk. æðelan, El. 275; asn. El. 300; sup. nsn. æþelast, Ph. 2, 93; dsm. æðelestan, El. 1174; dsn. æðelestan, El. 733; asn. æðelust, El. 476; npm. æðelestan, El. 1107; ipf. æþelestum, Ph. 207, 431; *righteous*: npm. æðele, Ph. 500; *sweet*: nsm. æþele, Pn. 74; npf. wk. æþelan, Ph. 528; ipm. æþelum, Ph. 586; *glorious*: asf. wk. æðelan, El. 787; *precious*: sup. dpm. æðelestum, El. 1025.
- æðelic**, adj., *excellent*: comp. nsm. æþelicra, Pn. 48.
- æðeling**, m., *nobleman, prince, chief*: ns. El. 202; æþeling, Ph. 319, 354; gs. æðelinges, El. 12, 886, 1003, 1198; as. El. 66; np. æðelingas, El. 846; gp. æðelinga, El. 99, 393.
- ‡ **æðelstenc**, m., *sweet odor*: gp. æþelstenca, Ph. 195.
- æðeltungol**, m., *noble star*: gp. æþeltungla, Ph. 290.
- æðelu**, npl., *noble qualities*: i. æðelum, El. 315, 1029; *race*: n. El. 433; *nature*: a. æþelu, Pn. 2.
- ætsomne**, adv., *together*: El. 834; Ph. 272.
- ætýwan**, W1., *show, reveal*: pp. ætywed, El. 69.
- ‡ **æwita**, m., *one versed in the law*: ds. æwitan, El. 455.
- áfæran**, W1., *terrify*: pp. afæred, Ph. 525.
- áfedan**, W1., *support, sustain*: 3 sg. afédeð, Ph. 263; *bring up, rear*: pp. aféded, El. 914.
- áfleon**, II,  *flee from*: 3 sg. aflyhð, Ph. 155.
- áfyrhtan**, W1., *frighten*: pp. afyrhted, El. 56.
- áfyrnan**, W1., *remove*: pp. afyrred, Ph. 5.
- áfýsan**, W1., *impel*: pp. afýsed, *eager*: nsm. Ph. 274; *ready*: nsm. Ph. 654; *intent*: nsm. Ph. 657.
- āgalan**, VI, *sing*: pret. 3 sg. āgōl, El. 27, 342.
- āgan**, prp., *have, possess*: 2 sg. āhst, El. 726; 3 sg. āh, El. 1182; opt. 3 sg. āge, El. 1124; inf. Ph. 559, 673. Negative: 3 pl. nāgon, W. 78; pret. 3 pl. nāhton, El. 356.
- āgān**, anv., *go, pass*: pp. El. 1227.
- āgangan**, rd., *go, pass*: pp. āgangan, El. 1.
- āgen**, adj., *own*: nsn. El. 179, 422.

- 1077; asm. ägenne, El. 599; Ph. 264, 275; asf. ägne, Ph. 256; ipm. ägnun, Ph. 536; ipf. ägnun, Ph. 528.
- ägend**, *see burg-, folcägend.*
- ägifan**, V, *give*: pret. 3 sg. ägeaf, El. 455, 462, 619, 662; 3 pl. ägëfon, El. 587; inf. El. 167, 545.
- äglæca**, m., *fiend*: ns. æglæca, El. 902; np. äglæcan, Ph. 442; *monster*: as. äglæcan, W. 52. *See æglæc.*
- ägyldan**, III, *punish*: pret. 3 sg. ägeald, Ph. 408. (?)
- ähębban**, VI, *lift up, raise*: 3 pl. ähebbað, Ph. 540; pret. 3 sg. ähöf, El. 17, 29, 112, 724, 844, 879; 3 pl. ähöfun, El. 838; ähöfon, El. 868; pp. ähafen, El. 862, 885, 976; ähæfen, El. 10; *lift down*: pp. ähæfen, El. 482; *rear*: pret. 1 sg. ähöf, El. 353.
- ähön**, rd., *crucify*: pret. 3 pl. ähęngon, El. 210 (opt.?) ; opt. pret. 3 pl. ähęngon, El. 475; pp. ähangen, El. 180, 205, 445, 671, 718, 852, 1076; asm. wk. ähangnan, El. 453, 687, 798, 934.
- ähýdan**, W1., *eclipse*: pp. ähýded, Ph. 96.
- ähýðan**, W1., *plunder*: inf. El. 41. ald, *see cald.*
- aldor**, *see caldor.*
- aldordöm**, *see ealdordöm.*
- älædan**, W1., *emerge, spring*: opt. pret. 3 sg. älæde, Ph. 233; inf. Ph. 251.
- älesan**, V, *choose, select*: pp. älesen, El. 286; gp. älesenra, El. 380.
- all**, *see call.*
- alleluia**, interj. (Lat.), *alleluia*: Ph. 677.
- almus**, adj. (Lat.), *genial*: gsf. alme, Ph. 673.
- altus**, adj. (Lat.), *high*: abl. pf. altis, Ph. 671.
- älýfan**, W1., *grant, vouchsafe*: pp. älyfed, Ph. 667.
- älýsan**, W1., *loose, release*: pret. 3 sg. älysde, El. 181; *ransom, redeem*: 3 sg. älyseð, Ph. 566.
- amen**, interj., *amen*: El. 1321.
- ämęrian**, W1., *purge, purify*: pp. ämered, El. 1312; npm. ämerede, Ph. 544, 633.
- ämetan**, V, *measure out*: pret. 2 sg. ämæte, El. 730; 3 sg. ämæt, El. 1248.
- än**, num., *one*: nsm. El. 417; asm. æne, El. 585, 599; dsm. änum, Pn. 16, 57; *alone*: nsm. wk. äna, Ph. 177, 355, 358; dsm. änum, Ph. 636. *See also änra gehwä, änra gehwylc.*
- änboren**, adj., *only-begotten*: nsm. El. 392.
- and**, *see qnd.*
- anda**, m., *vexation*: ds. andan, El. 970.
- andleofen**, f., *food, sustenance*: ds. andleofne, Ph. 243.
- andsæc**, n., *opposition, resistance*: as. El. 472.
- andswaru**, f., *answer*: as. andsware, El. 166, 318, 375, 455, 462, 567, 662, 1002; is. andsware, El. 642.
- andswerian**, W2., *answer*: pret. 3 pl. answeredon, El. 396.
- andweard**, adj., *present*: asn. wk. andwearde, El. 630.
- andweardlice**, adv., *at present, now*: El. 1141.
- andwlita**, m., *face*: as. andwlitan, El. 298.
- ‡ andwräð**, adj., *at enmity*: Pn. 17.
- andwyrde**, n., *answer*: as. El. 545, 619.
- änforlætan**, rd., *give up, renounce*: pret. 2 sg. änforlëte, El. 947; 3 pl. änforlęton, Ph. 438; opt. pret. 3 sg. änforlëte, El. 630.

- ānga**, wk. adj., *only, sole*: nsm. Ph. 423; Pn. 73.  
**ānhaga**, m., *solitary one*: ns. Ph. 87; ānhoga, Ph. 346; ds. ānhagan, El. 604.  
**anhādig**, adj., *mindful*: nsm. El. 829; *determined*: npm. anhydige, El. 848.  
**ānmōd**, adj., *with one mind, unanimous*: npm. ānmōde, El. 396, 1118.  
**ānra gehwā**, pron., *each one*: gs. ānra gehwæs, Ph. 487, 598.  
**ānra gehwylc**, pron., *each one*: nsm. Ph. 503, 522, 534.  
**ānra gehwylc**, adj., *every*: asn. El. 1287.  
**‡ ānstapa**, m., *solitary rover*: ds. ānstapan, Pn. 15.  
**anwealda**, m., *ruler*: ns. anwalda, Ph. 511. *See also onweald*.  
**ār**, m., *messenger*: vs. El. 1088; np. āras, El. 996; ap. āras, El. 981, 1007; *angel*: ns. El. 76, 87, 95; ap. āras, El. 738.  
**ār**, f., *honor*: ns. Ph. 663; dp. ārum, El. 714; *goodwill*: ds. āre, El. 308.  
**ārāran**, W1., *raise, rear, erect*: inf. El. 129; pp. ārāred, El. 804, 887.  
**āręccan**, W1., *declare*: inf. El. 635; Pn. 3.  
**ārfaest**, adj., *gracious*: nsm. El. 12; *merciful*: nsm. El. 512.  
**ārīsan**, I, *arise, rise*: pret. 3 sg. ārās, El. 187, 486, 803, 888; Pn. 62.  
**ārlēas**, adj., *impious, wicked, godless*: gpm. ārlēasra, El. 836, 1301.  
**ārwyrdē**, adj., *worthy of honor, excellent*: dsf. ārwyrdēan, El. 1129.  
**āsālan**, W1., *fetter*: pp. āsāled, El. 1244.  
**asce**, f., *ashes*: ds. ascan, Ph. 231, 373, 648; as. ascan, Ph. 285, 576.  
**āscēacan**, VI, *clap*: 3 sg. āscēacēð, Ph. 144.  
**āscēadan**, rd., *hold aloof*: pret. 1 sg. āscēd, El. 470; *purify*: pp. āscēaden, El. 1313.  
**āscian**, *see geāscian*.  
**āscyrian**, W1., *separate*: pp. āscyred, El. 1313.  
**āsēcan**, W1., *seek out*: imp. pl. āsēcaþ, El. 407; inf. āsēcean, El. 1019.  
**āseęgendlic**, *see unāseęgendlic*.  
**āsēoðan**, II, *purify*: pp. npm. āsodene, El. 1308.  
**āsettan**, W1., *lay, set, place*: pret. 3 pl. āsetton, El. 847; inf. El. 863, 877; *make*: pp. āseted, El. 998.  
**āspyrigean**, W1., *search out*: inf. El. 467.  
**āstęllan**, W1., *raise up*: 3 sg. āstelleð, Ph. 511.  
**āstigan**, I, *ascend*: pret. 3 sg. āstāh, El. 188, 900; inf. El. 795; *start up*: 3 sg. āstigeð, El. 1273.  
**āstęndan**, VI, *rise*: 3 sg. āstondeð, Pn. 40.  
**āsundrian**, W2., *separate, free*: pp. npm. āsundrod, El. 1309; āsundrad, Ph. 242.  
**āsweþban**, W1., *still, calm*: pp. āswefed, Ph. 186.  
**āðręotan**, VI, *weary, irk*: pret. 3 sg. āþręat, El. 368.  
**āttor**, n., *poison, venom*: gs. āttres, Pn. 58; is. ātre, Ph. 449.  
**āttorsceaða**, m., *venomous foe*: ds. āttorsceaþan, Pn. 33.  
**‡ ātýdran**, W1., *produce*: pp. npm. ātýdrede, El. 1279.  
**auctor**, m. (Lat.), *author*: ns. Ph. 667.  
**āwa**, adv., *for ever*: El. 951. *See ā, ō*.  
**āweaxan**, VI, *grow*: opt. pret. 3 sg.

āwēoxe, El. 1226; pp. āweaxen, Ph. 265.  
 āwēccan, W1., *awake, arouse*: 3 sg. āweceð, Ph. 567; pret. 3 sg. āwehte, El. 304, 946; opt. pret. 2 sg. āweahte, El. 782; pp. āweaht, Ph. 367; *incite*: 1 sg. āwecce, El. 927.  
 āwēndan, W1., *turn*: pp. āwended, El. 581.  
 āweorpan, III, *cast, hurl*: pret. 2 sg. āwurpe, El. 763; *contradict, gainsay*: inf. El. 771.  
 āwer, adv., *anywhere*: El. 33. [āhwær.]  
 āwritan, I, *inscribe*: pp. āwriten, El. 91.  
 āwyrðan, W1., *destroy, spoil*: opt. 3 sg. āwyrde, Ph. 247.  
 āwyrgeð, adj., *accursed*: nsm. wk. āwyrgeða, W. 87; npm. āwyrgeðe, El. 1299.  
 āyrnan, III, *run out, elapse*: pp. āurnen, Ph. 364.

## B.

bæc, n., *back*: as. Ph. 309.  
 bæł, n., *fire*: gs. bæles, Ph. 47; *flame*: ns. El. 578; is. bæle, Ph. 227, 284; *pyre*: ns. Ph. 216.  
 † bæłþracu, f., *rush of flame, violence of fire*: ds. bæłþræce, Ph. 270.  
 bæm, *see* bēgen.  
 bær, f., *bier*: ds. bære, El. 873.  
 -bæru, *see* gebæru.  
 bæð, n., *bath*: as. El. 490, 1034; gp. baða, Ph. 110. *See* fyrbæð.  
 bæðweg, m., *sea*: as. El. 244.  
 bald, adj., *bold*: nsm. El. 593; nsf. (= *boldly*) El. 412, 1073.  
 baldor, m., *prince*: ns. El. 344.  
 bān, n., *bone*: as. (ap.?) Ph. 221; gp. bāna, Ph. 575; ap. Ph. 270, 271, 283, 286, 512; El. 788.

bāncofa, m., *body*: as. bāncofan, El. 1250.  
 bānfæt, n., *body*: ns. Ph. 229; ap. bānfatu, Ph. 520.  
 bann, *see* gebann.  
 bannan, rd., *call*: inf. El. 45. *See* ābannan.  
 basu, adj., *crimson*: nsm. Ph. 296.  
 baðian, *see* bibaðian.  
 be, prep., *by*: w. dat., El. 78, 505, 756; bi, Pn. 13; W. 9, 18; *among*: w. dat., El. 1274; *concerning, in regard to*: w. dat., El. 168, 337, 342, 350, 420, 444, 562, 601, 665, 706, 861, 867, 1068, 1189, 1241, 1257; bi, Ph. 388; Pn. 8, 15, W. 3, Pr. 1; *upon, by means of*: w. inst., bi, Ph. 262.  
 be-, *see also* bi-.  
 bēacen, n., *sign*: ns. El. 162, 1194; gs. bēacnes, Ph. 107; as. El. 100, 109, 784, 842; is. bēacne, El. 92. *See* sigc-, sigorbēacen.  
 bēacnian, W2., *betoken, signify, typify*: 3 sg. bēacnað, Ph. 389, 575, 646.  
 beadu, f., *battle*: ds. beadwe, El. 34, 45.  
 beaducræftig, adj., *valiant, warlike*: nsm. Ph. 286.  
 beadurōf, adj., *stout in battle, brave*: nsm. El. 152; dsf. beadurōfre, El. 1004; npm. beadurofe, El. 1185.  
 beaduðrēat, m., *army*: gp. beaduþrēata, El. 31.  
 bēag, m., *crown*: ns. Ph. 602; *collar*: gp. bēaga, Ph. 306.  
 bēaggifa, m., *lord*: ns. El. 100; gs. bēaggifan, El. 1199.  
 beald, adj., *steadfast*: nsm. Ph. 458; *bold (ly)*: nsm. Ph. 550.  
 bealu, n., *evil, wrong, iniquity*: gs. bealwes, W. 72. *See* ðeoden-bealu.

- bealudæd**, f., *evil deed, sin*: gp. bealudæda, El. 515.
- bealusorg**, f., *baleful sorrow, anguish*: as. bealosorge, Ph. 409.
- bëam**, m., *tree* (in the *Elene* always = *cross*): ns. El. 91, 217, 624, 887; Ph. 447; gs. bëames, Ph. 402; ds. bëame, Ph. 122; as. El. 424, 1074, 1255; Ph. 112, 171, 202; np. bëamas, Ph. 35; gp. bëama, El. 851, 1013, 1225; Ph. 177; ap. bëamas, El. 865. See *sige-*, *wudu-*, *wynbëam*.
- bearhtm**, see *breahhtm*.
- bearn**, n., *child, son*: ns. El. 179, 391, 422, 446, 783, 851, 1077; ds. bearne, El. 525, 562, 837; as. El. 814, 964, 1127; np. Ph. 396; Pn. 13; gp. bearna, El. 476; Pr. 11; dp. bearnum, Pn. 25; ap. El. 181, 354. See *frëo-*, *God-*, *sigebearn*.
- bearo**, m., *forest, grove*: gs. bearwes, Ph. 122, 148; ds. bearwe, Ph. 432; as. Ph. 67; np. bearwas, Ph. 71; gp. bearwa, Ph. 80. See *sun-*, *wudubearo*.
- bebëodan**, II, *bid, command*: pret. 3 sg. bebëad, El. 378, 710, 715, 980, 1018, 1131, 1220; bibëad, Ph. 36; pp. beboden, El. 224, 412.
- bebod**, n., *command*: as. El. 1170.
- bebügan**, II, *avoid*: inf. El. 609; *encircle*: 3 sg. bibügeð, Pn. 6.
- bebyrgan**, W1., *bury*: 3 sg. bebyrgeð, Ph. 286.
- ‡ **beclingan**, III, *bind*: pp. beclungen, El. 696.
- becuman**, IV, *reach*: pret. 3 sg. becwöm, El. 142.
- beð**, see *nëobëd*.
- bed**, see *gebëd*.
- bedelfan**, III, *bury*: pp. bedolfen, El. 1081.
- bedyrnan**, W1., *hide, secrete*: inf. El. 584; pp. bedyrned, El. 602.
- befæstan**, W1., *make fast, make secure*: 3 sg. bifæsteð, W. 30; pp. befæsted, El. 1300; *establish*: pp. befæsted, El. 1213.
- befëolan**, IV, *grant*: pp. befolen, El. 196, 937.
- befôn**, rd., *seize*: pret. 3 sg. befëng, El. 843; *invest, encompass, clothe*: pp. bifongen, Ph. 259, 380, 527, 535.
- beforan**, adv., *beforehand*: El. 1142, 1154.
- beforan**, prep., *before*: w. dat., El. 108.
- begangan**, rd., *fulfil*: opt. 2 sg. begange, El. 1171.
- bëgen**, num., *both*: n. bü, El. 614, 889; Ph. 402; g. bëga, El. 618, 964; bëgra, El. 1009; d. bëam, El. 805.
- begëotan**, II, *pour out*: pret. 3 sg. begëat, El. 1248.
- begietan**, V, *get, obtain, attain*: pret. 3 sg. begeat, El. 1152; inf. Ph. 669.
- begrāfan**, VI, *bury, hide*: pp. begræfen, El. 974; apf. begravene, El. 835.
- behealdan**, rd., *behold*: pret. 3 sg. behëold, El. 111, 243; inf. bihealdan, Ph. 114; *observe*: inf. bihealdan, Ph. 90; *inhabit*: 3 sg. bihealdeþ, Ph. 87; pret. 3 sg. behëold, El. 1144.
- beheþian**, W1., *bury, hide*: pp. beheled, El. 429; apf. behelede, El. 831.
- behlidan**, I, *close, shut*: pp. behliden, El. 1230.
- behýdan**, W1., *conceal*: pp. behýded, El. 793, 988, 1082; bihýded, Ph. 418; asf. bihýdde, Ph. 170.
- bellþan**, I, *deprive, rob*: pp. gsm. belidenes, El. 878.
- belücan**, II, *lock up*: inf. El. 1027.

- bemiðan**, I, *hide, keep secret*: inf. El. 583.
- bēn**, f., *prayer, petition*: as. bēne, El. 1089.
- beneah**, *see* **benugan**.
- benugan**, prp., *to have at disposal* (w. gen.): 3 sg. beneah, El. 618.
- bēodan**, II, *proclaim*: 3 sg. bēodeð, Ph. 497; opt. pret. 3 sg. bude, El. 1212; inf. El. 80; pp. boden, El. 972; *offer*: pp. boden, El. 18. *See* ā-, be-, for-, **gebēodan**.
- beofian**, W2., *tremble*: 3 sg. beofaþ, El. 759.
- bēon**, *see* **wesan**.
- beorg**, m., *hill, mountain*: ds. beorge, El. 510, 578; np. beorgas, Ph. 21; gp. beorga, Ph. 31. *See* **sōndbeorg**.
- beorgan**, III, *save* (w. dat.): pret. 3 pl. burgon, El. 134.
- ‡ **beorgan**, III, *taste*: 3 sg. beorgeð, Ph. 110.
- beorhhlīð**, n., *mountain-slope*: ds. beorhhlīðe, El. 788, 1009.
- ‡ **beorhstēde**, m., *eminence, funeral-pile*: ds. Ph. 284.
- beorht**, adj., *bright, radiant, gleaming, shining, beaming*: nsm. El. 88, 489; Ph. 122, 240; nsm. wk. beorhta, Ph. 602; dsf. wk. beorhtan, El. 822; asm. wk. beorhtan, Pn. 7; asf. beorhtan, El. 1089; npf. beorhte, Ph. 35; gpn. beorhtra, Pn. 26; comp. nsm. beorhtra, El. 1110; Pn. 23; sup. nsm. beorhtast, Ph. 80, 306; nsn. beorhtast, Ph. 227; asn. beorhtost, El. 948; *excellent, glorious, illustrious*: asm. wk. beorhtan, El. 1255; asn. beorhte, El. 790; npm. beorhte, Pr. 11; *pure* (?), *glorious* (?): asm. beorhtne, Ph. 389; *clear*: isf. wk. beorhtan, Ph. 128. *See* hīw-, **sunbeorht**.
- beorhte**, adv., *brightly*: El. 92; Ph. 31, 545, 599; super. beorhtast, Ph. 179; *splendidly*, Ph. 592.
- beorhtm**, *see* **breahtm**.
- beorn**, m., *man, hero*: gs. beornes, El. 710, 805, 1062; gp. beorna, El. 100, 114, 186, 253, 873, 1187, 1199.
- ‡ **beornðrēat**, m., *troop of men*: ns. beornþrēat, Pn. 50.
- berādan**, W1., *rob*: pret. 3 pl. berāddon, El. 498.
- beran**, IV, *carry, bear, convey*: 3 sg. byreð, El. 1196; biereð, Ph. 199; 3 pl. berað, El. 1187; inf. El. 45, 109. *See* **reordberend**.
- berēafian**, W2., *rob*: pp. berēafod, El. 910.
- berstan**, *see* **forberstan**.
- bescūfan**, II, *push, hurl*: 3 sg. bescūfeð, El. 943.
- besēon**, V, *look*: inf. sg. beseoh, El. 83.
- besēttan**, W1., *surround*: 3 sg. biseteð, Ph. 530; *set*: pp. biseted, Ph. 304; *adorn, bejewel*: inf. El. 1026; *cover*: pp. beseted, Ph. 297.
- besittan**, V, *hold*: pret. 3 pl. bisæton, El. 473.
- beswīcan**, I, *beguile, deceive*: 3 pl. beswīcað, W. 33; pret. 3 sg. biswāc, Ph. 413; inf. W. 65; pp. beswīcen, W. 56.
- besylcan**, W1., *weaken*: pp. besylced, El. 697.
- betæcan**, W1., *deliver*: pret. 3 pl. betæhton, El. 585.
- beteldan**, *see* **biteldan**.
- beþera**, *see* **gōd**.
- beðeccan**, W1., *cover*: pret. 3 sg. beþeahte, El. 1236; beþehte, El. 1298; 3 pl. beþeahton, El. 836; pp. beþeaht, El. 76, 884; biþeaht, W. 45; npm. biþeahte, Ph. 490,

- 605; *load*: pret. 3 sg. biþehte, Pn. 61.
- Bethlem**, pr. n., *Bethlehem*: d. Bethleme, El. 391.
- beðringan**, III, *burden, oppress*: pp. beþrunge, El. 950, 1245; *encircle*: pp. biþrunge, Ph. 341.
- beðurfan**, prp., *need*: 3 sg. beðearf, El. 543.
- betwēonum**, prep. w. gen., *among*: El. 1207.
- beweorcean**, W1., *adorn*: inf. El. 1024.
- beweotigan**, see *bewitigan*.
- bewindan**, III, *invest, clothe, wrap*: pp. biwunden, Ph. 666; nrm. bewundene, El. 734; *encompass*: pp. biwunden, W. 18.
- bewitigan**, W2., *do, perform (attend to)*: 3 pl. beweotigaþ, El. 745; *watch*: inf. Ph. 92.
- bewrecan**, V, *lash, beat*: pp. apm. bewrecene, El. 251.
- bi(-)**, see also *be(-)*.
- bibaðian**, W2., *bathe*: 3 sg. bibapað, Ph. 107.
- biclyppan**, W1., *seize*: 3 sg. biclyppeð, Ph. 277.
- bīd**, n., *expectation*: ds. bīde, El. 885.
- bīdan**, I, *abide, remain*: 3 sg. bīdeð, El. 1093; Ph. 47; pret. 3 sg. bād, El. 329; ptc. bīdende, El. 484. See *gebīdan*.
- bīddan**, V, *ask, beg*: pret. 3 sg. bæd, El. 494, 600, 1069, 1101; imp. sg. bīde, El. 1090; inf. El. 790, 814.
- bīdēglīan**, W2., *conceal*: pp. bīdēglīad, Ph. 98.
- bīgan**, W1., *bow, bend*: 3 sg. bīgeð, Ph. 459.
- bīgang**, m., *course*: ns. El. 1124.
- bīgenga**, m., *inhabitant*: ds. Ph. bīgengan, 148.
- bīhelan**, IV, *sequester*: pp. asf. bīholene, Ph. 170.
- bīhlemman**, W1., *snag*: 3 sg. bīhlemmeð, W. 76.
- bill**, n., *sword*: ns. El. 257; ap. bil, El. 122.
- bindan**, see *ge-, onbindan*.
- biniman**, IV, *bereave, deprive*: pp. apm. binumene, Ph. 488.
- biscēawian**, W2., *take heed to*: 3 sg. biscēawad, W. 64.
- bisceop**, m., *bishop*: ns. El. 1095, 1127; ds. bisceope, El. 1057, 1073, 1217; as. El. 1052.
- bisceophād**, m., *episcopal rank*: ns. El. 1212.
- bisencan**, W1., *sink*: 3 sg. bisenceð, W. 48.
- bisgu**, see *bysgu*.
- bisorgian**, W2., *dread, fear*: 3 sg. bisorgað, Ph. 368.
- biteldan**, III, *cover*: 3 sg. biteldeð, Ph. 273; pp. bitolden, Ph. 555; *surround*: 3 pl. beteldað; Ph. 339; *array*: pp. bitolden, Ph. 609.
- bitre**, adv., *bitterly*: El. 1245.
- bitter**, adj., *bitter, grievous*: nsf. Ph. 404; asf. bittre, Ph. 409; *harmful, noxious*: gsn. bitres, Ph. 179.
- bitȳnan**, W1., *close, lock*: pp. bitȳned, Ph. 419.
- biweaxan**, rd., *overgrow*: pp. biweaxen, Ph. 310.
- blāc**, adj., *bright, shining, shining white*: nsm. wk. blāca, El. 91; ipn. blācum, Ph. 296.
- blāc**, adj., *brilliant*: nsn. Pn. 26.
- blāed**, m., *fulness*: ns. Ph. 662; *glory*: gs. blāedes, El. 162; ds. blāede, El. 489; as. El. 354; *bliss*: as. El. 826; Ph. 391; *inspiration*: as. Ph. 549.
- blāeddæg**, m. *day of bliss*: gp. blāeddaga, Ph. 674.
- blāest**, m., *blaze, flame*: ns. Ph. 15; as. Ph. 434.

- blanca**, m., *white horse*: ds. blancan, El. 1185.
- blandus**, adj. (Lat.), *mild*: asm. blandum, Ph. 674.
- blēd**, f., *fruit*: as. blēde, Ph. 402; np. blēde, Ph. 35; ip. blēdum, Ph. 38, 71, 207; *branch*: np. blēde, Ph. 466. *See wudublēd.*
- blēo**, n., *form, shape*: as. 1106; ip. blēom, El. 759; *color*: ip. blēom, Pn. 23.
- blēobrigd**, n.(?), *variety of colors, play of colors*: ip. blēobrygdum, Ph. 292.
- blētsian**, Wz., *bless, adore*: 3 pl. blētsiað, Ph. 620.
- blīcan**, I, *shine*: 3 sg. blīceð, Ph. 186, 599; Pn. 29; opt. 3 sg. blīce, Ph. 115; inf. Ph. 95.
- blind**, adj., *blind*: npm. blinde, El. 1215. *See mōðblind.*
- blindnes**, f., *blindness*: gs. blindnesse, El. 389; ds. blindnesse, El. 299.
- blinn**, n., *end, ceasing*: ds. blinne, El. 826.
- bliss**, f., *bliss, joy*: ip. blissum, El. 1138; Ph. 126.
- blissian**, *see geblyssian.*
- blīðe**, adj., *joyous, glad*: nsm. El. 1317; dsm. wk. blīþan, Ph. 599; npm. El. 246; blīþe, Ph. 620; comp. blīðra: nsm. El. 96.
- blōnd**, *see geblōnd.*
- blōndan**, *see geblōndan.*
- blōstma**, m., *blossom, flower*: np. blōstman, Ph. 74; dp. blōstmum, Pn. 47; ip. blōstmum, Ph. 21.
- blōwan**, *see geblōwan.*
- bōc**, f., *book*: gp. bōca, El. 1212; dp. bōcum, El. 204, 290, 826, 1255; ap. bēc, El. 364, 670, 853.
- bōcstæf**, m., *letter*: dp. bōcstafum, El. 91.
- bod**, *see be-, gebod.*
- boda**, m., *messenger, ambassador*: ns. El. 77; np. bodan, El. 262, 551. *See spelboda.*
- bodian**, Wz., *announce*: pp. bodod, El. 1141.
- bōna**, *see feorgbōna.*
- bora**, *see hornbora.*
- bord**, n., *shield*: as. El. 1187; gp. borda, El. 114; dp. bordum, El. 24, 235; *ship*: ns. El. 238. *See ðrȳðbord.*
- ‡ **bordhaga**, m., *protection of the shield*: ds. bordhagan, El. 652.
- bordhrēoða**, m., *shield*: ap. bordhrēoðan, El. 122.
- boren**, *see ānboren.*
- bōsm**, m., *bosom* (poet. for *earth*): as. Pn. 7.
- bōt**, f., *cure, healing, reparation, atonement*: as. bōte, El. 299, 389, 1217; *repentance*: ds. bōte, El. 1039, 1126; as. bōte, El. 515.
- brād**, adj., *broad*: nsn. brād, El. 917.
- bræce**, *see unbræce.*
- bræd**, f.(?), *flesh*: ns. Ph. 240.
- breahm**, m., *sound, music*: ds. breahme, Ph. 134; *noise*: is. breahme, El. 39; beorhtme, El. 205; bearhtme, El. 865.
- brec**, *see gebrec.*
- brecan**, IV, *burst forth, break forth*: 3 pl. brecað, Ph. 67; *rend asunder*: 3 sg. briceð, Ph. 504; pret. 3 pl. bræcon, El. 122; *rush, dash*: inf. El. 244. *See gebrecan.*
- brēdian**, *see gebrēdian.*
- bregd**, *see gebregd; brigd.*
- bregdan**, III, *plait, weave*: pp. brogden, El. 257; Ph. 306; *set, inlay*: pp. brogden, Ph. 602; *vary, shift*: ptc. bregdende, Pn. 23. *See onbregdan; brogden-mæl.*
- brego**, m., *lord, prince*: ns. Ph.

- 497; as. Ph. 568; bregu, Ph. 620.
- brēost**, n., *breast*: ap. Ph. 292; *mind, heart*: dp. brēostum, El. 595, 967, 1038, 1095; Ph. 458, 568; ip. brēostum, Ph. 550.
- brēostloca**, m., *bosom's recess, soul*: as. brēostlocan, El. 1250.
- brēostsefa**, m., *heart*: ns. El. 805, 842, 1046; Ph. 126.
- brēotan**, see **ābrēotan**.
- brid**, m., *young bird, nestling*: ns. Ph. 235; gs. briddes, Ph. 372.
- bridels**, m., *bridle*: gs. El. 1199; as. El. 1175, 1185.
- bridelshring**, m., *bridle-ring*: dp. bridelshringum, El. 1194.
- ‡ **brigd**, n.(?), *variety*: gp. brigda, Pn. 26. See **blēobrigd**; **bregd**.
- brim**, n., *sea*: ns. Pn. 7; as. El. 1004; ds. brime, El. 253; np. brimo, El. 972.
- brimcald**, adj., *cold as the sea*: asn. Ph. 110; npn. Ph. 67.
- brimðisa**, m., *ship*: ap. brimþisan, El. 238.
- brimwudu**, m., *ship*: as. El. 244.
- bringan**, W1., *bring*: 3 pl. bringað, Ph. 660; pret. 3 sg. brōhte, El. 1130; 3 pl. brōhton, El. 873, 996, 1016; pp. brungen, El. 1138. See **gebringan**.
- brōga**, see **witebrōga**.
- brogdenmæl**, n., *damascened sword*: ns. El. 759.
- brōnd**, m., *fire*: ns. Ph. 216; gs. brondes, Ph. 283.
- brōnt**, adj., *steep, high*: apm. bronte, El. 238.
- brosnian**, W2., *wither*: 3 pl. brosniað, Ph. 38. See **gebrosnian**.
- brōðor**, m., *brother*: ns. El. 489, 822; as. El. 510. See **gebrōðor**.
- brūcan**, II, *use, enjoy* (w. gen.): 3 pl. brūcaþ, El. 1320; pret. 1 sg.
- brēac, El. 1251; inf. El. 1315; Ph. 148, 674.
- brūn**, adj., *dusky*: nsm. Ph. 296.
- bryce**, see **unbryce**.
- bryne**, m., *flame*: ns. Ph. 229, 520; *burning*: as. Ph. 545, 575. See **ligbryne**.
- bryrdan**, see **onbryrdan**.
- brytta**, m., *dispenser*: ns. El. 162, 194; *originator*: as. bryttan, El. 958.
- bryttian**, W2., *destroy*: 3 sg. bryttað, El. 579.
- bū**, see **bēgen**.
- būend**, see **foldbūend**.
- būgan**, II, *occupy, inhabit*: 3 pl. būgað, Ph. 157. See **bebūgan**.
- burg**, f., *city*: gs. byrig, El. 864; ds. byrig, El. 822, 1006, 1054, 1204; Ph. 475, 588, 633, 666; gp. burga, El. 152; dp. burgum, El. 412, 972, 992, 1057, 1062; Ph. 389.
- burgāgend**, m., *holder of the city*: gp. burgāgendra, El. 1175.
- burgloca**, m., *fortified position*: as. burglocan, El. 31.
- burgsæl**, n., *castle-hall*: dp. burgsalum, Pn. 50.
- burgsittend**, m., *citizen*: dp. burgsittendum, El. 276.
- burna**, m., *fountain*: ds. burnan, Ph. 107.
- būtan**, prep., *without*: w. dat., El. 802, 811, 826, 894, 953, 1292; Ph. 637, 651; *save, except*: w. acc., El. 539; w. dat., El. 1228; Pn. 16, 33, 57.
- būtan**, conj., *unless*: El. 689; *except*: El. 661; Ph. 358.
- byldan**, W1., *incite*: pret. 3 sg. bylde, El. 1039.
- bylgð, see **ābylgð**.
- býme**, f., *trumpet*: gs. býman, Ph. 497; np. býman, El. 109; Ph. 134.
- byrd, see **gebyrd**.

- byrde, *see* **gebyrde**.  
**byre**, m., *child, offspring*: ns. Ph. 128; np. Ph. 409.  
**byrga**, *see* **gebyrga**.  
**byrgan**, W1., *taste, eat*: pret. 3 pl. byrgdon, Ph. 404. *See* **gebyrgan**.  
**byrgan** (*bury*), *see* **bebyrgan**.  
**byrgen**, f., *grave, tomb*: ds. byrgenne, El. 186, 484; gp. byrgenna, El. 652; dp. byrgennum, Ph. 512.  
**byrnan**, III, *burn*: 3 sg. byrneð, Ph. 214, 218, 502, 531.  
**byrne**, f., *corslet*: ns. El. 257.  
**byrnwigend**, m., *corsleted warrior*: gp. byrnwigendra, El. 34; byrnwiggendra, El. 224; dp. byrnwigungum, El. 235.  
**byrð**, *see* **beran**.  
**bysgian**, W2., *torment*: 3 sg. bysgað, W. 51. *See* **gebysgian**.  
**bysgu**, f., *trouble*: ip. bisgum, El. 1245.  
**býwan**, *see* **ābýwan**.
- C.**
- cāf**, adj., *bold, brave*: npm. cāfe, El. 56.  
**cald**, adj., *chill, cold*: ipm. cāldum, Ph. 59. *See* **brimcald**.  
**caldu**, *see* **sincaldu**.  
**Calvarie**, pr. n., *Calvary*: n. El. 676; d. El. 672, 1011; Calvarie, El. 1098.  
**campwudu**, m., *shield*: ns. El. 51.  
**carcern**, n., *prison*: ds. carcerne, El. 715.  
**cāserdōm**, m., *reign*: gs. cāserdōmes, El. 8.  
**cāser**, m., *emperor*: ns. El. 42, 999; gs. cāseres, El. 262, 330, 551, 669; Ph. 634; ds. El. 70, 175, 212, 416.  
**ceaf**, m., *mouth*: ns. W. 59.  
**cearwylm**, m., *wave of sorrow*: dp. cearwelnum, El. 1258.  
**cēas**, f., *strife, battle*: ds. cēase, El. 56.  
**ceaster**, f., *city*: gs. ceastre, El. 384; as. ceastre, El. 274, 846, 1205; gp. ceastra, El. 973; dp. ceastrum, Pn. 49.  
**ceasterware**, mpl., *citizens*: dp. ceasterwarum, El. 42.  
**celum**, n. (Lat.), *heaven*: abl. s. celo, Ph. 669.  
**çempa**, m., *soldier, champion*: ns. Ph. 452; np. cempān, Ph. 471.  
**çennan**, W1., *bear, beget*: pret. 1 sg. cende, 354; 3 pl. cendan, El. 508; pp. cenned, El. 336, 392; Ph. 639; *devise*: pp. cenned, El. 587; W. 6. *See* **āçennan**.  
**cēol**, m., *ship*: np. cēolas, W. 17; ap. cēolas, El. 250.  
**cēosan**, II, *choose*: 3 pl. cēosað, Ph. 479; opt. 1 sg. cēose, Ph. 553. *See* **gecēosan**.  
**ceruphīn**, npl., *cherubim*: n. El. 750.  
**ciest**, *see* **ēoredciest**.  
**cigan**, *see* **ā-, gecīgan**.  
**cild**, n., *child*: gs. cildes, El. 336, 776; Ph. 639.  
**cildhād**, m., *childhood*: ds. cildhāde, El. 915.  
**cirice**, f., *church*: as. cirican, El. 1008.  
**clā**, f., *talon*: ip. clām, Ph. 277.  
**clāne**, adj., *pure*: nsm. Ph. 167; nsn. Ph. 252; npm. Ph. 518, 541; gpm. clānra, El. 96; dpf. clānum, El. 750; ipn. clānum, Ph. 459. *See* **unclāne**.  
**clāne**, adv., *entirely, wholly*: Ph. 226.  
**clānsian**, *see* **geclānsian**.  
**cleofa**, *see* **nýdcleofa**.  
**‡cleofian**, W3., *cleave, adhere*: 3 pl. cleofiað, W. 73.  
**cleopian**, W2., *call, cry*: pret. 3 sg. cleopode, El. 1100; 3 pl. cleopod-

- odon, El. 1319; inf. cleopigan, El. 696.
- clēowen**, n., *ball*: ds. clēowenne, Ph. 226.
- clif**, see **stānclif**.
- clingan**, see **be-**, **geclingan**.
- clom**, m., *fetter*: dp. clommm, El. 696.
- clynnān**, W1., *resound*: pret. 3 sg. clyneðe, El. 51.
- clyppan**, see **biclyppan**.
- cnāwe**, see **orcnāwe**.
- cnāwan**, see **ge-**, **oncnāwan**.
- cnēo**, n., *knee*: ds. El. 848; cnēow, El. 1136; as. Ph. 459, 514.
- cnēomæg**, m., *kinsman*: dp. cnēomægum, El. 587, 688.
- cniht**, m., *child*: ns. El. 339.
- ‡ **cnihtgeong**, adj., *youthful*: nsm. El. 640.
- cnyssan**, W1., *beat, strike, smite*: 3 sg. cnyseð, Ph. 59; pp. cnyssed, El. 1258.
- cofa**, see **bān-**, **heolstor-**, **ðēostorcofa**.
- cōlian**, W2., *to be cold*: pret. 3 pl. cōlodon, El. 883. See **ācōlian**.
- collenferhð**, adj., *elated*: npm. collenferhðe, El. 247, 849; *troubled*: npm. collenferhðe, El. 378; *bold*: npm. collenferhþe, W. 17.
- cōndel**, f., *candle*: ds. condelle, Ph. 91. See **swegl-**, **wedercōndel**.
- Constantinus**, pr. n., *Constantine*: n. El. 103, 1008; g. Constantīnes, El. 8; d. Constantino, El. 145; v. El. 79.
- corn**, n., *individual grain*: gs. cornes, Ph. 252.
- corðor**, n., *band, multitude*: ds. corðre, El. 70, 543, 691; corþre, El. 304; gp. corðra, El. 274; Ph. 167.
- cost**, see **gecost**.
- cræft**, m., *ability, knowledge, power, skill*: gs. cræftes, El. 558; as. cræft, El. 154, 374, 595, 1172; dp. cræftum, El. 1018, 1059; ip. cræftum, Ph. 344. See **æ-**, **leornung-**, **leoð-**, **mōd-**, **searu-**, **snytttru-**, **sōng-**, **word-**, **wōð-cræft**.
- cræftig**, adj., *skilful, expert*: nsm. El. 419; W. 24, 72. See **beadu-**, **leoðucræftig**.
- Crēcas**, pr. n., *Greeks*: g. Crēca, El. 250, 262, 999.
- ‡ **cring**, f. n., *slaughter*: ns. El. 115.
- cringan**, III, *fall, perish*: pret. 3 pl. crungon, El. 126.
- Crist**, pr. n., *Christ*: n. El. 460; Ph. 590; g. Crīstes, El. 103, 212, 499, 973; Ph. 388, 514; d. Criste, El. 678, 1011, 1035, 1050, 1120; a. El. 798.
- Cristen**, adj., *Christian*: gp. Crīstenra, El. 980, 1069; dp. Crīstenum, El. 989, 1211.
- cuman**, IV, *come*: 3 sg. cymeð, Ph. 484, 508; Pn. 42, 44; W. 54; 3 pl. cumað, El. 1303; pret. 1 sg. cwōm, El. 908; 3 sg. cwōm, El. 549, 871, 1110; cōm, El. 150; 3 pl. cwōmon, El. 274, 1214; opt. 3 sg. cyme, Ph. 93, 102; inf. El. 279, 1205; Ph. 91; pp. cymen, El. 1123; go: 3 pl. cumað, W. 79; return: 3 sg. cymeð, Ph. 222, 366. See **ā-**, **becuman**.
- cumbul**, see **eofor-**, **heorucumbul**.
- cund**, see **godcund**.
- cunnan**, prp., *know*: 1 sg. can, El. 635, 640, 683, 925; cann, El. 684; 1 pl. cunnon, El. 399; 2 pl. cunnon, El. 535, 648; 3 pl. cunnon, El. 317; pret. 3 sg. cūde, El. 1163; 3 pl. cūdon, El. 167, 281, 284, 328, 393, 398, 1020; opt. 2 sg. cunne, El. 857; 3 pl. cunnen, El. 374, 376.

- cunnian**, Wz., *think out, decide*: imp. pl. cunniað, El. 531.
- cūð**, adj., *known, familiar*: nsm. El. 42; nsn. cūþ, El. 1192. *See uncūð.*
- cwacian**, Wz., *quiver*: 3 sg. cwacaþ, El. 758.
- cwalu**, f., *torture*: ds. cwale, El. 499. *See* deað-, feorh-, lig-, swyltcwalu.
- cwānig**, adj., *sad, sorrowful*: npm. cwānige, El. 377.
- cwealm**, m., *agonizing death*: ns. El. 676; *agony*: as. Ph. 642.
- ‡ **cwealmgeniðla**, m., *deadly enmity*: as. cwealmgeniðlan, El. 610.
- cwēme**, *see* gecwēme.
- cwēn**, f., *queen*: ns. El. 247, 378, 384, 411, 416, 533, 551, 558, 605, 662, 715, 849, 980, 1018, 1069, 1152, 1205; gs. cwēne, El. 1136; ds. cwēne, El. 324, 587, 610, 1130; as. El. 275; vs. El. 1170. *See* gūð-, sige-, ðeodcwēn.
- cweðan**, V, *say, speak*: 3 pl. cweðaþ, El. 749; pret. 3 sg. cwæð, El. 667; 3 pl. cwædon, El. 169, 571, 1120. *See* ā-, ge-, oncweðan.
- cwic**, adj., *living*: asm. cwicne, El. 691. *See* healfcwic.
- cwicsūsl**, n., *hell-torment*: ds. cwicsūsle, W. 38.
- cwide**, m., *speech*: dp. cwidum, El. 547. *See* geagn-, hlēoðor-, hosp-, sōðcwide.
- cwylman**, W1., *kill*: pp. cwylmed, El. 688.
- cylegicel**, n., *icicle*: ip. cylegicelum, Ph. 59.
- cyme**, m., *coming*: ns. El. 41; Ph. 53; ds. El. 1228; Ph. 107, 245; as. Ph. 47, 490; *appearance*: as. El. 1086. *See* hidercyme.
- cynd**, *see* gecynd.
- cynegold**, n., *diadem*: ns. Ph. 605.
- cynestōl**, m., *throne*: ds. cynestōle, El. 330; *royal dwelling*: dp. cynestōlum, Pn. 49.
- cyneðrym**, m., *royal majesty*: as. cyneþrym, Ph. 634.
- cyning**, m., *king*: ns. El. 13, 32, 51, 56, 62, 79, 96, 104, 129, 145, 152, 158, 195, 342, 392, 460, 866, 942, 1042, 1091; Ph. 175, 356, 496, 514, 614, 664; cining, El. 49, 800, 1152; gs. cyninges, El. 610, 672, 1192; Ph. 541; cininges, El. 1075, 1170; ds. cininge, El. 989; as. El. 453, 928, 934; Ph. 344; gp. cyninga, El. 5, 178, 816. *See* æðel-, eorð-, hēah-, heofon-, mægen-, rodor-, sōð-, ðrym-, wuldorcyning.
- cynn**, n., *kind, race, lineage, species*: ns. El. 837; gs. cynnes, El. 188, 305, 521, 591, 1204; Ph. 358, 492, 535, 546; W. 40; ds. cynne, El. 898; Ph. 198; as. W. 1; cyn, El. 209; Ph. 330; np. Pn. 2; W. 56; *nation*: ns. Ph. 335; as. Ph. 159. *See* ęngel-, gim-, man-, sigor-cynn.
- cyr**, *see* wiðercyr.
- Cyriacus**, pr. n., *Cyriacus* (the changed name of Judas): n. El. 1059, 1098, 1211; Ciriacus, El. 1130; a. El. 1069.
- cyrran**, W1., *turn*: 2 sg. cyrrest, El. 666; pret. 3 sg. cirde, El. 915; *return*: 3 pl. cyrrað, Ph. 352. *See* ā-, ge-, oncyrran.
- cyst**, m., *choicest, most excellent*: as. Pr. 15. *See* uncyst.
- cȳðan**, W1., *make known, proclaim, reveal*: 1 sg. cȳðe, El. 702; 3 pl. cȳðað, Ph. 30, 332, 344, 425, 634; Pn. 14; imp. sg. cȳð, El. 607; inf. El. 161, 175, 199, etc. (12 times); pp. cȳðed, El. 827; *tell*,

*relate*: inf. cýpan, W. 2. See gecýðan.  
 cýðig, see on-, uncýðig.  
 cýððu, f., *home*: as. cýþþu, Ph. 277. See caldcýððu.

## D.

dæd, f., *deed, act*: as. El. 386; gp. dæda, El. 1283; Ph. 463; W. 34; ip. dædum, Ph. 445, 452, 528. See bealu-, gōd-, gū-, mǎn-, wēa-, weldæd.  
 dædhwæt, adj., *powerful*: npm. dædhwæte, El. 292.  
 dæg, m., *day*: ns. Ph. 334; Pr. 14; gs. dæges El. 140, 198; Ph. 147, 478; as. El. 312, 697, 1223; Pn. 41; is. El. 485; dæge, El. 185; Ph. 644; Pn. 61; gp. daga, El. 358; dagana, El. 193. See ær-, blæd-, fyrn-, gewin-, lif-, sið-dæg; gēardagas.  
 dægred, n., *dawn*: as. Ph. 98.  
 dægweorc, m., *day's work*: ds. dægweorce, El. 146.  
 dægweorðung, f., *festival*: gs. dægweorðunga, El. 1234.  
 dæl, n., *dale*: np. dalu, Ph. 24.  
 dæll, m., *part, portion*: ns. El. 1232, 1298; as. Ph. 261; dp. dælum, El. 1306. See east-, westdæl.  
 dælan, W1., *divide*: 3 sg. dæleð, El. 1286; *distribute, bestow*: 3 sg. dæleð, Ph. 453; Pn. 71. See gedælan.  
 dafenlic, see gedafenlic.  
 dagas, see gēardagas.  
 dāl, see gedāl.  
 Dānūbie, pr. n., *Danube*: g. El. 37; a. El. 136.  
 † dareðlācende, mpl., *lancers*: n. Pn. 53; deareðlācende, El. 37; g. dareðlācendra, El. 651.  
 daroð, m., *spear*: np. daroðas, El. 140.  
 Dāvid, pr. n., *David*: n. El. 342.

dēad, adj., *dead*: nsn. El. 882; gpm. dēadra, El. 651, 945.  
 deal, adj., *proud*: nsm. Ph. 266.  
 deareð-, see dareð-.  
 dearninga, see undearninga.  
 dēað, m., *death*: ns. El. 606; Ph. 52, 485, 499; dēaþ, Ph. 88; gs. dēaðes, El. 584; dēaþes, Ph. 642; ds. dēaðe, El. 187, 303, 780; Ph. 583; dēaþe, El. 302, 500; Ph. 434, 557; as. El. 477; Ph. 368, 383; Pn. 62.  
 dēaðcwalu, f., *death-throe*: ap. dēaðcwale, El. 766.  
 dēaðdenu, f., *valley of death*: as. dēaðdene, Ph. 416.  
 dēaðræced, n., *grave, hall of death*: np. Ph. 48.  
 dēaðsele, m., *hall of death*: as. W. 30.  
 dēaw, see meledēaw.  
 dēglian, see bidēglian; dēogol, dīgol, dýgol.  
 dēgol, see dīgol.  
 delfan, III, *dig*: inf. El. 829. See bedelfan.  
 dēma, m., *judge*: gs. dēman, El. 746, 1283.  
 dēman, W1., *condemn*: pret. 3 sg. dēnde, El. 500; inf. El. 303; *judge*: inf. El. 311; Ph. 494. See gedēman.  
 denu, f., *glen*: np. dene, Ph. 24. See dēaðdenu.  
 dēoful, n., *devil*: gs. dēofles, El. 1119; gp. dēofla, El. 181, 302; W. 32; dp. dēoflum, W. 84. See heledēofol.  
 dēofulgild, n., *idolatry*: dp. dēofulgildum, El. 1041.  
 dēogol, adj., *concealed*: nsm. El. 1093. See dēglian, dīgol, dýgol.  
 dēop, adj., *deep*: nsm. El. 1190; gp. dēopra, El. 1314; *secret*: asf. wk. dēopan, El. 584.  
 dēope, adv., *deeply*: El. 1081.

- dēophycgende**, adj., *thoughtful*: nsm. El. 882; dēophycggende, El. 352.
- dēoplice**, adv., *thoroughly*: sup. dēoplicost, El. 280.
- dēor**, n., *beast*: ns. Pn. 12, 19; gs. dēores, Pn. 25; np. Pn. 53; gp. dēora, Pn. 5. *See* hildedēor; wilder.
- deorc**, adj., *black*: nsm. wk. deorca, Ph. 499; nsf. wk. deorce, Ph. 98; asm. deorcne, Ph. 383.
- dēore**, adj., *dear*: nsf. wk. dēore, Ph. 560; *sacred*: sup. gsf. wk. dēorestan, El. 1234. *See* dýre.
- dēorlice**, adv., *fitly*: sup. dēorlicost, El. 1159.
- dēormōd**, adj., *brave, dauntless*: nsm. Ph. 88.
- dierne**, *see* dyrne.
- dīgol**, n., *concealment*: ds. dēgle, El. 339; *grave*: ds. dīgle, Pn. 62. *See* dēglian, dēogol, dýgol.
- disig**, *see* dysig.
- dōgorgerim**, n., *number of days, time*: ip. dōgorgerimum, El. 780.
- dōgorrīm**, n., *number of days, time*: gs. dōgorrimes, Ph. 485; ip. dōgorrimum, El. 705.
- dohtor**, f., *daughter*: dp. dohtrum, Ph. 406.
- dōm**, m., *judgment*: gs. dōmes, El. 1314; Ph. 48; as. El. 1280; Ph. 524; *glory*: ns. Ph. 642; as. El. 365, 450; *will*: gp. dōma, El. 726; *happiness*: gs. dōmes, El. 945. *See* cāser-, caldor-, seonoð-, ðēow-, wis-, witedom.
- dōmgeorn**, adj., *eager for glory*: npm. dōmgeorne, El. 1291.
- dōmlīc**, adj., *glorious*: ipf. dōmlīcum, Ph. 445, 452.
- ‡ **dōmweorðung**, f., *honor*: ap. dōmweorðunga, El. 146.
- dōn**, anv., *do*: imp. sg. dō, El. 541; *place*: inf. El. 1175. *See* gedōn; göddōnd.
- draca**, m., *dragon*: gs. dracan, El. 766; ds. dracan, Pn. 16, 57.
- drædan**, *see* ondrædan.
- drēam**, m., *joy*: ns. El. 1232; gs. drēames, Ph. 482; as. Ph. 658; gp. drēama, Ph. 658; Pn. 55; ap. drēamas, Ph. 560; *harmony*: gp. drēama, Ph. 138. *See* sindrēam.
- ‡ **drēnc**, m., *drowning*: ns. El. 136; is. drence, W. 30.
- drēogan**, II, *bear, suffer*: 3 pl. drēogaþ, El. 766; pret. 3 sg. drēah, El. 1261; inf. El. 211, 952; *fulfil*: 3 sg. drēogeð, Ph. 210. *See* ādrēogan.
- drēorig**, *see* heorodrēorig.
- drēosan**, II, *fall*: 3 sg. drēoseð, Ph. 261; 3 pl. drēosað, Ph. 34.
- drifan**, I, *drive*: 3 sg. drifeð, El. 358. *See* ðurhdrifan.
- drohtað**, m., *abode*: as. Ph. 416.
- drohtian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *dwel, live*: 3 sg. drohtað, Ph. 88; ptc. npm. drohtiende, W. 32.
- drūsan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *droop*: ptc. drūsende, Ph. 368; *smoulder*: ptc. drūsende, El. 1258.
- drýge**, adj., *dry*: asm. drýgne, El. 693.
- dryht**, f., *multitude*: dp. dryhtum, Ph. 334; *men*: gp. dryhta, Pn. 25. *See* gedryht.
- dryhten**, m., *lord*: ns. El. 81, 187, 365, 500, 717, 897, 1280; Ph. 138, 445, 454, 494; Pn. 55; gs. dryhtnes, El. 198, 280, 352, 491, 948, 971, 1010, 1160, 1168, 1206; Ph. 48, 383, 452, 499, 557, 583, 597, 600; ds. dryhtne, El. 193, 292, 1140; Ph. 658; W. 84; Pr. 14; as. El. 346, 371; Ph. 478, 560; vs. El. 726, 760; gp. dryhtna, El. 371; W. 84.
- dryhtlēoð**, n., *national song*: as. El. 342.
- dryhto, *see* indryhto.

- dryhtscipe, m., *power*: ns. El. 451.  
 dryman, W1., *rejoice*: ptc. gpm.  
   drymendra, Ph. 348.  
 dryre, m., *fall*: ns. Ph. 16.  
 dūfan, II, *thrust*: pret. 3 pl. dufan,  
   El. 122.  
 duguð, f., *host, throng*: ns. El.  
   1291; gp. duguða, El. 81; Ph.  
   348, 494; *men*: gp. duguða, Pn.  
   57; dp. duguðum, El. 450, 1093;  
   duguoðum, El. 1160; ap. duguðe,  
   W. 33; *provision*: gp. duguða,  
   El. 693; dugeþa, Ph. 454; *sal-*  
   *vation*: gs. duguðe, Pr. 14;  
   *kindness*: gp. duguða, Pn. 16.  
 dūn, f., *hill*: as. dūne, El. 717.  
 dūnscraef, n., *ravine*: np. dūnscrafu,  
   Ph. 24; dp. dūnscrafum, Pn. 12,  
   37.  
 duru, f., *door*: ns. El. 1230; Ph.  
   12. See hlinduru.  
 dwæscan, W1., *blot out, extinguish*:  
   3 sg. dwæsceþ, Ph. 456.  
 dwola, see gedwola.  
 dýgol, adj., *concealed*: asf. dýgle,  
   El. 541; Pn. 37. See dēglian,  
   dēogol, digol.  
 dynnan, W1., *make a noise*: pret.  
   3 sg. dynede, El. 50.  
 dýre, adj., *dear*: npm. El. 292.  
   See dēore.  
 dyrnan, W1., *keep secret*: pret.  
   2 pl. dyrndun, El. 626; inf. El.  
   971. See bedyrnan.  
 dyrne, adj., *hidden, secret*: nsf. El.  
   723; nsn. El. 1093; asf. W. 33;  
   npm. dierne, El. 1081.  
 dysig, n., *folly*: ds. dysige, El. 707.  
 dysig, adj., *foolish*: npm. disige,  
   El. 477.  
 dyslic, adj., *foolish*: asf. dyslice,  
   El. 386.
- E.**
- ēac, adv., *also*: El. 3, 742, 1007,  
 1278; Ph. 375.  
 ēacnian, see geeacnian.  
 ēad, n., *bliss, happiness*: gs. ēades,  
   Ph. 398, 638; as. Ph. 319.  
 ēadhrēðig, adj., *blessed*: nsf. wk.  
   ēadhrēðige, El. 266.  
 ēadig, adj., *blessed*: nsm. El. 806;  
   nsf. ēadige, El. 619; asf. ēadge,  
   Ph. 473; asn. Ph. 279; npm.  
   ēadge, Ph. 621, 677; gpm.  
   ēadigra, El. 1290; Ph. 381, 603;  
   dpm. ēadgum, Ph. 11, 500;  
   *happy*: nsm. wk. ēadga, Ph. 361;  
   *righteous* (?): nsm. Ph. 482;  
   npm. wk. ēadgan, Ph. 526; *un-*  
   *scathed*: nsm. Ph. 20, 46. See  
   hrēð-, tīrēadig.  
 ēadwela, m., *blessedness*: gs. ēad-  
   welan, El. 1316; *riches*: ns. Ph.  
   251; dp. ēadwelum, Ph. 586.  
 eafera, m., *child, son*: ds. eaferan,  
   El. 439; dp. eaferum, Ph. 405;  
   ap. eaforan, El. 353.  
 ēage, n., *eye*: gp. ēageña, El. 298;  
   ip. ēagum, W. 12.  
 ēaggebyrd, f., *eye*: ns. Ph. 301.  
 eald, adj., *old*: nsm. ald, El. 1266;  
   nsm. wk. ealda, El. 207; Pn. 58;  
   dsm. ealdum, El. 455; Ph. 238;  
   asm. ealdne, El. 905; apn. ald,  
   El. 252; comp. nsm. yldra, El.  
   159, 436, 462; *ancient*: gsf.  
   ealdre, Ph. 376; asm. ealdne,  
   Ph. 321.  
 ealdcýððu, f., *old home, former*  
   *abode*: as. ealdcýðþe, Ph. 351;  
   ealdcýðþu, Ph. 435.  
 ealdfēond, m., *old enemy, devil*: gs.  
   ealdfēondes, Ph. 401; gp. eald-  
   fēonda, Ph. 449; dp. ealdfēond-  
   um, El. 493.  
 † ealdgewin, n., *ancient battle*: ns.  
   El. 647.  
 ealdian, see geealdian.  
 ealdor, m., *life*: ds. ealdre, Ph. 40,  
   83, 562, 594; aldre, El. 349, 571,

- 1218; as. Ph. 487; ap. aldor, El. 132. Tō ealdre, *for ever*.
- ealdor**, m., *prince, king*: ns. aldor, El. 97, 157; Pr. 4.
- ealdordōm**, m., *sovereignty, dominion*: ds. aldordōme, El. 768; as. Ph. 158.
- eall**, adj., *all, the whole of*: nsm. El. 1155; Ph. 7; nsf. El. 1277; nsn. El. 753, Ph. 279 (or adv.); gsf. ealre, El. 772; eallre, El. 446; gsn. ealles, El. 486, 512, 1236; asm. ealne, El. 731; Ph. 42, 67; Pn. 68; asf. ealle, El. 293, 729; Ph. 77; Pn. 17 (in ealle tid, *always*), 65; asn. El. 1197; npm. ealle, El. 1118; Ph. 495; gpm. ealra, El. 187; Ph. 177, 628; Pn. 73; allra, El. 816; eallra, El. 370, 475, 483, 519, 649; gpf. eallra, El. 422, 894, 1285; gpn. ealra, El. 769; alra, El. 645; dpm. eallum, El. 1220; Ph. 132; dpf. eallum, Pn. 48, 56; dpn. eallum, El. 1088, 1101; apm. ealle, El. 385; apf. ealle, Ph. 576; apn. (asn. ?) eal (or adv.) 285, 511.
- eall**, adv., *wholly, entirely*: eal, El. 856; Ph. 241, 285 (or adj.), 505, 511 (or adj.); eall, El. 1131, 1293, 1311; Ph. 279 (or adj.).
- ealles**, adv., *altogether, wholly*: Ph. 581.
- eallinga**, adv., *by all means*: W. 82.
- ēalōnd**, m., *island, isle*: ds. ēalonde, Ph. 287; W. 21; as. W. 12. See ēglōnd, iġlōnd.
- earc**, f., *arc*: ds. earce, El. 399.
- eard**, m., *home, dwelling*: gs. eardes, Ph. 361; ds. earde, Ph. 346, 354; as. El. 599, 622; Ph. 87, 158, 264, 275, 321, 427; Pn. 11.
- earding**, f., *abode*: ap. eardinga, Ph. 673.
- eardstēde**, m., *dwelling-place*: ds. Ph. 195.
- eardwic**, n., *dwelling*: as. Ph. 431; gp. eardwica, Pr. 15.
- earfeōe**, n., *distress, hardship, torture*: dp. earfeōum, El. 700, 1292.
- earhfaru**, f., *arrow-flight*: as. earh-fære, El. 44, 116.
- earhgeblōnd**, n., *sea*: as. El. 239.
- earm**, m., *arm*: is. earme, El. 1236.
- earm**, adj., *wretched, poor*: npm. earme, Ph. 442; dpm. earmum, Ph. 453.
- earn**, m., *eagle*: ns. El. 29, 111; gs. earnes, Ph. 235; ds. earne, Ph. 238.
- earnian**, Wz., *earn, win, deserve* (w. gen.): 3 sg. earnað, Ph. 484; inf. Pr. 13. See **geearnian**.
- ēastan**, adv., *from the east*: Ph. 94, 102, 290, 325.
- ēastdæl**, m., *eastern part*: dp. ēast-dælum, Ph. 2.
- ēastweg**, m., *eastern road, eastern way*: dp. ēastwegum, Ph. 113; ap. ēastwegas, El. 255, 996.
- ēaðe**, adv., *easily*: El. 1292; super. ýpast, Ph. 113. See **ēðe**.
- ēaðmēde**, adj., *benignant*: nsm. Pn. 56.
- ēaðmēdu**, f., *reverence*: dp. ēað-mēdum, El. 1088, 1101.
- eatol**, adj., *dreadful*: nsm. El. 902.
- ēawan**, see **ge-**, **oðēawan**; **æt-**, **ge-**, **oðýwan**.
- eaxlgestealla**, m., *trusted companion*: gp. eaxlgestealna, El. 64.
- Ebrēas**, pr. n., *Hebrews*: g. Ebrēa, El. 287, 448.
- Ebreisc**, pr. n., *the Hebrew tongue*: a. Ebrisc, El. 725.
- Ebreisc**, adj., *Hebrew*: asf. Ebreisce, El. 397; apm. Ebresce, El. 559.
- ēce**, adj., *eternal, everlasting*: nsm.

- El. 800, 1042; Ph. 319, 473, 608; nsf. (nsm. ?) Ph. 636; nsn. El. 526; gsm. ēces, El. 746, 1316; Ph. 398, 411, 600; gsm. wk. ēcan, Ph. 482; asn. Ph. 381, 572; gpn. ēcra, El. 802.
- ēce**, adv., *for ever*: El. 1218, 1231; Ph. 594.
- ęcg**, *see heardęcg*.
- edgeong**, adj., *become young again, rejuvenated*: nsm. Ph. 435, 536, 608; edgiong, Ph. 581.
- edniowunga**, *see edniwunga*.
- edniwe**, adj., *renewed, restored*: nsm. Ph. 287; nsf. Ph. 241; nsn. Pn. 223 (m. ?); asn. Ph. 370, 558; isn. Ph. 77, 258 (or adv.).
- edniwe**, adv., *again, anew*: Ph. 258 (or adj.).
- edniwunga**, adv., *anew, once more*: Ph. 534; edniowunga, El. 300.
- ēdre**, adv., *immediately*: El. 649, 1002.
- edwęnden**, f., *change*: ns. Ph. 40.
- efenhlēođor**, m., *concord of voices*: is. efenhlēođre, Ph. 621.
- ęfnan**, Wl., *do, carry out*: pret. 3 pl. ęfnedon, El. 713. *See geęfnan*.
- ęft**, adv., *again*: El. 255, 350, 382, 516, 903, 924, 1000, 1275; Ph. 241, 251, 256, 264, 275, 366, 373, 379, 533, 645, 648; *once more*: Ph. 423, 433; *once*: Ph. 224; *afterwards*: El. 500, 514, 1155; Ph. 231, 272, 354; *back*: El. 143, 148, 1220; *in due season*: Ph. 222, 277, 351, 376.
- ęgesa**, m., *fear, terror*: ds. ęgsan, Ph. 461; is. ęgesan, El. 82, 321, 1129; ęgsan, El. 57. *See hildęgesa*.
- ęgeslic**, adj., *dreadful, terrible*: nsm. Ph. 522.
- ęglōnd**, n., *island*: as. W. 16. *See ęalōnd, iglōnd*.
- ęgstręam**, m., *river*: ds. ęgstręame, El. 66; *sea*: ds. ęgstręame, El. 241.
- ęhtan**, Wl., *pursue*: pret. 3 pl. ęhton, El. 139; *persecute*: 3 sg. ęhteđ, El. 928.
- elde**, *see ęelde*.
- ęled**, m., *fire*: gs. ęldes, El. 1294.
- Elene**, pr. n., *Helen*: n. El. 219, 266, 332, 404, 573, 604, 620, 642, 685, 953, 1051, 1198, 1218; g. Elenan, El. 848, 1063; a. Elenan, El. 1003.
- ęllen**, n., *strength, courage, zeal*: gs. elnes, El. 725, 829; ds. elne, Ph. 484.
- ęllenrōf**, adj., *vigorous*: nsm. Pn. 40.
- ęlđęod**, f., *enemy*: ap. elpęoda, El. 139.
- ęlđęodig**, adj., *hostile*: nsm. elpęodig, El. 908; npm. elpęodige, El. 57, 82.
- ęnde**, m., *end*: ns. Ph. 365, 484; ds. El. 59, 137, 802, 811, 894, 953; Ph. 637, 651; as. El. 590; Ph. 562; *shore*: ds. W. 15.
- ęndelif**, n., *end of life*: gs. ende-lifes, El. 585.
- ęndian**, Wz., *end, bring to an end*: opt. 3 sg. endige, Ph. 83. *See geęndian*.
- ęnge**, adj., *narrow*: dsm. wk. engan, El. 921; dsn. wk. engan, El. 712; asf. El. 1262; *cruel*: nsm. wk. enga, Ph. 52.
- ęngel**, m., *angel*: gp. engla, El. 79, 476, 487, 773, 777, 784, 858, 1101, 1231, 1281, 1307, 1316; Ph. 492, 497, 568, 610; Pn. 63; dp. englum, El. 622, 1320; Ph. 621, 629, 677. *See hęahęngel*.
- ęngelcynn**, n., *race of angels*: ds. engelcynne, El. 733.
- ęode**, *see ęgān*.

‡ **eoforcumbul**, n., *boar-helmet*: ns. El. 259; ds. *eofurcumble*, El. 76.  
**eofot**, n., *sin*: gp. *eofota*, El. 423.  
‡ **eofulsæc**, n., *blasphemy*: as. El. 524.  
**eorcnanstān**, m., *precious stone*: dp. *eorcnanstānum*, El. 1025; ip. *eorcnanstānum*, Ph. 603.  
**ēoredciest**, f., *crowd, company; troop of cavalry*: dp. *ēoredcestum*, El. 36; *ēoredciestum*, Ph. 325; ip. *ēoredcystum*, Pn. 52.  
**eorl**, m., *man, warrior*: ns. Ph. 482; ds. *eorle*, El. 256, 787; np. *eorlas*, El. 66, 275, 321, 848; gp. *eorla*, El. 225, 435, 1074; Ph. 251; dp. *eorlum*, El. 12, 332, 404, 417, 620, 1108; ap. *eorlas*, W. 49.  
**eorlmægen**, n., *multitude of men*: as. El. 981.  
**eorre**, *see yrre*.  
**eorðcýning**, m., *king of earth*: gp. *eorðcýninga*, El. 1174.  
**eorðe**, f., *earth*: ns. El. 753; gs. *eorðan*, Ph. 243, 506; *eorþan*, Ph. 43, 207, 349, 487; Pn. 48, 68; ds. *eorðan*, El. 591, 622, 878, 1109, 1226; Ph. 629; *eorþan*, Ph. 136, 460, 638; as. *eorðan*, El. 728, 829, 836; Ph. 154; *eorþan*, Ph. 131, 249, 331.  
**eorðweg**, m., *earth*: ds. *eorðwege*, El. 1015; Ph. 178; dp. *eorðwegum*, El. 736.  
**ēower**, pron., *your*: asf. *ēowre*, El. 315; gsn. *ēowres*, El. 305; asn. El. 375, 579.  
**ermðu**, *see yrmðu*.  
**Essāias**, pr. n., *Isaiah*: n. El. 350.  
**ēst**, f., *grace*: as. El. 986; Ph. 46; *will*: as. Ph. 403.  
‡ **ēstig**, adj., *bounteous*: nsm. Pn. 16.  
**et**, conj. (Lat.), *and*: Ph. 672, 674.  
**ēðe**, adj., *easy, agreeable*: super. nsn. *ēðost*, El. 1294. *See eaðe*.

**ēðel**, m., *home*: gs. *ēðles*, Ph. 411; ds. *ēðle*, El. 1220; Ph. 392; as. *ēþel*, Ph. 158; *native country*: as. *ēþel*, Ph. 349, 427; *domain*: gs. *ēðles*, Pn. 11.  
**ēðellond**, n., *fatherland*: as. *ēþel-lond*, Ph. 279.  
**ēðelturf**, f., *country*: ds. *ēþeltyrf*, Ph. 321.  
**ēðgesýne**, adj., *conspicuous, easily seen*: nsf. El. 256.  
**ēðigean**, Wl., *rise, show oneself*: inf. El. 1107.  
**-ettan**, *see onettan*.  
**Eusēbius**, pr. n., *Eusebius*: a. *Eusēbium*, El. 1051.

## F.

**fācen**, n., *evil, guile*: gs. *fācnes*, Ph. 450; W. 24; is. *fācne*, Ph. 595.  
**fæc**, n., *interval, while*: ds. *fæce*, El. 960; as. El. 272, 383; Pn. 38.  
**fācne**, adj., *crafty, guileful*: nsm. wk. *fācna*, W. 71; asm. (asn.) Ph. 415; isn. El. 577.  
**fæder**, m., *father*: ns. El. 343, 436, 463, 517, 528, 1084; Ph. 197, 375, 455, 492, 630; Pn. 72; gs. Ph. 95, 390, 646; ds. *fædere*, El. 438, 454; *fæder*, Ph. 610; as. El. 891; vs. El. 184, 1106, 1151; Ph. 627; np. *fæderas*, El. 398, 425, 458; gp. *fædera*, El. 388.  
**fæderlic**, adj., *paternal*: asf. wk. *fæderlican*, El. 431.  
**fāge**, adj., *doomed to die*: gsm. *fāges*, Ph. 221; asn. wk. El. 117, 881, 1237.  
**fægen**, adj., *glad*: nsm. Pn. 35. *See wilfægen*.  
**fāger**, adj., *fair, beautiful, winning*: nsm. El. 911; Ph. 85, 232, 291; nsmn. El. 891; nsf. Ph. 125, 307; nsn. Ph. 182, 236, 360, 510; gsf.

- fægre, Ph. 352; asm. wk. fægran, El. 949; asf. fægre, Ph. 328; wk. fægeran, El. 98; ipm. fægrum, Ph. 64 (ipf. ?), 654; ipf. fægrum, Ph. 610; comp. nsm. fægerra, Pn. 29; asn. fægerre, El. 242; apf. fægerran, Ph. 330; *sweet*: super. ipm. fægrestum, Ph. 8; *delightful*: nsn. Pr. 3.
- fægre, adv., *beautifully, splendidly, richly*: El. 743; Ph. 274, 295, 585; *admirably*: fægere, El. 1213; *gloriously*: Ph. 627.
- fæle, adj., *lovely*: nsm. El. 88.
- fær, n., *war*: ds. fære, El. 93. *See gefær.*
- færan, *see* āfæran.
- færinga, adv., *suddenly*: Ph. 531; W. 44, 60.
- fæst, adj., *fast, firm, secure*: nsm. El. 771, 1037; nsf. El. 723; nsn. El. 883; asm. fæstne, El. 909; Ph. 172; npm. fæste, El. 570; W. 18; apm. fæste, El. 252; *proof*: nsm. Ph. 468. *See* ār-, gryre-, -met-, sigor-, sōð-, tīr-, wis-, wlitig-, wuldorfæst.
- fæstan, *see* be-, oðfæstan.
- fæste, adv., *fast, firmly*: El. 933, 937, 1208; Ph. 419, 569; W. 25, 41, 77; *permanently*: W. 36.
- fæsten, n., *fastness*: ds. fæstene, W. 71; as. El. 134. *See* lagu-fæsten.
- fæstlice, adv., *fast, firmly*: El. 427; comp. fæstlicor, El. 797.
- fæstnes, *see* soðfæstnes.
- fæstnian, *see* gefæstnian.
- fæt, n., *casquet*: as. El. 1026. *See* bān-, goldfæt.
- fæðm, m., *expansion*: as. El. 729; *embrace*: ds. fæðme, El. 766, 881; *lap, bosom*: as. Ph. 487, 556.
- fæðmian, W1., *encircle, surround*: 3 pl. fæðmað, El. 972.
- fæðmrim, n., *cubit*: gs. fæðmrimes, Ph. 29.
- fāh, adj., *spotted*: nsm. El. 1243; *variegated*: nsm. fāg, Ph. 292.
- fāh, adj., *hostile*: nsm. Ph. 595; W. 66; *abhorred*: nsm. El. 769, 925.
- fāmig, adj., *foamy*: apm. fāmige, El. 237.
- farau, VI, *journey, go*: 3 sg. færeð, El. 1274; 3 pl. farað, Ph. 326; *fly*: 3 sg. fareð, Ph. 123; 3 pl. farað, El. 734; Pn. 51, 54; W. 58; *advance*: pret. 3 sg. för, El. 27, 35, 51; 3 pl. föron, El. 21, 261. *See* ge-, geondfaran.
- farau-, fareð-, *see* faroð-.
- farouð, *see* sǣfearouð.
- farouðhengest, m., *ship*: np. fearouðhengestas, El. 226.
- farouðlācende, adj., *sea-faring*: npm. W. 20; dpm. fareðlācendum, W. 5; *swimming in the sea*: npm. farouðlācende, W. 80.
- faru, *see* earh-, yðfaru.
- ‡ Fastitocalon, pr. n., *asp-turtle*: ns. W. 7.
- fēa, adj., *few*: npm. El. 174; dpm. fēam, El. 818.
- fēa, *see* gefēa.
- feala, indec. n., *much, many*: El. 362, 636, 778, 912, 945, 987, 1044; fela, Ph. 387, 580.
- feald, *see* manigfeald.
- fēalic, *see* gefēalic.
- feallan, rd., *fall*: 3 sg. fealleþ, Ph. 61; 3 pl. feallað, Ph. 74; pret. 3 pl. fēollon, El. 127, 1134. *See* gefeallan.
- fealu, adj., *yellow*: nsm. fealo, Ph. 218; *tawny*: npm. fealwe, Ph. 311; *gay*: npm. fealwe, Ph. 74.
- fearouð-, *see* -faroð-.
- fēdan, *see* āfēdan.

- fēgan**, *see* **gefēgan**.  
**fel**, *see* **wælfel**.  
**fela**, *see* **feala**.  
**fēlan**, *see* **gefēlan**.  
**feld**, m., *field*: ns. Ph. 26. *See* **herefeld**.  
**fēng**, m., *grasp, grip*: ds. fenge, W. 81; as. El. 1287; Ph. 215.  
**Fenix**, m., *Phoenix*: ns. Ph. 86, 218, 340, 558, 597, 646; as. Ph. 174.  
**fēogan**, W3., *hate*: 3 pl. fēogað, El. 360; pret. 3 pl. fēodon, El. 356; inf. Pr. 13.  
**feohgestrēon**, n., *riches*: gp. feohgestrēona, El. 911.  
**feoht**, *see* **gefeoht**.  
**fēolan**, *see* **befēolan**.  
**fēon**, *see* **gefēon**.  
**fēond**, m., *enemy, fiend, devil*: ns. El. 207, 900, 954; Ph. 595; Pn. 58; W. 39; gs. fēondes, El. 721-2; Ph. 419; gp. fēonda, El. 68, 108, 1179; dp. fēondum, W. 36; ap. El. 93. *See* **ealdfēond**.  
**fēondscipe**, m., *enmity*: as. El. 356, 408.  
**feor**, adv., *far*: Ph. 1, 192, 415; *deep*: El. 831; *in the far past*: El. 1142; comp. fyr, El. 646.  
**feorghōna**, m., *destroyer of life*: ns. W. 41.  
**feorh**, n., *life*: ns. Ph. 223, 266, 280; gs. feores, El. 680; ds. feore, El. 498; as. Ph. 192, 263, 371, 433, 558; ap. feore, El. 134; *time*: ds. feore, El. 1288; *tō wīdan feore, for ever*: El. 211, 1321; W. 89.  
**feorhcwalu**, f., *death*: ds. feorhcwale, W. 77.  
**feorhord**, n., *soul, spirit*: ns. Ph. 221.  
**feorhlegu**, f., *murder*: ds. feorhlege, El. 458.  
**feorhnēru**, f., *salvation*: ds. feorhnere, El. 898; Pn. 72.  
**‡feorlond**, m., *distant land*: dp. feorlondum, Pn. 10.  
**feormian**, W2., *consume*: 3 sg. feormað, Ph. 218.  
**feorran**, adv., *from afar*: El. 993, 1213; Ph. 326.  
**fēower**, adj., *four*: El. 744.  
**-fēra**, *see* **gefēra**.  
**fēran**, W1., *go*: inf. El. 215. *See* **gefēran**.  
**-fēre**, *see* **gefēre**.  
**fērend**, m., *sailor*: np. W. 25.  
**ferhð**, m. n., *mind, soul, heart*: ns. El. 174, 991; ds. ferhþe, Ph. 504; ferhðe, El. 1037, 1164; fyrhðe, El. 196, 463, 570, 641; as. El. 427, 797, 801 (*see* **wīdan ferhð**); Ph. 415; fyrhð, El. 761 (*see* **wīdan ferhð**). *See* **collen-, stærced-, wērigferhð**.  
**ferhðgereht**, n., *wise guidance of the soul*: as. W. 70.  
**ferhðglēaw**, adj., *wise*: nsm. fyrhðglēaw, El. 881; gpm. ferhðglēawra, El. 327.  
**ferhðgrim**, adj., *cruel-hearted*: nsm. W. 5.  
**ferhðsefa**, m., *mind, heart*: ds. ferhðsefan, El. 316, 850, 895; firhðsefan, El. 213; fyrhðsefan, El. 98, 1079; as. fyrhðsefan, El. 534.  
**ferhðwērig**, adj., *sad*: apm. fyrhðwērige, El. 560.  
**fērian**, W1., *carry*: inf. El. 108.  
**fēða**, m., *band of foot-soldiers*: ap. fēðan, El. 35.  
**fēðegest**, m., *stranger*: np. fēðegestas, El. 845.  
**fēðer**, f., *feather*: ip. fēðrum, Ph. 306; fēþrum, Ph. 380; *wing, pinion*: np. fēðre, Ph. 137; ap. fēþre, Ph. 145; ip. fēþrum, Ph. 86, 100, 123, 163, 347; *plumage*: ap. fēþre, Ph. 205; ip. fēþrum, Ph. 239, 266. *See also* **fīðre**.

- feðere, *see* haswig-, ürigfeðere.  
 feðerhoma, m., *plumage*: ns. feþerhoma, Ph. 280.  
 feþian, *see* gefeþian.  
 fetrian, *see* gefetrian.  
 -fic, *see* gefic.  
 fif, indecl. adj., *five*: El. 379.  
 fifelwæg, m., *sea*: as. El. 237.  
 findan, III, *find*: 2 sg. findest, El. 84; 3 pl. findaþ, El. 1032; pret. 1 sg. fand, El. 1255; 3 sg. fand, El. 202; 3 pl. fundon, El. 327, 379, 1217; opt. pret. 2 sg. funde, El. 1080; 3 sg. funde, El. 831; imp. pl. findaþ, El. 373; inf. El. 632, 641, 925; pp. funden, El. 974, 987.  
 finger, m., *finger*: gp. fingra, El. 120.  
 finire, vb. (Lat.), *end*: 3 sg. finit, El. 1236; Pr. 16.  
 finis, m. f. (Lat.), *end*: abl. s. fine, Ph. 675.  
 finta, m., *tail*: ns. Ph. 295.  
 firas, mpl., *men, human beings*: g. fira, El. 898, 1078, 1173; Ph. 396, 535; W. 39; fyra, Ph. 492; d. firum, Ph. 3; Pn. 10.  
 firen, f., *sin*: as. firene, Pr. 13; gp. firena, El. 1314; ip. firenum, W. 44; *pain, pang*: dp. firenum, El. 909. *See* heilfiren.  
 firgenstræam, m., *ocean*: as. Ph. 100.  
 firhð-, *see* ferhð-.  
 fisc, m., *fish*: np. fiscas, W. 80; gp. fisca, W. 1. *See* sæfisc.  
 fit, f., *song, poem*: is. fitte, W. 1.  
 fiðre, n., *wing*: np. fiþru, Ph. 297; dp. fiðrum, El. 743; ap. fiþru, Ph. 652; ip. fiþrum, Ph. 316. *See also* feðer-, -feðere.  
 flæsc, n., *flesh*: as. Ph. 221; is. flæsce, Ph. 259, 535.  
 flāh, adj., *crafty*: nsm. W. 39.  
 flān, m. f., *arrow*: gp. flāna, El. 117.  
 flēogan, II, *fly*: 3 sg. flēogeð, Ph. 322; pret. 3 pl. flugon, El. 140; inf. Ph. 163. *See* oðflēogan.  
 flēon, II, *flee*: 3 sg. flýhð, Ph. 460; pret. 3 pl. flugon, El. 127, 134. *See* āflēon.  
 fliht, *see* flyht.  
 -flit, *see* geflit.  
 -flita, *see* geflita.  
 flōd, m., *current*: np. flōdas, El. 1270. *See* lagu-, mereflōd.  
 flōdweg, m., *ocean-road*: is. flōdwege, El. 215.  
 flōdwylm, m. f., *flood*: ip. flōdwylmum, Ph. 64.  
 flot, n., *voyage*: ds. flote, El. 226.  
 flota, *see* ge-, wægflota.  
 flyht, m., *flight*: ds. flihhte, El. 744; is. flyhte, Ph. 123, 340.  
 flyhtwæt, adj., *strong in flight, swift-flying*: gsm. flyhtwates, Ph. 335; apf. flyhtwate, Ph. 145.  
 fnæst, m., *breath*: ns. Ph. 15.  
 föddor, n., *food, fodder*: as. Ph. 259; Pn. 35; födder, El. 360.  
 födorðegu, f., *sustenance*: gs. födorþege, Ph. 248.  
 fōg, *see* gefōg.  
 folc, n., *folk, people, crowd*: ns. El. 362, 872; gs. folces, El. 157, 499, 1095; ds. folce, El. 415, 895, 989, 1056; as. El. 117, 1287; is. folce, El. 891; gp. folca, El. 27, 215, 502; Pn. 51; Ph. 326; dp. folcum, El. 1143; Ph. 322.  
 folcāgend, m., *ruler of a nation*: gp. folcāgendra, Ph. 5.  
 folcscearu, f., *nation*: ds. folcscere, El. 402; folcsceare, El. 968.  
 foldbüend, m., *inhabitant*: np. foldbüende, El. 1014.  
 folde, f., *earth*: gs. foldan, Ph. 3, 8, 257, 396; ds. foldan, El. 721-2, 974, 987, 1080; Ph. 60, 174; as. foldan, Ph. 74, 197; *land*: ns. Ph. 29; as. foldan, Ph. 352;

- region*: as. foldan, Ph. 155;  
*soil*: as. foldan, Ph. 64; *mold*:  
 is. foldan, Ph. 490.
- foldgræf**, n., *grave*: ds. foldgræfe,  
 El. 845.
- ‡ **foldhrērende**, adj., *walking on  
 the earth*: gpn. foldhrērendra,  
 Pn. 5.
- foldwæstm**, m., *fruit of the earth*:  
 ip. foldwæstmum, Ph. 654.
- foldweg**, m., *way, road*: ip. fold-  
 wegum, Pn. 51.
- folgað**, m., *following*: as. folgaþ,  
 El. 904.
- folgian**, Wz., *follow*: 3 pl. folgiað,  
 Ph. 591; *be subject to*: 3 sg.  
 folgaþ, El. 930.
- folm**, f., *hand*: ap. folme, El. 1066;  
 dp. folmum, El. 1076.
- fōn**, see **be-**, **ge-**, **on-**, **ymbfōn**.
- for**, prep. w. dat., *before, in the  
 presence of*: El. 110, 124, 170,  
 175, 180, 332, 351, 362, 404, 406,  
 417, 587, 596, 620, 688, 782, 867,  
 1198, 1273; *on account of, be-  
 cause of*: El. 63, 491, 496, 521,  
 564, 657, 677, 703, 1134; Ph. 461;  
*in*: El. 4, 979; *on*: El. 591; *in  
 regard to*: El. 1065; w. acc.,  
*instead of*: El. 318; *before*:  
 El. 546; *for, as*: Ph. 344.
- foran**, adv., *before, in front*: El.  
 1184; Ph. 292. See **beforan**.
- forbēodan**, II, *forbid*: pp. apn.  
 forbodene, Ph. 404.
- forberstan**, III, *fail, be wanting*:  
 3 sg. forbirsteð, Ph. 568.
- fore**, adv., *aforetime*: El. 1262.
- fore**, prep., w. dat., *before*: El. 577,  
 637, 746, 848; Ph. 600; *for*: Pn.  
 62; *of*: Pn. 34; w. acc., *before*:  
 Ph. 514.
- foregenga**, m., *forefather*: np. fore-  
 gengan, Ph. 437.
- foremihtig**, adj., *eminent in power,  
 prepotent*: nsm. Ph. 159.
- forescēawian**, Wz., *foresee*: pret.  
 1 sg. forescēawode, El. 345.
- foreðanc**, m., *forethought*: ap. fore-  
 þancas, El. 356.
- forgifan**, V, *give, grant, bestow*:  
 3 sg. forgifeð, Ph. 615; pret.  
 1 sg. forgeaf, El. 354; pret. 3 sg.  
 forgeaf, El. 144, 164, 1218; Ph.  
 377; pp. forgiefen, Ph. 175.
- forgildan**, see **forgyldan**.
- forgrindan**, III, *demolish, destroy*:  
 pp. forgrunden, Ph. 227.
- forgrīpan**, I, *seize*: 3 sg., forgrīpeð,  
 Ph. 507.
- forgyldan**, W1., *recompense, re-  
 quite*: inf. forgildan, Ph. 473.
- forht**, adj., *fearful*: nsm. Ph. 504,  
 525.
- forhycgan**, W3., *scorn, despise*:  
 1 sg. forhycge, Ph. 552.
- forlæran**, W1., *seduce*: pret. 3 sg.  
 forlærde, El. 208.
- forlætan**, rd., *let, allow*: pret. 3 sg.  
 forlēt, El. 598; opt. 2 pl. forlæt-  
 en, El. 700; pret. 3 sg. forlēte,  
 El. 712; imp. sg. forlæt, El. 793;  
*abandon*: 3 sg. forlæteð, El. 929;  
 opt. 2 sg. forlæte, El. 689; pret.  
 1 pl. forlēten, El. 432. See  
**ānforlætan**.
- forniman**, IV, *snatch away, destroy*:  
 3 sg. fornimeð, El. 578; pret.  
 3 sg. fornām, El. 131, 136;  
 fornōm, Ph. 268.
- forsēcan**, W1., *visit*: pp. forsōht,  
 El. 933.
- forsēon**, V, *abhor, scorn*: pret.  
 2 pl. forsēgon, El. 389; 3 pl.  
 forsāwon, El. 1318.
- forst**, m., *frost*: ns. Ph. 58, 248;  
 gs. forstes, Ph. 15.
- forswēlan**, W1., *burn, shrivel*: 3 sg.  
 forswēleð, Ph. 532.
- forð**, adv., *forth*: El. 120, 139, 318,  
 590, 636, 784, 1062, 1105, 1268;  
*forward*: Ph. 455; *thenceforth*:

- El. 213; Ph. 579; *always*: El. 192; Ph. 637.
- forðan**, conj., *therefore, hence, wherefore*: El. 309 (adv.?), 517, 522, 1319; forþon, Ph. 368, 411; W. 82.
- forðgewitan**, I, *depart, pass away*: pp. gpm. forðgewitenra, El. 636.
- forðryccan**, W1., *crush, oppress*: pp. forþrycced, El. 1277.
- forðsnottor**, adj., *very wise*: asm. forðsnotterne, El. 1053, 1161; gpm. forþsnotterra, El. 379.
- forðweard**, adj., *abiding, lasting*: asm. forðweardne, Ph. 569.
- forðylman**, W1., *envelop, wrap*: pret. 3 sg. forþylmde, Ph. 284; pp. forþylmed, El. 767.
- ‡ **fortyhtan**, W1., *lead astray*: pret. 3 sg. fortyhte, El. 208.
- forward**, adj., *in front, forward*: nsm. Ph. 291.
- forwyrd**, f., *destruction*: as. El. 765.
- fōt**, m., *foot*: np. fōtas, Ph. 311; dp. fōtum, Ph. 578; ap. fēt, El. 1066; ip. fōtum, Ph. 276.
- fōtmæl**, n., *foot-measure, foot*: dp. fōtmælum, El. 831.
- fræge**, see **gefræge**.
- frætwe**, fpl. *adornments*: n. El. 1271; Ph. 73, 257; g. frætwa, Ph. 150; d. frætsum, El. 88; Pn. 29, 48; a. Ph. 508; i. frætsum, Ph. 610; *attraction, perfection*: a. Ph. 330, 335; i. frætsum (*exquisitely*), Ph. 309; *splendor*: i. frætsum (*splendidly*), Ph. 95; *treasure*: a. Ph. 200.
- frætwi(an)**, W2., *embellish, deck, adorn*: inf. frætwan, El. 1199; pp. gefrætwad, Ph. 116, 239; gefrætwed, Ph. 274; *garnish*: pp. gefrætwed, Ph. 585. See **gefrætwan**.
- fram**, prep., *from, out of*: w. dat., El. 140, 190, 296, 299, 301, 411, 701, 712, 1120, 1142, 1309; from, El. 590; Ph. 353, 524.
- Francan**, pr. n., *Franks*: n. El. 21.
- fræa**, m., *lord*: ns. El. 488, 1068; gs. fræan, Ph. 578; as. fræan, El. 1307; Ph. 675; vs. El. 680. See **mānfræa**.
- ‡ **fræamære**, adj., *well known*: asm. fræamærne, Pn. 10.
- freca**, see **gūðfreca**.
- frēcen**, n., *danger*: gs. frēcnes, W. 20.
- frēcne**, adj., *terrible, dangerous, perilous*: nsm. W. 5; dsn. wk. frēcnan, El. 93; asf. wk. frēcnan, Ph. 390, 450.
- frēfrend**, m., *comforter*: ns. Ph. 422.
- frēge**, see **gefrēge**.
- frēmman**, W1., *accomplish, do, perform*: 3 pl. fremmað, Ph. 470; W. 44; pret. 3 pl. fremedon, El. 646; *offer*: pret. 1 sg. fremede, El. 472; 3 pl. fremedon, El. 569; *utter*: opt. 2 sg. fremme, El. 524; *promote*: pret. 3 pl. fremedon, W. 70. See **gefrēmman**; **heaðo-**, **mān-**, **rihtfrēmmente**.
- frēobearn**, n., *noble child*: ns. El. 672.
- frēond**, m., *friend*: ns. El. 954; Pn. 15; ap. frýnd, El. 360.
- frēondlēas**, adj., *friendless*: nsm. El. 925.
- frēondræden**, f., *friendship*: as. frēondrædenne, El. 1208.
- frēotrēo**, n., *noble tree*: as. El. 534.
- freoðian**, W2., *protect*: pret. 3 sg. freoðode, El. 1147. See **gefreoðian**.
- freoðu**, f., *peace*: ds. freoþu, Ph. 597. See also **frið**.
- fricca**, m., *herald*: np. friccan, El. 54, 550.
- fricgan**, V, *ask, inquire*: inf. fricgan, El. 157, 560; ptc. gpm.

- fricgendra, El. 991. See *gefricgan*.
- frige, see *gefrige*.
- frignan, III, *ask, inquire*: 2 sg. frignest, El. 589; 3 sg. frigneþ, El. 534; inf. El. 443, 570, 850, 1068, 1164; pp. frugnen, El. 542. See *gefrignan*.
- frigu, f., *love*: as. frige, El. 341.
- frið, m. n., *deliverance, rescue*: gs. friþes, Pr. 13; as. El. 1184. See also *freoðu*.
- friðelēas, adj., *savage, barbarous*: npm. friðelēase, El. 127.
- friðowębba, m., *peace-weaver, angel*: ns. El. 88.
- fröd, adj., *old*: nsm. El. 1237; Ph. 154, 219, 426; npn. El. 431; *wise, experienced*: nsm. El. 343, 438, 463, 531; Ph. 570; asm. frödne, El. 1164; vsm. El. 542; apm. fröde, El. 443; gpm. frödra, El. 637; *masterly*: asn. Ph. 84.
- fröfor, f., *consolation, joy, support*: gs. fröfre, El. 1037, 1106; ds. fröfre, El. 502, 1143; W. 36; gp. fröfra, El. 196, 993. See *hygefröfor*.
- fröm, prep., see *fram*.
- fröm, adj., *bold*: npm. frome, El. 261.
- frömlice, adv., *boldly*: El. 454; *speedily*: Ph. 371.
- fruma, m., *beginning*: gs. fruman, El. 1142; ds. fruman, Ph. 328; *author, creator*: ns. El. 772; as. fruman, El. 839; vs. El. 793; *prince, lord*: ns. Ph. 377; as. fruman, El. 210. See *hild-, læod-, lif-, ordfruma*.
- frymð, f., *beginning*: ns. Ph. 637; ds. frymðe, Ph. 239; frymþe, Ph. 84, 280; *creature, creation*: gp. frymða, El. 502; Ph. 197; frymþa, El. 345; Ph. 630.
- fugel, m., *bird*: ns. Ph. 86, 100, 104, 121, 201, 215, 257, 266, 291, 311, 322, 466, 529, 558, 574, 578, 597, 652; *fugol*, Ph. 145; gs. fugles, Ph. 125, 174, 309, 360, 387, 426, 510; ds. fugle, Ph. 328, 585; Pr. 1; np. fuglas, Ph. 163, 315, 352, 591; gp. fugla, Ph. 155, 159, 330, 335; Pn. 5.
- fugeltimber, n., *young bird*: ns. Ph. 236.
- fül, n., *foulness, impurity*: gp. fúla, El. 769.
- ful, adj., *full*: nsm. El. 752, 769; nsn. Ph. 267; asn. El. 939. See *gelēaf-, hyht-, scyld-, syn-, wömful*.
- ful, adv., *full, fully*: El. 167, 860.
- fullæstan, see *gefullæstan*.
- fultum, m., *aid, help*: as. El. 1053; Ph. 390, 455, 646.
- fulwian, see *gefulwian*.
- fulwiht, f. n., *baptism*: gs. fulwihtes, El. 490, 1034; as. fulwihte, El. 172, 192.
- furðor, adv. *further, more*: furþor, Ph. 236; furður, El. 388.
- furðum, adv., *even, just*: syððan furþum (*just as soon as*), El. 914.
- furður, see *furðor*.
- füs, adj., *ready*: Ph. 208; nsf. El. 1219; *about to die*: nsm. El. 1237.
- fylce, see *ælfylce*.
- fylgan, WI., *follow*: pret. 2 pl. fylgdon, El. 371. See *gefylgan*.
- fyll, m., *dissolution*: ds. fylle, Ph. 371.
- fyllan, WI., *overthrow*: pret. 3 sg. fylde, El. 1041.
- fyllan (*fill*), see *gefyllan*.
- fyllo, f., *feast*: gs. fylle, Pn. 35.
- fýr, n., *fire*: ns. Ph. 219, 380, 504, 525; gs. fýres, El. 1106, 1287; Ph. 15, 215, 276, 490, 545; as. El. 1311, 1314; W. 22; is. fýre,

Ph. 531. See *æled-*, *bælfyr*.  
**fýrbæð**, n., *bath of flame*: ds. *fýrbaðe*, Ph. 437; *hell-fire*: ds. *fýrbæðe*, El. 949.  
**fýrd**, m., *army*: gp. *fyrda*, El. 35.  
**fýrdhwæt**, adj., *brave*: npm. *fýrdhwate*, El. 21, 1179.  
**fýrdlæoð**, n., *war-song*: as. El. 27.  
**fýrd rinc**, m., *warrior*: np. *fýrd-rincas*, El. 261.  
**fýren**, adj., *fiery*: ipf. *fýrnum*, Pn. 60.  
**fyrgenstræam**, m., *ocean-stream*: gp. *fyrgenstræama*, W. 7.  
**fýrhât**, adj., *ardent*: nsf. El. 937.  
**fýrhtan**, see *áfyrhtan*.  
**fýrhð(-)**, see *ferhð(-)*.  
**fýrmest**, adv., *first*: El. 68; *especially*: El. 316.  
**fýrn**, adv., *long ago*: El. 632, 641, 974.  
**fýrndæg**, m., *ancient day, day of yore*: dp. *fýrndagum*, El. 398, 425, 528; Ph. 570.  
**fýrngæar**, npl., *past years*: i. *fýrngæarum*, Ph. 219.  
**fýrngeflit**, n., *old strife*: as. El. 904.  
**‡fýrngeflita**, m., *ancient enemy*: as. *fýrngeflitan*, Pn. 34.  
**fýrngemynd**, n., *history*: as. El. 327.  
**fýrngesceap**, n., *ancient decree*: ns. Ph. 360.  
**fýrngeset**, n., *ancient habitation*: ap. *fýrngesetu*, Ph. 263.  
**fýrngeweorc**, n., *ancient work*: ns. Ph. 95; as. Ph. 84.  
**fýrngewrit**, n., *ancient scripture*: np. *fýrngewritu*, El. 431; ap. *fýrngewritu*, El. 373, 560; *fýrngewrito*, El. 155.  
**fýrngidd**, n., *ancient learning*: gp. *fýrngidda*, El. 542.  
**fýrnwita**, m., *prophet*: ns. *fýrnweota*, El. 343; *fýrnwiota*, El. 438; as. *fýrnwitan*, El. 1154.

**fýrran**, see *áfýrran*.  
**fýrst**, m., *interval, space of time*: ds. *fýrste*, El. 490; as. El. 67, 694.  
**fýrstmearc**, f., *appointed time, proper interval*: ds. *fýrstmearce*, El. 1034, 1268; Ph. 223.  
**fýrwet**, n., *curiosity*: ns. El. 1079.  
**fýsan**, W1., *prepare one's self*: inf. El. 226, 981. See *ā-*, *gefýsan*.

## G.

**gād**, n., *lack*: ns. El. 992.  
**-gædre**, see *tōgædre*.  
**gædrían**, W2., *gather*: 3 sg. *gædrað*, Ph. 193. See *gegædrían*.  
**gælan**, W1., *delay*: pret. 3 pl. *gældon*, El. 692, 1001.  
**gælsa**, see *hygegælsa*.  
**gæst**, m., *guest*: ns. W. 29. See *fēðegest*.  
**gæst**, see *gäst*.  
**galan**, VI, *scream*: pret. 3 sg. *göl*, El. 52; *sing*: pp. *galen*, El. 124. See *āgalan*.  
**galdor**, m., *word*: dp. *galdrum*, El. 161.  
**galga**, m., *cross*: ds. *galgan*, El. 179, 480, 719.  
**gam-**, see *gom-*.  
**gān**, anv., *go*: pret. 3 sg. *ēode*, El. 1096; 3 pl. *ēodan*, El. 320, 377; *ēodon*, El. 411, 557, 846. See *āgān*; *gangan*.  
**gang**, m., *course*: dp. *gangum*, El. 633, 1256; *gongum*, El. 648; *expāse*: as. *gong*, Ph. 118. See *bigang*.  
**gangan**, rd., *go*: imp. pl. *gangað*, El. 406; *gangaþ*, El. 313, 372; *gongað*, Ph. 519. See *ā-*, *be-gangan*; *gān*.  
**gār**, m., *spear*: np. *gāras*, El. 23, 125; ap. *gāras*, El. 118.  
**gārsecg**, m., *ocean*: gs. *gārsecges*, W. 29; as. Ph. 289.

- gārðracu**, f., *battle*: ds. gārþræce, El. 1186.
- ‡ **gārðrist**, adj., *bold with the spear*: nsm. gārþrist, El. 204.
- gāst**, m., *spirit, soul; ghost*: ns. El. 936, 1037, 1145; gs. gāstes, El. 199, 1058, 1070, 1100, 1157; gāstes, Ph. 549; ds. gāste, El. 471, 889; as. El. 352, 480; gāst, Ph. 513; vs. El. 1106; np. gāstas, Ph. 519, 539, 544, 593; gp. gāsta, El. 176, 682, 790, 1022, 1077; gāsta, Ph. 615; dp. gāstum, El. 302; ap. gāstas, El. 182.
- gāstgerýne**, n., *spiritual mystery*: dp. gāstgerýnum, El. 189, 1148.
- gāsthālig**, adj., *holy*: npm. gāsthālige, El. 562; gāsthālige, Pn. 21.
- gāstlēas**, adj., *dead*: asm. gāstlēasne, El. 875.
- gāstsunu**, m., *spiritual son*: ns. El. 673.
- gaudium**, n. (Lat.), *joy*: ap. gaudia, Ph. 669.
- ge**, conj., *or, and*: Ph. 523; Pn. 74; ge. . . . ge, *both* . . . and: El. 965, 966; ge. . . . ond, *whether* . . . or: El. 629, 630.
- gē**, pron., *see ðū*.
- geāclian**, Wz., *disquiet, excite*: pp. geāclad, El. 57; geāclod, El. 1129.
- geador**, adv., *together*: El. 26, 889; Ph. 285.
- geaþnan**, *see geefnan*.
- geaflas**, mpl., *javus*: n. Ph. 300.
- geagnwide**, m., *contradiction*: as. El. 525; *answer*: ap. gēncwidas, El. 594.
- geagninga**, adv., *completely*: El. 673.
- gēan**, *see ongēan*.
- gēar**, n., *year*: ns. El. 7; gp. gēara, El. 1, 648; dp. gēarum, El. 1265; Ph. 258; ip. gēarum, Ph. 154. *See fyrngēar*.
- gēara**, adv., *formerly, of yore*: El. 1266.
- geard**, m., *home*: dp. geardum, Ph. 355, 647; *court*: dp. geardum, Ph. 578. *See middangeard*.
- gēardagas**, mpl., *life*: n. El. 1267; *past days, days on earth*: d. gēardagum, Ph. 384; i. gēardagum, El. 290, 835.
- geare**, adv., *readily*: El. 167, 399; *exactly*: El. 648, 719, 860; *gearwe*, El. 1240; *super. gearwast*, El. 328; *well*: El. 419; *completely*: El. 531; *clearly*: comp. gearwor, El. 946.
- gearolice**, adv., *completely*: El. 288.
- gearu**, adj., *ready*: nsm. El. 85, 1045; nsf. El. 222, 1029; npm. gearwe, El. 23, 227, 555; npn. El. 605.
- gearusnottor**, adj., *very wise*: nsm. gearosnotor, El. 418; asm. gearusnottorne, El. 586.
- gearwian**, Wz., *make ready, prepare*: inf. El. 1000; Ph. 189. *See gegearwian*.
- geāscian**, Wz., *learn*: pp. geāscad, Ph. 393.
- gēasne**, adj., *destitute*: nsm. El. 924; asf. W. 46.
- geatolic**, adj., *stately*: nsf. El. 331; *splendid*: nsn. El. 258.
- gebāru**, f., *behavior, bearing*: ns. Ph. 125; as. (ap. ?) El. 659; gebāro, El. 710.
- gebann**, n., *behest*: as. El. 557.
- gebed**, n., *prayer*: ap. gebedu, Ph. 458.
- gebēodan**, II, *bid, command*: inf. El. 276, 1007; *offer*: pret. 3 sg. gebēad, Ph. 401.
- gebidan**, I, *expect, await*: inf. Ph. 562; *wait*: inf. El. 865; *reach, attain*: 3 sg. gebideþ, Ph. 152.
- gebindan**, III, *bind*: pp. gebunden, El. 772, 1245.

- geblissian**, Wz., *gladden, cheer, transport*: pp. geblissod, El. 840, 876, 990, 1126; geblissad, Ph. 7, 140.
- geblōnd**, *see earhgeblōnd*.
- geblōndan**, rd., *blend*: pp. geblonden, Ph. 294.
- geblōwan**, rd., *bloom, flower, blow*: pp. geblōwen, Ph. 21, 27, 47, 179, 240; asf. geblōwene, Ph. 155.
- gebod**, n., *behest, bidding*: ns. Ph. 68.
- gebrec**, n., *crash, noise*: ns. El. 114.
- gebrecan**, IV, *break*: pp. gebrocen, Ph. 80, 229.
- gebrēdian**, Wz., *restore, regenerate*: pp. gebrēdad, Ph. 372; npm. gebrēdade, Ph. 592.
- gebregd**, n., *vicissitude*: ns. Ph. 57.
- gebringan**, W1., *bring, gather*: 3 sg. gebringeð, Ph. 271, 283; pp. gebrōht, W. 72.
- gebrosnian**, Wz., *decay*: pp. gebrosnad, Ph. 270.
- gebrōðor**, mpl. *brothers*: n., gebrōþor, Pr. 11.
- gebyrd**, f., *nature*: as. Ph. 360. *See* ēaggebyrd.
- gebyrde**, adj., *innate, natural*: nsn. El. 593.
- gebyrga**, *see* lēodgebyrga.
- gebyrgan**, W1., *taste*: opt. 3 sg. gebyrge, Ph. 261.
- gebysgian**, Wz., *trouble, afflict*: pp. gebysgad, Ph. 62, 162, 428; *overcome*: pp. gebiesgad, Pn. 39.
- gecēosan**, II, *choose, select, elect*: 3 sg. gecēoseð, Ph. 382; 3 pl. gecēosað, W. 37; pret. 3 sg. gecēas, El. 1039, 1166; ger. gecēosanne, El. 607; pp. asm. gecorene, El. 1059; npm. gecorene, Ph. 541, 593; dpm. gecorenum, Ph. 388.
- gecigan**, W1., *invoke*: 3 sg. gecygd, Ph. 454.
- geclānsian**, Wz., *cleanse*: inf. El. 678; pp. geclānsod, El. 1035, 1311.
- geclingan**, III, *contract*: pp. npf. geclungne, Ph. 226.
- gecnāwan**, rd., *recognize, perceive*: 3 sg. gecnāweð, W. 38; pret. 3 sg. gecnēow, El. 1140; opt. pret. 1 sg. gecnēowe, El. 708; pp. gecnāwen, El. 808.
- gecost**, adj., *proved, tried*: nsn. El. 257; ism. gecoste, El. 269; npm. gecoste, El. 1186.
- gecwēme**, adj., *dear*: nsm. El. 1050.
- gecwēðan**, V., *speak*: pret. 3 sg. gecwæð, El. 338, 440, 939, 1191; Ph. 551; Pn. 69; Pr. 4; gecwæþ, El. 344.
- gecȳgan**, *see* gecigan.
- gecynd**, f., *nature, kind, species*: ns. El. 735; Ph. 387; ds. gecynde, Pn. 9; as. Ph. 329; *germinal vigor*: as. Ph. 252, 256; *sex*: ns. Ph. 356; *trait*: as. W. 49. *See* sundorgecynd.
- gecyrran**, W1., *change*: pp. gecyrred, El. 1061; *pass*: pp. gecyrred, El. 1265; *turn*: 1 sg. gecyrre, Pr. 8.
- gecȳðan**, W1., *announce, make known*: 3 sg. gecȳðeð, El. 595; opt. 2 sg. gecȳðe, El. 690; 3 sg. gecȳðe, El. 1091; 3 pl. gecȳðan, El. 409; pret. 3 sg. gecȳðde, El. 866; imp. sg. gecȳð, El. 446; inf. El. 588; gecȳþan, 861; ger. gecȳðanne, El. 533; pp. gecȳðed, El. 816, 1050.
- gedælan**, W1., *diversify*: pp. gedæled, Ph. 295.
- gedafenlic**, adj., *becoming, proper*: nsn. El. 1168.
- gedāl**, n., *death, dissolution*: as. Ph. 651. *See* woruldgedāl.
- gedēman**, W1., *ordain*: pp. gedēmed, Ph. 147.

- gedōn, anv., *apply*: inf., El. 1159; *show forth*: imp. sg. gedō, El. 784.
- gedryht, f., *flock*: ns. Ph. 348; *host, multitude*: ns. El. 27, 1290; Ph. 615, 635; as. El. 737. *See* sib-, wilgedryht
- gedwola, m., *error, heresy*: ds. gedwolan, El. 1119; as. gedwolan, El. 371, 1041; is. gedwolan, El. 311.
- geċacnian, Wz., *impregnate*: pp. geċacnod, El. 341.
- gealdian, Wz., *grow old*: pp. gealdad, Ph. 427.
- gearnian, Wz., *earn, deserve*: 2 sg. geearnast, El. 526.
- geċawan, W1., *manifest, reveal*: opt. 3 sg. geċawe, Ph. 334.
- geċfnan, W1., *do, execute*: pret. 3 sg. geefnde, El. 1015; inf. geċfnan, Pn. 18, 33.
- geendian, Wz., *end*: pp. geendad, Ph. 500.
- gefær, n., *expedition, journey*: ns. Ph. 426; as. El. 68.
- gefæstnian, Wz., *fasten*: pp. gefæstnod, El. 1068.
- gefaran, VI, *die*: pp. asm. gefærenne, El. 872.
- gefēa, m., *delight, happiness, joy*: ns. El. 195; Ph. 422, 607; ds. gefēan, Ph. 400; as. gefēan, El. 870, 949, 980; Ph. 248, 389, 569.
- gefēalīc, adj., *agreeable, joyous*: nsn. Ph. 510.
- gefeallan, rd., *fall*: pp. gefeallen, El. 651.
- gefēgan, W1., *fit together*: pp. gefēged, Ph. 309; *fix*: W. 41.
- gefēlan, W1., *feel*: 3 sg. gefēleð, W. 24.
- gefeoht, n., *battle*: ds. gefeohte, El. 1184; as. El. 646.
- gefēon, V, *be glad, rejoice*: pret. 3 sg. gefeah, El. 110, 247, 849; 3 pl. gefægon, El. 1116; ptc. gefēonde, El. 174, 991.
- gefēra, m., *companion, fellow*: ns. El. 1261.
- gefēran, W1., *come, go*: inf. El. 736.
- ‡gefēre, adj., *accessible*: nsm. Ph. 4.
- gefērian, Wz., *bring*: pp. gp. geferedra, El. 993.
- gefētian, Wz., *bring, fetch*: inf. El. 1053; gefetigean, El. 1161.
- gefetrian, Wz., *shackle*: pret. 3 sg. gefetrade, Pn. 60.
- gefic, n., *deceit, fraud*: is. gefice, El. 577.
- gefliu, n., *strife*: ap. geflitu, El. 443, 954. *See* fyrngeflit.
- gefliu, *see* fyrngeflita.
- gefliota, m., *swimmer*: ds. gefliotan, W. 7.
- gefōg, *see* stāngefōg.
- gefōn, rd., *seize, take*: 3 sg. gefēhð, Ph. 143 (hlyst gefēhð, *listens*).
- gefræge, n., *report, hearsay*: is. Ph. 176.
- gefræge, adj., *known, famous*: nsn. Ph. 3; gefrēge, El. 968.
- gefræt(i)an, Wz., *adorn, embellish, deck*: pp. gefrætwed, Ph. 274, 585; gefrætwad, Ph. 116, 239; npm. gefræt Wade, El. 743.
- gefrēge, *see* gefræge, adj.
- gefremman, W1., *do, commit, accomplish*: 1 pl. gefremmaþ, El. 515; 3 pl. gefremmaþ, Ph. 495; pret. 1 sg. gefremede, El. 363, 818; 3 sg. gefremede, El. 299, 912; 1 pl. gefremedon, El. 402; 2 pl. gefremedon, El. 386; opt. 3 sg. gefremme, Ph. 463; pret. 3 sg. gefremede, El. 779; pp. gefremed, El. 415; *grant*: pret. 3 sg. gefremede, El. 501; *gain*: pret. 3 sg. gefremede, Ph. 650.
- gefreoðian, Wz., *defend, protect*:

- imp. sg. gefreoþa, Ph. 630.
- gefricgan**, V, *learn*: pp. gefrigen, El. 155.
- gefrige**, n., *information, result of inquiry*: ip. gefreogum, Ph. 29.
- gefrignan**, III, *hear, learn*: pret. 3 pl. gefrugnon, El. 172; opt. pret. 3 pl. gefrugnen, El. 1014; pp. gefrugnen, Ph. 1.
- gefullæstan**, W1., *help*: pret. 3 sg. gefullæste, El. 1151.
- gefulwian**, W2., *baptize*: pp. gefulwad, El. 1044.
- gefylgan**, W3., *persist in*: 2 pl. gefylgað, El. 576; *follow*: inf. Ph. 347.
- gefyllan**, W1., *fill*: 3 sg. gefylleð, Ph. 653; opt. 3 sg. gefylle, El. 680; pp. gefylled, El. 452, 1143; Ph. 627; *fulfil*: opt. 3 sg. gefylle, El. 1084; pret. 3 sg. gefylde, El. 1071; pp. gefylled, El. 1131, 1135; W. 60.
- gefýsan**, W1., *set in motion*: pp. npm. gefýsde, El. 260, 1270; Pn. 52.
- gegædrian**, W2., *gather*: 3 sg. gegædrað, Ph. 269; pp. gegædrad, Ph. 512.
- gegearwian**, W2., *equip, supply*: pp. gegearwod, El. 47, 889.
- geglengan**, W1., *adorn*: pp. geglenged, El. 90.
- gehæftan**, W1., *torture*: pp. gehæfted, El. 613.
- gehealdan**, rd., *hold, keep, observe*: pret. 3 sg. gehēold, El. 192; 3 pl. gehēoldan, Ph. 476; *shield*: pp. gehealden, Ph. 45.
- geheaðrian**, W2., *confine*: pp. geheaðrod, El. 1276.
- gehefgian**, W2., *depress, burden*: pp. gehefgad, Ph. 153.
- gehēgan**, W1., *hold*: inf. Ph. 493.
- gehigd**, see **gehygd**.
- gehladan**, VI, *load*: pret. 3 pl. gehlōdon, El. 234; pp. npm. gehladene, Ph. 76.
- gehlēða**, m., *comrade*: ns. El. 113.
- gehōn**, rd., *hang with, load with*: pp. gehongen, Ph. 38; npm. gehongene, Ph. 71.
- gehrēodan**, II, *adorn, deck*: pp. gehroden, Ph. 79; *load*: pp. npm. gehrodene, W. 74.
- gehðu**, f., *care, grief*: ds. El. 667; as. El. 609; dp. gehðum, El. 322.
- gehwā**, pron., *each, every, all*: gsf. gehwæs, Ph. 197; gsn. gehwæs, El. 569; Pn. 26; dsm. gehwām, El. 358, 465, 1187, 1229; Ph. 66, 451, 469, 603 (mf.); W. 62; dsf. gehwām, Ph. 206; gehwæm, El. 973; asm. gehwone, Ph. 195, 606; gehwane, Ph. 464; asf. gehwæne, El. 548; gehwone, Ph. 336; Pn. 67. *See also* **ānra gehwā**.
- gehwær**, adv., *everywhere*: El. 1183.
- gehwæðer**, pron., *both, either*: nsm. Ph. 374; gsn. gehwæðres, El. 628, 964.
- gehweorfan**, III, *turn*: pret. 3 sg. gehwearf, El. 1126.
- gehwylic**, pron., *each, all, every*: nsm. El. 1287, 1317; Ph. 185, 381, 503, 522, 534; Pn. 23; W. 39; gsm. gehwylces, Pn. 22; gsn. gehwylces, El. 319, 423, 910, 1030, 1156, 1310; Ph. 624; Pn. 20; dsm. gehwylcum, El. 278; Pn. 46; W. 6; dsf. gehwylcre, El. 1313; Pn. 57; dsn. gehwylcum, Ph. 110; asm. gehwylcne, El. 598, 1179; asn. El. 409, 645; Ph. 460, 615; Pn. 18; gpf. gehwylcra, El. 1283; dpm. gehwylcum, Ph. 133. *See also* **ānra gehwylc**.
- gehýdan**, W1., *hide, conceal*: pp. nsn. gehýded, El. 1092; apf. gehýdde, El. 832.

- gehýdian**, Wz., *make fast*: 3 pl. gehýdiað, W. 13.
- gehygd**, n., *thought, meditation*: dp. gehygdum, Ph. 459; gehigdum, El. 1224.
- gehýnan**, Wl., *weaken*: pp. gehýned, El. 720, 923.
- gehýran**, Wl., *hear, learn*: pret. 2 sg. gehýrdest, El. 785; 3 sg. gehýrde, El. 709, 953, 957; 1 pl. gehýrdon, El. 364, 660; 3 pl. gehýrdon, El. 1002; opt. 2 sg. gehýre, El. 442; imp. pl. gehýrað, El. 333; Ph. 548; inf. El. 511, 1282; *hearken unto, obey*: pret. 3 pl. gehýrdun, Ph. 444.
- gehyrstan**, Wl., *adorn*: pp. gehyrsted, El. 331.
- gehyrwan**, Wl., *neglect*: inf. El. 221.
- geiwan**, *see* geýwan.
- gelæca**, *see* gūðgelæca.
- gelædan**, Wl., *lead, bring*: 3 sg. gelædeð, Ph. 244; pret. 3 pl. gelæddon, El. 714.
- gelæstan**, Wl., *do, carry out*: opt. 3 sg. gelæste, El. 1197; ger. gelæstenne, El. 1166; *practise*: opt. pret. 3 pl. gelæston, El. 1208.
- gelæafa**, m., *belief, faith*: ns. El. 1036; gs. gelæafan, El. 966; as. gelæafan, El. 491; is. gelæafan, El. 1137; Ph. 479.
- gelæaffull**, adj., *faithful*: nsm. El. 1048; gelæafful, El. 960.
- gelæodan**, rd., *grow*: pp. geloden, El. 1227.
- gelettan**, Wl., *hinder*: 2 sg. geletest, El. 94.
- gelic**, adj., *like, similar*: nsm. Ph. 237; nsn. W. 8; gsn. gelices, Ph. 387; npm. gelice, El. 1320; super. nsf. gelicast, Ph. 302; nsn. gelicast, Ph. 424.
- gelice**, adv., *like, alike*: Ph. 37, 601; super. gelicost, El. 1272; gelicast, Ph. 585. *See* ungelice.
- gelicnes**, f., *likeness*: ns. Ph. 230.
- gelimpan**, III, *happen*: pret. 3 sg. gelamp, El. 271, 1155; opt. 3 sg. gelimpe, El. 441; *succeed*: pret. 3 sg. gelamp, El. 963.
- geliðan**, I, *attain*: pp. geliden, El. 249; *pass away*: pp. geliden, El. 1269.
- gelýfan**, Wl., *believe*: 1 sg. gelýfe, El. 796; pret. 3 pl. gelýfdon, El. 518.
- gelysted**, pp., *eager*: npn. gelyste, W. 23. *See* lystan.
- ‡ **gemāh**, adj., *malicious*: nsm. Ph. 595; W. 39.
- gemang**, n., *host, number*: ds. gemonge, Ph. 265; as. El. 96, 108, 118. In gemonge, prep., w. dat., *in the midst of*.
- gemearc**, *see* ðinggemearc.
- gemearcian**, Wz., *mark*: 3 sg. gemearcað, Ph. 146; pp. gemearcad, Ph. 318.
- gemengan**, Wl., *pollute*: pp. npm. gemengde, El. 1296.
- gemētan**, Wl., *find, meet with*: 3 sg. gemēteð, Ph. 429; pp. gemēted, El. 871, 1013, 1225; Ph. 231; W. 4.
- gemetfæst**, adj., *even-tempered*: asn. Pn. 31.
- gemetgian**, Wz., *grow mild*: 3 sg. gemetgað, El. 1293.
- gemong**, *see* gemang.
- gemöt**, n., *assembly*: as. El. 279; Ph. 491.
- gemyltan**, Wl., *melt*: pp. gemylted, El. 1312.
- gemynd**, n. f., *memory, mind*: ds. El. 644; as. El. 1233, 1248, 1303. *See* fyrn-, in-, möðgemynd.
- gemynde**, adj., *mindful*: nsf. El. 1064. *See* ingemynde.
- gemyndig**, adj., *mindful, heedful*:

- nsm. El. 213, 819, 902, 940; nsf. El. 266.
- gĕn**, adv., *still*: El. 1080, 1092; gin, Ph. 236; gien, Pn. 28; W. 50; *next*: El. 1063, 1078; *again*: El. 373, 925; *moreover, also*: El. 1218; Pr. 1. *See also* gĭna.
- geneahhe**, adv., *very*: El. 1065, 1158.
- genĕgan**, W1., *address*: inf. El. 385.
- genemnan**, W1., *name*: pp. genemned, El. 741.
- genĕosian**, W2., *visit*: 3 sg. genĕosað, Ph. 351.
- genĕrian**, W1., *save*: pret. 3 sg. generede, El. 163; 3 pl. generedon, El. 132; *deliver*: pret. 3 sg. generede, El. 301.
- gĕnes**, *see* tōgĕnes.
- gĕnga**, *see* bi-, foregĕnga.
- geniman**, IV., *take*: pret. 3 sg. genam, El. 599.
- geniðla**, m., *enmity, hostility*: ds. geniðlan, El. 701; as. geniðlan, El. 610. *See* cwealm-, lāð-, sward-, torngeniðla.
- geniwian**, W2., *renew, restore*: pp. geniwad, Ph. 279, 580.
- gĕoc**, f., *help, consolation*: ds. gĕoce, El. 1139, 1247.
- gĕocend**, m., *helper*: ns. El. 682, 1077.
- geof-**, *see* gif-.
- geofon**, n., *sea, ocean*: gs. geofones, Ph. 118; geofenes, El. 227, 1201.
- geogoð**, f., *youth*: ns. El. 1265; ds. geogoðe, El. 638.
- geogoðhād**, m., *youth*: gs. geogoðhādes, El. 1267.
- geolorand**, m., *shield*: as. El. 118.
- gĕomor**, adj., *sad, sorrowful, woful*: nsm. El. 627; Ph. 556; dsm. gĕomrum, El. 922; asf. wk. gĕomran, Ph. 139, 517; npm. gĕomre, El. 322; apm. gĕomre, El. 182. *See* hygegĕomor.
- gĕomormōd**, adj., *sad, sorrowful*: npm. gĕomormōde, El. 413, 555; Ph. 353, 412.
- geond**, prep. *among, through, throughout, in*: w. acc., El. 16, 278, 734, 969, 1177; Ph. 82, 119, 323; Pn. 1, 4, 65, 68, 70.
- geondfaran**, VI, *traverse*: 3 pl. geondfarað, Ph. 67.
- geondlācan**, rd., *flow through*: opt. 3 sg. geondlāce, Ph. 70.
- geondwlitan**, I, *survey*: 3 sg. geondwliteð, Ph. 211.
- geong**, adj., *young*: nsm. Ph. 258, 647; giong, Ph. 355; comp. nsm. gingra, El. 159; *rejuvenated*: nsn. Ph. 267; asn. Ph. 192, 433; *fresh*: gpf. geongra, Ph. 624. *See* cniht-, edgeong; ging.
- geopenian**, W2., *open*: pp. geopenad, El. 1231; *reveal*: opt. 2 sg. geopenie, El. 792; inf. geopenigean, El. 1102.
- georn**, adj., *zealous*: nsf. El. 268. *See* dōmgeorn.
- georne**, adv., *earnestly, zealously*: El. 199, 216, 322, 413, 471, 600, 1157, 1171; comp. geornor, Pr. 12; *eagerly*: Ph. 92, 101; *accurately*: El. 1163; *surely, well*: comp. geornor, Ph. 573; *gladly*: W. 74.
- geornlice**, adv., *zealously*: El. 1097, 1148.
- gĕotan**, II, *pour*: pp. goten, El. 1133. *See* be-, ðurhgĕotan.
- geræde**, n., *means*: ip. gerædum, El. 1054, 1108.
- gere**, adv., *see* gear.
- gereiht**, *see* ferhðgereiht.
- geręccan**, W1., *report*: inf. El. 649.
- gereord**, n., *meal*: dp. gereordum, Pn. 36.

- geręstan**, W1., *rest*: 3 sg. geresteð, El. 1083.
- gerim**, *see* **dōgor-**, wintergerim.
- gerūma**, m., *room*: as. gerūman, El. 320 (on gerūman, away, apart).
- gerýman**, W1., *extend*: pret. 3 sg. gerýmde, El. 1249.
- gerýne**, n., *secret*: as. El. 566; ap. gerýno, El. 280, 589, 813. *See* **gäst-**, wordgerýne.
- gesælan**, W1., *bind*: pret. 3 sg. gesæelde, Pn. 59.
- gesælig**, adj., *blessed*: nsm. El. 956; nsm. wk. gesæliga, Ph. 350.
- gesamnian**, W2., *assemble*: pp. gesamnod, El. 26, 282.
- gescædan**, rd., *decide*: pp. gescæden, El. 149.
- gesceaft**, f., *creature*: gp. gesceafta, El. 894; Pn. 73; dp. gesceaftum, Pn. 56; *creation*: as. El. 729; *heaven*: as. El. 1089; *existence*: as. Ph. 660; *object*: as. El. 183, 1032.
- gesceap**, n., *destiny, fate*: ap. gesceapu, Ph. 210; *object*: as. El. 790. *See* **fyrngesceap**.
- gesceððan**, VI, *harm, molest, plague*: pret. 3 sg. gescōd, Ph. 400; 3 pl. gescōdan, Ph. 442.
- gescinan**, I, *illumine*: 3 sg. gescineþ, Ph. 118.
- gescrifan**, I, *decree, ordain*: pret. 3 sg. gescráf, El. 1047.
- gescyldan**, W1., *defend, protect*: pp. gescylded, Ph. 180.
- gescyppan**, VI, *create, fashion*: pret. 3 sg. gescōp, Ph. 84, 138, 197.
- gescyrdan**, W1., *cut to pieces*: pp. gescyrded, El. 141.
- gesēcan**, W1., *seek, visit*: 3 sg. gesēceð, El. 1280; Ph. 156, 264; W. 29; pret. 3 sg. gesēhte, El. 230, 255, 270; *gain, reach*: 3 sg. gesēceð, Ph. 166.
- gesęcgan**, W1., *speak*: inf. gesęcgan, El. 168; *proclaim*: inf. El. 985.
- gesēfte**, adj., *pleasant*: super. nsm. gesēftost, El. 1295.
- gesęllan**, W1., *pay*: inf. gesýllan, El. 1284.
- gesēon**, V, *behold, see*: 1 pl. gesēoð, El. 1121; pret. 3 sg. geseah, El. 88, 100; geseh, El. 842; 3 pl. gesægon, El. 68; gesāwon, El. 1111; opt. pret. 3 sg. gesēge, El. 75; inf. El. 1308; Ph. 675; W. 86; gesion, El. 243; pp. gesegen, El. 71.
- geset**, n., *abode, dwelling, haunt, seat*: ap. gesetu, Ph. 278, 417, 436. *See* **fyrngeset**.
- gesēðan**, W1., *prove, verify*: inf. El. 582.
- gesęttan**, W1., *place, establish*: pret. 3 sg. gesette, Ph. 10, 395; opt. pret. 3 sg. gesette, El. 1055; *destine*: 2 sg. gesettest, El. 739.
- gesihð**, *see* **gesyhð**.
- gesittan**, V, *sit, sit down*: pret. 3 pl. gesæton, El. 868; inf. Ph. 671.
- gesomnian**, W2., *gather*: 3 sg. gesomnað, Ph. 576.
- gespon**, n., *twist*: as. gespon, El. 1135 (wira gespon, nails).
- gesprecan**, V, *speak*: opt. pret. 3 sg. gespræce, El. 667; pp. gpf. gesprecanra, El. 1285.
- gespring**, *see* **wyllegespring**.
- gest**, *see* **gæst**.
- gestaðelian**, W2., *establish, ordain*: pp. gestapelad, Ph. 474.
- gesteald**, n., *mansion*: gp. gestealda, El. 802.
- gestealla**, *see* **eaxlgestealla**.
- gestrēon**, *see* **æht-, feoh-, woruld-gestrēon**.

- gestrȳnan**, W1., *gain, secure*: 3 pl. gestrȳnaþ, Ph. 392.
- gesund**, adj., *prosperous*: asm. gesundne, El. 997, 1005.
- gesweorcan**, III, *grow dark*: pret. 3 sg. geswearc, El. 856.
- geswērian**, VI, *swear*: 1 sg. geswērige, El. 686.
- geswican**, I, *cease from*: 1 pl. geswicaþ, El. 516; 2 pl. geswicað, Pr. 7.
- geswīgian**, W3., *bring to silence*: pp. geswīged, Ph. 145.
- geswin**, n., *strain*: ns. Ph. 137.
- geswing**, n., *tossing, welter*: ns. Pn. 8. See *handgeswing*.
- geswiðrian**, W2., *lessen, weaken*: pp. geswiðrod, El. 698, 918; geswiðrad, El. 1264.
- gesyhð**, f., *vision, sight*: ds. gesyhðe, El. 184, 346, 847, 965; gesihðe, El. 614; as. El. 98.
- gesyllan**, see *gesellan*.
- gesȳne**, adj., *plain*: nsn. El. 144; *visible*: nsn. El. 264. See *ēðgesȳne*.
- getācnian**, W2., *show*: pp. getācnod, El. 754.
- getācan**, W1., *reveal*: pret. 2 sg. getāhtesð, El. 1075; opt. pret. 3 sg. getāhte, El. 601.
- getellan**, W1., *count*: pp. geteled, El. 2, 634.
- getengan**, W1., *dedicate, devote*: pret. 3 sg. getengde, El. 200.
- getenge**, adj., *resting on*: npm. El. 228; apm. El. 1114.
- geðanc**, mn., *thought*: ds. geþance, El. 267, 807; as. geþanc, El. 1239; gp. geþonca, El. 1286; dp. geþancum, El. 312; ip. geþoncum, Ph. 552. See *in-, mōdgedanc*.
- geðeaht**, f., *counsel*: as. geþeaht, El. 1060; *device, plot*: ap. geþeahte, El. 468; *knowledge*: as. geþeaht, El. 1241. See *rād-geðeaht*.
- geðencan**, W1., *think*: imper. pl. geþencaþ, El. 313.
- geðeon**, III, *exalt, advance*: pp. geþungen, Ph. 160; *perfect*: pp. geþungen, Ph. 649.
- geðinge**, n., *fate*: gs. geþinges, El. 253.
- geðōht**, m., *thought*: ns. geþōht, El. 426.
- geðolian**, W2., *endure, suffer*: inf. geþolian, El. 1292.
- geðreān**, W2., *torment*: pp. npm. geþreāde, El. 321.
- geðreatian**, W2., *persecute*: pp. geþreatod, El. 695.
- geðrec**, n., *rush*: ns. geþrec, El. 114.
- geðringan**, III, *overcome*: inf. geþringan, El. 40.
- geðrōwian**, W2., *suffer*: pret. 3 sg. geþrōwade, El. 519; geþrōwode, El. 859; 3 pl. geþrōwedon, El. 855; opt. (?) pret. 3 sg. geþrōwade, El. 563.
- geðrȳðan**, W1., *arm, embattle*: pp. geþrȳped, Ph. 486.
- getimbran**, W1., *build, erect, construct*: 3 sg. getimbred, Ph. 202, 430; opt. pret. 3 sg. getimbrede, El. 1010.
- getrȳwe**, adj., *true, faithful*: nsm. El. 1035.
- getȳn**, W1., *train*: pp. apm. getȳde (*skilled*), El. 1018.
- getȳnan**, W1., *shut in*: pret. 3 sg. getȳnde, El. 921; *bury*: pp. getȳned, El. 721-2.
- gewadan**, VI, *penetrate*: pret. 3 sg. gewōd, El. 1190.
- gewāde**, see *wintergewāde*.
- gewālan**, W1., *pain, torture*: pp. gewāled, El. 1244.
- geweald**, n., *might, power*: as. El. 120, 726; dp. gewealdum, El. 610.

- geweaxan**, rd., *grow up*: pp. *geweaxen*, Ph. 313.
- ‡ **gewelgian**, Wz., *endow*: pp. *gewelgad*, Pn. 41.
- gewendan**, W1., *turn*: opt. 3 sg. *gewende*, El. 617; pp. *gewended*, El. 1047.
- geweorc**, *see* **fyrngeweorc**.
- geweorp**, *see* **wintergeweorp**.
- geweorðan**, III, *be*: 3 pl. *geweorðað*, El. 614; pret. 3 pl. *gewurdon*, El. 1288; *become*: 3 sg. *geweorþeð*, Ph. 538; *gewyrðeð*, El. 1192, 1275; pret. 1 sg. *gewearð*, El. 923; *come*: opt. 3 sg. *geweorðe*, Ph. 41; pp. *geworden*, El. 994; *happen*: pret. 3 sg. *gewearð*, El. 632, 641; inf. El. 456, 611; pp. *geworden*, El. 643.
- geweorðian**, Wz., *distinguish, honor*: 3 sg. *gewyrðeð*, El. 1192; pp. *geweorðad*, El. 177; Ph. 551; *geweorðod*, El. 150, 823.
- gewerian**, W1., *clothe*: pp. npm. *gwerede*, El. 263.
- gewician**, Wz.,  *dwell, abide, take up one's abode*: 3 sg. *gewicað*, Ph. 203; 3 pl. *gewiciað*, W. 19.
- gewin**, n., *struggle*: ns. Ph. 55. *See* **caldgewin**.
- gewindæg**, m., *day of toil, time of tribulation*: np. *gewindagas*, Ph. 612.
- gewitan**, I, *go*: 3 sg. *gewiteð*, W. 28; 3 pl. *gewitað*, W. 16; pret. 3 sg. *gewät*, El. 148; *vanish, pass away, depart*: 3 sg. *gewiteð*, El. 1277; Ph. 99, 162, 320, 428; 3 pl. *gewitaþ*, El. 1272; pret. 3 sg. *gewät*, El. 94; opt. 1 sg. *gewite*, Ph. 554; pp. *gewiten*, Ph. 97; npm. *gewitene*, El. 1268; *fly*: 3 sg. *gewiteð*, Ph. 122; *come*: 3 sg. *gewiteð*, W. 58. *See* **forðgewitan**.
- gewitt**, n., *mind, understanding*: ns. El. 938, 1191; gs. *gewittes*, Ph. 191; as. El. 357, 459.
- gewlencan**, W1., *adorn, bedeck*: pp. *gewlenced*, El. 1264.
- gewlittigian**, Wz., *beautify, embellish*: pp. *gewlitedgad*, Ph. 117.
- gewrit**, n., *record*: ap. *gewritu*, El. 654, 658; *scripture*: np. *gewritu*, El. 674; ap. *gewritu*, El. 387; *writing, book*: np. *gewritu*, Ph. 313, 655; dp. *gewritum*, El. 827, 1256; Ph. 30; Pn. 14; ip. *gewritum*, Ph. 332, 425. *See* **fyrngewrit**.
- gewunian**, Wz.,  *dwell in, sojourn in, inhabit*: pret. 3 sg. *gewunode*, El. 1038; opt. 3 pl. *gewunien*, Ph. 481.
- gewyrcan**, W1., *make, build, construct*: 3 sg. *gewyrceð*, Ph. 469; inf. El. 104; *commit*: opt. 1 pl. *gewyrcen*, El. 513; *bring to pass*: 3 sg. *gewyrceð*, Ph. 537; *create*: pret. 2 sg. *geworhtest*, El. 727, 738.
- gewyrð**, f., *event, occurrence*: ns. El. 647. *See* **sundorgewyrð**.
- gewyrðan**, W1., *inflict damage, do harm*: inf. Ph. 19. *See* **ungewyrðed**.
- gewyrht**, *see* **ærgewyrht**.
- ‡ **gewyrtian**, Wz., *perfume*: pp. *gewyrtad*, Ph. 543.
- geýwan**, W1., *show*: pret. 2 sg. *geýwdest*, El. 787; 3 sg. *geýwde*, El. 488; pp. *geýwed*, El. 74, 183; *geiewed*, El. 102.
- gicel**, *see* **cylegicel**.
- gidd**, n., *speech*: gp. *gidda*, El. 418; dp. *giddum*, El. 586; ip. *giddum*, El. 531. *See* **fyrngidd**.
- gieddian**, Wz., *sing*: pret. 3 sg. *gieddade*, Ph. 571.
- giedding**, f., *utterance*: ap. *gieddinga*, Ph. 549.

- gief-**, *see* **gif-**.  
**giēn**, *see* **gēn**.  
**gielt**, *see* **gylt**.  
**gietan**, *see* **be-**, **ongietan**.  
**gif**, conj., *if*: El. 435, 441, 459, 514, 533, 542, 576, 621, 773, 777, 782, 789, 857, 1004.  
**gifa**, *see* **beag-**, **hyht-**, **wil-**, **wuldor-gifa**.  
**gifan**, V, *give*: 3 pl. gifað, El. 360; *grant*: 3 sg. gifeð, Ph. 319; pret. 3 sg. geaf, El. 365. *See* **ā-**, **for-**, **ofgifan**.  
**gīfre**, adj., *greedy, rapacious*: nsm. Ph. 507. *See* **wælgīfre**.  
**gifu**, f., *gift, grace*: ns. El. 265; ds. gife, El. 1144; giefe, Ph. 658; Pn. 71; as. gife, El. 176, 182, 199, 596, 967, 1033, 1058, 1157, 1201; giefe, Ph. 327, 557; gp. gyfena, Ph. 624; geofona, Ph. 384; ap. gife, El. 1247; *endowment*: gp. geofona, Ph. 267. *See* **wuldor-gifu**.  
**gild**, *see* **dēofulgild**.  
**gildan**, III, *return, repay*: pret. 3 sg. geald, El. 493. *See* **for-gildan**.  
**gim**, m., *gem, jewel*: ns. Ph. 117, 183, 208, 300, 516; ds. gimme, Ph. 92, 303; np. gimmas, El. 90; gp. gimma, Ph. 289. *See* **gold-**, **sincgim**.  
**gim-**, *see* **gým-**.  
**gimcynn**, n., *precious stone*: dp. gimcynnum, El. 1024.  
**gin**, *see* **ongin**.  
**gīn**, *see* **gēn**.  
**gīna**, adv., *still, yet*: El. 1070.  
**ging**, adj., *young*: asm. gingne, El. 875; vsm. wk. ginga, El. 464; apm. ginge, El. 353. *See also* **geong**.  
**ginnan**, *see* **onginnan**.  
**gīo**, adv., *once*: El. 436. *See also* **gūðæd**, **iū**.  
**girwan**, W1., *build, erect*: inf. El. 1022.  
**gīsel**, m., *hostage*: ds. gīse, El. 600.  
**glæd**, adj., *glad, joyous*: dsm. wk. glādan, Ph. 593; comp. nsm. glædra, El. 956; *brilliant, sparkling*: dsm. glædum, Ph. 92; glādum, Ph. 303; super. nsm. glādost, Ph. 289.  
**glædmōd**, adj., *glad-hearted*: nsm. El. 1096; Ph. 462; npm. glædmōde, Ph. 519.  
**glæm**, m., *ray, radiance*: ns. Ph. 253; *splendor*: ns. El. 1267.  
**glæs**, n., *glass*: ns. Ph. 300.  
**glēaw**, adj., *sage, wise*: nsm. El. 807, 1212; Ph. 144; asf. glēawe, El. 1163; npm. glēawe, El. 314; Ph. 29; gpm. glēawra, El. 638; apm. glēawe, El. 594; super. npm. glēawestan, El. 536. *See* **æ-**, **ferhō-**, **hygeglēaw**.  
**glēawhȳdig**, adj., *wise*: nsm. El. 935.  
**glēawlice**, adv., *wisely, prudently*: El. 189.  
**glēawmōd**, adj., *discerning, prudent, sagacious*: nsm. Ph. 571.  
**glēawnes**, f., *wisdom*: is. glēawnesse, El. 962.  
**glēd**, f., *fire, flame*: gp. glēda, El. 1302.  
**glęgan**, W1., *adorn, grace*: 3 sg. glengeð, Ph. 606. *See* **geglęgan**.  
**glīdan**, I, *glide*: inf. Ph. 102. *See* **tōglīdan**.  
**gliw**, n., *cheer, joy*: ds. gliwe, Ph. 139.  
**glōm**, *see* **mistglōm**.  
**gnornian**, W2., *bemoan*: pret. 3 sg. gnornode, El. 1260.  
**gnornsorg**, f., *sorrow*: as. gnornsorge, El. 655; gp. gnornsorga, El. 977.  
**gnyrn**, f., *blemish*: gp. gnyrna, El.

- 422; *sadness*: gp. gnyrna, El. 1139.
- gnyrnwræc**, f., *revenge for wrong*: dp. gnyrnwræcum, El. 359.
- gnýðe**, see **ungnýðe**.
- God**, m., *God*: n. El. 4, 14, 161, etc. (10 times); Ph. 36, 281, 355, 565; Pn. 55; g. Godes, El. 109, 179, 201, etc. (23 times); Ph. 46, 91, 96, 403, 408, 461, 571, 619; d. Gode, El. 962, 1048, 1100, 1117, 1139; Ph. 517, 657; Pr. 12; a. El. 209, 345, 687, etc. (8 times); v. El. 760, 786, 810, 819; Ph. 622.
- göd**, n., *bounty, good*: np. Pn. 71; gp. göda, El. 924; Ph. 615, 624; W. 46.
- göd**, adj., *good*: gpm. gödra, El. 637; gpf. gödra, Ph. 462; comp. nsm. betera, El. 506; nsn. sälle, Ph. 417; asm. beteran, El. 618; asn. betere, El. 1039, 1046, 1062; super. nsm. sëlest, El. 1028; nsn. sëlest, El. 975; sëlust, El. 527; asm. wk. sëlestan, Ph. 395, 620; vsm. wk. sëlesta, El. 1088; vsf. wk. sëleste, El. 1170; apm. sëleste, El. 1202; apm. wk. sëlestan, El. 1019.
- Godbearn**, n., *Son of God*: ns. El. 719; gs. Godbearnes, Ph. 647.
- godcund**, adj., *divine, God-given*: asf. godcunde, El. 1033.
- göddæd**, f., *good deed*: ip. göddædum, Ph. 669.
- göddönd**, m., *benefactor*: ap. göddönd, El. 359.
- godspel**, n., *gospel*: gs. godspelles, El. 176.
- gold**, n., *gold*: ns. El. 1309; ds. golde, El. 90, 331; as. El. 1260; Ph. 506; is. golde, El. 1024. See **cynegold**.
- goldfæt**, n., *gold-setting*: ds. goldfate, Ph. 303.
- goldgim**, m., *golden jewel*: ap. goldgimmas, El. 1114.
- goldhōma**, m., *garment ornamented with gold*: ap. goldhoman, El. 992.
- goldhord**, n., *treasure*: as. El. 791.
- goldwine**, m., *king*: ns. El. 201.
- gōma**, m., *jaw*: ap. gōman, W. 62, 76.
- gōmen**, n., *pleasure*: ns. El. 1265.
- gōmol**, adj., *old*: nsm. Ph. 154; gomel, Ph. 258; dsm. gamelum, El. 1247.
- gong(-)**, see **gang(-)**.
- Gotan**, see **Hrēðgotan**.
- grædig**, adj., *greedy*: nsm. Ph. 507.
- græf**, see **fold-**, **moldgræf**.
- græswoŋg**, m., *grassy plain*: ds. græswoŋge, Ph. 78.
- grafan**, see **begrafan**.
- gram**, adj., *hostile*: gpm. gramra, El. 118; dpm. gramum, El. 43.
- grāp**, f., *grip, grasp*: dp. grāpum, El. 760.
- grēne**, adj., *green*: nsm. Ph. 298; nsn. Ph. 293; asf. Ph. 154; npm. Ph. 13, 36, 78.
- grēot**, m., *earth, dust*: gs. grēotes, Ph. 556; ds. grēote, Ph. 267; is. grēote, El. 835.
- grim**, adj., *angry, fierce, grim*: asm. grimne, El. 525; apm. grimme, Ph. 461; W. 62; apm. wk. grimman, W. 76. See **ferhð-**, **heorugrim**.
- grīma**, m., *helmet*: ns. El. 125.
- grīmhelm**, m., *helmet*: ns. El. 258.
- grindan**, see **forgrindan**.
- gripan**, see **forgrīpan**.
- gripe**, m., *grip*: ds. El. 1302. See **stāngripe**.
- grund**, m., *ground*: ds. grunde, El. 1114; *bottom*: as. El. 1299; W. 29; *earth, world*: as. El. 1289; Ph. 118, 498; *abyss*: as. El. 944; Pn. 59. See **hellegrund**.
- grundlēas**, adj., *bottomless*: asm. grundlēasne, W. 46.

**grymetan**, W1., *roar*: ptc. asn.

grymetende, Pn. 7.

‡ **gryrefæst**, adj., *terribly firm*: nsn. El. 760.

**gūdæd**, f., *former deed*: gp. gūdæda, Ph. 556. *See also* gīo, iū.

**guma**, m., *human being, man*: ns. El. 531; Ph. 570; vs. El. 464; np. guman, El. 562, 1186; Pn. 21; gp. gumena, El. 14, 201, 254, 278, 638, 1096, 1203; W. 62; dp. gumum, Ph. 139.

**gumrice**, n., *kingdom of men*: ds. El. 1221.

**gūð**, f., *battle, combat*: ds. gūðe, El. 23.

‡ **gūðcwēn**, f., *queen*: ns. El. 254, 331.

**gūðfreca**, m., *valiant chief*: ds. gūðfreca, Ph. 353.

‡ **gūðgelæca**, m., *warrior*: ap. gūðgelæcan, El. 43.

‡ **gūðheard**, adj., *brave*: nsm. El. 204.

**gūðrōf**, adj., *strong in battle*: npm. gūðrōfe, El. 273.

‡ **gūðscrūd**, n., *armor*: ns. El. 258.

**gūðweard**, m., *battle-prince*: ns. El. 14.

**gyf-**, *see gif-*.

**gyfl**, n., *food*: as. Ph. 410.

**gyldan**, *see ā-, for-, ongyldan*.

**gylden**, adj., *golden*: nsm. El. 125.

**gylt**, m., *sin*: ds. gylte, Ph. 408; gp. gylta, El. 817; ap. gieltas, Ph. 461; ip. gyltum, W. 74.

**gýman**, W1., *notice, heed*: opt. 3 sg. gime, El. 616.

**gyrn**, m. n., *sorrow*: is. gyrne, Ph. 410.

**gyrnan**, W1., *long, yearn*: 3 sg. gyrneð, Ph. 462.

## H.

**habban**, W3., *have, hold, possess*:

1 sg. hafu, El. 808; hæbbe, Ph. 1, 569; 3 sg. hafað, El. 825, 910; Ph. 175, 667; Pn. 30; W. 49, 72; 1 pl. habbaþ, Ph. 393; pret. 1 sg. hæfde, El. 1253, 1254; 3 sg. hæfde, El. 63, 224, 412, 1130; 2 pl. hæfdon, El. 369; 3 pl. hæfdon, El. 49, 155, 249, 381, 415, 870, 998; Ph. 408; opt. 1 sg. hæbbe, El. 288; 3 sg. hæbbe, El. 594; 3 pl. hæbben, El. 316, 408; inf. El. 621.

**hād**, m., *class*: ds. hāde, El. 740; *form, shape, nature*: ds. hāde, El. 72; as. El. 336, 776; Ph. 372, 639; *manner*: as. El. 1246. *See* bisceop-, cild-, geogoð-, sác-erd-, wifhād.

**hādor**, adj., *radiant*: asn. Ph. 212.

**hædor**, adj., *clear*: dpf. hædrum, El. 748.

**hædre**, adv., *brightly*: Ph. 115; *clearly*: Ph. 619.

**hæft**, m., *bondage, imprisonment*: ns. El. 703.

**hæftan**, *see gehæftan*.

**hæftnýd**, d., *bondage, thralldom*: ds. hæftnède, El. 297.

**hægl**, m., *hail*: ns. Ph. 60; gs. hægles, Ph. 16.

**hæl**, f., *hail, greeting*: as. El. 1003.

**hælan**, W1., *save, redeem*: ptc. nsm. hælende, Ph. 590.

**hæle**, m., *man*: ns. Ph. 554.

**Hælend**, m., *Saviour*: ns. El. 809, 862, 912, 920; Ph. 650; gs. Hælendes, El. 1063; as. Ph. 616; *God*: vs. El. 726.

**hæleð**, m., *man, warrior*: ns. El. 640, 936; as. El. 538; vs. El. 511; np. El. 1006, 1297; Pn. 20;

- hæleþ, El. 273; W. 22; gp. hæleða, El. 73, 156, 188, 852, 1054, 1108, 1204; hæleþa, Ph. 49, 135, 170; W. 40; dp. hæleðum, El. 661, 671, 679, 709, 1012, 1273.
- hælo, f., *cure, healing*: as. El. 1216; hælu, W. 87.
- hærfest, m., *harvest*: ds. hærfeste, Ph. 244.
- hæs, f., *behest*: as. El. 86.
- hætan, *see onhætan*.
- hæðen, adj., *heathen*: npm. hæðene, El. 126; dpf. hæðenum, El. 1076.
- hætu, f., *heat*: ns. Ph. 17.
- haga, *see ân-, bord-, turfhaga*.
- hâl, *see wanhâl*.
- hâlig, adj., *holy*: nsm. El. 218, 679, 740, 751, 936, 1087, 1145; Ph. 183; nsm. wk. hâlga, El. 751, 1094; Ph. 81, 418; nsf. El. 625, 885; Ph. 626, 641; nsf. wk. hâlige, El. 720, 1012, 1224; nsn. El. 976, 1195; nsn. wk. hâlige, El. 429; gsm. hâliges, Ph. 79; hâlges, Ph. 399; gsm. wk. hâlgan, El. 86; dsf. wk. hâlgan, El. 1006, 1054, 1204; asm. wk. hâlgan, El. 457, 785; Ph. 339; asf. hâlge, Ph. 476; hâlige, El. 355; asf. wk. hâlgan, El. 1032; asn. El. 758, 843; asn. wk. hâlige, El. 107, 128, 442, 701, 841; hâlge, Ph. 619; npm. hâlge, Ph. 447, 539; npf. hâlge, Ph. 73 (*inviolable?*); gpm. hâligra, El. 821; Ph. 656; dpm. hâlgum, El. 988; Ph. 421, 515; apf. hâlige, El. 333, 364, 670, 853, 1169; ipm. hâlgum, Ph. 206, 444. *See gâsthâlig*.
- hals, m., *neck*: ns. Ph. 298.
- hâm, m., *home*: gs. hâmes, Ph. 483; ds. Ph. 593, 599; as. El. 143, 148, 921; Ph. 244.
- hand, f., *hand*: dp. handum, El. 805, 843; ap. handa, El. 457.
- ‡ handgeswing, n., *combat*: ns. El. 115.
- hasu, adj., *gray*: nsm. wk. haswa, Ph. 121.
- haswigfeðere, adj., *gray-plumed*: nsm. wk. haswigfeðra, Ph. 153.
- hât, adj., *hot*: nsm. El. 1133; Ph. 521; nsn. El. 628; dsm. hâtum, El. 1297; super. nsf. hâtost, Ph. 209; asn. hâtost, El. 579; *consuming*: nsm. wk. hâta, Ph. 613. *See fýrhât*.
- hata, *see lëodhata*.
- hâtan, rd., *call, name*: 3 sg. hâteð, El. 756; 3 pl. hâtað, Ph. 173; pp. hâten, El. 439, 505; Ph. 86; Pn. 13; *bid, command*: pret. 3 sg. heht, El. 42, 79, 99, 105, 129, 153, 276, 691, 863, 877, 999, 1003, 1007, 1023, 1051, 1161, 1198, 1202; hêt, El. 214; opt. pret. 3 sg. hehte, El. 509; imper. sg. hât, El. 1173.
- hâte, adv., *fervently*: Ph. 477.
- hê, pron., *he*: nsm. El. 9, 13, 15, etc. (64 times); Ph. 5, 142, 146, etc. (39 times); Pn. 17, 18, 30, 31, 59, 62; W. 41, 44, 49, 66, 76; nsf. hêo, El. 254, 570, 957, 1023, 1136, 1143, 1202; hîo, El. 268, 325, 384, 420, 568, 598, 710, 966, 1008, 1015, 1140, 1158, 1219; Ph. 413; nsn. hit, El. 170, 271, 789, 882, 1155; Ph. 531; gsmn. his, El. 147, 162, 193, etc. (14 times); Ph. 211, 262, 267, etc. (20 times); Pn. 34; W. 40, 43, 55, 63, 74; gsf. hiere, El. 222; hire, El. 1200; dsmn. him, El. 18, 72, 76, etc. (40 times); Ph. 88, 167, 179, etc. (21 times); W. 25, 41, 67, 73, 86; dsf. hire, El. 223, 567, 609, etc. (13 times); asm. hine, El. 14, 200, 440, etc. (13 times); Ph. 106, 111, 281, 365, 380, 420; W. 51, 65; asf. hîe, El. 677, 1146;

- asn. hit, El. 350, 702, 979; Ph. 84; np. hie, El. 48, 68, etc. (35 times); hio, El. 166, 324, 326, 569, 571, 835; heo, El. 116, 382, 555, 565; hi, Ph. 247, 327, 389, 402, 410, 411, 415, 476, 489, 658; W. 32, 58; hȳ, Ph. 481, 609; W. 12, 35, 36; gp. hira, El. 174, 359, 451, 1112, 1209, 1232; W. 75; hiera, El. 360; hyra, Ph. 405, 543; dp. him, El. 182, 319, 325, etc. (19 times); Ph. 36, 39, 160, etc. (18 times); ap. hie, El. 208, 1136; hi, Ph. 246, 395.
- heafela**, m., *head*: np. (as sing.) heafelan, Ph. 604.
- hēafod**, n., *head*: ns. Ph. 293; ds. hēafde, Ph. 604; is. hēafde, Ph. 143.
- ‡ **hēafodwylm**, n., *tears*: ns. El. 1133.
- hēah**, adj., *high, lofty*: nsm. Ph. 590; nsm. wk. hēa, Ph. 447; nsf. Ph. 626; asm. hēanne, El. 424, 983; Ph. 112, 171, 202; asn. Ph. 429; W. 22; comp. nsn. hērre, Ph. 28; super. nsf. hihst, El. 197; *exalted*: asm. hēanne, Ph. 391.
- hēah**, adv., *high*: Ph. 23, 521, 641; hēa, Ph. 32, 121.
- hēahcȳning**, m., *king in the highest*: ns. Ph. 129, 446; as. Ph. 483.
- hēahengel**, m., *archangel*: gp. hēahengla, El. 751.
- hēahmægen**, m., *mighty power*: ns. El. 753; as. El. 464.
- hēahmōd**, adj., *mettlesome, proud*: nsm. Ph. 112.
- hēahseld**, n., *throne*: as. Ph. 619.
- hēahsetl**, n., *throne*: ds. hēahsetle, Ph. 515.
- hēahstefn**, adj., *high-prowed*: apn. W. 13.
- heal**, see *medoheal*.
- healdan**, rd., *hold*: pret. 3 sg. hēold, El. 824; inf. El. 449, 758; *keep, observe*: 3 sg. healdeð, Ph. 457; 3 pl. healdap, Ph. 391; pret. 3 pl. hēoldon, El. 156; opt. 2 sg. healde, El. 1169; inf. Ph. 399. See *be-, gehealdan*.
- healf**, f., *side*: gp. healfa, El. 548; Ph. 206, 336; Pn. 67; ap. halfa, El. 955; healfe, El. 1180.
- ‡ **healfcwic**, adj., *half-dead*: npm. healfcwide, El. 133.
- healsian**, Wz., *adjure*: 1 sg. healsie, El. 699.
- healt**, adj., *halt*: npm. healte, El. 1215.
- hēan**, adj., *humiliated, abject*: nsm. Ph. 554; asm. hēanne, El. 701; *poor*: npm. hēane, El. 1216; *lowly*: dpm. hēanum, W. 43.
- hēannes**, f., *height*: ds. hēannesse, El. 1125; Ph. 631 (in, on hēannesse, in the highest).
- hēap**, m., *host, multitude, troop, throng*: ns. El. 141, 549; as. El. 1206; is. hēape, El. 269; ip. hēapum, Ph. 336; Pn. 67.
- heard**, adj., *hard*: dsm. heardum, El. 809; comp. npm. heardran, El. 565; *cruel*: nsm. El. 704; isf. heardre, El. 83; *grievous*: nsn. El. 115; dpn. heardum, El. 180; *stern*: asn. El. 557; *severe*: nsm. wk. hearda, Ph. 58, 613. See *gūð-, nið-, ðræc-, ðrohtheard*.
- hearde**, adv., *very*: El. 400.
- heardęcg**, adj., *with hard edge*: nsn. El. 758.
- hearding**, m., *hero*: npm. heardingas, El. 25, 130.
- hearm**, m., *injury*: gp. hearma, El. 912.
- hearm**, adj., *malicious, fiendish*: gpm. hearmra, Ph. 441.

- hearmloca**, m., *prison*: ds. hearmlocan, El. 695.
- hearpe**, f., *harp*: gs. hearpan, Ph. 135.
- ‡ **heaðofremende**, adj., *fighting*: nsm. El. 130.
- heaðorðf**, adj., *brave, valiant*: gsm. heaþorðfes, Ph. 228.
- heaðowylm**, m., *fierce flame*: gp. heaðowelma, El. 579; ds. heaðuwylme, El. 1305.
- heaðrian**, see **geheaðrian**.
- heþban**, VI, *lift, raise, rear*: 3 sg. hefeð, Ph. 112; pret. 3 pl. hōfon, El. 25; inf. El. 107; pp. hafēn, El. 123, 890. See **āheþban**.
- heþgian**, see **geheþgian**.
- hēgan**, see **gehēgan**; **meðel-hēgende**.
- helan**, IV, *hide, conceal*: inf. El. 703, 706. See **bihelan**.
- heþian**, see **beheþian**.
- hell**, f., *hell*: gs. helle, El. 1230; W. 78; as. helle, W. 45, 68.
- helledēofol**, m., *devil*: ns. El. 901.
- hellegrund**, m., *abyss of hell*: as. El. 1305.
- hellesceaða**, m., *devil*: as. helle-sceaþan, El. 957.
- ‡ **hellfiren**, f., *hellish sin*: gp. hellfirena, Pr. 6.
- helm**, m., *defender, protector*: ns. El. 148, 176, 223; as. El. 475. See **grīm-**, **heoloð-**, **nihthelm**.
- help**, f., *help, succor*: ds. helpe, El. 679, 1012; as. helpe, El. 1032; Ph. 650.
- hēngest**, see **faroð-**, **wāghēngest**.
- hēo**, see **hīw**.
- heofon**, m., *heaven*: ns. heofun, El. 753; gs. heofones, El. 1230; Ph. 183; as. El. 728; Ph. 131; np. heofonas, Ph. 626; gp. heofona, El. 699; Ph. 446, 483; heofuna, Ph. 631; dp. heofonum, El. 101, 188, 527; Ph. 58, 73, 129, 391, 444, 521, 641, 656; heofenum, El. 83, 801, 976.
- heofoncynning**, m., *king of heaven*: gs. heofoncyninges, El. 170; Ph. 616; heofoncininges, El. 748; ds. heofoncyninge, El. 367.
- heofonhrōf**, m., *cope of heaven, vault of heaven*: ds. heofonhrōfe, Ph. 173.
- heofonlic**, adj., *heavenly*: nsm. El. 740, 1145.
- heofonrice**, n., *kingdom of heaven*: gs. heofonrices, El. 197, 445, 629, 718, 1125; Ph. 12; ds. El. 621.
- heofonsteorra**, m., *star*: np. heofonsteorran, El. 1113.
- heofontungol**, n., *star of heaven*: dp. heofontunglum, Ph. 32.
- ‡ **heoloðhelm**, m., *helmet of invisibility*: is. heolophelme, W. 45.
- heolstor**, n., *darkness, obscurity*: ds. heolstre, El. 1113; is. heolstre, El. 1082; Ph. 418.
- heolstorcofa**, m., *dark abode, tomb*: np. heolstorcofan, Ph. 49.
- ‡ **heolstorhof**, n., *abode of darkness*: ap. heolstorhofu, El. 764.
- heonan**, adv., *hence*: Ph. 1.
- heorte**, f., *heart*: gs. heortan, El. 1224; Ph. 552; ds. heortan, El. 628; Ph. 477.
- ‡ **heorucumbul**, n., *ensign*: as. El. 107; heorucumbol, El. 25.
- heorudrēorig**, adj., *wounded*: npm. heorudrēorige, El. 1215; *disconsolate, disheartened*: gsm. heorodrēorges, Ph. 217.
- heorugrim**, adj., *dire, fierce*: npm. heorugrimme, El. 119.
- hēr**, adv., *here*: El. 661; Ph. 23, 31, 536, 638, 668; W. 43.
- herē**, m., *army, multitude, troops*: ns. El. 65; gs. herges, El. 143; heriges, El. 205; ds. herge, El. 52; as. El. 58; gp. heria, El. 101; herga, El. 115, 210; heriga,

- El. 148; dp. hergum, El. 32, 41, 110, 180; herigum, El. 406.
- herefeld**, m., *battle-field*: ds. herefelda, El. 126; ap. herefeldas, El. 269.
- ‡ **herēhūð**, f., *prey*: as. herehūþe, W. 61.
- heremægen**, n., *multitude, assembled people*: ds. heremægene, El. 170.
- ‡ **heremeðel**, m., *assembly*: ds. heremeðle, El. 550.
- hereræswa**, m., *leader of the army*: np. hereræswan, El. 995.
- heresið**, m., *warlike expedition*: ds. heresiðe, El. 133.
- heretēma**, m., *leader of the army*: ds. heretēman, El. 10.
- herēðrēat**, m., *army*: ds. hereþrēate, El. 265.
- hereweorc**, n., *battle, war*: gs. hereweorces, El. 656.
- herian**, W1., *adore, praise, worship, magnify*: 3 pl. heriaþ, El. 453; hergað, Ph. 541, 616; pret. 3 pl. heredon, El. 893; inf. herigean, El. 920; pp. gpm. hergendra, El. 1097; dpm. hergendum, El. 1221.
- hērre**, *see hēah*.
- herwan**, *see hyrwan*.
- hēte**, m., *hate*: as. El. 424.
- hettend**, m., *enemy, hater*: np. El. 119; hettende, Ph. 441; dp. hettendum, El. 18.
- hidercyme**, m., *advent*: as. Ph. 421.
- hiehðu**, f., *height*: ds. hiehða, El. 1087.
- Hierusalēm**, pr. n., *Jerusalem*: d. Ierusalēm, El. 1056; a. El. 273.
- hige(-)**, *see hyge(-)*.
- hild**, f., *war*: ns. El. 18; ds. hilde, El. 32; *battle*: ns. El. 149; ds. hilde, El. 49, 52, 65; is. hilde, El. 83.
- hildedēor**, adj., *bold, brave*: nsm. El. 936.
- ‡ **hildegesa**, m., *terror of battle*: ns. El. 113.
- hildenædre**, f., *battle-adder, spear*: np. hildenædran, El. 141; ap. hildenædran, El. 119.
- hilderinc**, m., *warrior*: np. hilderincas, El. 263.
- ‡ **hildeserçe**, f., *coat of mail*: dp. hildesercum, El. 234.
- hildfruma**, m., *commander*: ns. El. 10, 101.
- hindan**, adv., *behind*: Ph. 293.
- ‡ **hindanweard**, adj., *behind*: npn. Ph. 298.
- ‡ **hinderweard**, adj., *backward*: nsm. Ph. 314.
- hinsið**, m., *death*: ds. hinsiþe, W. 68.
- hiw**, n., *color, hue*: ns. Pn. 25; gp. hīwa, Pn. 20; *appearance*: ns. W. 8; ds. hīwe, Ph. 311; is. hīwe, Ph. 291 (*color?*), 302; *beauty*: ds. hiwe, Ph. 81; *form*: as. hēo, El. 6.
- hiwbeorht**, adj., *radiant*: nsm. El. 73.
- hladan**, *see gehladan*.
- hlæfdige**, f., *lady*: vs. El. 400, 656.
- hlæw**, m. n., *mound*: np. hlæwas, Ph. 25.
- hlāf**, m., *bread*: ns. El. 613; gs. hlāfes, El. 616.
- hlāford**, m., *lord*: gs. hlāfordes, El. 265; as. El. 475, 983.
- hleahor**, m., *jubilation*: is. hleahtre, El. 920.
- hlēapan**, rd., *run*: pret. 3 pl. hlēopon, El. 54.
- ‡ **hlēmman**, W1., *snap*: 3 sg. hlemmeð, W. 61. *See bihlēmman*.
- hlence**, *see wæhlence*.
- hlēo**, m. n., *protection*: ns. El. 99, 150; as. El. 507, 616; Ph. 374, 429; vs. El. 1074.
- hleonian**, W2., *overhang, impend*: 3 sg. hleonað, Ph. 25.

- hlēor, n., *face*: as. El. 1099, 1133.
- hlēoðor, n., *melody, lay*: gs. hlēoðres, Ph. 131; gp. hlēoþra, Ph. 12; *utterance*: np. hlēoþor, Ph. 656. *See* efen-, swēg-hlēoðor.
- hlēoðorcwide, m., *commandment, decree*: as. hlēoþorcwide, Ph. 399.
- hlēoðrian, Wz., *chant*: 3 pl. hlēoþriað, Ph. 539; *speak*: inf. El. 901.
- hlēða, *see* gehlēða.
- hlīdan, *see* be-, onhlīdan.
- hlīfian, Wz., *tower, rise*: 3 sg. hlīfað, Ph. 604; 3 pl. hlīfiað, Ph. 23, 32. *See* oferhlīfian.
- hlīhhan, VI, *rejoice*: ptc. nsm. hlīhhende, El. 995.
- hlinc, m., *bank, ledge*: np. hlincas, Ph. 25.
- hlinduru, f., *gate*: ap. W. 78.
- hlīð, *see* beorh-, stānhlið.
- hlūd, adj., *loud*: nsm. El. 1273.
- hlūde, adv., *loudly*: El. 110, 406.
- hlūttor, adj., *bright, clear*: nsm. Ph. 183.
- hlyn, m., *sound, tone*: ns. Ph. 135.
- hlyst, f., *attention, listening*: as. Ph. 143.
- hlýt, m., *number, throng*: ds. hlýte, El. 821.
- hnāg, adj., *deplorable, lamentable*: gsf. hnāgre, El. 668.
- hnęsce, adj., *soft*: nsn. El. 615.
- hof, n., *court*: ds. hofe, El. 557; *cell*: ds. hofe, El. 712; *prison*: ds. hofe, El. 834. *See* heolstor-, morðor-, ȳðhof.
- hoga, *see* ānhoga.
- hold, adj., *gracious*: nsm. Ph. 446.
- holm, m., *sea*: ds. holme, W. 51; as. El. 983.
- holmðracu, f., *turmoil of the sea*: as. holmþrace, El. 728; Ph. 115.
- holt, n., *forest, grove, wood*: ns. Ph. 81; gs. holtes, El. 113; Ph. 73, 429. *See* wuduholt.
- holtwudu, m., *forest, wood*: ds. holtwuda, Ph. 171.
- hōma, *see* feðer-, gold-, lichōma.
- hōn, rd., *hang, crucify*: pret. 3 pl. hēngon, El. 424. *See* ā-, gehōn.
- hōnd, f., *hand*: as. Ph. 441.
- hord, n., *treasure*: as. El. 1092. *See* feorh-, goldhord.
- ‡ horh, m. n., *defilement, filth*: is. horu, El. 297.
- horn, m., *horn*: np. hornas, Ph. 134.
- hornbora, m., *trumpeter*: np. hornboran, El. 54.
- ‡ hospcwide, m., *blasphemy, reviling word*: as. El. 523.
- hrā, n., *body*: as. El. 579; *corpse*: ns. El. 885; Ph. 228.
- hrædlice, adv., *quickly*: El. 1087.
- hraðe, adv., *quickly*: El. 76, 406; *immediately*: El. 669, 710; raþe, El. 372.
- ‡ hrāwērig, adj., *weary in body, weary of life*: nsm. Ph. 554.
- hrefen, m., *raven*: ns. El. 52; hrefn, El. 110.
- hrēmig, adj., *rejoicing, exultant*: nsm. El. 149; Ph. 126; nsf. El. 1138; npm. hrēmige, Ph. 592.
- hrēoðan, *see* gehrēoðan.
- hreodian, Wz., *sift*: pret. 1 sg. hreodode, El. 1239.
- hrēof, adj., *leprous*: npm. hrēofe, El. 1215; *rough*: dsm. hrēofum, W. 8.
- hrēoh, adj., *rough, angry*: gpm. hrēora, Ph. 45; *fierce*: nsm. Ph. 217; nsn. Ph. 58.
- hrēosan, II, *fall, descend*: 3 sg. hrēoseð, Ph. 60; inf. El. 764.
- hrēoða, *see* bordhrēoða.
- hrēow, *see* wælhrēow.
- hrērend, *see* foldhrērend.
- Hrēðas, pr. n., *Goths*: g. Hrēða, El. 58.

- hrēðeādīg**, adj., *glorious*: nsm. El. 1195.  
**hrēðer**, m. n., *heart, soul*: as. El. 1145.  
**hrēðerlocā**, m., *bosom, breast*: as. hrēðerlocan, El. 86.  
**Hrēðgotan**, pr. n., *Goths*: n. El. 20.  
**hrēðīg**, see **ēad-**, **wilhrēðīg**.  
**hrīm**, m., *hoar-frost*: ns. Ph. 60; gs. hrimes, Ph. 16.  
**hring**, m., *sound*: ns. El. 1132.  
**hring**, m., *orb*: ns. Ph. 305; *ring, circle*: is. hringe, Ph. 339; *domain, province*: ds. hringe, W. 40. See **bridelshring**.  
**hringedstefna**, m., *ship*: np. hringedstefnan, El. 248.  
**hrōf**, m., *roof, height*: as. El. 89; ap. hrōfas, Ph. 590. See **heofon-hrōf**.  
**hrōpan**, rd., *make proclamation*: pret. 3 pl. hrēopan, El. 54; hrēopan, El. 550.  
**hrōr**, adj., *brave, valorous*: gpm. hrōrra, El. 65.  
**hrōðer**, m., *comfort, help*: ds. El. 16, 1160.  
**hrūse**, f., *earth*: ds. hrūsan, El. 218, 625, 843, 1092.  
**hryre**, m., *downpour*: ns. Ph. 16; *destruction*: ds. Ph. 645.  
**hū**, adv., *how*: El. 176, 179, 185, 335, 367, 456, 474, 512, 561, 611, 632, 643, 954, 960, 997; Ph. 342, 356, 359, 389.  
**Hūgas**, pr. n., *Hugs*: n. El. 21.  
**Hūnas**, pr. n., *Huns*: g. Hūna, El. 20, 32, 41, 49, 58, 128, 143.  
**hund**, indecl. n., *hundred*: El. 2, 379, 634.  
**hungor**, m., *hunger*: ns. Ph. 613; W. 51; gs. hungres, El. 616, 701; ds. hungre, El. 703; is. hungre, El. 613, 687, 695, 720.  
**hūru**, adv., *in truth, verily*: El. 1047, 1150.  
**hūs**, n., *abode, house*: ns. Ph. 212, 228; as. Ph. 202, 217; *body*: as. El. 881, 1237.  
**hūð**, f., *booty, plunder*: ds. hūðe, El. 149. See **hērehūð**.  
**hwā**, pron., *who*: nsn. hwæt, El. 161, 414, 532, 649, 903, 1160; asn. hwæt, El. 400, 1165; isn. hwan, El. 1158 (tō hwan, *why*). See **æg-**, **gehwā**.  
**hwæl**, m., *whale*: ns. W. 47; gs. hwæles, W. 81; ds. hwale, W. 3.  
**hwær**, adv., *where*: El. 205, 217, 429, 563, 624, 675, 720, 1103. See **gehwær**; **āwer**.  
**hwæs**, see **æghwæs**.  
**hwæt**, adj., *active, brave*: npm. hwate, El. 22. See **dād-**, **flyht-**, **fyrð-**, **lof-**, **sundhwæt**.  
**hwæt**, intj., *lo*: El. 293, 334, 364, 397, 670, 853, 920.  
**hwæðer**, see **gehhwæðer**.  
**hwæðre**, adv., *yet, still, nevertheless*: El. 719; hwæðre, Ph. 222, 366, 443, 640.  
**hwætmōd**, adj., *brave, courageous*: npm. hwætmōde, El. 1006.  
**hweorfan**, III, *be active*: 3 pl. hweorfað, Ph. 500; *pass*: 3 pl. hweorfað, Ph. 519; *turn*: 2 pl. hweorfað, Pr. 6; *escape*: inf. W. 81. See **gehweorfan**.  
**hwil**, f., *time, while*: as. hwile, El. 479, 582, 625. See **swylt-**, **wræchwil**.  
**hwilen**, adj., *transitory*: asf. wk. hwilnan, W. 87. See **unhwilen**.  
**hwit**, adj., *white*: nsm. El. 73; npn. Ph. 298.  
**hwōn**, see **lǣthwōn**.  
**hwonne**, adv., *until*: El. 254; Ph. 93, 102; *when*: Ph. 114, 334.  
**hwōpan**, rd., *threaten, menace*: opt. 3 pl. hwōpan, El. 82; inf. Ph. 582.  
**hwylc**, pron., *which, what*: dsm.

- hwylcum, El. 851; dsf. hwylcre, El. 858; asm. hwylcne, El. 862; asf. hwylce (swā hwylce, *whatsoever*), Pr. 5, asn. El. 608. See *æg-, ge-, nāthwylc*.
- hwyrft, m., *course*: dp. hwyrftum, El. 1; *relief*: as. W. 78. See *ymbhwyrft*.
- hycgan, see *for-, wiðhycgan; dēop-, stið-, wiðerhycgende*.
- hȳdan, W1., *hide, conceal*: pp. hȳded, El. 218; npm. hȳdde, El. 1108. See *ā-, be-, gehȳdan*.
- hyder, adv., *this way*: El. 548.
- hȳdian, see *gehȳdian*.
- hȳdig, see *ān-, glēaw-, stið-, wōn-hȳdig*.
- hygd, see *gehygd*.
- hyge, m., *heart, soul, mind*: ns. hige, El. 841, 995, 1082; ds. El. 1169; Pr. 6; hige, El. 809; as. El. 685, 1094; is. hige, Ph. 477.
- hygefrōfor, f., *consolation*: as. higefrōfre, El. 355.
- ‡hygegælsa, adj., *sluggish, lazy*: nsm. Ph. 314.
- hygegēomor, adj., *sad, sorrowful*: npm. hygegēomre, El. 1216; higegeōmre, El. 1297.
- hygeglēaw, adj., *prudent*: vpm. higeglēawe, El. 333.
- hygerūn, f., *heart's secret*: as. hygerūne, El. 1099.
- hygeðanc, m., *thought*: dp. higeþancum, El. 156.
- hyht, m., *hope*: ns. Ph. 423, 480; Pn. 73; as. El. 798; *joy*: as. El. 629; gp. hyhta, El. 197.
- hyhtful, adj., *joyful*: nsm. El. 923.
- hyhtgifa, m., *giver of joy*: ns. El. 852.
- ‡hyhtlice, adv., *gaily*: Ph. 79.
- hyldan, see *onhyldan*.
- hȳnan, see *gehȳnan*.
- hȳnðu, f., *affliction, misery*: dp. hȳnðum, El. 210.
- hȳran, W1., *hear*: pret. 1 sg. hȳrde, El. 240; Pr. 1; 3 sg. hȳrde, Ph. 129; 1 pl. hȳrdon, El. 538, 670, 853; Pn. 8; 3 pl. hȳrdon, El. 572; *obey, hearken to*: pret. 2 sg. hȳrdest, El. 934; 3 pl. hȳrdon, W. 75; opt. pret. 3 pl. hȳrdon, El. 839, 1210; inf. El. 367. See *gehȳran*.
- hyrdan, see *onhyrdan*.
- hyrde, m., *ruler, prince*: ns. El. 348, 859.
- hyrst, f., *armor*: ip. hyrstum, El. 263.
- hyrstan, see *gehyrstan*.
- hyrwan, W1., *despise*: pret. 3 pl. hyrwdon, El. 355; *neglect, disregard*: pret. 3 pl. herwdon, El. 387. See *gehyrwan*.
- hyse, m., *son, youth*: vs. El. 523.
- hȳð, f., *harbor*: ds. hȳðe, El. 248.
- hȳðan, see *āhȳðan*.

## I.

- ic, pron., *I*: ns. El. 240, 288, 319, etc. (49 times); Ph. 1, 547, 552, 553, 561, 568; Pn. 34; W. 1; Pr. 1, 7; gs. mīn, El. 347; ds. mē, El. 163, 164, 317, etc. (16 times); Ph. 567; Pr. 5, 9; as. mec, El. 469, 528, 819, 910, 1078; mē, El. 355, 361, 577, 700, 920; np. wē, El. 364, 397, 399, etc. (15 times); Ph. 393, 573, 668, 670; Pn. 2, 8; W. 85, 88; Pr. 12; dp. ūs, El. 400; Ph. 23, 29, 31, 424, 650, 655, 667; Pn. 62, 71; Pr. 14; ap. ūsic, El. 533, Ph. 630; ūs, El. 637.
- ican, W1., *increase*: 3 sg. iceð, El. 905.
- ides, f., *lady, queen*: ns. El. 405; gs. idese, El. 229; as. idese, El. 241.
- idge, Ph. 407. (?)

ier-, *see yr-*.

iewan, *see geiewan*.

iglond, n., *island*: ns. Ph. 9. *See* ãalond, ãglond.

ilca, pron., *the same*: nsn. ilce, Ph. 379; asf. ilcan, El. 183; asn. ilce, El. 436.

ilde, *see ælde*.

in, adv., *in*: El. 122, 846; W. 58, 79.

in, prep. w. dat., *in, on, upon*: El. 177, 196, 210, etc. (56 times); Ph. 107, 168, 201, etc. (38 times); W. 30, 71, 75, 88; Pr. 16; w. acc., *in, into, to*: El. 6, 9, 201, 274, 305, 336, 452, 693, 765, 775, 776, 931, 943, 944, 1026, 1089, 1123, 1205, 1287, 1290, 1299, 1303, 1305; Ph. 139, 200, 416, 441, 487, 509, 517, 520, 556, 567, 568, 572, 597, 640, 649, 658, 660, 661; Pn. 17, 59; W. 16; Pr. 5; *throughout*: El. 1209; Ph. 77, 509, 517.

in, prep. (Lat.), *in*: w. abl., Ph. 669.

inbryrdan, *see onbryrdan*.

indryhto, f., *blessing*: dp. indryhtum, Ph. 198.

ingemynd, f. n., *regard*: as. El. 1253.

‡ingemynde, adj., *impressed*: asn. El. 806.

ingeðanc, m., *inward desire, earnest purpose*: as. ingeþanc, El. 680.

innan, adv., *within*: El. 1057; Ph. 200, 301; Pn. 4 (*geond innan, throughout*).

innoð, m., *breast*: as. El. 1146; *inwards*: ds. innoþe, W. 55.

instæpes, adv., *immediately*: El. 127.

inwit, n., *iniquity, malice*: as. El. 207.

inwitðanc, m., *wicked thought*: ip. inwitþancum, El. 308.

Iðb, m., *Job*: g. Iðbes, Ph. 549.

Iðsêph, pr. n., *Joseph*: g. Iðsêphes, 788; Pn. 21.

ir-, *see yr-*.

Israhelas, pr. n., *Israelites*: g. Israhela, El. 338, 361, 433, 800.

iū, adv., *formerly, long ago, once*: Ph. 41. *See also* gīo, gūdæd.

Iūdas, pr. n., *Judas: Iscariot*, a. El. 922; *Bishop Cyriacus*, n. El. 418, 586, 609, 627, 655, 667, 682, 807, 860, 875, 935, 1033; a. El. 600, 922, 1056.

Iūdēas, pr. n., *Jews*: g. Iūdēa, El. 209, 268, 837; d. Iūdēum, El. 216, 328, 977, 1203; a. Iūdēas, El. 278.

## K.

kaland, m., *month*: a. El. 1229.

## L.

lā, intj., *lo, behold*: El. 903.

lāc, n., *gift, present*: as. El. 1137; ds. lāce, El. 1200.

lācan, rd., *flicker, flare*: ptc. nsm. lācende, El. 580, 1111; *flap*: 3 pl. lācað, Ph. 316; *fly*: ptc. nsm. lācende, El. 900. *See* geondlācan; dareð-, faroð-, lyftlācende.

-lāc, *see æglāc*.

-lāca, *see āg-, gelāca*.

lādan, Wī., *lead*: 3 pl. lādað, Ph. 345; inf. El. 241, 691; pp. lāded, Ph. 491; *carry*: 3 sg. lādeþ, Ph. 577; *spread*: pp. lāded, El. 969; *hold*: 3 sg. lādeð, El. 1184. *See* ā-, gelādan; ūplādende.

lāene, adj., *perishable*: asm. lāenne, Ph. 220; apm. Ph. 489, 505; *fleeting, transitory*: nsn. El. 1271; gsn. wk. lāenan, Ph. 456; asf. wk. lāenan, W. 64; asn. wk. Ph. 481.

lāran, Wī., *teach, instruct*: pret. 3 sg. lārde, El. 529; pp. npm.

- lærde, El. 173, 191; *advise, admonish*: 1 sg. lære, El. 522; inf. El. 1206. *See* forlæran; ælærend.
- læs, *see* ðy-læs.
- læssa, adj. comp., *less*: asn. læsse, El. 48.
- læstan, W1., *carry out, follow*: inf. El. 368. *See* gefullæstan; gelæstan.
- lætan, rd., *let, allow*: 3 sg. læteð, W. 65; pret. 3 pl. lëton, El. 237, 250; imper. 3 sg. læt, El. 819; *cause*: pret. 3 sg. leort, El. 1105. *See* forlætan.
- læððu, f., *harm, injury*: ip. læþpum, Ph. 582.
- láf, f., *remains*: gs. láfe, Ph. 376; as. láfe, Ph. 575; *leavings, relics*: as. láfe, Ph. 269, 272, 276.
- lagu, m., *flood, water*: as. Ph. 101.
- lagufæsten, n., *sea*: as. El. 1017; lagofæsten, El. 249.
- laguflið, m., *flood, river*: gp. laguflöda, Ph. 70.
- lagustréam, m., *river*: ds. lagostréame, El. 137; np. lagustréamas, Ph. 62.
- lám, m., *clay, dust*: is. láme, Ph. 555.
- lama, m., *a lame person*: np. laman, El. 1214.
- land, *see* lönd.
- lang(e), *see* löng(e).
- lär, f., *instruction, doctrine, lore*: ds. läre, El. 286; as. läre, El. 335, 368, 388, 432, 929, 1166, 1246; Ph. 476; dp. lårum, El. 839, 1210; W. 75; *instigation*: ip. lårum, El. 497.
- lärëow, m., *scholar*: np. lärëowas, Ph. 424.
- lärsmið, m., *scholar*: ap. lærsmiðas, El. 203.
- läst, m., *course, trace, track*: ds. läste, El. 30; Ph. 440 (on läste, *behind*).
- late, adv., *late*: El. 708; *slowly*: Ph. 316.
- läð, n., *harm, injury, misfortune*: gs. läþes, Ph. 53; Pn. 32.
- läð, adj., *detested, hated*: asn. El. 94; gpm. läðra, El. 142; dpm. läðum, El. 30; super. nsf. läðost, El. 978.
- läðgeniðla, m., *enemy, persecutor*: ns. Ph. 50.
- laðian, W2., *invite, summon*: 3 sg. laþaþ, El. 551; pp. laðod, El. 556; npm. laðode, El. 383.
- läðlic, adj., *loathsome, hateful*: asn. El. 520.
- lättëow, m., *leader*: ns. lättïow, El. 520, 899; gs. lättëowes, El. 1210.
- laus, f. (Lat.), *praise*: abl. s. laude, Ph. 676.
- lēaf, n., *leaf*: np. Ph. 39; dp. lēafum, El. 1227.
- lēafa, *see* gelēafa.
- lēafull, *see* gelēafull.
- lēafscead, n. f., *leafy shade*: ds. lēafsceade, Ph. 205.
- leahtor, m., *iniquity, sin, transgression*: gp. leahtra, El. 839; Ph. 518; ap. leahtras, Ph. 456; ip. leahtrum, W. 66.
- leahtorlēas, adj., *sinless*: npm. leahtorlēase, El. 1209.
- lēan, n., *recompense, reward*: ds. lēane, Ph. 386, 475; as. El. 825. *See* sigē-, sigorlēan.
- lēas, n., *falsehood*: ds. lēase, El. 576.
- lēas, adj., *deprived of*: nsm. El. 693; asm. lēasne, El. 945; dp. lēasum, Ph. 454; *free from*: nsm. El. 422, 778; asm. lēasne, El. 497. *See* ār-, friðe-, gäst-, grund-, leahtor-, meþe-, sāwl-, sorglēas.

- lēas**, adj., *false*: npm. *lēase*, El. 1300; *deceptive*: asm. *lēasne*, W. 66.
- lēaslic**, adj., *deceitful*: apf. *lēaslice*, W. 69.
- lēasung**, f., *lie*: ns. El. 580; dp. *lēasingum*, El. 1123; ap. *lēasunga*, El. 689.
- leccan**, W1., *irrigate, water*: 3 pl. *leccaþ*, Ph. 64.
- lēf**, adj., *weak*: npm. *lēfe*, El. 1214.
- lēg**, see **ād-**, **tēonlēg**; **liġ**.
- ‡ **lēgen**, adj., *fiery, flaming*: isn. *lēgene*, El. 757.
- leger**, n., *bed*, *couch*: ds. *legere*, El. 602, 723, 883; *disease*: ns. Ph. 56.
- lēgu**, see **feorhlēgu**.
- lēncten**, m., *spring*: ns. El. 1227; ds. *lenctenne*, Ph. 254.
- lēng**, see **lēnge**.
- lēodan**, see **gelēodan**.
- lēode**, mpl. *men, people*: n. El. 20, 128, 1111, 1116; g. *lēoda*, El. 181, 285, 1127; d. *lēodum*, El. 666, 723; a. El. 163, 208.
- lēodfruma**, m., *prince*: ns. El. 191; as. *lēodfruman*, Ph. 345.
- lēodgebyrga**, m., *protector of the people*: ns. El. 11, 203; np. *lēodgebyrgean*, El. 556.
- lēodhata**, m., *hater of men*: np. *lēodhatan*, El. 1300.
- lēodmæg**, m., *countryman*: gp. *lēodmæga*, El. 380.
- lēodmægen**, n., *multitude of men*: ns. El. 272.
- lēodscipe**, m., *land*: ds. Ph. 582.
- lēof**, adj., *dear, beloved*: nsm. El. 1036, 1048; nsm. wk. *lēofa*, El. 511; asm. *lēofne*, Ph. 345, 479, 561; W. 88; gpm. *lēofra*, El. 1206; super. vsm. *lēofesta*, El. 523; comp. nsn. *lēofre* (*preferable*), El. 606.
- leofen**, see **andleofen**.
- lēoffic**, adj., *lovely*: nsn. El. 286; asn. Ph. 440.
- lēofspel**, n., *glad news, message of love*: ds. *lēofspelle*, El. 518; ap. *lēofspell*, El. 1017.
- lēoftæl**, adj., *gracious*: nsm. Pn. 32.
- lēoht**, n., *light*: ns. El. 7, 94, 486; gs. *lēohtes*, El. 486; Ph. 116, 563; as. El. 298, 307, 1123; Ph. 508; is. *lēohte*, El. 734; Ph. 596, 607; gp. *lēohta*, El. 948; *luminary*: ns. Ph. 288.
- leoht**, adj., *cheerful*: nsm. El. 173; *light, agile*: Ph. 317.
- lēoht**, adj., *bright, radiant, glorious*: nsm. El. 1045; nsn. El. 163; asf. wk. *lēohtan*, El. 737; asn. wk. *lēohte*, Ph. 661; *joyous*: ism. *lēohte*, El. 1137; *enlightening*: asm. *lēohtne*, El. 491, 1246; *fair, clear*: ism. *lēohte*, Ph. 479.
- lēohte**, adv., *clearly, brightly*: El. 92, 966, 1116.
- lēoma**, m., *light*: ns. Ph. 103; *blaze, effulgence*: ns. El. 1294; Ph. 116.
- lēon**, see **onlēon**.
- leornian**, W2., *learn*: pret. 1 pl. *leornedon*, El. 397.
- leornungcræft**, m., *learning*: as. El. 380.
- lēoð**, n., *song*: as. Ph. 547. See **dryht-**, **fyrd-**, **sigelēoð**.
- lēoðcræft**, m., *art of poetry*: as. El. 1251.
- ‡ **lēoðrūn**, f., *counsel in song, secret counsel*: as. *lēoðrūne*, El. 522.
- leoðucræftig**, adj., *active, nimble*: asn. *leoþucræftig*, Ph. 268.
- lesan**, V., *collect, gather*: pret. 1 sg. *læs*, El. 1238. See **ālesan**.
- lēst**, see **weorudlēst**.
- letitia**, f. (Lat.), *gladness*: gs. *letitie*, Ph. 673.
- lēttan**, see **gelēttan**.
- lic**, n., *body*: ns. El. 883, 890; Ph.

- 563; gs. lices, Ph. 645, 651; W. 69; ds. lice, Ph. 523, 584; as. El. 878; Ph. 205, 268, 513.
- lic(e)**, *see* **ge-**, **onlic(e)**.
- licgan**, V, *be at rest*: 3 sg. ligeð, Ph. 182.
- lichoma**, m., *body*: ds. lichoman, El. 737; as. lichoman, Ph. 220; np. lichoman, Ph. 518; ap. lichoman, Ph. 489.
- lician**, W2., *be pleasing*: inf. Ph. 517.
- licnes**, *see* **gelicnes**.
- lif**, n., *life*: ns. El. 526, 606; Ph. 220, 417; gs. lifes, El. 137, 520, 664, etc. (9 times); Ph. 53, 150, 151, etc. (8 times); ds. life, El. 575, 878; Ph. 191, 367, 607; as. El. 305, 622, 1046; Ph. 370, 381, 434, etc. (10 times); W. 64. *See* **endelif**.
- lifdæg**, m., *day of life*: dp. lifdagum, El. 441; W. 75.
- liffruma**, m., *author of life*: ns. El. 335.
- lifgan**, W3., *live*: 3 sg. leofaþ, Pn. 17; 3 pl. lifgað, Ph. 596; pret. 2 pl. lifdon, El. 311; ptc. lifgende, El. 486; *abide*: 3 sg. leofað, El. 540. *See* **unlifgende**.
- lifweard**, m., *guardian of life*: ds. lifwearde, El. 1036.
- lifwyn**, f., *joy in life*: ds. lifwynne, El. 1269.
- lig**, m., *fire, flame*: ns. El. 580, 1111; Ph. 39, 218, 268, 505; gs. liges, Ph. 434; ds. lige, Ph. 533; is. lige, El. 1300. *See* **lēg**.
- ligbryne**, m., *burning, fire*: ds. Ph. 577.
- ‡ **ligcwalu**, f., *fiery torment*: ds. ligcwale, El. 296.
- lige**, m., *lie*: ns. El. 575; ds. El. 666; as. El. 307.
- ligesearu**, n., *deception*: dp. ligesearwum, El. 208.
- ligesygnig**, adj., *lying*: nsm. El. 899.
- ligeword**, n., *falsehood, lying word*: ip. lygewordum, Ph. 547.
- ligðracu**, f., *fire's violence, flame's rage*: ds. ligþrace, Ph. 225, 370.
- lihtan**, W1., *shine, give light*: 3 sg. lihteð, Ph. 587; lÿhteð, Ph. 187.
- lim**, n., *limb*: np. leomu, El. 883; ap. leomu, Ph. 513; ip. leomum, Ph. 649.
- limpan**, *see* **gelimpan**.
- limsēoc**, adj., *lame*: npm. limsēoce, El. 1214.
- ‡ **lindweorud**, n., *troop armed with shields*: lindwered, ns. El. 142.
- lindwigend**, m., *fighting-man, warrior*: gp. lindwigendra, El. 270.
- liss**, f., *joy, ecstasy*: ds. lisse Ph. 672; gp. lissa, Ph. 150, 563.
- liðan**, *see* **be-**, **geliðan**; **sæ-**, **wæg-liðend**.
- lixan**, W1., *gleam, shine, glisten*: 3 sg. lixeð, Ph. 33, 290, 299; Pn. 27; 3 pl. lixað, Ph. 604; pret. 3 sg. lixte, Pn. 24; 3 pl. lixton, El. 23, 90, 125; lixton, El. 1116; inf. Ph. 94.
- loc**, n., *clasp*: ip. locum, El. 1027.
- loca**, m., *stronghold, prison*: ds. locan, El. 181. *See* **brēost-, hearm-, hreðer-, ðeostorloca**.
- lōcian**, W2., *look*: 3 sg. lōcað, Ph. 101; pret. 3 sg. lōcade, El. 87.
- lof**, n., *praise*: ns. El. 212, 890; Ph. 661; ds. lofe, W. 88; as. El. 748; Ph. 617, 634, 676.
- lofhwæt**, adj., *keen for praise*: nsm. wk. lofhwata, El. 11.
- lofian**, W2., *praise*: 3 pl. lofiað, El. 453; Ph. 337, 561.
- loga**, *see* **wārloga**.
- lōnd**, n., *land*: ns. Ph. 20, 28; gs. landes, El. 1271; ds. londe, Ph. 50; as. Ph. 70, 166; land, El. 250, 262, 270, 999; np. Ph. 116;

- gp. londa, Ph. 2; *earth*: gs. londes, Ph. 150, 508. *See* ēa-, ēg-, ēðel-, feor-, ig-, mōr-, un-, wynlond.
- londwela, m., *riches of the world*: ap. londwelan, Ph. 505.
- long, adj., *long*: nsn. lang, El. 432; asm. longne, Ph. 440, 555; *enduring, lasting*: nsm. wk. longa, Ph. 607. *See* nihtlong.
- longe, adv., *long*: Ph. 481, 489; lange, El. 602, 723, 793, 1119; comp. leng, El. 576, 702, 706, 907.
- lūcan, II, *knit together, unite*: inf. Ph. 225; *enclose, set*: pp. locen, El. 264. *See* be-, onlūcan.
- lufe, f., *love*: ds. lufan, El. 491, 564; as. lufan, El. 948, 1206. *See* siblufe; lufu.
- lufian, W2., *love*: 3 sg. lufaþ, El. 597; 3 pl. lufað, Ph. 478.
- lufsum, adj., *pleasant*: nsm. Pn. 32.
- lufu, f., *love*: ns. El. 937. *See* lufe.
- lungre, adv., *forthwith, immediately*: El. 30, 368.
- lust, m., *pleasure, joy*: ds. luste, El. 138, 261; W. 26; ip. lustum, El. 702, 1251.
- lux, f. (Lat.), *light*: gs. lucis, Ph. 667, 672.
- lýfan, *see* ā-, gelyfan.
- lyft, m. f., *air*: ds. lyfte, Ph. 123, 340; as. El. 734, 900; Ph. 316; *wind*: is. lyfte, Ph. 62; *sky, heaven*: ds. lyfte, El. 1271; Ph. 39; as. Ph. 101.
- lyftlácende, adj., *floating in the air*: nsm. El. 796.
- lygeward, *see* ligeward.
- lýhtan, *see* lihtan.
- lyre, m., *loss*: ns. Ph. 53.
- lýsan, W1., *loose, release*: inf. El. 296. *See* ālýsan.
- lystan, W1., *desire*: 3 sg. lysteð, W. 52. *See* gelysted.
- lýt, n., *few*: as. El. 63.
- lýtel, adj., *little*: ds. lýtlum, El. 960; as. El. 272, 383. *See* unlýtel.
- lýthwōn, n., *few*: ns. El. 142.
- lýtle, adv., *a short time, a little while*: El. 664.

## M.

- mā, n., *more*: ns. El. 634.
- mā, adv., *longer, more*: El. 434, 817; W. 80.
- mæg, *see* wræcmæg.
- mæg, f., *kinswoman, relative*: ns. El. 330, 669. *See* cnēo-, lēod-, winemæg.
- mægen, n., *strength, power, might*: ns. El. 698; gs. mægnes, Ph. 625; as. mægn, El. 408; is. mægene, El. 1223; mægne, Ph. 471; gp. mægena, El. 347, 810; *host, troop*: ns. El. 55, 138, 233, 283, 1293; as. El. 61, 242. *See* eorl-, hēah-, hēre-, lēod-, ofer-mægen.
- mægencýning, m., *lord of hosts*: ns. El. 1248.
- mægenðrym, m., *great glory*: is. mægenþrymme, El. 735; *heavenly host*: gs. mægenþrymmes, Ph. 665.
- mǣl, n., *time*: gp. mǣla, El. 987. *See* brogden-, fōtmǣl.
- mǣlan, W1., *say, speak*: pret. 3 sg. mǣlde, El. 351; 3 pl. mǣldon, El. 537.
- mǣran, W1., *celebrate, glorify, extol*: 3 pl. mǣrað, Ph. 338, 344.
- mǣre, adj., *glorious*: nsm. El. 340; nsn. El. 970; gsf. wk. mǣran, El. 864; dsm. mǣrum, Ph. 165; dsf. wk. mǣran, Ph. 633; asm. mǣrne, El. 629; wk. mǣran, El.

- 1223; asf. wk. mæran, El. 1064, 1242; Ph. 660; asn. wk. El. 214; apn. wk. mæran, El. 990; super. nsm. mærost, El. 1013, 1225; nsmn. mærost, Ph. 119; *known*: nsn. El. 1177. See frëamære.
- mærsian**, Wz., *celebrate*: 3 pl. mærsiað, Ph. 617.
- mærdū**, f., *glory, renown*: gp. mærdā, Ph. 472; ip. mærdum, El. 15; *miraculous deed*: El. 871.
- mæst**, adj., *see micel*.
- mæte**, *see unmæte*.
- mæðel**, *see meðel*.
- magan**, prp., *can, be able*: 1 sg. mæg, El. 632, 635, 702, 705; Ph. 561; 2 sg. meaht, El. 511; 3 sg. mæg, El. 448, 466, 588, 611, 735, 770; Ph. 14, 113, 179, 347, 448, 581, 594; Pn. 18; 1 pl. magon, Pn. 2; 2 pl. magon, El. 582, 583; 3 pl. magon, El. 1291; Ph. 134; pret. 3 sg. meahte, El. 33, 160, 243, 609, 860; 3 pl. meahton, El. 166, 477; opt. 1 sg. mæge, El. 677; 3 sg. mæge, El. 1178; pret. 3 sg. meahte, El. 1159; opt. pret. 1 pl. meahten, Ph. 573; 3 pl. meahton, El. 324, 979.
- māh**, *see gemāh*.
- Maius**, pr. n., *May*: ap. Maias, El. 1229.
- mān**, n., *evil, guilt, sin*: gs. mānes, Ph. 633; as. El. 626; is. māne, El. 1296; gp. māna, El. 1317.
- man**, pron., *one, any one*: ns. El. 358, 711, 755.
- man**, m., *man, person*: ns. El. 467; mon, Ph. 243; gs. mannes, El. 660; monnes, Ph. 128; as. man, El. 872; np. men, Ph. 157, 173, 496; Pn. 66; gp. manna, El. 326, 735, 903, 1229, 1312; monna, Ph. 323, 358, 544; dp. mannum, El. 16, 626.
- mancynn**, n., *mankind*: gs. moncynnes, Ph. 176; monncynnes, Ph. 377, 422.
- māndæd**, f., *evil deed*: ap. māndæde, Ph. 457.
- mānfrēa**, m., *wicked lord, devil*: vs. El. 942.
- mānfrëmmende**, adj., *sinful, wicked, evil-doing*: npf. El. 907; dpm. mānfrëmmendum, Ph. 6.
- mang**, *see gemang*.
- manig**, adj., *many*: nsm. El. 231, 258; monig, Pn. 50; asn. El. 1017; npm. monge, Ph. 443, 491; npn. monge, Pn. 1; dpm. manigum, El. 970, 1176; mane-gum, El. 15; monegum, Ph. 170, 521; mongum, Ph. 4, 323; dpn. manegum, El. 501; apm. monige, El. 499.
- manigfeald**, adj., *manifold*: npn. monigfealde, Pn. 70; apn. monigfeald, El. 644.
- manrim**, n., *number of men*: ds. manrime, El. 650.
- ‡ **mānðēaw**, m., *evil custom*: dp. mānðēawum, El. 930.
- manðwære**, adj., *kind*: nsm. monðwære, Pn. 31.
- ‡ **mānweorc**, adj., *sinful, wicked*: dsm. mānweorcum, El. 812.
- Māria**, pr. n., *Mary*: d. Mārian, El. 1233; a. Mārian, El. 775.
- marmstān**, m., *marble*: ds. marmstāne, Ph. 333.
- maðelian**, Wz., *speak, address, harangue*: pret. 3 sg. maðelode, El. 685; maðelode, El. 332, 604, 807; maðelade, El. 404, 627, 642, 655; maðelade, El. 573.
- māðum**, m., *treasure*: ap. māðmas, El. 1259.
- maximus**, adj. (Lat.), *greatest*,

- mightiest*: apn. maxima, Ph. 670.
- meagol*, adj. *powerful*: ip. meagolum, Ph. 338.
- meaht(-)*, *see* *miht(-)*.
- mearc*, *see* *fyrst*-, *gemearc*.
- mearcian*, W2., *designate, indicate*: 3 pl. mearciað, Ph. 333. *See* *gemearcian*.
- mearcpæð*, n., *road through a province*: ap. mearcpaðu, El. 233.
- mearh*, m., *horse*: ns. El. 55, 1193; ds. meare, El. 1176. *See* *sæ-*-, *ȳðmearh*.
- mēde*, *see* *ēaðmēde*.
- mēdla*, *see* *onmēdla*.
- medoheal*, f., *mead-hall*: ds. medohealle, El. 1259.
- mēdu*, *see* *ēaðmēdu*.
- melda*, m., *betrayor, informer*: npm. meldan, El. 428.
- meledēaw*, m., *honey-dew*: gs. meledēawes, Ph. 260.
- męngan*, W1., *confound, confuse*: inf. El. 306. *See* *gęmengan*.
- męngu*, f., *company, crowd, multitude*: ns. El. 225; menigo, El. 871; ds. mengo, El. 377, 596; as. Ph. 420.
- męnnisc*, adj., *human*: asn. El. 6.
- meord*, f., *guerdon*: as. meorde, Ph. 472.
- Meotud*, m., *Creator, Lord, God*: ns. El. 1043; Ph. 176, 358; Meotod, El. 366; gs. Meotudes, El. 461, 474, 564; Ph. 6, 457, 471, 524; Meotodes, El. 686, 986; Metudes, El. 1318; ds. Meotude, Ph. 443, 660; Metude, Ph. 617; vs. Metud, El. 819.
- męre*, *see* *ȳðmęre*.
- męreflōd*, m., *flood*: ns. Ph. 42.
- męrestræt*, f., *sea-path, sea*: ds. merestræte, El. 242.
- ‡ *męrewearđ*, m., *warder of the sea*: ns. W. 53.
- męrian*, *see* *āmęrian*.
- meritare*, vb. (Lat.), *merit*: inf. Ph. 668.
- metan*, V, *measure, traverse*: pret. 3 sg. mæt, El. 1263. *See* *āmetan*.
- mētan*, W1., *meet, find*: 3 pl. mētað, Ph. 247; pret. 3 sg. mētte, El. 833; 3 pl. mētton, El. 116; pp. mēted, El. 986. *See* *gemētan*.
- męte*, m., *food*: as. Ph. 260.
- mętelēas*, adj., *without food*: nsm. El. 612, 698.
- metfæst*, *see* *gemetfæst*.
- metgian*, *see* *gemetgian*.
- mēðe*, adj., *exhausted, miserable, disconsolate*: nsm. El. 612, 698; dsm. mēðum, El. 812; gpm. mēpra, Ph. 422.
- mēðel*, n., *council, assembly*: ds. mēðle, El. 593; męple, El. 546; *judgment*: męðle, Ph. 538; *prayer*: ds. mēðle, El. 786. *See* *hęremēðel*.
- mēðelhęgende*, adj., *counseling, deliberating*: apm. El. 279.
- mēðelstęde*, m., *assembly-room, council-chamber*: ds. El. 554.
- Metud*, *see* *Meotud*.
- micel*, adj., *much, great*: nsm. wk. micla, W. 47; nsf. Ph. 189, 432; mycel, El. 426; dsm. wk. miclan, W. 3; asf. wk. myclan, El. 597; ism. mycle, El. 735; isn. mycle, El. 646; ipf. myclum, El. 44, 102, 1000; super. nsm. mǣst, El. 31; nsf. mǣst, El. 35, 196, 977, 993; nsn. mǣst, El. 984; W. 10; asf. mǣste, El. 381, 408; isn. mǣste, El. 274; Ph. 167; *numerous*: super. asf. mǣst, Ph. 462; *grand*: nsf. Ph. 625; super. ism. mǣste, Ph. 618.

- miclum**, adv., *greatly*: El. 876;  
**myclum**, El. 840.
- mid**, adv., *also, besides*: Ph. 532.
- mid**, prep., w. dat. or inst., *with, by*:  
 El. 92, 297, 577, 707, 714, 742,  
 805, 843, 865, 891, 1025, 1067,  
 1123, 1178; Ph. 8, 249, 529; Pr.  
 5, 8; *at*: El. 105; *with, among*:  
 El. 328, 377, 622, 821, 844, 854,  
 1203, 1233; Ph. 23, 31, 149, 160,  
 345, 494; *with, together with*:  
 Ph. 215, 523, 543, 584, 610, 621,  
 629, 677; W. 31, 44; w. acc.,  
*with, together with*: El. 275,  
 407, 737 (*to?*), 998; Ph. 483,  
 560; W. 28, 88.
- midd**, adj., *middle, midst of*: dsf.  
**middre**, Ph. 262; dpm. **middum**,  
 Ph. 340.
- middangeard**, m., *earth, world*: gs.  
**middangeardes**, El. 810; Ph.  
 157, 665; as. El. 6, 16, 434, 775,  
 918, 1177; Ph. 4, 42, 119, 323,  
 640; Pn. 1, 70.
- middel**, m., *middle*: ds. **midle**, El.  
 1296; Ph. 65; as. El. 864.
- mīdl**, n., *bit (on a bridle)*: dp.  
**mīdlum**, El. 1176, 1193.
- miht**, f., *might, power*: as. El. 295,  
 310, 558, 597, 727, 1163, 1242;  
 Ph. 583; *meaht*, Ph. 6, 647;  
 W. 33; gp. *mihta*, El. 337, 366,  
 786, 819, 1043; *meahta*, Ph. 640;  
 ap. *mihte*, El. 584; *meahte*, Ph.  
 617; ip. *mihtum*, El. 15, 340,  
 1070, 1100; *meahtum*, Ph. 10,  
 79, 499.
- mihtig**, adj., *mighty*: nsm. El. 680,  
 1068; *meahtig*, Ph. 538; nsm.  
 wk. *mihtiga*, El. 942; Ph. 496;  
*meahtiga*, Ph. 377. *See* **ælf-**,  
**fore-**, **tīrmihtig**.
- milde**, adj., *mild, gracious, merci-*  
*ful*: nsm. El. 1043, 1317; Ph.  
 538; dsm. wk. *mildan*, Ph. 657;  
 asn. Pn. 31; Pr. 9.
- mīlpæð**, m., *mile-path*: ap. **mīl-**  
**paðas**, El. 1263.
- mīlts**, f., *mercy*: as. **mīltse**, El. 501.
- mīn**, pron., *my, mine*: nsm. El.  
 436, 462, 517, 528, 822, 918, 1082;  
 nsn. Ph. 563; dsm. **mīnum**, El.  
 438, 454, 471; dsn. **mīnum**, Ph.  
 553; asm. **mīnne**, El. 535, 681,  
 903, 1085; asf. **mine**, El. 349;  
 isn. **mine**, Ph. 176; vsm. El.  
 447, 511; vsf. El. 656; gpm.  
**mīnra**, El. 817; dpm. **mīnum**,  
 El. 930; dpf. **mīnum**, El. 907;  
 apm. **mine**, El. 163; apf. **mīne**,  
 El. 916.
- mīrce**, adj., *dark, gloomy*: apf. Ph.  
 457.
- ‡ **mīstglōm**, m.(?), *misty gloom*:  
 ds. **mīstglōme**, W. 47.
- mīðan**, I, *conceal, keep secret*:  
 pret. 3 sg. **māð**, El. 28, 1099.  
*See* **bemīðan**.
- mitis**, adj. (Lat.), *mild, gentle*:  
 asm. **mitem**, Ph. 674.
- mōd**, n., *mind, heart, spirit*: ns. El.  
 597, 990, 1064; Ph. 657; gs.  
**mōdes**, El. 554, 1242; ds. **mōde**,  
 El. 268; Ph. 446; as. Pr. 9;  
 is. **mōde**, El. 377, 1223; Ph.  
 471. *See* **ān-**, **dēor-**, **gēomor-**,  
**glæd-**, **glēaw-**, **hēah-**, **hwæt-**,  
**rēonig-**, **wērigmōd**.
- mōdblīnd**, adj., *blind in heart*:  
 npm. **mōdblīnde**, El. 306.
- mōdcræft**, m., *power of mind*: as.  
 El. 408.
- mōdgemynd**, n., *memory*: as. El.  
 381; *heart*: ns. El. 840; *intel-*  
*ligence, wit*: as. W. 3.
- mōdgeðanc**, m., *inmost thought*:  
 as. **mōdgeþanc**, El. 535.
- mōdig**, adj., *valiant, brave*: gpm.  
**mōdigra**, El. 138; dpm. **mōde-**  
**gum**, El. 1193; *spirited, high-*  
*hearted*: nsm. El. 1263; Ph. 10;

- noble*: nsm. wk. *mōdga*, Ph. 262; asm. *mōdigne*, Ph. 338; gpm. *mōdigra*, El. 1293.
- mōdor*, f., *mother*: ns. El. 340; as. El. 214.
- mōdsefa*, m., *heart, mind*: ds. *mōdsefan*, El. 876.
- mōdsorg*, f., *grief, sorrow*: as. *mōdsorge*, El. 61.
- moldærn*, n., *grave, earthy dwelling*: ds. *moldærne*, Ph. 564.
- molde*, f., *earth*: gs. *molde*, Ph. 66; ds. *molde*, Ph. 260, 496; as. *molde*, El. 55; *land*: as. *molde*, Ph. 10.
- moldgræf*, n., *grave*: dp. *moldgrafum*, Ph. 524.
- moldweg*, m., *earth*: ds. *moldwege*, El. 467.
- molsnian*, Wz., *decay*: pp. *molsnad*, Ph. 564.
- mōn(-)*, see *man(-)*.
- mōnād*, m., *month*: gp. *mōnþa*, Ph. 66.
- mōnig*, see *manig*.
- mōndwære*, see *mandwære*.
- morgenspel*, n., *morning news*: ns. El. 970.
- ‡ *mōrlōnd*, n., *moorland*: as. *mōrlōnd*, El. 612.
- morðor*, n., *murder*: gs. *morðres*, El. 428, 626; *sin*: gs. *morðres*, El. 942.
- morðorhof*, n., *place of punishment*: ds. *morðorhofe*, El. 1303.
- morðorsleht*, m., *slaughter*: gs. *morðorslehtes*, El. 650.
- mōt*, see *gemōt*.
- mōtan*, anv., *may*: 3 sg. *mōt*, El. 916; Ph. 148, 361, 383, 516; 1 pl. *mōtan*, Ph. 668, 670; 3 pl. *mōtan*, El. 906, 1307, 1315; *mōtan*, W. 81; pret. 3 pl. *mōstōn*, El. 175; opt. 3 sg. *mōte*, Ph. 190, 433, 436, 559; 1 pl. *mōtan*, Pr. 16; 3 pl. *mōten*, El. 433; *mōtan*, W. 88; *mōtan*, W. 86; pret. 3 pl. *mōstōn*, El. 1005.
- Moyses**, pr. n., *Moses*: n. El. 337; g. El. 283; d. *Moyses*, El. 366; a. El. 786.
- mund*, f., *hand*: ip. *mundum*, El. 730; Ph. 333.
- munt*, m., *mountain*: np. *muntas*, Ph. 21.
- mūð*, m., *mouth*: as. El. 660, 1283; Pn. 43; W. 53.
- myltan*, see *gemyltan*.
- mynd*, see *ge-, weorðmynd*.
- mynde*, see *gemynde*.
- myndgian*, Wz., *remember*: 1 pl. *myndgiaþ*, El. 657.
- myndig*, see *gemyndig*.
- myngian*, Wz., *remind*: 3 sg. *myngaþ*, El. 1079.

## N.

- nædre*, f., *serpent*: gs. *nædran*, Ph. 413. See *hildenædre*.
- næfre*, adv., *never*: El. 388, 468, 538, 659, 778; Ph. 38, 88, 567.
- nægel*, m., *nail*: np. *næglas*, El. 1109, 1115; gp. *nægla*, El. 1078, 1086, 1103; dp. *næglum*, 1065, 1128; ap. *næglas*, El. 1158, 1173.
- nænig*, pron., *no one, none*: nsm. El. 505; gsm. *nænges*, Ph. 397.
- nære*, see *wesan*.
- næs*, m., *cliff*: ds. *næsse*, El. 832.
- næs*, see *wesan*.
- nähton*, see *āgan*.
- nales*, adv., *not at all, by no means*: El. 359, 470, 1253; *nalles*, El. 818, 1134.
- nama*, m., *name*: ns. El. 418, 437, 530, 586, 750, 1061; *noma*, W. 6; ds. *namen*, El. 78, 505, 756; *noman*, Ph. 174; as. *namen*, El. 465, 503; is. *noman*, Pn. 13.
- nān*, pron., *no one, none*: nsm. Ph. 449; nsn. Ph. 51.
- nāt*, see *witan*.

- nāthwylc**, pron., *some one*: nsm. El. 73.
- Nazareð**, pr. n., *Nazareth*: d. El. 913.
- ne**, adv., *not*: El. 28, 62, 81, etc. (43 times); Ph. 14, 22, 25, etc. (21 times); Pn. 2, 3; W. 20.
- nē**, conj., *neither, nor*: El. 167, 221, 240, etc. (11 times); Ph. 14, 15(2), etc. (49 times); W. 78.
- nēah**, adv., *near*: El. 66; Ph. 192.
- neahhe**, see **geneahhe**.
- nēan**, adv., *from near*: Ph. 326; *sufficiently*: El. 657.
- nearo-**, see **nearu-**.
- nearu**, f., *uneasiness*: is. *nearwe*, El. 1240; *narrow cell*: ds. *nearwe*, El. 711; *perplexity, embarrassment*: ds. *nearwe*, El. 1103; *concealment, obscurity*: ds. *nearwe*, El. 1115.
- nearulic**, adj., *oppressive*: gpm. *nearolicra*, El. 913.
- nearusearu**, f., *device, plot*: as. *nearusearuwe*, El. 1109.
- nearusorg**, f., *distress, crushing sorrow*: as. *nearusorge*, El. 1261.
- nearwe**, adv., *narrowly, exactly*: El. 1158; *tightly*: El. 1276; *grievously*: Ph. 413.
- nēat**, n., *cattle*: np. El. 357.
- nēawest**, f., *neighborhood, vicinity*: ds. *nēaweste*, El. 67, 874.
- neþb**, n., *beak, bill*: ns. Ph. 299.
- nēd**, see **nȳd**.
- nēgan**, Wī., *address, speak to*: inf. El. 287, 559. See **genēgan**.
- nellan**, see **willan**.
- neþnnan**, Wī., *name, call by name*: 3 pl. *nemnað*, Ph. 397; pret. 3 sg. *nemde*, El. 78, 1060; pp. *nemmed*, El. 1195. See **ge-neþnnan**.
- nemne**, conj., *except that, save that*: Ph. 260.
- nēobēd**, n., *deathbed*: as. Ph. 553.
- nēod**, f., *desire*: ns. Ph. 189, 432.
- nēol**, adj., *steep, deep*: dsm. *nēolum*, El. 832.
- nēolnes**, f., *depth, abyss*: as. *nēolnesse*, El. 943.
- neorxnawqng**, m., *paradise*: as. Ph. 397; *neorxnawang*, El. 756.
- nēosan**, Wī., *go to, visit*: inf. El. 152. See **genēosian**.
- nēotan**, II, *enjoy*: inf. Ph. 149, 361, 384; Pn. 11; W. 89.
- neoðan**, adv., *beneath*: El. 1115; *neoþan*, Ph. 307.
- nēowe**, see **nīwe**.
- Nergend**, m., *Saviour, Deliverer*: ns. El. 461, 503, 799, 1086; Ph. 498; *Nerigend*, El. 1078, 1173; gs. *Nergendes*, El. 465, 1065.
- neþrian**, see **geþerian**.
- neþru**, see **feorhneþru**.
- nesan**, V, *survive*: inf. El. 1004.
- nest**, n., *nest*: ds. *neste*, Ph. 215, 553; as. Ph. 189, 432, 451, 469, 530; gp. *nesta*, Ph. 227.
- nigoða**, adj., *ninth*: nsf. *nigoðe*, El. 874; asf. *nigoðan*, El. 870.
- niht**, f., *night*: ns. Ph. 98; ds. Ph. 262; gp. *nihta*, El. 694; dp. *nihtum*, El. 1228; ap. El. 483; Pn. 63. See **ðreoniht**.
- nihtes**, adv., *by night*: El. 198, 1240; Ph. 147, 478.
- nihthelm**, m., *darkness*: ns. El. 78.
- nihtlong**, adj., *night-long, lasting the night*: asm. *nihtlangne*, El. 67.
- niman**, IV, *take, snatch away, seize*: 3 sg. *nimeð*, El. 578, 1279; Ph. 485; opt. 3 sg. *nime*, El. 447, 615, 676, 1233; Ph. 380. See **bi-**, **for-**, **geniman**.
- nioðoweard**, adj., *below*: nsm. *niopoweard*, Ph. 299.

**nið**, m., *man, person*: gp. niðða, El. 465, 503, 1086; niþpa, Pn. 13; W. 6.

**nið**, m., *hatred, enmity, malice*: ns. niþ, Ph. 400; as. El. 838; niþ, Ph. 413; gp. niða, El. 913; *attack*: gp. niþa, Ph. 451, 469; *feud*: as. El. 905.

**niðer**, adv., *down, below*: El. 832; niþer, W. 28; nyðer, El. 943.

**niðheard**, adj., *brave in fight, stern in fight*: nsm. El. 195.

**-niðla**, see geniðla.

**niðre**, adv., *below*: niþre, Pn. 74.

**nīwe**, adj., *new*: nsm. El. 195; Ph. 266 (n.?) ; dsm. wk. nīwan, Ph. 400; dsf. wk. niwan, El. 1103; asm. nēowne, El. 870; asn. niwe, Ph. 431; isf. wk. niwan, El. 1061, 1128 (niwan stefne, *anew*). See edniwe.

**nīwigan**, W2., *renew*: inf. El. 941. See geniwian.

**nīwinga**, see edniwinga.

**nō**, adv., *never, not at all, by no means*: El. 780, 838, 1083, 1302; Ph. 80, 157, 259.

**noþa**, see nama.

**norðan**, adv., *from the north*: norþan, Ph. 324.

**nōð**, f., *prey (?)*: as. nōþe, W. 28.

**nū**, adv., *now*: El. 313, 372, 406, etc. (28 times); Ph. 447, 470, 583; W. 1; then(?): El. 388.

**nū**, conj., *now that, since*: El. 534, 635, 702, 815, 1171.

**nugan**, see benugan.

**nūða**, adv., *now*: El. 539, 661.

**nūð**, see hæft-, ðeow-, ðreanūð.

**‡ nūðcleofa**, m., *prison, dungeon*: ds. nūðcleofan, El. 711; as. nēðcleofan, El. 1276.

**nūðbearf**, f., *need, necessity*: ds. nūðbearfe, El. 657.

**nysse**, *nyste, nyton, see witan.*

**nyðer**, see niðer.

## O.

**ō**, adv., *ever, always*: Ph. 72; oo, Ph. 25. See ā, āwa.

**of**, prep., *of, out of, from*: w. dat., El. 75, 181, 186, 187, 282, 295, 297, 303, 440, 482, 700, 711 (2), 715, 736, 762, 780, 794, 803, 845, 915, 927, 1023, 1087, 1113, 1115, 1226, 1303, 1305; Ph. 65, 66, 109, 122, 174, 230, 232, 233, 234, 250, 267, 321, 337, 349, 373, 474, 515, 648; Pn. 42, 45, 49, 50, 62; W. 38, 55, 81.

**ofen**, m., *furnace*: gs. ofnes, El. 1311.

**ōfer**, m., *edge, shore*: ds. öfre, W. 9.

**ofer**, prep., w. dat., *above, over*: El. 733; Ph. 588, 604, 641; w. acc., *over*: El. 118, 233, 237, 244, 249, 255, 269, 385, 881, 918, 983, 996, 997, 1017, 1133, 1135, 1201; Ph. 101, 103, 115, 159, 202, 210, 289, 309, 590; W. 70; *over, upon*: El. 89, 239, 434, 1289; *against*: El. 31, 372; Ph. 403, 411; *throughout*: El. 158, 981; Ph. 4, 197, 331, 498; *after*: El. 432, 448; *across*: Ph. 118; *beyond, surpassing*: Ph. 330, 480.

**oferhlifan**, W2., *rise above*: 3 sg. oferhlifað, Ph. 121.

**ofermægen**, n., *superior power, exceeding might*: ds. ofermægene, El. 64; Ph. 249.

**oferswīðan**, W1., *overcome*: 2 sg. oferswīðesð, El. 93; inf. El. 1178; pp. asm. oferswīðedne, El. 958. See unoferswīðed.

**oferðearf**, f., *great need*: ds. oferþearfe, El. 521.

**Oferwealdend**, m., *Sovereign, Lord*: ns. El. 1236.

**ofest**, f., *haste*: ip. ofstum, El.

- 44, 102, 1000; ofestum, Ph. 190; Pn. 52.
- ofet, n., *fruit*: is. ofete, Ph. 77.
- ofgifan, V, *forsake, relinquish*: 3 sg. ofgiefeð, Ph. 426; inf. ofgifefan, Ph. 412.
- ofstlice, adv., *hastily*: El. 225, 713, 1197.
- oft, adv., *often*: El. 238, 301, 386, 471, 513, 921, 1141, 1213, 1253; Ph. 11, 108, 261, 442; W. 4; sup. oftost, W. 63.
- öliccan, W1., *please*: inf. Pr. 12.
- on, prep., w. dat., *in, on, upon*: El. 28, 30, 36, etc. (146 times); Ph. 2, 30, 50, etc. (44 times); Pn. 10, 14, 39; W. 21, 22, 25, 26, 40, 51, 73; Pr. 6; *among*: Ph. 160, 231, 237, 278; *at*: Ph. 244, 246; *by, with*: Ph. 484, 578; w. acc., *in, into, on, upon, to*: El. 84, 96, 108, etc. (39 times); Ph. 74, 97, 98, etc. (17 times); Pn. 41, 54, 67; W. 12, 27, 34, 35, 64, 70, 87; Pr. 11.
- onælan, W1., *kindle, inflame*: pp. onæled, El. 951; Ph. 216, 503.
- onbindan, III, *unbind, loose*: pret. 3 sg. onband, El. 1250.
- ‡ onbregdan, III, *start up*: pret. 3 sg. onbrægd, El. 75; *lift, move* (intr.): 3 sg. onbrygdeð, Ph. 143.
- onbryrdan, W1., *elate, inspire*: pp. onbryrded, El. 1095; Ph. 126, 550; inbryrded, El. 842, 1046.
- oncnāwan, rd., *acknowledge, recognize*: inf. El. 362, 395; *understand, perceive*: pret. 3 sg. oncnēow, El. 966.
- oncor, m., *anchor*: ip. oncrum, El. 252.
- ‡ oncorrāp, m., *hawser, cable*: ip. oncyrrāpum, W. 14.
- oncweðan, V, *answer*: pret. 3 sg. oncwæð, El. 573, 669, 682, 935, 1167; inf. El. 324.
- oncyrran, W1., *change*: pret. 3 sg. oncyrde, El. 503; *avert, turn aside*: inf. El. 610.
- ‡ oncyðig, adj., *devoid*: nsm. El. 725; *ignorant*: nsm. El. 961.
- ond, conj., *and*: El. 931, 977, 984, 1210; otherwise the word occurs in the manuscripts always as 7; El., 186 times; Ph., 99 times; Pn., 13 times; W., 11 times; Pr., twice. Because *ond* thus occurs in the *Elene*, the abbreviation is uniformly so printed in that text, but in the others as *and*. The prefix *and-*, however, which also usually occurs as 7, is found in *andsware*, El. 567 and 1002 (cf. 970) and is uniformly so printed.
- ondrædan, V, *fear*: imp. sg. ondræd, El. 81.
- önettan, W1., *hasten*: 3 sg., önetteð, Ph. 217, 455.
- onfön, rd., *take, receive*: 3 sg. onföhð, Ph. 533; pret. 3 sg. onfëng, El. 192, 238, 490, 1033, 1128; 2 pl. onfëngon, El. 335; *gain*: 3 sg. onfëhð, Ph. 159; pret. 3 sg. onfëng, Ph. 645; inf. Ph. 192, 433.
- ongēan, prep., w. dat., *against*: El. 43; *towards*: Ph. 91; *ongēn, with*: El. 609, 667; *before*: W. 67.
- ongietan, see ongitan.
- ongin, n., *beginning*: ns. ongyng, Ph. 638.
- onginnan, III, *begin*: 3 sg. onginneð, Ph. 188; 3 pl. onginnað, Ph. 224; pret. 3 sg. ongan, El. 157, 198, 225, 286, 384, 468, 558, 570, 696, 828, 850, 901, 1068, 1094, 1148, 1156, 1164, 1205; 2 pl. ongunnon, El. 303, 306, 311.

- ongitan**, V, *learn, discover*: pp. ongiten, El. 288; *know, recognize*: 3 pl. ongitaþ, El. 359; *understand*: imp. sg. ongit, El. 464; inf. Ph. 573.
- ongyldan**, III, *pay the penalty, requite*: pret. 3 pl. onguldon, Ph. 410.
- ongyn**, *see* ongin.
- onhætan**, W1., *ignite*: pp. onhæted, Ph. 212.
- onhlidan**, I, *open*: pp. onhliden, Ph. 12, 49.
- onhyldan**, W1., *bow*: pret. 3 sg. onhylde, El. 1099.
- onhyrdan**, W1., *strengthen, encourage*: pp. onhyrded, El. 841.
- onlēon**, I, *grant, bestow*: pret. 3 sg. onlāg, El. 1246.
- onlic**, adj., *like*: super. nsm. onlicost, Ph. 312.
- onlice**, adv., *similarly, in like manner*: El. 99; Ph. 242.
- onlūcan**, II, *unlock, open*: pret. 3 sg. onlēac, El. 1251.
- onmēdla**, m., *pride*: ns. El. 1266.
- onsāwan**, rd., *sow*: pp. onsāwen, Ph. 253.
- onscunian**, W2., *shun, despise*: pret. 2 pl. onscunedon, El. 370.
- onsendan**, W1., *send*: pret. 3 pl. onsendan, El. 120; *yield up*: pret. 3 sg. onsende, El. 480; *offer*: imp. sg. onsend, El. 1089.
- onsion**, *see* onsŷn.
- onspannan**, rd., *open*: pret. 3 sg. onspēon, El. 86.
- onspringan**, III, *spring up*: 3 pl. onspringað, Ph. 63.
- onsund**, adj., *flourishing*: nsm. Ph. 20; *unscathed*: nsm. Ph. 44.
- onsŷn**, f., *face*: ds. onsŷne, El. 746; Ph. 600; as. onsŷon, El. 349.
- onsŷn**, f., *lack, want*: ns. Ph. 55, 398.
- ontŷnan**, W1., *open, reveal*: 3 sg. ontŷneð, W. 53, 68; pret. 3 sg. ontŷnde, El. 1249; Ph. 423; pp. ontŷned, El. 1230.
- onwæcnan**, W1., *rise again, revive*: 3 sg. onwæcneð, Ph. 648.
- onweald**, m., *power*: ns. onwald, Ph. 663. *See also* anwalda.
- onwendan**, W1., *change*: pp. onwended, Ph. 82.
- onwindan**, III, *unlock*: pret. 3 sg. onwand, El. 1250.
- onwrēon**, I, *declare, disclose, reveal*: pret. 2 sg. onwrige, El. 813; 3 sg. onwrāh, El. 1243; opt. pret. 3 sg. onwrige, El. 1072; inf. El. 589, 674; pp. onwrigen, El. 1124, 1254.
- oo. *See* ð.
- open**, adj., *open*: nsf. Ph. 11; *all-revealing*: asf. wk. openan, Ph. 509; *far-famed, well-known*: nsn. El. 647.
- openian**, *see* geopenian.
- oncnæwe**, adj., *evident, plain*: nsm. El. 229.
- ord**, m., *spear*: as. El. 1187; ip. ordum, El. 235; *beginning*: ds. orde, El. 140, 590, 1155; *chief*: ns. El. 393.
- ordfruma**, m., *author*: ds. ordfruman, Pn. 58.
- organa**, f., *organ*: gs. organan, Ph. 136.
- orscyld**, adj., *guiltless*: asm. orscyldne, El. 423.
- orðanc**, m., *art*: ip. orþoncum, Ph. 304.
- oð**, prep., *till, until*: w. acc., El. 139, 312, 590, 870, 1257; Ph. 47, 490.
- oðēawan**, W1., *appear, be manifest*: pp. oðēawed, Ph. 322. *See also* oðŷwan.
- ōðer**, pron., *other*: nsm. El. 506; dsm. ððrum, Ph. 343; dsn.

ōðrum, El. 233; asm. ðerne, El. 540, 928; asf. ðpre, W. 49; npn. ðpre, W. 55; dpm. ðprum, Pn. 24, 28; dpf. ðprum, Pn. 56.  
**oðfæstan**, W1., *inflict*: inf. El. 477.  
**‡ oðfflōogan**, II, *fly away*: 3 sg. oðfflōogeð, Ph. 347.  
**‡ oðscūfan**, II, *hasten away (from)*: 3 sg. oðscūfeð, Ph. 168.  
**oððæt**, conj., *until*: El. 866, 886; oþþæt, Ph. 141, 166, 263, 346, 363, 420, 484; W. 36, 59; oðþæt, Ph. 151.  
**oððe**, conj., *or*: El. 74, 159, 634, 975, 1114; oþþe, Ph. 300; *and*: El. 508.  
**oðýwan**, W1., *display, show*: pret. 3 sg. oðýwde, El. 163. *See also* oðēawan.  
**ōwiht**, pron., *anything*: asn. El. 571.

## P.

**pæð**, *see* mearc-, mīlpæð.  
**‡ pander**, m., *panther*: ns. pandher, Pn. 12.  
**Paulus**, pr. n., *Paul*: n. El. 504; Pn. 69.  
**pax**, f. (Lat.), *peace*: gs. pacis, Ph. 672.  
**pēa**, m., *peacock*: ds. pēan, Ph. 312.  
**perennis**, adj. (Lat.), *unceasing*: abl. sf. perenne, Ph. 676.  
**plega**, *see* sundplega.  
**plegean**, W2., *move, plunge*: inf. El. 245; *clap*: pret. 3 sg. plegade, El. 806.

## R.

**rād**, f., *expedition, journey*: ds. rāde, El. 922. *See* swōnrād.  
**rador(-)**, *see* rodor(-).  
**ræced**, *see* dēaðræced.  
**ræd**, m., *power*: ns. El. 919; *benefit, weal*: dp. rædum, El. 1009;

*counsel*: ap. rædas, El. 156; *discernment, foresight, wisdom*: gs. rædes, El. 553. *See* unræd.  
**rædan**, rd., *advise, counsel, exhort*: pret. 3 sg. reord, El. 1023. *See* berædan.

-ræde, *see* geræde.

-ræden, *see* frēondræden.

rædend, m., *giver*: ns. Pn. 55.

rædgedeaht, f., *counsel, wisdom*: as. rædgedeaht, El. 1162; *council*: as. rædgedeaht, El. 1052.

rædðeahtende, adj., *taking thought, being wise, wise*: npm. rædðeahtende, El. 449, 869.

ræfnan, W1., *suffer*: inf. Ph. 643.

ræran, W1., *raise, stir up*: pret. 3 pl. rærdon, El. 954; inf. El. 443, 941. *See* āræran.

ræst, f., *rest*: gs. ræste, W. 23; *place for rest*: as. ræste, Pn. 36. *See* wælrest; restan.

ræswa, *see* hegeræswa.

rand, m., *shield*: ns. El. 50. *See* geolorand.

rāp, *see* oncorrāp.

raðe, *see* hraðe.

rēaf, *see* wælreaf.

rēafian, *see* berēafian.

-reaht, *see* gereiht.

rēc, m., *smoke*: ns. El. 804; as. El. 795.

rēccan, W1., *explain, expound*: opt. 3 pl. reccen, El. 553; inf. El. 281, 284. *See* ā-, gereccan.

-red, *see* dægred.

regnum, n. (Lat.), *kingdom*: ap. regna, Ph. 670.

rēn, m., *rain*: ns. Ph. 14; gs. rēnes, Ph. 246.

rēonig, adj., *sad*: nsm. El. 1083; ds. wk. rēonigan, El. 834.

rēonigmōd, adj., *sad, sorrowful, downcast*: npm. rēonigmōde, El. 320; W. 23.

reord, f., *melody*: is. reorde, Ph.

- 128; ip. reordum, Ph. 338. *See gereord.*
- reordberend**, adj., *endowed with speech (man)*: gpm. reordberendra, El. 1282.
- reordian**, Wz., *cry*: 3 pl. reordiað, Ph. 632; *discourse, speak, say*: pret. 3 sg. reordode, El. 405, 417, 463, 1073; reordade, Ph. 550.
- rēotan**, II, *weep, mourn*: 3 sg. rēoteð, El. 1083. *See wiðrēotan.*
- rēst**, *see ræst.*
- rēstan**, *see gerēstan.*
- rice**, n., *power*: ns. El. 13; *royalty*: as. El. 9; *empire*: gs. rices, El. 59; as. El. 40; *sway, dominion*: as. El. 147, 449; *victory*: gs. rices, El. 62; *kingdom*: ns. El. 917, 1231; gs. rices, El. 820; ds. Ph. 664; as. El. 631; *realm, region*: as. Ph. 156. *See gum-, heofon-, woruldrice.*
- rice**, adj., *mighty, powerful*: nsf. wk. rice, El. 411; super. nsm. wk. ricesta, El. 1235.
- ricene**, adv., *instantly, at once*: El. 607, 623, 982, 1162.
- ricsian**, Wz., *be mighty, rule*: opt. 3 sg. ricsie, El. 774; inf. El. 434.
- riðan**, I, *ride*: pret. 3 pl. ridon, El. 50.
- riht**, n., *right*: gs. rihtes, El. 880; ds. rihte, El. 390, 663; ryhte, El. 369; is. rihte, El. 917; gp. rihta, El. 910; *law*: as. El. 372; ryht, Ph. 664; *truth*: as. El. 601, 1241; *doom*: as. El. 1282; *equity, justice*: is. ryhte, Ph. 494. *See æ-, unriht.*
- riht**, adj., *right, true*: nsm. El. 13; asf. rihte, El. 281. *See æ-, unriht.*
- rihte**, adv., *rightly, exactly, truth-*
- fully*: El. 553, 566; ryhte, El. 1075; Pn. 3.
- rihtfrēmmende**, adj., *righteous*: npm. ryhtfrēmmende, Ph. 632.
- rīm**, n., *number*: gs. rīmes, El. 2; ds. rīme, El. 284, 634; as. El. 635; Pn. 3. *See dōgor-, fæðm-, ge-, manrīm.*
- rīman**, W1., *account, esteem as*: pp. npm. rīmde, Pr. 10.
- rīme**, *see unrīme.*
- rīmtalu**, f., *number*: as. rīmtale, El. 820.
- rīnc**, m., *warrior, hero*: ap. rīncas, El. 46. *See fyrd-, hilderīnc.*
- rīsan**, *see ārisan.*
- rist**, *see ārist.*
- rōd**, f., *cross, rood*: ns. El. 219, 624, 720, 887, 973, 1012, 1224; gs. rōde, El. 103, 147, 206, 856, 1235; Ph. 643; ds. rōde, El. 482, 601, 774, 1067, 1241; as. rōde, El. 631, 919, 1023; gp. rōda, El. 834, 880; ap. rōda, El. 869.
- rodor**, m., *heaven, sky*: ns. El. 856; gs. radores, El. 795; gp. rodora, El. 206; rodera, El. 482, 1067, 1075; Ph. 664; dp. roderum, El. 13, 46, 147, 460, 631, 919, 1023, 1151, 1235; Ph. 14; radorum, El. 762, 804. *See sūð-, ūprodor.*
- rodorcyning**, m., *king of heaven*: gs. rodorcyninges, El. 887; radorcyninges, El. 624.
- rōf**, adj., *valiant, gallant*: asm. rōfne, El. 50. *See æsc-, beadu-, ęllen-, gūð-, heaðo-, sigerōf.*
- Rōm**, pr. n., *Rome*: g. Rōme, El. 1052.
- Rōmware**, pr. n., *Romans*: n. El. 46; g. Rōmwarā, El. 9, 40, 59, 62, 120; Rōmwarena, El. 982.
- rūm**, adj., *spacious, extensive, wide-stretching*: npm. rūme, Ph. 14;

*full*: comp. asf. rümran, El. 1241. See gerüma.  
 rün, f., *mystery, secret*: as. rüne, El. 1262; ap. rüne, El. 333, 1169; *secret council, private council*: ds. rüne, El. 411, 1162. See hyge-, lēoð-, wælrün.  
 ryht(-), see riht(-).  
 rýman, see gerýman.  
 ryne, m., *expanse*: ds. El. 795.  
 -rýne, see gerýne.  
 ryp, m., *reaping, ingathering*: gs. rypes, Ph. 246.  
 rýric, see sǣrýric.

## S.

sacan, see for-, wiðsacan.  
 sǣcerdhād, m., *priesthood*: as. El. 1055.  
 Sachus, pr. n., *Zacchæus*: n. El. 437.  
 sacu, f., *strife*: ns. El. 906; Ph. 54; as. sǣce, El. 941; *affliction*: ds. sǣce, El. 1031. See also sǣcc.  
 sǣ, m., *sea*: ns. El. 240; gs. sǣs, El. 729; as. Ph. 103. See Wensdelsǣ.  
 sǣcc, f., *fight, battle*: ds. sǣcce, El. 1178, 1183. See and-, eoful-, wiðersǣc; sacu.  
 sǣd, n., *seed*: ns. Ph. 253.  
 sǣfisc, m., *sea-fish*: gp. sǣfisca, W. 56.  
 sǣgan, W1., *cause to set*: pp. sǣged, Ph. 142.  
 sǣl, see burgsǣl.  
 sǣl, m. f., *delight, joy, happiness*: dp. sǣlum, El. 194; ip. sǣlum, Ph. 140.  
 sǣlan, W1., *tie, make fast with ropes*: 3 pl. sǣlaþ, W. 15; pp. npm. sǣlde, El. 228. See ā-, gesǣlan.  
 sǣlig, see ge-, wansǣlig.  
 sǣliðend, m., *seafarer*: ap. sǣliþ-ende, W. 48.  
 sǣmearh, m., *ocean-steed, ship*: as. El. 245; np. sǣmearas, El. 228; ap. sǣmearas, W. 15.  
 sǣne, adj., *backward, slack, negligent*: nsf. El. 220.  
 † sǣrýric, n., *sea-weed*: gp. sǣrýrica, W. 10.  
 sǣwaroð, m., *sea-coast*: ds. sǣwaroðe, El. 251.  
 Salomōn, pr. n., *Solomon*: g. Salomōnes, El. 343.  
 salor, n., *palace*: ds. salore, El. 382, 552.  
 same, adv., *similarly*: El. 1207, 1284; some, El. 653, 1066, 1278; Pn. 53. Swā some, *also, as well*.  
 samnian, see sōmnian.  
 samod, adv., *together*: El. 614, 729, 889; somod, Ph. 513, 584; *also*: somod, Ph. 629; somed, El. 95.  
 sanctus, adj. (Lat.), *holy, saint*: nsm. El. 504; Pn. 69.  
 sang, see sōng.  
 sār, n., *pain, pang*: ip. sārūm, El. 479, 697, 933; *mischief, trouble*: as. El. 941.  
 sār, adj., *dire, grievous*: asf. sāre, Ph. 369.  
 sārlic, adj., *grievous*: nsn. Ph. 406.  
 sārwracu, f., *misery, tribulation*: ns. Ph. 54; ds. sārwræce, Ph. 382.  
 Saulus, pr. n., *Saul*: g. Saules, El. 497.  
 sǣwan, see onsǣwan.  
 sǣwol, f., *soul*: ns. sǣwol, El. 890; sǣwel, Ph. 523; gs. sǣwle, El. 1172; as. sǣwle, Ph. 566; np. sǣwla, Ph. 540, 584; gp. sǣwla, El. 461, 564, 799, 906; Ph. 498; dp. sǣwlum, Ph. 488, 589.

- sāwollēas**, adj., *lifeless*: asm. sāwol-  
lēasne, El. 877.
- scanca**, m., *leg*: np. scancan, Ph.  
310.
- sceacan**, IV, *go, pass by*: pp.  
sceacen, El. 633. See *āsceacan*.
- scead**, n.f., *shadow*: ds. sceade, Ph.  
168, 234; ap. sceadu, Ph. 210.  
See *lēascead*.
- scēadan**, rd., *command, marshal*:  
pret. 3 sg. scēad, El. 709. See  
*ā-gescēadan*.
- sceaft**, see *gesceaft*.
- scealc**, m., *retainer*: np. scealcas,  
El. 692; man: dp. scealcum,  
W. 31.
- sceamu**, f., *shame*: as. sceame, El.  
470. See also *scōmu*.
- sceap**, see *gesceap*.
- scearlice**, adv., *abruptly*: Ph. 168.
- scearu**, see *folcscearu*.
- scēat**, m., *region*: ns. Ph. 3; gp.  
scēata, Ph. 396; Pn. 68; *lurk-  
ing-place*: dp. scēatum, El. 583.
- sceaða**, m., *enemy, foe*: ap. scaeð-  
an, El. 762. See *ättor-*, *helle-*,  
*womsceaða*.
- scēawian**, Wz., *see, behold*: 3 pl.  
scēawiaþ, Ph. 327; pret. 3 sg.  
scēawede, El. 58. See *bi-*, *fore-*  
*scēawian*.
- sceolu**, f., *host, throng*: ns. El. 763;  
scolu, Ph. 560; *multitude*: ns.  
El. 836; *horde*: ns. El. 1301.
- sceop**, see *widsceop*.
- sceþðan**, VI, *harm, injure*: 3 sg.  
sceþeð, Ph. 39, 88; inf. Ph. 180;  
sceþþan, Ph. 449, 595; *weigh  
upon, oppress*: 3 sg. sceþeð, El.  
310. See *gesceþðan*.
- scinan**, I, *shine*: 3 sg. scineð, Ph.  
183, 210, 515, 589; 3 pl. scinaþ,  
El. 743, 1319; opt. 3 sg. scine,  
Pr. 14; ptc. scinende, El. 1115.  
See *gescinan*.
- scinna**, m., *demon*: gp. scinnena,  
W. 31.
- scip**, n., *ship*: ap. scipu, W. 13, 31.  
**-scipe**, see *dryht-*, *fēond-*, *lēod-*,  
*ðeodscipe*.
- scīr**, adj., *bright, glorious*: nsm.  
Ph. 234; asm. wk. scīran, El.  
370; asf. wk. scīran, El. 310;  
*gorgeous*: nsf. Ph. 308.
- scīran**, W1., *determine, appoint*:  
pp. scīred, El. 1232.
- scolu**, see *sceolu*.
- scōmu**, f., *dishonor, shame*: ds.  
scome, Ph. 502. See also  
*sceamu*.
- scræf**, see *dūnschræf*.
- scrīfan**, see *gescrīfan*.
- scrīðan**, I, *move, sail*: inf. El. 237.
- scrūd**, see *gūðscrūd*.
- scūfan**, II, *cast, thrust*: inf. El.  
692. See *be-*, *oðscūfan*.
- sculan**, anv., *should, ought, shall,  
will, be necessary*: 2 sg. scealt,  
El. 673, 687, 951; 3 sg. sceal,  
El. 545, 580, 756, 768, 1192; Ph.  
250; sceall, El. 1176, 1281; 3 pl.  
sculon, El. 210; pret. 3 sg.  
sceolde, El. 764, 1049; Ph. 378,  
643; 2 pl. sceoldon, El. 367;  
3 pl. sceoldon, El. 838, 982; Ph.  
412; opt. 3 sg. scyle, El. 896;  
Ph. 563; *be said*: 3 sg. sceal,  
Ph. 90.
- scunian**, see *onscunian*.
- scūr**, m., *shower, storm*: ns. Ph.  
246; ap. scūras, El. 117. See  
*winterscūr*.
- scyld**, m., *shield*: ns. Ph. 308, 463.
- scyld**, f., *fault, iniquity, sin*: gp.  
scylda, El. 470, 1313; ip. scyld-  
um, Ph. 180.
- scyldan**, see *gescyldan*.
- scyldful**, adj., *guilty, sinful*: dpm.  
scyldfullum, El. 310.
- scyldig**, adj., *guilty*: asm. scyld-  
igne, El. 692. See *unscyldig*.

- scyldwyrce**, adj., *sinful, guilty*: nsf. Ph. 502; apm. El. 762.
- scyll**, f., *shell*: ds. scylle, Ph. 234; *scale*: ip. scyllum, Ph. 310.
- scyndan**, Wl., *hurry, hasten*: pret. 3 sg. scynde, El. 30.
- scynde**, see *unscynde*.
- scýne**, adj., *brilliant, resplendent, beautiful*: nsf. Ph. 308; nsn. Pn. 19; npm. Ph. 300, 591; gpn. scýnra, Pn. 26. See *wlitescýne*.
- scyppan**, see *gescyppan*.
- Scyppend**, m., *Creator*: gs. Scyppendes, Ph. 327; as. Scippend, El. 370; vs. El. 791; Ph. 630.
- scyrdan**, see *gescyrdan*.
- scyrian**, see *āscyrian*.
- se, sē**, adj., pron., *that, the, he, who, which*: nsm. El. 11, 42, 76, etc. (35 times); Ph. 3, 7, 9, etc. (55 times); Pn. 15, 38, 58, 69, 73; W. 4, 47, 53, 57, 59, 67, 71; nsf. sēo, El. 266, 309, 580, 619, 624, 662, 675, 715, 1018, 1131, 1152, 1205; Ph. 98, 120, 141, 301, 307, 334, 342, 560, 587; sīo, El. 254, 378, 384, 411, 414, 416, 558, 709, 720, 763, 884, 980, 1012, 1224; nsn. ðæt, El. 59, 272, 911, 985; Pn. 19; þæt, El. 94, 101, 426, etc. (21 times); Ph. 9, 13, 20, etc. (14 times); Pn. 12, 58, 64, 74; W. 16, 38; Pr. 4; gsmn. ðæs, El. 221, 428, 752, 966, 1065; þæs, El. 39, 60, 86, etc. (38 times); Ph. 65, 107, 122, etc. (14 times); Pn. 25, 43; W. 8, 81; see also *ðæs*; gsf. þære, El. 293, 610, 864, 1234; Ph. 66, 90, 288; dsmn. ðām, El. 342, 418, 420, etc. (18 times); þām, El. 70, 93, 133, etc. (20 times); Ph. 50, 78, 89, etc. (28 times); Pn. 15, 17, 33, 45, 66; W. 3, 6, 14, 21, 37, 71, 73; þæm, El. 611; dsf. ðære, El. 545, 601, 803, 1241; þære, El. 324, 587, 716, etc. (10 times); Ph. 231, 633, 666; Pn. 44, 54; asm. ðone, El. 243; þone, El. 302, 370, 423, etc. (22 times); Ph. 85, 173, 281, 305, 339, 396, 439; Pn. 41, 54, 59; W. 52, 55; þane, El. 294; asf. ðā, El. 631, 783, 1089, 1242; þā, El. 98, 183, 274, etc. (31 times); W. 28, 61; asn. ðæt, El. 401, 432; þæt, Ph. 69, 200, 268, etc. (12 times); ismn. þon, Ph. 238, 262, 424; W. 80; see also *tō ðan*; ðý, El. 185; þý, El. 96, 797, 891; Ph. 573, 644; Pn. 61; Pr. 12; þē, El. 97, 796; 946, 956; see also *ðý-læss*; np. ðā, Ph. 437; þā, El. 169, 172 (2), etc. (11 times); Ph. 35, 66, 71, etc. (15 times); W. 25, 80; gp. þāra, El. 450, 470, 515, etc. (13 times); Ph. 31, 138; Pn. 2, 23; þæra, El. 285, 608, 1078; dp. ðām, El. 927; þām, El. 277, 354, 750, etc. (9 times); Ph. 8, 76, 109, etc. (12 times); Pn. 36; W. 44; ap. ðā, El. 582; þā, El. 153, 323, 468, etc. (16 times); Ph. 193, 283, 292; W. 76. See *se ðe*.
- sealt**, adj., *salt*: asm. sealtne, W. 27; apm. sealte, Ph. 120.
- ‡ **sealtýð**, f., *salt wave*: gp. sealtýþa, Pn. 8.
- searo-**, see *searu-*.
- searu**, n., *plot, deceit, wile, craft*: as. El. 721-2; searo, W. 42; ap. searo, Ph. 419; *care*: ip. searwum, Ph. 269. See *lige-, nearu-searu*.
- searucraft**, m., *skill, workmanship*: ip. searocraftum, El. 1026.
- searulice**, adv., *cunningly, artistically*: searolice, Ph. 207.
- searuðanc**, m., *shrewd thought, wise thought*: ip. searuþancum, El. 1190; searuþancum, El. 414.

- sēaḑ**, m., *well, cistern, pit*: as. El. 693.
- sēcan**, W1., *seek, visit, repair to*: 3 sg. sēceḑ, Ph. 278, 349, 458, 524; Pn. 36; W. 45; opt. 3 pl. sēcen, W. 35; inf. El. 598; Ph. 275, 320, 671; W. 87; *seek, search for*: pret. 3 pl. sōhton, El. 322, 474; Ph. 416; inf. El. 151, 216; sēcean, El. 1149; *ask, inquire, question*: 1 sg. sēce, El. 319, 410; pret. 3 sg. sōhte, El. 325, 568; 3 pl. sōhton, El. 414; inf. El. 420, 1157; *report to*: inf. sēcean, El. 983; *favor, approve*: inf. El. 469; *rush to*: 3 pl. sēcaḑ, El. 1180. *See* ā-, for-, gesēcan.
- sęcg**, m., *man, warrior*: ns. El. 1257; np. secgas, El. 47, 998, 1001; secggas, El. 260; gp. secga, El. 97, 271; vp. secgas, El. 552.
- sęcgan**, W3., *tell, say, declare*: 3 pl. secgaḑ, El. 674; secgaḑ, Ph. 313, 425, 655; Pn. 20; pret. 1 sg. sęgde, Pn. 34; 2 sg. sęgdest, El. 665; 3 sg. sęgde, El. 437; 3 pl. sęgdon, El. 588; imper. sg. saga, El. 623, 857; inf. El. 317, 376, 567, 574; Pn. 9; Pr. 1; secggan, El. 160; *speak*: pret. 3 pl. sęgdon, El. 190; *teach, instruct*: pret. 3 sg. sęgde, El. 366; *scribe*: pret. 3 pl. sęgdon, El. 1117. *See* gesęcgan; un-**ąsęcgendlic**.
- sedes**, f. (Lat.), *seat*: abl. p. sedibus, Ph. 671.
- sefa**, m., *mind, heart*: ns. El. 173, 627, 956, 1190; as. sefan, El. 376; ds. sefan, El. 382, 474, 532, 1149, 1165. *See* brēost-, ferhḑ-, mōd-sefa.
- sēfte**, *see* gesēfte.
- segn**, m., *ensign, standard*: ns. El. 124.
- sēl**, adv., comp., *better*: El. 796; super. sēlest, El. 374, 532; sēlost, El. 1158, 1165.
- seld**, *see* hēahseld.
- sęle**, *see* dēaḑ-, wilsęle.
- sēlest**, *see* gōd.
- se(o)lf**, *see* sylf.
- sēlle**, *see* gōd.
- sęllan**, W1., *give, grant*: pret. 3 sg. sealde, El. 182, 1171; pp. seald, El. 527. *See* ge-, ymbseľlan.
- sęllend**, m., *giver*: ns. Pn. 64.
- sellic**, adj., *rare, wonderful*: nsn. Ph. 606; comp. nsm. sellicra, Pn. 30; *peculiar*: asf. sellicran, Ph. 329.
- sęmninga**, adv., *immediately, forthwith*: El. 1110, 1275; W. 27.
- sęncan**, *see* bisęncan.
- sęndan**, W1., *send*: 3 sg. sendeḑ, El. 931; Ph. 488; pret. 3 sg. sende, El. 1200; *lay*: opt. 3 pl. El. 457. *See* onsęndan.
- sēoc**, *see* limsēoc.
- seofeḑa**, adj., *seventh*: asm. seofeḑan, El. 697.
- seofon**, num., *seven*: El. 694.
- seolfren**, adj., *silver*: asn. El. 1026.
- seomian**, W2., *abide, remain*: 3 sg. seomaḑ, Ph. 19.
- sēon**, V, *see*: pret. 3 pl. sęgon, El. 1105. *See* be-, for-, gesēon.
- seonoḑ**, m., *council*: ds. sionoḑe, El. 154; as. seonoḑ, Ph. 493.
- seonoḑdōm**, m., *assembly's decision*: ap. seonoḑdōmas, El. 552.
- sēoḑan**, *see* ąsēoḑan.
- seppan**, W1., *teach, instruct*: pret. 3 sg. septe, El. 530.
- sēraphīn**, mpl., *seraphim*: a. El. 755.
- sęrce**, *see* hildesęrce.
- set**, *see* geset.
- sēḑan**, *see* gesēḑan.
- se ḑe**, rel. pron., *who, that*: nsm. El. 303, 774, 913, 945, 1044, 1126,

- 1184; se þe, Ph. 319, 536; W. 48, 63; gsm. (*see* *ðæs ðe*); dsm. þām þe, Ph. 516; asm. þone þe, El. 1162; np. þā ðe, El. 280, 283, 315, 380; þā þe, El. 154, 327, 373, 1020; Ph. 316, 443; W. 79; gp. þāra þe, El. 508, 818, 971, 975, 1014, 1226; dp. þām þe, W. 69; ap. þā þe, El. 897; W. 73.
- setl**, n., *seat*: as. Ph. 439. *See* *hēahsetl*.
- settan**, W1., *set, place*: pret. 3 sg. sette, El. 1136; Ph. 282; *count, reckon*: opt. pret. 3 sg. sette, El. 495; *record*: pret. 1 pl. setton, El. 658; 2 pl. setton, El. 654; *torture, persecute*: inf. El. 479; *ordain*: pret. 3 sg. sette, Ph. 328. *See* *ā-, be-, ge-, ymbsettan*.
- sib**, f., *peace*: ns. Ph. 622; gs. sybbe, El. 446; ds. sybbe, El. 598, 1183; as. sybbe, El. 1207, 1315; *bliss*: ds. sibbe, Ph. 601; *grace*: as. sibbe, W. 86; *kinship, friendship* (or *kin, kinsfolk*): ns. syb, El. 26.
- sibgedryht**, f., *kinsfolk*: ns. Ph. 618.
- siblufe**, f., *love*: ds. siblufan, Pr. 8.
- sīd**, adj., *broad, wide*: asm. sidne, El. 729, 1289; Ph. 103, 498; *spacious*: asn. side, Ph. 156; *vast*: asn. El. 158; *great, deep*: asm. sidne, El. 376.
- sīde**, adv., *far, wide*: El. 277; Ph. 467.
- sīdweg**, m., *distant part, great distance*: dp. sīdwegum, El. 282; Ph. 337.
- sīgan**, I, *fly in, press in*: 3 pl. sīgað, Ph. 337.
- sīge**, m., *victory*: as. El. 144.
- ‡ **sīgebēacen**. n., *sign of victory, victorious standard*: ns. El. 888; ds. sīgebēacne, El. 168, 1257; gp. sīgebēacna, El. 975.
- sīgebēam**, m., *tree of victory, cross*: gs. sīgebēames, El. 965; ds. sīgebēame, El. 420, 444, 665, 861; gp. sīgebēama, El. 1028; ap. sīgebēamas, El. 847.
- sīgebearn**, f., *victorious son*: ns. El. 481, 863, 1147.
- ‡ **sīgecwēn**, f., *victorious queen*: as. El. 260, 998.
- sīgelēan**, n., *reward of victory*: gp. sīgelēana, El. 527.
- sīgelēoð**, n., *song of victory*: ns. El. 124.
- sīgerōf**, adj., *bent on victory, victorious*: nsm. El. 158, 437; dsm. sīgerōfum, El. 71, 190; npm. sīgerōfe, El. 47, 868.
- sīgespēd**, f., *success, victory*: as. El. 1172.
- sīgewong**, m., *field of victory*: ns. Ph. 33.
- sīgor**, m., *victory*: gs. sīgores, El. 85, 184, 1121; as. El. 1183; gp. sīgora, El. 346, 488, 732, 1140, 1308; Ph. 329, 464, 493, 675; Pn. 64.
- ‡ **sīgorbēacen**, n., *emblem of victory, victorious standard*: ns. El. 985.
- ‡ **sīgorcynn**, n., *conquering race*: ns. El. 755.
- sīgorfæst**, adj., *victorious, triumphant*: nsm. Ph. 282.
- sīgorlēan**, n., *reward of victory*: as. El. 623.
- Silvester**, pr. n., *Silvester*: d. Silvestre, El. 190.
- sīnc**, n., *treasure*: gs. sīnces, El. 194.
- sīncaldu**, f., *ever-during cold*: as. Ph. 17.
- sīncgim**, m., *jewel*: ns. El. 264.
- sīncweorðung**, f., *costly gift*: ap. sīncweorðunga, El. 1219.
- sīndrēam**, m., *everlasting joy, per-*

- petual bliss*: ds. *sindrēame*, El. 741; dp. *sindrēamum*, Ph. 385.
- sine*, prep. (Lat.), *without*: w. abl., Ph. 675.
- singal*, adj., *constant, continual*: nsf. El. 906.
- singallice*, adv., *perpetually, ceaselessly*: El. 747.
- singan*, III, *sing, chant, hymn*: 3 sg. *singeð*, Ph. 124, 140; 3 pl. *singap*, El. 747; *singað*, Ph. 617, 635; pret. 3 sg. *sang*, El. 337, 1189; 3 pl. *sungon*, El. 561; inf. Ph. 676; pp. *sungen*, El. 1154; *ring out*: pret. 3 pl. *sungon*, El. 109.
- siomian*, W2., *abide, remain*: pret. 3 sg. *siomode*, El. 694.
- sionoð*, see *seonoð*.
- sioððan*, see *siððan*.
- sið*, m., *journey, march*: gs. *siðes*, El. 247, 260, 1219; ds. *siðe*, El. 1001; as. El. 111, 243, 997, 1005; Ph. 440, 555; *time*: gp. *sīþa*, Ph. 464; ip. *siðum*, El. 818; *sīþum*, Ph. 69, 106, 146; *proceeding, 'deal'*: ns. El. 911; *advance*: as. Ph. 90, 114; *departure*: gs. *sīþes*, Ph. 208; ds. *siðe*, Ph. 220 (*bēon on siðe, escape*). See *here-*, *hin-*, *ūt-*, *wilsīð*.
- sið*, adv., *later*: El. 74, 240, 572, 975.
- ‡ *siðdæg*, m., *later day*: dp. *siðdagum*, El. 639.
- siðfæt*, m., *departure*: ns. El. 229; *voyage*: gs. *siðfates*, El. 220.
- siðian*, W2., *depart, vanish*: pret. 3 sg. *siðode*, El. 95; *journey*: 3 pl. *sīþiap*, Ph. 584.
- siððan*, adv., *later, afterwards*: El. 271, 481, 483; *sīþpan*, Ph. 385, 409, 577, 579; *siðþan*, El. 1315; *syðþan*, El. 518; *syððan*, El. 502, 504, 639, 677, 1060; *since then, thenceforth, thereafter*: El. 926, 1028; *sīþpan*, W. 42; Pr. 9; *siðpan*, El. 636; *syððan*, El. 950, 1302; *syðþan*, El. 507; *sioððan*, El. 1147; *then*: *sīþpan*, Ph. 111; Pn. 66.
- siððan*, conj., *after, when*: El. 57, 230, 1016, 1037, 1051; *syððan*, El. 17, 842; *as soon as, when*: *syððan*, El. 116, 248, 914, 1002; *sīþpan*, Ph. 117, 224; *since*: *sīþpan*, Ph. 129.
- sittan*, V, *sit*: 2 sg. *sitest*, El. 732; 3 sg. *sitēð*, Ph. 208. See *be-*, *gesittan*; *burgsittend*; *ðrym-*, *ymsittende*.
- slæp*, m., *sleep*: ns. Ph. 56; ds. *slæpe*, El. 69, 75; Pn. 42; is. *slæpe*, Pn. 39.
- slāw*, see *unslāw*.
- sleht*, see *morðorsleht*.
- slīðe*, adj., *awful, dreadful*: asf. *slīðan*, El. 857.
- slīðen*, adj., *fell, malign*: asn. *slīþen*, W. 42.
- smæte*, adj., *pure, fine*: nsn. El. 1309.
- smēagan*, W2., *consider, reflect*: pret. 3 pl. *smēadon*, El. 413.
- smēðe*, see *unsmēðe*.
- smið*, m., *goldsmith*: gp. *smiþa*, Ph. 304. See *lārsmið*.
- smylte*, adj., *serene*: nsm. Ph. 33.
- snāw*, m., *snow*: ns. Ph. 14, 248.
- snel*, adj., *swift, speedy*: nsm. Ph. 163, 347; *snell*, Ph. 123; *nimble*: nsm. Ph. 317.
- snēome*, adv., *straightway*: Pn. 42.
- snottor*, adj., *wise*: nsm. El. 1190; nsm. wk. *snottra*, Pn. 69; super. dpm. *snoterestum*, El. 277. See *forð-*, *gearusnottor*.
- snūde*, adv., *quickly, speedily, straightway*: El. 154, 313, 446; Ph. 488.

- snyrgan**, W1., *sail, scud*: inf. El. 244.
- snyttro**, f., *prudence, sagacity, wisdom*: gs. El. 154, 293, 374, 544, 554, 1060, 1172; as. El. 382, 407, 938, 959; is. El. 313. *See unsnyttro.*
- snyttrocraeft**, m., *prudence, sagacity, wisdom*: ns. snyttrocraeft, Ph. 622.
- söfte**, *see unsöfte.*
- ‡ **solere**, m., *upper chamber*: ds. Ph. 204. [Lat. solarium.]
- söme**, *see same.*
- sömed**, *see samod.*
- sömnæ**, *see æt-, töstömnæ.*
- sömnian**, W2., *gather, collect*: 3 sg. somnað, Ph. 193, 269, 467; pret. 3 sg. samnode, El. 60; 3 pl. samnodan, El. 19; *assemble*: 3 pl. somniað, Ph. 324; pret. 3 sg. samnode, El. 55; *compose*: opt. 1 sg. somnige, Ph. 547. *See gesömnian.*
- sömod**, *see samod.*
- söna**, adv., *soon, quickly, speedily*: El. 47, 85, 222, 514, 713, 888, 1031; Ph. 120; Pr. 8. *Söna swā, as soon as, the moment that.*
- söndbeorg**, m., *sand-hill, sand-dune*: ip. söndbeorgum, W. 10.
- söng**, m., *song*: as. Ph. 540; sang, El. 29, 112, 868; is. songe, Ph. 337.
- söngcraeft**, m., *musical creation*: dp. söngcraeftum, Ph. 132.
- sörg**, f., *sorrow, care, anxiety*: ns. Ph. 56; ds. sörg, El. 922, 1031; Ph. 611; dp. sörgum, El. 694; ip. sörgum, El. 1244. *See bealu-, gnorn-, möd-, nearusorg.*
- sörgful**, adj., *sorrowful*: comp. apn. sörgfulran, Ph. 417.
- sörgian**, W2., *sorrow, grieve*: 3 sg. sörgað, El. 1082. *See bisörgian.*
- sörglæas**, adj., *free from sorrow*: comp. nsm. sörglæasra, El. 97.
- söð**, n., *truth*: ds. söðe, El. 160, 307, 390, 574, 663; as. El. 395, 588, 690, 708, 808, 1140.
- söð**, adj., *true*: nsm. El. 461, 488, 564; nsn. El. 888; asm. wk. söðan, El. 892; vsm. Ph. 622; gpn. söðra, El. 778.
- söðcwide**, m., *word of truth*: ip. söðcwidum, El. 530.
- söðcyning**, m., *true king*: ns. El. 444; Ph. 329, 493.
- söðfæst**, adj., *faithful, believing, righteous*: nsm. Ph. 523; nsf. wk. söðfæste, Ph. 587; npm. söðfæste, El. 1289; Pn. 66; npf. söðfæste, Ph. 540; gpm. söðfæstra, El. 7; Ph. 635; dpf. söðfæstum, Ph. 589; *blessed*: gpm. söðfæstra, Ph. 606.
- söðfæstnes**, f., *faith, piety*: is. söðfæstnesse, El. 1149.
- söðlice**, adv. *truly*: El. 200, 317, 517, 665, 799.
- söðwundor**, n., *true miracle*: as. El. 1122.
- späld**, n., *spittle*: as. El. 300.
- spannan**, *see onspannan.*
- spæd**, f., *success, victory*: as. El. 1182; *fulness, abundance*: ns. Ph. 640; as. El. 366; Ph. 394. *See sige-, wigspeð.*
- spædig**, adj., *abounding, rich*: nsm. Ph. 10.
- spel**, *see god-, læof-, morgen-, wilspel.*
- spelboda**, m., *prophet*: ns. Ph. 571.
- spæowan**, W1., *spit*: pret. 2 pl. spæowdon, El. 297.
- spild**, n., *seduction, temptation*: as. El. 1119.
- splott**, n., *splotch, spot*: ip. splottum, Ph. 296.
- spon**, *see gespon.*

- spōwan**, rd., *avail, succeed*: inf. El. 917.
- sprecan**, V, *speak*: pret. 3 sg. spræc, El. 332, 404, 725. *See gesprecan.*
- spring**, *see* æ-, *gespring.*
- springan**, *see* onspringan.
- spyrigean**, *see* āspyrigean.
- stæf**, *see* bōc-, wrōhtstæf.
- stæil**, m., *stead*: as. Pr. 11.
- stæpes**, *see* instæpes.
- stæppan**, VI, *stride on, advance*: pret. 3 pl. stōpon, El. 121, 716.
- stærcedferhð**, adj., *courageous, brave*: npm. stærcedfyrhðe, El. 38.
- stæð**, n., *bank, shore*: ds. stæðe, El. 38, 232; staþe, W. 18; as. El. 60, 227.
- stān**, m., *stone*: ns. El. 613; ds. stāne, El. 565; Ph. 302; W. 8; as. El. 615; ip. stānum, El. 492, 509. *See* eorcnan-, marmstān.
- stānclif**, n., *cliff, crag*: np. stānclifu, Ph. 22; dp. stānclifum, El. 135.
- standan**, *see* stōndan.
- stāngefōg**, n., *mason's art*: ip. stāngefōgum, El. 1021.
- stāngripe**, m., *handful of stones*: dp. stāngreopum, El. 824.
- stānhlið**, n., *cairn*: dp. stānhleoðum, El. 653.
- stapa**, *see* ānstapa.
- staðelian**, Wz., *fix, set, establish*: 1 sg. staðelige, El. 797; pret. 3 sg. staþelode, Ph. 130; opt. 1 pl. staðelian, El. 427; *strength-en*: inf. staðolian, El. 1094. *See* gestaðelian.
- steald**, *see* gesteald.
- stealla**, *see* gestealla.
- stēam**, m., *smoke, vapor*: ns. El. 803; Pn. 45. *See also* stȳman.
- stēap**, adj., *steep*: npm. stēape, Ph. 22.
- stearc**, adj., *hard*: nsn. El. 615; *obstinate, obdurate*: npm. stearce, El. 565; *piercing*: nsf. Ph. 302.
- stēde**, m., *place, stand*: as. El. 135. *See* beorh-, eard-, meðel-, wongstēde.
- stēdewong**, m., *place, locality*: ds. stedewange, El. 675, 1021.
- stefn**, f., *voice*: ns. Ph. 135, 542; ds. stefne, Ph. 542; Pn. 44, 54; ip. stefnum, El. 748, 750; *sound*: is. stefne, Ph. 497.
- stefn**, m., *time*: is. stefne, El. 1061, 1128.
- stefn** (*pro*w), *see* hēahstefn.
- stefna**, *see* hringedstefna.
- stellan**, *see* āstellan.
- stenc**, m., *odor, fragrance*: ns. Ph. 81; Pn. 44, 64, 74; W. 54, 57; as. Ph. 659; ip. stencum, Ph. 8; Pn. 54; W. 65; *spice*: ip. stencum, Ph. 206, 586. *See* æðelstenc.
- steorra**, *see* heofonsteorra.
- Stēphānus**, pr. n., *Stephen*: n. El. 492, 824; a. El. 509.
- stīgan**, I, *mount, rise*: 3 sg. stīgeð, Ph. 520; 3 pl. stīgað, Ph. 542. *See* āstīgan.
- stille**, adv., *still*: Ph. 185.
- stiðhidig**, *see* stiðhȳdig.
- stiðhycgende**, adj., *determined, steadfast*: nsm. El. 683; npm. El. 716.
- stiðhȳdig**, adj., *stout-hearted, courageous*: npm. stiðhidige, El. 121.
- stōl**, *see* cynestōl.
- stōndan**, VI, *stand*: 3 sg. stondeþ, Ph. 78; 3 pl. stondað, Ph. 22, 36, 78, 185; standaþ, El. 577; pret. 3 sg. stōd, Ph. 45; 3 pl. stōdon, El. 232; *ride* (of ships): 3 pl. stondað, W. 17; pret. 3 pl. stōdon, El. 227; *be*

- rife*: pret. 3 sg. stöd, El. 113;  
*endure*: 3 sg. stondeð, Ph. 89,  
 181. See *ästöndan*.
- storm**, m., *storm*: gp. storma, Ph.  
 185.
- stōw**, f., *place, spot*: ns. El. 675;  
 ds. stōwe, El. 716, 803; as. stōwe,  
 El. 683; Ph. 169; Pn. 37; ap.  
 stōwe, El. 653. See *wicstōw*.
- stræt**, see *merestræt*.
- strang**, see *strōng*.
- strēam**, m., *flood, stream*: as. El.  
 1201; is. strēame, W. 18; ap.  
 strēamas, Ph. 120. See *ēg-*,  
*firgen-*, *lagu-*, *wyllestrēam*.
- strengðu**, f., *might, power*: ns. Ph.  
 625.
- strēon**, see *gestrēon*.
- strōng**, adj., *strong*: nsm. Ph. 86,  
 99, 161; *hard, severe*: nsm.  
 strang, El. 703.
- strūdan**, II, *plunder, rob*: 3 sg.  
 strūdeð, El. 905.
- strýnan**, see *gestrýnan*.
- stund**, f., *time*: ip. stundum, El.  
 121, 232. See *woruldstund*.
- stunde**, adv., *straightway*: El. 724.
- stýman**, W1., *fume, reek*: 3 sg.  
 stýmeð, Ph. 213. See also *stēam*.
- sum**, pron., *some, certain*: asn. El.  
 403; W. 12; npm. sume, El.  
 132, 133, 548 (2); Ph. 315; apm.  
 sume, El. 131, 136; ip. sumum,  
 Pn. 8; Pr. 1; a. asf. sume, El.  
 479; *part(ly)*: nsm. Ph. 296  
 (3). See also *sumes*.
- sum**, see *luf-*, *wynsum*.
- sumes**, adv., *somewhat*: Ph. 242.
- sumor**, m., *summer*: gs. sumeres,  
 El. 1228; Ph. 37, 209.
- sunbearo**, m., *sunny grove*: ns.  
 Ph. 33.
- sunbeorht**, adj., *sun-bright*: apn.  
 Ph. 278, 436.
- sund**, n., *sea, ocean*: gs. sundes,  
 W. 15; ds. sunde, El. 228; is.  
 sunde, El. 251.
- sund**, see *ge-*, *onsund*.
- ‡ **sundhwæt**, adj., *with swift  
 motions*: npm. sundhwate, W.  
 57.
- sundor**, adv., *in different direc-  
 tions, far and wide*: El. 407,  
 1019, *apart, aside*: El. 603.
- ‡ **sundorgecynd**, f., *remarkable  
 character*: as. Pn. 30.
- ‡ **sundorwis**, adj., *wondrous wise*:  
 asm. sundorwisne, El. 588.
- sundplega**, m., *bath*: ds. sund-  
 plegan, Ph. 111.
- sundrian**, see *āsundrian*.
- sunne**, f., *sun*: ns. Ph. 120, 141,  
 209, 587; gs. sunnan, Ph. 17,  
 90, 253, 288, 305; ds. sunnan,  
 El. 1110; Ph. 532, 579, 601.
- sunu**, m., *son*: ns. El. 461, 564,  
 592, 778; Ph. 375; gs. suna, El.  
 222; ds. suna, El. 1200, 1318;  
 as. El. 474, 686, 892; vs. El. 447;  
 dp. sunum, Ph. 406. See *gäst-  
 sunu*.
- süsl**, n., *torment, torture*: is. süsle,  
 El. 772; gp. süsla, El. 944; Pn.  
 59; ip. süslum, El. 950. See  
*cwicsüsl*.
- sūðan**, adv., *from the south*: sūþan,  
 Ph. 186, 324.
- sūðrodor**, m., *southern sky*: as.  
 Ph. 141.
- swā**, adv., *thus, so*: El. 163, 271,  
 306, etc. (29 times); Ph. 47,  
 104, 140, etc. (11 times); Pn.  
 25, 55, 69; W. 11, 31, 62, 88;  
 Pr. 15; *in like manner*: Ph. 381,  
 437, 534, 583, 646, 650; *even*:  
 El. 691; *also*: Ph. 405; *then*:  
 Ph. 121; Pr. 7.
- swā**, conj., *as, even as, just as*: El.  
 87, 100, 190, 223, 325, 378, 411,  
 436, 478, 541, 589, 597, 606, 674,  
 715, 835, 838, 896, 1022, 1131,

- 1155, 1255, 1269; Ph. 23, 29, 36, 41, 108, 120, 243, 280, 328, 406, 558, 597, 652, 655; Pn. 20; W. 47; Pr. 5; *like*: El. 1309; Ph. 300, 315; *as soon as*: El. 128; *as far as*: El. 972; Pn. 6; *as, since, because*: El. 207, 340, 498, 1291, 1294; *when*: Ph. 41 (?), 322; swā . . . swā, *as* . . . *so*: El. 785, 789; *as well* . . . *as*: El. 325, 606; *such* . . . *as*: El. 644, 645; swā hwylc, *see hwylc*; swā sōme, *see same*.
- swæcc, m., *odor*: gp. swæcca, Pn. 46; ip. swæccum, Ph. 214. *See swicc*.
- swæs, adj., *dear, beloved*: nsm. El. 517; dsm. swæsum, El. 439; vsm. El. 447; *own*: nsm. Ph. 375.
- swan, m., *swan*: gs. swanes, Ph. 137.
- swār, adj., *heavy*: nsm. Ph. 315; *sore*: nsn. Ph. 56.
- swaru, *see andswaru*.
- swā-ðeah, adv., *nevertheless, yet*: swā-þeah, El. 500; Ph. 565.
- swæart, adj., *black, dark*: super. apm. wk. sweartestan, El. 931; *abominable*: gpf. sweartra, Pr. 7.
- swębban, *see āswębban*.
- swefan, V, *sleep*: 3 sg. swifeð, Pn. 39; pret. 3 sg. swæf, El. 70.
- swefn, n., *vision, dream*: gs. swefnes, El. 71.
- swēg, m., *melody, music*: ns. Ph. 131; gp. swēga, Ph. 618.
- ‡swęghlēoðor, m., *melody*: ns. swęghlēoþor, Pn. 42; gs. swęghlēoþres, Ph. 137.
- swegl, n., *heaven, sky*: gs. swegles, El. 507; Ph. 103, 114, 208, 288, 374; ds. swegle, El. 75, 623, 755; Ph. 186, 199, 467, 635; *sun*: ds. swegle, Ph. 124; as. Ph. 212.
- sweglcondel, f., *heaven's candle, sun*: gs. sweglcondelle, Ph. 108.
- swēlan, *see forswēlan*.
- swelgan, III, *swallow*: 3 sg. swelgeð, Ph. 507.
- ‡swelling, f., *swelling sail*: dp. swellingum, El. 245.
- swęng, m., *blow, buffet*: ap. swengas, El. 239.
- sweofot, m., *sleep, slumber*: ds. sweofote, Pn. 39.
- swēora, m., *neck*: as. swēoran, Ph. 305.
- sweorcan, *see gesweorcan*.
- sweord, n., *sword*: is. sweorde, El. 757.
- sweordgeniðla, m., *foe, enemy*: ap. sweordgeniðlan, El. 1181.
- swēot, n., *rank, troop*: dp. swēotum, El. 124.
- sweotole, adv., *openly*: El. 26; *with authority, with certainty*: El. 168, 861.
- sweotollice, adv., *clearly, plainly*: El. 690.
- swerian, *see and-, geswērian*.
- swēte, adj., *sweet*: nsm. Pn. 64; nsm. wk. swēta, W. 57; asm. swētnē, W. 65; ipm. swētum, Ph. 214; ipf. swētum, Ph. 652; comp. nsm. swētra, Ph. 132; swētra, Pn. 46; sup. swētest, Ph. 199; apf. swētestan, Ph. 193.
- sweðrian, W2., *diminish*: 3 sg. sweþrað, Ph. 608; *go out, die down*: 3 sg. sweþrað, Ph. 229.
- swican, *see be-, geswican*.
- ‡swicc, m., *fragrance, perfume*: ds. swicce, Pn. 66. *See swæcc*.
- swice, m., *escape*: as. W. 78.
- swift, adj., *swift*: nsm. Ph. 317.
- swige, adj., *still, quiet*: nsm. El. 1275.
- swigian, W3., *be silent, quiet down*: 3 sg. swiað, Ph. 142. *See geswigian*.

**swilt**, *see* **swylt**.  
**swimman**, III, *swim*: 3 pl. swimmað, W. 57.  
**swin**, *see* **geswin**.  
**swing**, *see* **geswing**.  
**swinsian**, W2., *sing, make melody*: 3 sg. swinsað, Ph. 124, 140, 618; *roar, resound*: pret. 3 sg. swinsade, El. 240.  
**swið**, adj., *right*: comp. asf. swiðran, El. 347; *strong*: comp. nsm. swiðra, Pn. 46.  
**swiðan**, *see* **oferswiðan**.  
**swiðe**, adv., *much, strongly*: El. 663; super. swiðost, El. 668; *eagerly*: El. 940; *exactly*: super. swiðost, El. 1103; *very*: swiþe, Ph. 317.  
**swiðrian**, *see* **geswiðrian**.  
**swol**, n., *heat*: ds. swole, Ph. 214; *flame*: gs. swoles, Ph. 269.  
**swongor**, adj., *sluggish*: nsm. Ph. 315.  
**swonrād**, f., *sea*: as. swonrāde, El. 997.  
**swylc**, pron., *such as*: nsm. Ph. 239; gsn. swylces, El. 571; apm. swylce, El. 32.  
**swylce**, adv., *also, moreover*: El. 1033.  
**swylce**, adv., conj., *as if*: Ph. 233, W. 9; *like, as*: El. 1113; Ph. 235, 305; *likewise*: El. 3.  
**swylt**, m., *death*: ns. El. 447; **swilt**, El. 677.  
**swyltcwale**, f., *agony of death*: as. swyltcwale, Ph. 369.  
**swylthwil**, f., *hour of death*: ds. swylthwile, Ph. 350, 566.  
**syb**, *see* **sib**.  
**-syhð**, *see* **gesyhð**.  
**sylcan**, *see* **besylcan**.  
**sylf**, pron., *self, own*: nsm. El. 303, 466, 732, 855, 1280; Ph. 199, 204, 382; *self*, Ph. 374; *seolf*, El. 708, 808; nsm. wk.

*sylfa*, Ph. 532; gsm. sylfes, Ph. 282, 530; gsf. sylfre, El. 222; *selfre*, El. 1200; dsm. sylfum, El. 69, 184; *seolfum*, El. 985; asm. sylfne, El. 200, 209; Ph. 111; *seolfne*, El. 488, 603; npm. seolfe, El. 1121; gpm. sylfra, El. 1207; dpm. sylfum, El. 1295; apm. sylfe, El. 1001.  
**symbel**, n., *banquet, feast*: ns. Ph. 406.  
**symle**, adv., *always, ever, for ever*: El. 469, 915, 1216; Ph. 76, 108, 146, 369, 375, 601, 661; Pn. 30, 35; Pr. 7.  
**Sýmon**, pr. n., *Simon*: n. El. 439, 530.  
**syn**, f., *sin*: ns. El. 414; gs. synne, El. 772; gp. synna, El. 497, 514, 778, 940, 958, 1318; dp. synnum, El. 677, 1309; ip. synnum, El. 1244; Ph. 242; *feud, hostility*: ns. synn, Ph. 54.  
**-sýn**, *see* **onsýn**.  
**-sýne**, *see* **gesýne**.  
**synful**, adj., *sinful, guilty*: npm. synfulle, El. 1295.  
**synnig**, adj., *sinful, sinning*: nsm. El. 956; Ph. 523. *See* **lige-synnig**.  
**synwyrcente**, adj., *wicked, guilty*: vsm. El. 944; npm. El. 395.  
**Syrware**, pr. n., *Syrians*: g. Syrwarā, Ph. 166.  
**syððan**, *see* **siððan**.  
**syx**, num., *six*: n. El. 741, 1228; d. syxum, El. 742.  
**syxta**, adj., *sixth*: nsn. syxte, El. 7.

## T.

**tācen**, n., *emblem, sign, token*: ns. El. 171; Ph. 96, 254; ds. tācne, El. 184; as. El. 85, 104, 1105, 1121; is. tācne, Ph. 450; gp. tācna, El. 164; *question*: gp. tācna, El. 319; *proof*: ip. tācnum,

- El. 854; *heroic deed*: gp. t̄acna, El. 645; *interpretation*: ns. Ph. 510; *sense*: as. Ph. 574. See wēatācen.
- tācnian, *see* getācnian.
- tācan, W1., *point out*: opt. pret. 3 sg. t̄achte, El. 631. See be-, getācan.
- tāel, *see* lēoftāel.
- talian, W1., *reckon*: pp. npm. talade, Pr. 10.
- talū, *see* rīmtalū.
- tān, m., *twig*: ip. tānum, Ph. 430.
- tapur, m., *taper*: ns. Ph. 114.
- tēag, f., *chain*: ip. tēagum, Pn. 60.
- tēar, m., *tear*: np. tēaras, El. 1134.
- teldan, *see* biteldan.
- tēlg, m., *dye*: gp. telga, Pn. 22.
- telga, m., *bough, branch*: np. telgan, Ph. 76; dp. telgum, Ph. 188.
- tēllan, W1., *consider*: pret. 1 sg. talde, El. 909. See getēllan.
- tēma, *see* hēretēma.
- tempel, m., *temple*: ds. temple, El. 1058; as. El. 1010, 1022.
- tēngan, *see* getēngan.
- tēnge, *see* getēnge.
- tēon, II, *make, take*: pret. 3 pl. tugon, Ph. 440.
- tēona, m., *grief, sorrow*: ds. tēonan, El. 988.
- tēonlēg, m., *devouring flame*: ns. El. 1279.
- tēonlice, adv., *grievously, with sorrow(?)*: Ph. 407.
- teosu, f., *destruction*: as. W. 34.
- tīd, f., *time*: as. El. 787; Ph. 77, 209, 390, 450, 509, 517, 857, 1209; Pn. 17; W. 64, 87; tiid, Ph. 5; gp. tīda, El. 1044; ip. tīdum, El. 1249; *period*: as. El. 193; *hour*: ns. El. 874; Ph. 334; as. El. 870; ap. tīda, Ph. 146.
- tiht, *see* tyht,
- tīl, adj., *good*: gsn. tiles, El. 325; gp. tilra, W. 34.
- tīlgan, W2., *strive for*: 3 pl. tilgað, Ph. 472.
- tīma, m., *time*: ds. tīman, Ph. 246.
- tīmber, *see* fugeltīmber.
- tīmbran, W1., *build*: inf. Ph. 188. See getīmbran.
- tīr, m., *renown, honor*: as. El. 164; *glory*: is. tīre, El. 754.
- tīrēadig, adj., *renowned, famous*: nsm. El. 104; nsf. El. 605; *glorious*: nsm. wk. tīrēadga, Ph. 106; npm. tīrēadge, Pr. 10; *blessed*: nsm. El. 955.
- tīrfæst, adj., *glorious*: asn. Ph. 574; wk. tīrfæste, Ph. 69.
- tīrmihtig, adj., *almighty*: nsm. tīrmeahtig, Ph. 175.
- tō, adv., *too*: El. 63, 663, 708; *on*: El. 1105.
- tō, prep., *w. dat., to*: El. 10, 23, 32, etc. (53 times); Ph. 60, 191, 226, etc. (14 times); Pn. 66; W. 14; Pr. 5, 7; *from*: El. 319, 325, 410, 568; W. 36, 86; Pr. 14; *for, as*: El. 16, 17, 184, 574, 600, 898, 982, 988, 1001, 1012, 1057, 1058, 1139, 1143, 1158, 1160, 1162, 1176, 1200, 1247; Ph. 40, 83, 139, 198, 243, 386, 475, 562, 594, 611, 658; Pn. 71, 72; W. 89; *at*: Ph. 195; *during, over*: El. 211, 349, 1218, 1321; *w. gen.* (*see* tō ðæs); *w. ins.* (*see* tō ðan); *w. inf.*, Ph. 275; *w. gerund*, El. 533, 607, 1166.
- tōēacan, adv., *besides, likewise*: Ph. 285.
- tōgædere, adv., *together*: Ph. 225; tōgædre, W. 61, 77.
- tōgēanes, prep., *w. dat., to*: Ph. 421; *toward*: Ph. 124, 579; *before*: Ph. 11.
- tōgēnes, adv., *in return, in reply*: El. 167, 536.

- töglidan**, I, *depart, vanish*: 3 sg. töglideð, El. 1269; pret. 3 sg. tögläd, El. 78.
- tohte**, f., *battle, strife*: as. tohtan, El. 1180.
- ‡ **torht**, n., *clear light*: as. El. 1249.
- torht**, adj., *bright, refulgent, glorious*: nsn. Ph. 96; nsn. wk. torhte, Ph. 28; npm. torhte, Pr. 10; apf. torhte, Ph. 200; super. nsn. torhtost, El. 164; *famous*(?): nsm. wk. torhta, Ph. 574.
- torn**, n., *grief, sorrow*: ds. torne, El. 1134.
- torngeniðla**, m., *bitter foe, bitter enemy*: np. torngeniðlan, El. 568, 1306.
- tösomme**, adv., *together*: El. 1202.
- tōð**, m., *tooth*: np. tōþas, Ph. 407.
- tō ðæs**, adv., *so*: El. 704 (2).
- tō ðan**, adv., *so*: El. 703.
- tōwegan**, V, *disperse*: pp. tōwegen, Ph. 184.
- tōweorpan**, III, *destroy, abolish*: pp. tōworpen, El. 430.
- tōwrecan**, V, *drive apart, scatter*: pp. npm. tōwrecene, El. 131.
- træf**, see *wearhtræf*,
- ‡ **træg**, f., *evil*: gs. träge, El. 668.
- træg**, adj., *bad, evil*: nsm. El. 955; gsn. trāges, El. 325.
- træglice**, see *untræglice*.
- tredan**, V, *tread, traverse*: 3 sg. trydeð, El. 612; *paw*(?): pret. 3 sg. træd, El. 55.
- trēo** (**treow**), n., *tree, wood*: ds. treowe, Ph. 175, 643; as. treow, Ph. 200; dp. treowum, Ph. 76; *tree, cross*: ns. El. 1027; trío, El. 429; gs. treowes, El. 1252; ds. El. 206, 706, 828, 867; as. El. 107, 128, 147, 165, 214, 442, 701, 757, 841; treow, El. 664.
- trēow**, f., *faith*: is. trēowe, Pr. 5.
- Trōiānas**, pr. n., *Trojans*: n. El. 645.
- trymman**, W1., *strengthen*: pret. 3 sg. trymede, El. 14; 3 pl. trymedon, El. 35.
- trýwe**, see *getrýwe*.
- tū**, see *twēgen*.
- ‡ **tunece**, f., *coat*: ns. Pn. 22.
- tungol**, m. n., *star*: np. Ph. 96; gp. tungla, Ph. 93, 119. See *æðel*, *heofontungol*.
- turf**, f., *turf, sod, sword*: ds. tyrf, Ph. 66; *soil*: Ph. 349. See *ēðelturf*.
- ‡ **turfhaga**, m., *sod, turf*: ds. turfhagan, El. 830.
- twēgen**, num., *two*: nm. El. 854; nf. twā, El. 880; nn. tū, El. 2, 605, 634, 754; dm. twām, El. 1306; af. twā, El. 955, 1180; an. tū, Ph. 652.
- twelf**, num., *twelve*: im. Ph. 69, 106, 146; in. twelfum, Ph. 28.
- twēntig**, num., *twenty*: dn. twēntigum, El. 830.
- twēo**, m., *doubt*: ns. El. 171; ds. twēon, El. 668.
- twēonde**, see *untwēonde*.
- twēonum**, see *betwēonum*.
- týdran**, see *ätýdran*.
- tyht**, m., *march, motion*: ds. tyhte, El. 53; tihte, Ph. 525 (on tihte, *astir*).
- tyhtan**, W1., *incite, spur on*: 3 pl. tyhtaþ, W. 34. See *fortyhtan*.
- týn**, see *getýn*.
- týnan**, see *bi-*, *ge-*, *ontýnan*.

## Ð.

- ðā**, adv., *then*: El. 138, 157, 194, etc. (16 times); þā, El. 1, 7, 25, etc. (76 times); Ph. 43, 395, 413.
- ðā**, conj., *when*: El. 389, 1113; þā, El. 294, 556, 709, 786, 1219, 1220; Ph. 281.

- ðær**, adv., *there*: El. 256, 833, 875, 1113, 1281; Ph. 11; W. 36; þær, El. 41, 84, 114, etc. (24 times); Ph. 14, 21, 25, etc. (33 times); W. 58, 79; *thither*: þær, El. 735.
- ðær**, conj., *where*: Pn. 38; þær, El. 70, 329, 693, 822, 1012, 1105, 1107, 1181; Ph. 81, 106, 157, 397, 441, 448, 468, 489, 560, 579, 581, 587, 607, 658; *to the place where*: þær, Ph. 327, 429; W. 57; *while*: þær, El. 1262; *if*: þær, El. 839, 979.
- ðæs**, adv., conj., *as*: Ph. 313; *so*: Pn. 4; *because*: El. 823. *See also* **tō ðæs**.
- ðæs ðe**, conj., *because*: þæs ðe, El. 1317; þæs þe, El. 957; Ph. 476; *as*: þæs þe, Ph. 424; Pn. 13; *from the time that*: þæs þe, El. 4, 68; *that*: þæs þe, El. 1140; *after*: þæs þe, Pn. 62.
- ðæt**, conj., *that, in order that, so that*: El. 59, 175; þæt, El. 9, 15, 36, etc. (66 times); Ph. 148, 168, 177, etc. (19 times); W. 11, 12, 25, 32, 35, 66, 85, 88; Pr. 15. *See* **oððæt**.
- ðætte**, conj., *that*: þætte, Ph. 1, 69; Pn. 21, 27; W. 39, 55.
- ðafian**, Wz., *accept, agree to*: inf. þafian, El. 608.
- ðanc**, m., *thanks, gratitude*: ns. þanc, El. 811, 893; þonc, Ph. 623; *thought*: gs. þonces, Ph. 144. *See* **fore-**, **ge-**, **hyge-**, **inwit-**, **or-**, **searuðanc**.
- ðancian**, Wz., *thank*: pret. 3 sg. þancode, El. 962, 1139.
- ðanon**, adv., *thence*: þanon, El. 143, 148, 348; þonan, Ph. 415, 554.
- ðanon**, conj., *whence*: þonan, Ph. 113.
- ðe**, indecl. pron., *who, which, that*: El. 453, 717, 726, 1080; þe, El. 160, 162, 163, etc. (31 times); Ph. 31, 138, 196, 252, 516; Pn. 18, 34, 71; W. 43; Pr. 4; þe him (= *whose*), Ph. 656. *See* **se ðe**; **ðæs ðe**.
- ðe**, conj., *where*: El. 717; *or*: þe, Ph. 357; *because*: Ph. 568; þe, Ph. 369; *that*: Ph. 410; *than*: þe, W. 80.
- ðeah**, conj., *although, though*: El. 82; þeah, El. 48, 174, 362, etc. (12 times); Ph. 380, 563, 638, 642. *See* **swā-ðeah**.
- ðeaht**, f., *thought*: as. þeaht, El. 1242. *See* **geðeaht**.
- ðeahtian**, Wz., *consider, deliberate*: pret. 3 pl. þeahtedon, El. 547. *See* **ræddæahtende**.
- ðearf**, f., *need*: ns. þearf, El. 426, 553. *See* **nýd-**, **oferðearf**.
- ðearl**, adj., *grievous*: nsf. þearl, El. 704.
- ðearlic**, adj., *terrible*: asn. þearlic, Ph. 644.
- ðēaw**, m., *custom, rite, practice*: ns. þēaw, W. 31; dp. þēawum, El. 1211; ip. ðēawum, Ph. 444. *See* **mānðēaw**.
- ðeccan**, W1., *enfold, invest*: 3 sg. þeceð, Ph. 216, 365; *overspread*: pret. 3 sg. þeahte, Ph. 42; *deck*: 3 pl. þeccað, Ph. 249. *See* **be-ðeccan**.
- ðegn**, m., *follower, minister, attendant*: ns. þegn, Ph. 165, 288; dp. þegnum, El. 487; *man*: as. þegn, El. 540; gp. þegna, El. 151, 549; *disciple*: dp. þegnum, Ph. 388.
- ðegnung**, f., *service, worship*: ds. þegnunge, El. 739; as. þegnunge, El. 745.
- ðegu**, *see* **fōdorðegu**.
- ðencan**, W1., *intend, purpose*: pret. 3 sg. þōhte, El. 296; *think, re-*

- flect.*: pret. 3 pl. þōhton, El. 549.  
*See geðencan.*
- ðenden**, conj., *while, so long as*:  
 þenden, Ph. 89, 181, 398; Pr. 14.
- ðeod**, f., *nation, people*: ns. þeod,  
 El. 448, 468; ds. þeode, El. 539;  
 Ph. 160; np. þeoda, Ph. 341;  
 gp. þeoda, El. 185, 421, 659, 781.  
*See el-, werðeod.*
- ðeodcwēn**, f., *queen of the people*:  
 ns. þeodcwēn, El. 1156.
- ðeoden**, m., *prince, king*: ns. El.  
 487; þeoden, El. 563, 777, 858;  
 Pn. 63; gs. þeodnes, El. 267;  
*chief*: ds. þeodne, Ph. 165;  
*lord*: gs. þeodnes, Ph. 68;  
 ðeodnes, Ph. 605.
- ðeodenbealu**, n., *great evil*: gp.  
 þeodenbealwa, El. 403.
- ðeodig**, *see elðeodig.*
- ðeodscipe**, m., *discipline*: as. þeod-  
 scipe, El. 1167.
- ‡ **ðeodwiga**, m., *champion of his  
 people*: ns. þeodwiga, Pn. 38.
- ðeon**, *see geðeon.*
- ðeostorcofa**, m., *dark chamber*: ds.  
 þeostorcofan, El. 833.
- ðeostorloca**, m., *tomb, grave*: ds.  
 þeosterlocan, El. 485.
- ðeostre**, adj., *darkened, benighted*:  
 dp. þeostrum, El. 312.
- ðeostru**, f., *darkness*: dp. þeostrum,  
 El. 767; þýstrum, El. 307.
- ðeow**, m., *servant*: ns. þeow, Ph.  
 165. *See lættēow.*
- ðeowdōm**, m., *service*: as. þeow-  
 dōm, El. 201.
- ðeownȳd**, f., *bondage, thralldom*:  
 as. þeownēd, El. 770.
- ðerscan**, III, *beat*: þirsceð, El. 358.
- ðes**, pron., *this*: nsm. þes, El. 703,  
 704; nsf. ðeos, El. 533; þeos,  
 El. 468, 551, 647, 1277; Ph. 501;  
 nsn. ðis, El. 435; þis, El. 162,  
 903, 906, 1187; Ph. 465; gsmn.  
 þisses, Ph. 151, 387, 426, 509;
- gsf. þisse, Ph. 349; dsf. þysse,  
 El. 402, 539, 643; þisse, Ph. 321;  
 dsn. þissum, El. 518, 576; asm.  
 þisne, Pn. 7; þysne, El. 312;  
 asf. þās, Ph. 139, 390, 416, 450;  
 W. 64, 87; asn. þis, El. 630, 659;  
 Ph. 481; isn. þýs, El. 92; gpf.  
 þyssa, El. 858; dpn. þyssum, El.  
 700; apm. ðās, El. 1173; apn.  
 þās, El. 749.
- ðicgan**, V, *receive*: opt. pret. 3 sg.  
 þēge, El. 1259; *seize upon*: 3 sg.  
 þigeð, Ph. 219; *taste*: 3 sg.  
 þigeð, Ph. 259; *devour*: 3 sg.  
 þigeð, Ph. 505; Pn. 35; *partake  
 of*: pret. 3 pl. þēgun, Ph. 402,  
 410.
- ðin**, pron., *thy, thine*: nsm. þin,  
 El. 489, 773, 777, 789; nsn. þin,  
 El. 597, 782; gsn. þines, El. 727,  
 820; Ph. 628; dsm. þinum, El.  
 767; dsf. þinre, El. 739; asm.  
 þinne, El. 510; asf. þine, El.  
 929, 1089; asn. þin, El. 770, 784,  
 813; dpn. þinum, El. 666; ipf.  
 þinum, El. 730.
- ðincan**, *see ðyncan.*
- ðing**, n., *thing, matter*: gp. þinga,  
 El. 409, 608; ðinga, El. 1156.
- ðinge**, *see geðinge.*
- ðinggemearc**, n., *measure of his-  
 tory, time*: gs. þinggemearces,  
 El. 3.
- ðingian**, Wz., *speak, make address*:  
 pret. 3 sg. þingode, El. 77, 609,  
 667; *intercede*: pret. 3 sg.  
 þingode, El. 494.
- ðisa**, *see brim-, wæterðisa.*
- ðōht**, *see geðōht.*
- ðolian**, Wz., *suffer, endure*: pret.  
 3 sg. þolade, Pn. 63; inf. þolian,  
 El. 770. *See geðolian.*
- ðon**, *see æfter ðon, ærðon; se.*
- ðonnan**, *see ðanon.*
- ðonc**, *see ðanc.*
- ðonne**, adv., *then*: Ph. 125, 153.

- 188, 236, 274, 331, 335, 589; W. 19, 27, 53; þonne, El. 50, 446, 489, 526, 931, 1286, 1315; Ph. 99, 142, 156, etc. (27 times); Pn. 49; W. 13, 16, 30, 60, 76.
- þonne**, conj., *when, if*: El. 1280; Ph. 182; þonne, El. 473, 618, 1178, 1179, 1185, 1273; Ph. 48, 208, 219, etc. (22 times); Pn. 35, 40; W. 24, 38, 51, 71; *than*: El. 49, 74, 388, 647; Ph. 31, 128.
- þracu**, f., *conflict, battle*: ds. þræce, El. 45, 185. *See* bæġ-, gār-, holm-, lig-, wæpen-, wigðracu.
- ‡ **þræcheard**, adj., *brave in battle, valiant in fight*: npm. þræchearde, El. 123.
- þrægan**, W1., *run*: pret. 3 sg. ðrægde, El. 1263.
- þræg**, f., *time, season*: as. þræge, Ph. 160; ip. þrægum, El. 1239; Ph. 68.
- þræa**, m. f., *woe*: ip. þræam, El. 1277.
- þræagan**, W3., *punish*: pp. npm. þræad, El. 1296.
- þræalic**, adj., *terrible, horrible*: nsm. þræalic, El. 426.
- þræan**, *see* geðræan.
- þræanýd**, f., *dire constraint*: ns. þræanýd, El. 704; ip. þræanédum, El. 884; þræanýdum, Pn. 61.
- þræat**, m., *troop, band, throng*: ds. þræate, El. 326, 329, 537; as. þræat, El. 546; is. þræate, El. 51, 151, 215, 217, 254, 271, 873, 1096; ip. þræatum, Ph. 341, 501. *See* beadu-, beorn-, hæreðræat.
- þræatian**, *see* geðræatian.
- þrec**, *see* geðrec.
- þrëo**, num., *three*: nn. þrëo, El. 2, 285; gf. þrëora, El. 858; am. þrie, El. 847; af. þrëo, El. 483, 833, 869; Pn. 63; an. þrëo, El. 1286.
- þreodian**, *see* ðrydian.
- þrëoniht**, fpl., *three nights*: g. þrëonihta, Pn. 38.
- þrëotan**, *see* aðrëotan.
- þridda**, adj., *third*: nsm. þridda, El. 855, 1298; nsf. þridde, El. 884; asm. þriddan, Pn. 41; ism. þriddan, El. 185, 485; Ph. 644; Pn. 61.
- þringan**, III, *crowd, throng, press on, hasten*: 3 pl. þringað, Ph. 163, 336, 501; pret. 3 pl. þrungon, El. 123, 329; Pn. 67. *See* be-, geðringan.
- þrist(e)**, adj., *bold, brave, daring*: nsf. þriste, El. 267; gpm. þristra, El. 1286. *See* gārðrist.
- þriste**, adv., *confidently, surely*: þriste, El. 409, 1167.
- þritig**, adj., *thirty*: El. 3.
- þriwa**, adv., *thrice*: þriwa, Ph. 144 (2).
- ‡ **þroht**, m., *pain, suffering*: ns. þroht, El. 704.
- þrohtheard**, adj., *patient*: nsm. þrohtheard, El. 494.
- þrosm**, m., *smoke*: is. þrosme, El. 1298.
- þröwian**, W2., *suffer, endure*: pret. 3 sg. þröwode, El. 421; inf. þröwian, El. 769. *See* ge-ðröwian.
- þryccan**, *see* forðryccan.
- þrydian**, W2., *weigh, ponder*: pret. 1 sg. þreodude, El. 1239; 3 pl. þrydedon, El. 549.
- þrym**, m., *glory, majesty*: ns. þrym, El. 483, 816; gs. þrymmes, El. 348, 859; ds. þrymme, El. 177, 329; as. þrym, El. 1090; Ph. 541; is. þrymme, El. 745; Pn. 41; gp. þrymma, El. 483, 519; *splendor*: is. þrymme, Ph. 605; *onset*: ns. þrym, Ph. 41; *lord*: vs. þrym, Ph. 628; gp. þrymma, Ph. 628. *See* cyne-, mægenðrym.

- ðrymcýning**, m., *king of glory*: as. þrymcýning, El. 494.
- ðrymlíce**, adv., *gloriously*: þrymlíce, El. 781; Ph. 68, 514.
- ðrymsittende**, adj., *throned in majesty*: dsm. þrymsittendum, El. 811; Ph. 623.
- ðrýnes**, f., *trinity*: gs. þrýnesse, El. 177.
- ðrýð**, f., *raging*: np. þrýþe, Ph. 184; *host*: ip. þrýþum, Ph. 326; Pn. 51.
- ðrýðan**, see *geðrýðan*.
- ‡ **ðrýðbold**, n., *mighty dwelling*: as. þrýðbold, El. 151.
- ðū**, pron., *thou*: ns. El. 84, 92, 400, etc. (31 times); þū, El. 81, 83, 446, etc. (13 times); Ph. 630; gs. þīn, El. 928; ds. ðē, El. 81, 810, 927; þē, El. 79, 82, 441, etc. (14 times); Ph. 622, 623; as. þec, El. 403, 447, 539, 676, 823, 931, 942; np. gē, El. 290, 293, 294, etc. (29 times); Pr. 5, 6, 9; dp. ēow, El. 298, 309, 339, etc. (10 times); Pr. 7; ap. ēowic, El. 318; ēow, El. 295, 368, 551, 578, 699.
- ðūf**, m., *banner, standard*: ns. þūf, El. 123.
- ðurfan**, prp., *need*: 2 sg. þearft, El. 940; *can*: 1 sg. þearf, El. 919; pret. 3 sg. þorfte, El. 1104. See *beðurfan*.
- ðurh**, prep., w. acc., *through, in, by, with*: þurh, El. 6, 183, 295, etc. (29 times); Ph. 316, 366, 372, 639, 662; Pn. 43; W. 3; *by means of, by reason of, on account of*: ðurh, El. 1106; þurg, El. 289, 790; þurh, El. 86, 98, 120, etc. (37 times); Ph. 6, 30, 46, etc. (23 times); Pn. 18; W. 33, 42, 55, 65; Pr. 9.
- ðurhðrifan**, I, *possess, imbue*: pp. þurhðrifan, El. 707.
- ðurhgēotan**, II, *fill, endue*: pp. þurhgoten, El. 962.
- ðurhwadan**, VI, *bore, pierce*: pret. 3 pl. þurhwōdon, El. 1066.
- ðurst**, m., *thirst*: ns. þurst, Ph. 613.
- ðus**, adv., *thus, so*: El. 189, 400, 528; Ph. 570, 632; þus, El. 1120, 1237; Ph. 482, 621.
- ðūsend**, n., *thousand*: ns. þūsend, Ph. 364; as. þūsend, Ph. 151; np. þūsendu, El. 285; ap. þūsend, El. 326.
- ðwære**, see *manðwære*.
- ðý**, see *sē*.
- ðyder**, adv., *that way, thither*: þyder, El. 548.
- ðý-læs**, conj., *lest*: þý-læs, El. 430; Ph. 246.
- ðylman**, see *forðylman*.
- ðyncan**, WI., *seem, appear*: pret. 3 sg. þūhte, El. 72, 1165; opt. 3 sg. þince, El. 532; þynce, El. 541.
- ðyslic**, adj., *such*: asm. þyslicne, El. 546; asn. þyslic, El. 540.
- ðýstru**, see *ðēostru*.

## U.

- ufan**, adv., *above*: Ph. 308.
- ufeward**, adj., *on the upper side*: nsm. Ph. 299.
- ūhta**, m., *morning twilight, dawn*: ds. ūhtan, El. 105.
- unāseċgendlic**, adj., *indescribable*: nsm. El. 466.
- unbræce**, adj., *imperishable, immortal*: nsn. El. 1029.
- unbryce**, adj., *imperishable*: nsm. Ph. 642.
- unclæne**, adj., *unclean, vile*: dpm. unclænum, El. 301.
- uncūð**, adj., *unknown*: asf. uncūðe, El. 1102.
- uncyst**, f., *iniquity*: ap. uncyste, Ph. 526.

- undearninga**, adv., *openly, frankly*: El. 405; undearnunga, El. 620.
- under**, prep., w. dat., *under, beneath*: El. 13, 46, 75, etc. (20 times); Ph. 14, 27, 32, etc. (15 times); *deep in*: El. 218, 485, 625, 653, 695, 832, 843, 1092; w. acc., *under, beneath*: El. 44, 764, 992; Ph. 97, 101, 374; *amid*: Pn. 37; W. 47.
- ungelice**, adv., *otherwise, differently*: El. 1307.
- ungewyrded**, adj., *scathless, uninjured*: nsm. Ph. 181.
- ‡ **ungnyðe**, adj., *unstinted*: npn. Pn. 71.
- unhwilen**, adj., *everlasting, eternal*: nsm. El. 1232.
- unlifgende**, adj., *dead, lifeless*: gsm. unlifgendes, El. 879.
- ‡ **unlond**, n., *what one mistakenly takes for land*: ds. unlonde, W. 14.
- unlytel**, adj., *large, great*: nsn. El. 283, 872.
- unmæte**, adj., *infinite*: nsf. Ph. 625.
- unoferswiðed**, adj., *unconquered, invincible*: nsn. El. 1188.
- unræd**, m., *evil counsel*: ip. unrædum, Ph. 403; *sin, folly*: as. W. 70.
- unriht**, n., *wrong, sin*: gs. unrihtes, El. 472, 516; as. El. 582.
- unriht**, adj., *false*: asf. unrihte, El. 1042.
- unrime**, adj., *numberless, unnumbered*: nsn. El. 61; npn. unrimu, Pn. 2.
- unscyldig**, adj., *guiltless, innocent*: asm. unscyldigne, El. 496.
- unscynde**, adj., *unblemished, glorious*: asm. unscyndne, El. 365; asf. El. 1201; apf. El. 1247.
- unslaw**, adj., *active, diligent*: nsm. El. 202.
- unsmēðe**, adj., *rough, rugged*: gsn. unsmēðes, Ph. 26.
- unsnyttro**, f., *folly*: gp. unsnytttra, El. 1285; ip. unsnytttrum, El. 947.
- unsöfte**, adv., *hardly, scarcely, with difficulty*: El. 132.
- unträglice**, adv., *without delay*: El. 410.
- untwēonde**, adj., *undoubting, unwavering*: asm. untwēondne, El. 798.
- ‡ **unwær**, adj., *unwary*: isn. unware, W. 59.
- ‡ **unwærlice**, adv., *unwarily*: W. 63.
- unweaxen**, adj., *immature, young*: asm. unweaxenne, El. 529.
- unwemme**, adj., *inviolable*: nsm. Ph. 46.
- unwillum**, adv., *unwillingly*: W. 4.
- unwislice**, adv., *foolishly*: El. 293.
- ūp**, adv., *up, upwards*: El. 87, 95, 353, 700, 712, 714, 717, 736, 794, 803, 879, 1107, 1226; Ph. 93, 102, 289, 511; Pn. 40; W. 16.
- ūplædende**, adj., *lofty, tall*: gpm. ūplædendra, Ph. 178.
- ūplic**, adj., *celestial, heavenly*: dsm. wk. ūplican, Ph. 392; dsn. wk. ūplican, Ph. 663.
- uppan**, prep., *over, upon*: w. dat. El. 886.
- uppe**, adv., *above, on high*: El. 52; Ph. 629; Pn. 74.
- ūprador**, see **ūprodor**.
- ūprodor**, m., *heaven, firmament*: as. ūprador, El. 731.
- ūpward**, adv., *upward, toward heaven*: El. 806.
- ūrigfeðere**, adj., *dewy-winged*. nsm. wk. El. 29; ūrigfeðra, El. 111.
- ūsēr**, pron., *our*: npm. ūsse, El. 425, 458; Ph. 438; apm. ūsse, Ph. 414.

**ūt**, adv., *out*: El. 45; Ph. 233; Pn 44; W. 58.  
**ūtan**, adv., *around, about*: Ph. 164, 530; *without*: Ph. 301.  
**uton**, interj., *let us*: W. 86; Pr. 12.  
**ūtsið**, m., *departure*: as. ūtsiþ, W. 79.  
**ūðweota**, m., *wise man, scribe*: npm. ūðweotan, El. 473.

## W.

**wā**, adv., *woe*: El. 628.  
**wadan**, VI, *speed, press on*: inf. El. 246. *See* **ge-**, **ðurhwadan**.  
**wæcnan**, *see onwæcnan*.  
**wæd**, n., *sea*: gs. wædes, W. 9.  
**-wæde**, *see gewæde*.  
**wædl**, f., *poverty, want*: gs. wædle, Ph. 55; ds. wædle, El. 617.  
**wæg**, m., *wave, billow*: gs. wægēs, El. 230; as. W. 27; gp. wæga, Ph. 45. *See* **fifelwæg**.  
**wægflota**, m., *ship*: ap. wægflotan, El. 246.  
**wæghengest**, m., *wave-stallion, ship*: ap. wæghengestas, El. 236.  
**wægliðend**, m., *seafarer*: np. wægliþende, W. 11.  
**wælan**, *see gewælan*.  
**wælfel**, adj., *fierce against corpses*: nsm. El. 53.  
**wælgifre**, adj., *murderous*: nsm. Ph. 486.  
**wæhlence**, f., *coat of mail*: np. wæhlencan, El. 24.  
**wælhreow**, adj., *cruel, implacable*: gpm. wælhreowra, El. 112.  
**wælreaf**, n., *spoil of death*: as. Ph. 273.  
**wælrest**, f., *grave*: ds. wælreste, El. 724.  
**wælrūn**, f., *secret hope of carnage*: as. wælrūne, El. 28.  
**wæpen**, n., *weapon, arm*: ns. El. 1189; as. El. 17; ip. wæpnum, El. 48; Ph. 486.  
**wæpenðracu**, f., *conflict, battle*: as. wæpenþrace, El. 106.  
**wær**, *see unwær*.  
**wær**, f., *covenant*: as. wære, El. 80, 823.  
**wærlīc**, adj., *wary, prudent*: gpn. wærlīca, El. 544.  
**wærlīce**, *see unwærlīce*.  
**wærloga**, m., *perfidious one*: ds. wærlogan, W. 37.  
**wæstm**, m. f. n., *fruit*: np. wæstmas, Ph. 34, 255; gp. wæstma, Ph. 466; dp. wæstmum, Ph. 250; ap. wæstmas, Ph. 243; ip. wæstmum, Ph. 72; *form*: ap. wæstma, Ph. 332; *proportion*: ip. wæstmum, Ph. 237, 580; *increase*, ip. wæstmum, El. 341. *See* **foldwæstm**.  
**wæter**, n., *water*: ns. Ph. 61; Pn. 6; gs. wæteres, El. 39, 60; wætres, Ph. 41; np. Ph. 65; gp. wætra, Ph. 184.  
**wæterðisa**, m., *mighty swimmer*: ns. wæterþisa, W. 50.  
**wæðan**, W1., *roam, pass*: 3 sg. wæðeð, El. 1274.  
**wāfian**, W2., *gaze at*: 3 pl. wāfiað, Ph. 342 (*wundrum wāfiað, wonder*).  
**wald-**, *see weald-*.  
**wan**, adj., *dark, black*: nsm. El. 53; nsf. won, Ph. 99.  
**wang(-)**, *see wong(-)*.  
**wanhāl**, adj., *sick, weak*: dpm. wannhālum, El. 1030.  
**wanian**, W2., *fade*: 3 pl. waniað, Ph. 72.  
**wansælig**, adj., *unhappy, miserable*: npm. wonsælige, El. 478; dpm. wansæligum, El. 978.  
**ware**, *see ceaster-, Röm-, Syrware*.  
**wāð**, f., *flight*: ip. wāþum, Ph. 99, 161.

- waðema**, m., *wave*: ap. waþeman, Ph. 97.
- wēadæd**, f., *evil deed, sin*: as. El. 495.
- weald**, m., *wood, forest*: ds. wealde, El. 28; np. wealdas, Ph. 13.
- weald**, see **ge-**, **onweald**.
- wealda**, see **anwealda**.
- wealdan**, rd., *hold sway, rule*: 2 sg. wealdest, El. 761; opt. 3 sg. walde, El. 801; inf. El. 450.
- Wealdend**, m., *Ruler, Lord*: ns. El. 4, 80, 337, 347, 482, 512, 752, 1043, 1067, 1085; Waldend, El. 206, 421; Ph. 464; gs. Wealdendes, El. 391, 851, 892; vs. El. 773, 781; Waldend, El. 732; Ph. 631. See **Oferwealdend**.
- weallende**, adj., *surging, beating, glowing*: nsn. El. 938; ism. Ph. 477.
- weard**, m., *guardian, protector*: ns. El. 153, 197, 338, 445, 718, 1022, 1316; Ph. 152; as. El. 84, 1101; np. weardas, El. 384. See **gūð-**, **lif-**, **męre-**, **yrfeward**.
- ward**, see **and-**, **for-**, **forð-**, **hindan-**, **hinder-**, **niðo-**, **ufe-**, **ūpward**.
- weardian**, Wz., *hold possession of, inhabit, occupy*: 3 sg. weardað, Ph. 161, 168, 172; weardaþ, Ph. 85; 3 pl. weardiað, Ph. 448; W. 26; pret. 3 sg. weardode, El. 1145; 3 pl. weardedon, El. 135; inf. Pn. 11.
- weardlice**, see **andweardlice**.
- ‡ **wearhtraef**, n., *abode of felons*: dp. wearhtreafum (*hell*), El. 927.
- wearm**, adj., *warm, hot*: nsf. Ph. 187; nsn. Ph. 18.
- wearmian**, Wz., *become hot, glow*: 3 pl. wearmiað, Ph. 213.
- wearoð**, see **sāwearoð**.
- wēatācen**, n., *sign of woe*: ns. Ph. 51.
- weaxan**, VI, *grow, increase*: 3 sg. weaxeð, Ph. 232, 234; pret. 3 sg. wēox, El. 12, 914; 3 pl. wēoxan, El. 547. See **ā-**, **bi-**, **geweaxan**.
- weaxen**, see **unweaxen**.
- wębba**, see **friðowębba**.
- wębbian**, Wz., *weave, devise*: pret. 2 pl. webbedan, El. 309.
- węccan**, W1., *waken*: 3 sg. węcęð, Ph. 255; *kindle*: 3 pl. weccað, W. 21. See **āwęccan**.
- węd**, n., *penalty*: as. El. 1284.
- wędan**, W1., *rage*: ptc. wędende, El. 1274.
- weder**, n., *weather*: ns. Ph. 18, 182; gs. wedres, W. 26; gp. wedra, Ph. 57.
- wedercondel**, f., *candle of the sky, sun*: ns. Ph. 187.
- wefan**, V, *weave*: pret. 1 sg. wæf, El. 1238.
- weg**, m., *way*: as. El. 1150. See **bæð-**, **ēast-**, **eorð-**, **fold-**, **mold-**, **sīðweg**.
- wegan**, V, *endure, experience*: pret. 3 sg. wæg, El. 61, 655. See **tōwegan**.
- wel**, adv., *well, rightly*: Ph. 443, 516.
- wela**, m., *riches, wealth*: gs. welan, Ph. 55, 149. See **ēad-**, **lond-**, **woruldwela**.
- weldæd**, f., *good deed*: dp. weldædum, Ph. 543.
- weleras**, mpl., *lips*: a. W. 54.
- welgian**, see **gewelgian**.
- welm**, see **wylm**.
- wēman**, W1., *persuade*: 3 pl. wēmað, W. 35.
- wēmend**, m., *revealer, discloser*: ns. El. 880.
- węmme**, see **unwęmme**.
- wēn**, f., *hope*: ns. Ph. 567.

- wēna**, m., *expectation*: ds. wēnan, El. 584.
- wēnan**, W1., *expect*: pret. 3 sg. wēnde, El. 668; inf. El. 1104; *hope*: pret. 3 sg. wēnde, El. 62; *imagine*: pret. 3 pl. wēndon, El. 478; opt. 3 sg. wēne, Ph. 546; *think*: 3 pl. wēnað, W. 20; wēnaþ, W. 11.
- wēndan**, W1., *turn*: 1 sg. wende, El. 348; *depart*: pret. 3 sg. wende, El. 440; *change*: inf. El. 979. See *ā-*, *ge-*, *onwēndan*.
- Wendelsæ**, pr. n., *Mediterranean Sea*: d. El. 231.
- wēnden**, see *edwēnden*.
- weorc**, n., *deed, act, work*: ns. Ph. 598; gs. weorces, El. 110, 849; gp. weorca, Ph. 386, 475, 659; ap. El. 1318; ip. weorcum, El. 1243; Ph. 527; W. 85. See *dæg-*, *ge-*, *here-*, *mānweorc*.
- weorcean**, see *beweorcean*.
- weorp**, see *geweorp*.
- weorpan**, III, *cast, throw*: pp. npm. worpene, El. 1304. See *ā-*, *tō-*, *wiðweorpan*.
- weorðan**, III, *be, become*: 3 sg. weorðeð, Ph. 211, 372; weorþeð, Ph. 80, 142, 240, 257, 304, 364, 503; W. 42; wyrðeð, El. 575; 3 pl. weorþað, Ph. 49; weorðaþ, W. 56; pret. 3 sg. wearð, El. 5, 9, 15, etc. (18 times); Ph. 404, 417, 445; 3 pl. wurdon, El. 130, 584, 1278; Ph. 407; opt. 1 pl. weorðen, El. 428; pret. 2 sg. wurde, El. 401; 3 sg. wurde, El. 336, 429, 961, 976; inf. El. 220, 581, 688, 1049, 1177; weorþan, Ph. 378, 564. See *geweorðan*.
- weorðian**, W2., *honor*: 3 pl. weorþiað, Ph. 343; pret. opt. 3 pl. weorðeden, El. 1222; pp. weorðod, El. 1196; *adore, worship*: pret. 3 sg. weorðode, El. 1137; 3 pl. weorðodon, El. 891. See *geweorðian*.
- weorðmynd**, f. n., *honor*: ns. Ph. 636.
- weorðung**, see *dæg-*, *dōm-*, *sincweorðung*.
- weorud**, n., *host*: ns. werod, El. 53; gs. werodes, El. 39; as. werod, El. 19, 48, 60, 94; is. weorude, El. 1281; W. 59; gp. weoruda, El. 223, 681; Ph. 465, 565; weoroda, El. 752, 815, 897; weroda, El. 789, 1150; wereda, El. 1085; dp. weoredum, Ph. 588; *people, multitude*: ns. El. 1117; ds. weorode, El. 844; dp. weorodum, El. 351, 782, 867; Ph. 187; *company*: is. werode, El. 230; *assembly*: as. weorod, El. 158. See *lindweorud*.
- ‡ **weorudlēst**, f., *want of men*: ds. werodlēste, El. 63.
- weota**, see *ūðweota*. See also *wita*.
- wer**, m., *man*: ns. El. 508; gs. weres, El. 341, 959, 967, 1038; as. El. 785; Ph. 394; np. weras, El. 22, 314, 478, 547; Ph. 331; Pn. 14; gp. wera, El. 537, 543, 596; dp. werum, El. 978, 1222; ap. weras, El. 287, 559; ip. werum, El. 236; *human being*: gs. weres, El. 72; gp. wera, El. 304, 475; *male*: gs. weres, Ph. 357.
- ‡ **wergan**, W1., *curse, revile*: pret. 2 pl. wergdon, El. 294.
- wergðu**, f., *curse, condemnation*: ns. El. 309; ds. wergðe, El. 295; as. El. 211, 952.
- werian**, W1., *apparel, clothe*: pp. npm. werede, Ph. 596. See *gewerian*.
- wērig**, adj., *miserable, wretched*: nsf. wk. wēрге, El. 763; vpm. wēрге, El. 387; npn. wk. wēregan, El. 357. See *ferhþ-*, *hrāwērig*.

- wērigferhð**, adj., *wearry-hearted*: npm. wērigferhðe, W. 19.
- wērigmōd**, adj., *wearry in soul*: nsm. Ph. 428.
- werod**, *see weorud*.
- werðeod**, f., *nation, people*: ds. werþeode, El. 643; as. werþeode, El. 969; dp. werþeodum, El. 17.
- wesan**, anv., *be, exist*: 1 sg. eom, El. 923; 2 sg. eart, El. 809, 815; Ph. 630; 3 sg. weseð, Ph. 373; is, El. 426, 465, 512, etc. (23 times); Ph. 1, 5, 7, etc. (26 times); Pn. 12, 15, 19, 31, 55, 58, 74; W. 6, 8, 82; bið, El. 339, 340, 432, etc. (16 times); Ph. 11, 37, 82, etc. (34 times); W. 4, 31, 60; biþ, Ph. 131, 185, 340, 463, 480, 516; W. 40, 62, 66; 3 pl. sint, El. 740, 744, 826; synt, El. 605, 742, 1267; sindon, El. 1081; Ph. 71, 297, 310, 626, 655; Pn. 1; syndon, El. 754; sind, Ph. 359, 465, 528; Pn. 4, 70; bēoð, El. 1295, 1304, 1308; Ph. 116, 184, 255, 474, 489, 491, 526, 544; Pr. 9; bēoþ, Ph. 96; W. 22; biōð, El. 1289; pret. 1 sg. wæs, El. 1243; 3 sg. wæs, El. 1, 7, 11, etc. (89 times); Ph. 239, 280, 379, 397; Pn. 64; 2 pl. wæron, El. 291; 3 pl. wæron, El. 22, 25, 46, etc. (15 times); Ph. 443; opt. 2 sg. siē, El. 542, 817; 3 sg. siē, El. 675, 773, 789, 799, 810, 893, 1229; Ph. 623; si, Ph. 622; sý, Ph. 661; 3 pl. sien, El. 430; pret. 1 sg. wære, El. 707; 3 sg. wære, El. 159, 161, 171, etc. (14 times); Ph. 639; Pn. 22; inf. Ph. 165, 435. Negative: 3 sg. nis, El. 911; Ph. 3, 50, 314; pret. 3 sg. næs, El. 991; Ph. 637; opt. pret. 3 sg. nære, El. 171, 777.
- west**, *see nēawest*.
- west**, adv., *westward*: Ph. 162.
- westan**, adv., *from the west*: El. 1016; Ph. 325.
- westdæl**, m., *western part*: ap. westdælas, Ph. 97.
- wēste**, adj., *deserted, secluded*: asf. Ph. 169.
- wēsten**, n., *waste, desert, wilderness*: ds. wēstene, El. 611, Ph. 201; as. Ph. 161.
- wet**, *see fyrwet*.
- wēðel**, f., *poverty*: ns. wēþel, Ph. 612.
- wīc**, mfn., *abode, dwelling, mansion*: as. El. 1038, 1144; Ph. 448; W. 26, 37; np. Ph. 474; dp. wīcum, Ph. 470, 611. *See eardwīc*.
- wīcg**, n., *horse*: as. El. 1196.
- wīcian**, Wz., *encamp*: pret. 3 sg. wīcode, El. 65; 3 pl. wīcedon, El. 38. *See gewīcian*.
- wīcstōw**, f., *dwelling-place*: ds. wīcstōwe, Ph. 468.
- wīd**, adj., *great, extended*: nsm. wk. wīde, W. 59; dsm. wk. wīdan, W. 89; dsn. wk. wīdan, El. 211, 1288, 1321; npm. wīde, Pn. 4; apm. wīde, W. 54. *See wīdan ferhð*.
- wīdan ferhð**, fyrhð, adv., *for ever*: El. 761, 801.
- wīde**, adv., *widely, far*: El. 131, 277, 969; Ph. 467.
- ‡ **wīdsceop**, adj., *numerous*: npm. wīdsceope, Pn. 6.
- wīf**, n., *woman*: ns. El. 223, 286, 508; gs. wīfes, El. 1132; as. Ph. 394; dp. wīfum, El. 1222; ip. wīfum, El. 236.
- wīfhād**, m., *female sex*: gs. wīfhādes, Ph. 357.
- wīg**, n., *war, battle*: ns. El. 131; gs. wīges, El. 19; wīgges, El. 825; ds. wīgge, El. 48, 1182,

- 1189; as. El. 112; is. wigge, El. 150, 1196.
- wiga**, m., *warrior*: ns. Ph. 486; gs. wigan, El. 938; np. wigan, El. 246; gp. wigena, El. 63, 150, 153, 217, 1090; wigona, El. 344. See *æsc-*, *ðeodwiga*.
- wigend**, m., *warrior*: ds. wiggende, El. 984; ap. El. 106. See *byrn-*, *lindwigend*.
- wigspēd**, f., *victory*: as. El. 165.
- ‡ **wigðracu**, f., *contest, strife*: ds. wigþræce, El. 430; as. wiggþræce, El. 658.
- wiht**, f., *anything, aught*: ns. Ph. 26, 179, 611; as. El. 684; Pn. 32; is. wihte, Ph. 19, 448. See *ōwiht*.
- wilde**, adj., *wild*: nsm. wk. wilda, Ph. 201, 466, 529; asm. wildne, Ph. 343.
- wilder**, n., *beast, wild beast*: gs. wildres, Pn. 43; gp. wildra, Pn. 9. [*wild(d)ēor*.]
- wilfægen**, adj., *glad, rejoiced*: nsm. El. 828.
- wilgedryht**, f., *devoted retinue*: ns. Ph. 342.
- wilgifa**, m., *ruler, king, lord*: ns. wilgiefa, Ph. 465; gs. wilgifan, El. 221; ds. willgifan, El. 1112; vs. willgifa, El. 815.
- wilhrēðig**, adj., *gladdened, exultant*: nsn. willhrēðig, El. 1117.
- will-**, see *will-*.
- willa**, m., *will, desire*: ns. El. 773, 789, 963, 1136, 1160; gs. willan, El. 267; ds. willan, El. 193, 678, 1011; as. willan, El. 681, 1071, 1085, 1132, 1153; Ph. 470; W. 35, 43; dp. willum, Ph. 149; *choice*: ip. willum, Ph. 537; *joy, delight*: ds. willan, Ph. 565; ip. willum, El. 452, 1252; *attraction*: gs. willan, W. 66.
- willan**, anv., *will, wish*: 1 sg. wille, El. 574, 790, 814; W. 2; 3 sg. wille, Ph. 164; wile, Ph. 472, 492; pret. 1 sg. wolde, El. 469, 1080; 3 sg. wolde, El. 219, 456; 2 pl. woldon, El. 394; 3 pl. woldon, El. 40, 361, 971; woldan, Ph. 399; opt. 2 sg. wille, El. 608, 621; 3 sg. wile, El. 420. Negative: 3 sg. nele, Pn. 32; pret. 3 pl. noldon, El. 566.
- willum**, see *unwillum*.
- wilsele**, m., *pleasant hall*: ns. willsele, Ph. 213.
- wilsīð**, m., *glad pilgrimage*: as. willsīð, El. 223.
- wilspel**, n., *glad news*: ds. willspelle, El. 994; gp. wilspella, El. 984.
- wilsum**, adj., *delicious*: dpmn. wilsuman, Ph. 109.
- wilwong**, m., *delightful plain*: ds. willwonge, Ph. 89.
- win**, see *gewin*.
- wind**, m., *wind*: ns. Ph. 182; ds. winde, El. 1272.
- windan**, see *be-*, *onwindan*.
- windig**, adj., *wind-driven*: nsn. Ph. 61.
- wine**, see *goldwine*.
- winemæg**, m., *dear kinsman*: np. winemāgas, El. 1016.
- winter**, m., *winter*: gs. wintres, Ph. 37, 245; *year*: gp. wintra, El. 4, 633; Ph. 152, 363, 420, 580; ip. wintrum, Ph. 162, 428.
- wintergerīm**, n., *date*: ap. El. 654.
- wintergewæde**, n., *winter garment*: ip. wintergewædum, Ph. 250.
- wintergeweorp**, n., *winter storm*: ns. Ph. 57.
- winterscūr**, m., *winter shower*: ns. Ph. 18.
- wīr**, m., *wire*: gp. wīra, El. 1135; ip. wīrum, El. 1264.
- wīs**, adj., *wise, prudent*: nsm. El. 592; super. npm. wk. wīsestan,

- El. 169, 323; apm. wisestan, El. 153. *See* *sundorwis*.
- wisdöm**, m., *wisdom*: gs. wisdömes, El. 357, 543, 596, 939, 1144, 1191; as. El. 334, 674, 1243; Ph. 30.
- wise**, f., *fact*: as. wisan, El. 684; np. wisan, Ph. 359; *custom, manner*: ns. W. 32.
- wisfæst**, adj., *wise, learned*: npm. wisfæste, El. 314; Pn. 14.
- wislice**, *see* *unwislice*.
- wist**, f., *food, nourishment*: as. wiste, El. 617; ap. wiste, Ph. 245.
- wita**, m., *wise man*: gs. witan, El. 544. *See* *æ-*, *fyrnwita*; also *yeota*.
- wit**, *see* *inwit, gewitt*.
- witan**, prp., *know*: 1 sg. wāt, El. 419, 815; 3 sg. wāt, Ph. 355, 357, 369; 2 pl. witon, El. 644; pret. 3 sg. wiste, El. 860, 1203; 3 pl. wiston, El. 459; imper. sg. wite, El. 946; inf. Pn. 3. Negative: 1 sg. nāt, El. 640; 1 pl. nyton, El. 401; pret. 1 sg. nysse, El. 1240; 3 sg. nyste, El. 719.
- witan**, Wl., *upbraid with, reproach for*: opt. pret. 3 sg. wite, El. 416.
- witan**, *see* *gewitan*.
- wite**, n., *torture, torment*: as. El. 520; Ph. 644; gp. wīta, El. 765; dp. wītum, El. 771; ip. wītum, El. 180; *suffering*: gp. wīta, El. 1030.
- witebrōga**, m., *horrible punishment*: ap. witebrōgan, El. 932.
- witedöm**, m., *prophecy*: ns. El. 1153; as. Ph. 548.
- witga**, m., *prophet, sage*: ns. El. 351, 1189; gs. wītgan, El. 592, 938; np. wītgan, El. 561; Ph. 30; gp. wītgena, El. 289, 334, 394.
- wið**, prep., w. dat., *against*: El. 18, 64, 165, 185, 416, 525, 837, 927, 1182, 1188; Ph. 44, 451, 469; to: El. 77; *with*: El. 307 (2), 308; w. gen., *against*: El. 616; w. acc., *against*: El. 403, 513; W. 67; *with*: El. 823.
- wiðercyr**, m., *return, way of escape*: as. El. 926.
- wiðerhycgende**, adj., *hostile, malevolent*: nsm. El. 952.
- wiðersæc**, n., *opposition, contradiction*: as. El. 569.
- wiðhycgan**, Wl., *scorn, loathe*: opt. 3 sg. wiðhycge, El. 618.
- ‡ **wiðrēotan**, II, *contend against, resist*: pp. wiðroten, El. 369.
- wiðsacan**, VI, *gainsay, withstand, deny*: 2 sg. wiðsæcest, El. 663, 933; pret. 1 pl. wiðsöcun, El. 1122; 2 pl. wiðsöcon, El. 390; *reject, forsake*: pret. 3 sg. wiðsöc, El. 1040; opt. 3 sg. wiðsæce, El. 617; *defy*: pret. 3 sg. wiðsöc, El. 767; *resist*: opt. 3 sg. wiðsæce, W. 84.
- wiðweorpan**, III, *reject*: pret. 2 pl. wiðwurpon, El. 294.
- witigan**, *see* *bewitigan*.
- wlanc**, *see* *wlōnc*.
- wlęncan**, *see* *gewlęncan*.
- wlita**, *see* *andwlita*.
- wlitan**, I., *look, glance, gaze*: 3 pl. wlitað, Ph. 341; pret. 3 sg. wlāt, El. 385; opt. 3 pl. wliten, W. 12. *See* *geondwlitan*.
- wlite**, m., *beauty, brightness*: ns. Ph. 75; ds. El. 1319; Ph. 609; Pr. 16; as. Ph. 332.
- wlitescýne**, adj., *beauiteous of aspect, beautiful*: nsm. El. 72.
- wlitig**, adj., *beautiful, fair, lovely, delightful*: nsm. El. 77; Ph. 7, 318, 516; Pn. 65; nsf. Ph. 588; dsf. wk. wlitigan, Ph. 666; asm. wk. wlitigan, Ph. 439; asn. El.

- 89; Ph. 203; asn. wk. wlitige, El. 165; npm. wlitige, Ph. 598; ipmfn. wlitigum, Ph. 72; comp. nsm. wlitigra, Ph. 132; super. asf. wlitegaste, El. 749.
- wlitigan**, *see gewlitigan*.
- wlitige**, adv., *brightly*: Ph. 543.
- wlitigfæst**, adj., *changeless in beauty*: nsm. Ph. 105.
- wlōnc**, adj., *proud, stately*: nsm. Ph. 100; W. 50; wlanc, El. 231; dpm. wlōncum, W. 43.
- wolcen**, n., *cloud*: ns. Ph. 61; np. Ph. 184; gp. wolcna, El. 89; dp. wolcnum, El. 1272, 1274; Ph. 27, 247.
- wōm**, m., *blemish, sin*: gp. womma, El. 583, 1310.
- wōma**, m., *terror, tumult*: ns. El. 19; *illusion*: ns. El. 71.
- wōmb**, f., *body, belly*: ns. Ph. 307.
- wōmful**, adj., *sinful, guilty*: apm. wōmfulle, El. 761.
- wōmsceaða**, m., *sinner*: np. womsceaðan, El. 1299.
- wōn**, *see wan*.
- wōng**, m., *field, plain*: ns. Ph. 7, 13, 19, 43, 418; gs. wonges, Ph. 149; wanges, El. 684; ds. wonge, Ph. 363; as. Ph. 281, 439; ap. wongas, Ph. 320. *See græs-, neorxna-, sige-, stede-, wilwōng.*
- wōngstede**, m., *place*: ds. Pn. 45; wangstede, El. 794, 1104.
- wōnhȳdig**, adj., *foolish*: apm. wonhȳdige, El. 763.
- wōp**, m., *weeping, lamentation*: ns. Ph. 51; gs. wōpes, El. 1132.
- word**, n., *word*: ns. Pr. 4; as. El. 338, 344, 440, 939, 1072, 1191; Ph. 398, 411, 551; is. worde, El. 946; np. El. 547; Ph. 655; gp. worda, El. 544, 569, 1284; Ph. 659; ap. El. 334, 394, 582, 749, 990, 1003, 1168; ip. wordum, El. 169, 287, 351, 385, 529, 537, 559, 589, 893; Ph. 425; W. 2, 85; *shout*: ip. wordum, El. 24; *speech*: gs. wordes, El. 314, 419; *behest*: as. El. 221, 771; *voice*: as. El. 724; *prayer*: ip. wordum, El. 1319. *See ligeword.*
- ‡ **wordcræft**, m., *speech*: gs. wordcræftes, El. 592; *poetic art*: is. wordcræfte, El. 1238.
- wordgerȳne**, n., *mysterious saying*: ap. wordgerȳno, El. 289, 323.
- wōrian**, Wl., *toss, heave*: opt. 3 sg. wōrie, W. 9.
- worn**, m., *multitude, number, throng*: ns. El. 633; Ph. 343; as. El. 304; np. wornas, Pn. 6.
- worpiān**, Wz., *stone*: pp. worpod, El. 492, 825.
- woruld**, f., *world*: ns. El. 1277; Ph. 89, 117, 181, 501; gs. worulde, Ph. 41; El. 1142; ds. worulde, El. 4, 440, 561, 979, 994, 1153, 1252; as. El. 508; Ph. 130, 139, 211; Pn. 4, 65; *age*: as. El. 452; Ph. 662; gp. worulda, El. 452; Ph. 662 (in þurh woruld worulda, *world without end*).
- woruldgedāl**, n., *death, destruction*: ds. woruldgedāle, El. 581.
- woruldgestrēon**, n., *treasure of the world*: ap. Ph. 255.
- woruldriče**, n., *world, kingdom of this world*: ds. El. 456, 779, 1049.
- woruldstund**, f., *day on earth*: dp. woruldstundum, El. 363.
- woruldwela**, m., *worldly possession*: ap. woruldwelan, Ph. 480.
- wōð**, f., *sound, strain*: gp. wōða, El. 749; wōþa, Pn. 43.
- wōðcræft**, m., *poetic skill*: is. wōðcræfte, Ph. 548; W. 2; *song*: is. wōðcræfte, Ph. 127.

- wrācu**, f., *vengeance*: ds. wrāce, El. 17, 495; *misery*: ns. Ph. 51. See *sārwtacu*.
- wrāc**, see *gnytrīwrāc*.
- wrāchwīl**, f., *period of exile*: ds. wrāchwīle, Ph. 527.
- wrācmæcg**, m., *miserable man*: vp. wrācmæcggās, El. 387.
- wrāttlic**, adj., *marvelous, wondrous*: ds. wrāttlicum, Pn. 9; comp. asf. wrāttlicran, W. 50; *beauteous*: nsf. Ph. 307; nsn. Pn. 19; npm. wrāttlice, Ph. 63; comp. nsm. wrāttlicra, Pn. 27.
- wrāttlice**, adv., *strangely*: Ph. 367, 378; *splendidly*: Ph. 75; *curiously*: Ph. 294; *artistically*: super. wrāttlicost, El. 1020.
- wrāð**, adj., *perverted, perverse*: as. El. 459; *hostile*: nsm. El. 1182; dpm. wrāðum, El. 165, 1182. See *andwrāð*.
- wrāðe**, adv., *perversely*: El. 294.
- wraðu**, f., *support, help*: ns. El. 1030; as. wraðe, El. 84; Ph. 247; wraþe, W. 35.
- wreccan**, V, *press forward, advance*: pret. 3 pl. wrācon, El. 121, 232. See *be-*, *tōwreccan*.
- wreccan**, W1., *awake, arouse*: inf. El. 106.
- wrenc**, m., *composition*: gp. wrenca, Ph. 133.
- wrēon**, I, *cover, conceal*: pret. 2 pl. wrigon, El. 583. See *onwrēon*.
- wridian**, W2., *thrive, flourish*: 3 sg. wrīdað, Ph. 27, 237.
- writ**, see *gewrit*.
- writan**, I, *write*: opt. 1 sg. write, Ph. 548. See *āwritan*.
- wriðan**, I, *twist, weave*: pp. npf. wriðene, El. 24.
- wrixlan**, W1., *trill, warble, carol*: 3 sg. wrixleð, Ph. 127; *change*: 3 sg. wrixleð, El. 759; *variegate*: 3 sg. wrixleð, Ph. 294. [Cf. Ger. *wechseln*.]
- wrōht**, m. f., *misfortune*: ns. Ph. 612; *sin, evil*: as. El. 309.
- wrōhtstāf**, m., *crime, treachery*: ap. wrōhtstafas, El. 926.
- wudu**, m., *forest, wood*: ns. Ph. 37; gs. wuda, Ph. 65; as. Ph. 85. See *brīm-*, *camp-*, *holtwudu*.
- wudubēam**, m., *tree*: gp. wudu-bēama, Ph. 75.
- wudubearfo**, m., *grove*: gs. wudubearwes, Ph. 152; ds. wudubearwe, Ph. 169.
- wudublēd**, f., *forest fruit*: dp. wudublēdum, Pn. 47; ap. wudublēda, Ph. 194.
- wuduholt**, n., *forest, wood*: ns. Ph. 34; dp. wuduholtum, Ph. 362.
- wuldor**, n., *glory*: ns. El. 5, 178, 186, 893; gs. wuldres, El. 77, 84, 89, 217, 295, 727, 738, 752, 801, 828, 844, 867, 1040, 1090, 1252; Ph. 117, 130, 439, 475, 516, 588, 628, 662; W. 89; Pr. 4, 16; ds. wuldre, El. 747, 782, 823, 1047, 1150; Ph. 386, 542, 598; as. El. 813, 1117, 1124; Ph. 567; is. wuldre, El. 1135; Ph. 318, 551, 609, 666 (wuldre, *gloriously*).
- wuldorcyning**, m., *king of glory*: ns. Ph. 196, 420, 537; gs. wuldorcyninges, El. 1321; ds. wuldorcyninge, El. 291, 963, 1304; as. W. 67, 85.
- wuldorfæst**, adj., *glorious*: asf. wuldorfæste, El. 967.
- wuldorgifa**, m., *giver of glory*: ns. wuldorgeofa, El. 681.
- wuldorgifu**, f., *glorious gift, grace*: ip. wuldorgifum, El. 1072.
- wulf**, m., *wolf*: ns. El. 28, 112.
- wund**, f., *wound*: ap. wunde, El. 514.
- wundor**, n., *wonder, miracle*,

- marvel*: ns. El. 897; as. El. 867, 1112, 1254; np. El. 827; gp. wundra, El. 363, 779; ip. wundrum, El. 1238; Ph. 63, 85, 232, 307, 342, 367, 468, 602; Pn. 19, 27; *wondrous power*: gp. wundra, Ph. 394. Wundrum, *wondrously, strangely*. See *sōðwundor*.
- wundorlic**, adj., *wondrous*: asm. wundorlicne, Pr. 2; npf. wundorlice, Ph. 359.
- wundorlice**, adv., *wonderfully*: comp. wundorlicor, Ph. 127.
- wundorwyrd**, f., *wonderful event*: as. El. 1071.
- wundrian**, Wz., *marvel, wonder*: 3 pl. wundriað, Ph. 331; pret. 3 sg. wundraðe, El. 959.
- wunian**, Wz., *dwelt, live, be*: 3 sg. wunað, Ph. 580; 3 pl. wuniað, Ph. 609; wuniaþ, W. 25; pret. 2 sg. wunodest, El. 950; 3 sg. wunode, El. 1028; opt. 3 sg. wunige, El. 624; pret. 3 sg. wunode, El. 724; inf. Ph. 363, 386; wunigan, El. 821, 908; *haunt*: 3 sg. wunað, Ph. 105; *inhabit*: Ph. 172; Pr. 16; *remain*: 3 sg. wunað, Ph. 181; wunaþ, Ph. 82; pret. 3 sg. wunade, Ph. 641. See *gewunian*.
- wurma**, m., *crimson*: is. wurman, Ph. 294.
- wylla**, m., *well*: np. wyllan, Ph. 63.
- wyllegespring**, n., *well-spring*: dp. wyllegespryngum, Ph. 109.
- wyllestrēam**, m., *welling stream*: gp. wyllestrēama, Ph. 362; ap. wyllestrēamas, Ph. 105.
- wylm**, m., *swell, surge*: ns. Ph. 283; gs. wylmes, El. 1299; ds. wylme, El. 765, 1297, 1310; welm, El. 230; *stream*: as. El. 39; *activity*: as. Ph. 191; *lake*: as. W. 46. See *ād-, cear-, flōd-, hēafod-, heaðowylm*.
- wyn**, f., *delight, joy, bliss, pleasure*: ns. El. 789; Ph. 12, 290, 348; wynn, Ph. 70, 155; gs. wynne, Ph. 480; as. El. 1090; Ph. 411; wynne, El. 1040; W. 69; dp. wynnum, Ph. 237, 278, 345; W. 22; ip. wynnum, Ph. 7, 27, 313. See *lifwyn*.
- wynbēam**, m., *tree of delight*: as. El. 844.
- wynlic**, adj., *fair*: nsm. Ph. 34.
- wynlōnd**, n., *blissful land*: as. Ph. 82.
- wynsum**, adj., *pleasant, charming, ravishing, delightful*: nsm. Ph. 13, 318; Pn. 65; W. 54; asm. wynsumne, El. 794; Ph. 659; asn. Ph. 203; npf. wynsume, Ph. 529; npn. wynsumu, Ph. 65; gpf. wynsumra, Ph. 196; apf. wynsume, Ph. 194, 245; ipf. wynsumum, Ph. 653; comp. nsm. wynsumra, Ph. 133; Pn. 45; sup. nsm. wynsumast, Pn. 43.
- wyrčan**, Wl., *do, work*: pret. 1 sg. worhte, El. 470; 3 sg. worhte, El. 827, 897; inf. El. 1020; *make, create*: 3 sg. wyrceð, Ph. 451; pret. 3 sg. worhte, Ph. 394. See *gewyrčan; scyld-, synwyrçende*.
- wyrd**, f., *fate*: ns. El. 1047; *destiny*: gp. wyrda, El. 80, 589, 978; *event*: as. El. 541, 583, 1064; gp. wyrda, El. 813, 1124, 1256; *fact*: as. El. 1102. See *for-, ge-, wundorwyrd*.
- wyrðan**, Wl., *destroy*: 3 sg. wyrdeð, El. 904. See *ā-, gewyrðan; ungewyrðed*.
- wyrde**, *see andwyrde*.
- wyrgeð**, *see āwyrgeð*.
- wyrht**, *see gewyrht*.
- wyrhta**, m., *creator, maker*: ns. Ph. 9, 130.

- wyrm**, m., *worm*: ns. Ph. 232; dp. *wyrmum*, Ph. 565.
- wyrresta**, adj., *worst*: apm. *wyrrestan*, El. 932.
- wyrsa**, adj., *worse*: dsn. *wyrsan*, El. 1040.
- wyrt**, f., *plant*: np. *wyrta*, Ph. 465, 529; gp. *wyrta*, Pn. 47; dp. *wyrtum*, Ph. 474; ap. *wyrta*, Ph. 194; ip. *wyrtum*, Ph. 273, 430; *root*: ip. *wyrtum*, Ph. 172; *spice*: np. *wyrta*, Ph. 213; gp. *wyrta*, Ph. 196; dp. *wyrtum*, Ph. 265; ip. *wyrtum*, Ph. 653.
- wyrðe**, adj., *dear, precious*: npm. *wyrðe*, El. 291. *See* **ärwyrðe**.
- wyrtian**, *see* **gewyrtian**.

## Y.

- yfel**, n., *evil*: as. El. 493; is. *yfele*, El. 493; *yfle*, Ph. 594; gp. *yfela*, El. 902; *yfla*, Ph. 460; Pn. 18.
- yfemest**, adv., *uppermost*: El. 1290.
- ylde**, *see* **ælde**.
- yldra**, m., *forefather*: np. *yldran*, Ph. 438; ap. *yldran*, Ph. 414.
- yldu**, f., *old age*: ns. Ph. 52; *yldo*, Ph. 614; as. Ph. 190.
- ymb**, prep., w. acc., *beside, about, around*: El. 39, 50, 60, 66, 136, 227, 260, 869; Ph. 292, 305, 619; W. 61; *ymbe*, Ph. 164; *after*: El. 272, 383; *on account of, concerning, with reference to*: El. 214, 442, 534, 541, 560, 664, 959, 1064, 1071, 1181, 1255; Ph. 360, 572.
- ymbfön**, rd., *grasp*: 3 sg. *ymbföhð*, Ph. 276.
- ymbhwyrft**, m., *surface*: as. Ph. 43; Pn. 68; *surface of the earth*: as. El. 731.
- ymbseġllan**, Wl., *compass, surround*: pp. *ymbseald*, W. 10; npm. *ymbsealde*, El. 742.
- ymbseġttan**, Wl., *encompass, surround*: *ymbseteð*, Ph. 204.
- ymbsettend**, m., *neighbor*: gpm. *ymbsettendra*, El. 33.
- yppe**, adj., *known*: nsn. El. 435.
- yrfe**, n., *inheritance, heritage*: gs. *yrfes*, El. 1320.
- yrfeward**, m., *heir*: ns. Ph. 376.
- yrmdū**, f., *misery, sorrow, woe*: ns. Ph. 52; *yrmpū*, Ph. 405, 614; as. El. 953; dp. *ermðum*, El. 768.
- yrnan**, *see* **äyrnan**.
- yrre**, n., *anger, wrath*: as. Ph. 408.
- yrre**, adj., *angry*: asm. *eorne*, El. 685; nsf. El. 573; *eorre*, El. 401.
- ÿsle**, f., *ash, cinder*: np. *ÿslan*, Ph. 224; ap. *ÿslan*, Ph. 271, 286, 576.
- ÿð**, f., *wave*: gp. *ÿða*, El. 239. *See* **sealtÿð**.
- ÿðfaru**, f., *flood, rush of billows*: ds. *ÿðfare*, Ph. 44.
- ÿðhof**, n., *wave-dwelling, ship*: ap. *ÿðhofu*, El. 252.
- ÿðmearh**, m., *ocean-steed, ship*: ap. *ÿðmearas*, W. 49.
- ÿðmære**, m., *billowy ocean*: as. Ph. 94.
- ÿwan**, *see* **æt-, ge-, oðÿwan**.

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## ERRATA

### TEXT OF *ELENE*

- 213: *for he read hē.*  
279: *for meðelhegende read -hēgende.*  
509, 824: *for Stēphanus read Stēphānus.*  
581: *for woruldgedale read -gedāle.*  
639: *for siddagum read sið-.*  
788: *for Iōsephes read Iōsēphes.*  
829, 848: *for ānhȳdig(e) read an-.*  
909, variant: *talade?*  
956: *for glædra read glædra.*  
1049: *for worlðrice read wor[*u*]ld-.*

### TEXT OF *PHŒNIX*

- 352: *for fugelas read fug[*l*]as.*  
352, variant: *MS., Edd. fugelas.*





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