

## AI MIEI GENITORI

*Ricordo ancora il primo giorno a scuola,  
le mie matite, i pennarelli blu..  
che lontano quel tempo, come vola!  
Verdi giorni che non tornan più.*

*Quanti giorni su quei neri banchi,  
quanti sogni non ricordo più;  
ma un pensiero assopito si fa avanti..  
resta un 'libro'.. che leggi ora tu.*

Riccardo Zara & I Cavalieri del Re, 'Cuore', Sigla



## PREFACE

Gnomic poetry plays a fundamental part of the so-called Old English Wisdom Literature. The Anglo-Saxons showed a strong tendency to inspect, wonder about, and ponder on the primary aspects of human thought, life and essence. This frame of mind is characterised by sequences of concise, tightly-structured proverbial utterances. Such briefness endows gnomic poetry with a sharp, authoritative force.

The Anglo-Saxon *scop* turns to a gnome, maxim, proverb, laconic, sententious saying to compose alliterative verses on native folklore and traditional patterns of thinking. In Old English literature, gnomic poetry inextricably blends pious Christian elements with ancient themes of a heathen far-flung Germanic tradition.

Gnomic verses not only deal with folklore, they also stand as a powerful and elaborate literary device to affirm a moral, or even to portray virtues or vices. Such a literary sensibility stands in the middle between a Christian religious tradition which traces its roots back to Old Testament proverbs and the typical Germanic wisdom-competition poems such as Old Norse *Völuspá*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Heiðreks Saga* and so forth.

Yet, the Anglo-Saxon *scop* used the gnomic verse as a reliable fund of ethical *dictum* on which he would generally call to celebrate, in a poem, an episode worthy of celebration or to restate an accepted truth.

There are extant heterogeneous ‘compilations’ of gnomic verse to which scholars normally refer as *Maxims I* and *II*. Furthermore, there are some other examples to be found in other poems, such as in *The Wanderer* or in *Beowulf*. The Exeter Book and BL MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i contain the utmost examples of gnomic passages.

The vivid content of the *Maxims* caused a variety of opinions relating to both the significance of the style of these poems and the provenance of its content based on large number of literary sources. The purpose of this Doctoral dissertation is to carry out a scrutiny of the Old English gnomic

tradition, focusing on *Maxims I* and *II*, supply an edition of the texts, write a *variorum* commentary and an analytic glossary.

At the same time, this work aims to take into consecration the reason such a theme dendritically sprouts and suddenly reaches new heights in some crucial parts of Old English literature.

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## PART ONE



# 1. THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE POEMS

## 1.1 The Exeter Book

### DATE, HISTORY AND PROVENANCE

In 1705 Wanley printed the inventory “Enumeratio terrarum, ornamentorum, vestimentorum, atque librorum quos sexcentis abhinc annis, Ecclesiæ Exoniensi contulit Leofricus Episcopus”.<sup>1</sup> Such a document is found in two identical and coeval Old English manuscripts drawn up around 1069-1072.<sup>2</sup> It was meant to list the donations bequeathed by Leofric, bishop of Devon and Cornwall, to his newly organised Episcopal see in Exeter, Devon, to the Dean and Chapter of St Peter’s Cathedral, before his death in 1072.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> HUMPHREY WANLEY, *Antiquæ literaturæ Septentrionalis liberaliter. Seu Humphredi Wanleii Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium, qui in Angliæ Bibliothecis extant, nec non multorum Vett. Codd. Septentrionalium alibi extantium Catalogus Historico-Criticus, cum totius Thesauri linguarum Septentrionalium sex Indicibus*. Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano, 1705, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> These inventories, which show even the same interlinear corrections, were possibly inserted after both copies had been drawn up. They are found in the quire at the beginning of the Exeter Book, ff. 1r-2v, and before a discourse on the relics given by King Athelstan (d. 940) to the monastery of Exeter, bound with a gospel-book, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D. 2. 16, ff. 1r-2v. Worthy of a note that ff. 1r-2v in the Exeter Book are taken from a contemporary Gospel Book in West Saxon, Cambridge, University Library, MS. li. 2. 11, which was presented to the Exeter Cathedral by Leofric. The codex spoken of is now in Cambridge. It is likely that the folios were taken out from MS. li. 2. 11 and bound to the Codex Exoniensis before the Gospel Book was donated to Archbishop Matthew Parker in 1566. In the archives of Exeter Cathedral, there is also a Middle English transcript, Charter no. 2570, of the same inventory. See MICHAEL LAPIDGE, ‘Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England’ in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England. Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, MICHAEL LAPIDGE and HELMUT GNEUSS (eds). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 64-9 and also PATRICK W. CONNER, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter. A Tenth Century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993, pp. 226-35, esp. pp. 230-5.

<sup>3</sup> A number of Leofric’s donations can be still identified with some certainty. However, many of them are not in Exeter any longer where, instead, the codex has been kept ever since. As for the transcript of the donation list, see the paragraph “Record of the Gifts of Bishop Leofric to the Church and Monastery of St. Peter’s, Exeter” in MAX FÖRSTER, ‘The Donations of Leofric to Exeter’ in *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry. With Introductory Chapters by R. W. Chambers, M. Förster and R. Flower*. London: P. Lund, Humphries & Co., Ltd, 1933, pp. 18-30.

Amongst the number of benefactions listed in both inventories, one finds a manuscript which, in its current state, fits the description of, *·i· mycel englisc boc begehwilcum þingum on leoðwisan geworht* ‘a large English book on various issues treated in verse’. As for the *mycel englisc boc*, Wanley also notes that, “Nam dum Codex esset perfectus & inviolatus, rectè diceretur liber Grandis; nunc aute, illi jam truncate Codici, tam initio quam in fine, ea quæ restant folia, una cum foliis septem aliis libro præmissis in Volumen mediocriter crassum à Bibliopego jam denuo rediguntur”. Scholars concur that the manuscript spoken of is the Exeter Book, Cathedral Library MS. 3501, ff. 8-130, also known as Codex Exoniensis or Liber Exoniensis.<sup>4</sup>

The Dean and Chapter Charter 3671 is a detailed *Inventarium Librorum, Vestimentorum et aliorum Ornamentorum bonorum*, written in 1327. It lists the donations to St Peter’s Church in Exeter. There one reads a reference to the Codex Exoniensis amongst the “Multi alii libri vetustate consumpti, Gallice, Anglice, et Latine scripti, qui non appreciantur, que nulliu valoris reputantur”.<sup>5</sup> In the Inventory of 1506, now missing, there is no mention of the Exeter Book. The manuscript has never been mentioned explicitly until the second half of the 1560s when John Joscelyn (1529-1603), Latin Secretary to Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504-1575), provided a transcript of the inventory at the beginning of the Exeter Book, ff. 1r-2v, in *A testimonie of antiquitie* (1567?). In the last article of the latter document, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 101, Joscelyn refers to the *mycel boc* as, “[Hic] liber Saxonicus [habe]t quaternionem [in]sutam in principio [que] continent hanc [ca]rtam cum aliis”.

As Connor suggests, the quire mentioned above was added to the Codex Exoniensis around the fifteenth century. That was a time of manuscript revival, and the housing and refurbishing of them, although without any philological

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<sup>4</sup> H. WANLEY, *Antiquæ literaturæ Septentrionalis liber alter*, pp. 279-81; esp. p. 279.

<sup>5</sup> The Dean and Chapter Charter 3671 Inventory has a coeval, decayed copy known as Dean and Chapter Charter 3720. As for the whole transcript of D&C 3671, see GEORGE OLIVER, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral*. Exeter: W. Roberts, 1861, pp. 301-10, esp. pp. 301, 309. For the Inventory of 1506, *ibidem*, pp. 320-76, esp. pp. 330-4. See AUDREY M. ERSKINE, ‘The Growth of Exeter Cathedral Library after Bishop Leofric’s Time’ in *Leofric of Exeter: Essays in Commemoration of the Foundation of Exeter Cathedral Library in A.D. 1072*, FRANK BARLOW et ALII (eds). Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1972, pp. 43-6.

accuracy. Great attention was paid to the making of fabric-rolls and readjusting of codices. The Library of the Dean and Chapter must have played a pivotal role in such a tendency. Moreover, the Exeter Book is not acknowledged amongst the list of 'Libri Saxonica Lingua qui ad manus Johannis Gocelin venerunt', as recorded in London, British Library, MS. Cotton Nero C. iii, f. 208.<sup>6</sup> The scrutiny of sources suggests that (1) the codex was rediscovered during the fifteenth century revival, (2) in the meanwhile it was damaged by an inappropriate use, and (3) it never left the Dean and Chapter since Leofric bequeathed it to the Minster.<sup>7</sup>

Scholars generally concur that the codex was drawn up in the second half the tenth century,<sup>8</sup> before the time Leofric was authorised to move the united bishopric of Crediton, Devon, and St Germans, Cornwall, to Exeter in 1050. Some critics suggested a specific range of time. For Keller, it was written before the Vercelli Book, around 960-980. Gameson concurs with him. Flower assigns

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<sup>6</sup> See "Note A. The Sixteenth Century Glosses" by ROBIN FLOWER, 'The Script of the Exeter Book' in *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, p. 91. As for the transcription of the inventory see TIMOTHY GRAHAM, 'A Parkerian Transcript of the List of Bishop Leofric's Procurements for Exeter Cathedral: Matthew Parker, The Exeter Book, and Cambridge, University Library, MS. li. 2. 11'. *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 10 (1991-94), pp. 421-55. See P.W. CONNER, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 242-4. For the 'Libri Saxonica Lingua qui ad manus Johannis Gocelin venerunt', see *Roberti de Avesbury Historia de mirabilibus gestis Edvardi III*, THOMAS HEARNE (ed.). Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano, 1720, pp. 267-ff.

<sup>7</sup> John of Worcester mentions that under the papacy of Clement II (1046-1047), Leofric the Welshman, the king's chancellor, was appointed to the bishopric of Devon and Cornwall after the death of Bishop Lyfing in 1046, see '1046' in *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, vol. 2, REGINALD R. DARLINGTON and PATRICK MCGURK (eds), JENNIFER BRAY and PATRICK MCGURK (trs). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 542. The record of moving the Episcopal sees of Devon from Crediton to Exeter is found in several manuscripts. In Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 579, also known as the 'Leofric Missal', one reads, "Leofricus, anno Dominicę incarnationis Millesimo .L. indictione .iii., cum magna Gloria inthronizatus, primus episcopus factus est Exoniensis ecclesię", f. 3v (the whole record is on ff. 2r-3v), See FRANK BARLOW, 'Leofric and His Times' in *Leofric of Exeter*, pp. 1-16.

<sup>8</sup> See *The Exeter Book*, GEORGE P. KRAPP and ELLIOT VAN KIRK DOBBIE (eds), ASPR 3, New York: Columbia University Press, 1936, p. xiii. KENNETH SISAM, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953, pp. 106-8, NEIL R. KER, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957, p. 153 and M. LAPIDGE, 'Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', p. 67. At first, Conner writes that the codex can be dated no later than 975. Afterwards, he adds that its copying started after 950, but before 968. See PATRICK W. CONNER, 'The Structure of the Exeter Book Codex (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS. 3501)'. *Scriptorium* 40 (1986), p. 233, note 1 and *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 94.

the codex around 970-990, Muir amid 965-975.<sup>9</sup> Instead, at the dawn of Anglo-Saxon studies, Schipper and Wülker assigned the manuscript to the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>10</sup>

From the inventory at the beginning of the *Liber Exoniensis*, one realises that Leofric found few codices at the Minster when he moved the bishopric's see from Crediton to Exeter.<sup>11</sup> Amongst them, there were mostly service books, in Latin. By means of his benefaction of sixty-six books, the Bishop augmented significantly the collection of the Dean and Chapter.<sup>12</sup> However, Leofric must have collected a number of codices from nearby monastic houses in order to re-establish the large scriptorium which Exeter already had at the time of Winfrīð. It is not clear whether Bishop Leofric promoted the making of the Exeter Book or the codex had already been organised by its assembler and copied by the time

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<sup>9</sup> WOLFGANG KELLER, *Angelsächsische Palaeographie: Die Schrift der Angelsachsen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Denkmäler in der Volkssprache*. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1906, p. 40. Later, Keller suggests that the codex was written between 959-9975, during the reign of Edgar, see 'Angelsächsische Handschrift' in *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrten*, vol. 1, Johannes Hoops (ed.). Strassburg: Karl J. Trubner, 1911-13, p. 102. RICHARD GAMESON, 'The origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996). See R. FLOWER, 'The Script of the Exeter Book', p. 89 and *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: An Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter MS 3501*, vol. 1, B.J. MUIR (ed.). Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 20002, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> JAKOB M. SCHIPPER, 'Zum Codex Exoniensis'. *Germania* 19 (1874), p. 327 and RICHARD WÜLKER, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur*. Leipzig: Veit 1885, p. 223.

<sup>11</sup> Exeter has played a vivid role in monastic life since the seventh century. When Boniface, (c. 672-754), born Winfrīð, went on his mission, the Minster of St Mary and St Peter in Exeter consisted of a notable community of monks and nuns. In 932, King Æthelstan donated a part of his relics to the monastery. Among them are some relics of St Basil (worthy of a note that in a binding of a codex belonging to the Chapter was found an early tenth century fragment of a *Vita Sancti Basilii*). Due to Dunstan's reforms, the 'secular' monks were expelled from Exeter in 968. A group of monks, presided over by Abbot Sideman, was sent from the monastery of Crediton to establish the Benedictine order. In 1003, Exeter suffered a Danish sack led by Sweyn. Under Æthelweard's patronage (c. 1014-1018) the Minster witnessed a rebirth till the ealdorman was exiled. Exeter reached its ecclesiastical prominence in the South-West with the moving of the bishopric from Crediton by Leofric in 1050.

<sup>12</sup> Among the sixty-six codices donated by Leofric to the Cathedral, fifty-five are works for ecclesiastical use, mainly for the liturgy, whilst eight contain poetry and three philosophy. They are all written mostly in Latin, but the *Liber Exoniensis*, King Alfred's translation of Boethius' *De consolazione Philosophiae*, an Anglo-Saxon Gospel Book and a Penitential. See MAX FÖRSTER, 'The Donations of Leofric to Exeter', pp. 16-8 and LESLIE J. LLOYD, 'Leofric as a Bibliophile' in *Leofric of Exeter*, pp. 32-42. As for the Latin books mentioned in Leofric's donation list, see MICHAEL LAPIDGE, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 139-40.

it was donated to the Cathedral. One must consider that the Dean and Chapter had a number of works in Latin and very little in Old English. The Exeter Book is the most authoritative exemplar containing poetry. Moreover, it is also hard to establish whether the codex was drawn-up *ad hoc* for Leofric or it is just the result of the work of a compiler to pull together some poetry in Old English.

For Conner, the Codex Exoniensis consists of three minor manuscripts or “booklets”: (1) ff. 8r-52v, (2) ff. 53r-97v, (3) 98r-130v, bound in this order: 2-3-1. Fiona and Richard Gameson do not hold with Conner. Their scrutiny of the arrangement of the manuscript’s membrane denies it, since the parchment was arranged in the order it is bound, according to the old insular tradition.<sup>13</sup> For Muir, Conner’s hypothesis is contradictory both codicologically (the condition of parchment in the folios Conner defines “external” to each single booklet) and palaeographically (form of ornamental initials). Meggison’s doctoral dissertation, overall, gives some support to Conner’s views. However, as Muir points out, his linguistic research is limited to just fifty words from the manuscript.<sup>14</sup>

Wanley describes it as a “Codex membr. in fol. min. in quo præter SS. Evangeliorum Versionis vulgatæ, exemplar antiquum; habetur Saxonice”.<sup>15</sup> It is an example of spiritual and intellectual material for both a clerical and monastic erudite from Anglo-Saxon England. It contains homiletic and Christological poems, Saints’ lives and is characterised by a recurring penitential mood. In its ‘less religious’ section, one finds elegies, wisdom lore, riddles and the evocative secular verse.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the Exeter Book is a vivid example of a cherished poetic

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<sup>13</sup> P.W. CONNER, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 237-40; FIONA GAMESON and RICHARD GAMESON, Rev. of P.W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth Century Cultural History. Notes & Queries* 42 (1995), pp. 228-30. For a detailed study on booklets and units in composite codices, PAMELA R. ROBINSON, ‘self-contained units in composite manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon period’. *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), pp. 231-8 and ‘The “Booklet”. A self-contained unit in composite manuscripts’ in *Codicologica 3. Essais Typologiques*, ALBERT GRUYS and JOHAN P. GUMBERT (eds). Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980, pp. 46-69.

<sup>14</sup> BERNARD J. MUIR, ‘A Preliminary Report on a New Edition of the Exeter Book’. *Scriptorium* 43 (1989), pp. 273-88; ‘Watching the Exeter Book Scribe Copy Old English and Latin Texts’. *Manuscripta* 35 (1991), pp. 3-22. Muir’s preliminary views on Conner’s theory are summarised and reconsidered in *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, vol. 1, pp. 6-8. See DAVID MEGGISON, *The Written Language Anthology of Old English Poetry*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1992.

<sup>15</sup> H. WANLEY, *Antiquæ literaturæ Septentrionalis liberaliter*, p. 80.

<sup>16</sup> As for a detailed description of the contents of the Exeter Book, see ASPR 3, pp. xxv-lxvii.

*otium* which issues from that far-flung, heroic Germanic heritage which even some zealous Christians such as the Anglo-Saxon monks never surrendered.

Conner thinks that the three booklets pull together the various genres in the codex. The second booklet recalls continental culture and contains narrative and catalogue poetry, allegory and elegy (i.e. *Juliana*, *The Wanderer*, *Maxims I*, *The Whale*). The third is a combination of two different collections. Yet, it represents both clerical and monastic interests in religious and elegiac material (i.e. *The Descent into Hell*, *Deor*, *Soul and Body*), and primarily the Riddles. The first booklet deals with eschatology (i.e. *Christ* and *Guthlac*).<sup>17</sup> Pasternack does not hold with Conner, mainly with his view on the second booklet.<sup>18</sup> For Blake, since the codex is a miscellany, there is no specific principle of selection. Bradley's views are similar. He believes that the compiler's choice is coherent, although his purpose seems to organise a manuscript on some poetic commonplace.<sup>19</sup> Krapp and Dobbie understand the "sectional divisions" of the codex as the result of "natural divisions of thought". For both Chase and Liuzza, the scribe or the anthologist ordered the poems in this way since they are coherent thematically. Muir holds with Krapp and Dobbie. He thinks that the codex is an anthology of poems assembled from other sources, it is coherent, and it ought to be taken as such.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> See P.W. CONNER, 'The Structure of the Exeter Book Codex (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS. 3501)', p. 241 and *A Contextual Study of the Old English Exeter Book*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Maryland, 1975, pp. 70-103. Conner's early views are reconsidered and in *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 159-62.

<sup>18</sup> CAROL B. PASTERNAK, *The Textuality of Old English Poetry*. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 13. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995, pp. 175-6, note 42. As for general study on the 'composition' of the Codex, KARMA LOCHRIE, 'Wyrð and the Limits of Human Understanding: a Thematic Sequence in the Exeter Book'. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 85 (1986), pp. 323-31 and GUNHILD ZIMMERMANN *The Four Old English Poetic Manuscripts: Texts, Contexts, and Historical Background*, Annalistische Forschungen 230, Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1995, esp. pp. 179-181, 281-2.

<sup>19</sup> See *The Phoenix*, NORMAN F. BLAKE (ed.). Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1990 (rev. ed.), p. 2 and SIDNEY A. J. BRADLEY, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: An Anthology of Old English Poems*. London: Dent 20037, p. 202. Sisam's views are also alike, see *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, p. 291.

<sup>20</sup> ASPR 3, pp. xvii-xviii; COLIN CHASE, 'God's Presence through Grace as the Theme of Cynewulf's *Christ II* and the Relationship of this to *Christ I* and *Christ III*'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 3 (1974), pp. 87-101 and ROY M. LIUZZA, 'The Old English *Christ* and *Guthlac* Texts, Manuscripts and Critics'. *Review of English Studies* 41 (1990), pp. 1-11, esp. pp. 3, 6-7; *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, vol. 1, B. J. MUIR (ed.), pp. 6, 25. For a comprehensive account on the matter, see pp. 16-25.

All nineteenth century critics, but Flower, concur that the Exeter Book is the work of one hand. Flower and Hill think that it was copied by the same scribe who prepared a finely written manuscript containing Bede's *Expositio super apocalypsin* and Augustine's *De adulterinis coniugiis*, London, Lambeth Palace Library, Lambeth MS. 149.<sup>21</sup> There, on f. 138, one finds an inscription written by an eleventh century hand, "+ æþel + æþelwerd ealdorman gret". Thus, the anthroponym 'Æþelwerd' may refer to Æthelweard, the Ealdorman who gave the manuscript to a monastery dedicated to the Blessed Virgin in 1018.<sup>22</sup> There is heated debate amongst critics as to identifying the monastery spoken of. Conner queries Tavistock, Crediton and Exeter. However, he favours the latter, since he believes that the codex was written there. Coveney argues that Lambeth MS. 149 and the Liber Exoniensis were produced in the same scriptorium.<sup>23</sup> Sisam, Ker and Muir not only agree that the Exeter Book and Lambeth MS. 149 were copied by the same hand, but they also concur that the very scribe also drew up Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS. 319 which contains a copy of Isidore's *De miraculis Christi* and the continuous interlinear glosses on the last two leaves. One may wonder whether the latter text is the same "Liber Isidori de miraculis Christi" bequeathed by Bishop Leofric to the Cathedral as in the inventory in the Exeter Book, f. 2r, and donated to the Bodleian Library in 1602.<sup>24</sup> Scholars

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<sup>21</sup> As for Flower's suggestion on several hands involved in the writing of the codex and its similarity with London, Lambeth Palace Library, Lambeth MS. 149, see 'The Script of the Exeter Book', p. 85. In addition, see JOYCE HILL, 'The Exeter Book and Lambeth Palace Library MS 149: A Reconsideration'. *American Notes & Queries* 24 (1986), pp. 112-6, esp. p. 113.

<sup>22</sup> Lambeth MS. 149 appears in the Inventories of 1327 and 1506. It had to be in Exeter in the sixteenth century, since the antiquary John Leland (1506-1552) mentions it. Afterwards, it belonged to Richard Bancroft (1544-1610), Archbishop of Canterbury, since, in 1612, it is listed at Lambeth in the catalogue of his codices, f. 79v. See ELAINE M. DRAGE, *Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter, 1050-1072: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Oxford, 1978, p. 376. For Leland's witness, see *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis collectanea*, vol. 4, THOMAS HEARNE (ed.), London: G. and J. Richardson, 1770, p. 151. Worthy of a note that the already mentioned Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D. 2. 16, which contains a coeval, identical copy of Leofric's donation list to the Dean and Chapter as in the Exeter Book (ff. 1r-2v), might have also been acquired around Æthelweard's time.

<sup>23</sup> See P.W. CONNER, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 211 and DOROTHY K. COVENEY, 'The Ruling of the *Exeter Book*'. *Scriptorium* 12 (1958), pp. 51-5, esp. p. 55.

<sup>24</sup> NEIL R. KER, Rev. of *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry* 1933. *Medium Ævum* 2 (1933), p. 230 and *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 153, 360 (Blake also thinks that the Exeter Book

suggested several scriptoria, mostly in the South-West, where these codices may originate: mainly Crediton, Exeter, Tavistock, and Glastonbury, in connection to the scriptorium of Christ Church in Canterbury.<sup>25</sup>

From my scrutiny of Bodley MS. 319, Lambeth MS. 149 and the Exeter Book, I believe they were written by the same hand.<sup>26</sup> The Liber Exoniensis is one of the fruits of the Benedictine Reform and the rebirth of learning endorsed by King Alfred's literacy campaign.<sup>27</sup> The codex is a miscellany. Its poems have

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scribe is the same who wrote the gloss in the last chapter of 'De fide catholica contra Iudeos' in Bodley MS. 319, see NORMAN BLAKE, 'The Scribe of the Exeter Book'. *Neophilologus* 46 [1972], pp. 316-9); KENNETH SISAM, Rev. of *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry* 1933. *Review of English Studies* 10 (1934), pp. 338-42; B.J. MUIR (ed.), *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, vol. 1, pp. 25-6, esp. note 76. Conner justifies the graphic differences in the manuscript with his theory to regard the Codex Exoniensis as three single booklets bound together. Such a view is further discussed in this chapter. See P.W. CONNER, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 238-40. For Gameson, the entry on f. 2r of the Exeter Book is likely to refer to another codex containing 'Liber sancti Isidori ad florentinam de miraculis Christi', see 'The origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', pp. 169-70.

<sup>25</sup> Flower suggests that the codex was in Crediton for a period of time, 'The Script of the Exeter Book', pp. 87-90. Krapp and Dobbie favour Crediton more than Exeter since it was the former seat of the bishopric and must have had an important scriptorium. Swanton thinks likewise; see ASPR 3, p. xiv; MICHAEL J. SWANTON (ed.), *Pages from the Exeter Book*, Exeter University Occasional Papers. University of Exeter Press, Exeter 1974, p. ii. Hill not only favours Crediton more than Exeter, but she also points out that the epithet 'genetricis Salvatoris nostri' is related to some documents for the Marian Minster of Crediton, see JOYCE HILL, 'The Exeter Book and Lambeth Palace Library MS 149: The Monasterium of Sancta Maria'. *American Notes & Queries*, n.s. 1 (1988), pp. 4-9. Conner takes into consideration some codices related to Lambeth MS. 149 since there one reads twice the epithet 'genetrici superque uirgini Mariae', a dedicatory inscription used for Tavistock's House. Furthermore, Tavistock was under Æthelweard's jurisdiction; see P.W. CONNER, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 36. and HERBERT P.R. FINBERG, *Tavistock Abbey. A Study in the Social and Economic History of Devon*. New York: Kelley, 1969, p. 279. Gameson suggests Glastonbury. Yet, he points out that one may never know when the manuscript was written, 'The origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', pp. 169-71, 178-9. In addition, see ROBERT B. BUTLER, 'Glastonbury and the Early History of the Exeter Book' in *Old English Literature in its Manuscript Context*, Medieval European Studies V, JOYCE TALLY LIONARONS (ed.). Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2004, pp. 173-215, esp. pp. 214-5. Muir favours Crediton or Exeter, *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, vol. 1, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> For a meticulous account of the hand behind the Exeter Book, see R. FLOWER, 'The Script of the Exeter Book', pp. 83-90.

<sup>27</sup> In the preface to his translation of Pope Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis*, King Alfred expands on the urge to restore the erudition England once held, when *man utanborders wisdom & lare bieder ón lond sohte*, 'men from abroad came here to [this] land in search of wisdom and learning' in *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, HENRY SWEET (ed.), vol. 1, Early English Text Society, O.S. 45, 50. London: N. Trübner, 1871, ll. 11-2, p. 3 and *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, SIMON KEYNES and MICHAEL LAPIDGE (trs). Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983, pp. 53-55.

been pulled together from some extant codices with a coherent, specific plan to organise an 'anthology' and set a 'literary canon' amongst the Old English Poetry at the disposal of its anthologist. Even if the tracking of the house of individual manuscripts is often fairly thorny, the Exeter Book was copied in a scriptorium dedicated to the Blessed Virgin: most likely Crediton, former bishopric of the South-West and eminent centre of spirituality and ecclesiastical learning.

#### PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Exeter, Cathedral Library MS. 3501 is a plain codex, fairly well preserved on the whole, although, in process of time, it has been scorched, stained by a burn or damp, and suffered the loss of some folios.<sup>28</sup> It is made of 131 parchment leaves. Ff. 8-130 are original and were part of the codex that Leofric bequeathed to the Cathedral. Yet, a folio at the commencement of the manuscript was lost, since the first poem, *Christ I*, in f. 8r lacks its beginning.<sup>29</sup> Instead, ff. 0-7 are a later addition. On f. 0r one reads an inscription in sixteenth or seventeenth century hand, *Liber Decani et Capituli EXONIENSIS* and 3501, the library classification number. Ff. 1-7 consist of legal documents and other records of various kinds, both in Latin and in vernacular, by eleven and twelfth century hands.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> For a full description of the Codex, see MAX FÖRSTER, 'General Description of the Manuscript' and 'The Preliminary Matter of the Exeter Book' in *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, pp. 55-67 and pp. 44-54; ASPR 3, pp. ix-xxv, and also B.J. MUIR (ed.), *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, vol. 1, pp. 1-41.

<sup>29</sup> Likely, a small part of the codex and some other folios were lost. See JOHN C. POPE, 'Palaeography and Poetry: Some Solved and Unsolved Problems of the Exeter Book' in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts & Libraries: Essays presented to N.R. Ker*, MALCOM B. PARKES and ANDREW G. WATSON (eds). London: Scholar Press, 1978, pp. 64-5. As for Pope's earlier works on the matter, see also 'The Lacuna in the Text of the Cynewulf's *Ascension* (*Christ II*, 566b)' in *Studies in Language, Literature and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later*, E. BAGBY ATWOOD et ALII (eds), Austin: University of Texas, 1969, pp. 209-10 and 'An Unsuspected Lacuna in the Exeter Book: Divorce Proceedings from an Ill-Matched Couple in the Old English Riddles'. *Speculum* 49 (1974), pp. 615-22.

<sup>30</sup> ASPR 3, p. x.

Till 1930, when the manuscript was studied and photographed for the facsimile edition of 1933, the Exeter Book had an eighteenth century binding. It was apparently made before Wanley's time since he mentions it in 1705. The codex was rebound in the British Museum in the 1930s.<sup>31</sup> The Liber Exoniensis is composed of 17 gatherings from 5 or 8 folios each, since one or more folios have been lost throughout the manuscript.<sup>32</sup> The gatherings have been assembled without any internal partition through signatures, letters or numbers. Each folio has a size of about 12.5 x 8.6 inches and from 21 to 23 lines of text. Such lines, ruled with a hard point by means of guiding pricks, are spaced about 0.5 inches apart. Generally, the poems are separated by a few lines left vacant. *Maxims I*, ff. 88v (l. 13)-92r (l. 1), is found inside gatherings XI (ff. 83-90) and XII (91-97). Its folios are ruled in 21 lines.

The poems in the Exeter book have no titles. Some of them are divided into sections, generally characterised by a large initial capital and, at times, the whole first line is written in small capitals.<sup>33</sup> *Maxims I* is subdivided into three sections: *A*, *B*, *C*, respectively ff. 88v-90r, 90r-91r, and 91r-91v.

**Abbreviations.** The Exeter Book shows a scanty variety of abbreviations. In *Maxims I*, the conjunction *ond* is replaced by the Tironian note *ȝ*. At times, it is written as if it were the first element of a compound stem. Common words such as *þæt* and *þonne* are shortened respectively as *þ̅* and *þon̅*. The former also occurs written entirely, whilst the latter is always abbreviated, but in *B 46b*. The macron or tilde, either on vowel or consonant, determines an omission of letters in final position of a word. Though the codex is not characterised by a general rule as for its abbreviations and their consistency, the dative plural ending *-um* is usually shortened as *-ū*. There are some other instances in which the bilabial

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<sup>31</sup> H. WANLEY, *Antiquæ literaturæ Septentrionalis liberalter*, p. 80 and M. FÖRSTER, 'General Description of the Manuscript', p. 55.

<sup>32</sup> For an account on the lost gatherings, see B.J. MUIR (ed.), *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, vol. 1, pp. 11-2. In addition, ROBERT T. FARRELL, 'Some Remarks on the Book of Azarias'. *Medium Ævum* 41 (1971), pp. 5-6 and JOHN C. POPE, 'Palaeography and Poetry: Some Solved and Unsolved Problems of the Exeter Book', p. 37.

<sup>33</sup> ASPR 3, pp. xvi-xviii, B.J. MUIR (ed.), *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, vol. 1, pp. 16-25, esp. pp. 17-9, 20-4. As for the problems of sectional divisions in codices, see PAUL CAVILL, 'Sectional Divisions in Old English Poetic Manuscripts'. *Neophilologus* 69 (1985), pp. 156-9.

nasal is omitted: *há* (B 35a), *hī* (B 28b), *þā* (A 69b; C 57a), *trȳ | man* (A 46a). In one occasion, velar plosive *-g + e*, in *monige* (C 30a), are abbreviated as *moniġ*.

**Accent marks.** The codex has about six hundred acute accent marks, fifteen in *Maxims I*. Most of them occur over phonologically (and etymologically) long vowels as shown below:

SECTIONAL DIVISION	FOLIO	LINE	WORD
<i>Maxims I, A</i>	89r	20a	á
	89v	41b	sár
		46b	átemed   ne
<i>Maxims I, B</i>	90r	10b	dóm
		13a	gód
	90v	33b	á
		35a	há
		36b	wȳn
		41b	món
		43a	ácwele
	91r	50a	gód
<i>Maxims I, C</i>	92r	54a	géara aréd
		58a	món
	67a	á	

In *Maxims I*, *gōd* ‘good’ is accented once as an adjective (B 13a) and as a noun (B 50a), but it is not accented in *god scop gumum* (B 57a). The word *mān* ‘evil’ occurs once as *món*. It is accented to distinguish it from *mōn* ‘man’ (B 41b). Yet *mōn* appears with an accent mark once (C 58a).<sup>34</sup> The adverb *ā* ‘always, ever’ is generally accented (but in C 14b and C 40a), whilst if *ā-* stands as a prefix it is accented. Krapp and Dobbie think that this might be an endeavour to stress out syllabic division.<sup>35</sup> Berkhout believes that there are some instances of accent marks used as to point out vowel-length: *sár* (A 41a), *dóm* (B 10b), *hám* (B 35a). He also thinks that *géara* and *aréd* (C 54) may have a metrical purpose since the line has no alliteration. I do not hold with Berkhout in taking these accents as

<sup>34</sup> Worthy of note is that *mān* ‘evil’, purposely written *mon*, occurs in *Precepts* 82b, and that *mōn* ‘man’ is written with an accent mark (*món*) also in *Guthlac* 989a.

<sup>35</sup> ASPR 3, p. xxiv.

'rhetorical' in order to stress the "line's pivotal or transitional function".<sup>36</sup> The line is evidently defective and the scribe does not use such a device elsewhere in *Maxims I* and in the rest of the Exeter Book. There is also an occurrence of an etymologically short vowel written with an accent mark as in *wýn* (B 36b).

**Capitals.** In the codex there are roughly eight hundred small capitals, more than half of these are initial *I*. Capitals have neither a specific syntactical value nor a sectional function. In *Maxims I* one finds: *In* (A 41b, 51a, 66a, 66b; B 27b, 52a) and *Inwyrca* (A 66a). There are also five capitals which ought to be taken as oversize minuscules: *Meotud* (A 7a), *In leobte* (A 65b), *Cyning* (B 11a), *Ne* (B 42a) and *Cain* (C 60a). I regard *R-* in *Ræd* (A 22a) as the only proper majuscule in *Maxims I*.<sup>37</sup> In the manuscript, sixty ornamental capitals are the only form of 'ornamentation'.<sup>38</sup> Each section of the poem begins with a word in large capitals: *FRIGE* (A 1a), *FORST* (B 1a), and *RÆD* (C 1a). All of them have some scanty ornamentation in the initial letter.

**Punctuation.** Generally, the manuscript is characterised by two different ways of pointing: the interlinear point and the final marks. The former occurs rather irregularly and it has neither metrical, nor structural function. The latter frequently occurs at the end of the poems with a combination of these signs of punctuation: *:*, *~*, *7*. In *Maxims I* one finds: *:-:7* in *A*, and *:7* in *B* and *C* (as in the majority of the poems in the Exeter Book).<sup>39</sup> It is worthy of noting that there is dot under the *-i* in *sipþan* on f. 92r, l. 17.

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<sup>36</sup> See CARL T. BERKHOUT JR., *A Critical Edition of the Old English Gnostic Poems*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1975, pp. 9-10, 115-6.

<sup>37</sup> My count of small capitals in *Maxims I* does not entirely agree with Krapp and Dobbie, and Berkhout, see resp. ASPR 3, p. lxxx and *A Critical Edition of the Old English Gnostic Poems*, p. 12.

<sup>38</sup> However, there are six ornaments, added by a different/later hand, which have been placed in the margin of the folios where they occur. See M. FÖRSTER, 'General Description of the Manuscript', p. 60 and O'KEEFFE, KATHERINE O'BRIEN, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse*. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1990, pp. 155-164, 186-9.

<sup>39</sup> For a detailed account on the punctuation in the codex, see B.J. MUIR, 'A Preliminary Report on a New Edition of the Exeter Book', pp. 282, 284-8, esp. Table 1 and Cols 9, 20-2. See also ASPR 3, pp. xxi-xxii.

## 1.2 London, British Library, MS. Cotton Tiberius, B.i

### DATE, HISTORY AND PROVENANCE

MS. Cotton Tiberius, B.i has a more lively history than Exeter Book. Although there is scanty documentation on the codex during its early period, it is probable that the manuscript remained at Abingdon, Berkshire, until the time of the dissolution of monasteries begun in 1536 by Thomas Cromwell (c. 1485–1540), King Henry VIII's chief minister and first Earl of Essex.

The antiquary John Leland (1506–1552) was the first to provide some information on the manuscript. In the fourth volume of his *Colleactanea*, he mentions Robert Talbot (d. 1558),<sup>40</sup> Rector of Burlingham, Norfolk, a close friend who introduced him to many important early English codices, including the 'C' or Abingdon version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Old English rendering of Orosius' *Historiae adversum paganos*, both contained in MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i. Leland prints that "Mr. Talbote made this annotation in the front of Orosius historie, that he lent me, translatid out of Latine in to Saxon tunge".<sup>41</sup> Besides, Leland refers to many other notes all through the codex. Because of this information it is likely to suppose that Talbot was the owner of MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i. Yet, in those years, the manuscript was probably at the disposal of Robert Recorde (d. 1558) who, perhaps, consulted it whilst he was making a collation for the new edition of Robert Fabyan's *Chronicles of London* for the printer John Kingston.<sup>42</sup>

In the 'Libri Saxonica Lingua qui ad manus Johannis Gocelin venerunt', London, British Library, MS. Cotton Nero C. iii, f. 208, one reads, "Chronica Saxonica Abbindonii ab anno Christ ad annum Domini. 1066. Est in manibus

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<sup>40</sup> See 'Robert Talbot' in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 19, LESLIE STEPHEN and SIDNEY LEE (eds). London: Smith and Elder, pp. 336-7.

<sup>41</sup> *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis collectanea*, T. HEARNE (ed.), vol. 4, p. 121.

<sup>42</sup> *The chronicle of Fabian, whiche he nameth the concordance of histories, newly perused and continued from the begynnyng of Kyng Henry the seventh, to thends of Queens Mary*. London: Thon Kyngston, 1559. As for Rober Recorde, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 16, pp. 810-2.

Mri. Bowyer”.<sup>43</sup> The person mentioned in John Joscelyn’s list should be William Bowyer, the Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, from whom, in 1566 (and possibly twice after), Laurence Nowell (c. 1510/20 – c. 1571) used to borrow manuscripts.<sup>44</sup> A few years later, William Lambarde (d. 1601), Nowell’s student of Old English at Lincoln’s Inn also had access to the codex (and some others) whilst he was editing *Archaeionomia*, a collection of Anglo-Saxon laws.<sup>45</sup> Bowyer exchanged MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i (and three others) with Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, first Baronet, (1570/1–1631) who built up a large private library, the Cotton Library. Such an acquisition is recorded in London, British Library, MS. Harley 6018, f. 154v, i.e. the catalogue of the Cotton Library of 1621.<sup>46</sup>

MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i is openly mentioned for the first time in 1696 by Thomas Smith in his compilation of the Catalogue of the Cotton Library. In the eighteenth century, Sir Cotton’s heirs donated such a treasure to the newly created British Museum. The Cotton manuscripts are now stored at the British Library.

#### PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

In 1731, there was a fire in Ashburnam House. Many codices were lost, whilst others were singed or water-damaged. Yet, MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i was neither destroyed nor damaged.

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<sup>43</sup> As for the list ‘Libri Saxonica Lingua qui ad manus Johannis Gocelin venerunt’, see *Roberti de Avesbury Historia de mirabilibus gestis Edvardi III*, T. HEARNE (ed.), p. 268. For the Dissolution of Monasteries and the scattering of Old English codices, see CYRIL E. WRIGHT, ‘The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Beginnings of Anglo-Saxon Studies’. *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 1 (1949-53), pp. 218-9.

<sup>44</sup> Jocelyn also refers to Bowyer as the possessor of the codex; see London, British Library, MS. Cotton Tiberius A.iv, f. 30v. Worthy of noting that there are also some notes in Joscelyn’s hands in MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i, ff. 162-163.

<sup>45</sup> See *Vocabularium saxonicum*, ALBERT H. MARKWARDT (ed.). University of Michigan Publications. Language and Literature 25. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952, p. 7. In addition, see ‘William Lambarde’ in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 11, pp. 438-9.

<sup>46</sup> N.R. KER, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, p. 253.

The manuscript contains four texts: the Alfredian translation of Orosius (ff. 3r-111v), the *Menologium* (ff. 112r-114v), *Maxims II* (ff. 115r-115v) and the C-Text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (115v-164r) which extends to the year 1066.<sup>47</sup> MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i is the work of thirteen hands. Ff. 1r-2v do not seem to belong to the rest of it. There is a clear similarity between the entry for the year 977 in the C-text to that in the B-text (MS. Cotton Tiberius A.iv) so that Ker suggests a common exemplar or direct copying. Since the B-text ends with year 977 it is likely that the assembler/planner of MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i decided to add the events of the following years to the C-Chronicle in order to make a complete history book.<sup>48</sup> Since there are several references to Abingdon from the year 491, it is possible that the manuscript had been kept there ever since. Such a curiosity is also vital on a palaeographical level because the scribe who copied ff. 112-118 (the entries on Abingdon) was prevented from continuing his work. Hence the codex had been drawn up by the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>49</sup> There is also a fragmentary addition to the entry of the year 1066, f. 164, by a later eleventh century hand.

MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i is made of thirty-five gatherings which collect 165 vellum leaves. Each folio has a size of about 11 x 7.7 inches and from 25 to 27 lines of text. Such lines are ruled with a hard point by means of guiding pricks, and spaced about 0.5 inches apart.

*Abbreviations.* The MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i scribe of *Maxims II* always replaces *ond* with the Tironian note *ȝ* and *þæt* with *þ̅*. The former abbreviation can be written as if it were the first element of a compound stem. The dative plural ending *-um* is normally shortened to *-ū*: *fyrngearū* (12a), *heofenū* (35b), and *beagū* (46a). On one occasion, voiceless alveolar stop *-t + er*, in *æfter* (60a), is abbreviated as *æft̅*.

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<sup>47</sup> See *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ELLIOT VAN KIRK DOBBIE (ed), ASPR 6, New York: Columbia University Press, 1942, p. xxxiv.

<sup>48</sup> N.R. KER, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 252-3.

<sup>49</sup> As for the dating, see *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel with Supplementary Extracts from the Others: A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes, Appendices and a Glossary on the Basis of an Edition by John Earle*, vol. 1. JOHN EARLE and CHARLES PLUMMER (eds). Oxford: Clarendon, 1899, pp. xxx-xxxi.

**Accent marks.** The codex has a higher number of accents than *Maxims I*. The ten accent marks are: *þeér* (12*b*), *ánhaga* (19*a*), *gár* (22*a*), *éa* (30*b*), *tírfestra* (32*a*), *rúm* (37*a*), *hí* (45*a*), *gód* (50*a*), *á* (54*b*), and *éer* (56*b*). They mainly seem to be to mark vowel length even though there are some unaccented phonologically long monosyllables. The accent in *ánhaga* is likely written either to point out metrical stress or syllabic division since the MS. reads *earn án haga* (f. 115r, l. 13). A parallel problem to the latter issue also occurs in *þeges full éa of dune* (f. 115r, l. 20) for *ond egesfull éa of dune* (l. 30) and *þe éer facen dýde* (f. 115v, l. 10) to avoid *érfacen*. One might wonder about a mechanical copying since the resulting syntax is somehow odd.

**Capitals.** The first line is written (in majuscule) in red ink. However, unlike the *Menologium* there are no rubricated capitals within the text. The first line of the chronicle at the bottom of f. 115v is in red ink and it is clearer.<sup>50</sup> There is only one small majuscule *b-* in *hycgean* (54*b*).

**Punctuation.** The punctuation in *Maxims II* is metrical. There are only three points lacking after the following words: *sceolan* (14*a*), *eorþan* (34*b*), and *heofenum* (35*b*). The poem ends with a final mark quite close to the semicolon: a point above a hook.

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<sup>50</sup> *Old English Verse Texts from many Sources: A Comprehensive Collection*, FRED C. ROBINSON and ERIC G. STANLEY (eds). *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, vol. 23, Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1991, p. 24.

## 2. OLD ENGLISH GNOMIC POETRY AND WISDOM LITERATURE

### 2.1 Definitions of ‘gnome’ in a comparative literary context

To the ancient Greeks a *γνώμη* was a ‘thought, judgement, opinion, maxim’. It held the basics of that which later ripened into moral philosophy.<sup>1</sup> Sententious or gnomic writing, as a literary device, was widespread in Athens around the sixth century BC amongst Solon and his contemporaries. In *Institutio Oratoria* VIII.3.5, Quintilian glosses Greek *γνώμη* into Latin *sententia*. This shows how such a tradition was also present in Latin rhetoric.<sup>2</sup>

In 1577 Henry Peacham supplied the first explanation of ‘gnome’: “short, pithy saying”.<sup>3</sup> A gnome is also an adage, apothegm, maxim, paroemia, proverb, and sententia. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the headword ‘gnome’ as a “short pithy statement of a general truth; a proverb, maxim, aphorism, or apophthegm”. It also makes specific reference to the Old English verse. Indeed,

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<sup>1</sup> GEORGE GROTE, *A History of Greece: from the Earliest Period to the Close of the Generation Contemporary with Alexander the Great*, vol. 2, London: John Murray, p. 363. For Symonds, some of the most sublime flights of meditation in Sophocles are to be related to the early gnomic tradition, see JOHN A. SYMONDS, *Studies of the Greek Poets*, vol. 1. London: A. and C. Black, 1893<sup>3</sup>, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> In Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* XXI.2, one reads that a maxim is related to universals and not to particulars, “τά τε συμπέρασματα τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἀφαιρεθέντος τοῦ συλλογισμοῦ γινώμαί εἰσιν, οἷον // χρῆ δ’ οὐ ποθ’, ὅς τις ἀρτίφρων πέφνκ’ ἀνήρ, παῖδας περισσῶς ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι σοφούς”, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, vol. 2, JOHN EDWIN SANDYS (ed.), EDWARD M. COPE (com.). Hildesheim-New York: G. Olms, 1977, B 21 § 2, p. 205. Quintilian was acquainted with *Rhetorica ad herennium*, IV.17, “sententia est oratio sumpta de vita, quae aut quid sit aut quid esse oporteat in vita, breviter ostendit”, see *Ad C. Herennium de ratione dicendi*. HARRY CAPLAN (trans.). Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954, p. 288. In fact, in *Institutio oratoria*, VIII.5.3, Quintilian writes, “Antiquissimae sunt, quae proprie, quamvis omnibus idem nomen sit, sententiae vocantur, quas Graeci *γνώμας* appellant: utrumque autem nomen ex eo acceperunt quod similes sunt consiliis aut decretis”, see *The Institutio oratoria of Quintilian*, vol. 3, HAROLD E. BUTLER (trans.). Loeb Classical Library Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: W. Heinemann, 1959<sup>2</sup>, pp. 280-2.

<sup>3</sup> See “gnome” in HENRY PEACHAM, *The Garden of Eloquence*. Menston: Scholar Press, 1971, p. 120. Facsimile reprint of the first edition, London: H. Jackson, 1577, p. 120,

gnomic poetry is a central part of Anglo-Saxon Wisdom Literature.<sup>4</sup> Scholars are often firm in making a distinction between a gnome and a proverb. Yet, it is not always easy to see a clear difference. For Taylor, a proverb is a “saying” which has some function amongst the folk. Gilles thinks that gnomes are endowed with greater authority than proverbs, “they are not [...] the property of the folk. They are the comments of an individual, [...] they are often directed to a particular audience. They are wise but not clever”.<sup>5</sup> I do hold with Gilles; yet, as far as I am concerned, gnomes, at times, also contain typical traits of proverbial literature.

Like the Greeks and the Romans of old, the Anglo-Saxons showed a strong tendency to inspect and wonder at the primary aspects of human thought, life and essence.<sup>6</sup> The gnostic tradition had wide currency in medieval literature since Late Antiquity in an extraordinary, memorable form which is characterised by sequences of brief, tightly-structured proverbial utterances endowed with sharp authoritative force.<sup>7</sup> The Anglo-Saxon *scop* made vivid use of a gnome, maxim, proverb; laconic, sententious sayings were used to compose alliterative verses on native folklore and the traditional mindset.<sup>8</sup> *Maxims I and II*,

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<sup>4</sup> See “gnome” in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 6, JOHN A. SIMPSON and EDMUND S.C. WEINER (eds). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989<sup>2</sup>, p. 614 and *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, CHARLES T. ONIONS ET ALII (eds). Oxford: Clarendon Press 1978, p. 403.

<sup>5</sup> ARCHER TAYLOR, *The Proverb: And an Index to the Proverb*. Hatboro: Folklore Association, 1962, p. 3 and mainly SEALY ANNE GILLES, *Lyric and Gnome in Old English Poetry*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation: The City University of New York, 1985, pp. 6-7.

<sup>6</sup> Gnostic poetry characterises all civilisations at an early stage. One cannot take into consideration the Sanskrit wisdom lore in *Hitopadésba*, see *The Book of Good Counsels: From the Sanskrit of the “Hitopadeśa”*. SIR EDWIN ARNOLD (trans). London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1861. For a general view on wisdom literature in Sanskrit, see SAKUMARI BHATTACHARJI, ‘Anthologies, Gnostic Verses and Aphorisms’, in *Glimpses of Sanskrit Literature*, A.N.D. HAKSAR (ed.). Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi: New Age International (P), Limited, 2002<sup>2</sup>, pp. 136-45. For a general consideration of gnostic literature in ancient civilisations: Chinese, Egyptian, Hebrew, Persian, and so forth, see both BLANCHE COLTON WILLIAMS, *Gnostic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1914, pp. 2-5, 10 and S. A. GILLES, *Lyric and Gnome in Old English Poetry*, pp. 7-18.

<sup>7</sup> BARRY TAYLOR, ‘Medieval Proverb Collections: The West European Tradition’. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992), pp. 19-35, esp. p. 28.

<sup>8</sup> PAUL CAVILL, *Maxims in Old English Poetry*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer 1999, p. 17.

respectively recorded in the Exeter Book and MS Cotton Tiberius B.i, stand as the gnostic prototype of Old English wisdom literature.<sup>9</sup>

However, there are some extant heterogeneous ‘compilations’ of gnostic verse in some other poems such as *Solomon and Saturn*, *The Wanderer* or in the ‘sermonising’ comment(s) in *Beowulf*.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, there are poems of wisdom and learning with a high incidence of gnostic utterances as in *Vainglory*, *The Fortunes of Men*, *The Rune Poem*, *The Second Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn*, *Soul and Body I*, *The Descent to Hell*, *The Judgement Day I*.<sup>11</sup> Gnostic poetry, usually, not only deals with folklore, but is also a dominant and multifaceted literary device to affirm a moral, or to portray a virtue or a vice.<sup>12</sup> Modern scholars are divided into two schools of thought: one holds the idea that Old English gnostic poetry mirrors the distinctive Germanic wisdom-competition as in Old Norse *Völuspá*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Grímnismál*, *Heiðreks Saga*,<sup>13</sup> whilst the other pictures it as an extension of medieval paroemiology.<sup>14</sup> The latter traces its roots back to Old Testament Salomonic proverbs and classical tradition.

The Anglo-Saxon *scop* used the gnostic verse as a reliable fund of ethical *dicta* on which he would generally to remember an episode worthy of celebration or to reaffirm a universal truth.<sup>15</sup> *Maxims I* and *II* are endowed with an ‘esoteric’ knowledge of an olden past. They are two priceless hanks containing a genre whose thread not only embroiders wisdom poems but it also adorns Old English poetry with its authoritative force. This chapter endeavours to find the end of

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<sup>9</sup> BENJAMIN THORPE (ed.), *Codex Exoniensis. A collection of Anglo-Saxon Poetry from a Manuscript in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter*. London: Society of Antiquaries, 1842, p. viii.

<sup>10</sup> SAMUEL O. ANDREW, *Postscript on Beowulf*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1969<sup>2</sup>, p. 93.

<sup>11</sup> ADELIN C. BARTLETT, *The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935, p. 73.

<sup>12</sup> LOUIS J. RODRIGUEZ, *Anglo-Saxon Verse Charms, Maxims and Heroic Legends*. Pinner: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1994<sup>2</sup>, p. 27.

<sup>13</sup> CAROLYNE LARRINGTON, *A Store of Common Sense: Gnostic Theme and Style in Old Icelandic and Old English Wisdom Poetry*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, pp. 2-5.

<sup>14</sup> SUSAN E. DESKIS, *Beowulf and the Medieval Proverb Tradition*. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, vol. 155. Tempe: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1996, pp. 1-11, esp. pp. 4-5.

<sup>15</sup> ELAINE TUTTLE HANSEN, *The Solomon Complex: Reading Wisdom in Old English Poetry*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988, p. 60.

the skein which allows one to shed some new light on the two aforesaid hanks in order to unroll its yarn from the very core of such a poetic genre.

## 2.2 Dating, Authorship and Attribution

Ricci believes that *Maxims I* and *II* (*Charms*, elegies and epic poems) are some of the oldest extant poems in Old English, since they are “pre-Christian *types*”.<sup>16</sup> Scholars have different opinions on both the dating and the likely authorship of the gnomic poems. For Brandl, *Maxims I* and *II* belong to heathen and/or ritual genre. He classifies them as “Altheimische Dichtung vor Alfred”. Yet, he regards *Maxims I A* and *B* as eighth-century poems and *Maxims I C* as Alfredian. The ‘case’ of *Maxims II*, instead, is somehow more difficult since he recognises a clear pagan/heroic component and, at the same time, a number of Christian additions by some Benedictine reformer.<sup>17</sup> Timmer does not hold with Brandl as to the literary purging by some reformer; mainly, if one regards some words in poems, such as *wyrd* ‘fate’, in a pre-Christian sense.<sup>18</sup>

For Brooke, the gnomic verses are a collection of maxims (some of them are taken from *Beowulf* and *The Seafarer*). Some are rather old, from the heathen times, and the others are the result of a tenth century Christian work. Brooke also thinks that *Maxims I* and *II* were collected at York, around Ecgbeth’s and Æthelberht’s time, by “some literary person who was interested in heathen verse and customs”. Afterwards, Brooke writes that the gnomic verses were collected in York and re-edited in Wessex with some additions.<sup>19</sup> Greenfield queries the ninth century for the compilation of the poems. He assigns the work to a cleric

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<sup>16</sup> ALDO RICCI, ‘The Chronology of Anglo-Saxon Poetry’. *Review of English Studies* 5 (1929), pp. 265-6.

<sup>17</sup> ALOIS BRANDL, *Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur: 1. Angelsächsische Periode bis zur Mitte des zwölften Jahrhunderts*. Sonderausgabe aus der zweiten Auflage von Pauls Grundriss der germanischen Philologie. Strassburg: Trübner, 1908. pp. 20-1 (960-1).

<sup>18</sup> BENNO J. TIMMER, ‘Wyrd in Anglo-Saxon Prose and Poetry’. *Neophilologus* 26 (1940-1), pp. 219-20.

<sup>19</sup> STOPFORD A. BROOKE, *The History of Early English Literature*, vol. 2. London: Macmillan, 1892, pp. 277-9; *English Literature from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest*. London: Macmillan, 1898, p. 208.

who pulled together badly both old and more recent maxims. Sedgefield concurs with Greenfield as for *Maxims II*.<sup>20</sup>

Critics are mostly divided into two groups as to the authorship and, as a result, for the dating of *Maxims I*. Dietrich, Rieger and Sarrazin suggest a likely attribution of the poems to Cynewulf or his school.<sup>21</sup> Nowadays, such a view is somehow obsolete. It is difficult to support it since scholars do not concur with the identity of Cynewulf.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, the dating of Cynewulf's signed poems is also an issue of animated debate, though, critics tend to assign them to a period of time between half of the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>23</sup> Trautmann rejects a would-be Cynewulfian attribution of *Maxims I*. Though some riddles in the Exeter Book can be assigned to him, he regards the other poems in the codex as post-Cynewulfian.<sup>24</sup> Williams queries whether the *Maxims* were collected by

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<sup>20</sup> STANLEY B. GREENFIELD, *A Critical History of Old English Literature*. New York - London: New York University Press, 1965, pp. 196-99 and IDEM and DANIEL G. CALDER, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature*. New York - London: New York University Press, 1986, pp. 259-63. See also WALTER J. SEDGEFIELD, *An Anglo-Saxon Book of Verse and Prose*. Manchester University Press, 1928, p. 104.

<sup>21</sup> See respectively, FRANZ DIETRICH, Rev. of *Henrici Leonis commentatio quae de se ipso Cynewulfus sive Cenevulfus sive Coenevulfus poeta anglosaxonicus tradiderit* by H. Leo. *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur* 1 (1859): pp. 241-6; MAX RIEGER, *Alt- und angelsächsisches Lesebuch nebst altfriesischen Stücken mit einem Wörterbuche*. Giessen: Ricker, 1861, pp. 14-6; and GREGOR SARRAZIN, *Beowulf-Studien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte altgermanischer Sage und Dichtung*. Berlin: Mayer, 1888, pp. 182-3.

<sup>22</sup> Kemble initially identified the poet with Cenwulf or Kenwulphus of Winchester (d. 1006), abbot of Peterborough. Earle advanced the hypothesis that Cynewulf was the father of Cyneweard, bishop of Wells, who died or might have been banished in 975. Grimm identified Cynewulf with Cenwulf (or Cynwulf) of Mercia, contemporary of St Aldhelm (c. 639-709), abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Sherborneas. Cook pictured

the poet in Cynulf, a presbyter in the diocese of Dunwich, who participated, together with Bishop Tidfrith, in the Synod summoned in Clovesho (803). Trautmann and C. Brown favoured Cynewulf (d. 783) bishop of Lindisfarne from 740 to 780. Ten Brink suggested that Cynewulf was born in Northumbria around 720-730. For a complete bibliographical reference, see my own work in GABRIELE COCCO, *The Fates of the Apostles*, Unpublished MPhil. Dissertation, University of Padua, 2006, pp. 49-52.

<sup>23</sup> After an examination of the vowel lowering in an acrostic signature within the *Book of Cerne* (c. 820-840, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS. L1.1.10), Amos assigned the works of Cynewulf to a period between the eighth and the tenth century. For Fulk, if Cynewulf had been a Mercian (or a Southern, unlikely as that seems) he cannot have been writing earlier than c. 750, and if he was a Northumbrian, no earlier than ca. 850. See ASHLEY C. AMOS, *Linguistic Means of Determining the Dates of Old English Literary Texts*, Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1980, pp. 103-5 and ROBERT D. FULK, "Cynewulf: Canon, Dialect, and Date" in ROBERT E. BJORK (ed.), *Cynewulf: Basic Readings*, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England, vol. 4. New York - London: Garland, 1996, p. 16.

<sup>24</sup> MORITZ TRAUTMANN, 'Cynewulf und die Rätsel'. *Anglia* 6 (1883), pp. 168-9.

King Alfred himself. For Krapp–Dobbie, such a view is an accidental possibility, a conjectural theory.<sup>25</sup> At the beginning of the divergences amongst scholars as to the dating of the poems, Strobl holds a wiser position. He considers *Maxims I* as a heterogeneous collection of gnomes. Some belong to the conversion period and the others to the beginning of the eighth century.<sup>26</sup> Robinson set forth a theory which goes beyond previous scholarship. He believes that the gnomic verses, like some other Old English literature, ought to be ascribed to a woman. In the case of *Maxims I*, the folk wisdom, the comments on child-rearing, and the gnome on the Frisian wife welcoming home her husband at sea would be the evidence of the reliability of his view.<sup>27</sup>

Williams and Anderson assign the compilation of *Maxims II* after the Christianisation of the Anglo-Saxons, in the kingdom of Wessex, in a time of ardent zeal but when the beliefs of heathendom were still available.<sup>28</sup> Galinsky and Kellermann have a similar view: the juxtaposition of Christ and *wyrd* (4b-5a) shows a transient, doctrinal course from paganism to Christendom.<sup>29</sup> For Weber, instead, *wyrd byð swiðost* ‘fate is strongest’ in 5a does not contrast the catechesis of the new faith. Yet, it shows a profound discernment of the human condition.

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<sup>25</sup> B.C. WILLIAMS, *Gnostic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 99 and ASPR 3, p. xlvii.

<sup>26</sup> He also pictures some gnomes as a literary contextualisation of the time they were pulled together. For instance, the slaughtering of Abel by Cain in *Maxims I C* 55-63 is interpreted as an allusion to the blood feud of Oswald and Penda. See JOSEPH STROBL, ‘Zur Spruchdichtung bei den Angelsachsen’. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 31 (1887), pp. 54, 61-2.

<sup>27</sup> FRED C. ROBINSON, ‘Old English Poetry: The Question of Authorship’ in IDEM, *The Tomb of Beowulf and Other Essays on Old English*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993, pp. 168-9. Worthy of noting that Krogmann postulates that the passage of the wife welcoming her husband (*Maxims I B* 23-29) is a translation from a Frisian analogue, see WILLY KROGMANN, ‘Stabreimverse friesischer Herkunft’. *It Beaken* 26 (1964), pp. 334-46.

<sup>28</sup> MARJORIE ANDERSON and BLANCHE COLTON WILLIAMS, *Old English Handbook*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin; London: Harrap, 1935, p. 287.

<sup>29</sup> H. GALINSKY, ‘Sprachlicher Ausdruck und Künstlerische Gestalt germanischer Schicksalsauffassung in der angelsächsischen Dichtung’. *Englische Studien* 74 (1941), pp. 279-83 and, in addition, see GÜNTHER KELLERMAN, ‘Wandlung und Fortwirken des germanischen Weltbildes in den religiösen Vorstellungen der angelsächsischen Stabreimdichtung’. *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 44 (1960), p. 253.

Mittner thinks that the application of the adjective *swið* to the noun *wyrd* shows some Christian influence.<sup>30</sup>

Heusler's view is challenging. He wonders whether *Maxims I* and *II* were meant for school use.<sup>31</sup> Such a thought immediately places them in a monastic, Christian background. It is unmistakable that they consist of old, heterogeneous material pulled together to organise a collection of maxims which were part and parcel of the Anglo-Saxon frame of mind. Thus far, any query for authorship is unattainable. *Maxims I* and *II* cannot be considered as two completed poems. They are an anonymous abridgment of part of the ancient oral lore, perchance filtered or slightly altered by the influence Christianity.

### 2.3 Analogues and Sources

Thorpe points out the resemblance of the gnomic verses (*Maxims I*) to poems in Old Greek and in the Norse literary world. He also thinks that, although "not indeed exactly in their present form", they "are of very remote antiquity".<sup>32</sup> In fact, one should consider the influence that Christianity coming amongst the Anglo-Saxons since it might have veiled any obvious heathen flavour and substitute it with some religious colouring. As Thorpe mentions, one cannot see the similarity between the 'proverbial' philosophy in *Maxims* and Theognis of Megara's *γνώμαι*, Hesiod's *Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι* and the works of a number of Greek gnomic poets.<sup>33</sup> The latter works are characterized by a great deal of common

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<sup>30</sup> GEORG W. WEBER, *Wyrd: Studien zum Schicksalsbegriff der altenglischen und altnordischen Literatur*. Frankfurter Beiträge zur Germanistik 8. Bad Hamburg: Gehlen, 1969, pp. 105, 110-1 and LADISLAUS MITTNER, *Wurd: Das Sakrale in der altgermanischen Epik*. Bibliotheca germanica 6. Bern: Francke, 1955, pp. 89, 106.

<sup>31</sup> ANDREAS HEUSLER, *Die altgermanische Dichtung*. Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft, OSKAR WALZEL (ed.). Postdam: Akademische verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion m.b.h., 1923, p. 74.

<sup>32</sup> B. THORPE (ed.), *Codex Exoniensis*, pp. viii-ix.

<sup>33</sup> For a detailed view on Ancient Greek gnomists, see JOHN A. SYMONDS, 'The Greek Gnostic Poets'. *North British Review* 10 (1868), pp. 49-72, esp. pp. 67-9, 72. In addition, see JAMES DAVIES, *Hesiod, and Theognis*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1873, pp. 21-56, 141-54.

sense expressed by means of a simple, effective poetry. Such a tendency, however, is part and parcel of any ancient civilization, normally in its early stage, when man observes nature and relates himself to the environment.<sup>34</sup>

*Maxims I* and *II* not only have some common features with ancient Greek gnomic poetry, but they are characterised by the archetypal Germanic flavour one might find in some other poetry, such as in the wisdom collections in Old Norse *Hávamál*.<sup>35</sup> The Eddaic poem, apart from some scanty mythological information, is an enormous source of heterogeneous lore in several lines of *Maxims I* and *II*. These gnomic verses blend pious Christian elements with ancient themes of the far-flung heathen tradition.<sup>36</sup> There is hot debate amongst critics to establish whether the heathen material has been camouflaged by the fervent, monastic zeal once prevailing in Anglo-Saxon England. Hence, the approach to these texts and their reading becomes quite hard if one tries not to balance both the Christian and the pagan issues therein. Grein, for instance, in *Maxims I B 62 woden worhte weos | wuldor alwalda* ‘Woden formed idols, the almighty wrought glory’ points out that *alwalda* is an element of the noun phrase in apposition not to Woden but to the God of Christendom. It is worth noting that some other editors print *wuldoralwalda* which, obviously, refers directly to Woden.<sup>37</sup> For Williams, all

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<sup>34</sup> HUGO MÜLLER, *Über die angelsächsischen Versus Gnomici*. Dissertation University of Jena, 1893, pp. 3-4.

<sup>35</sup> JOSEPH STROBL, ‘Zur Spruchdichtung bei den Angelsachsen’. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 31 (1887), pp. 55. As for the resemblance with *Hávamál*, see B. THORPE (ed.), *Codex Exoniensis*, pp. viii-ix and P. CAVILL, *Maxims in Old English Poetry*, pp. 158-9. As for the analogues between the *Maxims* and *Hávamál* on some issues of mortal and post-mortal life, see LOREN GRUBER, ‘*Hávamál*, Stanzas 1-5’. *Scandinavian Studies* 49 (1977), p. 330.

<sup>36</sup> Though they are not of Germanic origin, see the *specula principum* in Old Irish: *Senbiantbra Fithail* and, especially, *Tecosca Cormaic* ‘The Instructions of Cormac’. The latter is a ninth-century gnomic text. It is a dialogue between Cormac mac Airt, the legendary High-King of Ireland, and his son Coirpre Lifechair in *Tecosca Cormaic. The Instructions of King Cormaic Mac Airt*. KUNO MEYER (ed. and tr.). Royal Irish Academy. Todd Lecture Series 15. Dublin: Hodges and Figgis, 1909.

<sup>37</sup> This is a peculiar issue which, at times, divides scholars quite sharply and becomes a stumbling block to the progression of the studies with an open mind and willing disposition to cooperate. The same problem, in a bigger scale, is also present amongst *Beowulf* studies. As for the interpretation of *alwalda*, see CHRISTIAN W. M. GREIN, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie in Kritisch bearbeiteten Texten und mit vollständigen Glossar*, vol. 2. Kassel: Wigand, 1858, p. 343. Worth of mentioning is that Meaney doubts that the scop had any significant information about Woden, AUDREY L. MEANEY, ‘Woden in England: a Reconsideration of the Evidence’. *Folklore* 77 (1967), p. 110. As for the different readings of *wuldor alwalda* in *Maxims I B 62b*, see the Critical Edition and the notes in the Variorum Commentary.

Christian elements in *Maxims I* and *II* are spurious.<sup>38</sup> Timmer speaks in terms of a “blending” of both pagan and ‘holy’ issues to adapt them to the purposes of Christianity. He points out such an adaptation when he considers the themes of worldly glory in pre-mortal and post-mortal existence in *Maxims I* and *II*. He shows how, in *Maxims II*, *dom* means “glory” in 21*a*, but “(divine) judgement” in 60*b* and how, in *Maxims I*, *lof* and *dom* mean respectively “praise” and “glory”.<sup>39</sup>

The question of Christian and heathen interference in the poems creates further problems if one turns to their plausible sources. Anderson and Hill have pointed out that some lines of *Maxims I* and *II* are a reminiscence of parts of the sapiential books in the Bible. However, Anderson just highlights the reference to Salomonic wisdom and suggests that it might be the case of mere analogues. He regards the poems as Christian literature, even its “quite pagan apothegms”.<sup>40</sup> For Hill, instead, *Maxims I A* 35-36 and *Maxims II* 50-57*a* are the Old English paraphrasis of Proverbs 11:30 and Ecclesiasticus 33:15 respectively.<sup>41</sup> Lendinara suggests that *Maxims I C* 55-63 is an interpolation from the account of Cain (and his descendants) in Genesis and in the Book of Enoch.<sup>42</sup>

It is unfeasible and hazardous to say whether *Maxims I* and *II* have been purged from their heathen elements, typical of the Germanic tradition, and have been purified according to the standards of Christian writing. One cannot take away the Christian colouring to unveil the original text. It is also hard to identify

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<sup>38</sup> B.C. WILLIAMS, *Gnostic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 80-1. Rankin does not hold with Williams’ view as to the Christian filtration of heathen themes in the *Maxims*. Besides, he criticises Williams’ omission of the Latin poetic and prosaic sources. See J.W. RANKIN, *Rev. of Gnostic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon* by Blanche Colton Williams. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 15 (1916), pp. 163-5.

<sup>39</sup> BENNO J. TIMMER, ‘Heathen and Christian Elements in Old English Poetry’. *Neophilologus* 29 (1944), pp. 183-5.

<sup>40</sup> GEORGE K. ANDERSON, *The Literature of the Anglo-Saxons*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966<sup>2</sup>, pp. 170-1.

<sup>41</sup> Hill analyses *Maxims I A* 35-36 after Venerable Bede’s interpretation of Prv 11: 30 in his commentary *Super parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio*, II.11 (PL 91, 1968: col. 974) and *Maxims II* 50-57*a* after St Augustine’s explanations on Ecclesiasticus 33: 15 in *De Civitate Dei* XI.18 (PL 41, col. 332), in THOMAS D. HILL, ‘Notes on the Old English “Maxims” I and II’. *Notes and Queries* 215, NS 17 (1970), pp. 445-7. All Bible references mentioned here, are quoted and analysed in the notes of the Variorum Commentary.

<sup>42</sup> PATRIZIA LENDINARA, ‘Un’allusione ai Giganti: Versi Gnomici Exoniensi 192-200’. *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, Sezione germanica, 16 (1973), pp. 85-98, esp. pp. 94-8.

specific sources. Moreover, all those who suggested clear references to Biblical sapiential books tend to disregard the fact that most of Salomonic proverbial utterances are widespread in the lore of ancient civilisations since they are chiefly based on common sense. I would also dismiss any source which finds its roots in Early Medieval Patrology. *Maxims I* and *II*, though recorded on parchment quite late, should be acknowledged amongst the oldest extant poems of the Anglo-Saxon poetic corpus. Hence, it is quite difficult to imagine that deep, philosophical and doctrinal thoughts might have influenced the heathen Anglo-Saxons after their settlement after the migration period.<sup>43</sup> Instead, Lendinara's approach is truthful if one considers that some Old Testament stories soon became a source of great inspiration for Anglo-Saxon literature, since the murderous act of Cain is quite close to blood-feuds and vengeance which is archetypal of any heathen Germanic people before the conversion of all seven kingdoms. So, a still-pagan *scop* could easily have access to an Old Testament tale from a newly converted neighbour, and a devout monk could just change the names of two characters involved in an analogous story from the heroic tradition and place them in a Bible context.

## 2.4 Verse and Meter

The lore embedded in *Maxims I* and *II* and similar poetry deals with a variety of themes. It is very difficult to grasp the whole picture which the gnomist, or rather the assembler, had in mind, if he ever had one plan. The only cohesive device within such poems is the alliterative measure which entangles them.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Weber suggests some parallels between *Maxims II* and Boethius' *De consolazione Philosophiae*. Despite the great popularity of Boethius' work in the High Middle Ages, especially in Anglo-Saxon England, *De consolazione Philosophiae* belongs to a later period of Old English literature. Some centuries after the migration period and after the formation of the corpus of the *Maxims*, see G.W. WEBER, *Wyrð: Studien zum Schicksalsbegriff der altenglischen und altnortischen Literatur*, pp. 97, 105, 111.

<sup>44</sup> ERNST M. LUDWIG ETTMÜLLER, *Engla and Seaxna Scôpas and Bôceras: Anglosaxonum Poëtae atque Scriptores Prosaici, quorum partim Integra Opera, partim Loca Selecta collegit, correxit, edidit*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1966, p. xix.

Scholars have shown great interest in the nature and structure of the verse of the maxims. They have tried to supply a verse format to apply to the collection of maxims. So far, such an attempt has not been fulfilled.

One cannot ignore the metrical irregularity of the *Maxims*. Kock points out that early Germanic wisdom poetry was characterised by brief utterances that do not fit later patterns of versification as in West Germanic or in Old Norse poetry.<sup>45</sup> Yet, such aphorisms have been assembled into poems trying to fit the distinctive Old English metrical measure. *Maxims* consist of long hypermetric lines and a variety of pithy lines which may finish up with double alliteration.<sup>46</sup> One certainly needs to pay attention to short lines and regard them as a hypermetric off-verse.<sup>47</sup> Kögel thinks that, in the Exeter gnomes, such irregularity indicates an endeavour to adjust all of the early, short apothegms into the existing, longer verse.<sup>48</sup>

Some scholars have turned to Old Norse prosody to expand on this issue. For Rieger, Sievers, and Williams, the verse pattern in the gnostic poems recalls the *ljōðhátt*, a stanzaic verse form typical of sententious poetry.<sup>49</sup> Sievers justifies such a view by pointing out that the three-syllable lines in *Maxims I* do not fit any attested metrical system in Old English. The likeness of the verse of some wisdom poetry to the *ljōðhátt* is obvious. It allows Sievers to postulate that the

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<sup>45</sup> ERNST A. KOCK, 'Interpretations and Emendations of Early English Texts VI'. *Anglia* 44 (1920), pp. 108-10, esp. p. 109.

<sup>46</sup> THEODOR SCHMITZ, 'Die Sechstakter in der altenglischen Dichtungen'. *Anglia* 33 (1910), pp. 64-75 and JOHN C. POPE, *The Rhythm of Beowulf: An Interpretation of the Normal and Hypermetric Verse-Forms in Old English Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966<sup>2</sup>, pp. 150-2.

<sup>47</sup> As Berkhout points out, one or more short lines are added to a couplet. Thus, they make a *galdraglag* stanza (or continuation) as in *Maxims I C* 23-26, 42-45, and 53-56, see, *A Critical Edition of the Old English Gnostic Poems*, CARL T. BERKHOUT JR (ed.), Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1975, p. 25.

<sup>48</sup> KÖGEL RUDOLF, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters*. vol. 1. Strassburg: Trübner, 1894, pp. 74-6.

<sup>49</sup> A *ljōðhátt* is made of four line stanzas. The odd numbered lines are almost standard lines of alliterative verse with four lifts and two or three alliterations, with caesura. The even numbered lines have three lifts and two alliterations, but they have no caesura.

*ljōðhátt* must have originated in the early, common Germanic period.<sup>50</sup> Thus, the pithy lines which have survived the later metric remodelling would be the remainder of the old pan-Germanic verse.<sup>51</sup>

There are some occurrences in which alliteration is not met. Critics have different approaches to such an issue. Rieger specifies how, at times, the rhyme replaces the lack of alliteration. In *Maxims I B 9*, *hōlen sceal inæled | yrfe gedæled*, he would rather emend *ele* into *hōlen*, rather than admit the substitution of the alliteration. Holthausen, instead, tends to emend or arrange the lines into the needs of the *ljōðhátt*.<sup>52</sup> Berkhout makes a practical table of Krapp-Dobbie's and Bliss's hypermetrical line arrangements. As for the latter point, my edition concurs with Muir's as for *Maxims I* and with Krapp-Dobbie's as for *Maxims II*. There are also more conservative positions which venture to defend, as much as possible, the manuscript readings. Robinson suggests not assuming any irregular *ljōðhátt* instances in the *Maxims* unless "several occurrences of the type can be found clustering within a single section of the gnostic verses". Kock defends the hypermetric lines in the *Maxims* from emendations.<sup>53</sup>

In proportion, *Maxims I* has a higher incidence of hypermetric lines than *Maxims II*. According to Sievers' classification,<sup>54</sup> gnostic poems are characterised

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<sup>50</sup> For a detailed account on the *ljōðhátt*, see EDUARD SIEVERS, *Altgermanische Metrik*. Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte, Ergänzungsreihe 2. Halle: Niemeyer, 1893, pp. 79-90.

<sup>51</sup> KEMP MALONE, 'Notes and Observations: Plurilinear Units in Old English Poetry'. *Review of English Studies* 19 (1943), pp. 201-4. . see also B.C. WILLIAMS, *Gnostic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 134.

<sup>52</sup> MAX RIEGER, 'Die alt- und angelsächsische Verskunst'. *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 7 (1876), pp. 3-4, 21 and FERDINAND HOLTAUSEN, 'Zur Textkritik altenglischer Dichtungen'. *Englische Studien* 37 (1907), pp. 199-200. In addition, see ALAN J. BLISS, 'Single Half-Lines in Old English Poetry'. *Notes and Queries* 216, NS 18 (1971), pp. 442-8 and C.T. BERKHOUT JR (ed.), *A Critical Edition of the Old English Gnostic Poems*, pp. 26-7.

<sup>53</sup> See FRED C. ROBINSON, 'Notes and Emendations to Old English Poetic Texts'. *Neuophilologische Mitteilungen* 67 (1966), p. 59 and ALFRED BAMMESBERGER, *Linguistic Notes on Old English Poetic Texts*. Anglistische Forschungen 189. Heidelberg: Winter, 1986, pp. 88-9. As for the protection of the hypermetric lines, see ERNST A. KOCK, 'Interpretations and Emendations of Early English Texts X'. *Anglia* 46 (1922), pp. 185-6 and, *sui generis*, ANDREAS HEUSLER, *Deutsche Versgeschichte, mit Einschluss des altenglischen und altnordischen Stabreimverses*, vol. 1, Grundriss der germanischen Philologie 8. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1925, pp. 108-9.

<sup>54</sup> EDUARD SIEVERS, 'Zur Rhythmik des Alliterationsverses II'. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 10 (1885), pp. 209-314, 451-545 and 12 (1887), pp. 454-82. Kaluza also dealt with hypermetric lines (even in *Maxims I*), see MAX KALUZA, 'Die Schwellverse in der altenglische Dichtung'.

by a consistent number of A-verses, a minor group of D and E-verses and some B-verses. As for the occurrence of short and hypermetrical lines, and rhymes in the present edition,<sup>55</sup> see the table below:

Poems	Short line	Hypermetric line	Rhymes
<i>Maxims I A</i>	-	44	l. 52
<i>Maxims I B</i>	-	20	ll. 9, 47, 50, 51
<i>Maxims I C</i>	8	27	-
<i>Maxims II</i>	-	14	-

As for the attempts to attribute an authorship and dating, *Maxims I* and *II* cannot be studied by any fixed metrical pattern like any other poem, since they are a collection of heterogeneous gnomes, possibly acquired from the oral tradition already in different meters, especially if one regards the coexistence of pithy short lines, archetypical of the Germanic verse, and later, long hypermetric lines. So, there is no need to emend the texts to make them as similar as possible to any would-be pan Germanic verse and/or to the stanzaic form of the *ljóðhátttr.*

## 2.5 Language

The Exeter Book is drawn up in Late West Saxon (approximately tenth century) with some Anglian, Kentish, Mercian and Northumbrian dialectal variants. It is difficult to surmise if the extant poetic codices were also written previously in other dialects. If so, one might wonder whether they were later translated into

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*Englische Studien* 21 (1895), pp. 337-84. Worthy of noting is that Bliss criticises Sievers' and Kaluza's verse classification. See ALAN J. BLISS, *The Metre of Beowulf*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1958, pp. 78-9.

<sup>55</sup> For a detailed analysis of verses and lines, see R. MCGREGOR DAWSON, *An Edition of the Old English Gnostic Poetry contained in the Exeter Book and MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i.* Unpublished BA Dissertation, University of Oxford, 1953, pp. lxxiii-cxvii.

West Saxon. From the few occurrences of dialectal variants in the texts, it is unfeasible to disclose linguistic provenance.<sup>56</sup>

One can speculate on several issues. The scribe's dialect was possibly West Saxon or a variety of it. He could understand the archaisms in the manuscript(s) before him since he did not change them. At the same time, one can argue why he left the Anglian, Kentish, Mercian and Northumbrian variants in the poems. Such an aspect, as Sisam explained, can reveal mechanical copying.<sup>57</sup> Yet, some late West Saxon occurrences show that the antigraph(s) before the scribe ought to have been written at least some time before. So he must have added something. One might also query why the copyist decided to keep certain archaisms, update some other words in his contemporary speech but leave dialectal variants without any endeavour to impose his dialectal orthography.

This whole matter becomes even more complicated when dealing with such a heterogeneous corpus of gnomes which have been pulled together from a number of sources, possibly, of different dating. Therefore, it is better to regard *Maxims I* as a West Saxon text with some archaic words of the Southern *koinè* and non-West Saxon variants. There are no striking linguistic differences in the three sections of the Exeter Gnomes, both phonologically and morphologically.

*Maxims II* shows analogous issues to those discussed for *Maxims I*. Yet, it should be mentioned that though the language of the poem is late West Saxon, the text was copied by the same hand in the eleventh century (c. 1040) with the *Menologium* and a part of the C-Chronicle. The latter two texts were drawn up in the eleventh century.<sup>58</sup> In the Cotton Gnomes there are even less occurrences of archaisms and dialectal variants. For Imelmann, the *Menologium* was possibly written in Abingdon, Berkshire and he assigns *Maxims II* to the same area. I do not hold with such a view since Imelmann's theory is based more on external evidence rather than on a linguistic scrutiny of the sources. Besides, the gnostic verses in MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i, even if they have been recorded later, are the

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<sup>56</sup> ALISTAIR CAMPBELL, *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959, § 18, pp. 9-10. See also *The Wanderer*, THOMAS P. DUNNING and ALAN J. BLISS (eds). London: Methuen, 1969, p. 11.

<sup>57</sup> K. SISAM, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, pp. 102-3.

<sup>58</sup> ASPR 6, p. lxxv.

vestiges of some pan-Anglo-Saxon frame of mind, spread throughout the seven kingdoms.<sup>59</sup>

All Scholars systematically quote Campbell's *Old English Grammar* when they supply information on the language of the *Maxims* and the dialectal variants therein. Thus, I suggest turning to Dawson's edition for a detailed account of consonants, and stressed and unstressed vowels in the poems. Kirk lists Early West Saxon forms as well as Non-West Saxon and Late West Saxon features of both *Maxims I* and *II*. Berkhout reports the phonological criteria which characterise the vowels, diphthongs and consonants of the two texts.<sup>60</sup>

## 2.6. *Maxims I* and *II*: A Literary Interpretation

At the dawn of Anglo-Saxon studies, Turner defined *Maxims II* as "a very singular and curious composition".<sup>61</sup> Some two hundred years later, such a comment, also appropriate for *Maxims I*, is still an essential part of both work and debate amongst scholars. Many attempts have been made to define such a genre, if there is one, and to find a literary context.

Critics are divided into two schools of thought: one holds the idea that the *Maxims* are early literary forms, whilst the other pictures them as a later form which has been strongly influenced by the coming of Christianity. Fox and Arend, for instance, pointed out a likeness between the *Maxims* and the poetry

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<sup>59</sup> For the *Menologium*, RUDOLF IMELMANN, *Das altenglische Menologium*. Berlin: E. Ebering, 1902, pp. 53-4. See also FELIX LIEBERMANN, 'Zum angelsächsischen Menologium'. *Archiv* 110 (1903), pp. 98-9.

<sup>60</sup> *An Edition of the Old English Gnostic Poetry contained in the Exeter Book and MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i*, R. MCG, DAWSON (ed.), pp. xxxiii-lxiii; *A Critical Edition of the Old English Gnostic Poems in the Exeter Book and MS Cotton Tiberius B.i*, JOHN M. KIRK JR (ed.), Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Brown University, 1970, pp. 35-44 and *A Critical Edition of the Old English Gnostic Poems*, C.T. BERKHOUT JR. (ed.), pp. 14-22.

<sup>61</sup> SHARON TURNER, *The history of the Anglo-Saxons, from their first appearance above the Elbe to the death of Egvert*, vol. 3. London: Cadell, 1823<sup>6</sup>, p. 332.

of Pindar.<sup>62</sup> For the Chadwicks, they are a typical literary form of the societies of the heroic age.<sup>63</sup> Roughly one century later, Cavill holds a different position and fully supports the idea that the *Maxims* are not of heathen origin, although much of their content is secular.<sup>64</sup> Lendinara was one of the first to point out such a non-acknowledgment of the Christian element in scholarly literature.<sup>65</sup>

As Tripp suggested, the *Maxims* belong to the category of “complexity poems” since they are built upon the relationship between men’s ignorance and the intricacy of wisdom.<sup>66</sup> It is out of such a complexity that one ought to find a common thread in reading and putting them into context. *Maxims I* and *II*, though reminiscent of some other gnomic corpus of early societies, are typically Anglo-Saxon. They are an authoritative source for noticing a far-off frame of mind; they are a bridge amid a Germanic past and a self-standing ‘English’ tradition.<sup>67</sup> The work of previous doctoral dissertations (Dawson, Kirk, Berkhout and Gilles) supplies a literary interpretation of the *Maxims* by analysing the content of the three sections of the Exeter Gnones and the Cotton Gnones separately. Instead, in order not to lack in originality due to the accuracy of the aforesaid dissertations and risk providing just a literary variorum commentary here, I will now proceed by analysing *Maxims I* and *II* thematically. I will take into consideration a handful of gnones, try to put them into context with the help of the contribution of previous scholarship and, especially, attempt

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<sup>62</sup> SAMUEL FOX, *Menologium seu calendarium poeticum ex Hiccesiano thesauro: or the poetical calendar of the Anglo-Saxons with an English translation and notes*. London: Pickering, 1830, p. 63; JOHANNES PIETER AREND, *Proeve eener Geschiedis der Dichtkunst en Fraaije letteren onder de Angle-Saksen*. Amsterdam: Schleijer, 1842, p. 92.

<sup>63</sup> H. MUNRO CHADWICK and N. KERSHAW CHADWICK, *The Growth of Literature*, vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932, pp. 390, 394-6, 400-3.

<sup>64</sup> P. CAVILL, *Maxims in Old English Poetry*, pp. 154-5.

<sup>65</sup> PATRIZIA LENDINARA, ‘I Versi Gnomici anglosassoni’. *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, Sezione germanica, 14 (1971), pp. 117-38, esp. pp. 122-5, 128-33, 137-8.

<sup>66</sup> RAIMOND P. TRIPP, ‘On the Continuity of English Poetry between Beowulf and Chaucer’. *Poetica* (Tokyo) 6 (1976), p. 12.

<sup>67</sup> MICHAEL D. CHERNISS, *Ingeld and Christ: Heroic Concepts and Values in Old English Christian Poetry*. Studies in English Literature 74. The Hague: Mouton, 1972, pp. 30, 35. As to the Germanic past, see KARL SCHNEIDER, ‘Dichterisch getarnte Begriffsrunen in der ae. Spruchdichtung (*Maxims I* and *Maxims II*)’. *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, Sezione germanica, 15 (1972), pp. 89-126.

to consider their analogous sources. Eventually, I will use the foregoing observations to provide my own view on the *Maxims* in the context of Old English Poetry.

The gnomes deal with general truths and essential reflections, normally based on human experience, and, at times, they lay down a moral. Yet, they also portray some habits of the Anglo-Saxons. Death has always played a key role. It was considered a vital step of one's existence towards the eternities. The Anglo-Saxons, whether heathen or Christian, were rather sensitive to the cult of death and its rituals. In *Maxims I C 9-14*, one reads:

*Wineleas wonsælig mon genimeð him wulfas to geferan  
felafæcne deor. Ful oft hine se gefera sliteð.  
Gryre sceal for greggum græf deadum men.  
Hungre heofeð, nales þæt heafe bewindeð,  
ne huru wæl wepeð wulf se græga  
morþorcwealm mæcga ac hit a mare wille.*

(Friendless, forlorn, a man makes companions of wolves, very treacherous beasts. Full oft that companion tears him. There shall be fear of the grey wolf: a grave for the dead man. It grieves due to hunger; it does not circle around the grave in dirge, surely the grey wolf weeps not over the slaughter, the killing of men, it always wants it more).

For Mackie, such a passage emphasises the persistence of a heathen custom in Christian times where a band of horsemen used to ride round a memorial barrow to croon a funeral chant. Lendinara, instead, points out how the wolf therein is a veiled allusion to a feigning mourner. For her, this reflects man's cynicism and weakness. She matches this odd funerary ritual with the song of the unnamed woman in *Beowulf* 3148b-3155a.<sup>68</sup> Brown expands on the theme of the *poculum mortis* in *Maxims I B 7b-8a*: *deop deada wæg* 'the deep, the dead wave'. He believes that *wæg* means "cup of death" and it is a literary (funerary) figure. Russom holds a similar position. He thinks that the "deep cup" therein is a symbol of the profound slumber, even the endless slumber which falls upon all mortals. Russom points out that the theme of the cup has pre-Christian

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<sup>68</sup> See PATRIZIA LENDINARA. 'Maxims I 146-151. A Hint of Funeral Lamentation'. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 74 (1973), pp. 214-6.

occurrences since it derives from ancient lore. Thus, Magennis was wrong in considering the *poculum mortis* motif a distinctive new trait of Christian literature.<sup>69</sup>

Anglo-Saxon literature is primarily about battles, heroes and Christianity. Cross analyses the theme of (defensive) war in Old English poetry. He takes into consideration *Maxims I B 57b-58*:

*garniþ werum  
wig towiþre wicfreoþa healdan.*

(heroes' fierceness in fighting to protect their homes from attack.)

The Anglo-Saxons went through periods of constant internal feuds, wars and bloodshed that persisted even after their Christianisation. Such wars were not continuous. They were a series of conflicts that stretched over a long period of time. Cross gives examples for some justification for such defensiveness in a Christian theological context. "Just and public war" was a prerogative of laymen and their secular duties. The Church did not explicitly condemn it, but penitentials disclose some hidden censure of such a lawful duty.<sup>70</sup> Though devoted to the message of peace of the Christian faith, the Anglo-Saxons drew many parallels between the Old Testament people and their own experiences. *Maxims I C 55-56a, 59a-63* shows how the morals behind Bible stories entered the wisdom lore:

*Wearð feþþo fyra cynne siþþan furþum swealg  
eorðe Abeles blode.  
[...]*

*Slog his broðor swæsne  
Cain þone cwealm nerede cuþ was wide siþþan,*

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<sup>69</sup> See CARLETON BROWN, 'Poculum Mortis in Old English'. *Speculum* 15 (1940), pp. 389-90, 398-9; GEOFFREY RUSSOM, 'The Drink of Death in Old English and Germanic Literature'. *Germania: Comparative Studies in the Old Germanic Languages and Literatures*. DANIEL G. CALDER and T. CRAIG CHRISTY (eds). Cambridge: Brewer, 1988, pp. 175-9, see also HUGH MAGENNIS, 'The Cup as Symbol and Metaphor in Old English Literature'. *Speculum* 60 (1985), pp. 517-36.

<sup>70</sup> JAMES E. CROSS, 'The Ethic of War in Old English' in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock*. PETER CLEMOES and KATHLEEN HUGHES (eds). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971, pp. 273-5, 276-280, 282.

þæt ece nið ældum scod swa aþolware  
drugon wæpna gewin wide geond eorþan  
ahogodan ond ahyrdon heoro sliþendne.

(There has been feud amongst humankind, ever since the earth swallowed up Abel's blood. [...] Cain slew his own brother, plotted his murder. Afterwards it became known far and wide, the constant hate did hurt to men, as he who dwells in the plague. They endure the clash of weapons all over the earth, devised and tempered the piercing sword.)

The Anglo-Saxons endowed their religious poetry with a range of themes from their former pagan heroic tradition, such as wergild and vengeance. Thus, Cain's murderous story entered with great impact the Old English poetic frame of mind.<sup>71</sup> Because of its Biblical context, such an episode can be seen as a pretext to create poetry dealing with fighting and killing and, possibly, as a 'justification' for the debated Christian validity of the ethic of war. By doing so, the *scop* could openly narrate of battles even in holy narrations such as those in the Saints' lives since the authority, i.e. the Bible, relates these sorts of events in the accounts of the countless warfare the Hebrews fought against their gentile neighbouring peoples with God's blessing to slaughter them, since the Lord of Hosts Himself was at the helm of His Chosen People.

The latter observations allow dealing with another theme which is strictly related to the previous issue: the figure of the *scop*. For Opland, war and poetry are pulled together by the role of the *scop*, as recorded in *Maxims I B 57a: god scop gumum* 'men [need] a good *scop*'.<sup>72</sup> It was the *scop* who was entitled to recount the deeds which took place in ancient days.<sup>73</sup> He was present at court, but he was also amongst the warriors in the battlefield as in *The Battle of Maldon*

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<sup>71</sup> See CHARLES D. WRIGHT, 'The Blood of Abel and the branches of Sin: *Genesis A*, *Maxims I* and Aldhelm's *Carmen de uirginitate*'. *Anglo Saxon England* 25 (1996), pp. 7-19, esp. pp. 12-4.

<sup>72</sup> JEFF OPLAND, *Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry: A Study of the Traditions*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980, pp. 232-3.

<sup>73</sup> For Anderson, the *scop* was both keeper and spreader of the knowledge of such a past. "The *scop* sang not only sagas but poems in which were embodied the rude science and philosophy of his time [...] A quickly apprehensive and retentive memory was one of the most important qualifications for the *scop*'s calling" in LEWIS F. ANDERSON, *The Anglo-Saxon Scop*, Toronto: Toronto University Press 1903, pp. 17, 21.

309-320. Another vivid example can be seen at the beginning of chapter 208 of *Oláfs saga Helga* in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*:<sup>74</sup>

*Þá spurði hann, hvar Þormóðr skáld væri. Hann var þar nær ok svarar, spurði, hvat konungr vildi honum. Konungr segir: <Tel þú oss kvæði nökkut> [...] Konungr þakkaði honum skemmtan sína. Síðan tók konungr gullbring, er stóð hálfu mörk, ok gaf Þormóði.*

(Then he asked where the skald Thormoth was. He happened to be near and asked what the king wanted of him. The king said, <I would have you recite some lay for us> [...] The king thanked him for his entertainment. Then he gave him a gold arm ring weighing half a mark.)

Thus, the *scop* had the duty to remember the deeds of the past and, by means of this poetic gift, motivate the warriors to win battles just as the far-off heroes he sang of did at the dawn of days.

The *Maxims* contain quite a few gnomes which deal with women, mainly those in authority, and their role in society. Heyne points out the custom of the giving of the drinking-cup by the woman<sup>75</sup> in *Maxims I B 13b-22*:

*Guð sceal in eorle  
wig geweaxan, ond wif geþeon,  
leof mid hyre leodum, leohtmod wesan  
rune bealdan, rumbeort beon  
mearum ond maþmum. Meodorædenne  
for gesiðmægen symle æghwær  
eodor æþelinga ærest gegretan  
forman fulle to frean hond  
ricene geræcan ond him ræd witan  
boldagendum bæm ætsomne.*

(The woman shall prosper, beloved amongst her people. She shall be cheerful, keep a secret, shall be generous with horses and treasures. At the mead-banquet, always everywhere before the band of comrades, she shall greet the protector of the nobles first; quickly offer the first cup to the hand

<sup>74</sup> See SNORRI STURLUSON, *Heimskringla*, vol. 2, BJARNI ADALBJARNASON (ed.), Íslenzk fornrit XXVII, Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1979, pp. 361-2.

<sup>75</sup> MORITZ HEYNE, *Über die Lage und Costruction der Halle Heorot im angelsächsischen Beowulfliede. Nebst einer Einleitung über angelsächsischen Burgenbau*. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1864, p. 39.

of the lord and know good counsel for the two of them together in the household.)

This passage is a vivid description of an important aspect of the woman's role in Germanic and Anglo-Saxon society. It is also a brief reminder of both rights and duties of women who are in authority. Besides, it recalls *Beowulf* 628b-641 when Wealhtheow, king Hrothgar's queen, offers to the Prince of the Geats the cup which symbolises the solemn oath to fight against Grendel.<sup>76</sup>

Daily life in Anglo-Saxon England was also centred on some other rituals such as initiation and purification. The coming of Christianity replaced these customs with the symbolism of purifying and cleansing of the ordinance of baptism. Whitebread recalls *Maxims I B* 28-29, where the Frisian wife waits for her husband at sea to come back home and *wæscēð his warig hrægl | ond him syleþ wæde niwe || liþ him on londe | þæs his lufu bædeð* 'washes his sea-stained garments, gives him fresh clothes, grants him on the land what her love demands'. He believes that such a ritual, which is still a folk custom in New Guinea, was a regular tradition which the gnomist could not take into account.<sup>77</sup> Worthy of note is that scholars have not expanded on a possible symbolism of the sea as a symbol of rebirth and the fresh garments as the white robes of righteousness that the faithful wear before the Most Holy One as in Rev 7: 9.<sup>78</sup>

*Maxims I B* 11-12a sheds some light on peculiar issues of marriage settlements in relation to a woman (queen):

*Cyning sceal mid ceape      cwene gebicgan,  
bunum ond beagum.*

(A king shall buy a queen with properties, with cups and rings.)

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<sup>76</sup> See note '607-41' in *Klaeber's Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, ROBERT D. FULK, ROBERT E. BJORK and JOHN D. NILES (eds), Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 2008, p. 155.

<sup>77</sup> LESLIE WHITBREAD, 'The Frisian Sailor Passage in the Old English Gnostic Verses'. *Review of English Studies* 22 (1946), pp. 215-9.

<sup>78</sup> *Post haec vidi turbam magnam quam dinumerare nemo poterat ex omnibus gentibus et tribubus et populis et linguis stantes ante thronum et in conspectu agni amicti stolas albas et palmae in manibus eorum.*

For Judd, it was not the woman to be sold but the rights to her custody. Such a view gives some more details on the subject. Hence, the woman – highly praised in the gnome dealing with the passing of the cup – is not delegitimised as, by a first look, one might be inclined to understand.<sup>79</sup> Actually, Judd’s interpretation reinforces the idea of women’s influence, their role and relationship in the household. One might query whether this gnome refers to all women, as it appears, or simply to those in authority. In Anglo-Saxon England, a marriage did not mean happiness or love. At times it put women in a rough position since they had to assume the role of peace-weavers and to unite two families that hated one another. In any case, no studies have expanded on the reason why the gnomist felt the need to state a similar apothegm.

Women, however, are also the custodians of some inner knowledge and powers such as those of magic. It was a prerogative of great authority since men, be they mortal or gods, turn to their wisdom. Old Norse *Völuspá* is a brilliant example of it: a gigantic seeress gives arcane information about the end of the world to Woden, the father of the gods. Although there is no specific addressee, *Maxims II 43b-45a* might reveal something apparently hidden about such an arcane authority some women hold:

*ides sceal dyrne cræfte*  
*fæmne hire freond gesecean    gif heo nelle on folce geþeon*  
*þæt hi man beagum gebicge*

(With secret craft, a lady, a virgin, must seek her friend, if she wants  
not to prosper amongst her people; a man buys her with rings.)

Meaney explains that, originally, *ides* meant “woman”. Such a word would reveal the woman in her sacral, mysterious aspect. And, obviously, it must be related to nobility as it is not a feature of ordinary people. I do agree with Meaney’s view. In the Germanic world, some women are endowed with particular, ‘supernatural’ powers which are firmly associated with sorcery and Meaney rightly thinks that

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<sup>79</sup> ELIZABETH JUDD, ‘Women before the Conquest: a Study of Women in Anglo-Saxon England’. *Papers in Women’s Studies* (University of Michigan) 1.1 (1974), p. 138.

*dyrne cræfte* can be read as “by magic”.<sup>80</sup> Thus, the *Maxims* put a lot of emphasis on the role of women in authority, their society, their role as counsellor, warrantor of oaths and warden of sorcery. Before the coming of Christendom, magic was a pivotal aspect of Germanic society due to its would-be power. Sorcery was later replaced by the Christian doctrine of the priesthood, a heavenly power bestowed by God on men. Worthy of mentioning is that, unlike magic, the priesthood is a prerogative of males. Yet, with the establishment of the new faith, the role of the *ides* does not fade away since this same word is also used to describe female saints and heroines such as Juliana, Elene and Judith. Hence, as to the profile of women in authority, the *Maxims* are a veiled array of literary fragments which, if one puts them together, unfold significant aspects of Anglo-Saxon society which are not so easily detectable from other Old English poems. Schrader thinks that the comments on women one finds all through Old English poetry are not essentially the main trait, nor do they inevitably portray the real behaviour of a society.<sup>81</sup> Instead, I firmly believe that the gnomes that deal with such female features are extremely precious. Christianity converted the hearts of the people; it did not eradicate all customs and the structure of a society. In spite of any creed, Anglo-Saxon England still centred its social life on women whose authority was to grant prosperity to a household, to a realm, and to keep the secret of great treasures of knowledge, even hidden treasures of a far-flung past which the Anglo-Saxons never gave up totally.<sup>82</sup>

For Robinson, “there is more diversity than congruence in the structures posited, one wonders whether we are not approaching the problem in the wrong

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<sup>80</sup> Meaney also refers to a *Penitential (Pseudo-Theodore)* attributed to Theodore of Tarsus on the belief that women are capable of working love-magic; AUDREY L. MEANEY, ‘The *ides* of the Cotton Gnostic Poem’. *Medium Ævum* 48 (1979), pp. 23-39, esp. pp. 25-6, 27-31, 33-7, and notes 20 and 21, p. 39. As to the theme of loving women dealing with sorcery, see also *Hávamál* 90-91.

<sup>81</sup> Schrader gives some scattered references to the role of women in Old English poetry, RICHARD J. SCHRADER, *God’s Handiwork: Images of Women in Early Germanic Literature*. Contributions in Women’s Studies 41. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1983, pp. 29-32. Besides, see SUSAN E. DESKIS, ‘The Gnostic Woman in Old English Poetry’. *Philological Quarterly* 73 (1994), pp. 133-49.

<sup>82</sup> The role and duties of women are treated in PATRICK L. HENRY, *The Early English and Celtic Lyric*. London: Allen, 1966, pp. 79-81 and CHRISTINE FELL, *Women in Anglo-Saxon England and the Impact of 1066*. London: British Museum, 1984, p. 69.

way when we limit our attention to the *Maxims* in isolation”.<sup>83</sup> Taylor is right in thinking of the *Maxims* in terms of a “time capsule”. In fact, they give a reliable outline of the customs once prevailing in Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>84</sup> Cavill is just as right in considering the wisdom of the Exeter and Cotton poems gnomic. Indeed, they “order and organise experience and society”.<sup>85</sup> Yet, I would rather see them as a collection of self-standing units, although they belong to a larger section (Exeter gnomes) or poem (Cotton gnomes).<sup>86</sup>

As already mentioned, *Maxims I* and *II* are a heterogeneous collection of aphorisms, pithy sayings and gnomes from different sources and different stages of the Anglo-Saxon society. As Dawson notes, “the poems are not simply lists but mnemonic arrangements in sequences built up by multiple associations of ideas, either through meaning or thought sound”.<sup>87</sup> Some are endowed with the ancient pagan wisdom whilst others sound like perfect Christian utterances, or at least the material has been filtered by the zeal of the new faith. For the same reason, I am not as prone to consider linguistic studies and the scrutiny of lexis as a result of their diversity and the variety of sources the collections of *Maxims I* and *II* might originate from. One cannot regard the *Maxims* as single poems just because of their regular occurrence of *sceal* and/or *bið*.<sup>88</sup> It is rather more interesting to consider another aspect which has been somehow neglected by the scholarship: the presence of gnomic themes and voices in the poetic corpus.

*Maxims I A 4a* reveals that *gleawe men sceolon gieddum wrixlan* ‘wise men must exchange wise words’. Hence, to the Anglo-Saxons, wisdom is meant to be

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<sup>83</sup> FRED C. ROBINSON, ‘Old English Literature in Its Most Immediate Context’ in *Old English Literature in Context: Ten Essays*, JOHN D. NILES (ed.). Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1980, p. 26.

<sup>84</sup> As for the “time capsule”-theory applied to the gnomes, see PAUL B. TAYLOR, ‘Heroic Ritual in the Old English Maxims’. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 70 (1969), p. 407.

<sup>85</sup> P. CAVILL, *Maxims in Old English Poetry*, pp. 183, 185.

<sup>86</sup> See NICHOLAS HOWE, *The Old English Catalogue Poems*. Anglistica 23. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde, 1985, pp. 133-66, esp. pp. 134-5, 140-3, 151-65.

<sup>87</sup> R. MCGREGOR DAWSON, ‘The Structure of the Old English Gnostic Poems’. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 61 (1962), p. 14.

<sup>88</sup> P.B. TAYLOR, ‘Heroic Ritual in the Old English Maxims’, pp. 387-92;

shared.<sup>89</sup> In *Maxims I A 22-23a*, one further reads, *ræd sceal mid snyttro | ryht mid wisum || til sceal mid tilum* ‘counsel shall go with wisdom, justice with the sage, a good man with good men’.<sup>90</sup> The *Maxims* are a compilation of thoughts based on the knowledge of the world and they aim to instruct and advise by the authoritative force of some ancient learning. Because of their didascalical nature and purpose, a modern reader can take hold of both the mentality and the cultural setting of the Anglo-Saxons.

The previous analysis of those few themes in the two poems has offered a small viewpoint of the deep connection between the *Maxims* and the rest of Old English poetry. Marsden has recently re-pointed out these numerous occurrences throughout the poetic corpus, especially in *Beowulf*.<sup>91</sup> The latter poem consists of 6,364 half lines; 342 of these are gnomic utterance.<sup>92</sup> Gnomes are mostly used to conclude a character’s remark endowing it with authoritative *dictum*. Yet, they

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<sup>89</sup> ALICE SHEPPARD, ‘Thinking, Knowledge, and Wisdom in *The Wanderer*’ in *Source of Wisdom: Old English and Early Medieval Latin Studies in Honor of Thomas D. Hill*, CHARLES D. WRIGHT ET ALII (eds). Toronto–Buffalo–London: University of Toronto Press, 2007, pp. 134-5.

<sup>90</sup> As for *ræd* ‘counsel’, see NICHOLAS HOWE, ‘The Cultural Construction of Reading in Anglo-Saxon England’ in *Old English literature: Critical Essays*, ROY M. LIUZZA (ed.). New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2002, p. 7.

<sup>91</sup> The references to the gnomic voices in *Beowulf* are in RICHARD MARSDEN, *The Cambridge Old English Reader*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 293.

<sup>92</sup> Gnomes have different themes and are delivered by several voices: the poet (160 half lines), Hroðgar (93), Beowulf (75), Wiglaf (6), the Coastguard (5), and the Last Survivor (3). To Deskis, they effect thematic continuity and structuring, S.E. DESKIS, *Beowulf and the Medieval Proverb Tradition*, p. 155. Indeed, gnomes are not merely sentence/episode linkers, they are rather unmistakably distinguished by formal differences and are used to underline and develop the major themes and attitudes which the *scop* intends his narrative structure to support, see E. TUTTLE HANSEN, *The Solomon Complex: Reading Wisdom in Old English Poetry*, p. 57. Gnostic passages are always strictly coherent to the narration flow and they cannot be considered disturbing elements of aphoristic didacticism, see ANNE L. HARRIS, ‘The Vatic Mode in *Beowulf*’, *Neophilologus* 74 (1990), pp. 591-600, esp. p. 594. They rather have power and beauty in their own right, not a mere formulaic or ornamental function; see THOMAS A. SHIPPEY, ‘Maxims in Old English Narrative’ in *Oral Tradition, Literary Tradition: A Symposium*. Proceedings, Symposia at the Center for the Study of Vernacular Literature in the Middle Ages, Odense University, HANS BEKKER-NIELSEN ET ALII (eds). Odense: Odense University Press, 1977, p. 31, and CATHERINE KARKOV and ROBERT FARRELL, ‘The Gnostic Passages of *Beowulf*’ in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 91 (1990), pp. 295-310, esp. p. 307.

can also be introductory or have a medial or parenthetical position.<sup>93</sup> The maxims in *Beowulf* are a true cross-section of the Anglo-Saxon society, of its rules, values, and beliefs on the heroic and ethical code. By doing so, the *scop* creates a binding link of social interdependence.<sup>94</sup> Thus, gnomes are a didactic instrument. Through them, truth and wisdom are imparted to society by the mighty power of solemn, authoritative lore. Worthy of note is that, although not as persistent as in *Beowulf*, one also discovers some gnostic voices in the elegies and, at times, even Christian poetry.<sup>95</sup>

The few themes analysed in *Maxims I* and *II*, also recurrent randomly in the Old English poetic corpus, represent the pillars of the Anglo-Saxon frame of mind. The *Maxims* show a variety of customs of that time: from man's primacy to human frailty in relationship with physical death. They disclose a world ruled by husbands who should hearken unto the counsel of their sage wives, and they put a lot of emphasis on the lore about some issues taken from daily life. All in all, the *scop* often turns to gnostic poetry to elevate his register to make his lay or narration more solemn. The *Maxims* are a catalogue of wisdom in which one could find knowledge and great inspiration. They are storages of great acumen at one's disposal, to decorate and beautify poetry. They are definitely the priceless hanks I mentioned at the beginning. They are of the most sublime lyrical genre whose golden thread adorns Old English verses with the quintessence of poesy.

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<sup>93</sup> KEMP MALONE, 'Words of Wisdom in *Beowulf*' in *Humaniora Essays in Literature Folklore Bibliography Honoring Archer Taylor on His Seventieth Birthday*, WAYLAND D. HAND and GUSTAVE D. ARLT (eds). New York: J.J. Augustin, 1960, pp. 182-3.

<sup>94</sup> ROBERT B. BURLIN, 'Gnostic Indirection in *Beowulf*' in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation for John C. McGalliard*, LEWIS E. NICHOLSON and DOLORES WARWICK FRESE (eds.), Notre Dame (Ind): University of Notre Dame Press, 1975, p. 42.

<sup>95</sup> THOMAS D. HILL, 'Old English Sapietial Poetry' in *Readings in Medieval Texts: Interpreting Old and Middle English Literature*, DAVID F. JOHNSON and ELAINE TREHARNE (eds). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 167-70, esp. p. 168.

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- \_\_\_\_\_ *Geschichte der englischen Literatur von der ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*. Vol. 1. Leipzig and Vienna: Bibliographisches Institut, 1896.
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*. 3 vols. Kassel: Wigand, 1881-98.
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## PART TWO



## EDITION OF *MAXIMS I* AND *MAXIMS II*

### Editorial Note

The folios of the Exeter Book and BL MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i, where *Maxims I* and *II* are contained, do not show any major defects that would impede a plain palaeographic scrutiny. I had direct approach to the codices and, when appropriate, I turned to facsimile editions. As for the Exeter Book, I treasured Muir's digital edition in CD-ROM.

At first, I transcribed the poems from the manuscripts and set up a diplomatic edition (appended). Afterwards, I divided the two texts into verses according to the needs of the alliterative measure. On the right side of the page, an asterisk in square brackets [\*] points out the beginning of a new folio.

I turned to all previous editions of the poems to organise the apparatus criticus. There, I supply all editors and critics' emendations or readings. A list of abbreviations with the scholars' name, work and year of publication are found below, before the edited text.

Graphic variants adopted by other editors have been ignored. Additions are given in square brackets. Common abbreviated words such as *þ*, *þōn*, any word ending with a long (semi)vowel before nasal and final palatal *ǧ* have all been silently expanded. The Tironian note, *ʒ*, is printed as *ond*. All occurrences of *y* have been normalised into *y*. Bilabial semivowel *w* and close back rounded vowel *u* are kept distinguished since the MS. has different letters. Emendations are in *italics*.

The texts have been repunctuated. Modern punctuation is found in my translation.

Table of Abbreviations

- Boll.* Bollard, J.K. ‘The Cotton Maxims’, 1973.
- Bout.* Bouterwek, K.W (ed.) *Cædmon’s des Angelsachsen biblische Dichtungen*, 1854.
- Brk.* Berkhout, C.T. (ed.) *A Critical Edition of the Old English Gnostic Poems*, 1975.
- Brun* Brown, C. ‘*Poculum Mortis* in Old English’, 1940.
- C.-R.* Cassidy, F.G. – Ringler, R.N. (eds) *Bright’s Old English Grammar & Reader*, 1971<sup>3</sup>.
- Cm.-Rs.* Campbell, J.J. – Rosier, J.L. *Poems in Old English*, 1962.
- Con.* Conybeare, J.J. (ed.) *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 1826.
- Csjn* Cosijn, P.J. ‘Anglosaxonica’, 1881.
- Dbb.* Dobbie van Kirk, E. (ed.) *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ASPR 6, 1942.
- Dwsn* Dawson, R. McGregor Jr. (ed.) *An Edition of the Old English Gnostic Poetry Contained in the Exeter Book and MS Cotton Tiberius B.i*, 1953
- E.-P.* Earle, J. – Plummer, C. (eds) *Two of the Saxon Chronicle Parallels*, vol. 1, 1892.
- Ebl.* Ebeling, F.W. (ed.) *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, 1847.
- Erl.* Earle, J. (ed.) *Two of the Saxon Chronicle Parallels*, 1865.
- Ettm.* Ettmüller, E.M.L. (ed.) *Engla and Seaxa Scôpas and Bôceras*, 1850; repr. 1966.
- Fox* Fox, S. *Menologium seu calendarium poeticum ex Hiccesiano thesauro*, 1830.
- Gr.*<sup>1</sup> Grein, C.W.M. (ed.) *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, vol. 2, 1858.
- Gr.*<sup>2</sup> Grein, C.W.M. ‘Zur Textkritik der angelsächsischen Dichter’, *Germania* 10, 1865.
- Gr.*<sup>3</sup> Grein, C.W.M. *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, 2 vols, 1861-4. Rev. edn. J.J. Köhler, with F. Holthausen, 1912.

- Ham.* Hammer, R. (ed. & trans.) *A Choice of Anglo-Saxon Verse*, 1970.
- Hcks* Hickes, G. *Linguarum vett. septentrionalium thesaurus: grammatico-criticus et archæologicus*, vol. 1, 1705.
- Holt.*<sup>1</sup> Holthausen, F. 'Zur Textkritik altenglischer Dichtungen', 1906-7.
- Holt.*<sup>2</sup> Holthausen, F. 'Zur altenglischen Literatur X. 30. Zu den Gnomica Exoniensa', 1910.
- Holt.*<sup>3</sup> Holthausen, F. 'Zur altenglischen Literatur XI. 34. Zu den Gnomica Exoniensa', 1910.
- Holt.*<sup>4</sup> Holthausen, F. 'Erwiderung', 1910.
- Holt.*<sup>5</sup> Holthausen, F. 'Review of *Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings* by Ernst A. Kock', 1919.
- Holt.*<sup>6</sup> Holthausen, F. 'Review of Mackie, ed., *The Ex. Book*', 1935.
- K.-D.* Krapp, G.F. – Dobbie, Van Kirk E. (eds) *The Exeter Book*, ASPR 3, 1936.
- Kirk* Kirk, J.M. Jr. (ed.) *A Critical Edition of the Old English Gnostic Poems in the Exeter Book and MS Cotton Tiberius B.i*, 1971.
- Klbr* Klaeber, F. Rev. of *Plain Points and Puzzles*, by Ernst A. Kock, 1923.
- Kl.* Kluge, F. (ed.) *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, 1888.
- Kock*<sup>1</sup> Kock, E.A. *Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings*, 1918.
- Kock*<sup>2</sup> Kock, E.A. 'Interpretations and Emendations of Early English Texts, V', 1919.
- Kock*<sup>3</sup> Kock, E.A. *Plain Points and Puzzles*, 1922.
- Mack.* Mackie, W.S. (ed.) *The Exeter Book. Part II. Poems IX-XXXII*, vol. 2, EETS, O.S. 194, 1934.
- Muir* Muir, B.J. (ed.) *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, vol. 1, 1994; repr. 2000.
- Rieg.*<sup>1</sup> Rieger, M. (ed.) *Alt- und Angelsächsischen Lesebuch*, 1861.
- Rieg.*<sup>2</sup> Rieger, M. 'Über Cynewulf. III, IV, V', 1869.
- Rob.* Robinson, F.C. 'Notes and Emendations to Old English Poetic Texts', 1966.
- Rod.* Rodriguez, L.J. *Anglo-Saxon Verse Charms, Maxims and Heroic Legends*, 1994.
- Sch.* Schipper, J. 'Zum Codex Exoniensis', 1874.

- Schltt.*<sup>1</sup> Schlutter, O.B. 'Zu "Anglia Beiblatt" XXI, nr. 5, s.155-6', 1910.
- Schltt.*<sup>2</sup> Schlutter, O.B. 'Beiträge zur altenglischen Wortforschung II', 1911.
- Sedg.* Sedgefield, W.J. (ed.) *An Anglo-Saxon book of Verse and Prose*, 1928.
- Shp.* Shippey, T.A. *Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English*, 1976.
- Siev.*<sup>1</sup> Sievers, E. 'Zur Rhythmik des germanischen Alliterationsverses II', 1885.
- Siev.*<sup>2</sup> Sievers, E. 'Zur Rhythmik des germanischen Alliterationsverses III: Der angelsächsische Schwellvers', 1887.
- Str.*<sup>1</sup> Strobl, J. 'Zum Wiener Hundsegen', 1886.
- Str.*<sup>2</sup> Strobl, J. 'Zur Spruchdichtung bei den Angelsachsen', 1887.
- Sw<sup>1</sup>* Sweet, H. (ed.) *An Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*, 1876.
- Sw<sup>2</sup>* Sweet, H. (ed.) *An Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*, 1884.
- Sw<sup>3</sup>* Sweet, H. (ed.), Whitelock, D. (rev.) *An Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*, 1967.
- Th.* Thorpe, B. (ed. and trans.) *Codex Exoniensis*, 1842.
- Wh<sup>1</sup>* Whitelock, D. 'Anglo-Saxon Poetry and the Historian', 1949.
- Wms* Williams, B.C. (ed.) *Gnomic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon*, 1914.
- Wtt* Wyatt, J.A. (ed.) *An Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 1919.
- Wülk.*<sup>1</sup> Wülker, R.P. (ed.) *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, vol. 1, 1883.
- Wülk.*<sup>2</sup> Wülker, R.P. (ed.) *Kleinere angelsächsische Dichtungen: Abdruck der handschriftlichen Überlieferung, mit den Lesarten der Handschriften und einem Wörterbuche*, 1882.

**EXETER A**

[ff. 88<sup>v</sup>-90<sup>r</sup>]

01 Frige mec frodum wordum. Ne læt þinne ferð onhælne  
02 degol þæt þu deopost cunne. Nelle ic þe min dyrne geseccan  
03 gif þu me þinne hygecræft hylest ond þine heortan geþohtas.  
04 Gleawe men sceolon gieddum wrixlan. God sceal mon ærest hergan  
05 fægre fæder userne forþon þe he us æt frymþe geteode  
06 lif ond lænne willan. He usic wile þara leana gemonian  
07 meotud sceal in wuldre. Mon sceal on eorþan  
08 geong ealdian. God us ece biþ  
09 ne wendað hine wyrda. Ne hine wiht dreceþ  
10 adl \* ne ylde ælmihtigne [\* f. 89<sup>r</sup>]  
11 ne gomelað he in gæste ac he is gen swa he wæs  
12 þeoden geþyldig. He us geþonc syleð  
13 missenlicu mod monge reorde  
14 feorhcynna fela fæþmeþ wide  
15 eglond monig. Eardas rume  
16 meotud arærde for moncynne  
17 ælmihtig god efenfela bega  
18 þeoda ond þeawa. Þing sceal gehegan  
19 frod wiþ frodne biþ hyra ferð gelic.  
20 Hi a sace semað sibbe gelærað  
21 þa ær wonsælge awegen habbað

---

3a **gif þu me þinne hygecræft hylest]** gif þu þinne hygecræft hylest (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Siev.*<sup>2</sup>)

**hygecræft]** *MS.* hyge cræft; hyge-cræft (*Th.*)

11a **gomelað]** gomela (*Wms*)

12b **geþonc]** þonc (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>)

13b **monge reorde]** mon-gereorde (*Th.*)

14a **feorhcynna]** *MS.* feorh cynna; feorh-cynna (*Th.*)

16b **moncynne]** *MS.* mon cynne; mon-cynne (*Th.*)

17b **efenfela]** efen-fela (*Th.*)

- 22 ræd sceal mid snyttro ryht mid wisum  
 23 til sceal mid tilum. Tu beoð gemæccan  
 24 sceal wif ond wer in woruld cennan  
 25 bearn mid gebyrdum. Beam sceal on eorðan  
 26 leafum liþan leomu gnornian.  
 27 Fus sceal feran fæge sweltan  
 28 ond dogra gehwam ymb gedal sacan  
 29 middangeardes. Meotud ana wat  
 30 hwær se cwealm cymeþ þe heonan of cyþþe gewiteþ.  
 31 Umbor yceð þa æradl nimeð  
 32 þy weorþeð on foldan swa fela fira cynnes.  
 33 Ne sy þæs magutimbres gemet ofer eorþan  
 34 gif hi ne wanige se þas woruld teode.  
 35 Dol biþ se þe his dryhten nat to þæs oft cymeð deað unþinged  
 36 snotre men sawlum beorgað healdað hyra soð mid ryhte  
 37 eadig bið se þe in his eþle geþihð earm se him his frynd geswicað.  
 38 Nefre sceal se him his nest aspringeð nyd[e] sceal þrage \* gebunden. [\* f. 89<sup>v</sup>]  
 39 Bliþe sceal bealoleas heorte. Blind sceal his eagna þolian  
 40 oftigen biþ him torhtre gesihþe. Ne magon hi ne tunglu bewitian  
 41 swegltorht sunnan ne monan. Þæt him biþ sar in his mode  
 42 onge þonne he hit ana wat ne weneð þæt him þæs edhwyrft cyme.

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26a liþan] liþian (*Brk.*); beliþan (*Holt.*<sup>6</sup>)

26b gnornian] gnorian (*Kirk*); growan (*Th.*)

29a middangeardes] middan-geardes (*Th.*)

31b þa æradl] þær adl (*Klbr., Dwsn*)

æradl] ær adl (*Th., Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wülk.*<sup>2</sup>, *Wms*); æradl (*Gr.*<sup>2</sup>)

33a magutimbres] magu-timbres (*Th.*)

34a hi] he (*Kirk*)

35b oft] eft (*Siev.*<sup>2</sup>)

37b eadig bið se þe in his eþle geþihð] eadig bið se þe his eðle geþihð (*Siev.*<sup>2</sup>)

38a nefre] næfre (*Siev.*<sup>2</sup>); nearo (*Kock*<sup>1</sup>); wæfre (*Schlitt.*<sup>1</sup>)

38b nyde] *MS.* nyd (*Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>, *Siev.*<sup>2</sup>, *Kock*<sup>3</sup>, *Brk.*)

40b hi ne] *MS.* hine (*Siev.*<sup>2</sup>); hi (*K.-D., Dwsn, Muir*)

bewitian] *MS.* bew<sup>i</sup>tian

41a swegltorht sunnan] swegl-torht-sunnan (*Th.*)

41b sar in his mode] sar on mode (*Gr.*<sup>3</sup>)

42a onge þonne he] *MS.* onge þon he (*Siev.*<sup>2</sup>); on ge þon he (*Th., Gr.*<sup>1</sup>);  
 onge þon (þonne?) he (*Gr.*<sup>2</sup>); on geþonne he (*Wülk.*<sup>2</sup>)

42b edhwyrft] ed-hwyrft (*Th.*)

- 43 Waldend him þæt wite teode se him mæg wyrpe syllan  
 44 hælo of heofodgimme gif he wat heortan clæne.  
 45 Lef mon læces behofað. Læran sceal mon geongne monnan  
 46 trymman ond tyhtan þæt he teala cunne oþþæt hine mon atemedne hæbbe.  
 47 Sylle him wist ond wædo oþþæt hine mon on gewitte alæde.  
 48 Ne sceal hine mon cildgeongne forcweþan ær he hine acyþan mote.  
 49 Þy sceal on þeode geþeon þæt he wese þristhycgende.  
 50 Styran sceal mon strongum mode. Storm oft holm gebringeþ  
 51 geofen in grimmum sælum. Onginnað grome fundian  
 52 fealwe on feorran to londe hwæþer he fæste stonde.  
 53 Weallas him wiþre healdað him biþ wind gemæne.  
 54 Swa biþ sæ smilte þonne hy *sund* ne weceð  
 55 swa beoþ þeoda geþwære þonne hy geþingad habbað.  
 56 Gesittað him on gesundum þingum ond þonne mid gesiþum healdap  
 57 cene men gecynde rice. Cyning biþ anwealdes georn.  
 58 Lað se þe londes monað leof se þe mare beodeð.  
 59 Þrym sceal mid wlenco þriste mid cenum  
 60 sceolun bu recene beadwe fremman.  
 61 Eorl sceal on eos boge eorod \* sceal getrume ridan [\* f. 90ʳ]  
 62 fæste feþa stondan. Fæmne æt hyre bordan geriseð  
 63 widgongel wif word gespringeð oft hy mon wommum bilihð

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44a **hælo]** hæle (*Wms*)

**of heofodgimme]** on heofodgimme (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>)

45a **lef mon]** lefmon (*Th.*, *Holt.*<sup>6</sup>)

46a **trymman ond tyhtan þæt he teala cunne]** trymman, þæt he teala cunne, (*Holt.*<sup>3</sup>)

48a **cildgeongne]** cildgeong ne (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>); cild geong ne (*Th.*)

49b **þristhycgende]** þrist-hycgende (*Th.*)

52a **on feorran]** feoran (*Schl.*<sup>2</sup>); onforan (*Kock*<sup>3</sup>)

52b **he]** hit (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Holt.*<sup>6</sup>)

54b **sund]** *MS.* wind (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wms*, *Mack.*, *K.-D.*, *Kirk*, *Shp.*)

55a **þeoda]** þeode (*Wms*)

55b **geþingad]** *MS.* geþingað

60a **sceolun]** sceolon (*Shp.*)

61b **eorod]** *MS.* worod (*Kirk*)

**sceal]** scal (*Siev.*<sup>2</sup>)

63a **widgongel]** wid-gongel (*Th.*)

**gespringeð]** gesprengeð (*Ettm.*)

63b **bilihð]** belihð (*Ettm.*, *Siev.*<sup>2</sup>)

- 64 hæleð hy hospe mænað oft hyre hleor abreoþeð.  
65 Sceomiande man sceal in sceade hweorfan scir in leohte geriseð.  
66 Hond sceal heofod inwyrca hord in streonum bidan.  
67 Gifstol gegierwed stonda hwonne hine guman gedælen.  
68 Gifre biþ se þam golde onfehð guma þæs on heahsetle geneah.  
69 Lean sceal gif we leogan nellað þam þe us þas lisse geteode.

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64b **abreoþeð**] abreoteð (*Ettm.*)

65a **sceomiande**] scomiande (*Ettm.*); sceomiende (*Siev.*<sup>2</sup>)

66a **heofod**] heafod (*Ettm.*, *Rieg.*<sup>2</sup>)

**inwyrca**] in-wyrca (*Th.*); inwrihan (*Rieg.*<sup>2</sup>)

66b **streonum**] screonum (*Rieg.*<sup>2</sup>)

67a **gifstol**] gif-stol (*Th.*)

67b **hwonne**] gif (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Rieg.*<sup>2</sup>)

68b **guma þæs on heahsetle geneah**] gifeð man þæs on heahsetle geneahhe (*Rieg.*<sup>2</sup>)

**heahsetle**] heah-setle (*Th.*)

**EXETER B**

[ff. 90<sup>r</sup>-91<sup>r</sup>]

- 01 Forst sceal freosan fyr wudu meltan  
02 eorþe growan. Is brycgian  
03 wæter helm wegan wundrum lucan  
04 eorþan ciþas. An sceal inbindan  
05 forstes fetre felamehtig god.  
06 Winter sceal geweorpan weder eft cuman  
07 sumor swegle hat sund unstillle  
08 deop deada wæg dyrne bið lengest.  
09 Holen sceal inæled yrfe gedæled  
10 deades monnes. Dom biþ selast.  
11 Cyning sceal mid ceape cwene gebicgan  
12 bunum ond beagum. Bu sceolon ærest  
13 geofum god wesan. Guð sceal in eorle  
14 wig geweaxan ond wif geþeon

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3a **wæter helm**] wæterhelm (*Ettm.*, *Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>, *K.-D.*)

4b **inbindan**] anbindan (*Con.*)

5a **fetre**] fetru (*Th.*, *Ettm.*)

5b **felamehtig**] fela mehtig (*Hcks*, *Con.*, *Ettm.*); fela-mehtig (*Th.*, *Wms*, *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>)

7a **sumor swegle hat**] sumor swegle-hat (*Th.*); sumorswegle hat (*Kock*<sup>1</sup>)

8a **deada**] deadra (*Wtt*); deaða (*Brun*, *Brk.*)

**wæg**] weg (*Ettm.*)

8b **dyrne**] dyme (*Con.*)

**dyrne bið lengest**] dyrne bið ond lengest (*Kirk*)

9a **holen**] ofen (*Holt.*<sup>1</sup>)

**inæled**] in æled (*Con.*, *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wms*), in æleð (*Th.*)

10b **selast**] se last (*Con.*)

11a **ceape**] ceawe (*Hcks*)

12b **sceolon**] scealon (*Con.*)

14a **wig geweaxan**] wigge weaxan (*Gr.*<sup>2</sup>)

14b **geþeon**] geþihan (*Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>)

- 15 leof mid hyre leodum. Leohtmod wesan  
 16 rune healdan rumheort beon  
 17 mearum ond maþmum. Meodorædenne  
 18 for gesiðmægen symle æghwær  
 19 eodor æþelinga ærest gegretan  
 20 \* forman fulle to frean hond [\* f. 90<sup>v</sup>]  
 21 ricene geræcan ond him ræd witan  
 22 boldagendum bæm ætsomne.  
 23 scip sceal genægled scyld gebunden  
 24 leoht linden bord. Leof wilcuma  
 25 frysan wife þonne flota stondeð  
 26 biþ his ceol cumen ond hyre ceorl to ham  
 27 agen ætgeofa ond heo hine in laðaþ  
 28 wæsceð his warig hrægl ond him syleþ wæde niwe  
 29 liþ him on londe þæs his lufu bædeð.  
 30 Wif sceal wiþ wer wære gehealdan. Oft hi mon wommum behlið.  
 31 Fela bið fæsthydigra fela bið fyrwetgeornra  
 32 freoð hy fremde monnan þonne se oþer feor gewiteþ.

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15a **leof**] *MS.* lof (*Hcks*, *Th.*, *Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>)

15b **leohtmod**] leoht mod (*Hcks*); leoht-mod (*Th.*)

16b **rumheort**] rum heort (*Hcks*); rum-heort (*Th.*)

17b **meodorædenne**] meodo rædenne (*Hcks*); meodo-rædenne (*Th.*); meodoræ denne (*Dwsn*)

18a **for gesiðmægen**] *MS.* forge sið mægen; forge-sið mægen (*Hcks*); sorge siðmægen (*Ettm.*);  
 for gesiðmægon (*Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>); for gesið-mægen (*Th.*); fore gesiðmægen (*Mack.*)

19a **æþelinga**] *MS.* æþelinge (*Hcks*, *Muir*); eodor-æþelinge (*Th.*)

20a **forman**] for man (*Hcks*)

20b **hond**] handa (*Ettm.*); honda (*Siev.*<sup>1</sup>, *Holt.*<sup>6</sup>)

22a **boldagendum**] bold agendum (*Hcks*); bold-agendum (*Th.*, *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>)

22b **ætsomne**] æt-somne (*Th.*)

24a **linden bord**] lindenbord (*Mack.*)

24b **wilcuma**] wil-cuma (*Th.*)

26b **ham**] him (*Hcks*)

27a **ætgeofa**] æt geofa (*Hcks*); æt-geofa (*Th.*)

27b **in laðaþ**] *MS.* inlaðaþ (*Hcks*, *Th.*, *Ettm.*)

30a **wif sceal wiþ wer wære gehealdan**] wif sceal [wiþ wer] wære gehealdan (*Ettm.*)

30b **oft hi mon wommum behlið**] *Rieg.*<sup>1</sup> omits the entire line

**behlið**] belihð (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *K.-D.*, *Kirk*, *Rod.*, *Muir*)

31a **fæsthydigra**] fæst hydigra (*Hcks*, *Sch.*); fæst-hydigra (*Th.*)

31b **fyrwetgeornra**] *MS.* fyrwet geornra (*Hcks*); fyrwet-geornra (*Th.*); fyrwetgeornra (*Wms*);  
 fyrwitgeornra (*Ettm.*); fyrwetgeorna (*Wiilk.*<sup>1</sup>)

- 33 Lida biþ longe on siþe. A mon sceal seþeah leofes wenan  
 34 gebidan þæs he gebædan ne mæg hwonne him eft gebyre weorðe.  
 35 Ham cymeð gif he hal leofað nefne him holm gestyreð  
 36 mere hafað mundum. Mægðes agen wyn.  
 37 ceapeadig mon cyningwic þonne  
 38 leodon cypeþ · þonne liþan cymeð.  
 39 Wuda ond wætres nyttað þonne him biþ wic alyfed  
 40 mete bygeþ gif he maran þearf ærþon he to meþe weorþe.  
 41 Seoc se biþ þe to seldan ieteð. Þeah hine mon on sunnan læde  
 42 ne mæg he be þy wedre wesan þeah hit sy wearm on sumera  
 43 ofercumen biþ he ær he acwele gif he nat hwa hine cwicne fede.  
 44 Mægen mon sceal mid mete fedan \* morþor under eorþan befeolan [\* f. 91<sup>r</sup>]  
 45 hinder under hrusan þe hit forhelan þenceð.  
 46 Ne biþ þæt gedefe deaþ þonne hit gedyrned weorþeð.  
 47 hean sceal gehnigan adl gesigan  
 48 ryht rogian. Ræd biþ nyttost  
 49 yfel unnyttost þæt unlæd nimeð.  
 50 God bið genge ond wiþ god lenge.  
 51 Hyge sceal gehealden hond gewealden.  
 52 seo sceal in eagan snyttro in breostum

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32a fremde] fremðe (*Holt*.<sup>6</sup>)

33b seþeah] se ðeah (*Hcks*); se-þeah (*Th.*); se þeah (*Ettm.*, *Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>, *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>)

35a ham] *MS.* há

36b mægðes agen wyn] *MS.* mægð egsan wýn (*Th.*, *Ettm.*, *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wms*, *Mack.*); mægþ egsan wyn (*Hcks*);  
 mægð eagna wyn (*Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>); mægð eagna wyn (*Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>);  
 mægðegsan wyn (*K.-D.*)

37a ceapeadig] ceap eadig (*Hcks*, *Th.*, *Ettm.*, *Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wms*, *Mack.*);  
 ceape eadig (*Holt.*<sup>1</sup>); ceap-eadig (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>)

37b cyningwic] cyning wic (*Hcks*, *Th.*, *Ettm.*, *Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>, *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>, *Kock*<sup>2</sup>, *Wms*, *Mack.*, *Rod.*)

38 leodon cypeþ | þonne liþan cymeð] leodum cepeð, þonne lida cymeð (*Ettm.*)

38a leodon] leodum (*Gr.*<sup>2</sup>)

39b alyfed] *MS.* alyfeð

40b ærþon] ær þon (*Ettm.*, *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wms*)

weorþe] weoþe (*Hcks*)

41a ieteð] ietað (*Hcks*)

43a acwele] a cwele (*Hcks*)

45b hit forhelan] hit for helan (*Hcks*)

47a gehnigan] gehingan (*Hcks*)

47b adl] hadl (*Holt.*<sup>1</sup>, *K.-D.*, *Shp.*)

adl gesigan] adlige sigan (*Th.*)

- 53 þær bið þæs monnes modgeþoncas.  
 54 muþa gehwylc mete þearf mæl sceolon tidum gongan.  
 55 Gold geriseþ on guman sweorde  
 56 sellic sigesceorp sinc on cwene.  
 57 God scop gumum *garniþ* werum  
 58 wig towiþre wicfreoþa healdan.  
 59 Scyld sceal cempan sceaft reafere  
 60 sceal bryde beag bec leornere  
 61 husl halgum men hæþnum synne.  
 62 Woden worhte weos wuldor alwalda  
 63 rume roderas. Ðæt is rice god  
 64 sylf soðcýning sawla nergend.  
 65 Se us eal forgeaf þæt we on lifgaþ  
 66 ond eft æt þam ende eallum wealdeð  
 67 monna cynne. Ðæt is meotud sylfa.

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53b **modgeþoncas**] mod-geþoncas (*Th.*)

56a **sigesceorp**] sige sceorp (*Hcks*); sige-sceorp (*Th.*)

57b **garniþ werum**] *MS.* gar niþ werum (*Hcks*); gar niþ-werum (*Th.*); gar niþwerum (*Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>);  
 gar niðwerum (*Ettm.*, *Bout.*)

58a **towiþre**] to-wiþre (*Th.*); to wiþre (*Hcks*, *Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>)

58b **wicfreoþa**] wic freoþa (*Hcks*, *Th.*, *Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>); wic freoðu (*Ettm.*);  
 wicfreoðu (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>); wic freoðohealdan (*Bout.*)

61a **husl**] hus (*Hcks*, *Ettm.*); husel (*Bout.*)

61b **synne**] scine (*Bout.*)

62a **Woden**] wodne (*Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>)

62b **wuldor alwalda**] wuldor-alwalda (*Th.*); wuldoralwalda (*Ettm.*); wuldora alwalda (*Bout.*);  
 wuldor alwaldan (*Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>)

64a **soðcýning**] soð cýning (*Hcks*, *Ettm.*, *Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>)

65b **þæt**] þær (*Rieg.*<sup>1</sup>)

**on lifgaþ**] onlifgaþ (*Hcks*); on-lifgaþ (*Th.*); onlifgað (*Ettm.*)

66a **eft æt þam**] eft þam (*Bout.*)

67a **monna**] monne (*Hcks*)

EXETER C

[ff. 91<sup>r</sup>-92<sup>v</sup>]

- 01 Ræd sceal mon secgan    rune writan  
02 leoþ gesingan    *lofes* gearnian  
03 dom areccan    dægес onettan.  
04 Til mon tiles    ond tomes meares  
05 cuþes ond gecostes    ond calcrondes.  
06 Nænig fira    to fela gестryneð.  
07 Wel mon sceal wine healdan    on wega gehwylcum  
08 oft mon \* fereð feor bi tune    þær him wat freond unwiotodne. [\* f. 91<sup>v</sup>]  
09 Wineleas wonsælig mon    genimeð him wulfas to geferan.  
10 Felafæcne deor.    Ful oft hine se gefera sliteð.  
11 Gryre sceal for greggum    græf deadum men.  
12 Hungre heofeð    nales þæt heafe bewindeð  
13 ne huru wæl wepeð    wulf se græga  
14 morþorcwealm mæcga    ac hit a mare wille.  
15 Wræd sceal wunden.    Wracu heardum men.  
16 Boga sceal stræle    sceal bam gelic  
17 mon to gemæccan.    Maþþum oþres weorð.

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2b **lofes**] *MS.* leofes (*Hcks*, *Th.*, *Mack.*)

**gearnian**] gearman (*Hcks*);

4a **til mon tiles**] tilmon tiles (*Hcks*)

5b **calcrondes**] calc rondes (*Hcks*); calc-rondes (*Th.*)

7a **wel mon sceal**] wel sceal mon (*Ettm.*)

9b **wulfas**] wulf (*Ettm.*, *Siev.*<sup>2</sup>)

10a **felafæcne**] fela-fæcne (*Th.*, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>); fela frecne (*Ettm.*); fela fæcne (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>)

11a **greggum**] grægum (*Ettm.*)

14a **morþorcwealm**] morþor-cwealm (*Th.*)

**mæcga**] mecga (*Ettm.*)

15a **wræd**] wræð (*Ettm.*)

**wunden**] wundrum (*Csjn*); wunde (*Shp.*)

17b **maþþum**] maðum (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>)

- 18 Gold mon sceal gifan. Mæg god syllan  
 19 eadgum æhte ond eft niman.  
 20 Sele sceal standan sylf ealdian.  
 21 Licgende beam læsest groweð.  
 22 Treo sceolon brædan ond treow weaxan  
 23 sio geond bilwitra breost ariseð.  
 24 Wærleas mon ond wonhydig  
 25 ætrenmod ond ungetreow  
 26 þæs ne gymeð god.  
 27 Fela sceop meotud þæs þe fyrn gewearð het siþþan swa forð wesan.  
 28 Wæra gehwylcum wislicu word gerisað  
 29 gleomen gied ond guman snyttro.  
 30 Swa monige beoþ men ofer eorþan swa beoþ modgeþoncas  
 31 ælc him hafað sundorsefan.  
 32 Longað þonne þy læs þe him con leoþa worn  
 33 oþþe mid hondum con hearpan gretan  
 34 hafaþ him his gliwes giefe þe him god sealde.  
 35 Earm biþ se þe sceal ana lifgan  
 36 wineleas wunian hafaþ him wyrd geteod  
 37 betre him wære þæt he broþor ahte begen hi anes monnes  
 38 eorle eaforan \* wæran gif hi sceoldan eofor onginnan [\* f. 92<sup>f</sup>]  
 39 oþþe begen beran biþ þæt sliþhende deor.  
 40 A scyle þa rincas gerædan lædan

22a **sceolon brædan**] sceal onbrædan (*Ettm.*, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>)

24a **mon**] monna (*Holt.*<sup>2</sup>)

25 **ætrenmod**] ættren-mod (*Th.*); ættrenmod (*Ettm.*)

**ungetreow**] ungetreowe (*Holt.*<sup>2</sup>)

26 **gymeð**] gymed (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>)

27a **fela sceop meotud**] fela meotud gesceop (*Holt.*<sup>1</sup>)

28 **wæra gehwylcum wislicu | word gerisað**] wislicu word gerisað wera gehwylcum (*Ettm.*)

28a **wæra gehwylcum**] wera gehwylcum (*Th.*, *Ettm.*, *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Dwsn*); wæra gehwylcu (*Sch.*)

29a **gied**] giedding (*Holt.*<sup>1</sup>)

30a **monige**] *MS.* monig; monig (*Th.*, *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wms*)

30b **modgeþoncas**] mod-geþoncas (*Th.*)

31a **sundorsefan**] sundor sefan (*Th.*, *Wms*); sundor-sefan (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>)

38a **eorle eaforan wæran**] eorles wæren || eaforan (*Ettm.*)

**eorle**] eorles (*Ettm.*, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>, *Mack.*, *K.-D.*, *Dwsn*, *Kirk*, *Shp.*, *Rod.*, *Muir*); eorlas (*Holt.*<sup>1</sup>)

39a **begen**] forbegan (*Whitl.*, *Shp.*)

39b **sliþhende**] sliþ-herde (*Th.*); sliþhearde (*Ettm.*); sliþherde (*Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wms*)

- 41 ond him ætsomne swefan  
 42 næfre hy mon *tomædle*  
 43 ær hy deað todæle.  
 44 Hy twegen sceolon tæfle ymb sittan þenden him hyra torn toglide  
 45 forgietan þara geocran gesceafta habban him gomen on borde.  
 46 idle hond *æmetlan geneah* tæfles monnes þonne teoselum weorpeð  
 47 seldan in sidum ceole nefne he under segle yrne.  
 48 Werig sceal se wiþ winde roweþ. Ful oft mon wearnum tihð  
 49 eargne þæt he elne forlose drugað his ar on borde.  
 50 lot sceal mid lyswe list mid gedefum  
 51 þy weorpeð se stan forstolen.  
 52 Oft hy wordum toweorpað  
 53 ær hy bacum tobreden.  
 54 Geara is hwær aræd.  
 55 Wearð fæhþo fyra cynne siþþan furþum swealg  
 56 eorðe Abeles blode. Næs þæt andæge nið.  
 57 Of þam wrohtdropan wide gesprungon

- 
- 40a **a scyle þa rincas**] a scylen þa rincas (*Ettm.*); a scylen rincas (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>)  
 40b **gerædan**] geræd onlædan (*Ettm.*); geræde onlædan (*Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>)  
 41 **ond him ætsomne swefan**] ȝ him æt-somne swefan (*Th.*); and æt somne swefan (*Ettm.*)  
 42 **mon tomædle**] *MS.* mon to mon to mædle (*Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wms*); mon to mon to mæðle (*Th.*);  
 mon[na] man[e] tomelde (*Holt.*<sup>5</sup>); mon to mædle (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>);  
 mon todo to mædle (*Mack.*); mon tomælde (*K.-D.*); *Ettm.* omits ll. 42-43  
 43 **todæle**] todælde (*Dwsn*)  
 44a **hy twegen sceolon**] a sceolon twegen (*Str.*<sup>2</sup>)  
**ymb sittan**] ymb sittan (*Th.*)  
 44b **þenden him hyra**] þenden hyra (*Brk.*); þenden him hire (*Ettm.*)  
 45a **forgietan þara**] forgietan him þara (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>); forgietan þære (*Th.*, *Mack.*, *Dwsn*)  
**gesceafta**] *MS.* gesceafta (*Th.*, *Wms*, *Mack.*, *Dwsn*, *Kirk*, *Brk.*, *Muir*)  
 45b **borde**] borðe (*Ettm.*)  
 46a **hond æmetlan geneah**] *MS.* hond æmet / lange neah (*Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>); hond || æmet lange neah (*Th.*);  
 hond, emtað lange neah (*Ettm.*); hond æmet longe (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>);  
 hond æmet longe neah (*Gr.*<sup>2</sup>); hond is lange æmetig geneahhe (*Holt.*<sup>1</sup>);  
 hond æmetian geneah (*Wms*); honda æmetian geneah (*Mack.*, *Dwsn*)  
**tæfles monnes**] tæflmonnes (*Ettm.*)  
 48a **sceal se**] scealc (*Ettm.*, *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>, *K.-D.*); seal se þe (*Dwsn*)  
 54 **aræd**] arod (*Str.*<sup>1</sup>)  
 55a **wearð**] Wearð (*Brk.*)  
 56b **andæge**] an-dæge (*Th.*, *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>)  
 57a **of**] Of (*Brk.*)  
**wrohtdropan**] wroht-dropan (*Th.*)

- 58 micel mon ældum monegum þeodum  
59 bealoblonden niþ. Slog his broðor swæsne  
60 Cain þone cwealm nerede. Cup wæs wide siþþan  
61 þæt ece nið ældum scod swa aþolware.  
62 drugon wæpna gewin wide geond eorþan  
63 ahogodan ond ahyrdon heoro sliþendne.  
64 Gearo sceal guðbord gar on scafte  
65 ecg on sweorde ond ord spere  
66 hyge heardum men helm sceal cenum  
67 ond a \* þæs heanan hyge hord unginnost. [\* f. 92<sup>v</sup>]

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58b **monegum**] monigum (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>)

59a **bealoblonden**] bealo-blonden (*Th.*)

59b **broðor swæsne**] *MS.* bro swæsne; bro-swaesne (*Th.*)

60a **nerede**] serede (*Mack., Dwsn, Shp., Muir*); gewræc (*Str.*<sup>2</sup>)

61b **aþolware**] *MS.* aþolwarum (*Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wms, K.-D., Muir*); aþol warum (*Th.*);  
eþelware (*Mack.*); aðomswarian (*Str.*<sup>2</sup>)

62b **geond**] *MS.* egeond

64a **guðbord**] guð-bord (*Th.*)

COTTON GNOMES

[ff. 115<sup>r</sup>-115<sup>v</sup>]

- 01 Cyning sceal rice healdan. Ceastra beoð feorran gesyne  
 02 orðanc enta geweorc þa þe on þysse eorðan syndon  
 03 wrætlic weallstana geweorc. Wind byð on lyfte swiftust  
 04 þunar byð þragum hludast. Þrymmas syndan Cristes myccle.  
 05 Wyrð byð swiðost winter byð cealdost  
 06 lencten hrimigost he byð lengest ceald  
 07 sumor sunwlitegost swegel byð hatost  
 08 hærfest hreðeadegost hæleðum bringeð  
 09 gearas wæstmas þa þe him god sendeð.  
 10 Soð bið switolost sinc byð deorost  
 11 gold gumena gehwam ond gomol snoterost  
 12 fyrngearum frod se þær feala gebideð.

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2b **syndon]** cyndon (*Ebl.*)

3a **weallstana]** weall stana (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl.*)

3b **swiftust]** swifost (*Ettm.*)

4a **þunar]** þunor (*Gr.<sup>1</sup>, Swt<sup>1</sup>, Swt<sup>2</sup>*)

**Cristes myccle]** Cristes mycle (*Ettm.*); Cristes micle (*Swt<sup>1</sup>*)

7a **sunwlitegost]** sun wlitegost (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl., Erl.*); sunwlitigost (*Ettm.*);  
 sunwlictegost (*Boll.*); sunnwlitegost (*Swt<sup>2</sup>*)

7b **swegel]** swegl (*Gr.<sup>1</sup>, Swt<sup>1</sup>, Swt<sup>2</sup>*)

8a **hreðeadegost]** *MS.* hreð eadegost (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl.*)

9a **gearas]** *MS.* ge<sup>a</sup>res; geref (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl.*)

**wæstmas]** westmas (*E.-P.*)

**him]** *MS.* hi<sup>o</sup>m

10a **soð]** swæð (*Kock<sup>1</sup>*); seað (*Holt.<sup>5</sup>*)

**switolost]** *MS.* swicolost (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl., Ettm., Gr.<sup>1</sup>, Erl., Wülk.<sup>1</sup>, E.-P., Kl., Dbb., Sbp.*);  
 swutolost (*Swt<sup>1</sup>, Swt<sup>2</sup>, Swt<sup>3</sup>, Sedg., Ham.*)

11b **snoterost]** snotrost (*Ettm.*)

12a **fyrngearum]** fyru gearum (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl.*)

12b **feala]** fela (*Gr.<sup>1</sup>, Swt<sup>1</sup>*)

**gebideð]** bebideð (*Kirk*)

- 13 Wea bið wundrum clibbor wolcnu scriðað.  
 14 Geongne æþeling sceolan gode gesiðas  
 15 byldan to beaduwe ond to beahgife.  
 16 Ellen sceal on eorle. Ecg sceal wið hellme  
 17 hilde gebidan. Hafuc sceal on glofe  
 18 wilde gewunian wulf sceal on bearowe  
 19 earm anhaga eofor sceal on holte.  
 20 Toðmægenes trum. Til sceal on eðle  
 21 domes wyrcean. Daroð sceal on handa  
 22 gar golde fah. Gim sceal on hringe  
 23 standan steap ond gearp. Stream sceal on yðum  
 24 mecgan mereflode. Mæst sceal on ceole  
 25 segelgyrd seomian. Sweord sceal on bearme  
 26 drihtlic isern draca sceal on hlæwe  
 27 frod frætwum wlanc. Fisc sceal on wætere  
 28 cynren cennan. Cyning sceal on healle  
 29 beagas dælan. Bera sceal on hæðe  
 30 eald ond egesfull. Ea of dune sceal  
 31 flodgræg feran. Fyrd sceal ætsomne  
 32 tinfæstra getrum. Treow sceal on eorle  
 33 wisdom on were. Wudu sceal on foldan  
 34 blædum blowan beorh sceal on eorþan

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13a **wea**] wex (*Csjn*); weax (*Dbb.*, *Rod.*)

14a **geongne æþeling**] geonge æþeling (*Hcks*, *Fox*, *Ebl.*, *Erl.*, *Sw<sup>t</sup>2*); geonge æðelingas (*Ettm.*)

15b **beahgife**] beah gife (*Hcks*, *Fox*); beab gife (*Ebl.*); beaggife (*Sw<sup>t</sup>1*)

16b **sceal wið hellme**] scel wið helme (*Hcks*, *Fox*, *Ebl.*);

sceal wið helme (*Ettm.*, *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>, *Sw<sup>t</sup>1*, *Sw<sup>t</sup>2*, *Sw<sup>t</sup>3*, *Sedg.*, *Dwsn*, *Ham.*)

19a **earm anhaga**] earn an haga (*Hcks*, *Fox*, *Ebl.*, *Erl.*); earn anhaga (*E.-P.*, *Kl.*, *Boll.*)

19b **eofor**] ofor (*Hcks*, *Fox*, *Ebl.*)

20a **toðmægenes**] toþ mægenes (*Hcks*, *Fox*), toð mægenes (*Ebl.*)

22a **fah**] fag (*Sw<sup>t</sup>1*)

22b **grim**] grimm (*Sw<sup>t</sup>2*)

24a **mecgan**] mencgan (*Wülk.*<sup>1</sup>, *Kl.*, *Sedg.*, *Sw<sup>t</sup>2*, *Sw<sup>t</sup>3*, *Sedg.*, *Dbb.*, *Dwsn*, *Ham.*, *Shp.*, *Rod.*); mengan (*Kock*<sup>1</sup>)

**mereflode**] mere flode (*Hcks*, *Fox*, *Ebl.*); on mereflode (*Kock*<sup>1</sup>)

25a **segelgyrd**] segel gyrd (*Hcks*, *Fox*, *Ebl.*)

28a **cynren cennan**] cynran cennen (*Hcks*, *Fox*, *Ebl.*)

30b **of dune**] of-dune (*Sw<sup>t</sup>2*); ofdune (*Kl.*, *Sw<sup>t</sup>3*, *Shp.*)

31a **flodgræg**] *MS.* flod græg (*E.-P.*, *Kock*<sup>1</sup>); fold græg (*Hcks*, *Fox*, *Ebl.*); foldgræg (*Ettm.*, *Gr.*<sup>1</sup>, *Sw<sup>t</sup>1*, *Sw<sup>t</sup>2*)

31b **ætsomne**] æt somne (*Hcks*, *Fox*, *Ebl.*, *Ettm.*)

- 35 grene standan. God sceal on heofenum  
 36 dæda demend. Duru sceal on healle  
 37 rum recedes muð. Rand sceal on scylde  
 38 fæst fingra gebeorh. \* Fugel uppe sceal [*\* f. 115<sup>v</sup>*]  
 39 lacan on lyfte. Leax sceal on wæle  
 40 mid sceote scriðan. Scur sceal on heofenum  
 41 winde geblanden. In þas woruld cuman  
 42 þeof sceal gangan þystrum wederum. Þyrs sceal on fenne gewunian  
 43 ana innan lande. Ides sceal dyrne cræfte  
 44 fæmne hire freond gesecean gif heo nelle on folce geþeon  
 45 þæt hi man beagum gebicge. Brim sceal sealte weallan  
 46 lyfthelm ond laguflod ymb ealra landa gehwylc  
 47 flowan firgenstreamas. Feoh sceal on eorðan  
 48 tydran ond tyman. Tungol sceal on heofenum  
 49 beorhte scinan swa him bebead meotud.  
 50 God sceal wið yfele geogoð sceal wið ylde  
 51 lif sceal wið deaþe leoht sceal wið þystrum  
 52 fyrd wið fyrde feond wið oðrum  
 53 lað wið laþe ymb land sacan  
 54 synne stælan. A sceal snotor hycgean  
 55 ymb þysse worulde gewinn. Wearh hangian

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34b **beorh**] beorg (*Gr.<sup>1</sup>, Swt<sup>1</sup>*)

38a **gebeorh**] gebeorg (*Swt<sup>1</sup>*)

39b **wæle**] wele (*Ettm.*)

40b **on**] of (*Swt<sup>1</sup>, Swt<sup>2</sup>, Swt<sup>3</sup>, Ham., Shp.*)

42a **þeof sceal gangan þystrum**] ðeof sceal gangan. In ðystrum (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl.*);

þeof sceal gangan in þystrum (*Ettm., Gr.<sup>1</sup>*); eof sceal gangan þystrum (*Kirk*)

42b **fenne gewunian**] fenne fæste gewunian (*Ettm.*); fenne geþunian (*Erl.*)

43b **dyrne cræfte**] dyrnecræfte (*Ettm.*)

44a **fæmne**] femne (*Hcks, Fox, Gr.<sup>1</sup>*); femme (*Ebl.*)

**gesecean**] geseccan (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl., Gr.<sup>1</sup>, Gr.<sup>2</sup>*)

45b **sealte**] sealt (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl., Ettm., Gr.<sup>1</sup>, Swt<sup>1</sup>, Swt<sup>2</sup>*)

46a **lyfthelm ond laguflod**] lyft helm ⁊ lagu flod (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl.*)

46b **landa**] land (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl.*)

47a **firgenstreamas**] firgen streamas (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl.*)

48b **heofenum**] heofenū (*Hcks*); heofonum (*Shp.*)

50b **ylde**] ylde (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl., Gr.<sup>1</sup>*); ilde (*Ettm.*)

51b **þystrum**] þyrstrum (*Ebl.*)

54b **hycgean**] ycgean (*Erl.*)

55b **wearh**] wearg (*Swt<sup>1</sup>*)

- 56 fægere ongildan þæt he ær facen dyde  
57 manna cynne. Meotod ana wat  
58 hwyder seo sawul sceal syððan hweorfan  
59 ond ealle þa gastas þe for gode hweorfað  
60 æfter deaðdæge domes bidað  
61 on fæder fæðme. Is seo forðgesceaft  
62 digol ond dyrne. Drihten ana wat  
63 nergende fæder. Næni eft cymeð  
64 hider under hrofas þe þæt her for soð  
65 mannum secge hwylc sy meotodes gesceaft  
66 sigefolca gesetu þær he sylfa wunað.

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56a **ongildan]** on gildan (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl.*)

57b **meotod]** meotud (*Ettm.*)

59a **ealle]** ealla (*Boll.*)

60a **æfter]** æft' (*Erl.*)

**deaðdæge]** deað dæge (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl.*)

60b **bidað]** bidan (*Swt<sup>2</sup>*)

61b **forðgesceaft]** forð gesceaft (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl.*)

63a **nergende]** mergende (*Ebl.*)

63b **næni]** nænig (*Ettm., Gr.<sup>1</sup>, Swt<sup>1</sup>*)

64b **for soð]** forsoð (*Wms*)

66a **sigefolca]** sige folca (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl.*)

**gesetu]** geseta (*Hcks, Fox, Ebl., Gr.<sup>1</sup>*)

## VARIORUM COMMENTARY

The following commentary aims to sum up the work of scholars from the dawn of Anglo-Saxon studies to the present day in order to provide a full and handy overview of the status of the art of *Maxims I* and *II*. The notes are structured following a fixed order: 1) to expand on emendations, punctuation, and verse reorganisation, whether my own or those given by previous critics. In these cases, the readings in the apparatus criticus are relisted and further explained. 2) to provide scholars' varying translations and/or interpretations of ambiguous words, lines and/or verses. 3) to offer a variety of analogues to *sui generis* Old English poems or any other source which might have influenced the word, line and/or verse of a particular entry. All references to Old English poetry are taken from the *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* and references to the *Poetic Edda* are taken from Neckel-Kuhn's edition. The Bible is quoted in Latin, from the *Vulgate*. I regard *Maxims I* as three independent parts (*A*, *B*, *C*) of the same poem with no progressive verse number. Scholars' differing references to verses and chapters are always given in square brackets, as well for the organisation and numbering of the Psalms.

The thoughts and views of previous critics are never acknowledged as my own. If a quotation is not rephrased, it is always given in quotation marks. After the scholar's surname, usually at the end of a sentence, I indicate in parenthesis the year of publication and the page(s) where an emendation or a statement appears. If a work is written or edited by more than one author, I abbreviate the surnames using the first letter of each surname separated by a hyphen. The references from Bosworth-Toller's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* indicate just the page of the entry. I specify whether they are taken from the supplement.

All translations from Old English, Old Norse, and some other Germanic languages are my own. They are given in single quotation marks, whereas any other translation is printed in quotation marks.

Exeter A [ff. 88<sup>v</sup>-90<sup>r</sup>]

1a. **frige mec.** For Williams, *frige mec* equals *interroga me* and recalls Ps 138: 23 [139: 23], *scrutare me Deus et cognosce cor meum proba me et scito cogitationes meas* (1914: 130). The reference to the psalm needs to be extended from 1b to 3b.

1b-2a. **ne læt þinne ferð onhælnne | degol þæt þu deopost cunne.** Thorpe intends *bihelan* for *onhælnne* and reads, “let not thy unsound mind conceal what thou deeply knowest” (1842: 333). For Dawson, Thorpe’s emendation is not needed. He interprets 1b, “let not thy mind [be] hidden” (1953: 31). As for ‘lætæn’, see B.-T. (613). Williams suggests *wesan* after *læt* and reads, “do not let thy thought [be] hidden the mystery that thou most thoroughly mayst know” (1914: 130). K.-D. understands *wesan* or *weorðan* in sense (1936: 304-5), so Muir (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 554). Bradley translates: “let your intellect not be hidden, nor that of which you have deepest understanding be kept secret” (1995: 345-6). Thorpe reads *onhælnne* “unsound” (1842: 333), and Grein “absconditus” (1858: 339). Grein also glosses *ferð* “animus, mens” and writes that 1b “occultum esse” (1861, I: 261). For Kirk, the use of subjunctive is puzzling in such a seemingly ordinary relative clause. He notes that Williams’ translation of *cunne*, “mayst know”, is possible. Kirk also suggests either to regard it as a copyist’s misreading of the clause or a mistake in reading *ðær* or *ðeab* rather than *ðæt* (1971: 114).

3b. **ond þine heortan gēpohtas.** For Kirk, the possessive adjective *þine* seems to agree with *gēpohtas*, accusative plural, not with *heortan*, genitive singular (1971: 114). Berkhout thinks that ll. 1-3 suggest the need not to hide one’s wisdom, but the impetus to share it to acquire greater wisdom, see Ecclus. 4: 28, *non abscondas sapientiam tuam in decore suo; in lingua enim sapientia dignoscitur*. He notes that the scop seems to address his audience

as in *Order of the World* 1-2, *wilt þu, fus hæle | fremdne monnan || wisne woðboran | wordum gretan* ‘wilt thou, a noble man, a foreign man, a wise speaker, by words address?’ (1975: 90).

4a. **gleawe men sceolon gieddum wrixlan.** Wülker, after Thorpe (1842: 333), has a colon after *geþohtas* in 3b. So, the *a*-line would be the end of the opening to *Maxims I, A* and the *b*-line as the beginning of the following gnomes (1883, I: 342). Williams holds with Grein (1858, II: 339) in opening the gnomes with *gleawe* (1914: 130). Berkhout is unsure whether such a sentence ends the ‘introduction’ or is the first gnome (1975: 90). As for *gieddum*, see ‘gied’ in B.-T. (474). Merbot interprets *gid* “riddle”, a keyword in wisdom lore (1883: 26-27). Williams takes *gied* as “proverb, riddle”. She recalls the uttering of maxims and/or proverbs, and the *topos* of wisdom context all through Germanic literature as in *Solomon and Saturn*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Alvíssmál*, and *Tragemundslied* (1914: 86-7, 130, 160). Yet, the resemblance between these lines and *Solomon and Saturn*, and *Tragemundslied* was pointed out previously by Strobl (1887: 55). For Berkhout, another suitable interpretation of *gieddum* is “song” or “poem” since it is recorded in verse (1975: 90). Muir thinks that among the sources and analogues for 4a one ought to consider Prv 1: 5-6 and Eph 5: 17-20 (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 557). Sheppard recalls the importance of *gleawe* and *gyd* in wisdom literature (2007: 133-5).

4b-5a. **god sceal mon ærest hergan || fægre fæder userne.** Thorpe has a stop mark after *hergan* (1842: 333), Grein places a comma (1858, II: 339). Wülker puts no punctuation (1883, II: 342) and Williams (1914: 118) holds with Grein. Kirk prints *fægre* at the end of 4b for a better syntactic unit. Such an “enjambment of alliteration” would occur in *Maxims I, B* 54-57 and in similar metrical type as *Maxims I, A* 37, 45, 61-62 [62-63] (1971: 114). Thorpe reads, “God before all must one praise fervently” (1842: 333), Williams, “God shall one first praise, becomingly, our Father” (1914: 130). Berkhout believes that it is no use

searching beyond the beginning of *Cædmon's Hymn* or *Genesis A* for an analogous assertion, Muir concurs (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 557). Berkhout refers to Huppé's view (1959: 99-130, 131-217) on the aforesaid poems (1975: 90-1). *4b* recalls Virgil's *Georgics* I, 338, *in primis venerare deos*.

**5b. æt frymþe geteode.** Williams suggests, "in the beginning assigned" (1914: 130). *5b* recalls *Meters of Boethius* 11: 38, *þe æt frymðe fæder getiode* 'he who the father appointed at the beginning'.

**6a. lif ond lænne willan.** . Muir notes that the idea behind *4b-6a* is fundamental to Christianity. Yet, it is a commonplace (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 557). *6a* recalls *Christ* II 776b-777a, *se us lif forgeaf || leomu, lic ond gæst* 'he who gave us life, limbs, body and spirit'

**6b. he usic wile þara leana gemonian.** Thorpe suggests, "he will remind us of those loans" (1842: 333). Williams' translation is almost alike, but she reads *leana* "gifts" (1914: 130). Kirk regards *usic*, accusative, as subject rather than the object of *gemonian* and translates, "he wishes us to be mindful of those gifts". Thus the sentence would match with *4b* (1971: 114). *6b* recalls *Genesis* 2934 when Abraham, prevented by an angel to sacrifice his son Isaac, *sægde leana þanc* 'uttered thanks for [his] reward' and showed gratitude to his God.

**7a-8a. meotud sceal in wuldre | mon sceal on eorþan || geong ealdian.** Thorpe inserts a semicolon after the translation of *eorþan* (1842: 333). Williams writes that such as punctuation "seems to break properly the gnome, 'man shall *dwell* on earth', from the following, 'the young shall grow old'. It also throws strongly into contrast *7a* with *7b*, *8a* with *8b*" (1914: 130). Both Grein (1858, II: 339) and Müller (1893: 14) insert no punctuation after *eorþan*. Strobl favours a full stop after *eorðan* to reproduce some "schönen Parallelismus" with the following gnomes (1887: 56). Wülker places a comma after *eorþan* (1883, I: 342). K.-D. interprets *7a*, *7b* and *8a*

as three separate statements with *sceal* to be supplied in sense in 8*a*, and *wesan* in both 7*a* and 7*b* (1936: 305). Dawson notes that 7*a*-8*a* is “an interesting study in ellipsis”. In both 7*a* and 7*b* *wesan* or *beon*, perchance *dwellan* or *lifian*, is omitted, whilst in 8*a* the infinitive is present. He also suggests that *geong* may agree with *mon* thus obtaining, “man shall, though young, grow old on earth” (1965: 31). Muir reads, “the ordaining Lord exists in glory, man belongs on earth, [and] the young must grow old” (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 554).

9*a*. **ne wendað hine wyrda**. Thorpe reads, “fates change him not” (1842: 333).

For Williams, *wendað* means “affect”. Besides, she notes that “God has here become stronger than Wyrð” and recalls *Maxims II 5a*, *wyrð byð swiðost* ‘fate is cruellest’ (1914: 130).

9*b*-10*b*. **ne hine wiht dreceþ || adl ne ylðo | ælmihtigne**. Grein has no comma

after *dreceþ* (1858, II: 339), whilst Thorpe (1842: 334) and Wülker (1883, I: 342) place some punctuation. Thorpe reads, “nor doth aught afflict him, disease nor ages, Almighty” (1842: 334). Williams, after Grein, translates, “nor doth one whit trouble, him disease nor age, the Almighty” (1914: 131). B.-T. glosses *wiht* “thing” (1222). For Dawson, *wiht* is an adverb “at all, in any way” and though the subject is plural, the verb is singular since it precedes it (1965: 31-32; 87, n. 1). 9*b*-10*b* recalls Hrothgar’s speech in *Beowulf* 1735*b*-1736*a*, *no hine wiht dweleð || adl ne ylðo* ‘neither disease, nor old age deceive him at all’.

11*a*. **gomelað**. Williams prints *gomela* (1914: 118). Klaeber considers it a

misprint (1915-16: 429). Grein glosses ‘gamelian’ “inveterascere” (1861, I, 366). Schlutter points out that B.-T. and Sweet miss out *gamolian* “altern”. He gives its etymology, lists its cognates and derivates and points out the similarity of *gomelað* to OF *gammel* ‘invalid’, *gammelje* ‘ail’, Celtic *gam* ‘winter’ (1910: 454-5). Dawson says that the use of OE

*gamol / gomel* “old man” suggests “senescere” as in OS *gamalon* ‘grow old’, ON *gamal* ‘old’, rather than “inveterascere” (1965: 32).

11b. **ac he is gen swa he wæs.** Muir thinks it recalls the liturgical formula, *sicut erat in principio, est nunc et semper* (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 557).

12a. **þeoden gepyldig.** Grein glosses ‘þeóden / þiódén’ “dominus” (1864, II: 586). B.-T. explains that ‘þeóden’ occurs almost entirely in poetry, i.e. once in the Laws in an alliterative phrase (1048). For Williams, *gepyldig* means “patient, long-suffering” (1914: 160), so Mackie (1934: 33). Klaeber does not hold with Williams and understands *gepyldig* “beständig, unwandelbar” (1915-16: 429). Klaeber finds further support in a previous work of his where he shows that in *Beowulf* 1705b *gepyldum* does not mean “with patience”, rather “steadily” (1905-6: 459). Berkhout holds with Klaeber’s rendering since it relates more to the context of ll. 7-12 altogether. He recalls *Gifts of Men* 79b, *sum gepyld hafað* ‘one has patience’ (1975: 91). K.-D. follows Klaeber and translates *gepyldig* “steady, unchanging” (1936: 305).

12b. **geþonc syleð.** Thorpe considers it singular (1842: 334); Williams, plural (1914: 131). As for *syleð*, Wright expands on *sellan* ‘give, sell’ (1908, § 254: 123 and § 276: 134).

13a. **missenlicu mod.** Thorpe translates, “various minds” (1842: 334); Williams, “different dispositions” (1914: 131).

13b. **monge reorde.** Thorpe edits *mon-gereorde* “human speech” (1842: 334). Dawson does not hold with Thorpe since *mon-gereorde* does not parallel *missenlicu mod* in 13a. Williams follows the MS., *monge reorde*, and reads, “many tongues” (1914: 131).

- 14b. **fæþmeþ wide**. Thorpe reads, “in its wide embrace” (1842: 334); Williams, “embraces far and wide” (1914: 131).
- 15b. **eardas rume**. For Muir, Jn 14: 1-6 is a possible source (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 557).
- 17b-18a. **efenfela bega || þeoda ond þeawa**. Skeat reads, “an equal number both of customs and countries”. He comments that this ‘proverb’ occurs in most European languages in more than sixty forms, as in *patriæ quot sunt, harum mores tot sunt* (Walther 1963, I: 682), see Singer’s reference to 17b-18a (1947, III: 125). Skeat recalls this gnome in dealing with later Medieval sources (1910: 66), mainly Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde*, II: 28, 42, in *sondry londes, sondry ben usages* and *for-thy men seyn, ech contree hath his lawes*. See Robinson’s notes to ll. 28 and 42 (Robinson 1957: 818).
- 18b. **þing gehegan**. B.-T. reads ‘ðing ge-hégan’ “have a meeting” (399). For Williams, it is a conventional expression used just in verse. It conveys the idea of ‘holding a parliament’ or a ‘meeting’. Such a formula, although in a different context, appears in *Beowulf* 425b-426a when the Prince of the Geats tells Hrothgar how he will face Grendel, *ana gehegan || ðing wið þyrse* ‘I [shall] hold a meeting with the giant’. See also *Sigrdrífumál* 24, when the valkyrie Sigrdrífa counsels the hero Sigurðr, *þú þingi á deilit við heimsca hali* ‘at the Assembly you do not contend with a fool’.
- 20a. **hi a sace semap**. Thorpe reads, “they shall ever strife appease” (1842: 334); Williams, “they ever settle dispute” (1914: 131). B.-T. glosses ‘séman’ with accusative of thing “to settle a dispute” (862).
- 21a. **þa ær wonsælge**. Kirk notes that *þa* is ambiguous since it can be either an adverb or the accusative singular feminine of *se*, related to *sibbe* in 20b. He favours the latter hypothesis. He supplies *awegen*, transitive, with an object otherwise missing in 21a (1971: 115).

22-23. **Ræd sceal mid snyttro | ryht mid wisum || til sceal mid tilum | tu beoð gemæccan.** Thorpe has a period after *tilum* and after *gemæccan* (1842: 334) and Grein a colon after *tilum* and a period after *gemæccan* (1858, II: 340). Afterwards, Grein has a period after *tilum* and a comma after *gemæccan* (1865: 428). For Dawson, *wisum* is a noun. It is possibly the adjective *wis* used as a noun and not *wisa*, *-an*, *-am* “leader”. He further notes that *tilum* is an adjective, whilst *til* “kindness” could be a neuter noun, not as *til* in *Maxims I, C 4a* or *Maxims II 20b*. He understands, “good counsel shall go with wisdom, justice with the wise, a good man with good men” (1965: 32). Strobl states that ll. 22-23 are a matching couplet related to the previous gnome by the meaning (1887: 56). Brandl regards 23*b* as an injunction to monogamy (1909, II: 961). For Williams, 22*a*, 22*b*, 23*a*, 23*b* make four gnomes (1914: 131). Howe explains that *ræd* and its derivatives are used in the Latin-Old English glossaries to translate the verb *consulere*. Thus it means give advice. Yet, Howe also explains that it can also denote the act of explaining something obscure (2002: 7).

24-25*a*. **sceal wif ond wer | in woruld cennan || bearn mid gebyrdum.** It recalls *Fortunes of Men 2-3a*, *þette wer ond wif | in woruld cennað || bearn mid gebyrdum* ‘that man and woman bring by birth children into the world’.

25*b*-26. **beam sceal on eorðan || leafum liþan | leomu gnornian.** Thorpe prints *lifian* for *liþan* and *gnornian* for *growan* (1842: 334). B.-T. glosses ‘lifian’ “to suffer loss [?]” (644). G.-K. reads *liþan* “privari” (1912: 423). For Muir, Thorpe’s changes leave the passage bereft of poetry (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 554). Dawson notes that if one accepts *lifian*, *growan* is needed as in *Maxims II 33b-35a*. Besides, *liþan* is a unique form and might be cognate with OHG *lidan* ‘suffer’. Dawson points out the similarity of *liþan* to OE *liþan*, OS *lithan* and ON *líða* ‘pass on, depart’ (1965: 33). Holthausen queries *beliþan* ‘go from, leave’ for *liþan* (1935: 8). For K.-D., Holthausen’s change makes the dative *leafum* not entirely clear (1936: 305). Dawson believes that such a change is needless (1965: 33). For Muir, Holthausen’s emendation upsets

both the syntax and the rest of the verse (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 554). Berkhout changes *liþan* into the weak verb *liþian* “let loose, release”, ME *letþen*, ‘free, loosen’. He defends the omission of *i* given that it is a recurring mistake the Exeter copyist makes. See also *bewitian* in 40*b*. Berkhout notes that the verb also occurs under the form of *leopian* as in *Guthlac* 392*a* and *Riming Poem* 40*b* (1975: 91-2). Muir thinks that Berkhout’s emendation takes out the idea of a tree hurt by the loss of part of itself. Such a gloomy image of ‘people waxing old’ is present in 7*b*-8*a* (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 554). Thorpe reads, “a tree shall on earth with leaves flourish, with branches grow” (1842: 334); Grein, “der Baum soll die Blätter verlieren, seine Zweige sollen trauern” (1858: 340). Wülker holds with Grein (1883, I: 342). B.-T. understands *beam sceal leafum liþan*, “a tree must lose its leaves” (644). Dawson thinks that B.-T.’s attempt is the most accurate (1965: 33). Williams translates, “a tree shall on earth suffer as to its leaves, lament its branches” and compares *liþan* to OHG *līdan* ‘go, suffer, yield’. She explains that *leafum liþan* may also mean “give up leaves” (1914: 131). Muir reads, “a tree must shed its leaves on the earth, its branches must mourn” (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 554). For Kirk, ll. 24-34 deal with the *topos* of birth and death. He notes that Williams does not see such issue. Yet, her metaphor of the falling leaves suits the loss of children and matches with the sense of the following lines. Kirk also recalls *Fortunes of Men* 1-9 (1971: 115). K.-D. translates, “part from its leaves” and thinks that Thorpe’s suggestion, *leafum lifian*, takes out the figurative colour in the text. Besides, K.-D. reads 26*a* *leafum beliden* and recalls *life belidenes* ‘the departed’ in *Elene* 877*a* and in analogous instances (1936: 305). Berkhout comments that K.-D.’s rendering of *leafum liþan*, “part from its leaves”, is uncertain given that *liþan* ‘part’ entails motion [away from] on the part of its subject. Hence, it would apply to the leaves, not to the tree (1975: 91). Wright explains that *leomu* is a word subject to *-u* umlaut at plural (1908, § 101: 52). A similar theme is found in *Maxims II* 33*b*-34*a*, *wudu sceal on foldan | blædum blowan* ‘on the earth, the wood shall bloom and blossom’. Strobl writes that, though similar, ll. 24-26 make no continuation. They compare the birth of mortal

beings with their final fate (1887: 56). For Williams, “Brandl thinks the origin of this passage, 25ff, is to be found in Boethius, *Cons. Phil.* L. II, *Met.* 8. Perhaps he meant to cite *Met.* 6” (1914: 131). Brandl comments that ll. 25b-34 show how human beings, like the trees, must die so that the earth is not over populated (1909, II: 961). Such an idea of decay is also present in King Alfred’s Old English rendering of Boethius’ *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, all through chapter XXI – which ‘corresponds’ to Book II, *Meter* 8 of its Latin original. However, the decay Williams points out in Book II, *Meter* 6, chapter XVI.iv, is rather centred on secular history with *exempla* taken from the burning of Rome and Troy. It is hard to establish whether this gnome is taken from the aforesaid passage in the OE translation of *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. Yet, Brandl’s suggestion to read ll. 25b-34 with a close look at Book II, *Meter* 8 is somehow convincing. For Kirk, 25b-26 recalls *Fortunes of Men* 1-9 (1971: 115). See also *Maxims II* 33b-34a.

27b. **fæge sweltan.** Thorpe reads, “fated die” (1842: 335), Kirk does likewise (1971: 115). For Williams, 25b-29a might be a metaphorical way of saying that parents lose their children and strive against the parting. She takes 25b-26 literally, and 27-29a as a new gnome, independent from the previous, since “transitions are abrupt in gnomic verse, and veiled allusions unusual” (1914: 131-32). 27b recalls *fæge swul-ton* ‘the doomed men died’ in *Andreas* 1530b.

28-29a. **ond dogra gehwam | ymb gedal sacan || middangeardes.** Thorpe reads, “and everyday strive against separation from mid-earth” (1842: 335). Dawson understands, “and every day struggle at their going forth from the world” or “and every day struggle over the division of the earth”. This gnome has political allusions. It recalls a widespread war over territorial boundaries, and conveys an idea of separation. Yet, ll. 27-35 would deal with a fixed fate which takes away the people who ever struggle against it, rather than warfare (1965: 33). Kirk suggests, “and concerning each day

shall [be] a portion of earth's troubles" (1971: 115). G.-K. glosses 'ge-dāl' "discidium, divortium" (1912: 112). Dawson considers *gedal* "struggle" and its cognates: OHG *teil*, OS *gedêl*, ON *deila*. Besides, as for *sacan* and *ymb*, he recalls *Maxims II* 50-54 and reads *ymb* "at" (1965: 33-34). See note 53*b* to Cotton Gnomes.

29*b*-30. **meotud ana wat || hwær se cwealm cymeþ | þe heonan of cyþþe gewiteþ.** Thorpe edits 30*a* and 31*b* as two separate lines, with two stop marks: after *cymeþ* and *gewiteþ*. In his translation, he has, at the end of the line, a comma for 30*a* and a colon for 30*b* (1842: 335). Grein puts a period after *cymeð* and a comma after *gewiteð* (1858, II: 340). Afterwards, he places a comma after *cymeð* and a period after *gewiteð* (1865: 428). Thorpe reads, "the Creator alone knows; where the malady shall come, which hence from the land departs" (1842: 335). Williams queries *hwær* for *hwonan* and suggests, "the Creator alone knows whence the malady comes which hence from the country goes" (1914: 132). Klaeber does not hold with Williams. He compares ll. 29*b*-30 with *Beowulf* 3062*b*-ff. and reads, "Gott allein weiß, wann der tod kommt [für den,] der von hier, von der heimat hinweggeht" (1915-16: 429-30). Haworth does not hold with Williams' rendering since *hwær* is a conjunction and suggests, "the Creator alone knows the man who will die, (in the places) where disease will come" (1916: 89). Kirk does not agree with Williams since *hwær* is clear in the MS. He considers the lines literally, "God alone knows where the sickness goes which turns hence from the country" (1971: 115). Dawson rejects Haworth's view since *hwær* is interrogative and should pose a question. He translates, "the Creator alone knows where the pestilence arrives which departs from the land" and explains that since *cuman* means "arrive", *hwær* shows static position in a place (1965: 134). Berkhout reads, "God alone knows where the pestilence goes that departs from this land [i.e., He alone knows the next area or country to be stricken]" (1975: 92); Bradley, "the ordaining Lord alone knows where death will go when it departs hence out of our ken" (1995: 346). Grein interprets *cyþþe*, 'cyð', "Landschaft"

(1861, I: 181), Wülker “cognitia, scientia” (1883, I: 343), and Dawson “country, land” (1965: 34). B.-T. gives no reference to 30*b* for the entry ‘cýþ’ (191). Williams, after Wülker, reads “knowledge” (1914: 132). Klaeber notes that *cyþþe gewiteþ* ought to be compared with *ellor hwearf* || *aldor of eared* ‘[the father] went elsewhere, that lord from the earth’ in *Beowulf* 55*b*-56*a* (1915-6: 430). K.-D. reads this passage is merely an allusion to the mysterious coming and going of death (1936: 305).

31. **umbor yceð | þa æradl nimeð.** Thorpe edits 31*a* and 31*b* as two separate lines: *umbor yceð þa* || *ær adl nimeð*. He places two stop marks: after *þa* and *nimeð*. In his translation, he places, at the end of the line, a comma for 31*a* and a semicolon for 31*b* (1842: 335). Grein has a comma after *yceð* and a colon after *nimeð* (1858, II: 340). Thorpe understands, “*be* the children increases, ere disease takes *them*” (1842: 335). Kock takes ll. 31-34 as an independent proverb. He takes *umbor* as subject and translates, “the baby adds, when early sickness takes” (1922: 23). K.-D. considers *meotud* in 29*b* the subject of *yceð* (1936: 305), so both Dawson (1965: 34) and Kirk (1971: 115). Klaeber holds with Kock’s translation and queries *þonne* rather than *þa*. He changes *þa ærl* into *þær* thus reaching Kock’s same meaning (1923: 315). For Kirk, the pronoun *þa*, accusative plural, is the object of *nimeð* (1971: 115). Dawson notes that Klaeber’s emendation is the only likely solution since it is accurate both grammatically and it is also possible on a palaeographical level (1965: 35). Williams reads, “he increases children, whom early disease takes [or, the child increaseth those (whom) disease has taken]” (1914: 132); Berkhout, “He multiplies children, whom disease takes away in their youth” (1975: 92). For Muir, Berkhout’s reading is soundest (2000<sup>2</sup>, II 0: 555). Thorpe (1842: 335), Grein (1858, II: 340), Wülker (1882: 44), Holthausen (1910: 154), and Williams (1914: 119) hold with MS. *ær ædl*. Dawson does not hold with such reading as it would require the subjunctive (1965: 34). K.-D. refers to *ærdeað* in *Exodus* 540*a* and similar compounds (1936: 305). Muir lists several other compounds such as *ærdeað*, *ærgewinn* and *ærgod* with *-ær* as their first

element (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 555). Grein prints *ær-ædl* “morbus prematurus” (1861: 70) and, later, he reedits *ærædl* (1865: 428). Wülker holds with Grein’s last emendation (1883, I: 343). B.-T. regards ‘ær-ádl’ “early-disease” (17). Williams (1914: 132) comments that B.-T. glosses, inconsistently, ‘ær’ “before” (1088). B.-T. regards *nimeð* from ‘niman’ “get, receive, take”. This form is kept in the slang word *nim* “steal” (721).

32. **þy weorþeð on foldan swa fela | fira cynnes.** Thorpe reads, “therefore are on earth so many of the race of men” (1842: 335). Williams (1914: 132) and Kock’s rendering is almost identical to Thorpe’s (1922: 23). Berkhout understands, “for there would be so many men on the earth” (1975: 92).
33. **ne sy þæs magutimbres | gemet ofer eorþan.** Thorpe translates, “there would not of the human race be measure on earth” (1842: 335); Williams, “there would not be [on the other hand] measure [limiting] of mankind on earth” (1914: 132). Kock suggests, “no end of offspring should we here possess” (1922: 23); Berkhout, “[that] there would be no limit to their offspring” (1975: 92).
34. **gif hi ne wanige | se þas woruld teode.** Thorpe reads, “if them decreas’d not he who this world created” (1842: 335); Williams’ version is similar (1914: 132). Kock suggests, “if he who made the world made not their number less” (1922: 23), Berkhout, “if He Who made this world did not decrease their number” (1975: 92). Williams considers *wanige* a transitive verb and refers to English *wane*, intransitive. She takes *hi* as accusative (1914: 132). For Dawson, *hi* refers to *magutimbres genet* at l. 33 which and even if singular, it “contains a plural idea” (1965: 35). Besides, 33-34a has a conditional clause in the apodosis and the *gif* clause in the protasis. Both verbs are in the subjunctive mood since the gnome deals with an idea of remote realisation. The past tense would denote unreality (1965: 35). For Williams, 29b-34 are awkward and show the weakness of the gnomist in versification and syntax (1914: 132). For Berkhout, the lines are intelligible.

They show the *scop*'s attempt to deal with some fundamental themes such as creation, death, God's wisdom in organising the population of the earth (1975: 92). Kirk says that ll. 32-34 recall *Wanderer* 62b-65 (1971: 115).

35. **dol biþ se þe his dryhten nat | to þæs oft cymeð deað unþinged.** Shipley expands on the construction of *to*, with a personal pronoun and notes that it occurs "after a verb of motion to express object of motion". He renders 35b, "to whom often cometh death uninvited" (1903: 118). For Kirk, *to þæs* seems to be causal as in *Genesis* 2885 and *Beowulf* 7, 16 (1971: 115). Muir suggests two sources for 35a: Prv 11: 30, *fructus iusti lignum vitae et qui suscipit animas sapiens est*, and Ps 13: 1, *victori David dixit stultus in corde suo non est Deus corrupti sunt et abominabiles facti sunt studiose non est qui faciat bonum*. As for 35b, he notes Rv 3: 2-3 (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 557). This gnome recalls *Seafarer* 106, *dol biþ se þe him his dryhten ne ondrædeþ | cymeð him se deað unþinged* 'foolish is he who fears not his lord, to him comes a sudden death'. See *Solomon and Saturn* 233a, *dol bið se ðe [...]*. A similar formula to *dol biþ se þe* also occurs in *Wanderer* 112a, *til biþ se þe his treowe gebealdeþ* 'good is he who holds his faithfulness'.

36. **snotre men sawlum beorgað | healdað hyra soð mid ryhte.** Thorpe reads *sawlum beorgað* "take heed of *their* souls" (1842: 335). For both Williams (1914: 132) and Mackie (1934, II: 35) it means "protect their souls". Williams also shows the construction of *beorgað* with dative *sawlum* (1914: 132). For Hill, 36a is likely dependent on the final clause of Prv 11: 30, *et qui suscipit animas sapiens est* (1970: 445). He reads 36b after Bede's interpretation of Prv 11: 30 in his commentary *Super parabolis Salomonis allegorica expositio*, II.11, "qui, inquam, ita animas suscipit sapiens est quia nimium suae animae per haec unde sublimius cum domino regnet procurat" (PL 1968: col. 974). For Berkhout, it is hard to understand whether the *scop* refers to some other souls save for *snotre men*. Yet, 36b might be a straightforward expression from a specific, untraceable source.

As for *beorgað*, Berkhout suggests that *beorgan* could doubtfully mean “suscipere” (1975: 93).

37a. **eadig bið se þe in his eþle geþihð**. It recalls *Seafarer* 107a, *eadig bið se þe eaþmod leofaþ* ‘happy is he who lives humbly’. Thorpe suggests “happy is he who is country thrives” (1842: 335). Williams’ translation is quite close, but she interprets *eadig* “blessed” (1914: 132). Mackie translates, “happy is he who prospers in his home” (1934: 35); Berkhout likewise (1975: 93).

37b. **earm se him his frynd geswicað**. Thorpe suggests, “miserable he whom his friends betray” (1842: 335). Williams’ interpretation is nearly alike (1914: 132). Mackie reads, “wretched he whom his friends deceive” (1934: 35); Berkhout likewise (1975: 93). Kirk comments that ll. 36–37 recall *Riming Poem* 80–83a [80–83] (1971: 115). For Mitchell, *se* seems to be a relative pronoun in the nominative case needed by the main clause and followed by a personal pronoun in the oblique case required by the adjective clause. He also lists similar instances such as *se him* in *Exodus* 380b and in *Maxims I, A* 38a, and *se mec* in *Guthlac* 703b (1964: 134–35). Muir suggests that l. 37, even though it has the form of the beatitudes, it does not seem to be taken purposely from the Bible. Yet, he recalls Lk 21: 16 (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 557).

38a. **nefre sceal se him his nest aspringeð**. Thorpe reads, “*he* shall never [...] whose provision fails” and notes that the verb here is wanting (1842: 335); B.-T., “never shall he thrive whose provision fails him” (706). Schlutter criticises Thorpe’s lack of a verb related to *sceal*. He understands, “inopia debetur cui victus deficit” (1910: 328); whilst Williams, “never shall he be blessed to whom his provision fails” (1914: 132). Kock has *nearo* for *nefre* and translates, “in straits a man will be whose food runs short” (1918: 37), Mackie, “never shall he be happy whom his store fails” (1934: 35). As for *se him*, see Mitchell’s explanation to *Maxims I, A* 37b (1964: 134–35). For Berkhout, *se him* is a relative construction and intends *wesan* after *sceal*. He suggests, “never shall his store fail him” (1975: 93). For Holthausen, *nefre*

*sceal* supplies in sense *eadig wesan* [37a] (1906-7: 199). Grein takes *nefre* “infirmus, invalidus” for *ne æfre* [with question mark] and proposes to look at *afor*. Besides, he intends *weorðan* after *sceal* (1864, II: 279). For B.-T., *nefre* is a variant form of *næfre* [*ne æfre*] “never” (706). Holthausen also notes that though Thorpe leaves a lacuna in the translation, he reads the right meaning of the gnome and recognises the lack of *eadig* [*wesan*] in the *a*-verse (1910: 155). Schlutter regards *nefre* either from a decayed form for *lewfe* = *lewsa* or *nefnef* = *næfnes*, or from \**nēfre* ‘industria’ as Dutch *nijver* ‘industrious’ (1910: 328). Holthausen does not support Grein’s readings [*nefre* = *ne æfre* and the mention to *afor*], and Schlutter’s etymology and conjectures on *nefre* (1910: 155). Schlutter criticises Holthausen’s views and notes that one ought to consider *nefre* as an error for *uefre*, i.e. *wæfre* (1910: 318). Kock takes *nearo* for *nefre* since the top part of an *a*, if faded or blurred, can be easily taken for *u*, same be said for *e* and *o* (1918: 37). Dawson writes that Kock’s emendation maintains both verse and syntax, since it assumes no ellipsis. Yet, it is less realistic on a palaeographical level. He favours an elliptical reading which keeps a parallel with l. 37 and creates an antithesis (1965: 36). Holthausen emends *nefre* into *nefig* / *næfig* “arm” (1919: 3). K.-D. thinks that *nefre* is a variant spelling of *næfre* and neither Schlutter’s nor Holthausen’s observations are credible (1939: 305). Berkhout notes, correctly, that all the readings of *nefre* are hard to justify on a palaeographical level. Hence, it is better to retain it, as in the MS., as the adverb “never” (1965, p. 94).

- 38b. **nyde sceal þrage gebunden.** Grein queries *nyde* for *nyð* / *noð* “liburna” (1858: 340). Holthausen emends MS. *nyd* into *nyde* and intends *wesan* related to *gebunden* (1906-7: 199), so K.-D. (1936: 335). Kirk notes that *wesan* does not need to be supplied (1971: 115). Kock, after Holthausen, considers *nyd* “fetter” as *nede* in *Deor* 5b and *naudir* in *Vǫlundarkviða* 11 (1922: 24). For Wülker, ‘nyd’ means “Eifer, Begierde” (1882: 137); whilst for G.-K. “necessitas” (1912: 510). Thorpe reads, “need shall have time” and inserts *gebunden* in 39a (1842: 335); Strobl, “das Unglück sei auf

immer gefesselt”. He thinks that 38*a* separates the previous couplet from the following six verses (1887: 56). For Williams, Holthausen’s changes are comparable to her translation, “he shall be bound for a time by need” (1914: 132). Kock reads, “a fetter will be fastened for some time” and he explains, “we cannot expect to get out of captivity, or some difficulty, at once” (1922: 24). Mackie suggests, “for a time he shall be bound by distress” (1934: 35). Berkhout is inclined to hold with Mackie. Though, it is not needed to emend MS. *nyd* into *nyde* in 37*b* if one takes it as a parenthesis, returning in 38*a* with *eadig*. He understands, “and for a time need will be constrained” (1975: 93); Kirk, “he shall be bound for a time by need” (1971: 115).

39*a*. **bliþe sceal bealoleas heorte.** Thorpe edits, *gebunden bliþe sceal bealo-leas* and makes *heorte* the initial word of 39*b*. He translates, “bound cheerfully shall be the innocent” (1842: 335); Williams, “glad shall *be the* innocent heart” (1914: 133).

39*b*. **blind sceal his eagna þolian.** Thorpe reorganises 39*b*: *heorte blind sceal his eagna þolian* and translates, “*the* blind of heart shall his eyes lose” (1842: 335). Williams reads, “the blind shall suffer of [or loss of] his eyes”. She notes that Thorpe “carries *heorte* over to 39*b*, so that the passage through 44 has a figurative meaning” (1914: 133). B.-T. glosses ‘þolian’ “thole” as in some dialects but interprets *þolian*, in 39*b*, “to suffer lack or loss of something [with genitive], to lose” (1063).

40*a*. **oftigen biþ him torhtre gesihþe.** Thorpe suggests, “taken shall be from them bright vision” (1842: 335). B.-T. reads, “he shall be deprived of clear sight” and glosses *oftigen* as a variant ‘ofteón’ “deprive, take away” with dative or accusative of person, genitive of thing, or dative of person and accusative of thing (742). Wright shows that a small number of past participles of strong verbs, among them *oftigen*, are subject to *-i* umlaut of the stem-vowel (1908, § 442: 212). Williams states that “*him* refer[*s*] to

*blind, the person*” (1914: 133). For *gesihþe*, Wright notes that in Anglian, due to *-i* umlaut, *-io* becomes *-i* before *-a* following guttural or *r* with guttural as in *gesihþ* ‘vision’ or West Saxon *gesiehb* (1908, § 99: 51; § 184: 80). For Williams, *gesihþe* may be Late West Saxon (1914: 133).

40*b*. **ne magon hi ne tunglu bewitian.** Sievers keeps MS. *hine* (1887: 463). K.-D. emends the MS. into *hi ne* and notes that *hine* is a mistake made by the scribe, who intended, mistakenly, *tunglu* the subject of *magon* (1936: 158, 305), Muir concurs (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 249, 555). Dawson does not hold with Sievers’ since, maybe, the second *ne* was inserted wrongly (1965: 36-37). Kirk rejects K.-D.’s view on *tunglu* given that there is no reason not to read a double negation (1971: 115). Berkhout holds with Kirk’s view on MS. redundant negations since they are frequent in OE (1975: 94). Williams writes that *hi* refers to *eagna* in 39*b*, so K.-D. (1936: 305), and to *tunglu* ‘heavenly bodies’, with which *sunnan* and *monan* in 41*a* are in apposition. Besides, she queries whether the second *-i* in *bewitian* was inserted by a later hand (1914: 133).

41*a*. **swegltorht sunnan ne monan.** Thorpe has a stop mark after *monan* (1842: 335), so Kirk (1971: 92). Grein (1858, II, p 340), Wülker (1883, I: 343) and Williams put a colon (1914: 119). Thorpe suggests, *swegl-torht-sunnan* “the heaven-bright sun” (1842: 335). For Williams, Thorpe’s choice is inflectionally wrong since *swegltorht* is a regular form for accusative plural of this neuter adjective (1914: 133). 41*a* recalls *Meters of Boethius* 29: 24, *swegeltorht sunne* ‘the glorious sun’.

41*b*-42*a*. **þæt him biþ sár in his mode || onge þonne he hit ana wat.** Kirk takes *þæt* as a pronoun referring to ll. 40-41*a* rather than a conjunction since *biþ* would exclude an adverbial clause (1971: 116). Thorpe edits 42*a*: *on ge þon he hit ana wat* and reads 41*b*-42*a*, “that to him will be pain in his mind, in as much that he alone knows it” (1842: 336). Williams regards 41*b*-42*a* as one gnome, “that to him will be distressing in his mind, sorrowful, since

he alone knows it” (1914: 133). Grein edits *on ge þon he* (1861, II, 340) and understands *onge* for *onga* “aculeus” (1858, II: 340). Later, he edits *onge þon* (*þonne?*) *he* (1865: 428). Wülker prints *on ge þonne* (1882: 45). Later, he suggests *onge þonne* (1883, I: 343). G.-K. glosses ‘enge’ [‘ænge, ange, onge’] “angusts, ansius” and reorganises l. 42: *þæt him bið sar on mode, on ge þon he hit ana wat* (1914: 162). Williams takes *onge* as a variant for *ange* “troubled, sorrowful”, parallel to *sar*, as an adjective, in 41*b*. She thinks that if one holds with Grein’s proposal, *onga* “aculeus”, the translation would be, “a thorn, since he alone knows it” (1914: 133). Berkhout compares *onge* to OHG *ango* ‘sting’ and makes reference to *Riddle 23 3b-4a, ond me of bosme fareð || ætren onga* ‘and to me, from the breast leaves a poisoned dart’. He holds with Grein’s reading of *onge* for *onga*, parallel with *sar*, as a noun. So, blindness in 40*a* is the cause of pain for he who feels it. The grief is even sharper if he alone is aware of it. Such a view would be further supported on a palaeographical level by the frequent alternation in the Exeter Book of *a / o* before nasals (1975: 94-5). See also ‘ange’ and its variants, and ‘onga’ in B.-T. (resp. 46, 751). Dawson notes that *onge* suits the context (1965: 37). Muir (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 556) thinks that Bradley’s translation captures the essence of the gnome, “to him this cruelly painful in his mind while he alone is aware of it and does not expect that any reversal of it will come to him” (1995: 347). As for the expression *in his mode on ge*, see *Orosius* II.v, *ða wæs ðæm cyninge swiþe ange on his mode* ‘then the king was deeply troubled in his heart’. For Roesch, Mt 5: 8, *beati mundo corde quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt*, could be the source of ll. 39-ff. (1971: 52).

44. **hælo of heofodgimme | gif he wat heortan clæne.** Thorpe prints *hælo of heofod-gimmum* (1842: 336), Grein: *hælo on heafodgimme* (1861, II, 340), Williams: *hæle of heafodgimme* (1914: 120). However, Williams errs in reporting Thorpe’s reading, *heafod-* rather than *heofod-*, and in saying that, perhaps, the scribe made a spelling mistake (1914: 133). Dawson does not hold with *hæle* for *hælo* (1965: 44). Grein glosses ‘heafod-gim’ “capitis gemma, oculus” (1864, II: 43); Wülker suggests

that *beofod* is a dialect variant of *beafod* (1883, I: 343, 344-45). Berkhout notes that the maxims' collector writes at a distance from the heathen charms or medical remedies for healing the eyes. He points out that God can both cure the blind and punish one with the loss of sight (1975: 94). See also *beafodgimmas* 'eyes' in *Andreas 31b* and *beofod* in *Maxims I, A 66a*.

45a. **lef mon læces behofað.** Most editors have a stop mark after *behofað*, whilst Kirk places a semicolon as he perceives a relationship between a physician for the sick and the teacher for the young man (1971: 116). For Thorpe, *lefmon* means "lover" (1842: 336); for Grein, 'lef [lɛf?]' "debilis" (1864, II: 167). Holthausen follows Thorpe (1935: 8). For Dawson, *lefmon* refers to a sick man, not to a lover. He also compares it to ME *leman* (1965: 37). In a note to *Elene* 1214 [1213], Grimm translates *lef* "debilis, infirmus". This passage relates how *laman*, *limseoce*, | *lefe cwomon* 'the limping, the lame of limb, the weak came' at Bishop Cyriacus' hands to be healed (1840: 166). Grimm also recalls Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* 38, 5 [l. 11], *gif se æppel lef bið* 'if the pupil [lit. the apple of the eye] is injured', and translates, "si pupilla infirma est". Berkhout lists some sources for 45a: 1] Mt 9: 12, [...] *non est opus valentibus medico sed male habentibus*. It recalls God's healing power in *Maxims I, A 43-44*. 2] *De Natale Domini Homily VIII*, l. 26, *nu bihoueð þe forwunded wreche þæt he hadde leche* 'now it necessary that the injured wretch to get a physician' (Morris 1868: 83). 3] ME *The Proverbs of Hendyng*, proverb 4, l. 7, *leuf child lore byhoueþ* (Schleich 1927: 249). Berkhout reads *lefe* "eager" and notes that *Maxims I, A, 45a-ff.* might have influenced the latter proverb as for the education of children in 45b (1975: 95).

46a. **trymman ond tyhtan þæt he teala cunne.** Holthausen emends 46a, for metrical reasons, into: *trymman, þæt he teala cunne*. He regards *ond tyhtan* as a scribe's addition. By doing so, 46a has four accents. (1910: 175). Kirk not only points out four stresses but also three alliterating letters (1971:

116). For Williams, Holthausen's emendation has "a good deal of liberty with the text, mainly since the phrase *trymman and tyhtan* is essentially AS. in its tautological, alliterative quality" (1914: 133). Wülker regards 46*a* as an independent line (1883, I: 343-4), so Sievers (1893: 145) and Williams (1914: 120). Muir, wisely, suggests that this and a variety of lines in this poem seem exceedingly long. Yet, since they come from oral wisdom and lore they do not accord with the 'fixed' rules of the poetic line (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 556). As for a similar use of *trymman ond tyhtan*, see *The Paris Psalter*, Ps 111: 22*a*, *getrymed and getyhted* 'encouraged and excited'.

46*b*. **oþþæt hine mon atemedne hæbbe.** For Wülker, there is a gap before 46*b*. However, as K.-D. has already noted, there is no trace of a loss in the MS. (1936: 305). Wülker prints 46*b* [47*b*] with no *a*-verse as he thinks it has been lost: \* \* | *oþ þæt hine mon atemedne hæbbe* (1883, I: 344). For Dawson, Wülker's view is possible due to the shift from the indicative to the subjunctive (1965: 37). Sievers prints l. 46*a* as an independent verse and does not include it in his *Schwellverse* list of OE poetry (1887: 455). Kaluza pulls together ll. 46-47 thus obtaining a *Schwellvers* (1895: 375). Sievers notes that ll. 45-46 show double alliterations in itself (1893: 145). For Williams, 46*b* [47] is an independent line. Though, she does not mention any loss (1914: 120).

47*a*. **wist ond wædo.** See *wiste and wæda* in *Meters of Boethius* 25: 39, and *wiste ne wæde* in *Daniel* 103*a*.

47*b*. **oþþæt hine mon on gewitte alæde.** Thorpe understands *alæte* for *alæde* and reads, "till that he be led forth with understanding" (1842: 336). B.-T. suggests, "until he be brought to exercise his reason" (suppl., i: 33); Williams, "until he be brought into understanding" (1914: 133).

48*a*. **cildgeongne.** Grein prints *cildgeong ne* (1858, II: 341). Afterwards, he regards *cild-geong* as an adjective, nominative, and glosses it "kindjung"

(1861, I: 160). Clearly, Grein intends *-ne* as an adverb ‘not’. Williams takes *cildgeongne*, accusative, as a compound adjective whose second part receives adjectival inflection (1914: 134). Kirk understands *cildgeongne* either “while” or “as a young child” (1971: 116). As for the accusative of duration of time, see Mitchell (1968, § 189: 105).

50a. **styran sceal mon strongum mode.** Thorpe suggests, “with strong mind shall a man govern” (1842: 336). Klaeber does not hold with Thorpe and understands, “one shall [must] restrain a headstrong mind” (1915-16: 430); Mackie, “one shall restrain a violent mind” (1934, II: 35) and Berkhout, “a man must guide himself with a strong mind [or will]” (1975: 96). Muir specifies that recent editions favour Klaeber’s reading (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 556). For Wright, *styran* is subject to *-i* umlaut. He notes its occurrences throughout OE dialects (1908, § 138: 67-68). B.-T. glosses ‘steóran’ with the person in the dative “correct, restrain [one] from wrong” (917). Kirk explains that *styran* can also mean “steer something” [a ship]. Thus, he translates as, “a man must steer with a strong mind”. He writes that such an interpretation recalls the idea of a storm at sea which is related to *he* at l. 52b (1971: 116). Berkhout understands “a man must guide [himself] with a strong will”. He intends the reflexive *him* (1975: 96). 50a recalls *Seafarer* 109a, *stieran mon sceal strongum mode* ‘a man shall school the strong spirit’. For Muir, *Seafarer* 109a makes the meaning of 50a clearer (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 556). However, the MS. reads *stieran mod*, f. 83r, l. 6.

50b-51a. **storm oft holm gebringep | geofen in grimmum sælum.** Thorpe suggests, “the sea oft brings storm, the ocean in rough seasons” (1842: 336); Mackie, “in seasons of fierce weather the sea, the ocean, often brings storm” (1934: 36-7); Berkhout: “often in violent seasons the sea brings a storm” (1975: 96) and Bradley, “often a storm reduces the sea, the ocean, into raging conditions” (1995: 347). Williams considers *holm* the subject and *storm* the object (resp. 151, 167). For Klaeber, *storm* is

the subject of *gebringep*, in a perfective sense, and *holm* and *geofen*, in 51a, the objects. So, it would be the storm to turn up the sea into a bad state (1915-16: 430).

51b-52a. **onginnað grome fundian || fealwe on feorran londe.** Grein queries *fandian* for *fundian*. Thorpe emends *on feorran* into *on-faran*. He regards *geofen* [l. 51a] as the subject and translates, “[the ocean ...] strives fiercely to tend, dusky, to move to land”. (1842: 336). Williams translates this as, “they begin angrily to hasten, the dusky waves, at a distance, to the land” (1914: 134); Berkhout, “from far out on the sea the fallow [waves] begin furiously to rush towards the land” (1975: 96). Kock regards *grome* as an adjective, nominative plural, parallel with *fealwe* and *on feorran* an error for *onforan* ‘afore’. Thus, he reads, “wroth dusky billows then afore begin to rush against the shore” (1922: 24); Bradley, “angry tawny waves far out start sweeping towards land trying whether it will stay firm” (1995: 347). Muir takes *grome* either as an adverb “angrily” or, after Kock as an adjective parallel with *fealwe* (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 556). Initially, Grein suggests *fealwe* as *yða* ‘billows’ (1858, II: 341), but he later queries “hundæ” (1861, I: 276). For Mead, *fealo* is an indefinite colour which seems pale yellow shading into red or brown, and at times into green. Its most common use is made in relation with water. He lists all occurrences of *fealo* in OE poetry (1899: 198-200). See also Lerner’s views on *fealo* (1951: 247-9). Berkhout relates *fealwe* to *fealwe wegas* ‘tawny waves’ in *Wanderer* 46b and *fealewe wægas* in *Andreas* 1589b (1975: 96).

52b. **hwæper he fæste stonde.** Thorpe emends *stonde* into *stondeð* and translates, “yet it shall fast stand” (1842: 336); Berkhout, “[to test] whether it will stand fast (1975: 96). Dawson explains that some editors gloss *hwæper* “yet, nevertheless”, but such reading is not correct since *stonde*, subjunctive, is an indirect question. Thorpe’s *stoneð* is thus ruled out by *hwæper* (1965: 36). For Kirk, 50a fits the image of a storm which “follows and provides an antecedent” for *he* and endows *stonde*, in the subjunctive mood, with an

hortatory sense, “however let him stand fast” (1971: 116). Grein queries *hit* for *he* and *lande* for *londe* (1858, II: 341). For Williams, *he* refers to *lond* ‘land’, though neuter, in 52*a*, and suggests personification (1914: 134). For Holthausen, *hit* refers to *londe* in 52*a* and *he* to *storm*, l. 50*b* (1935: 8). Muir holds with Holthausen’s change of *he* into *hit* and notes that in passages of such a poetic density confusion of the gender in the pronouns is not exceptional (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 556). For Dawson, *londe* is a neuter and *he* is possibly carried over from “a poetic military formula” (1965: 36). Strobl regards ll. 50-53 [51-54] together, especially its ethical union of nature and human life (1887: 57). Berkhout holds with Strobl and thinks that gender shift is likely in the course of such a comparison (1975: 96). Bleeth compares the natural simile of the “‘inner’ and ‘outer’ weather” in *Juliana* 647-652*a* with *Maxims I, A* 50*b*-53 (1969: 121). For Williams, if one holds with Strobl, *he* would be related to *mon* in 50*a*. So K.-D. (1936: 306). Williams points out the end-rhyme at ll. 52*a* and 52*b*. Besides, she regards the gnomes separately, keeping the meaning distinct in each case (1914: 134). 52*b* recalls *Maxims I, A* 62*a*, *fæste fēþa stondan* ‘the infantry stand fast’.

53*a*. **weallas him wipre healdað.** Thorpe suggests, “bulwarks shall hold against it” (1842: 336); Williams, “the walls shall hold resistance to them”. She notes that “*him*, that is waves, is implied in *fealwe*” (1914: 134), so Bleeth (1969: 122, n. 13). Berkhout suggests, “the cliffs hold firm against the waves” (1975: 96).

53*b*. **him biþ wind gemæne.** Thorpe reads, “to them is *the* wind indifferent” (1842: 336). Wülker argues Thorpe’s translation but he does not expand on it (1883, I: 344). Williams reconsiders Grein’s query of *fealwe* for *yða*. She wonders whether *him* refers just to *weallas* in 53*a* or to *weallas* and *yða*, so Bleeth (1969: 122, n. 13). See also note to *Maxims I, A* 51*b*-52*a*. Williams takes 53*b* literally, “to them is the wind in common, mutual” (1914: 134). For Schlutter, *gemæne* is a synonym for *gemægne* “potestati

subiectus” and he suggests, “ihnen [den mauern] ist der wind untertän” (1911: 308); Berkhout, “they and the wind are equal in strength” (1975: 96). Schlutter recalls *gemæne* in *Genesis A* 155b-160a when, during the creation, *frea engla heht || þurb his word wesān | wæter gemæne* ‘the Lord of angels bade, by his word, that the waters come together’. Schlutter points out the occurrence of *gemæne* in the OE *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, chapter III, ll. 16-19, *ac ealswa hit geriseð, þæt þa geongran þam ylðrum hyren, swa eac geriseþ, þæt se ealdor, þæt is se abbud, swiðe rihtlice and foreþanclice eal gestybtige and gesette, þæt him gemæne bið* (Schröer 1888: 68) and translates it, “sed sicut discipulis convent oboedire magistro, ita et ipsum provide et iuste concedet cuncta disponere” (1911: 308). For Williams, though Schlutter’s view is not altogether convincing by way of proof, it deserves some recognition (1914: 134). Dawson relates *gemæne* to Latin *communis* and its Germanic cognates Gothic *ga-mains*, OS *gi-mêni*, and OHG *-meini* (1965: 36).

54. **swa biþ sæ smilte | þonne hy sund ne weceð.** Editors take 54a as an independent line. K.-D. notes that 54a and 55b [55] are two half-lines not bound together by alliteration (1936: 158). Robinson emends MS. *wind* into *sund*. He thinks that the lack of alliteration is due to textual corruption and notices the occurrence of *wind* [53b] in the preceding line of the MS. Besides, he points out the peculiar difficulty the scribe has in copying initial *s* and *w* all through the MS. (1966: 359-60, nn. 1 and 2); Berkhout concurs (1975: 75) and Muir, who suggests to look at the notes to *Guthlac* 391 and 494 (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 250). Robinson translates ll. 54-55, “as the sea is serene when she stirs not the waters, so are people at peace when they have been reconciled” (1966: 359-60). For Berkhout, Robinson’s emendation fixes the parallel and the analogous metrical construction in the *swa / þonne* clause. He understands, “when its waters do not disturb it [the sea]” (1975: 97). Strobl takes ll. 54-58 [55-60] as a reversal of ll. 50-53 [51-54] as it proceeds from nature, with an application to humankind (1937: 57). For Williams, the comparison introduced here

extends all through 57a [59a] (1914: 134). Berkhout sees the association of *sæ* to *þeoda* [55a] as the *scop*'s intention to relate man and nature (1975: 96). For Sievers, the meter here is similar to the *ljóðabáttr* stanza (1893: 145). See notes to *Maxims I*, C 24-26 and 50-53. Kock considers l. 54 [55-ff.] as a vestige of some ancient verse which was used ahead of the immigrations for pithy gnomes. Thus, it has survived remodelling and fit later metrical measures (1920: 175). For Dawson, l. 54 [ll. 54-55] relates to *Hávamál* 125, 148 and *Sigrdrífumál* 19 (1965: 37). Berkhout (1975: 97) notes that l. 54 recalls *Meters of Boethius* 5: 7-ff., *swa oft smylte sæ* [...] 'so often the still sea'.

55b. **þonne hy geþingad habbað.** For Kirk, the *d* in *geþingad* is altered from *ð* (1971: 116). Sievers relates ll. 54-55 [54-56] to a form of the *ljóðabáttr* strophe (1893: 145). For Bleeth (1969: 122, n. 13), 53b-55 recalls both *Meters of Boethius* 27: 1-4 and *Exortatio poenitendi*, ll. 1-2, *cur fluctuas anima | memorum quassata procellis? || usque quo multimoda | cogitatione turbaris?* (Meyer 1905, I: 183).

56b. **ond þonne mid gesiþum healdap.** Thorpe (1842: 337), Williams (1914: 120) and Wyatt (1919: 137) have a period after *healdap*.

57a. **cene men gecynde rice.** Thorpe reads, "bold men *have* inborn sway" (1842: 337). B.-T. glosses 'ge-cynde' "innate, inborn, genial" (382). Williams suggests, "bold men (are) powerful through their nature". She notes that since Wülker has no mark after *healdap* in 56b [58b] (1883, I: 344), "his reading would be substantially, 'and then with comrades hold, bold men, genial rule'" (1914: 134).

57b-58. **cyning biþ anwealdes georn || lað se þe londes monað | leof se þe mare beodeð.** Thorpe understands, "a king is desirous of power. Hateful is he who lays claim to land, dear he who proffers more" (1842: 337). Grein (1858, II: 341) and Wülker (1883, I: 344) insert a comma after *georn*.

Williams, after Thorp, has a full stop as she reads two gnomes, “a king is desirous of power. Hateful is he who claims land, dear he who gives more [land]” (1914: 134). For Kirk, *georn* means “careful” and suggests, “a king must be careful of royal power” (1971: 116). As for *londes monað*, B.-T. glosses ‘manian’ “to claim of a person [acc.], what is due [gen.]” (668). Muir comments that 57*b* recalls *Riddle* 79. 1 [78. 1], *ic eom æþelinges | æht ond willa* ‘I am property and will of the prince’ (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 557).

59*a*. **þrym**. B.-T. glosses ‘þrymm’ as a word “denoting a glorious, magnificent person *or* object” (iii: 1074).

59*b*. **þriste**. Thorpe reads “confident” (1842: 337); Williams; “in a good sense, confident” (1914: 135).

60. **sceolun bu recene | beadwe fremman**. Thorpe (1842: 337) and Williams (1914: 135) regard this line as an extension of 59*b* and take it as one gnome.

61*a*. **eorl sceal on eos boge**. Thorpe reads, “a chief shall *ride* on horseback” (1842: 337); B.-T., “a chief shall ride on horse’s back” and notes that ‘boh, bog’ literally means “shoulder” (i: 115). Williams compares l. 61 with *Maxims II* 32, *tirfæstra getrum*. | *Treow sceal on eorle* ‘a brave band. Faithfulness must be in the earl’

61*b*. **eorod sceal getrume ridan**. MS. reads *worod*. Editors print *eorod* but Kirk. He thinks that *worod* makes sense and notes that there are other lines in OE poetry which do not follow the needs of the alliterative measure (1971: 45). Thorpe regards it as “squadron” (1842: 337). For Wright, *eorod* and *weorod* have nearly the same meaning since they both are subject to the shortening of vowels “in the first of second elements of compound words no longer felt as such [...] *eorod* = *eoh* + *rad*, troop of cavalry; *werod* = *wer* + *rad*, multitude, army” (§ 151, 1908: 70). Williams notes

that *eorod* satisfies alliteration and contrasts with *feþa* in 62*a* [64*a*]. For K.-D., *eorod* suits the needs of alliteration without alteration of meaning (1936: 306). For Dawson *rad* in *worod* [*\*wer + rad*] derives from *ridan* ‘ride’ and gives an idea of expedition. So, *eorod* means “mounted band”. He thinks that 61*b* recalls *Germania* VI as for ‘military’ tactics (1965: 37).

62*b*. **fæmne æt hyre bordan geriseð.** Thorpe translates, “a damsel it beseems to be at her board” (1842: 337). Williams suggests, “it is fitting for a woman to be at her board, table. I find no other instance of the weak form, *borde*. It may mean table; it may refer to the embroidery board” (1914: 135). 62*b* recalls *Völsunga Saga*, chapter XXV [XXIV], ll. 4-5, where one reads of Brynhild’s skill in embroidering Sigurðr’s heroic deeds on a carpet, *bún lagði sinn borða með gulli* [text normalised] ‘she overlaid her cloth with gold’ (Olsen 1906-8: 58).

63*a*. **widgongel wif word gespringeð.** Sievers splits 63*a* [65] into two half-lines: *widgongel wif | word gespringeð* (1887: 478), so Berkhout (1975: 76). Thorpe emends *gespringeð* into *gesprenged* and understands, “a rambling woman scatters words” (1842: 337). Ettmüller prints after Thorpe’s change (1850: 286). B.-T. suggests, “a rambling woman gets words [a bad reputation, or reproofs?] by wandering” (ii: 444); Williams, “a gadding woman gets words [a bad reputation]” (1914: 135). For Berkhout, *widgongel* is rare (1975: 76). Its right meaning would come from the OE version of Pope Gregory the Great’s *Pastoral Care*, chapter 49, ll. 6-7, *ðylæs we for dolspræce to widgangle weorðen* “ne loquendo exterius evagemur” (Sweet 1871: 385,). Grein glosses *weord* “corruptio, damnum” (1858, II: 341). For Berkhout (1975: 97), 63*a* recalls the Latin proverb, *omne bonum in tectis coniunx vagabunda ligurrit* (Walther 1965, III: 579).

63*b*. **oft hy mon wommum bilihð.** Thorpe translates, “she is often charged with faults” (1842: 337). Ettmüller emends *bilihð* into *belihð* (1850: 286). For

Williams, Ettmüller’s emendation is a misprint since he follows Thorpe (1914: 120). Sievers follows Ettmüller but he takes 63*b* as an independent line (1887: 478). B.-T. interprets ‘be-hlīgan’ “dishonour, defame”, prints *behlīð* for *bilihð* and reads, “man often defames her with vices” (80). Dawson notes that B.-T.’s emendation is a unique occurrence. He then compares *bilihð* with *hligan* “to give a reputation for”. Thus, *behligan* means “to give a bad reputation”. Dawson refers to OF *blīa* ‘admit, state’. Yet, he writes that *bilihð* can possibly come from *belean* ‘scold’, if one considers *belihð* its standard form, as OS and OHG *laban* ‘scold’. He also compares the content of 63*b* with *Germania* XIX (1965: 39). Williams writes that Sievers’ idea to have 63*b* as an independent line creates an analogous effect to that of *ljóðabáttur* (1914: 135). 63*b* recalls *Maxims I, B 30b*, *oft hi mon wommum behlīð*, see note. For Muir, the variation *bilihð* / *behlīð* is just a minor scribal mistake (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 557).

64. **hæleð hy hospe mænað | oft hyre hleor abreopeð.** Thorpe emends *abreopeð* into *abreoteð* and reads, “a man thinks of her with contempt, oft her cheek smites” (1842: 337). B.-T. translates 64*b*, “her good looks are lost” (i: 4); Williams, “men think of her with contempt; often her face fades”. She notes that *hæleð* is evidently plural and that *hleor* is nominative. Besides, since *mænað* is plural, Williams regards *hleor* as the subject of *abreopeð*, rather than *mon* as the understood or inferred subject (1914: 135).

65. **sceomiande man sceal in sceade hweorfan | scir in leohte geriseð.** Thorpe reads, “a bashful man shall walk in *the* shade; *the* pure is befitting *the* light” (1842: 337). For Williams, Thorpe’s reading spoils the contrast within the gnome. She suggests, “a shamed man shall go in the shade; it is fitting that a pure one (walk) in the light” (1914: 135). Dawson writes that *scir* is admittedly a unique occurrence to mean moral purity (1965: 40). Kirk shows the special use of *a* before a nasal in *man*. It is next to *sceomiande* and, apparently, it suggests a northern influence (1971: 116). For Muir,

65a recalls Ps 11: 9, *in circuitu impii ambulat: secundum altitudinem tuam multiplicasti filios hominum* (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 557).

66a. **hond sceal heofod inwyrca**. Thorpe translates, “the head shall influence the hand” (1842: 337); Williams, “hand shall lie on head” (1914: 135). For Kirk, *hond* is the subject and *heafod* the object, and suggests “the hord shall rest in the resting place” (1971: 117). Berkhout reads, “the head shall inform the hand” (1975: 98). Grein reads *heofod* ‘plausus’ (1858: 340). Later, in his *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, he does not gloss *heofod* and prints a question mark (1864, II: 63). For Wülker, *heofod* is a dialectal variant form for *heafod* (1883, I: 345). Tupper writes that *hond sceal heofod*, and the context of the gnome it belongs to, is crucial to unveil an obscure passage in *Charm XI* 23b-31, mainly the formula in 24a, *hand ofer heafod* ‘hand over head’. (1912: 97-100). For Grendon, the passage is obscure. In his note to 24a [23a] of *Charm XI*, he queries whether such a rite was part of certain prayers (1909: 221). For Tupper, 66a-67b is a description of some ritual among the Anglo-Saxons or in the Germanic *comitatus* when the lord dispenses the treasure to his thanes. He finds further support for such a theory in a number of sources, among them: 1] *Wanderer* 41-44 when the exile remembers the glad times with his lord. 2] *Beowulf* 1480-1482 when the prince of the Geats calls upon Hrothgar’s protection for his men and 3] when Wiglaf warns his companions of their pledge towards their *blaford* ‘lord’ [ll. 2630-ff.]. Tupper explains that such duties of faithfulness to one’s lord are attested in the *Germania* of Tacitus, chapter XIV (1912: 97-100). For Larson, the account of the hand over the warrior’s head is a token of such a far-flung ceremony (1907-8: 461, n. 11). Kirk holds with Tupper as for the dispensing of treasures. Yet, he thinks that the reference to *Wanderer* 41-44 and some rite in the *comitatus* is not clear (1971: 117). Berkhout thinks that the reference to the *comitatus* is quite feeble. Instead, he shows the occurrence of both *hond* and *heofod* in a sacrificial context (1975: 98) as in the OE *Heptateuch*, in Lev 1:4, *7 sette his hand ofer þære offerunge heafod* ‘and he shall place his hand upon the head of the brunt offering’ and, *sui generis*, in Lev 4: 15, 24: 13 (Crawford

1922: 286, 290, 298). Rieger emends *inwyrcean* into *inwriban* ‘uncover’ (1869: 332-33). Williams queries *inwyrcean* “consecrate [by laying on of hands]” (1914: 136). For Kirk, there is no satisfactory meaning for *inwyrcean* since the context does not suggest any (1971: 117). Berkhout does not hold with Tupper in reading *inwyrcean* “consecrate”, “perform a rite”, “place the hand upon”. It rather means “work within, inform” and conveys an action dependant on thought. Berkhout notes that, in OE, *inwyrcean* occurs only once, in prose (1975: 98), in the twelfth century *Rectitudines singularum personarum*, in the session *be geseadisan gerefan*, XI. It is an account of the duties of the *garufa* ‘reeve’ of how, in the winter, he should *mænige inweorc wyrcean* ‘do much indoor work’ (Liebermann 1903, I: 454). 66a recalls *Maxims I, B 51, hyge sceal gebealden | hond gewealden*, see note. Muir notes that 66a recalls Ps 11: 9, *in circuitu impii ambulans: secundum altitudinem tuam multiplicasti filios hominum* (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 557).

66b. **hord in streonum bidan.** Thorpe emends *streonum* into *gestreonum* and reads, “the treasury awaits riches” (1842: 337); Williams, “treasure shall rest in its bed [casket]” (1914: 136) and Berkhout, “the treasure shall wait in its hoard” (1975: 98). Grein regards *streonum* as a dative plural feminine from *streon* “stratum” (1864, II: 489). Rieger does not hold with Grein and changes *streonum* into *screonum* “Schatzkammer”. He pictures, at the end of the gnome, a “sänger” asking for some reward at the end of the ‘singing’ of his lay (1869: 333). Strobl has an analogous intuition. He takes the passage as the request of some wanderer for alms (1887: 57). Williams does not hold with Rieger’s emendation since “he fails to understand what the ‘hord should be doing in bed’, the connection seeming to escape him” (1914: 136).

67. **gifstol gegierwed stondan | hwonne hine guman gedælen.** Grein (1858, II: 341) and Rieger (1869: 333) read *gif* for *hwonne*. Yet, they but leave it without explanation. Thorpe understands, “a present stand prepar’d, when men it bestow” (1842: 337); Williams, “the throne will stand prepared,

when men divide it [the treasure]” (1914: 136); Mackie, “the throne stand arrayed until men distribute the treasure” (1934: 37); Kirk, “the gift-stool stand prepared, until men distribute it [treasure]” (1971: 117); Berkhout, “the throne stand in readiness, [until the time] when men may share it” (1975: 98). 67*a* recalls *Wanderer* 41-44 where one reads how the exile laid his head and hands on his lord’s knees, embraced and kissed him, and *giefstolas breac* ‘enjoyed the throne of gifts’ in 44*b*. For Dunning and Bliss, *giefstolas* in *Wanderer* 44*b* ought to be read etymologically, “gift-throne”. So, *giefstolas breac* means “received gifts from the throne” (1969: 112); see K.-D.’s note to *Wanderer* 44*b* (1936: 289). In the introduction to the first nine books of *The Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus*, Powell refers to Book VII, 254 where one reads that a king’s thane duty is to owe him loyalty and avenge him if he dies. Powell also notes that such allegiance consisted in kneeling and laying the head down at the lord’s knee as in *Wanderer* 41-44 (1894: xxvi-xxvii). Williams writes that the rewards given at the *giefstol* can be the “gift of life or eternal joy might be fittingly represented by the Divine Dispenser performing an act similar to that of an earthly giver” (1914: 136).

68. **gifre biþ se þam golde onfehð | guma þæs on heahsetle geneah.** Thorpe reads, “grasping is he who receives gold, a man to whom, in high station, is enough” (1842: 337). For Krapp, 68*b* means simply “man [*i.e.* lord] on high-seat hath possessed [or enjoyed] it” (1906: 85). For Williams, Krapp, in 68*a* [70*a*], understands that the eager person wants the gold which the lord, in 68*b* [70*b*], has possessed. She also writes that Krapp, at l. 69 [71], pictures the “usual reward for generosity” (1914: 136). Tupper translates, “good is he who receives the gold, the man who is contented on the high seat” (1910: 79). Kirk holds with Tupper’s interpretation of *gifre* “good”. Yet, he considers *þæs* a comparative adverb and reads, “useful is he who takes the gold, to that extent [*i.e.*, to the extent of his ability to capture treasure] is a man sufficient on the high seat” (1971: 117). Williams reports Laurence’s and Ayers’ interpretations of l. 68. Yet, she

gives no reference to the titles of the aforesaid scholars. She comments, “Lawrence would read ‘the man on the high-seat is not lacking in it, *i.e.* the gold’. Ayres sees also a strong contrast, and reads, ‘greedy is he who receives the gold [but] the man (prince) on the high-seat is sufficient for him, or it’” (1914: 136). Shipley reads *geneab* as *beneab* (from *benugan* ‘need, enjoy’) and he translates l. 68, “covetous is he who receives gold, a man has need of it on a throne” (1903: 24). Williams suggests, “greedy is he who receives the gold, but the man on the high-seat will satisfy him” (1914: 136); Berkhout, “eager is he who receives [or will receive] the gold, of which the man on the throne [the Lord] has abundance” (1975: 98). Williams says that *geneab* derives from *genugan* ‘satisfy’ (1914: 136). For Kirk, such a reading entails its asyndetic coordination and transitive function (1971: 117). Williams appears to hold with Ayers [unnamed work] in translating *þæs geneab* “will be sufficient for that” and for the adverbial meaning of *þæs* (1914: 136). Gordon’s rendering is similar to Williams’ (1926: 310). Rieger emends 68*b* into *gifēð man þæs on beahsetle geneabbe* (1869: 333). B.-T.’s supplement (377) notes that *geneab* is the regularly used impersonal form of *genugan*, as Gothic *ga-nab* ‘suffice’, but it gives two examples of *geneab* with a subject: *Maxims I, A 68* and the *Blickling Homily XIV*, ll. 4-5, *nænig mennisc tunge ne geneab [...]* ‘no mortal tongue is sufficient’ (Morris 1967: 165). Initially, B.-T. listed the aforesaid passages as impersonal, see ‘genugan’ (423). For Dawson, *hit geneab* means “it suffices”, “a person has enough, abounds in”. If one takes the verb personally, it means “to have abundance of” and, save *guma* is emended into *guman*, one must consider its personal meaning. He reads, “of which the lord in the high seat has abundance” (1965: 41). Grein emends *gifre* into *gīfre*, a synonym for *grædig* “avidus, cupidus, vorax”. Yet, he makes no distinction between the two stems (1861, I: 506, esp. 525). Rieger reads *gifre* ‘acceptus, gratus’ since it derives from *gifan* ‘give’ (1869: 333). B.-T. glosses ‘gīfre’ “desirous, eager, greedy” and ‘gifre’ “useful” (475). Kock notes that *gifre* “is he who receives the gold” and a *guma*, with an emphatic sense, “he in whose high seat there is enough”. He compares

*guma* with ON *halr* ‘independent, free man’ and *rekk* ‘man, warrior’ in *Hávamál* 36-37, 48 (1918: 37). As for *guma*, see note to *Maxims I, B* 55b. For Dawson, *gifre* derives from *giefan* ‘give’ [OS *geþan*, OHG *geba*, ON *gefá*], and *gīfre* is cognate with ON *gīfer* ‘hostile’. He takes *gifre* “eager” with a suggestion of *cen* “gold received as reward” and *guma* “lord”. He reads, “eager is he who receives the gold” and compares l. 68 with *Germania* XIV (1965: 40-1).

69. **lean sceal gif we leogan nellað | þam þe us þas lisse geteode.** Thorpe reads, “recompense shall be (if we will not lie) to Him who us this favour has assign’d” (1842: 337); Kirk, “the reward shall [be], if we do not wish to play false, to him who did us this kindness” (1971: 117); Mackie, “there shall be recompense, if we will not prove false, to him who did us this favour” (1934: 37) and Berkhout: “there will be reward, if we are not false to Him who granted us this favor”. He notes that the aforesaid reward is granted from the Lord, not to Him (1975: 98). Kock notes that *leogan* means “fail”, not “mentiri” as OS *liugan*. He translates, “our gratitude, if we will not fall short, is due to him who spent on us such favours” (1918: 46). Berkhout writes that ll. 66-69 are endowed with a strong Christian eschatological statement and the *scop*’s return to a hortatory first person plural, in 5b-6, closes the poem. Thus, *Maxims I, A* is independent from *B* and *C* and is endowed with some Christian character (1975: 98-9). Muir relates 69a to Mt 25: 14-31 (2000<sup>2</sup>, II: 557). 69b recalls *Christ I* 434, *he him þære lisse | lean forgildeð* ‘he will yield him guerdon for that love’.

**Exeter B** [ff. 90<sup>r</sup>-91<sup>r</sup>]

2a. **eorþe growan.** Conybeare translates, “terra vigescet” (1826: 228); Thorpe, “earth [shall] bring forth” (1842: 338), and Williams, “earth shall grow [with trans. suggestion]” (1914: 136). For Strobl, *growan* is not correct. He thinks that a word of different meaning should be there in its place (1887: 58). Williams notes that this gnome breaks a “unified passage”, yet, she points out that unity is not a feature of maxims. (1914: 136-7).

2a-3. **is brycgian | wæter helm wegan || wundrum lucan.** Conybeare translates, “glacies confringetur, aqua navem [*ulmum*] subvehet” (1826: 228-9). Thorpe queries *breca*n for *brycgian*, *wæter-holm* for *water helm* and suggests, “ice break, the watery deep agitate, wonderously lock up” (1842: 338); Ten Brink, “Eis sich wollen, der wasserhelm tragen” (1877: 124); Williams, “Ice shall bridge (over water), the water a covering wear, (ice shall) lock up” (1914: 137); March, “the ice, the water helmet, locks up the plants” (1879: 91). For Williams 3a is a repetition, she notes that her translation keeps the Old English verse structure (1914: 137). 2a, *is brycgian*, recalls *is brycgade* ‘the ice bridged’ in *Andreas* 1261b.

3b-5. **wundrum lucan || eorþan ciþas | an sceal inbindan || forstes fetre | felamechtig god.** Thorpe queries *unbindan* for *inbindan* and *fetru* for *fetre*. He understands 4b-5a, “one shall unbind frost’s fetters” (1842, p. 338). Ettmüller 4a is one independent sentence; it is not related to *lucan* at l. 3b. He has a period after *lucan* and no mark after *ciþas* (1850, p. 281). For Williams, such punctuation suggests the reading, “one shall bind up the plants of the earth” whilst she translates, “one shall unbind the frost’s fetters, the very mighty God” (1914: 137). Strobl understands 4b-5 as, “Gott allein löst das fesselnde band” (1887: 58). Williams writes that

*ibindan* occurs nowhere else, perchance it is interchangeable with *onbindan*. She queries whether to divide *in* form *bindan* and reads it as, “one shall bind on the fetters of the fetters of the frost” (1914: 137).

6a. **winter sceal geweorpan.** Regardless of the punctuation mark in the MS. after *felameahhtig god* at 5*b*, Thorpe joins it to 6*a* and translates, “the mighty God winter shall cast forth” (1842, p. 338); Williams, “winter shall depart”. Besides, she suggest comparing it with *wintergeworpum* ‘winterstorm’ in *Andreas* 1256*a* and wonders if *weder* (6*b*) “weather, bad weather” possibly means “good weather” (1914: 137). Williams gets her thoughts from a note from Krapp’s edition of *Andreas and The Fates of the Apostles*, see ‘wederburg’ (1906: 158). For Conybeare, *weder* means “tempestas” (1826: 229). See also ‘weder’ in B-T (1182).

6b. **weder eft cuman.** Both Ettmüller (1850: 281-2) and Grein (1958, II: 342) join 6*b* with *sumor swegle hat* at l. 7*a* as an embedded clause.

7a. **sumor swegle hat.** Thorpe prints *swegle-hat*. Yet, he queries *swegel-hat* or *swegl-hat* (1842: 338). Ettmüller inserts a period after *hat* (1850: 282).

7*b*-8. **sund unstill | deop deada wæg | dyrne bið longest.** Ettmüller inserts a comma after *weg*, a period after *longest* (1850: 282). Thorpe queries *weg* for *wæg* and adds *holen* in 8*b* as the last word (1842: 338). Berkhout follows Thorpe (1975: 77). Grein regards l. 8 as one sentence (1858, II: 342). Thorpe understands, “the sea is unstill; deep way of the dead. A secret shall be longest hidden” (1842, p. 338); Grein, “die tiefe todte Woge bleibt am längsten [unter der Eisdecke] verborgen” (1858, II: 342); Ten Brink, “Am längsten, in der tiefe birgt sich die todte woge. Die stechpalm soll in’s feuer” (1877: 124); Strobl, “die tiefe tote woge ist am längsten böse [gewesen]” (1887: 58) and Brooke, “the dead depth of ocean forever is dark” (1898: 317). As to *dyrne*, Conybeare edits *dyme* (1826, p. 229), for Williams it is a misprint (1914: 121). The form *wæg* is an orthographic

variation, and the change to *weg* is unnecessary, see ‘weg’ in B.-T. (1183). For Müller, 8*b* is a separate gnome (1893: 28). Williams believes that ll. 7*b*-10 consist of series of pithy gnomes and translates, “the sea shall be unquiet; that is, it is the nature of the sea to be restless. The solemn [*dēop*, *profundus*] way of the dead is longest secret” (1914: 137). Brown expands on the theme of the *poculum mortis* in *Maxims I B 7b-8a*: *deop deada wæg* ‘the deep, the dead wave’. He believes that *wæg* means “cup of death” and it is a literary [funerary] figure (1940: 398-9). Russom holds a similar position. He thinks that the “deep cup” is a symbol of the endless slumber which falls upon all mortals. Russom points out that the theme of the cup has pre-Christian occurrences since it derives from ancient lore (1988: 175-9). Magennis is wrong in considering the *poculum mortis* motif a distinctive new trait of Christian literature (1985: 517-36).

9*a*-10*a*. **holen sceal inæled | yrfe gedæled || deades monnes**. Berkhout adds *ad* ‘funeral pyre’ before *sceal inæled* (1975: 77). Holthausen suggests *ofen* ‘furnace’ as subject for *sceal* (1906-7: 199). Thorpe would read *hæleð* but forces it into *æleð* ‘men’ for the sake of alliteration (1842: 338). Williams believes that Thorpe has forced the text; l. 9 shows end-rhyme rather than alliteration (1914: 137). Grein edited *in æleð* (1858, II: 342). Later, he glossed *inæleð* as a participle of *in-ælan*, ‘*incendere*’ (1864, II: 140). Thorpe translates, “shall among men the inheritance be divided” of a dead man” (1842: 338); Williams, “holly shall to the fire. The property of a dead man shall be divided” (1914: 137). Hanscom queries whether 9*a* means “means holly is good for burning” (1903-5: 439-63).

10*b*. **dom biþ selast**. Thorpe regards *dom* as “power” (1842: 338), Conybeare reads *dom biþ se last* as “*judicium erit ultimum*” (1926: 229); Williams “glory [fame] is best” (1914: 137). Wülker understands *dom* as “*ruhm*”; He recalls *Maxims II 21* (1883, I: 345). Ten Brink suggests, “*Ruhm ist das beste*” (1877: 124). Chadwick considers *dom* as *κλῆα ἀνδρῶν* (1912: 329). Koegel, who traces origin back to Homer, translates, “*dem toten ist*

nachruhm das beste” (1894, I: 38-9). 10*b* recalls *Beowulf* 1387*b*-1388*a*, *wyrce se þe mote || domes ær deaþe* ‘let whoever can gain glory before death’.

11-12*a*. **cyning sceal mid ceape | cwene gebicgan || bunum ond beagum**. For Williams believes it is a good example of ornate diction (1914: 137). Judd thinks that it was not the woman to be sold but the rights to her custody (1974: 138). 11-12*a* recalls *Hávamál* 90-91 and *Maxims II* 44*b*-45*a*, *gif heo nelle on folce geþeon || þæt hi man beagum gebicge* ‘if she wants not to prosper amongst her people, so that a man buys her with rings’.

13*b*. **guð sceal in eorle**. For Heyne, the custom of the giving of the drinking-cup by the woman was a ritual once prevailing in Anglo-Saxon England (1864: 39).

14*a*. **wig geweaxan**. Grein suggests *wigge weaxan*; *wigge* would be equivalent to *wige* (1865, II: 428).

14*b*-15*a*. **ond wif geþeon || leof mid hyre leodum**. Thorpe keeps MS. *lof* and translates, “and his wife flourish, beloved with her people” (1842: 338); Williams, “and the woman thrive, dear with her people”. (1914: 138). Rieger mentions the emendation *leof* that Ettmüller prints (1861: xxvi). Williams comments that Thorpe fails to suggest *leof* as an emendation (1914: 138). For Rieger *geþeon* equals *geþihan* (1861: 130). 14*b*-15*a* recalls *Beowulf* 24*b*-25, *lofdædum sceal || in mægþa gehwære | man geþeon* ‘by means of glorious actions a man acquires fame amongst any people’.

16*a*. **rune healdan**. Williams notes that it means “keep counsel” (1914: 138).

17*b*. **meodorædenne**. For Sweet, ‘meduræden[n]’ is a collective noun meaning “strong drink” (115), see also ‘ræden[n]’ in Wright (1908, § 610: 298). B.-T. glosses ‘meduræden[n]’ as “cellars, metonymy for liquors” (677). Williams is right when she says that it refers to the ceremonial of the

mead-cup as in *Beowulf* 628b-641 when Wealhtheow, king Hrothgar's queen, offers to the Prince of the Geats the cup which symbolises the solemn oath to fight against Grendel. Thorpe (1842: 339) and Grein (1858, II: 342), in l. 17a, insert no punctuation from *maþmum*, through *gegretan*. Wülcker notes, "Ettm. ändert in: *sorge siðmægen simle æghwær*" (1883, I: 346). Though, Ettmüller purely hold on to the MS.

18b. **for gesiðmægen.** Thorpe understands 18a as, "towards his friends, ever, everywhere". He prints *for gesið-mægen*, but queries *for gesið-mægum* (1842: 339). Wülcker and Williams gave the same reading. They both note incorrectly the manuscript. For Wülcker, it reads *gesið mægen* (1883, I: 346). Williams notes that she fails to make any meaning out of these words, which palaeographically may simply be confused with *for gesið mægen*. She follows the facsimile of the MS. and translates, "before the courtiers, the train (1914: 138). B.-T. glosses 'gesiþ-mægen' as "a multitude of companions" (442). Williams also points out Wülcker's inaccuracy; for her the correct reading is *sorge sið mægen* (1914: 122). However, the MS. shows *forge sið mægen*.

19. **edor æbelinga | ærest gegretan.** In a note to *æbelinga*, Grein points out the likeness between *Exeter B* 17-23a and *Beowulf* 612-615. Williams translates, "[the wife] shall the nobles' chief first greet" and points out the likeness of l. 19 to *Beowulf* 1216-ff. where Wealhtheow addresses the hero and gives him a collar. Worthy of note is that this line also recalls *Atlakviða* 38. See also Tupper's comments on *Riddle* 80 and his reference to both this gnome and the lines in *Beowulf* above (1909: 218). Williams thinks that the gnome, from l. 15b to l. 22, refers to the queen and she understands the passage as follows, "he shall earn praise; be cheerful of mood; keep counsel; be munificent in horses, treasures; with [the ceremony of] the mead, before the train, always, everywhere, shall first greet the nobles' chief [her husband]; the first cups to the lord's hand

quickly present, shall know wise counsel for them [herself and husband], the house owners, both together” (1914: 138).

20a. **forman fulle**. Thorpe queries *feorman* or *feorme* for *forman* (1842: 339).

21b. **ond him ræd witan**. As for *ræd*, see *Maxims I A*, note to ll. 22-23.

24a. **linden**. Williams notes that this is its only occurrence (1914: 138).

25b. **frysan**. Thorpe interprets it as “Frisian” (1842, p. 339); a great number of scholars follow such reading. Instead, for Ettmüller, *frysan* derives from *frise* (*frese*) ‘*crispus, comatus*’ (1851: 375). Grein follows Ettmüller (1861, I: 349). Brooke believes that such a gnome derives from one of the Frisian band which seems to have settled to the North of the Tweed (1898: 223). For March, *frysan* means “frizzled, ringleted, with a wealth of tresses”, but not “Frisian” (1879: 91-2). Williams regards ll. 25-29 as referring to the Frisian wife. She suggests, “Dear the welcome one to the Frisian wife, when the vessel stands: when his ship is come and her husband at home, her own provider, and she invites him in, washes his sea-stained garments and gives him new weeds: pleasant is it to him on land whom his love constrains” (1914: 138). Murray explains that the passage on the Frisian wife is an exemplum of marital fidelity (1989: 390-ff.).

26b. **ham**. For Williams, Hicke misprints *him* for *ham* (1914: 122).

27a. **ætgeofa**. Thorpe interprets *æt-geofa* literally as ‘food-giver’ (1842: 339).

29. **liþ him on londe | þæs his lufu bædeð**. Thorpe queries *bidað* for *bædeð* (1842: 339). Ten Brink translates, “Am lande wohnt ihm was seine lieb ersehnet” (1877: 125). For March there is a missing word. He suggests, “waiteth for him on the land [...] that his love demandeth” (1879: 92);

Shipley “whom his love constrains, or, because [*bæs*] love constrains him [*his*]” (1903: 23).

- 30a. **wif sceal wiþ wer wære gehealdan.** Sievers splits 30a [101] in two separate half-lines: *wif sceal wiþ wer | wære gehealdan* (1887, p. 478). Williams (1914: 138) re-mentions the likeness to *Hávamál* 84, especially: *Meyjar orðom scyli mangi trúa* ‘nobody should trust in the words of maidens’.
- 30b. **oft hi mon wommum behlið.** At first, Grein edited *belihð* (1858: 342) and noted how it derives from *bebligan* ‘infamare’ (1861, I: 87). Afterwards, he suggested *beblið* as another form from *bebligan* (1865: 428). Thorpe queries *belið* for *beblið* ‘besets’ (1842: 339). Rieger omits the entire line (1861: 130) [Berkhout edits it as a single *a*-verse (1975: 78)], Wülcker notes “eine ansicht die sehr wahrscheinlich ist” (1883, I: 347). As to the length of the verse, Schmitz comments “101 nimmt K. als geschwellte zeile, doch glaube ich mit Rieger dass die worte *oft* bis *beblið* nur durch versehen von 65 hergenommen sind” (1910: 69). Williams understands, “often she dishonors men with her vices”. She thinks that, *hi* is a rare nominative form. Sievers understands 30b as an independent line (1887: 478). 30b recalls *Exeter A* 63b: *oft hy mon wommum bilihð* ‘often one blames her of guilt’, see *Exeter A*, note 63b.
- 32a. **freoð hy fremde monnan.** Thorpe translates, “strange men court them” (1842: 339); Williams, “she courts strange men”. She comments that grammar favours making woman the active agent instead of the object of the courting. She (1914: 139) thinks that this verse recalls *Tecosca Cormaic*, where the poet narrates that bad women are given to trysting (Meyer, 1909: 22, l. 38). Besides, see note 86 on p. 24 of the present work.
- 33b. **a mon sceal seþeah lofes wenan.** Thorpe edits *se-þeah* and reads 33b as, “always ought a man nath’less to expect his friend” (1842: 340). For Williams, *lofes wenan* means “await a loved one” (1914: 139).

- 34a. **gebidan þæs he gebædan ne mæg.** For Grein *ne* can be omitted (1865, II: 342). Thorpe translates, “to await what he cannot control” (1842: 340); Shipley, “to await for what he may not compel (1903: 33) and Williams, “wait for what he may not hasten” (1914: 139).
- 35b-36a. **nefne him holm gestyreð | mere hafað mundum.** Thorpe translates, “unless him the ocean tosses, the sea has him in its clutches” (1842: 340); Williams “unless the ocean restrain him; the sea has him in its power” (1914: 139). Thorpe comments that *mundum* literally means “in hands” (1842: 340). Williams expands on it by saying that it may have an unfavorable meaning, “clutches”. If this were the case, *hafað* would also be modified by *nefne* (1914: 139).
- 36b. **mægðes agen wyn.** MS. reads *mægð eagsan wýn*. Grein (1858, II: 342) punctuates it in such a way: *gestyreð. Mere hafað mundumm mægð, egsan wyn*, Ettmüller (1850: 282) and Rieger (1861: 130) concur. Thorpe prints *mægð egna* [or *eagena*] *wyn* “a maid is the delight of the eyes” (1842: 340). Holthausen follows Thorpe and emends into *egna* “der augen” (1906-07: 199). Grein edits *mægð egsan wyn*. He translates *mægð* as “*natio, tribus*”. Besides, he notes “*wyn = win, gewin?*” (resp. 1864, II: 216; 1858: 342). He believes that *egsa, ægsa* is cognate word to OS *egso* ‘possessor’ (1861, I: 342). Later, Grein emends *egsan* into *êgsan* with no explanation (1865, II: 428). Besides, see ‘egsa’ in B.-T. (244). For Holthausen, is *egna* correct. Yet he believes that the following *a*-line is meaningless. He regards *ceap* as instrumental (1906-07: 199). Thorpe translates, “a maid is the delight of the eyes” (1842: 340); March, “the chief of terrors, i.e. the sea [holdeth] a family [many sailors]” (1879: 92). Wülcker writes, “obgleich die Ordnung der Gedanken bei Grein eine bessere ist, schloss ich mich der andren infachern erklärungsweise an” (1883, I: 347). Williams concurs with Holthausen and after him she suggests, “a maid [is] the delight of the eyes; through property a man [is] wealthy”. Though, her translation reads,

“a maid is the delight of the possessor” (1914: 139). Berkhout would rather read “the maiden’s own delight”, i.e. the sailor, her lover (1981: 249-50).

37-38. **ceapeadig mon | cyningwic þonne || leodon cypeþ | þonne liþan cymeð.**

Thorpe punctuates the text as follows, *ceap eadig mon, cyning wic þonne, leodon cypeþ, þonne liþan cymeð* (1842: 340), Rieger concurs (1861: 130). Grein instead, has the following punctuation, *ceap-eadig mon cyning wic þonne leodon cypeþ* (1858, II: 342). He later turns it into, *wic þon leodon (=þam leodum) cypeþ* (1865, II: 428). For Wulcker, “Diese änderung ist unmöglich, da þon nicht þon in der hs. Steht” (1883, I: 347). Yet, the MS. shows *þōn*, not *þon̄*. Williams supports Wülcker’s view (1914: 139). Grein changes it in *leodum cypeþ*. In addition, he joins *þam* in l. 37b with *leodum cypeþ* (1865: 428). For Grein, *leodon* equals *liðan* “sailor” (1864: 182). March (1876: 67) holds with Grein in compounding *ceap* and *eadig*. See also ‘liðan’ in B.-T. (643). Thorpe translates: “a rich man his cattle, a king his dwelling then, with his people shall guard, when mariners come, wood and rather use; then to them is a dwelling granted” (1842: 340); March, “a rich man, a king, a settlement then for his people buys, when he comes sailing” (1876: 92); and Williams, “his property a wealthy man, the king a dwelling will sell, to the sailor when he comes sailing. He enjoys wood and water, when a dwelling is granted him” (1914: 139).

40. **mete bygeþ gif he maran þearf | ærþon he to meþe weorþe.** Thorpe reads, “meat he buys, if he needs more, ere he becomes too faint” (1842: 340); Williams, “he buys meat, if he needs more, before he becomes too faint”. She queries who is *he* and wonders whether it is still the “sailor-man” (1914: 140). My reading of *weorþe* follows the MS. All scholars hold with it, but Hickes who edits *weoþe* (1705: 221). Wülcker adopts *weorþe* though he notes, incorrectly, that the MS. reads *weoþe* (1883, I: 347).

41a. **seoc se biþ þe to seldan ieteð.** Thrope queries *eteð* for *ieteð* (1842: 340).

- 42a. **ne mæg he be þy wedre wesan.** For Thorpe it means “he may not be in the open air” (1842: 640); B.-T., “he may not be in the open air” (69). Williams considers it an idiomatic expression similar to modern English “can’t stand the weather” (1914: 140).
43. **ofercumen biþ he ær he acwele | gif he nat hwa hine cwicne fede.** Thorpe reads, “he will be overcome here he dies, if he knows not who will feed him leaving” (1842: 340); Williams, “overcome is he, he may soon die, if he know not one who may feed him living”. She also notes that *ær* might mean “before”. Besides she refers to B.-T. (6, 17).
- 44b. **morþor under eorþan befeolan.** Williams notes that *morþor* means “violent death, corpse of one whom he has killed”. Besides, she refers to W.W. Lawrence’s ‘The Banished Wife’s Lament’ (1908: 391). Ll. 44-45 recall *Sigrdrífomál* 33.
47. **hean sceal gehnigan | adl gesigan.** Hickeys reads *gebingan* (1705), Berkhout supposes it is a misprint (1975: 77). Thorpe edits *adlige sigan* “the disease’d sink” (1842: 79). For Holthausen (1906-7: 199), [*b*]adl “bent down” is equivalent to *heald* and *halþ*, see Sweet (84). Grein queries *hadl* for *adl* to satisfy the needs of the alliteration. He also queries *haðu* or *heaðu* (1858, II: 343). Williams queries what Grein intended. She points out the rhyme *gehnigan*, *gesigan* and comments that *adl gesigan* means “disease languish” (1914: 140).
- 48a. **ryht rogian.** Thorpe translates it “justice accuse” and relates *rogian* to OHG *rôgian* and OS *wrôgian* (1842: 340). B.-T. is at a loss for the meaning. Grein writes that *rogian*, from OHG *rukian*, means “florere, crescere” (1864, II: 383). Williams holds with Grein’s etymology and translates, “justice shall flourish” (1914: 140).

- 48b. **ræd biþ nyttost.** As for *ræd*, see *Maxims I A*, note to ll. 22-23.
49. **yfel unnyttost | þæt unlæd nimeð.** The *a*-verse is written over an erasure; *nyttost*, *unnyttost* is what Sievers calls “grammatischer reim” (1885: 481).
50. **god bið genge | ond wiþ god lenge.** B.-T., in the entry ‘genge’ reads, “Good prevails and is lasting before God” (421) and under ‘lenge’, “Good hath affinity with God” (629). Klæber suggests that *lenge* means “at hand” (1905-06: 246). Williams points out the puns on ‘God’ and ‘good’ and the rhymes *genge* with *lenge*. She believes that the tone seems to be that of a real proverb; good would have affinity with God (1914: 140).
51. **hyge sceal gehealden | hond gewealden.** Thorpe suggests, “the mind shall be modest, the hand powerful” (1842: 341); Williams, “thought shall be restrained, the hand shall be controlled [by mind?]”. She believes it is a common gnomic idea. Besides, she points out the alliteration and the rhyme (1914: 140). It recalls *Wander* 11b-16 and *Maxims I A* 66a, *hond sceal heofod inwyrca*n, see note.
52. **seo sceal in eagan | snyttro in breostum.** Thorpe translates 52a, “sight shall be in the eyes” (1842: 341); Williams, “the apple shall be in the eye”. She comments that *seo*, a pleasing relic, means both “apple” and “pupil” (1914: 140). Worthy of a note is that there is a minor erasure after *in* and before *breostum*.
- 54b. **mæl sceolon tidum gongan.** Grein queries *sceolon on tidum* for *sceolon tidum* (1858, II: 343). Busse believes that ll. 54[b]-60 reveals how in the world of late Anglo-Saxon aristocratic people, the authority of books is rather to be associated to the scholar. Aristocracy was more into warfare (1988: 33).
- 55b. **on guman sweorde.** See *gifre* [...] *guma*, *Maxims I A* 68, see note.

57-58a. **god scop gumum | garniþ werum || wig towiþre.** Thorpe prints *gar niþ-werum* and reads it as, “a good poet for men, a weapon for enemies, war for an adversary” (1842: 341). Ettmüller emphasises the figure of a pagan god by a *poetam christianum*. Ettmüller follows Thorpe though his reading “paganitatem sapiat” (1850: 283, note to ll. 57-58). Rieger holds with Ettmüller as for his interpretation. Yet, prints *gar niþwerum* (1861: 131). Both Bouterwek (1854, xcvi) and Grein read *gôd* ‘bonus’ (1858, II: 343). Grein regards ‘toviðre’ as “contra pugnam” (1864, II; 549). Bouterwek reads the gnome, “speer für die neidigen, kampf für den widersacher, wohnung für friedenhaltende” (1854: xcvi); whilst Williams, “a good scop for men, spear-strife for heroes [is fitting]; war for resistance to hold peace among dwellings” (1914: 140). Cross gives examples for some justification for such defensiveness in a Christian theological context. “Just and public war” was a prerogative of laymen and their secular duties. The Church did not explicitly condemn it, but penitentials disclose some hidden censure of such a lawful duty (1971: 276-80). For Opland, war and poetry are pulled together by the role of the scop (1980: 21).

61b. **synne.** Bouterwek reads *scine* as *Zauberei* ‘whichcraft’ (1854, p. xcvi). Stobl comments that ll. 59-61 [130-132] “In den drei folgenden versen 130-132 ist je ein halbvers einem spruche gewidmet” (1887: 59).

62a. **woden worhte weos.** Thorpe suggests, “Woden wrought idols” (1842: 341); Bouterwek, “Vôden machte Götzen”. He is doubtful whether to translate *woden* as Woden or as *Velend/Veland* ‘Weland’ (1854: xcvi; xcvi, note 8). For Grein, “allein Voden und der wahre Gott scheinen hier einander entgegengesetzt: jener schuf nur Götzen; dieser aber die Glorie und die weiten Himmel” (1858: 343). Williams reads, “Woden created idols [or evils]” (1844: 140). Grein glosses ‘wôh’ as “iniquitas” (1864, II: 731), whilst B.-T. glosses ‘wôh’ [adjective] as “crooked” and ‘wôh’ [noun,] as “wrong, error” (1262). For Strobl (1887: 59-60), this gnome alludes to Ps 95, 5, *omnes dii gentium dæmonia, dominus autem cælos fecit*. In his *Historia*

*ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* II.10, Bede says that Pope Boniface quotes from this psalm in his epistle to Edwin, King of the Angles. The gnomist might have made either a misleading translation or a mistake in taking *fecit* as a governing verb also for the first passage. It is worthy of mentioning is that in *Historia ecclesiastica* II.13, one finds a parallel for the rest of the speech in the description of king Edwin's conversion, "In hac prædicatione veritas claret illa, quæ nobis vitæ, salutis et beatitudinis æternæ dona valet tribuere" (Colgrave, 1969: 184, ll. 18-20). For Williams, Stobl reference to the account in Bede is not correct. She believes that the final six lines of *Maxims I B* are the adding of a late scribe who was not acquainted with *Historia ecclesiastica*. For Williams, the passage can be taken from a Bible episode (1914: 141).

66a. **ond eft æt þam ende.** Thorpe suggests, "and at the end again" (1842: 342); Bouterwek, "wieder am ende" (1854: xcviij).

Exeter C [ff. 91<sup>r</sup>-92<sup>v</sup>]

- 1a. **ræd sceal mon secgan.** As for *ræd*, see *Maxims I A*, note to ll. 22-23.
- 2b. **lofes gearnian.** MS. reads *leofes*. Williams understands *leofes* as “merit praise, rather than merit a lover” (1914: 141). Hickeys reads *gearman* (1705: 221), Berkhout supposes it is a misprint (1975, p. 81). Grein prints *gearnian* but he queries *geearnian* or *geornian* (1858, II: 349).
- 3b. **dæges onettan.** Thorpe translates, “by day hastens” (1842: 342); Williams, “daily be diligent” (1914: 141). For Wright, *dæges* means “daily, by day” (1908, § 557, p. 282), B.-T. concurs with Wright’s translation, see ‘dæges’ (193). Williams believes that 3b recalls Jn 9: 4, *me oportet operari opera eius qui misit me donec dies est venit nox quando nemo potest operari* (1914: 141).
4. **til mon tiles || ond tomes meares.** Thorpe understands, “a good man on a good” (1842: 342). Ettmüller suggests reading *til mon byð weorðe tiles* (1850: 285). Grein notes that *mon* is a form of the verb *munan*. To him, *mon* is not a noun, ‘man’, as both Thorpe and Ettmüller read it (1858: 344). For Williams, Thorpe’s translation of *mon* “mon” does not fit the substantial meaning of *til*. She extends the same comment to Ettmüller. Williams, after Grein, reads *mon* as the third person singular of *munan* and translates, “a good man remembers [is careful of] a good and tame horse (1914: 141).
- 5b. **ond calcrondes.** Williams notes that *calcrondes* is a compound which occurs nowhere else (1914: 141).
6. **nænig fira | to fela gestrýneð.** Strobl explains that this line is the conclusion of a *fornyrðislag* strophe which is made up of ll. 1-3, 6; ll. 4 and 5 are out

of place (1887: 60). Thorpe reads, “no man gains too much” (1842: 342), Williams concurs (1914: 141).

8. **oft mon fereð feor bi tune | þær him wat freond unwiotodne.** For Thorpe, it means, “where he knows a friend to be void of reproach”. At the entry ‘tune’, B.-T. suggests, “passing the dwellings of men” (1019: iv) and at the entry ‘un-witod’ reads “where he cannot look for a friend” (1138). Grein glosses ‘unwiotod’ as “non destinatus” (1964, II: 630). Ettmüller queries *wine* for *freond* (1859: 285). For Williams, the line seems to mean that one avoids a place where there are no friends. She suggests, “often one goes far by [about] the village, where he knows for himself no certain friend” (1914: 141).

9. **wineleas wonsælig mon | genimeð him wulfas to geferan.** Ettmüller emends *wulfas* into *wulf* (1850: 285). Sievers concurs with him and notes, “Nicht nur *geferan* ist wahrscheinlich, sondern auch das folgende *felafæcne deor* ist sicher singular” (1887: 464). Williams does not hold with such emendation since *geferan* may be dative plural; *wulf* would make a better construction (1914: 141). As for *Maxims I C 9-14*, Mackie, emphasises the persistence of a heathen custom in Christian times where a band of horsemen used to ride round a memorial barrow to croon a funeral chant. Lendinara, points out how the wolf therein is a veiled allusion to a feigning mourner. This reflects man’s cynicism and weakness. She matches this odd funerary ritual with the song of the unnamed woman in *Beowulf 3148b-3155a* (1973: 14-6). Cherniss compares the wolf with men and exile (1972: 109).

10. **felafæcne deor | ful oft hine se gefera sliteð.** Grein has a comma after *geferan* in *9b* and a colon after *deor* (1858, II: 344). Thorpe interprets *10a* as “a much crafty beast” (1842: 342). Ettmüller edits *fela frecne deor*; for him, *frecn* means “periculosus, terribilis” (1850: 285). Wülker draws attention to *Rune Poem 5a felafrecne deor* ‘vey fierce animal’. For him, l. 10b seems to suggest *frecne*. Wülker edits *felafæcne deor* (1883: 349). Williams translates

accordingly, though she keeps the MS. in text, “the dangerous animal; full often the companion tears him” (1914: 141-2).

11a. **gryre sceal for greggum.** Ettmüller queries *grægum* for *greggum* (1850: 285).

Mead explains that in ll. 11-13 there are two of the seven instances of this word in the whole Old English poetic corpus (1899: 189-90).

11b-12. **græf deadum men || hungre heofeð | nales þæt heafe bewindeð.** For

Ettmüller, l. 12 ought to be punctuated as, *hungre heofeð. Nales þæt heafe bewindeð* (1850: 285), Grein concurs (1858, II: 344). Thorpe suggests, “the grave for the dead man hungry shall groan; not with howl winds round it” (1842: 342). B.-T., at the entry ‘heófan’, translates *hungre heofeð* “laments for hunger” (528). Müller comments, “Selbst im grabe noch verfolgt den menschen der falsche freund [wulf]. Er klagt wohl, aber nicht aus anteil (nalæs), sondern vor hunger [Hungre heofeð], weil er nichts mehr zu fressen bekommt [ac hit a mare wille]” (1893: 21). Williams reads, “a grave [shall be prepared] for the dead man. [The wolf] laments for hunger; he does not at all encircle [?] that (*græf*) with lamentation” (1914: 142).

15. **wræd sceal wunden | wracu heardum men.** Thorpe queries *wræð* for *wræd*

(1842: 343). For Williams, such a change is unneeded (1914: 142). Thorpe regards *wracu* as “exile”, see ‘wracu’ in B.-T. (1268). Ayres suggests, “the web shall be woven, misery [shall be] for the cruel man”. Once more, Williams reports Ayers’ view without giving any reference to the titles of the work quoted. Instead, she translates, “a bandage shall [be] wound; revenge shall be for the brave man” she interprets *wunden* from *windan*, “to wind”. She also notes that if the word is *wund* equals “wound”, the line to should be taken as, “a bandage shall be for the wound”. If this was the case, she cannot justify the construction of *wund*. Williams suggests an alternative reading “a fillet shall be rolled, twisted” (1914: 142).

- 16b-17a. **sceal bam gelic | mon to gemæccan.** B.-T. reads, “a bow must have an arrow, a man must to his mate” (412); Williams, “man shall have both alike for his companions”. For her, it is likely that the meaning may be that bow and arrow shall be to each other as man to mate. Williams (1914: 142) recalls ON *Enn á boga örvar* “arrows for a bow” without any reference to both the poem she quoted [*Skáldskaparmál* 178].
- 17b. **maþpum oþres weorð.** For Thorpe, this *b*-line is the continuation of 17a and reads, “be the other’s treasure” (1842: 343). B.-T. in ‘máðum’ reads, “[treasure] change hands” (671); Williams, “treasure become another’s” (1914: 142). Ettmüller (1850: 285) and Grein (1875: 428) insert a comma after 17a and a period after 17b. Yet, Grein originally placed a period at the end of 17a (1858, II: 344). Müller comments that “Der mann soll mit dem genossen so untrennbar verbunden sein wie bogen and Pfeil, [...] ein geschenk des andern wert sein” (1893: 23).
18. **gold mon sceal gifan | mæg god syllan.** Williams notes that it might be a Christian thought (1914: 142) as it recalls Jb 1: 21 *et dixit nudus egressus sum de utero matris meae et nudus revertar illuc Dominus dedit Dominus abstulit sit nomen Domini benedictum.*
20. **sele sceal stondan | sylf ealdian.** Ettmüller prints *silf ealdjan* but suggests reading *silfer ealdian* as “argentum [usu] senescere” (1850: 285). Williams queries *sylf* for *syll* “foundation” and understands, “a hall shall stand, itself grow old” (1914: 142).
21. **licgende beam | læsest groweð.** For Williams, *læsest* is a poetic form since *læst* is the only form common in West Saxon prose (1914: 142).
22. **treo sceolon brædan | ond treow weaxan.** Thorpe queries *treawu* for *treo* (1842: 343), see B.-T. (119; 1179). Williams thinks that this suggestion is unnecessary since *treow* is also a form of nominative plural. She translates,

“trees shall spread and truth be disseminated”. She also thinks that this line appears to pun on *treo* and *treow*; *sio* has for antecedent *treow* (1914: 143). See also note 32*b*-33*a* to *Maxims II*.

24. **wærleas mon ond wonhydig.** Holthausen edits *monna*, a weak form of the genitive singular (1910: 155).

26. **þæs ne gymeð god.** Grein originally printed *gymed* (1858, II, 285) and later suggested *gymeð* (1875: 428). For Sievers, the meter of ll. 24-26 is the same of the *ljóðabáttr* stanza (1893: 145), Ettmüller (1850: 285) concurs. See also note to l. 54*a* in *Exeter A* and ll. 50-53 in *Exeter C*. 27.

27. **fela sceop meotud þæs þe fyrn gewearð | het siþþan swa forð wesan.** Some editors, as recorded in the apparatus criticus, would make a second line after *gewearð*. Wright expands on *sceop* for *scop*, (1908, § 128, 62). Williams recalls the structure of the *ljóðabáttr* strophe and notes that, as it stands, this line has six accents (1914: 143).

28. **wæra gehwylcum wislicu | word gerisað.** Ettmüller readjusts the word order of the MS. in *wislicu word gerisað wera gehwylcum* and notes that here *multa desunt* (1850: 285). Thorpe (1842: 343), Ettmüller (1850: 285) and Grein (1858, II, 285) would change *wæra* into *wera*, see B.-T. (1241). Williams, thinks such suggestion is useless since this form also occurs elsewhere. She reads, “to every one of men wise words are fitting (1914: 143).

29. **gleomen gied | ond guman snyttro.** For Müller, colorless *guman* gains its true significance if taken as ‘warrior’, in opposition to ‘singer’ (1893: 23).

30. **swa monige beoþ men ofer eorþan | swa beoþ modgeþoncas.** Williams believes that one would expect *monige* as Ettmüller (1850: 285) emends rather than *monig*. Williams quotes the maxim *quot homines, tot sententiæ* but gives no reference to its author who should be Terence, P. Terentius

Afer; the original aphorism would be *quot capita tot sententiae*. Williams also recalls *Gifts of Men* [*Minds of Men*] 21-23 (1914: 143).

31a. **ælc him hafað sundorsefan.** Thorpe (1842: 344) prints, *ælc him hafað sundor* || *sefan longað*; Ettmüller (1850: 285) and Williams (1914: 125) *ælc him hafað sundorsefan longað* and begin a new clause with *þonne*. Thorpe reads, “each has to himself apart a desire of mind” (1842: 344); Williams, “each has for himself, apart, a desire of heart”. She comments that this is a typical *topos* of Anglo-Saxon literature: when one sits apart and ponders, he grows sad. Besides, Williams (1914: 143) points out that 31a recalls *Wanderer* 111, *swa cwæð snottor on mode | gesæt him sundor æt rune* ‘thus said the wise to himself, thoughtful, sitting aside and also *Wife’s Lament* 52b-53 *wa bið þam þe sceal || of langoþe | leofes abidan* ‘harm to who ought to long whilst waiting the loved one’.

32. **longað þonne þy læs | þe him con leoþa worn.** As Grein (1858, II, 285) and Wülker (1883, I: 350), I begin this line with *longað*. Thorpe (1842: 345) and Ettmüller (1850: 285) believe that there is a gap after *þonne*. Thorpe translates, “when \* \* \* | unless he knows many songs” (1842: 345); Williams, “yet the less the man who knows many songs”. She points out the frequent allusion to the harp in Old English poetry. For Williams, this gnome recalls *Beowulf* 650, 2254 [?]. As for the allusion to the harp, see *Gifts of Men* 49 *sum mid hondum mæg | hearpan gretan* “one with his hands can play the harp”, and, *sui generis*, *Fates of Men* 80-81.

35-36. **earn biþ se þe sceal | ana lifgan || wineleas wunian | hafap him wyrð geteod.** Thorpe translates, “miserable is he who must live alone, friendless continue, fate has ordained it to him” (1842: 344). For Wülker, “Ettm. nimmt winel. wun. ‘als objekt zu geteod.’ So fasse ich es auch auf” (1883, I: 351). Williams reads, “miserable is he who must live alone, friendless to dwell has to him fate decreed” (1914: 143).

- 37b. **begin hi anes monnes.** Ettmüller prints this *b*-verse at the beginning of a ‘new’ line: *begin hi anes monnes, eorles wæren* (1850: 285).
38. **eorle eaforan wæran | gif hi sceoldan eofor onginnan.** Thorpe queries *eorlice* for MS. *eorle* (1842: 344). Holthausen reads *eorlas* as a nominative plural (1910: 200). Ettmüller reorganises this line as: *eaforan, gif hi sceoldon eofor onginnan*. He queries *onwinnan* for *onginnan* (1850: 385). For Williams, there is no translation of *eorle* which compares favorably with that of *eorles* in apposition to *monnes*. She wonders whether *eorle* is dative and mens “to a man”. Williams also points out the pun on *eofora* and *eofor*, *wæran* for *wæren*, as Ettmüller already suggested (1850: 285), and *sceoldan* for *sceoldon* (1914: 143).
- 39b. **biþ þæt sliphende deor.** Thorpe prints *slip-berde* but suggests regarding it as *sliphearde* (1842: 344). Ettmüller edits *sliphearde* and notes, wrongly, that the MS. reads *slidberde* (1850: 286). Yet, palaeographical analysis shows a clear hand which has unquestionably written *sliphende*. Williams regards *slipberde deor* as “the bear” (1914: 143).
- 40-41. **a scyle þa rincas | gerædan lædan || ond him ætsomne swefan.** Thorpe queries *geræd rædan* for *gerædan lædan* (1842: 344). B.-T. glosses ‘ge-ræde’ as “trappings” (429), see also ‘ge-réde’ (430). Yet, at the entry ‘ge-rædan’ he refers to this gnome and glosses it as “arrange, dispose” (429). Grein does not give any meaning, he just mentions it is an accusative (1864, II: 440). Koegel suggests *geræd anlædan*. (1894, I: 75). Williams wonders whether this word stands for *ræd* “council”. If so, *lædan* might be figurative, and 40b might mean “lead a council”. She translates, “always shall these warriors carry their trappings, and with each other together sleep (1914: 143).
42. **næfre hy mon tomædle.** Thorpe edits *mon to mon || to mæðlde*, in two different lines. He regards one of the *mon to* as a repetition (1842: 344), see also B.-T. (664). Thorpe is likely wrong in thinking some lines are

omitted after *swefan*, see Sievers (1893: 145). Wülker (1883, I: 351) and Williams (1914: 125) follow the MS. *mon to mon to mælde*. Grein emends *mon to mælde* and adds *mæg beswican* to make a long line (1858, II: 345). Holthausen would change to *tomælde* (1906-7: 200), see also B.-T. (1002) and Grein (1864, II: 545). Krapp and Dobbie suggest *mon tomælde* noting the metathesis (1936: 162, 308). Ettmüller omits ll. 42-43 without any comment (1850: 286). For Williams, enough is omitted after *mædle* to have a second long line in the strophe (1914: 144). Grein queries *mæg beswican* to fill the gap (1858, II: 345). As to ll. 40-45 (and likely to ll. 25-31), Müller comments that “für schlecht umgemodelte prosa”. He does not recognise the *ljóðabáttr* stanza (1893, 44). Koegel comments, “immer sollen die helden [einer gefolgschaft] sich in einander schicken und bei einander schlafen: dann werden sie sich gegenseitig niemals durch böse reden veruneinigen, bis sie der tod trennt” (1894, I: 75). Accordingly, Williams (1914: 144) would translate, “never shall one go to the assembly without the other”. She believes that l. 42 might refer to the second paragraph of an ancient ON decree, known as “formula of peace-making”, enclosed in the ‘Old Constitution’, a corpus of primitive laws and customs of the Icelanders (Vigfússon and Powell, 1905, I: 316).

44. **hy twegen sceolon tæfle ymbsittan | þenden him hyra torn toglide.** B.-T. notes that amongst the Icelanders ‘tæfle’ was a game, later known also in Anglo-Saxon England after the Viking raids, used of chess or draughts or of dicing (968). B.-T. also refers to *Germania*, XXIV. Williams thinks that the context seems to point to dicing or a board for dicing. She favours a meaning related to the table where drink and food is served (1914: 144)
45. **forgietan þara geocran gesceafta | habban him gomen on borde.** Thorpe translates, “forget the miserable world, have to them past time on board” (1842: 345); Williams “they forget the shaping of bitter things” (1914: 144). Grein has reflexive *him* after *forgietan* (1858: 345). Ettmüller edits *borðe* without justifying such decision (1850: 286). Wright expands on the

evolution of *gesceafte* from an *-i* feminine to a neuter stem (1908, § 391: 184-5). See also ‘ge-sceaft’ in B.-T. (435). Williams suggests “on board” as to *on borde*. She notes that it is possible that the gaming board is referred to since the meaning fits the context (1914: 144). Yet, she takes the main information from ‘bord’ in B.-T. (116) without acknowledging it.

46a. **idle hond æmetlan geneah tæfles monnes.** Thorpe edits *æmet lange neah* and prints *hond* in the previous line (1842: 345). Ettmüller reads *emtað lange neah*. He also notes that he ignores the existence of a verb *emettan*. For Ettmüller, *emtað* derives from *emtian* or *emtigean* (1850: 286). Williams does not hold with Ettmüller (1914: 144). Thorpe translates, “idle is the hand, [long leisure nigh], of the gamester but with the dice he throws (1842: 345). Grein glosses ‘neah’ as “satis diu” (1864, II: 284) and ‘æmetian’ as “vacare” (1861, I: 57). Williams offers two readings. Accordingly to Grein, she suggests, “the idle hand of the dicer is at leisure long enough”. She also refers to the formula *sufficit vobis* in the OE Dt 1: 6, *genoh lange* (Crawford 1922: 333). Williams also gives a second suggestion. She notes that *æmet* comes at the end of a line and that *-ian* was carried forward *ge* of the “next word, as not unusual, was affixed to the preceding word; hence *iange*. Palaeographically, *i* for *l* is quite possible; a later scribe may have mistaken the letter, particularly since *lange*, a common word, would naturally present itself, in opposition to the form *iange*”. Williams’ main reason for such a change is the fact that *æmet* occurs nowhere else and “second, that *o* is uniformly written before nasals [in the Gn. Ex.], and *lange* would have been *longe*”. Thus, she would translate *idle hond æmetian geneah* “it satisfies the idle hand to be at leisure” (1914: 144). Williams also lists some scholars on Anglo-Saxon games possibly borrowed from the Latin world (1914: 145).

46b. **þonne teoselum weorpeð.** Ettmüller (1850: 286) and Grein (1858, II: 345) place a period after *weorpeð*. Thorpe reads, “but with the dice he throws” (1842: 345). Shipley expands on the construction of verbs such as *weorpan*

with the genitive of instrument and renders 46*b* as “when he throws dice” (1903: 18, 61-2). Williams thinks that *he* refers to *ceole* at l. 47, not to the gamester. She translates, *teoselum weorpeð*, “throws with the dice”. (1914: 145). Frank notes that ll. 46-7 are rich in puns. She compares this passage with *Guthlac* 450 and *Wander* 114 (1988: 171).

48*a*. **werig sceal se wiþ winde roweþ.** Grein (1858, II: 345) and Wülker (1883, I: 352) print *werig scealc*, see also Grein (1864, II: 403). B.-T. does not refer to this line under *scealc*.

48*b*-49. **ful oft mon wearnum tihð || eargne þæt he elne forleose | drugað his ar on borde.** Thorpe suggests, “full oft one with threats urges the slothful, so that he loses courage, draws his oar on board” (1842: 345). Williams takes *wearnum* as “freely” and translates, “weary shall he [be, who] rows against the wind; very often one freely blames the timid, so that he loses courage, his oar becomes dry on board” (1942: 145). For Franks, *ar* is a pun and it recalls both “oar” and “honour” (1986: 171).

50. **lot sceal mid lyswe | list mid gedefum.** Thorpe reads, “craft shall be with falsehood, art with things fitting” (1842: 345); Koegel, “Betrug muss mit falschheit, list mit schlaueit verbunden sein; auf diese weise wird der stein [im bretspiel] heimlich beseitigt” (1894, I: 75); Williams, “cunning shall with thing evil, skill with things fitting” (1942: 145). At the entry ‘list’, B.-T. notes that *list* and *lot* are “names for a corresponding vice and virtue” (643), see also Grein (1864, II: 190-4). Sievers notes that ll. 50*a*-53 are characterised by the *ljóðabáttr* stanza (1893: 145); see note to l. 54*a* in *Maxims I A* and ll. 24-26 in *Maxims I C*.

51-54. **þy weorpeð se stan forstolen || oft hy wordum toweorpað || ær hy bacum tobreden || geara is hwær aræd.** Thorpe regards these lines as defective due to the want of context and alliteration. He sees a gap after *forstolen*, and makes no translation from *bacum* through *aræd*. (1842: 345).

Grein thinks that there is a slight omission after *aræd*. Strobl emends *aræd* into *arod* ‘ready’ and compares it to its ON equivalent: *orr* (1886: 215). See also Koegel (1894, I: 75). B.-T. glosses, hesitantly, *aræd* as “resolute” (suppl. 45). By following Strobl, Williams notes that one may read the gnome: “the ready man is always prepared” (1914: 146). For the occurrence of *aræd* see also *Wanderer* 33 *wyrd bið ful aræd* ‘fate is inexorable’ and some other antonymic instances, *anræd*, in *Beowulf* 1529, 1575. Koegel suggests reading l. 54 as *geara is hwær ahred* “tief ists irgendwo erregt”. Besides, he further comments, “der sinn der zeile kann nur sein: der innere zorn kommt zum ausbruch, die innere erregung macht sich in worten luft” (1894, I: 75). For Williams, such a rendering dwarfs l. 52 (1914: 146). So Thorpe suggests, “therefore is the stone stolen, \* \* \* oft they by words o’erthrow, ere they \* \* \*” (1842: 345); Williams, “cunning must meet cheating, by which the dice may be stolen: players often dispute before they turn their backs on one another; the courageous man will be ready [in case of a wrangle] (1914: 146). Berkhout reads *geara* as “formerly, long time ago” (1981: 250).

55-56a. **wearð fæhþo fyra cynne | siþþan furþum swealg | eorðe Abeles blode.**

Thorpe understands “enmity has been among mankind, since that first swallo’d earth Abel’s blood” (1842: 345); Williams, “hostility has been among mankind since the earth first swallowed Abel’s blood”. She believes that this line opens a corrupt and thorny Christian gnome. For her, it shows the difficulty to “convert into a form approaching that first written down”. Besides, Williams notes that “*blode*, is. after *swelgan*” (1914: 146). As for ‘swelgan, see also B.-T. (947).

56b. **næs þæt andæge nið.** For Williams, the main meaning of *andæge* might be “open” (1914: 146). Accordingly, she recalls *Beowulf* 11, 1107 and 1935 in Sedgefield’s edition (1913: 164).

- 58a. **micel mon ældum.** Williams notes that she changes *mon* to *man* otherwise she would make nothing of 58a (1914: 146).
59. **bealoblonden niþ | slog his broðor swæsne.** Thorpe prints *bealo-blonden*. He translates it as “pernicious”. Yet, he points out it literally means “bale-blended” (1842: 345). *MS.* reads *bro*. Thorpe suggests *bro-swaesne*, a likely contraction of *broðor-swaesne* and translates, “pernicious hate. Slew his own brother” (1842: 345-6).
60. **Cain þone cwealm neredede | cup wæs wide siþþan.** Thorpe queries *nydde* for *nerede* (1842: 346); Grein *serede fore neredede* (1858, II: 345). Strobl emends it into *þone cwealm gewræc* following *Beowulf* 107b where the scop refers to Cain, the murderer of blameless Abel (1887: 61). Williams queries what does *þone* refer to, whether Cain or Abel. “If the latter, then *nerede* may be for *ferede* or *generede*, and the meaning is, whom (that is, Abel) death took away” (1914: 146). Lendinara points out how giants are to be regarded as descendants of Cain (597: 85-98, esp. 89-91). Wright gives a brilliant account of the occurrence of the theme of the shedding of Abel’s blood all through OE poetry (1996: 12-4).
61. **þæt ece nið ældum scod | swa aþolware.** Thorpe queries *atol werum* for *aþol warum* (1842: 346). Grein notes that the *MS.* reads *aþol warum* although the hand is unequivocally clear and it shows *aþolwarum*. Yet, Grein edits *aðolwarum* and renders it as ‘citizen’ (1858, II: 345). As already mentioned in the above note, Strobl would change *gewræc* into *nerede*. He would also change *aþolwarum* to *aðom swarian* and read: “den mord rachte -kund war es seither weithin- dass ewiger hass die menschen schädigte, wie auch eidam und schwäher der waffen getöse vollführten über die erde”. He also believes that the Cain-Abel episode should be related to the Oswald-Penda feud-wars (1887: 60-1). Williams is right to doubt any historical reference (1914: 146), B.-T. glosses ‘aþol-ware’ as “citizens” (58). Williams does not

hold with B.-T. If that interpretation were correct, “eternal hate injured men, so citizens” it would be improbable (1914: 146).

62. **drugon wæpna gewin | wide geond eorþan.** Williams notes that *dreogan gewin* means “fight” (1914: 146).

63b. **heoro sliþendne.** Thorpe queries *slitendne* for *sliþendne* (1842: 346).

64a. **gearo sceal guðbord.** Thorpe prints *guð-bord*. He translates it “buckler” but notes that it literally means “war-board” (1842: 346).

65. **ecg on sweorde | ond ord spere.** Wülker writes *and* in italics to indicate the MS. sign for this word (1883, I: 352). For Williams, it is an error not to italicise since, in every instance, the MS. has ʒ (1914: 146).

66a. **hyge heardum men.** For Williams it means [literally] “heart for the brave man”, hence it is, “the brave man must have courage” (1914: 146).

67. **ond a þæs heanan hyge | hord unginnost.** Thorpe understands, “and ever for the base in soul treasure most bounded” (1842: 346); Brooke, “and the smallest of hoards for the coward in soul” (1898: 209). Williams considers *þæs heanan hyge* as “for the soul of the base [hall be thought] a most limited treasure”. For her, ll. 64-67 show reversion to gnomic utterance (1914: 146).

Cotton Gnomes [ff. 115<sup>r</sup>-115<sup>v</sup>]

1. **cyning sceal rice healdan | ceastra beoð feorran gesyne.** Fox translates *gesyne* as “seen” (1830: 45), Turner concurs (1845, III: 288). Williams does not concur since “should be reserved for the pp. of *gesēon*”. She reads it as “visible”. Besides, Williams points out the diversity of Latinised *ceastra* and Saxon *burh*. Then, she mentions some studies about the use of stone amongst the Mediterranean peoples, not in the Germanic north (1914: 147). Schneider reads l.1 as containing the runes *ing* and *lagu* (1972: 110).
  
- 2a. **orðanc enta geweorc.** Turner otranslates, “the work of the mind of giants” (1845, III: 288). Williams does not hold with Turner since in this “case of *orðanc* forbids” (1914: 147). B.-T. glosses ‘ent’ as “giant” (2). Williams suggests, “cunning work of giants” and recalls the formulaic expression *enta geweorc* in *Beowulf* 2717b and in *Andreas* 1235a (1914: 147). Williams recalls the note ‘*enta ær-geweorc*’ in Krapp’s edition (1906: 138). This plain reference to giants might be the elaboration of a Biblical theme one finds form Gn 6: 4, *gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis postquam enim ingressi sunt filii Dei ad filias hominum illaeque genuerunt isti sunt potentes a saeculo viri famosi.*
  
- 3a. **wrætlic weallstana geweorc | wind byð on lyfte swiftust.** 3a recalls *Ruin* 1b, *wrætlic is þæs wealstan* ‘such wallstone is wondrous’. Wright explains that *swiftest* is a rarer form of superlative (1908, § 444: 214).
  
4. **þunar byð þragum hludast | þrymmas syndan Cristes myccl.** Etmüller prints *mycle*, but already the older form had given place to *myccl*. Wright explains that *myccl* is one of those words affected by consonant doubling due to *-r* or *-l*, with shortening of a preceding long vowel or diphthong (1908, § 260: 127). Editors print *myccl*. Sweet edits *myccl*. Yet, in the glossary of his *Reader*, he notes *micle* (1888, 263). Williams comments that

*unar*, *syndan*, *bludast* are rarer forms (1914: 147). Schneider thinks that l. 4 if properly adjusted reveals some relationship with the *Tiw* (1972: 110).

5. **wyrd byð swiðost | winter byð cealdost.** Williams notes that her punctuation of ll 5b-8a clearer than that suggested by former editors (1914: 147). B.-T. offers a variety of significances for ‘wyrd’ (1287), see Krapp’s note on *wyrd* for *Andreas* 613b, there he gives a brilliant account on the concept of fate in the pagan and Christian tradition (1906: 113). *Wyrð* also occurs in some other poems; see *Genesis* 2357a where it rather means ‘result’.
  
6. **lencten hrimigost | he byð lengest ceald.** Williams explains that *lencten*, “spring” is a distinctive Germanic word. In Anglo-Saxon England, it has acquired an ecclesiastical meaning. In other Teutonic languages, the only significance is ‘spring’, see OHG. *Lengizin*. Williams also notes that *lencten* is likely to refer to the lengthening of days in springtime. Hanscom points out the likeness between l. 6 and *Menologium* 35-36, especially with *brime gebyrsted* ‘adorned with frost’ at l. 35a (1903-5: 446).
  
7. **sumor sunwlitegost | swegel byð hatost.** Bollard edits *sunwlictegost* (1973: 182), for Berkhout it is an apparent misprint (1975: 86). Hickeys reads it as, “æstivus sol est formosissimus” (1705: 207); Fox (1830: 45) and Turner (1845, III: 288), “summer sun is most beautiful”; Williams, “summer is most sun-beautiful, i.e., beautiful from sun-shine” (1914: 147); see ‘sunwlitig’ in B.-T. (937). Williams also comments, “note spelling *sunwlitegost* and [next line] *hreðeadegegost*, for example in Alfred’s prose of similar forms” (1914: 147).
  
8. **hærfest hreðeadegegost | hæleðum bringeð.** For Schröder, *hærfest* denotes the ‘autumn’. This word, limited to OHG and Dutch, is attested after Tacitus (1893: 303). Hickeys translates it as, “tempestivas autumnus” (1705: 207); Fox, “harvest is most blessed” (1830: 47); Turner, “fierce harvest is the happiest” (1845, III: 288); Williams, “autumn is most glorious”. She does

not hold with Turner's translation since she thinks it is nonsense. Besides, she notes that by talking of autumn, the poet has finished the round about the seasons.

9. **geares wæstmas | þa þe him god sendeð.** MS. reads *ge<sup>a</sup>res*. Hickeys edits *gereƿ* (1705:207), for Berkhout it is a misprint (1975: 86). For Williams, both Plummer and Sievers edit *geares* (1914: 127). I do not hold with Williams. In fact, Plummer edits *geres* and, in the apparatus criticus, puts what is written in the MS. Cosjin notes that in *Orosius* occur both *gear* and *ger*, whilst in *Christ* just *gear* (1883, § 61: 85). Wright explains the evolution of *-a*, *-ea* and *-æ* in Old English; *geres* may be Kentish or Anglian or late West-Saxon (1908, § 124: 60); see also Hanscom (1903-5: 441). Williams believes that, for analogous relation of God to wind and change of seasons, ll. 5-9 recall *Meters of Boethius* 11: 55-61 (1914: 148).

10a. **soð bið switolost.** MS. reads *swicolost*. Hickeys translates, “verus facillime decipitur” (1705: 207). Grein comments that it is “sich leicht entziehend, leicht entgehend” (1864, II: 511). Earle rejects Hickeys' interpretation as he thinks this gnome has a “strange Machiavellian look”. Earle reads, “truth is most misleading” (1885: xxxv). B.-T. glosses ‘swicol’ as “occasioning offence?”. B.-T. queries *switolost* for *swicolost* (954). Sweet favours *swutolost* rather than *swicolost* (1876: 183). Turner reads, “truth is most deserving” (1845, III: 288); Williams, “truth is most clear or evident”. She thinks that *switolost* is palaeographically possible since *c* and *t* are often mistaken for each other. She refers to a line in *Tecosca Cormaic* which reads “everything true is sweet” (Meyer, 1909: 22, l. 36). Besides, Williams compares a habit amongst the Norsemen to make use of unclear words in treaties with 10a (1914: 148). Robinson believes that “truth is most evident” would be the best interpretation since truth can be regarded as elusive (1993: 84).

11-12. **gold gumena gehwam | ond gomol snoterost || fyrngearum frod | se þær feala gebideð.** Hickeys edits *fyrū gearum* (1705: 207). For Williams, it

is a misprint (1914: 127). For Berkhout, it is an apparent misprint (1975: 86). Williams understands, “the old most wise, old in bygone years, who earlier experienced many things. As to *for fyrngearum*, see Grein (1861, I: 363) and B.-T. (354). Gummere explains how in the Germanic world even if the oldest were given death their wisdom was cherished (1892: 205). Williams compares *gebideð* with *gebedad* in *Andreas* 1702*a* and she recalls the resemblance to *Hávamál* 133 and *Hamðismál* 27 (1914: 27). Robinson believes that this maxim on treasure and gold is strictly related with the one at l. 10*a* on truth (1993: 84).

- 13*a*. **wea bið wundrum clibbor**. Cosijn shows that *clibbor* is a cognate word of OE *clifan* and OHG *klebar*. He interprets *clibbor* as “clinging” rather than “burdensome” and emends MS. *wea* to *wex* (1881:148-9). Dobbie, after Cosijn, rejects *wea* as “woe/grief”. He edits *weax* and reads 13*a* as, “wax is wondrous sticky” (1942: 56). For Earle, *clibbor* means “adhesive”. He reads “woe is wonderfully clinging” (1885: xxxv). Grein glosses ‘wundrum’ as “mirabiliter” (1864, II: 752). For *scriðað*, see l. 40 and *Beowulf* 163*b*, 650*b*.
14. **geongne æþeling sceolan | gode gesiðas**. It recalls *Heliand* 1018-ff., see also Williams’ views on Christian the reading of heathen material (1914: 30).
- 15*b*. **ond to beahgife**. Ebeling edits *beab gife* (1847: 119), for Williams it is a misprint (1914: 127).
- 16*a*. **ellen sceal on eorle**. Hickes translates, “virtus in duce, et gladius cum galea, bellum tolerabunt” (1705: 227). Both Fox and Turner see in *hilde gebidan* a complement to each half line of 16. Fox reads, “valour shall in the earl” (1830:47); Turner, “strength in the earl” (1845, III: 288); whilst Williams, “courage ought to be in a man” (1914: 148). Besides, she quotes an ON proverb, “oðlingr skyldi einkar-raoskar” but gives no reference to its source [*Málsháttakvæði* 5].

16b. **ecg sceal wið hellme.** For Williams, MS. *hellme* is a misspelling for *helme*. She refers to some representations of ancient chessmen found in the isle of Lewis and how they “show the sword held in the right hand resting against the helmet in the left” (1914: 148).

17. **hilde gebidan | hafuc sceal on glofe.** Hickeys considers *glofe* as “clivo”; B.-T. “cliff” (481); Grein “rupes?” (1864, II: 516) and Brooke “cliff” (1898: 317). Williams suggests, “the hawk shall on [or, sit on] the glove of the falconer, the wild one dwell; or, the hawk, though wild, shall accustom himself to the glove” (1914: 148). 17a recalls *hilde gebad* ‘lasted in battle’ in *Beowulf* 2258b, whilst the content of the gnome reminds of *Fortunes of Men* 85-ff.

19. **earn anhaga | efor sceal on holte.** MS. reads *earn án haga*. Hickeys does follow it and translates as “aquila in campo” (1705: 208); Fox, “eagle in field” (1830: 47); Turner, “the eagle in field” (1845, III: 289); Williams, “the eagle in the haw” and she explains that in Kent, a haw is a yard or enclosure (1914: 149). Williams writes that Ettmüller changed *earn* into *earn* and makes one word of *an* + *haga*, making “the passage aligned with the following gnomes”. She might have misread Ettmüller’s edition since Ettmüller edits *earn* and in the apparatus criticus he notes *earn* not as his variant. See *Beowulf* 2368a and *Wanderer* 1a as for [*earn*] *anhaga* ‘wretched solitary’ and B.-T. (suppl. 42).

20a. **toðmægenes trum.** The word *toðmægenes* is a hapax legomenon.

20b. **til sceal on eðle.** Hickeys reads, “bonus civis” (1705: 208); Fox “the good man” (1830: 46), so Turner (1845, III: 289) and Williams (1914: 149).

21a. **domes wyrcean.** Williams understands, “do justice, win glory or renown” and she recalls *Beowulf* 1388-1399 (1914: 38, 149). Shipley explains the use

of *wyrcean* with genitive (1903: 63). 21a recalls *Beowulf* 1489b-1490a, *ic me mid Hruntinge dom gewyrce* ‘I will gain glory for myself with Hrunting.’

23a. **standan steap ond geap.** It recalls *steap geap gedreas* ‘high, wide they fell down’ in *Ruin* 11b and *steapes and geapes* in *Genesis* 2558b.

23b-24a. **stream sceal on yðum || mecgan mereflode.** Ettmüller queries *mengan* for *mecgan* (1850: 284). Hickes reads, “fluvius exundans faciet diluvium” (1705: 208). Besides, see B.-T. as for ‘mecgan’ (675) and ‘mengan’ (678). Williams suggests, “the stream shall in the waves mingle with sea-flood”. Though obscure, this maxim seems to refer to a river which flows into the sea (1914: 149). 24a recalls *mengan merestreamas* ‘mingle water floods’ in *Husband’s Message* 42a.

24b-25a. **mæst sceal on ceole || segelgyrd seomian.** Hickes suggests, “malus in navigio antennas sustinebit” (1705: 208); B.-T., “the mast shall be fixed in a boat and the yard hang from it” (864). Williams understands, “the mast shall on the ship, the sailyard, rest” (1914: 149). Grein glosses ‘segelgyrd’ as “segelgürtet” (1864, II: 424), Williams regards *segelgyrd* synonymous with *mæst* (1914: 149).

25b-26a. **sweord sceal on bearme | drihtlic isern.** Williams suggests, literally, “sword shall in bosom, on bosom, or in the lap” but she thinks that the correct translation would be, “the sword shall rest in the lap” (1914: 149). For Tupper, it is likely that the gnome is dealing with some rite of the comitatus as in *Maxims I A* 66a, *hond sceal beofod inwyrcean*, see note. He recalls *Beowulf* 1143[-1144b] *þonne him Hunlafing | hildeleoman, || [billa selest,]* ‘when Hunlafing placed on his lap the flash of battle’ and also l. 2194 *þæt he on Biowulfes | bearm alegde* ‘he placed it on Beowulf’s lap’ (1912: 97-100). Chambers holds a similar view (1912: 25). This gnome reveals that an old mode of holding the sword amongst royal personages, i.e. across the knees and with both hands. See the posture of King Geirrod at the end of

of *Grímnismál*, *Geirroðr konungr sat oc hafði sverð um kné sér, oc brugðit til miðs* ‘King Geirrod sat and had on his knee his sword, half drawn from the sheath’.

26b. **draca sceal on hlæwe.** Brandl expands on dragons dwelling in a cavern or on a mound (1908, II: 996). As for the description of the dragon’s mound, see *Beowulf* 2211b-2213a. Barley expands on this gnome and its likeness with those following up to l. 29 (1977: 224-9).

28a. **cynren cennan.** Hickeys reads *cynran cennen* (1705: 208). For Williams, it is a misprint (1914: 128); for Berkhout, it is an apparent misprint (1975: 87).

29b-30a. **bera sceal on hæðe || eald ond egesfull.** See note to *Maxims I C 39b*, *bip þæt sliphende deor.*

30b-31a. **ea of dune sceal || flodgræg feran.** Hickeys suggests, “aqua de montibus irruens inundationem luteam faciet” (1705: 208); Fox, “the water from the hills shall bring with it grey earth” (1830: 49); Turner, “the water will from the hill bring down the gray earth” (1845, III: 289). B.-T. gives the compound ‘fold-græg’ and reads “rarth-colored water shall proceed from a hill” (299). Williams reads, “water from the hill shall travel, flood-gray.” (1914: 149). MS. reads *flod græg*. Grein edited *foldgræg* (1858: 346); later, he emended it into *flôdgræg* (1865: 428) and glosses it as ‘erdgrau’ (1861, I: 310). Mead explains that *flodgræg* occurs just here. In *Riddle 4 19a* there is a similar compound, *flintgrægne flod* ‘grey like flint flood’ (1899: 189-90). Williams (1914: 128) errs in grouping scholars’ readings in note 31 of her apparatus criticus.

32a. **tirfæstra getrum.** Williams errs in reporting Ettmüller’s emendation (1850: 284). It is *tyrfæstra*, not *tyr fæstra* (1914: 128).

32b-33a. **treow sceal on eorle | wisdom on were.** See note 22 to *Maxims I A*, *tree sceolon brædan ond treow weaxan*.

33b-33a. **wudu sceal on foldan || blædum blowan.** Hickeys understands, “*sylvæ in terris fæcundæ floreunt*” (1705: 208); Fox, “the wood shall on the ground blow with fruits” (1830: 49). Williams regards *wudu* as “tree”. She notes that *blowan*, “to bloom”, survives only in dialect in Modern English (1914: 150). 33b-33a recalls *Maxims I A* 25b-26, see note.

35. **grene standan | god sceal on heofenum.** For Mead, the recurring colour in the Old English poetry is green, the examples are found almost wholly in religious poems. There, he lists a number of examples of it (1899: 200-1).

36b-37a. **duru sceal on healle || rum recedes muð.** For Gummere, this passage is a meaningless figure (1892: 105). It recalls *recedes muþan* ‘the mouth of the mansion’ in *Beowulf* 724a.

39a. **lacan on lyfte.** It recalls *laceð on lyfte* ‘sports aloft’ in *Fortunes of Men* 23a.

39b-40a. **leax sceal on wæle || mid sceote scriðan.** Williams believes that the *scriðan* was written by a later hand (1914: 150). Hickeys suggests, “*salmo et raia in gurgitibus hinc illinc vagabuntur*” (1705: 208). Fox reads 40b, “with shooting wander” (1830: 50); Turner, “will roll with the skate” (1845, III: 289). At the entry ‘leax’, B.-T. suggests, “swiftly shall the salmon in the stream’s eddy move” (627); Williams, “the salmon shall in the sea glide with rapid movement” (1914: 150). B.-T. glosses ‘scot’ as “a rush, dart” under which this gnome is quoted (839). Williams errs in reporting B.-T.’s interpretation of *scot* for this maxim since it not “shoot” (1914: 150). Grein glosses *scot* as “*motus rapidus*” (1894, II: 407). For Tupper, *sceote* may well stand for *sceole*. Thus, he recalls *sigera sceolu* ‘a company of conquering’ in *Charm 11 25a* (1910: 121).

- 41a. **winde geblanden.** It recalls *winde geblonden* in the *Meters of Boethius* 20: 81.
- 42a. **þeof sceal gangan þystrum wederum.** It recalls *þeof þristlice, | þe on þystre fareð* ‘a boldly thief who goes in the darkness’ in *Christ* 871. See ‘þéostre’ in B.-T. (1052-3).
- 42b. **þyrs sceal on fenne gewunian.** Earle edits 42b as one line and emends MS. *gewunian* into *geþunian* for the sake of the alliteration. He does not admit Hickes’ suggestion [*gewunian*] since it “weakens the sense, and destroys alliteration” (1885: xxxvi). Earle’s emendation does not solve the needs of the alliterative measure. Hickes regards *þyrs* as “latro” (1705: 208); Fox, “spectre” (1830: 51). It is a cognate word to ON *þurs* ‘giant’, it is an evil-minded giant with demonic features. It is also related to OHG *durs* ‘devil’ [literally, ‘the thirsty one’ as in B.-T. (1086)]. Brandl notes, “Man mag an Grendel, den aus der methalle verbannten, denken” (1908: 960). For Williams, *enta* and *wyrd* show some “early superstition in England” (1914: 150).
- 43b-45a. **ides sceal dyrne cræfte || fæmne hire freond gesecean | gif heo nelle on folce geþeon || þæt hi man beagum gebicge.** Sweet notes that *dyrne cræfte* is just an adverbial periphrasis: “secretly”, “clandestinely” (1876: 204). At first, Grein prints *geseccan* but queries *gefeccan* (1858, II: 347). But he finally emends it into *gesêccan* (1865: 428). For Sweet, *beagum gebicge* means “buy with rings [of gold], that is “seek in marriage” (1888: 208). Müller considers ll 43b-45a as prose (1893: 10) Gummere recalls *Maxims I B* 11-22 and explains how golden arm rings were amongst the presents of aristocracy (1898: 167). Yet, in the previous passage from *Maxims I*, *geþeon*, has a positive denotation. Hence, the purchase was honorable enough, something to be desired, according to old Germanic custom. Chadwick notes that, in Kent, wives seem to have been bought much in the same way as slaves or cattle. Thus, even marriage was a purchase (1907: 324). Williams suggest, “a woman shall by secret craft seek her

lover, if she does not wish publicly to be sought in marriage”. She believes that if one emeds *wille* into *nelle*, the meaning would then be, “the woman shall by secret craft seek her friend, if she would thrive among the people, that she may be bought with rings” (1914: 150). Meaney explains that, originally, *ides* meant “woman”. Such a word would reveal the woman in her sacral, mysterious aspect, in relation with magic (1979: 27-31). For Dane, *on folce geþepon* does not refer to marriage but to prostitution (1984: 43-59). As for the pivotal role and duty of women amongst the Anglo-Saxons, see Henry (1966: 79-81) and Fell (1984: 69). For Murray, this passage is a neat description of the duties of the king and queen, especially those concerning the latter (1989: 390-ff.).

45b. **brim sceal sealte weallan.** Hickes suggests, “sale æstuabit” (1705: 208). For Williams, it reads as “the sea shall foam [welter] with salt (1914: 150).

46. **lyfthelm ond lagufloed | ymb ealra landa gehwylc.** Hickes prints *ealra land* and understands, “ærei imbres, diluvia et transgressi fluvii inundabunt omnes terras” (1705: 208), whilst Williams reads, “air and water [cloud and flood] shall flow about each of all lands, mountain [mountainous] streams (1914: 151).

47a. **flowan firgenstreamas.** As for *firgenstream*, Lawrence points out that the main concept is that, here, the water is not salt. He also compares it to the *Meters of Boethius* 20 75-ff. (1912: 212).

48b. **tungol sceal on heofenum.** Williams notes that *tungol* may be any heavenly body, here it most likely the sun (1914: 151).

49b. **swa him bebead meotud.** For Ferrell, *meotud* is a pagan word, but it was retained after the Christianisation of the Anglo-Saxons and it was used to refer to God (1893: 4).

- 50b. **geogoð sceal wið yldo.** Williams notes that *geogoð* is a later form and puts it into contrasts with an ancient word such as *meotud* in the previous note (1914: 151).
- 53b. **ymb land sacan.** See note 28-29a to *Maxims I A*. Williams notes that ll. 52-53 are an example of “grammatischer Reim” (1914: 151).
- 54a. **synne stælan.** Hickes suggests, “semper se obfirmabunt” (1705: 208); Fox, “they shall always steal on each other” (1830: 53); Turner, “sin will steal on” (1845, III: 289). At the entry ‘stælan’, B.-T. suggests “charge with crime” (908). Sweet notes, “lit. ‘institute sin’ = ‘wage hostility’, the ideas of ‘sin’, ‘injury’, ‘hostility’, being convertible” (1876: 204). Kock holds not with Sweet since *synne* just conveys wrongful hostility, or invasion, injury. Besides, he thinks that this gnome, as well as *Genesis* 1351-1352 and *Beowulf* 1339-1344, have been misinterpreted. The idea of accusing has developed into that of avenging (1923: 229), Klaeber concurs (1905-6: 261). For Williams, wrongful here hardly applies. She regards it as the idea realted “to the group collectively [50-53]; hence, simply, avenge hostility” (1914: 151).
- 54b-55. **a sceal snotor hycgean || ymb þysse worulde gewinn | wearh hangian.** Williams comments that the hole in the MS. interfered with the long stemmed miniscule *b* in *hycgean*. Thus, the small squat capital *H* was writtin in such a way for this reason (1914: 151). Wülker inserts only a comma after *gewinn* (1883, I: 341); Williams a semicolon since she wants to divide two maxims (1914: 151). Hickes reads, “in mundanis rebus prudens semper conari debet, ut exlex suspendatur, et ut ei bene rependantur injuriæ quas humano generi prius fecerat” (1705: 208); Fox, “ever shall the prudent strive about this world's labor to hang the thief ; and compensate the more honest for the crime committed against mankind” (1830: 53); Williams, “the outlaw shall hang, or be hanged; he

shall fairly pay the penalty for that he before did, crime to mankind” (1914: 151).

56a. **fægere ongildan**. Grein queries *feore* or *fæge* for *fægere* (1858, II: 347).

59a. **ond ealle þa gastas**. Bollard edits *ealla* (1973: 183). Berkhout notes it is an apparent misprint (1975: 89).

59b-60. **þe for gode hweorfað || æfter deaðdæge | domes bidað**. This passage recalls *Beowulf* 440-ff. Müller regards ll. 57-61 as prose, “ wenigstens, 58, 59, denn die alliteration fällt in 58 auf *sceal* und in zweiten fusse auf *syððan*, während sie in 59a fehlt” (1893: 11).

62a. **digol ond dyrne**. It is a recurring expression as *dyrne ond degol* in *Christ* 640 and, *sui generis*, in *Elene* 1092 and so forth.

63a. **nergende fæder**. Ebeling reads *mergende* (1847: 120). Williams notes it is a misprint (1914: 129).

64b. **þe þæt her for soð**. Earle ends the line with *her* (1865: xxxvi).

## GLOSSARY

### Abbreviations

a.: accusative  
adj. : adjective  
adv. : adverb  
comp.: comparative  
conj. : conjunction  
d. : dative  
dem. : demonstrative  
f. : feminine  
g. : genitive  
i.: instrumental  
ind. : indicative  
inf. : infinitive  
m. : masculine  
n. : neuter  
n. : nominative  
num. : numeral  
opt.: optative  
pers. : personal  
pl. : plural  
poss.: possessive  
pp. : past participle  
PP. : preterit-present verb  
ppv. : preterit-present verb  
pres. : present  
pret. : preterit  
pron. : pronoun  
R. : reduplicating verb  
sg. : singular  
sup. : superlative  
W<sub>n</sub> : ablaut verb (after Siever's classification).

## A

- ā**, adv., *always*: M1A 20, M1B 33, M1C 14, M1C 40, M1C 67, M2 54.  
**Ābel**, pr. n., *Abel*: gs. Ābeles M1C 56.  
**ābrēoðan**, 2, *degenerate, deteriorate*: 3 sg. ābreoþeð M1A 64.  
**ac**, conj., *but*: M1A 11, M1C 14.  
**ācwelan**, 4, *die, perish*: opt. 3 sg. ācwele M1B 43.  
**ācýpan**, w<sub>1</sub>, *show, confirm*: inf. M1A 48.  
**ād**, f./n., *disease, sickness*: ns. M1A 10, M1B 47.  
**æfter**, prep. w. dat., *after*: M2 60.  
**āgan**, PP., *own, possess*: pret. 3 sg. āhte M1C 37.  
**āgen**, adj., *own, proper*: nsm. M1B 27.  
**æghwær**, adv., *everywhere*: M1B 18.  
**æht**, f., *goods, property*: ap. æhte M1C 19.  
**āhycgan**, w<sub>3</sub>, *devise, invent*: pret. 3 pl. āhogodan M1C 63.  
**āhyrdan**, w<sub>1</sub>, *harden, temper*: pret. 3 pl. āhyrdon M1C 63.  
**ālædan**, w<sub>1</sub>, *lead, le ad out*: opt. 3 sg. ālæde M1A 47.  
**ælc**, pron., *each, every*: nsm. M1C 31.  
**æld**, m., *men*: dp. ældum M1C 58, M1C 61.  
**æled**, m., *fire*: as. M1B 9.  
**agen**, f., *own*: as. ēgsan M1B 36.  
**ælmihhtig**, adj., *almighty*: nsm. M1A 17; asm. ælmihhtigne M1A 10.  
**alwālda**, m., *All-ruler, God*: ns. M1B 62.  
**ālýfan**, w<sub>1</sub>, *permit, grant*: ppv. ālýfed M1B 39.  
**æmetla**, m., *gamester*: gs. æmetlan M1C 46.  
**ān**, num., -1, *one, certain one*: nsm. M1B 4; gsm; ānes M1C 37. -2 *alone*:  
     nsm. āna M1A 29, M1A 42, M1C 35, M2 43, M2 57, M2 62.  
**andræge**, adj., *lasting a day*. nsm. M1C 56.  
**ange**, adj., *troubled, sorrowful*: nsn. onge M1A 42.  
**anhaga**, m., *solitary one*: ns. M2 19.  
**anweald**, m., *empire, rule, power*: gs. anwealdes M1A 57.  
**ār**, f., *oar*: ns. M1C 49.  
**ærrād**, f./n., *early (premature) disease*; adj., *early*: nsf. M1A 31.  
**ærr**, adv., *before, formerly, earlier*: M1A 21, M1A 48, M1B 43, M1C 43,  
     M2 12, M2 56. sup. ærest, *first, at first*: M1A 4, M1B 12, M1B 19.

- ær**, conj., *before*: M1C 53.  
**āræd**, adj., *resolute, courageous*: M1C 54.  
**āræran**, W<sub>1</sub>, *uplift, raise up*: pret. 3 sg. ārærde M1A 16.  
**āreccan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *explain, expound*: inf. M1C 3.  
**ārīsan**, 1, *arise, come to be*: 3 sg. ārīseð M1C 23.  
**ærþon**, conj., *before*: M1B 40.  
**āspringan**, 3, *spring out, lack, fail*: 3 sg. āspringeð M1A 38.  
**æt**, prep. w. dat., *at, in*: M1A 5, M1A 62, M1B 66.  
**ātemian**, W<sub>1</sub>, *tame, subdue*: pp. asm. ātemedne M1A 46.  
**ætgeofa**, m., *food-giver, provider*: ns. M1B 27.  
**ætrenmōd**, adj., *venom-minded*: nsm. M1C 25.  
**ætsonne**, adv., *at once, together*: M1B 22, M1C 41, M2 31.  
**æþeling**, m., 1. *nobleman, prince*: as. M2 14. -2. *people*: gp. æþelinga M1B 19.  
**aðolware**, m., *plague-dweller*: ns. aþolware M1C 61.  
**āwegan**, 5, *take or carry away*: pp. āwegan M1A 21.

## B

- bæc**, n., *back*: dp. bacum M1C 53.  
**bædan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *compel, constrain, solicit*: 3 sg. bædeð M1B 29.  
**be**, prep. w. dat., *about, beside, by*: M1B 42.  
**beadu**, f., *battle, war*: as. beadwe M1A 60; ds. beaduwe M2 15.  
**bēag**, m., *ring, bracelet, collar*: ns. M1B 60; dp. bēagum M1B 12, M2 45; ap. bēagas M2 29.  
**bēahgifu**, f., *distribution of rings, gifts*: ds. bēahgife M2 15.  
**bealblonden**, pp., *bale-mixed, pernicious*: nsm. M1C 59.  
**bealolēas**, adj., *innocent*: nsf. M1A 39.  
**bēam**, m., *tree*: ns. M1A 25, M1C 21.  
**bearm**, m., *bosom, lap*: ds. bearne M2 25.  
**bearn**, n., *child, offspring*: as. or ap. M1A 25.  
**bearu**, m., *grove*: ds. bearowe M2 18.  
**bebēodan**, 2, *command*: 3 sg. bebēad M2 49.

- befēolan**, 3, *commit, deliver*: inf. M1B 44.
- bēgen**, adj., *both*: npm. M1C 37, M1C 39 ; npn. bū M1A 60, M1B 12;  
gpmf. bēga M1A 17; dpmf. bāem M1B 22, M1C 16.
- behlīgan**, 1, *dishonor, defame*: 3 sg. bilīhð M1A 63, belīhð M1B 30.
- behōfian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *have need of, need, require*: 3 sg. behōfāð M1A 45.
- bēodan**, 2, *offer*: 3 sg. beodeð M1A 58.
- bēon**, see **wesan**.
- beorgan**, 3, *save, protect*: 3 pl. beorgað M1A 36.
- beorh**, m., *hill*: ns. M2 34
- beorhte**, adv., *brightly*: M2 49.
- bera**, m., *bear*, ns. M2 29; as. beran M1C 39.
- betera, betre**, adj., *better* (comp. of **bet**, *good*): nsn. betre M1C 37.
- bewindan**, 3, *encircle, surround*: 3 sg. bewindeð M1C 12.
- bewitian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *observe*: inf. M1A 40.
- bī**, prep. w. dat., *by, about*: M1C 8 (see **be**).
- bīdan**, 1, *wait, rest*: 3 pl. bidað M2 60; inf. M1A 66.
- bilīhð**, see **behlīgan**.
- bilwit**, adj., *merciful, mila*: gp. bilwitra M1C 23.
- bindan**, 3, *bind*: pp. gebunden M1A 38, M1B 23.
- blæd**, f., *flower, blossom*: dp. blædum M2 34.
- blind**, adj., *blind*: nms. M1A 39.
- blīpe**, adj., *joyful, glad, cheerful*: nsf. M1A 39.
- blōd**, n., *blood*: is. blōde M1C 56.
- blowan**, R, *bloom, blossom*: inf. M2 34.
- bōc**, f., *book*: np. bēc M1B 60.
- bōg**, m., *shoulder* (hence, *back*): da. bōge M1A 61.
- boga**, m., *bow*: ns. M1C 16.
- boldāgend**, m., *house-owner*: dp. boldāgendum M1B 22.
- bord**, n., 1. *board, shield*: ns. M1B 25. - 2. *deck of ship* (hence, *ship*): ds.  
borde M1C 45, M1C 49.
- borde**, f., *table, embroidery board* ds. bordan M1A 62.
- brādan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *grow, raise up, spread out*: inf. M1C 22.
- brēost**, n., *breast, heart, mind*: as. M1C 23; dp. brēostum M1B 52.
- brim**, n., *sea, surf*: ns. M2 45.
- bringan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *bring*: 3 sg. bringeð M2 8.

**broðor**, m., *brother*: as. brōþor M1C 37, M1C 59.

**brycgian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *bridge, bridge over*: inf. M1B 2.

**brȳd**, f., *bride*: da. brȳde M1B 60.

**bū**, see **bēgen**.

**būne**, f., *cup*: dp. būnum M1B 12.

**bycgan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *buy, procure*: 3 sg. bygeþ M1B 40.

**byldan**, W<sub>1</sub> *encourage, exhort*: inf. M2 15.

## C

**Cain**, pro n., *Cain*: as. M1C 60.

**calcrod**, adj., *shoed, round of hoof*: gsm. calcrones M1C 5.

**ceald**, adj., *cold*: nsm. M2 6; sup. cealdost nsm. M2 5.

**cēap**, m., *cattle, goods*: ds. cēape M1B 11; as. M1B 37.

**cēapēadig**, adj., *rich*: nsm. M1B 37.

**ceaster**, f., *city, castle, town*: np. ceastra M2 1.

**cempa**, m., *soldier*: ds. cempa M1B 59.

**cēne**, adj., *bold*: dsm. or dpm. cēnum M1A 59, M1C 66; nsm. cēne M1A 57.

**cennan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *beget, create, bring forth*: inf. M1A 24, M2 28.

**cēol**, m., *keel, ship*: ns. M1B 26; da. cēole M1C 47, M2 24.

**ceorl**, m., *man, husband*: ns. M1B 26.

**cildgeong**, adj., *young as a child*: asm. cildgeongne M1A 48

**cīð**, m., *germ, sprig, sprout*: ap. cīþas M1B 4.

**clæne**, adj., *pure*: asf. clæne M1A 44.

**clibbor**, adj., *clinging, cleaving*: nsm. M2 13.

**cræft**, m. *skill, science, cunning*: da. cræfte M2 43:

**Crīst**, pr. n., *Christ*: gs. Crīstes M2 4.

**cuman**, 4, *come*: 3 sg. cymeþ M1A 30, cymeð M1A 35, M1B 35, M1B 38, M2 63; opt. 3 sg. cyme M1A 42; pp. cumen M1B 26; inf. M1B 6, M2 41.

**cunnan**, PP, 1. *know*: 3 sg. con M1C 32; opt 2 sg. cunne M1A 2; opt 3 sg. cunne M1A 46. - 2. *can, be able*: 3 sg. con M1C 33.

- cūð**, adj., *known*: nsn. cūþ M1C 60; gsm. cūþes M1C 5.  
**cwealm**, mn., *torture, death, plague, murder*: ns. M1A 30, M1C 60.  
**cwēn**, f., *a woman, a queen*: gs. cwēne M1B 11 ; ds. cwēne M1B 56.  
**cwīc**, adj., *living* cwicne M1B 43.  
**cyn**, n., *race, people, tribe, progeny*: gs. cynnes M1A 32; da. cynne M1B 67, M1C 55, M2 57.  
**cynīng**, m., *king*: ns. M1A 57, M1B 11, M2 1, M2 28.  
**cynīngwīc**, m., *royal abode*: as. M1B 37.  
**cynren**, n., *kindred, kind*: as. M2 28.  
**cýpan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *sell*: 9, sg. cýpeþ M1B 38.  
**cýð**, f., 1. *knowledge*. - 2. *region, place, land*: da. cýþþe M1A 30.

## D

- dǣd**, f., *deed*: gp. dǣda M2 36.  
**dæg**, m., *day*: gs. dæges M1C 3.  
**dǣlan**, W<sub>1</sub> *share, divide*: inf. M2 29.  
**darōð**, m., *dart, spear*: ns. M2 21.  
**dēad**, adj., *dead*: gsm. dēades M1B 10; dsm. dēadum M1C 11; gp. dēada M1B 8.  
**dēað**, m., *death*: ns. M1A 35, M1C 43; dēaþ; ds. dēaþe M2 51.  
**dēaðdæg**, m., *day of death*: ds. dēaðdæge M2 60.  
**dēgol**, n., *secret, mystery*: as. dēgol M1A 2.  
**dēmend**, m., *judge*: ns. M2 36.  
**dēop**, adj., *deep, mysterious*: nsm. M1B 8.  
**dēope**, adv., *deeply, thoroughly*: sup. dēopost M1A 2.  
**dēor**, p., *animal, wild animal*: ns. M1C 10, M1C 39.  
**dēore**, adj., *dear*: sup. nano dēorost M2 10.  
**dīgol**, adj., *secret, obscure*: nsf. M2 62.  
**dōgor**, mn., *day*: gp. dōgra M1A 28.  
**dol**, adj., *foolish*: nsm. M1A 35.  
**dōm**, m., 1. *power, honor, glory*: ns. M1B 10; as. M1C 3. - 2. *judgment, sentence*: gs. domes M2 21, M2 60.

**dōn**, anv., *do, perform*: pret. 3 sg. dyde M2 56.  
**draca**, m., *dragon, serpent*: ns. M2 26.  
**drecan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *vex, afflict*: 3 sg. M1A 9.  
**drēogan**, 2, *fight*: pret. 3 pl. drugon M1C 62.  
**drihten**, m., *Lord*: ns. M2 62; as. dryhten M1A 35.  
**drihtlic**, adj., *lordly, noble*: nsn. M2 26.  
**drūgian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *become dry*: 3 sg. drūgað M1C 49.  
**dūn**, f., *mountain, hill, down*: ds. dune M2 30.  
**duru**, f., *door*: ns. M2 36.  
**dyrne**, adj., *secret, hidden*: nsm. M1B 8; nsf. M2 62; asn. dyrne M1A 2;  
 ism. dyrne M2 43.

E

**ēa**, i., *water, stream, river*: ns. M2 30.  
**ēadig**, adj., 1. *rich*: ds. or dp. ēadgum M1C 19. - 2. *happy, blessed*: nsm.  
 M1A 37.  
**eafora**, m., *son*: np. eaforan M1C 38.  
**ēage**, n., *eye*: ds. ēagan M1B 52; gp. ēagna M1A 39.  
**eald**, adj., *old, ancient*: nsm. M2 30.  
**ealdian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *grow old*: inf. M1A 8, M1C 20.  
**eall**, adj., *all*: asn. M1B 65; dsn. eallum M1B 66; gpn. ealra M2 46.  
**eard**, m., *land, country, region*: ap. eardas M1A 15.  
**earg**, adj., *timid, weak*: asm. eargne M1C 49.  
**earm**, adj., *poor, wretched*: nsm. M1A 37, M1C 35, M2 19.  
**ēce**, adj., *eternal*: nsm. M1A 8, M1C 61.  
**ecg**, f., *edge, biade*: ns. M1C 65, M2 16.  
**edhwyrft**, m., *change, return*: ns. M1A 42.  
**efenfela**, adj., indecl., *so many, as many*: M1A 17.  
**eft**, adv., *again, afterwards*: M1B 6, M1B 34, M1B 66, M1C 19, M2 63.  
**egesfull**, adj., *fearful, terrible*: nsm. M2 30.  
**ēglond**, n., *island*: ns. M1A 15.  
**ellen**, mn., *strength, courage*: ns. M2 16; ds. elne M1C 49.

- ende**, m., *end*: da. ende M1B 66.  
**ent**, m., *giant*: gp. enta M2 2.  
**eodor**, m., *prince, protector*: as. M1B 19.  
**eofor**, m., *boar*: ns. M2 19; as. M1C 38.  
**ēoh**, m., *war-horse*: gs. ēos M1A 61.  
**eorl**, m., *leader, nobleman, man*: ns. M1A 61; ds. eorle M1B 13, M1C 38, M2 16, M2 32.  
**ēorod**, n., *host, army, band*: ns. M1A 61.  
**eorðe**, L, *earth*: ns. eorþe M1B 2, eorðe M1C 56; gs. eorþan M1B 4; ds. eorþan M1A 7, M1A 25, M1B 44, M2 34, M2 47, eorðan M2 2; as. eorþan, M1C 30, M1C 62.  
**etan**, 5, *eat*: 3 sg. ieteð M1B 41.  
**ēðel**, mn., *home, native place*: ds. ēþle M1A 37, eðle M2 20.

## F

- fācen**, n., *crime*: as. M2 56.  
**fāder**, m., *father*: ns. M2 63; gs. fāder M2 61; as. fāder M1A 5.  
**fāge**, adj., *doorned, fated*: ns. M1A 27.  
**fāgre**, adv., *fairly, beautifully*: M1A 5; fāgere M2 56.  
**fāhþo**, f., *vengeance, feud, hostility*: ns. M1C 55.  
**fāh**, adj., *shtning, stained, dyed*: nsm. M2 22.  
**fāmne**, f., *woman, maid*: ns. M1A 62, M2 44.  
**fāst**, adj., *sure, fast*: nsn. M2 38.  
**fāste**, adv., *fast, finnly*: M1A 52, M1A 62.  
**fāsthýdig**, adj., *steadfast in mind*: gp. fāsthýdigra M1B 31.  
**fāðm**, m., *bosom, embrace*: ds. fāðme M2 61.  
**fāðman**, W<sub>1</sub>, *embrace, contain*: 3 sg. fāþmeþ M1A 14.  
**fēala**, see **fela**.  
**fealu**, adj., *yellow, dun, dull-colored*: npf. fealwe M1A 52.  
**fēdan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *feed*: opt, 3 sg. fēde M1B 43; inf. M1B 44.  
**fēla**, adj., indecl., 1. *many*: np. M1A 32; ap. fela 14, M1C 27, feala M2 12.- 2. *many a (one)*: ns. M1B 31. -3. *much*: as. M1C 6.

- felafæcne**, adj., *very crafty, evil*: ns. felafæcne M1C 10.  
**felameahtig**, adj., *much, mighty*: nsm. M1B 5.  
**fen(n)**, m., *fen, marsh*: ds. fenne M2 42.  
**feoh**, n., *cattle*: ns. M2 47.  
**fēond**, m., *enemy, foe*: ns. M2 52.  
**feor**, adv., *far, at a distance*: M1B 32, M1C 8.  
**feorhcyn**, n., *living kind*: gp. feorhcynna M1A 14.  
**feorran**, adv., *from afar, far off*: M2 1.  
**fēran**, W<sub>1</sub>, *go, pass, travel*: 3 sg. fēreð M1C 8; inf. 27, M2 31.  
**ferð**, mn., *soul, mind*: ns. M1A 19; as. M1A 1.  
**feter**, f., *fetter, chain*: ap. tetre M1B 5.  
**fēpa**, m., *infantry, band on foot*: ns. M1A 62.  
**finger**, m., *finger*: gp. fingra M2 38.  
**firas**, mpl., *living beings, men*: gp. fira M1A 32, M1C 6, fīra M1C 55,  
**firgenstrēam**, m., *mountain-stream*: np. firgenstrēamas M2 47.  
**fisc**, m., *fish*: ns. M2 27.  
**flōdgræg**, adj., *flood-gray, muddy*: nsf. M2 31.  
**flota**, m., *ship, fleet*: ns. M1B 25.  
**flōwan**, R, *flow*: inf. M2 47.  
**folce**, n., *folk, people*: ds. folce M2 44 (on folce, *publicly*).  
**folde**, f., *earth, world*: ds. foldan M1A 32, M2 33.  
**for**, prep. w. dat. and acc. 1. *for, for the sake of* (w. dat.): M1A 16, M2 59.  
     -2. *for, because of* (w. dat.): M1C 11. -3. *before* (w. acc.) M1B 18.  
**forcweþan**, 5, *rebuke*: inf. M1A 48.  
**forgiefan**, 5, *give, grant, supply*: pret. 3 sg. forgeaf M1B 65.  
**forgietan**, 5, *forget*: inf. M1C 45.  
**forhelan**, 4, *cover over, conceal*: inf. M1B 45.  
**forlēosan**, 2, *lose, destroy*: opt. 3 sg. forlēose M1C 49.  
**forman**, adj., *first, earliest*: apn. M1B 20.  
**forsōð**, adv., *truly, certainly*: M2 64.  
**forst**, m., *frost*: ns. M1B 1; gs. forstes M1B 5.  
**forstelan**, 4, *steal, deprive*: pp. forstolen M1C 51.  
**forð**, adv., *henceforth, forth*: M1C 27.  
**forðgesceaft**, f., *future condition*: ns. M2 61.  
**forþon þe**, conj., *for, because*: M1A 5.

- frætwe**, pl. f., *ornaments*: inst. frætwul M2 27.  
**frēa**, m., *lord*: gs. frēan M1B 20.  
**fremde**, adj., *strange, foreign*: apm. fremde M1B 32.  
**fremman**, W<sub>1</sub>, *perform, do*: inf. M1A 60.  
**frēond**, m., *friend*: as. M1C 8, M2 44; np. fr̥ynd 37.  
**frēosan**, 2, *freeze*: inf. M1B 1.  
**frēon**, **frēogan**, W<sub>2</sub>, *love, court*: 3 sg. frēoð M1B 32.  
**fricgan**, 5, *ask, question*: imp. 2 sg. frige M1A 1.  
**frōd**, adj., 1. *wise*: nsm. M1A 19, M2 12; asm. frōdne 19; dpn. frōdum  
M1A 1. - 2. *old, ancient*: nsm. M2 27.  
**frymð**, mf., *beginning, origin*: ds. frymþe M1A 5.  
**Frysa**, adj., *Frisian*: dsn. Frysan M1B 25.  
**fugel**, m., *fowl, bird*: ns. M2 38.  
**ful**, adv., *very, full*: M1C 10, M1C 48.  
**full**, n., *cup*: ap. fulle M1B 20.  
**fundian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *hasten, tend to*: inf. M1A 52.  
**furþum**, adv., *at first, even*: M1C 55.  
**fūs**, adj., *ready, prepared, ready for death*: snm. M1A 27.  
**fȳr**, n., *fire*: ns. M1B 1.  
**fyrð**, f., *army*: ns. M2 31, M2 52; ds. fyrde M2 52.  
**fyrn**, adv., *formerly, long ago*: M1C 27.  
**fyrngēar**, n., *a former year*: dp. fyrngēarum M2 12.  
**fyrwetgeom**, adj., *curious, inquisitive*: gp. fyrwetgeonra M1B 31.

## G

- gamelian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *grow old*: 3 sg. gomelað M1A 11.  
**gangan**, anv., *go, take place, occur*: inf. gongan M1B 54, gangan M2 42.  
**gār**, m., *arrow, dart*: ns. M1C 64, M2 22.  
**gārniþ**, m., *spear battle*: ns. M1B 57.  
**gæst**, m., *spirit, soul*: ds. gæst M1A 11; np. gāstas M2 59.  
**gēap**, adj., *broad, extended*: nsm. M2 23.  
**gēar**, n., *year*: gs. gēres M2 9.

- gearnian**, 2, *earn, merit*: inf. M1C 2.
- gearo**, adj., *ready, prepared*: nsm. geara M1C 54; nsn. gearo M1C 64.
- gebædan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *compel*: inf. M1B 34.
- gebeorh**, n., *protection*: ns. M2 38.
- gebicgan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *buy, procure*: opt. 3 sg. gebicge M2 45; inf. M1B 11.
- gebīdan**, l, *await, look for*: 3 sg. gebīdeð M2 12; inf. M1B 34, M2 17.
- geblandan**, R, *mix, mingle*: pp. geblanden M2 41.
- gebringan**, 3, *bring, produce*: 3 g. gebringeð M1A 50.
- gebyrd**, f., *birth*: dp. gebyrdum M1A 25.
- gebyre**, m., *favorable time, opportunity*: ns. M1B 34.
- gecost**, adj., *tried, chosen*: gsm. gecostes M1C 5.
- gecynd**, f., *nature*: ds. gecynde M1A 57.
- gedælan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *divide, distribute*: opt. 3 sg. gedælen M1A 67; pp. gedæled M1B 9.
- gedāl**, n., *parting, separating*: as. M1A 28.
- gēdefe**, adj., *seemly, fit, decent*: nsm. M1B 46; nsn. M1C 50.
- gedyrnan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *conceal, hide, keep secret*: pp. gedyrned M1B 46.
- gefēra**, m., *companion*: ns. M1C 10; dp. gefēran M1C 9.
- gegierwan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *prepare, make ready*: pp. gegierwed M1A 67.
- gegrētan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *greet*: inf. M1B 19,
- gehealdan**, R, *keep, hold, restrain, save*: pp. gehealden M1B 51; inf. M1B 30.
- gehēgan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *do, perform, hold*: inf. M1A 18.
- gehnīgan**, l, *bow*: inf. M1B 47.
- gehwā**, pron., *each, every, everything*: dsm. gehwām M1A 28, M2 11.
- gehwylc**, pron., *each, every one*: nsm. M1B 54; dsm. gehwylcum M1C 7, M1C 28; asn. M2 46.
- gelæran**, W<sub>1</sub>, *teach, advise, persuade*: 3 pl. gelærað M1A 20.
- gelic**, adj., *like*: nsmn. 1 M1A 9; nsn. M1A 53.
- gelic**, adv. *similarly, alike*: M1C 16.
- gemæcca**, mf., *companion, mute, consort*: ds. M1C 17; np. gemæccan M1A 23.
- gemæne**, adj., *mutual*: nsm. M1A 53.
- gemet**, n., *measure, limit*: ns. M1A 33.
- gemonian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *admonish, remind*: inf. M1A 6.

- gēn**, adv., *still, yet*: M1A 11.
- genægled**, pp., *nailed*: M1B 23.
- genge**, adj., *current, prevalent*: nsn. M1B 50.
- geniman**, 4, *take, accept*: 3 sg. genimeð M1C 9.
- genugan**, 2, *satisfy, suffice*: 3 sg. geneah M1A 68, M1C 46
- gēocor**, adj., *sad, harsh*: gp. (sb. use) gēocran M1C 45.
- geofu**, f., *gift*: dp. geofum M1B 13.
- geofen**, n., *sea, ocean*: ns. M1A 51.
- geogoð**, t., *youth*: ns. M2 50.
- geond**, prep. w. acc., *through, throughout*: M1C 23, M1C 62.
- geong**, adj., *young*: ns. 8; asm. geongne M1A 45, M2 14.
- georn**, adj., *desirous, eager*: nsm. M1A 57.
- gēr**, see **gēar**.
- gerācan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *reach, offer, present*: inf. M1B 21.
- gerāde**, n., *trappings, harness*. ap. gerādan M1C 40.
- gerīsan**, 1, *suit, benefit*: 3 sg. gerīseð M1A 62, M1A 65, gerīseþ M1B 55; 3 pl. gerīsað M1C 28.
- gesceaft**, fn., *fate, destiny, condition*: ns. M2 65.; as. gesceafte M1C 45.
- gesēcean**, W<sub>1</sub>, *seek, get*: inf. M2 44.
- gesecgan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *tell, say*: inf. M1A 2.
- geset**, n., *seat, habitation*: np. gesetu M2 66.
- gesīgan**, 1, *languish, decline*: inf. M1B 47.
- gesihð**, f., *vision, sight*: gs. gesihpe M1A 40.,
- gesingan**, 3, *sing*: inf. M1C 2
- gesittan**, 5, *sit*: 3 pl. gesittað M1A 56.
- gesīð**, m., *companion, fellow*: np. gesīðas M2 14; dp. gesiþum M1A 56.
- gesīðmægen**, n., *multitude of companions, courtier-train*: as. M1B 18.
- gespringan**, 3, 1. trans. *get by going, cause to spring*: 3 sg. gespringeð M1A 63. - 2. intrans. *spring, arise*: pret, 3 pl. gesprungon M1C 57.
- gestrýnan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *get, acquire, gain*: 3 sg. gestrýneð M1C 6.
- gestýran**, W<sub>1</sub>, *restrain, withhold*: 3 sg. gestýreð M1B 35.
- gesund**, adj., *sound, favorable*: dpn. gesundum M1A 56.
- geswīcan**, 1, w. dat., *deceive, betray*: 3 pl. geswīcað M1A 37.
- gesýne**, adj., *visible, plain*: npf. gesýne M2 1.
- getēon**, W<sub>2</sub>, *make, assign, decree*: pret. 3 sg. getēode M1A 5, M1A 69; pp.

- geteod M1C 36.
- getrum, n., *band, company*: ns. M2 32; ds. getrume M1A 61.
- geþeon, W<sub>1</sub>, *do, perform*: inf. M2 44.
- geþeon, l, *grow, prosper*: inf. M1A 49, M1B 14.
- geðihan, l, *thrive, prosper*: 3 sg. geþihð M1A 37.
- geðingian, W<sub>2</sub>, *make terms, settle a dispute*: pp. geþingad M1A 55.
- geðoht, mn., *thought, mind*: ap. geþohtas M1A 3.
- geðonc, mn., *thought, mind, understanding*: ap. geþonc M1A 12.
- geðwære, adj., *harmonious, peaceful*: npf. geþwære M1A 55.
- geþyldig, adj., *patient, long-suffering*: nms. M1A 12.
- gewealdan, R, *rule, command*: pp. gewealden M1B 51.
- geweaxan, R, *grow, increase*: inf. M1B 14.
- geweorc, n., *work*: ns. M2 2, M23.
- geweorpan, 3, *go away, depart, pass*: inf. M1B 6.
- geweorðan, 3, *be, become*: pret. 3 sg. gewearð M1C 27.
- gewin, n., *battle, contest*: as. M1C 62, gewinn M2 55.
- gewit, m., *knowledge, understanding*: ds. gewitte M1A 47.
- gewitan, l, *go, depart*: 3 sg. gewiteþ M1A 30, M1B 32.
- gewunian, W<sub>2</sub>,  *dwell, remain*: inf. M2 18, M2 42.
- gied, n., *proverb, tale, riddle*: ns. M1C 29; dp. gieddum M1A 4.
- giefu, f., *gift*: as. giefe M1C 34 (see **geofu**).
- gif, conj., *if*: M1A 3, M1A 34, M1A 44, M1A 69, M1B 35, M1B 40, M1B 43, M1C 38, M2 44.
- gifan, 5, *give*: inf. M1C 18.
- gīfre, adj., *greedy*: nsm. M1A 68.
- giftōl, m., *gift-seat, throne*: ns. M1A 67.
- gim, m., *gem, jewel*: ns. M2 22.
- glēoman, m., *gleeman, singer*: ds. glēomen M1C 29.
- glēaw, adj., *wise*: npm. glēawe M1A 4.
- glīw, n., *glee*: gs. glīwes M1C 34.
- glōf, f., *glove*: da. glōfe M2 17.
- gnornian, W<sub>1</sub>, *grieve, mourn, lament*: inf. M1A 26.
- gōd, n., *good, goodness*: ns. M1B 50, M2 50.
- gōd, adj., *good*: ns. M1B 13 ; nsm. M1B 57; npm. gōde M2 14.
- god, m., *God*: ns. M1A 8, M1A 17, M1B 5, M1B 63, M1C 18, M1C 26,

M1C 34, M2 9, M2 35; ds. gode M2 59; as. god M1A 4, M1B 50.  
**gold**, n., *gold*: ns. M1B 55, M2 11; ds. golde M1A 68, M2 22; as. M1C 18.  
**gomen**, n., *game, sport*: as. M1C 45.  
**gomol**, adj., *old, aged*: nsm. M2 11.  
**græf**, n., *grave*: ns. M1C 11.  
**græg**, **græg**, adj., *grey*: nsm. græga M1C 13; ds. grëggum M1C 11.  
**grêne**, adj., *green*: nsm. M2 35.  
**grētan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *greet*: inf. 17l.  
**grim**, adj., *severe, terrible, bitter*: dp. grimmum M1A 51.  
**grome**, adv., *fiercely, cruelly*: M1A 51.  
**grōwan**, R. *grow, sprout*: 3 sg. grōweð M1C 21; inf. M1B 2.  
**gryre**, m., *horror, dread, terror*: ns. M1C 11.  
**guman**, m., *man*: ns. M1A 68; gs. guman M1B 55; da. guman M1C 29; np. guman M1A 67; np. gumena M2 11; dp. gumum M1B 57.  
**gūð**, i., *war, battle, fight*: ns. M1B 13.  
**gūðbord**, n., *warlike board, shield*: ns. M1C 64.  
**gýman**, W<sub>1</sub>, *care for, take care of, regard*: 3 sg. gýmeð M1C 26.

## H

**habban**, W<sub>3</sub>, *have, hold, possess*: 3 sg. hafað M1B 36, M1C 31, hafaf M1C 34, M1C 36; 3 pl. habbað M1A 21, M1A 55; opt. 3 sg. hæbbe 46; inf. M1C 45.  
**hafuc**, m., *hawk*: ns. M2 17.  
**hāl**, adj., *whole, hale, safe*: nsm. M1B 35.  
**hælo**, f., *health*: as. M1A 44.  
**hæleð**, m., *man, warrior, hero*: np. hæleð M1A 64; dp. hæleðum M2 8.  
**hālig**, adj., *holy*: dsm. hālgum M1B 61.  
**hām**, m., *home*, ds. home M1B 26; as. M1B 35.  
**hand**, L, *hand*: ns. hond M1A 66, M1B 51, M1C 46; ds. hond M1B 20, handa M2 21; dp. hondum M1C 33.  
**hangian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *hang, be suspended*: inf. M2 55.

- hærfest**, m., *harvest, autumn*: ns. M2 8.
- hāt**, adj., *hot, fervent*: nsm. M1B 7; sup. nsn. hātost M2 7.
- hātan**, R, *command*: prato 3 sg. hēt M1C 27.
- hæð**, f., *heath, waste*: ds. hæðe M2 29.
- hæðen**, adj., *heathen*: dsm. hæþnum M1B 61.
- hē**, pron., *he*: nsm. M1A 5, M1A 6, M1A 11, M1A 12, M1A 42, M1A 44, M1A 46, M1A 48, M1A 49, M1A 52, M1B 34, M1B 402, M1B 42, M1B 43, M1C 37, M1C 47, M1C 49, M2 6, M2 56, M2 66; nsf. hȳ M1A 63, M1B 32, hēo M1B 27, hī M1B 30, hēo M2 44 nsn. hit M1B 42; gsm. his M1A 35, M1A 37, M1A 38, M1A 39, M1A 41, M1B 26, M1B 28, M1B 29, M1C 34, M1C 49, M1C 59; gsf. hȳre M1A 62, M1A 64, M1B 15, M1B 26, hīre M2 44 ; dsm. him M1A 37, M1A 38, M1A 40, M1A 41, M1A 42, M1A 43, M1A 47, M1B 28, M1B 29, M1B 34, M1B 35, M1B 39, M1C 8, M1C 9, M1C 31, M1C 32, M1C 34, M1C 36, M1C 37; dsn. him M2 49; asm. hine M1A 9, M1A 46, M1A 47, M1A 48, M1A 67, M1B 27, M1B 41, M1B 43, M1C 10; asf. hȳ M1A 54, M1A 64, hī M2 45; asn. hit M1A 42, M1B 45, M1C 14; np. hī M1A 20, M1A 40, M1A 55, M1C 37, M1C 38, hȳ M1C 44, M1C 52, M1C 53; gp. hȳra M1A 19, M1A 36, M1C 44; dp. him M1A 53, M1A 56, M1B 21, M1C 41, M1C 44, M1C 45, M2 9; ap. hī M1A 34, hȳ M1C 43.
- hēaf**, m., *lamentation, weeping*: ds. hēafe M1C 12.
- hēafod**, n., *head*: as. heofod M1A 66.
- hēafodgim**, mf., *head jewel, eye*: ds. heofodgimme M1A 44.
- hēahsetl**, n., *high seat, throne*: ds. hēahsetle M1A 68.
- healdan**, R, *keep, preserve, hold*: 3 pl. healdað M1A 36, M1A 53, M1A 56; inf. M1B 16, M1C 7, M2 1 (**rīce healdan**, *rule*).
- heall**, f., *hall*: ds. healle M2 28, M2 36.
- hēan**, adj., *low, humble, abject, base*: nsm. M1B 47; gsm. hēanan M1C 67.
- heard**, adj. = *hard*, *brave*: ds. heardum M1C 15, M1C 66.
- hearpe**, f., *harp*: as. hearpan M1C 33.
- helan**, 4, *conceal*: 2 sg. hylest M1A 3.
- helm**, m., *helmet, covering*: ns. M1C 66; ds. hellme M2 16; as. M1B 3.
- hēofan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *lament, grieve, wail*: 3 sg. hēofeð M1C 12.

- heofen**, m., *heaven*: dp. heofenum M2 35, M2 40, M2 48.  
**heofod**, see **heafod**.  
**heonan**, adv., *hence, from hence*: M1A 30.  
**heoro**, m., *sword*: as. M1C 63.  
**heorte**, f., *heart*: ns. 39; gs. heortan M1A 3; as. heortan 44.  
**hēr**, adv., *here*: M2 64.  
**hergan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *praise, glorify*: inf. M1A 4.  
**hider**, adv., *hither*: M2 64.  
**hild**, f., *war, battle*: as. hilde M2 17.  
**hinder**, adv., *down, behind*: M1B 45.  
**hlāw**, m., *cave*: ds. hlāwe M2 26.  
**hlēor**, n., *cheek, face*: ns. M1A 64.  
**hlūd**, adj., *loud*: sup. nsm. hlūdast M2 4.  
**holen**, m., *holly*: ns. M1B 9.  
**holm**, m., *wave, sea, ocean*: ns. M1A 50, M1B 35.  
**holt**, mn., *holt, wood, grove*: ds. holte M2 19.  
**hord**, mn., *hoard, treasure*: ns, M1A 66, M1C 67.  
**hosp**, m., *reproach, contumely*: is. hospe M1A 64.  
**hrægl**, n., *garment, dress*: as. M1B 28.  
**hrēðēadig**, adj., *glorious, noble*: sup. hrēðēadegost M2 8.  
**hrīmig**, adj., *rimy, covered with hoar-frost*: sup. nsm. hrīmigost M2 6.  
**hring**, m., *ring*: ds. hringe M2 22.  
**hrōf**, m., *roof*: ap. hrōfas M2 64.  
**hrūse**, f., *ground*: ds. M1B 45.  
**hungor**, m., *hunger, lamine*: ds. hungre M1C 12.  
**hūru**, adv., *certainly, in any case*: M1C 13.  
**hūsl**, n., *the housel, the Eucharist*: ns. M1B 61.  
**hwā**, pron., *who*: nsm. M1B 43.  
**hwær**, adv., *where*: 30; *everywhere* M1C 54.  
**hwræðer**, adv., *still, yet, however*: M1A 52.  
**hweorfan**, 3, *turn, go*: 3 pl. hweorfað M2 59: inf. M1A 65, M2 58.  
**hwonne**, adv., *when*: M1A 67, M1B 34.  
**hwyder**, adv., *whither*: M2 58.  
**hwylc**, pron., *what*, ns. M2 65.  
**hycgean**, W<sub>2</sub>, *take thought, think*: inf. M2 54.

**hyge**, m., 1. *mind, heart, thought*: ns. M1B 51; ds. hyge M1C 67. - 2. *courage*: ns. M1C 66.

**hygecræft**, m., *intellect, wisdom*: as. hygecræft M1A 3.

## I

**ic**, pron., *I*: ns. M1A 2; ds. mē M1A 3; as. mec M1A 1; np. wē M1A 69, M1B 65; dp. ūs M1A 5, M1A 8, M1A 12, M1A 69, M1B 65; ap. ūsic M1A 6.

**īcan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *increase, augment, eke*: 3 sg. ŷceð M1A 31.

**ides**, f., *woman*: ns. M2 43.

**īdel**, adj., *idle, unemployed*: nsf. īdle M1C 46

**iernan**, 3, *run*: opt. 3 sg. yrne M1C 47.

**ieteð**, see **etan**.

**in**, adv., *in, inside*: M1B 27.

**in**, prep. w. dat. and acc. 1. *in, on, within, at, by* (w. dat.): M1A 7, M1A 11, M1A 37, M1A 41, M1A 51, M1A 65, M1A 66, M1B 13, M1B 52, M1C 47. -2. *into, to* (w. acc.): M1A 24, M1B 9, M2 41.

**inbindan**, 3, for onbindan *unbind, unlock*: inf. M1B 4.

**innan**, prep., *in, within*: w. dat. M2 M1A 43.

**inwyrca**n, W<sub>1</sub>, *perform (a rite)*: inf. M1A 66.

**īs**, n., *ice*: ns. M1B 2.

**īsern**, n., *iron, steel*: ns. M2 26.

## L

**lācan**, R, *swing, move as a ship or bird*: inf. M2 39.

**lāce**, m., *leech, physician, doctor*: gs. lāces M1A 45.

**lādan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *lead, take, carry*: opt. 3 sg. lāde M1B 41; inf. M1C 40.

**laguflōd**, m., *water, stream*: ns. M2 46.

**land**, n., *land*: gs. londes M1A 58; ds. londe M1A 52, M1B 29, lande M2

43; as. M2 53, gp. landa M2 46.

**læne**, adj., *fleeting, transitory*: asm. lænne M1A 6.

**lange**, adv., *long, a long time*: longe M1B 33 ; sup. lengest M1B 8, M2 6.

**læran**, W<sub>1</sub>, *teach*: inf. M1A 45.

**læsest**, adv., *least*: M1C 21.

**lætan**, R, *let, allow*: imp. 2 sg. læt M1A 1.

**lāð**, n., *injury, hurt, evil*: ns. M2 53; ds. lāþe M2 53.

**lāð**, adj., *hateful*: nsm. M1A 58.

**lāðian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *invite*: 3 sg. lāðap M1B 27.

**lēaf**, n., *leaf, shoot*: dp. M1A 26.

**lēan**, n., *reward, recompense*: ns. M1A 69; gp. lēana M1A 6.

**leax**, m., *salmon, pike*: ns. M2 39.

**lēt**, adj., *weak, sick*: nsm. M1A 45.

**lencten**, m., *spring, lent*: ns. M2 6.

**lenge**, adj., *related, having affinity with*: nsn. M1B 50.

**lēoda**, see **līda**.

**lēode**, f., *people, race, nation* : dp. lēodum M1B 15.

**lēof**, adj., *dear*: nsm. M1A 58, M1B 24; nsn. M1B 15; gs. lēofes (sb. use)  
M1B 33.

**leofian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *live*: 3 sg. leofað M1B 35.

**lēogan**, 2, *tell lies*: inf. M1A 69.

**lēoht**, n., *light, a light*: ns. M2 51; ds. lēohte M1A 65.

**lēoht**, adj., *light, not heavy*: nsn. M1B 24.

**lēohtmod**, adj., *light-hearted, of cheerful mind*: nsn. M1B 15.

**leomu**, see **lim**

**leornere**, m., *learner, scholar, reader*: da. leornere M1B 60.

**lēoð**, n., *song, poem*: gp. lēoþa M1C 32; ap. lēoþ M1C 2.

**licgan**, 5, *lie*: ptc. npm. licgende M1C 21.

**līda**, m., *sailor, traveler*: ns. M1B 33; ds. lēodon M1B 38.

**lif**, n., *life*: ns. M2 51; as. M1A 6.

**lifgan**, W<sub>2</sub>, *live*: 1 pl. lifgaþ M1B 65; inf. lifgan M1C 35 (see **leofian**).

**lim**, n., *limb, branch of tree*: ap. leomu M1A 26.

**linden**, adj., *made of the lime, or linden, tree*: nsn. M1B 24.

**liss**, t., *mercy, favor*: as. lisse M1A 69.

**list**, m., *skill, art, craft, cunning*: ns. M1C 50.

**lið**, adj., *pleasant, sweet*: ns. liþ M1B 29.  
**liðan**, 1, *sail* : inf. liþan M1B 38 (**liþan cymeð**, *comes sailing*).  
**liðan**, *suffer*: inf. liþan M1A 26.  
**lof**, mn., *praise, glory*: gs. lofes M1C 2.  
**longað**, m., *desire, weariness*: as. longað M1C 31.  
**lot**, n., *deceit, fraud*: ns. M1C 50.  
**lūcan**, 2, *lock up*: inf. M1B 3.  
**lufu**, f., *love*: ns. M1B 29.  
**lyft**, min., *air, atmosphere, sky*: da. lyfte M2 3, M2 39.  
**lyfthelm**, m., *cloud, air*: ns. M2 46.  
**lysu**, n., *wrong, evil*: da. lyswe M1C 50.

## M

**mæcg**, m., *man*: gp. mæcga M1C 14.  
**magan**, PP, *may, can*; 3 sg. mæg M1A 43, M1B 34, M1B 42, M1C 18; 3 pl. magon M1A 40.  
**mægen**, n., *might, strength*: ag. M1B 44.  
**mægð**, f., *girl, maiden, woman*: gs. M1B 36.  
**magutimber**, n., *progeny, all those who are born*: gs. magutimbres M1A 33.  
**mæ̅l**, n., *meal, measure*: np. mæ̅l M1B 54.  
**mān**, n., *crime, guilt*: ns. mon. M1C 58.  
**mæ̅nan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *speak of, relate*: 3 pl. mæ̅nað M1A 64.  
**man(n)**, m., *man*: ns. mon. M1A 7, M1A 45, M1A 50, man M1A 65, mon M1B 37, M1C 9, M1C 17, M1C 24; gs. monnes M1B 10, M1B 53, M1C 37, M1C 46; ds. men M1B 61, M1C 11, M1C 15, M1C 66; as. monnan M1A 45, mon M1A 63, M1B 30; np. men M1A 4, M1A 36, M1A 57, M1C 30; gp. monna M1B 67, manna M2 57; dp. mannum M2 65; ap. monnan M1B 32.  
**māra**, see **micel**.  
**mæst**, m., *pole to support saile mast*: ns. M2 24.  
**māþum**, **māþum**, m., *treasure, jewel, ornament*: ns. māþum M1C 17 dp. māþmum M1B 17.  
**mearh**, m., *horse, steed*: gs. mēares M1C 4; dp. mēarum M1B 17.

- mecgan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *stir, mix*: inf. M2 24.
- meltan**, 2, *melt, consume*: inf. M1B 1.
- meodoræden**, f., *mead [ceremony of]*: ds. meodorædenne M1B 17.
- meotud**, m., *God, creator*: ns. M1A 7, M1A 16, M1A 29, M1B 67, M1C 27, M2 49, meotod M2 57; gs. meotodes M2 65.
- mere**, m., *sea, lake*: ns. M1B 36.
- mereflōd**, m., *flood of water, ocean*: ds. mereflōde M2 24.
- mete**, m., *food, meat*: as. M1B 40, M1B 54; ds. mete M1B 44.
- mēpe**, adj., *wearry, exhausted*: nsm. M1B 40.
- micel**, adj., *much, great*: nsn. M1C 58; npm. myccle M2 4; comp. gsm. (or asn.) maran; M1B 40; asn. māre M1A 58, M1C 14.
- mid**, prep. w. dat., *with*: M1A 22, M1A 25, M1A 36, M1A 56, M1A 59, M1B 11, M1B 15, M1B 44, M1C 33, M1C 50, M2 40.
- middangeard**, m., *earth, world*: gs. middangeardes M1A 29.
- mīn**, pron., *my*: asn. M1A 2.
- missenlic**, adj., *dissimilar, different, various*: apn. missenlicu M1A 13.
- mōd**, n., *mina, spiritual opposed to bodily part of man*: ds. mōde M1A 41, M1A 50; ap. mōd M1A 13.
- mōdgeðonc**, mn., *thought*: np. mōdgeþoncas M1B 53, M1C 30.
- mon**, see **mān**
- mon**, see **man(n)**.
- mon**, pron., *one, they*: n. mon M1A 4, M1A 45, M1A 46, M1A 47, M1A 48, M1B 33, M1B 41, M1B 44, M1C 1, M1C 7, M1C 8, M1C 18, M1C 42, M1C 48, man M2 45.
- mōna**, m., *moon*: as. mōnan M1A 41.
- moncyn**, n., *mankind, men*: ds. moncynne M1A 16.
- monge**, see **monig**.
- manian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *claim, ask*: 3 sg. monað M1A 58.
- monig**, adj., *many, many a*: asn. monig M1A 15 ; npm. monige M1C 30; apf. monge M1A 13; dpf. monegum M1C 58.
- morþor**, mn., *murder*: as. M1B 44.
- morþorcwealm**, m., *slaughter, murder*: as. M1C 14.
- mōtan**, anv., *may, can, be able*: opt. 3 sg. mōte M1A 48.
- munan**, PP, *remember, be mindful of*: 3 sg. mon M1C 4.
- mund**, f., *power, protection*: dp. mundum M1B 36.

**mūð**, m., *mouth*: ns. M2 37; gp. mūþa M1B 54.

## N

**næglan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *nail*: pp. nsg. nægled M1B 23.

**nānig**, pron., *none, no one*: nsm. M1C 6, nāni M2 63.

**nales**, adv., *not, not at all*: M1C 12.

**nāt**, see **witan**.

**ne**, adv., *not*: M1A 1, M1A 9, M1A 33, M1A 34, M1A 40, M1A 42, M1A 48, M1A 54, M1B 34, M1B 42, M1B 46, M1C 13, M1C 26.

**ne**, conj., *nor, neither*: M1A 9, M1A 10, M1A 11, M1A 40, M1A 41.

**nefne**, conj., *unless, except*: M1B 35, M1C 47.

**nēfre**, adv., *never*: M1A 38.

**nelle**, see **willan**.

**nergend**, m., *Savior*: ns. M1B 64.

**nergende**, see **nerian**.

**nerian**, W<sub>1</sub>, *protect, save*: pret. 3 sg. neredede M1C 60; ptc. nsm. nergende M2 63.

**nest**, n., *provisions, victuals*: ns. M1A 38.

**niman**, 4, *take away, seize, carry away*: 3 sg. nimeð M1A 31, M1B 49; inf. M1C 19.

**nīð**, m., *trouble, effect of hatred*: ns. M1C 56, M1C 61; nīþ M1C 59.

**nīwe**, adj., *new*: apf., nīwe M1B 28.

**nȳd**, n., *necessity, need, distress*: is. nȳd[e] M1A 38.

**nyt(t)**, adj., *useful*: sup. nsn. nyt tost M1B 48.

**nyttian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *make use of, enjoy*: 3 sg. nyttað M1B 39.

## O

**of**, prep. w. dat., 1. *from, out of*: M1A 30, M1C 57, M2 30.-2. *of*: M1A 44.

- ofer**, prep. w. acc., *over, upon, throughout*: M1A 33, M1C 30.
- ofercuman**, 4, *overcome, vanquish*: pp. ofercumen M1B 43.
- oft**, adv., *often*: M1A 35, M1A 63, M1A 64, M1B 30, M1C 8, M1C 10, M1C 48, M1C 52.
- oftēon**, 2, *take away, deprive*: pp. oftigen 40.
- on**, prep. w. dat. and acc., 1. *on, upon, in, within* (w. dat.): M1A 7, M1A 25, M1A 32, M1A 47, M1A 49, M1A 56, M1A 61, M1A 68, M1B 29, M1B 33, M1B 42, M1B 55, M1B 56, M1C 7, M1C 45, M1C 49, M1C 64, M1C 65, M2 2, M2 3, M2 16, M2 17, M2 18, M2 19, M2 20, M2 21, M2 22, M2 23, M2 24, M2 25, M2 26, M2 27, M2 28, M2 29, M2 32, M2 33, M2 34, M2 35, M2 36, M2 37, M2 39, M2 40, M2 42, M2 47, M2 48, M2 61. - 2. *on, into, to* (w. acc.): M1B 41, M1B 65.
- ond**, conj., *and*: M1A 3, M1A 6, M1A 18, M1A 24, M1A 28, M1A 46, M1A 47, M1A 56, M1B 14, M1B 17, M1B 21, M1B 26, M1B 27, M1B 28, M1B 39, M1B 50, M1B 66, M1C 4, M1C 52, M1C 19, M1C 22, M1C 24, M1C 25, M1C 29, M1C 41, M1C 63, M1C 65, M1C 67; M2 11, M2 15, M2 23, M2 30, M2 46, M2 48, M2 59, M2 62.
- ōnettān**, W<sub>1</sub>, *be busy, be active*: inf. M1C 3.
- on feorran**, adv., *afar, at a distance*: M1A 52.
- onfōn**, R, *receive, undergo a rite, accept*: 3 sg. onfēhð M1A 68.
- onge**, see **ange**.
- ongildan**, 3, *pay penalty, be punished for*: inf. M2 56.
- onginnan**, 3, 1. *begin*: 3 pl. onginnað M1A 51. -2. *attack*: inf. M1C 38.
- onhæle**, adj., *secret, hidden*: as. onhælnē M1A 1.
- ord**, m., *point* (of a weapon) : ns. M1C 65.
- orðanc**, adj., *cunning, skilful*: nsn. M2 2.
- ōþer**, adj., *other, second*: nsm. M1B 32: gs. oþres M1C 17; dsm. oðrum M2 62.
- oþ þæt**, conj., *until*: M1A 46, M1A 47.
- oþþe**, conj., *or, and*: M1C 33, M1C 39.

## R

- rǣd**, m., *counsel, wisdom*: ns. M1A 22, M1B 48; as. M1B 21, M1C 1.  
**rand**, m., *boss, edge, margin*: ns. M2 37.  
**rēafere**, m., *brigand, robber*: ds. rēafere M1B 59.  
**reced**, mn., *house, hall, palace*: gs. recedes M2 37.  
**recene**, adv., *quickly, straightway*: M1A 60, ricene M1B 21.  
**reord**, f., *speech, tongue, language*: ap. reorde M1A 13.  
**rīce**, n., *kingdom*: as. M2 1.  
**rīce**, adj., *powerful, mighty*: nsm. M1B 63.  
**ricene**, see **recene**.  
**rīdan**, 1, *ride*: inf. M1A 61.  
**riht**, n., *right, justice, truth*: ns. ryht M1A 22, M1B 48; ds. rihte M1A 36.  
**rīnc**, m., *warrior*: np. rincas M1C 40.  
**rodor**, m., *firmament, heaven*: ap. roderas M1B 63.  
**rogian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *flourish, grow*: inf. M1B 48.  
**rōwan**, R, *row*: 3 sg. roweþ M1C 48.  
**rūm**, adj., *roomy, spacious, ample, extensive*: nsm. M2 37; apm. rūme M1A 15, M1B 63.  
**rūmheort**, adj., *liberal, munificent*: nsm. M1B 16  
**rūn**, f., *confidence, counsel, secret*: as. rūne M1B 16; ap. rūne M1C 1.  
**ryht**, see **riht**.

## S

- sacan**, 6, *fight, contend*: inf. M1A 28, M2 63.  
**sacu**, f., *strife, sedition, dispute*: as. sace M1A 20.  
**sǣ**, mf., *sea*: nsf. M1A 64.  
**sǣl**, mf., *time, season*: dp. sǣlum M1A 51.  
**sār**, adj., *painful, grievous, distressing*: nsn. sār M1A 41.  
**sāwul**, i., *soul, life*: ns. M2 58; gp. sāwla M1B 64; dp. sāwlum M1A 36.  
**scead**, n., *shade*: ds. sceade M1A 65.  
**sceaft**, m., *shaft (of a spear)*: ns. M1B 59; ds. scafte M1C 64.

- sceomian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *feel shame, be ashamed*: ptc. sceomiande M1A 65.
- scēot**, n., *shooting, rapid movement*: da. scēote M2 40.
- sceððan**, 6, *hurt, harm*: pret. 3 sg. scōd M1C 61.
- scieppan**, 6, *create, form*: pret. 3 sg. sceop M1C 27.
- scīnan**, 1, *shine*: inf. M2 49.
- scīp**, n., *ship*: ns. M1B 23.
- scīr**, adj., *bright, pure*: nsm. M1A 65.
- scop**, m., *poet*: ns. M1B 57.
- scriðan**, 1, *go, glide, creep*: 3 pl. scriðað M2 13 ; inf. M2 40.
- sculan**, anv., *must, will, shall*: 3 sg. sceal M1A 4, M1A 7, M1A 18, M1A 22, M1A 23, M1A 24, M1A 25, M1A 27, M1A 38, M1A 39, M1A 45, M1A 48, M1A 49, M1A 50, M1A 59, M1A 61, M1A 65, M1A 66, M1A 69, M1B 1, M1B 4, M1B 6, M1B 9, M1B 11, M1B 13, M1B 23, M1B 30, M1B 33, M1B 44, M1B 47, M1B 51, M1B 52, M1B 59, M1B 60, M1C 1, M1C 7, M1C 11, M1C 15, M1C 16, M1C 18, M1C 20, M1C 35, M1C 48, M1C 50, M1C 64, M1C 66, M2 1, M2 M1C 24, M2 17, M2 18, M2 19, M2 20, M2 21, M2 22, M2 23, M2 24, M2 25, M2 26, M2 27, M2 28, M2 29, M2 30, M231, M2 32, M2 33, M2 34, M2 35, M2 36, M2 37, M2 39, M2 40, M2 42, M2 43, M2 45, M2 47, M2 48, M2 50, M2 51, M2 54, M2 58; 3 pl. sceolon M1A 4, sceolun M1A 60, sceolon M1B 12, M1B 54, M1C 22, M1C 44, sceolan M2 14; pret. 3 pl. sceoldan M1C 38; opt. 3 pl. scyle M1C 40.
- scūr**, m., *shower*: ns. M2 40.
- scyld**, m., *shield*: ns. M1B 23, M1B 59; ds. scylde M2 37.
- sē, sēo, ðæt**, 1. dem. pron., def. art., *the, this, that*: nsm. M1A 30, M1A 35, M1A 37, M1A 38, M1A 58, M1A 68, M1B 32, M1B 41, M1C 10, M1C 13, M1C 35, M1C 48, M1C 51; nsf. sēo M2 58, M2 61; nsn. þæt M1A 41, M1B 46, M1B 63, M1B 67, M1C 56; gsm. þæs M1A 35, M1B 53, M1C 26, M1C 67; gen. þæs M1A 33, M1A 42, M1A 68, M1B 34, M1C 27; dsm. þām M1A 69, M1B 66; dsm. þām M1A 68, M1C 57; asn. þæt 43, M1C 12, M2 56, M2 64; isn. þȳ M1C 51; npm. þā M1C 40, M2 59; gp. þāra M1A 6, M1C 45. - 2. rel. pron., *who, which*: nsm. M1A 34, M1A 43, M1B 65; nsf. sīo M1C 23; gsm. þæs M1B 29; asm. þone M1C 60; asf. þā M1A 21;

- asn. þæt M1A 2, M1B 49, M1B 65; apn. þā M1A 31.
- sealt**, n., *salt*: da. sealte M2 45.
- seegan**, W<sub>3</sub>, *say, tell, speak*: opt. 3 sg. secge M2 65; inf. M1C 1.
- segl**, mn., *sail*: da. segle M1C 47.
- segelgyrd**, m., *ward of a ship, sailyard*: ns. M2 25.
- sēl**, adv., comparative, *better*: sup. nsm. sēlast M1B 10.
- seldan**, adv., *seldom*: M1B 41, M1C 47.
- sele**, n., *hall*: ns. M1C 20.
- sellic**, adj., *strange, wonderful* nsn. M1B 56.
- sēman**, W<sub>1</sub>, *settle (a dispute)*: 3 sg. sēmaþ M1A 20.
- sendan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *send*: 3 sg. sendeð M2 9.
- sēo**, f., *apple of the eye, pupil*: ns. M1B 52.
- sēoc**, adj., *sick, ill*: nsm. M1B 41.
- seomian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *rest, hang, lie securely*: inf. M2 25.
- sē ðe**, pron., *who, which*: nsm. sē þe M2 12; npm. þā þe M2 2; apm. þā þe M2 9.
- seþēah**, adv., *nevertheless, however*: M1B 33.
- sib(b)**, f., *peace*: as. sibbe M1A 20.
- sīd**, adj., *spacious, wide*: dsm. sīdum M1C 47.
- sigefolc**, m., *victorious people*: gp. sigefolca M2 66.
- sigesceorp**, n., *triumphal apparel*: ns. M1B 56.
- sinc**, n., *gold, silver, jewels*: ns. M1B 56, M2 10.
- sið**, m., *journey, travel, voyage*: ds. sīþe M1B 33.
- siððan**, adv., *after, from the time that*: siþþan M1C 27, M1C 55, M1C 60, syððan M2 58.
- slēan**, 6, *slay*: pret. 3 sg. slōg M1C 59.
- slītan**, 1, *slit, tear*: 3 sg. slīteð M1C 10.
- slīðan**, 1, *harm, hurt, damage*: ptc. asm. slīþedne M1C 63.
- slīðhende**, adj., *vicious wuth the claw*: nsn. slīþhende M1C 39.
- smilte**, adj., *mild, pleasant, serene*: nsm. M1A 64.
- snotor**, adj., *wise, prudent*: nsm. M2 54; npm. snotre M1A 36; sup. nsm. snoterost M2 11.
- snyttro**, f., *wisdom, understanding*: ns. snyttro M1B 52, M1C 29; ds. snyttro M1A 22.
- sōð**, n., *truth*: ns. M2 10; as. M1A 36.

- sōðcýning**, m., *king of truth, Deity*: ns. M1B 64.  
**spere**, n., *spear, lance*: da. spere M1C 65.  
**stælan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *avenge, institute*: inf. M2 54.  
**stān**, m., *stone, die*: ns. M1B 29.  
**standan**, 6, *stand*: 3 sg. stondeþ M1B 25; opt. 3 sg. stonde M1A 61; inf. stondan M1A 62, M1A 67, M1C 20, standan M2 23, M2 36.  
**stēap**, adj., *prominent*: nsm. M2 23.  
**storm**, m., *storm*: as. M1A 59.  
**strǣl**, f., *arrow, shaft*: da. stǣle M1C 16.  
**strēam**, m., *stream*: ns. M2 23.  
**strēon**, **strēowen**, f., *couch, bed, place where anything rests; hence, a chest or casket for treasure*: dp. strēonum M1A 66.  
**strong**, adj., *strong*: ds. strongum M1A 50.  
**stýran**, W<sub>1</sub>, *steer, guide, rule*: inf. M1A 59.  
**sumor**, m., *summer*: ns. M1B 7, M2 7; ds. sumera M1B 42.  
**sund**, n., *ocean, sea*: ns. M1A 54, M1B 7.  
**sundorsefa**, m., *peculiar mind*: as. sundorsefan M1C 31.  
**sunne**, f., *sun*: as. sunnan M1A 41, M1B 41.  
**sunwlitig**, adj., *sunbeautiful*: sup. nsm. sunwlitegost M2 7.  
**swā**, adv., *so, thus*: M1A 32, M1C 27, M1C 61.  
**swā**, conj., *as, even as*: M1A 11, M2 49; swā . . . swā, adv. and conj., *as . . . as*: M1A 54, M1A 55, *as . . . so* M1C 30.  
**swæs**, adj., *one's own*: asm. swæsne M1C 59.  
**swefan**, 6, *sleep*: inf. M1C 41.  
**swegel**, n., *heaven, sky, sun*: ns. M2 7.  
**swegle**, adv., *brilliantly*: M1B 7.  
**swegltorht**, adj., *heavenbright*: ap. swegltorht M1A 41.  
**swelgan**, 3, *swallow*: pret. 3 sg. swealg M1C 55.  
**sweltan**, 3, *die*: inf. M1A 27.  
**sweord**, n., *sword*: ns. M2 25; ds. sweorde M1B 55, M1C 65.  
**swift**, adj., *swift*: sup. nsm. swiftust M2 3.  
**switol**, adj., *clear; sweet, evident*: sup. nsn. switolost, M2 10.  
**swið**, adj., *strong*: sup. nai. swiðost M2 5.  
**sylf**, pron., *self, himself*: nsm. sylf M1B 64, M1C 20, sylfa M1B 67, M2 66.  
**syllan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *give, grant*: 3 sg. syleð M1A 12, syleþ M1B 28; pret. 3 sg.

sealde M1C 34; opt. 3 sg. sylle M1A 47; inf. M1A 43, M1C 18.

**symle**, adv., *always*: M1B 18.

**syn**, i., *sin, crime, wrong, hostility*: np. synne M1B 61; ap. synne M2 64.

**syððan**, see **siððan**.

## T

**tæfl**, f., *a board for playing a game, a die*: as. tæfle M1C 44.

**tæfle**, adj., *gaming, given to play*: gsm. tæfles M1C 46.

**teala**, adv., *well*: M1A 46.

**tēon**, from tīhan, 1, *accuse*: 3 sg. tīhð M1C 48.

**tēon**, W<sub>2</sub>, *create, ordain, arrange*: pret. 3 sg. tēode M1A 34, M1A 43.

**teosel**, m., *small stone*; hence *die*: dp. teoselum M1C 46.

**tīd**, f., *time, a certain time*: dp. tīdum M1B 54.

**til**, adj., *kind, good, excellent*: nsm. M1A 23, M1C 4, M2 20; gsm. tiles

M1C 4; dp. tilum M1A 23.

**tīrfæst**, adj., *glorious*: gp. tīrfæstra M2 32.

**tō**, prep. w. gen. and dat., 1. w. gen., *there, thither*: M1A 35. -2.w. dat.,

*to*: M1A 52, M1B 20, M1B 26, M1B 58, M1C 9, M1C 17, M2 15.

**tō**, adv., *too*: M1B 40, M1B 41, M1C 6.

**tom**, adj., *tame, not wild*: gsm. tomes M1C 4.

**tōmeldan**, 1, *separate with hostile speech*: opt. 3 sg. tōmædle M1C 42.

**tōbrēdan**, 3, *separate by a quick movement, turn the back, break off*: opt. 3

pl. tōbrēden M1C 53.

**tōdælan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *separate, divide*: opt. 3 sg. tōdæle M1C 43.

**tōglīdan**, 1, *glide away, slip off*: opt. 3 sg. tōglīde M1C 44.

**torht**, adj., *bright*: gsf. torhtre M1A 40.

**torn**, n., *emotion (anger or sorrow)*: ns. M1C 44.

**tōðmægen**, n., *strength of tusk*: gs. tōðmægenes M2 20.

**tōweorpan**, 3, *scatter, bandy*: 3 pl. tōweorpað M1C 52.

**trēow**, f., *faith, truth*: ns. M1C 22, M2 32.

**trēowu**, n., *tree*: op. trēo M1C 22.

**trum**, adj., *firm, strong*: nsm. M2 20.

**trymman**, W<sub>1</sub>, *strengthen*: inf. M1A 46.

**tū**, see **twēgen**.

**tūn**, m., *inclosure surrounding a dwelling, a habitation of men*: ds. tūne  
M1C 8.

**tungol**, n., *heavenly body, sun, moon, star, planet*: ns. M2 48; ap. tunglu  
M1A 40.

**twēgen**, num., *two*: nm. M1C 44; nn. tū 23.

**tȳdran**, W<sub>1</sub>, *be prolific*: inf. M2 48.

**tyhtan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *incite, urge, persuaded*: inf. 46,

**tȳman**, W<sub>1</sub>, *teem*: inf. M2 48.

## p

**ðær**, adv., *there, where*: þær M1B 53, M1C 8, M2 66.

**ðæt**, conj., 1. *that*, in noun clauses (subj. and obj.): þæt 42, M1C 37,  
M1C 49, M1C 61, M2 45. -2. *that, in order that* (in purpose  
clauses): þæt M1A 46, M1A 49.

**ðe**, pron., indecl., *who, which, that*: þe M1A 30, M1A 35, M1A 37, M1A  
58, M1A 69, M1B 41, M1B 45, M1C 28, M1C 32, M1C 34, M1C  
35, M2 59, M2 64.

**ðeah**, adv., *though, although*: þeah M1B 41, M1B 42.

**ðeaw**, m., *custom, usage*: gp. þeawa 18.

**ðencan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *think*: 3 sg. þenceð M1B 45.

**ðenden**, conj., *while*: þenden M1C 44.

**ðeod**, f., *nation, people*: da. þeode M1A 49; np. þeoda M1A 55; gp. þeoda  
M1A 18; dp. þeodum M1C 58.

**ðeoden**, m., *lord, ruler (God)* : ns. þeoden M1A 12.

**ðeof**, m., *thief*: ns. þeof M2 42.

**ðeostru**, fn., *darkness*: dpn. þystrum M2 42, dp. þystrum M2 51.

**ðēs**, pron., *this*: gsf. þysse M2 55; dsf. þysse M2 2; asf. þās 34, M2 41.

**ðīn**, pron., *thy, thine*: asm. þīne M1A 1, M1A 3; apm. þīne M1A 3.

**ðing**, n., 1. *meeting*: as. þing M1A 18. - 2. *circumstance*: dp. þingum M1A  
56.

- ðolian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *suffer, lose, suffer loss*: inf. þolian M1A 39.
- ðonne**, adv., *when (half with a causal idea, since)*: þonne M1A 42, M1C 46.  
- *when*: þonne M1A 54, M1B 25, M1B 32, M1B 38, M1B 39, M1B 46.
- ðonne**, conj., *then, yet*, þonne M1B 37, M1C 32 - correl. ðonne...  
ðonne..., *when... then*: þonne... þonne M1A 55, M1A 56.
- ðrāg**, f., *time, season*: ds þrāge M1A 38; dp. þrāgum M2 4.
- ðrīste**, adj., *bold*: nsm. or nfm. þrīste M1A 59.
- ðrīsthycgende**, adj., *firm of purpose*: nsm. þrīsthycgende M1A 49.
- ðrymm**, m., *glory, majesty, magnificence*: ns. þrym M1A 59; np. þrymmas M2 41.
- ðū**, pron., *thou*: ns. þū M1A 2, þū M1A 3, ds. þē M1A 2.
- ðunar**, m., *thunder*: ns. þunar M2 4.
- ðurfan**, PP, *need, have need, be of need*: 3 sg. þearf M1B 40, M1B 54.
- ðȳ**, conj., *because*: þȳ M1A 32.
- ðȳ læs**, conj., *the less, lest*: þȳ læs, M1C 32.
- ðȳrs**, m., *giant, demon*: ns. þȳrs M2 42.
- ðȳstre**, see **ðēostru**.

## U

- umbor**, n., *child*: np. umbor M1A 31.
- under**, prep. w. dat. and acc., *under*: 1. w. dat. M1C 47. - 2. w. acc. M2 64. - case indeterminate: M1B 44, M1B 45.
- ungetrēow**, adj., *untrue, unfaithful*: nsm. M1C 25.
- ungin**, adj., *not ample*: sup. nsm. unginnost M1C 67.
- unlæd**, adj., *poor, miserable*: nsm. M1B 49.
- unnyt**, adj., *useless*: sup. nsm. unnyttost M1B 49.
- unstille**, adj., *not still, unquiet*: nsn. M1B 7.
- unþinged**, adj., *sudden, unexpected, unasked*: nsn. M1A 35.
- unwioted**, adj., *uncertain*: asm. unwiotedne M1C 8.

**uppe**, adv., *on high*: M2 38.  
**ūser**, pron., *our*: asm., ūserne M1A 5.

W

**wǣd**, f., *garment, dress*: as. wǣdo M1A 47; ap. wǣde M1B 28.  
**wǣl**, n., *slaughter, carnage*: as. M1C 13.  
**wǣl**, mn., *deep pool, gulf, stream*: ds. wǣle M2 39.  
**waldend**, m., *ruler, Lord*: ,ns. M1A 43.  
**wamm**, mn., *moral stain, impurity*: dp. wommum M1A 63, M1B 30.  
**wanian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *diminish, curtail*: 3 sg. wanige M1A 34.  
**wǣpen**, n., *weapon*: gp. wǣpna M1C 62.  
**wǣr**, f., *compact, treaty*: as. wǣre M1B 30.  
**wǣrig**, adj., *stained with seaweed, soiled*: asn. M1B 28.  
**wǣrlēas**, adj., *false*: nsm. M1C 24.  
**wæscan**, 6, *wash*: 3 sg. wæsceð M1B 28.  
**wæstm**, m., *fruit*: ap. Wæstmas M2 9.  
**wæter**, n., *water*: ns. M1B 3; gs. wætres M1B 39; ds. wætere M2 27.  
**wēa**, m., *woe, misery*: ns. M2 13.  
**wealdan**, R, *rule*: 3 sg. wealdeð M1B 66.  
**weall**, m., *wall, cliff*: np. weallas M1A 53.  
**weallan**, R, *boil, foam, rage*: inf. M2 45.  
**weallstān**, m., *stone far building*: gp. weallstāna M2 3.  
**wearh**, m., *outlaw, villain*: ns. M2 55.  
**wearm**, adj., *warm*: nsn. M1B 42.  
**wearn**, m., *a multitude, great deal*: dp. wearnum M1C 48.  
**weaxan**, R, *grate, increase*: inf. M1C 22.  
**weccan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *wake, waken*: 3 sg. weceð M1A 54.  
**weder**, n., *weather*: dp. wederum M2 42. - 2. *good weather*: ns. M1B 6.  
**weg**, m., *way*: ns. wæg M1B 8; gp. wega M1C 7.  
**wegan**, 5, *bear, carry*: inf. M1B 3.  
**wēl**, adv., *well*: M1C 7.  
**wēnan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *expect, await*: 3 ag. wēneð M1A 42; inf. wēnan M1B 33.

- wendan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *change, turn*: 3 pl. wendað M1A 9.
- weorpan**, 3, *throw*: 3 sg. weorpeð M1C 46, M1C 51.
- weorðan**, 3, *be, become*: 3 sg. weorpeð M1B 46, weorð M1C 17; 3 pl. weorpeð M1A 32; pret. 3 sg. wearð M1C 55; opt. 3 ag. weorðe M1B 34; weorþe M1B 40.
- wēpan**, R, *weep, mourn, bewail*: 3 sg. wēpeð M1C 13.
- wer**, m., *man*: ns. M1A 24; da. were M2 33; as. M1B 30; gp. wæra M1C 28; dp. werum M1B 57.
- wērig**, adj., *weary*: nsm. M1C 48.
- wesan**, anv., *be, exist*: 3 sg. biþ M1A 8, M1A 19, M1A 35, M1A 40, M1A 41, M1A 54, M1A 57, M1A 68, M1B 10, M1B 39, M1B 41, M1B 43, M1B 46, M1B 48, M1C 35, M1C 39, bið M1A 37, M1A 53, M1B 8, M1B 26, M1B 31, M1B 33, M1B 50, M1B 53, M2 10, M2 13; is M1B 63, M1B 67, M1C 54, M2 61, byð M2 3, M2 4, M2 52, M2 6, M2 7, M2 10; 3 pl. beoð 23, M2 1, bēoð M1A 55, M1C 30, syndon M2 2, syndan M2 4; pret. 3 sg. wæs M1A 11, M1C 60, (w. neg.) næs M1C 56; opt. 3 sg. sý M1A 33, M1B 42, M2 65, wese M1A 49; opt. pret. 3 sg. wære M1C 37; opt. pret. 3 pl. wæran M1C 38; inf. wesan M1B 13, M1B 15, M1B 42, M1C 27, bēon M1B 16.
- wīc**, n., *place, dwelling*: ns. M1B 39.
- wīcfreoðu**, f., *peace among dwellings*: as. wīcfreoþa M1B 58.
- wīde**, adv., *widely, in different places*: M1A 14, M1C 57, M1C 60, M1C 62.
- wīdgangol**, adj., *rambling, roving*: nsn. widgongel M1A 63.
- wīf**, n., *woman*: ns. M1A 24, M1A 63, M1B 14, M1B 30; ds. wīfe M1B 25.
- wīg**, n., *fight, conflict*: ns. M1B 14; as. M1B 58.
- wiht**, fn., *aught*: as. wiht 9.
- wilcuma**, m., *welcome person*: ns. M1B 24.
- wilde**, adj., *wild*: nsm. M2 18.
- willa**, m., *will*: as. willan M1A 6.
- willan**, anv., *will, wish*: 3 sg. wile M1A 6, wille M1C 14; (w. neg.) 1 sg. nelle M1A 2; 3 sg. nelle M2 44; 1 pl. nellað M1A 69.
- wind**, m., *wind*: ns. M2 3; ds. winde M1C 48, M2 41.

- windan**, 3, *twist, roll, weave*: pp. wunden M1C 15.  
**wine**, m., *friend*: as. M1C 7.  
**winelēas**, adj., *friendless*: nsm. M1C 9, M1C 36.  
**winter**, m., *winter*: ns. M1B 6, M2 5.  
**wīs**, adj., *wise*: dp. wīsum, M1A 22.  
**wisdom**, m., *wisdom*: ns. M2 33.  
**wīslīc**, adj., *wise*: npn. wīslīcu M1C 28.  
**wīst**, f., *sustenance, food*: as. wīst M1A 47.  
**wīte**, n., *punishment, torture*: as. wīte M1A 43.  
**witan**, PP, *know, be aware*: 3 sg. wāt M1A 29, M1A 42, M1A 44, M1C 8, M2 57, M2 62; (w. neg.) 3 sg. nāt M1A 35, M1B 43; inf. M1B 21.  
**wið**, prep. w. dat. and acc., 1. w. dat., *against*: wiþ M1C 48, wið M2 16, M2 50, M2 51, M2 52, M2 53. -2. w. acc., *with*: wið M1A 19, wiþ M1B 30, M1B 50.  
**wiþre**, n., *resistance*: as. M1A 62; ds. M1B 58.  
**wlanc**, adj., *splendid, sumptuous*: nsm. M2 27.  
**wlenco**, f., *pride, high spirit*: da. wlenco M1A 59.  
**Wōden**, m., *Woden, Teutonic god of war*: ns. M1B 62.  
**wōh**, n., *wrong, injustice*: ap. wēos M1B 62.  
**wolcen**, n., *cloud*: np. wolcnu M2 13.  
**wonhȳdig**, adj., *foolish, careless*: nsm. M1C 24.  
**wonsælig**, adj., *unblest, miserable*: nsm. M1C 9; op. wonsælge M1A 21.  
**word**, n., *word, speech*: np. word M1C 28; dp. wordum M1A 1, M1C 52; ap. Word M1A 63.  
**worn**, m., *multitude, many*: as. M1C 32. See **wearn**.  
**woruld**, f., *world*: gs. worulde M2 55; as. M1A 24, M1A 34, M2 41.  
**wracu**, f., *misery, exile*: ns. M1C 15.  
**wræd**, m., *bandage, band*: ns. M1C 15.  
**wrætlic**, adj., *noble, excellent, beautiful*: nsm. M2 3.  
**wrītan**, 1, *write*: inf. M1C 1.  
**wrixlan**, W<sub>1</sub>, *exchange, deal*: inf. M1A 4.  
**wrōbtdropa**, m., *drop bringing strife or erime*: np. wrōhtdropan M1C 57.  
**wudu**, m., *wood*: ns. M2 33; as. M1B 1; gp. wuda M1B 39.  
**wuldor**, n., *glory, heaven*: ds. wuldre M1A 7; as. M1B 62.  
**wulf**, m., *wolf*: ns. M1C 13, M2 18; ap. wulfas M1C 9.

**wundor**, n., *wonder*: dp. wundrum (*wondrously*) M1B 3, (*wonderfully*) M2 13.

**wunian**, W<sub>2</sub>, *dwelt*: 3 sg. wunað M2 66; inf. M1C 36.

**wyn**, f., *joy, delight*: as. M1B 36.

**wyrcean**, wyrcan, W<sub>1</sub>, *work*: pret. 3 sg. worhte M1B 62; inf. wyrcean M2 21.

**wyrd**, f., *fate*: ns. M1C 36, M2 5; np. wyrda M1A 9.

**wyrp**, f., *recovery*: as. wyrpe M1A 43.

## Y

**ȳcan**, see **īcan**.

**yfel**, n., *evil*: ns. M1B 49; ds. yfele M2 50.

**yldo**, f., (*old*) *age*: ns. 10; ds. yldo M2 60.

**ymb**, prep. w. acc., *round about*: 28, M2 46, M2 53, M2 56.

**yumbsittan**, 6, *sit around, sit at*: inf. M1C 44.

**yrfe**, n., *inheritance, property*: ns. M1B 9.

**yrne**, see **iernan**.

**ȳð**, f., *wave*: dp. ȳðum M2 23.



## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1 - Translation of the Texts

### EXETER A

01 Frige mec frodum wordum. Ne læt þinne ferð onhælne  
02 degol þæt þu deopost cunne. Nelle ic þe min dyrne geseccan  
03 gif þu me þinne hygecræft hylest ond þine heortan geþohtas.  
04 Gleawe men sceolon gieddum wrixlan. God sceal mon ærest hergan  
05 fægre fæder userne forþon þe he us æt frymþe geteode  
06 lif ond lænne willan. He usic wile þara leana gemonian  
07 meotud sceal in wuldre. Mon sceal on eorþan  
08 geong ealdian. God us ece biþ  
09 ne wendað hine wyrda. Ne hine wiht dreceþ  
10 adl ne yldo ælmihtigne  
11 ne gomelað he in gæste ac he is gen swa he wæs  
12 þeoden geþyldig. He us geþonc syleð  
13 missenlicu mod monge reorde  
14 feorhcynna fela fæþmeþ wide  
15 eglond monig. Eardas rume  
16 meotud arærde for moncynne  
17 ælmihtig god efenfela bega  
18 þeoda ond þeawa. Þing sceal gehegan  
19 frod wiþ frodne biþ hyra ferð gelic.  
20 Hi a sace semaþ sibbe gelærað  
21 þa ær wonsælge awegen habbað  
22 ræd sceal mid snyttro ryht mid wisum  
23 til sceal mid tilum. Tu beoð gemæccan  
24 sceal wif ond wer in woruld cennan  
25 bearn mid gebyrdum. Beam sceal on eorðan  
26 leafum liþan leomu gnornian.  
27 Fus sceal feran fæge sweltan  
28 ond dogra gehwam ymb gedal sacan  
29 middangeardes. Meotud ana wat

01 Question me with wise words. Do not let your heart be hid,  
02 or the mystery that you may know most deeply. I will not reveal my secret to you  
03 if you conceal from me your wisdom and the thoughts of your heart.  
04 Wise men shall swap maxims. First, one shall properly plead God,  
05 our Father, since, in the beginning, he bestowed on us  
06 life and fleeting will. He shall claim those gifts from us.  
07 God shall dwell in splendour. Men shall live on earth,  
08 the young waxes old. To us God is everlasting,  
09 Fates change him not. Nothing affects him,  
10 neither do age nor illness, the Almighty,  
11 nor does he grow old in spirit, but he is still as he was,  
12 a patient prince. He gives us thoughts,  
13 different dispositions, several tongues;  
14 an isle holds many in its wide embrace,  
15 various races of people. These broad lands  
16 the Lord set forth for humankind,  
17 the Almighty God, as manifold of both  
18 kindred and customs. The sage shall hold  
19 a meeting with the sage: their spirits are similar.  
20 They ever settle strife, they the preach peace  
21 which wicked men have previously wrecked.  
22 Counsel shall go with wisdom, justice with the sage,  
23 a good man with good men. Two are consorts:  
24 wife and man shall, in the world, bring forth  
25 children by birth. A tree, upon the earth, shall  
26 loose leaves, lament its limbs.  
27 The dying man shall depart, the doomed man die,  
28 and every day shall struggle with the parting  
29 from this world. God alone knows

30 hwær se cwealm cymeþ þe heonan of cyþþe gewiteþ.  
31 Umbor yceð þa æradl nimeð  
32 þy weorþeð on foldan swa fela fira cynnes.  
33 Ne sy þæs magutimbres gemet ofer eorþan  
34 gif hi ne wanige se þas woruld teode.  
35 Dol biþ se þe his dryhten nat to þæs oft cymeð deað unþinged.  
36 Snotre men sawlum beorgað healdað hyra soð mid ryhte  
37 eadig bið se þe in his eþle geþihð earm se him his frynd geswicað.  
38 Nefre sceal se him his nest aspringeð nyd[e] sceal þrage gebunden.  
39 Bliþe sceal bealoleas heorte. Blind sceal his eagna þolian  
40 oftigen biþ him torhtre gesihþe. Ne magon hi ne tunglu bewitian  
41 swegltorht sunnan ne monan. Ðæt him biþ sar in his mode  
42 onge þonne he hit ana wat ne weneð þæt him þæs edhwyrft cyme.  
43 Waldend him þæt wite teode se him mæg wyrpe syllan  
44 hælo of heofodgimme gif he wat heortan clæne.  
45 Lef mon læces behofað. Læran sceal mon geongne monnan  
46 trymman ond tyhtan þæt he teala cunne oþþæt hine mon atemedne hæbbe.  
47 Sylle him wist ond wædo oþþæt hine mon on gewitte alæde.  
48 Ne sceal hine mon cildgeongne forcweþan ær he hine acyþan mote.  
49 Ðy sceal on þeode geþeon þæt he wese þristhygende.  
50 Styran sceal mon strongum mode. Storm oft holm gebringeþ  
51 geofen in grimmum sælum. Onginnað grome fundian  
52 fealwe on feorran to londe hwæþer he fæste stonde.  
53 Weallas him wiþre healdað him biþ wind gemæne.  
54 Swa biþ sæ smilte þonne hy sund ne weceð  
55 swa beoþ þeoda geþwære þonne hy geþingad habbað.  
56 Gesittað him on gesundum þingum ond þonne mid gesiþum healdap  
57 cene men gecynde rice. Cyning biþ anwealdes georn.  
58 Lað se þe londes monað leof se þe mare beodeð.  
59 Ðrym sceal mid wlenco þriste mid cenum  
60 sceolun bu recene beadwe fremman.  
61 Eorl sceal on eos boge eorod sceal getrume ridan  
62 fæste feþa stondan. Fæmne æt hyre bordan geriseð

30 where proceeds the pestilence that soars hence from the soil.  
31 He increases the infants that illness bears off,  
32 and thus there comes to be so many of mankind on earth.  
33 There would be no limit of progeny in the world  
34 if he who organised this earth did not diminish them.  
35 Foolish is he who knows not his lord, oft death comes suddenly upon him  
36 Wise men save their souls, duly retain their righteousness;  
37 blessed is he who prospers in his abode, miserable is he whose friends deceives.  
38 Never shall be happy he who his store fails, for a time he shall be bound by sorrow.  
39 The pure heart shall be pleased. The blind man shall suffer his eyes:  
40 he is deprived of clear sight. He cannot behold the bright stars,  
41 the shining sun, nor the moon. It is grievous to his mind  
42 when he is aware of his loneliness and has no expectation of his sight to return.  
43 The Mighty appointed him that punishment, he can grant him recovery,  
44 healing in his head's gem, if he knows his heart to be holy.  
45 The sick man needs a physician. A man shall teach a youth  
46 hearten and urge him to gain good knowledge, until one has educated him.  
47 Let him be granted food and clothing till he be led to understanding.  
48 He shall not be chastened when young before he can show his character.  
49 Then, he shall prosper amongst the people because he will be bold and brave.  
50 A man shall restrain a violent mind. A storm often brings the sea,  
51 the ocean, in fierce weather. The angry waves begin to hasten  
52 from afar towards the shore, as if they stand firmly.  
53 The cliffs resist them, they both endure the wind.  
54 As the sea is still when the water does not stir it,  
55 so are peoples settled when they have come to terms.  
56 They settle safely and then, amid their comrades,  
57 brave men hold a natural sovereignty. A king is keen on power.  
58 Loathed is he who lays claim to land, dear is he who donates more.  
59 Power shall go with pride; bold men with brave men;  
60 both, together, shall be prone to begin a battle.  
61 The earl shall sit on horseback, the cavalry ride in company,  
62 the infantry stand fast. A woman is befit at her embroidery;

- 63 widgongel wif word gespringeð oft hy mon wommum bilihð  
64 hæleð hy hospe mænað oft hyre hleor abreoþeð.  
65 Sceomiande man scal in sceade hweorfan scir in leohte geriseð.  
66 Hond scal heofod inwyrca hord in streonum bidan.  
67 Gifstol gegierwed stonda hwonne hine guman gedælen.  
68 Gifre biþ se þam golde onfehð guma þæs on heahsetle geneah.  
69 Lean scal gif we leogan nellað þam þe us þas lisse geteode.

- 63 a gadding woman brings backbite; often one blames her of guilt,  
64 men speak of her with scorn, oft her beauty becomes paler.  
65 A man who is ashamed walks in the shadow; the pure one deserves the light.  
66 Hand shall lie upon head; riches remain in its resting place.  
67 The gift-stool stands arrayed until men dispense the treasure.  
68 Eager is he who receives that gold, the man on the high-seat has abundance of it.  
69 There shall be recompense if we will not speak false to him who granted such a favour.

**EXETER B**

01 Forst sceal freosan fyr wudu meltan  
02 eorþe growan. Is brycgian  
03 wæter helm wegan wundrum lucan  
04 eorþan ciþas. An sceal inbindan  
05 forstes fetre felamehtig god.  
06 Winter sceal geweorpan weder eft cuman  
07 sumor swegle hat sund unstill  
08 deop deada wæg dyrne bið lengest.  
09 Holen sceal inæled yrfe gedæled  
10 deades monnes. Dom biþ selast.  
11 Cyning sceal mid ceape cwene gebicgan  
12 bunum ond beagum. Bu sceolon ærest  
13 geofum god wesan. Guð sceal in eorle  
14 wig geweaxan ond wif geþeon  
15 leof mid hyre leodum. Leohtmod wesan  
16 rune healdan rumheort beon  
17 mearum ond maþmum. Meodorædenne  
18 for gesiðmægen symle æghwær  
19 eodor æþelinga ærest gegretan  
20 forman fulle to frean hond  
21 ricene geræcan ond him ræd witan  
22 boldagendum bæm ætsomne.  
23 scip sceal genægled scyld gebunden  
24 leoht linden bord. Leof wilcuma  
25 frysan wife þonne flota stondeð  
26 biþ his ceol cumen ond hyre ceorl to ham  
27 agen ætgeofa ond heo hine in laðað  
28 wæsceð his warig hrægl ond him syleþ wæde niwe  
29 liþ him on londe þæs his lufu bædeð.

01 Frost shall freeze, fire melt wood,  
02 earth produce growth. Ice shall form bridges,  
03 the water carry a covering, wondrously lock up  
04 the young sprouts of the earth. Only one shall unchain  
05 the shackles of frost: the Almighty God.  
06 Winter shall pass, fair weather return,  
07 a warm summer with sun, the unstill sea,  
08 the deep, dead wave is longest hid.  
09 Holly shall burn, the legacy  
10 of the departed divided. Fame is best.  
11 A king shall buy a queen with properties,  
12 with cups and rings. First they must both  
13 be generous with gifts. In the earl, warlike valour  
14 shall increase; the woman shall prosper,  
15 beloved amongst her people. She shall be cheerful,  
16 keep a secret, shall be generous  
17 with horses and treasures. At the mead-banquet,  
18 always everywhere before the band of comrades,  
19 she shall greet the protector of the nobles first;  
20 quickly offer the first cup to the hand of the lord  
21 and know good counsel for the two of them  
22 together in the household.  
23 The sheep shall be nailed, the shield bound,  
24 the bright-linden wood. Welcome is the beloved one  
25 to his Frisian wife, when his ship is at anchor,  
26 his vessel has arrived and his man can come home,  
27 her own food provider, and she bids him in,  
28 washes his sea-stained garments, gives him fresh clothes,  
29 grants him on the land what her love demands.

30 Wif sceal wiþ wer wære gehealdan. Oft hi mon wommum behlið.  
31 Fela bið fæsthydigra fela bið fyrwetgeornra  
32 freoð hy fremde monnan þonne se oþer feor gewiteþ.  
33 Lida biþ longe on siþe. A mon sceal seþeah leofes wenan  
34 gebidan þæs he gebædan ne mæg hwonne him eft gebyre weorðe.  
35 Ham cymeð gif he hal leofað nefne him holm gestyreð  
36 mere hafað mundum. Mægðes agen wyn.  
37 ceapeadig mon cyningwic þonne  
38 leodon cypeþ · þonne liþan cymeð.  
39 Wuda ond wætres nyttað þonne him biþ wic alyfed  
40 mete bygeþ gif he maran þearf ærþon he to meþe weorþe.  
41 Seoc se biþ þe to seldan ieteð. Þeah hine mon on sunnan læde  
42 ne mæg he be þy wedre wesan þeah hit sy wearm on sumera  
43 ofercumen biþ he ær he acwele gif he nat hwa hine cwicne fede.  
44 Mægen mon sceal mid mete fedan morþor under eorþan befeolan  
45 hinder under hrusan þe hit forhelan þenceð.  
46 Ne biþ þæt gedefe deaþ þonne hit gedyrned weorþeð.  
47 hean sceal gehnigan adl gesigan  
48 ryht rogian. Ræd biþ nyttost  
49 yfel unnyttost þæt unlæd nimeð.  
50 God bið genge ond wiþ god lenge.  
51 Hyge sceal gehealden hond gewealden.  
52 seo sceal in eagan snyttro in breostum  
53 þær bið þæs monnes modgeþoncas.  
54 muþa gehwylc mete þearf mæl sceolon tidum gongan.  
55 Gold geriseþ on guman sweorde  
56 sellic sigesceorp sinc on cwene.  
57 God scop gumum garniþ werum  
58 wig towiþre wicfreoþa healdan.  
59 Scyld sceal ceman scaft reafere  
60 sceal bryde beag bec leornere  
61 husl halgum men hæþnum synne.  
62 Woden worhte weos wuldor alwalda

30 A wife shall keep faith with her husband. Oft a man accuses her of vice.  
31 Many are constant, many are curious,  
32 she loves strange men when the other goes afar.  
33 The sailor is long on the voyage. Yet, one shall ever await the beloved,  
34 and expect what he cannot hasten for until he is granted again a chance.  
35 He comes home again if he lives uninjured, unless the sea prevents him  
36 and the ocean holds him in its clutches. A maid is the gladness of her possessor.  
37 A wealthy man will sell goods, and the kingly abode  
38 to a man when he comes on his voyage.  
39 He has use of wood and water when an abode is arranged for him:  
40 he buys food, if he need more, before he grows too faint.  
41 He who eats too seldom will be sick. Though he be led into the sun,  
42 he cannot endure the weather, though it be in the warm summer;  
43 he is exhausted before he dies, unless he knows one who will keep him alive with food.  
44 One ought to nourish strength with food; bury murder under the earth,  
45 beneath, under the ground, by him who thinks to conceal it.  
46 That is not seemly death when it is kept secret.  
47 The humble shall bow down, sickness shall languish,  
48 justice shall flourish. Good advice is the most useful,  
49 evil the most harmful, which the ill-fated undertakes.  
50 Good is appropriate and pertains to God.  
51 The mind shall be ruled, the hand controlled.  
52 Sight shall be in the eye, wisdom in the breast,  
53 where the thoughts of man are.  
54 Every mouth craves food, meals shall come at their proper time.  
55 Gold fittingly appears on the sword of a man,  
56 excellent ornaments of victory, jewels on a woman.  
57 Men need a good *scop*, heroes' fierceness in fighting  
58 to protect their homes from attack.  
59 A warrior shall have a shield, a spoiler a spear,  
60 a bride a bracelet, a scholar books,  
61 a holy man housel, the heathens sin.  
62 Woden wrought idols, the Almighty wrought glory,

- 63 rume roderas.    Þæt is rice god  
64 sylf soðcýning    sawla nergend.  
65 Se us eal forgeaf    þæt we on lifgaf  
66 ond eft æt þam ende    eallum wealdeð  
67 monna cynne.    Þæt is meotud sylfa.

63 the broad skies. That is a mighty God,  
64 the very king of truth, the Saviour of souls.  
65 He bestowed unto us all that we live by,  
66 and, in the end, will rule again  
67 all humankind. He is God himself.

EXETER C

- 01 Ræd sceal mon secgan    rune writan  
02 leoþ gesingan    lofes gearnian  
03 dom areccan    dæges onettan.  
04 Til mon tiles    ond tomes meares  
05 cupes ond gecostes    ond calcrondes.  
06 Nænig fira    to fela gestryneð.  
07 Wel mon sceal wine healdan    on wega gehwylcum  
08 oft mon fereð feor bi tune    þær him wat freond unwiotodne.  
09 Wineleas wonsælig mon    genimeð him wulfas to geferan  
10 felafæcne deor.    Ful oft hine se gefera sliteð.  
11 Gryre sceal for greggum    græf deadum men.  
12 Hungre heofeð    nales þæt heafe bewindeð  
13 ne huru wæl wepeð    wulf se græga  
14 morþorcwealm mæcga    ac hit a mare wille.  
15 Wræd sceal wunden.    Wracu heardum men.  
16 Boga sceal stræle    sceal bam gelic  
17 mon to gemæccan.    Maþþum oþres weorð.  
18 Gold mon sceal gifan.    Mæg god syllan  
19 eadgum æhte    ond eft niman.  
20 Sele sceal stondan    sylf ealdian.  
21 Licgende beam    læsest groweð.  
22 Treo sceolon brædan    ond treow weaxan  
23 sio geond bilwitra    breost ariseð.  
24 Wærleas mon ond wonhydig  
25 ætrenmod ond ungetreow  
26 þæs ne gymeð god.  
27 Fela sceop meotud þæs þe fyrn gewearð    het siþþan swa forð wesan.  
28 Wæra gehwylcum wislicu    word gerisað  
29 gleomen gied    ond guman snyttro.

01 A man shall utter good counsel, write runes,  
02 sing songs, earn praise,  
03 expound judgement, be diligent daily.  
04 A good man remembers a good and tame horse,  
05 known and tired, and round of hoof.  
06 Nobody amongst men acquires too much.  
07 On every road one ought to retain a friend closely;  
08 oft one stays away from a town where he knows no certain mate.  
09 Friendless, forlorn, a man makes companions of wolves,  
10 very treacherous beasts. Full oft that companion tears him.  
11 There shall be fear of the grey wolf: a grave for the dead man.  
12 It grieves due to hunger; it does not circle around the grave in dirge,  
13 surely the grey wolf weeps not over the slaughter,  
14 the killing of men, it always wants it more.  
15 A bandage ought to be bound. Vengeance is for the valorous man.  
16 The bow shall be for the darts, to both alike  
17 shall man be comrade. A treasure is worth of another.  
18 One ought to give gold away. God can grant  
19 possessions to the prosperous and take them back again.  
20 A hall shall stand and wax old itself.  
21 A fallen tree grows least.  
22 Trees shall stretch forth and faith increase,  
23 it blossoms in the breast of the meek.  
24 A man false and foolish,  
25 wicked and faithless:  
26 God cares not for him.  
27 The Lord created many things in the very beginning; he bade them thenceforth to stay.  
28 Wise words are fitting for everyone:  
29 a lay for the gleeman and carefulness for the man.

30 Swa monige beoþ men ofer eorþan swa beoþ modgeþoncas  
31 ælc him hafað sundorsefan.  
32 Longað þonne þy læs þe him con leoþa worn  
33 oþþe mid hondum con hearpan gretan  
34 hafaþ him his gliwes giefe þe him god sealde.  
35 Earm biþ se þe sceal ana lifgan  
36 wineleas wunian hafaþ him wyrd geteod  
37 betre him wære þæt he broþor ahte begen hi anes monnes  
38 eorle eaforan wæran gif hi sceoldan eofor onginnan  
39 oþþe begen beran biþ þæt sliþhende deor.  
40 A scyle þa rincas gerædan lædan  
41 ond him ætsomne swefan  
42 næfre hy mon tomædle  
43 ær hy deað todæle.  
44 Hy twegen sceolon tæfle ymsittan þenden him hyra torn toglide  
45 forgietan þara geocran gesceafta habban him gomen on borde.  
46 idle hond æmetlan geneah tæfles monnes þonne teoselum weorpeð  
47 seldan in sidum ceole nefne he under segle yrne.  
48 Werig sceal se wiþ winde roweþ. Ful oft mon wearnum tihð  
49 eargne þæt he elne forleose drugað his ar on borde.  
50 lot sceal mid lyswe list mid gedefum  
51 þy weorpeð se stan forstolen.  
52 Oft hy wordum toweorpað  
53 ær hy bacum tobreden.  
54 Geara is hwær aræd.  
55 Wearð fæhþo fyra cynne siþþan furþum swealg  
56 eorðe Abeles blode. Næs þæt andæge nið.  
57 Of þam wrohtdropan wide gesprungon  
58 micel mon ældum monegum þeodum  
59 bealoblonden niþ. Slog his broðor swæsne  
60 Cain þone cwealm nered. Cup wæs wide siþþan  
61 þæt ece nið ældum scod swa aþolware.  
62 drugon wæpna gewin wide geond eorþan

30 There are as many thoughts as men upon the earth:  
31 each has a mind of his own.  
32 He that knows many songs languishes the less  
33 or can ripple the harp with his hands;  
34 the one has in him the gift of music making which God granted unto him.  
35 Wretched is he who must live alone;  
36 fate has decreed he shall live friendless:  
37 it were better for him that he had a brother, both  
38 sons of the same man, if they should attack a wild boar,  
39 or both of them a bear, that is a beast with vicious claws.  
40 Ever shall those warriors bear arms  
41 and sleep in company,  
42 never let them be separated by words  
43 ere death parts them.  
44 two shall sit at a game board, till their sorrows slip away,  
45 forget the wretched world, enjoy themselves at the table.  
46 The idle hands of the loafer are enough for the gamester when he throws the dice;  
47 but seldom in a broad ship, unless it is running under sail.  
48 Weary shall be he who rows against the wind. Full oft he is accused  
49 with sloth, so that he grows disheartened, his oar becomes dry on board.  
50 Guile goes with wickedness, capability with what is right,  
51 thus is a stone stolen.  
52 Men oft bandy words  
53 before they turn their back upon each other.  
54 He that is resolute is everywhere ready.  
55 There has been feud amongst humankind, ever since the earth  
56 swallowed up Abel's blood. That was no mere one-day hate.  
57 From that misdeed arose far widely,  
58 great evil amongst men, for many nations  
59 pernicious hostility. Cain slew his own brother,  
60 plotted his murder. Afterwards it became known far and wide,  
61 the constant hate did hurt to men, as he who dwells in the plague.  
62 They endure the clash of weapons all over the earth,

- 63 ahogodan ond ahyrdon heoro sliþendne.  
64 Gearo sceal guðbord gar on scafte  
65 ecg on sweorde ond ord spere  
66 hyge heardum men helm sceal cenum  
67 ond a þæs heanan hyge hord unginnost.

63 devised and tempered the piercing sword.  
64 The shield shall be ready, the arrow-head on its shaft,  
65 an edge on the sword and a point on the spear,  
66 courage in the brave man, a helmet for a courageous man,  
67 and, always, the least treasure for the coward of soul.

COTTON GNOMES

- 01 Cyning sceal rice healdan. Ceastra beoð feorran gesyne  
02 orðanc enta geweorc þa þe on þysse eorðan syndon  
03 wrætlic weallstana geweorc. Wind byð on lyfte swiftust  
04 þunar byð þragum hludast. Þrymmas syndan Cristes myccl.  
05 Wyrð byð swiðost winter byð cealdost  
06 lencten hrimigost he byð lengest ceald  
07 sumor sunwlitegost swegel byð hatost  
08 hærfest hreðeade gost hæleðum bringeð  
09 gearas wæstmas þa þe him god sendeð.  
10 Soð bið switolost sinc byð deorost  
11 gold gumena gehwam ond gomol snoterost  
12 fyrngearum frod se þær feala gebideð.  
13 Wea bið wundrum clibbor wolcnu scriðað.  
14 Geongne æþeling sceolan gode gesiðas  
15 byldan to beaduwe ond to beahgife.  
16 Ellen sceal on eorle. Ecg sceal wið hellme  
17 hilde gebidan. Hafuc sceal on glofe  
18 wilde gewunian wulf sceal on bearowe  
19 earm anhaga eofor sceal on holte  
20 toðmægenes trum. Til sceal on eðle  
21 domes wyrcean. Daroð sceal on handa  
22 gar golde fah. Gim sceal on hringe  
23 standan steap ond geap. Stream sceal on yðum  
24 mecgan mereflode. Mæst sceal on ceole  
25 segelgyrd seomian. Sweord sceal on bearme  
26 drihtlic isern draca sceal on hlæwe  
27 frod frætwum wlanc. Fisc sceal on wætere  
28 cynren cennan. Cyning sceal on healle  
29 beagas dælan. Bera sceal on hæðe

01 A sovereign shall rule over his kingdom. Cities can be seen from afar,  
02 the skilful work of giants, which remains on this world, survive,  
03 wondrous work of stone-walls. Wind is fastest in the sky,  
04 thunder, at times, is loudest. The grandeur of Christ is great.  
05 Fate is cruellest, winter coldest,  
06 spring frostiest, for it is longest cold,  
07 summer sunniest, the sun is hottest,  
08 autumn most glorious, brings to men  
09 the fruits of the year that God grants them.  
10 Truth is most evident, most precious treasure,  
11 gold to each men and the aged is the wisest,  
12 sage due to past years, he who has much experienced previously.  
13 Woe is wondrously wayward. The welkin whirls.  
14 Noble comrades must urge a stripling prince  
15 to encourage in battle and to bestow rings.  
16 Boldness ought to be in the hero. Blade, a with helmet, must  
17 experience battle. The hawk shall stand on a glove,  
18 stay wild. The wolf shall dwell in the wood  
19 wretched loner, the wild boar in the forest:  
20 mighty in strong tusks. In his land, the good man  
21 ought to gain glory. The shaft shall be in the hand,  
22 the spear stained with gold. The gem on a ring,  
23 high and broad. The stream, among waves,  
24 shall mingle with the see-flood. Mast shall be on a ship,  
25 the sail yard sway. The sword in the lap,  
26 the noble steel, the dragon shall dwell in a mound,  
27 old, proud of his treasures. The fish in the water  
28 spawn its spices. The King in the hall  
29 shall dispense rings. On the heath, the bear

30 eald ond egesfull. Ea of dune sceal  
31 flodgræg feran. Fyrd sceal ætsomne  
32 tīrfæstra getrum. Treow sceal on eorle  
33 wisdom on were. Wudu sceal on foldan  
34 blædum blowan beorh sceal on eorþan  
35 grene standan. God sceal on heofenum  
36 dæda demend. Duru sceal on healle  
37 rum recedes muð. Rand sceal on scylde  
38 fæst fingra gebeorh. Fugel uppe sceal  
39 lacan on lyfte. Leax sceal on wæle  
40 mid sceote scriðan. Scur sceal on heofenum  
41 winde geblanden. In þas woruld cuman  
42 þeof sceal gangan þystrum wederum. Þyrs sceal on fenne gewunian  
43 ana innan lande. Ides sceal dyrne cræfte  
44 fæmne hire freond gesecean gif heo nelle on folce geþeon  
45 þæt hi man beagum gebicge. Brim sceal sealte weallan  
46 lyfthelm ond laguflod ymb ealra landa gehwylc  
47 flowan firgenstreamas. Feoh sceal on eorðan  
48 tydran ond tyman. Tungol sceal on heofenum  
49 beorhte scinan swa him bebead meotud.  
50 God sceal wið yfele geogoð sceal wið ylde  
51 lif sceal wið deaþe leoht sceal wið þystrum  
52 fyrd wið fyrde feond wið oðrum  
53 lað wið laþe ymb land sacan  
54 synne stælan. A sceal snotor hycgean  
55 ymb þysse worulde gewinn. Wearh hangian  
56 fægere ongildan þæt he ær facen dyde  
57 manna cynne. Meotod ana wat  
58 hwyder seo sawul sceal syððan hweorfan  
59 ond ealle þa gastas þe for gode hweorfað  
60 æfter deaðdæge domes bidað  
61 on fæder fæðme. Is seo forðgesceaft  
62 digol ond dyrne. Drihten ana wat

30 shall be old and awesome. Down the hill, the rivers  
31 shall run grey. An army shall stick together,  
32 a brave band. Faithfulness must be in the earl,  
33 wisdom in the warrior. On the earth, the wood  
34 shall bloom and blossom. On the ground, a barrow  
35 shall stand green. God shall dwell in the heavens,  
36 judge of deeds. In the hall, there shall be a door,  
37 the wide jaws of the building. The boss on the shield,  
38 a firm finger-guard. The bird, aloft,  
39 shall sport in the air. The salmon, in the water,  
40 shall move in rapid movement. From heaven, the shower,  
41 mingled with the wind, shall descend on this world.  
42 A thief shall go in darkish weather. A giant must dwell in the fen,  
43 alone in his realm. With secret craft, a lady,  
44 a virgin, must seek her friend, if she wants not to prosper amongst her people;  
45 a man buys her with rings. The sea shall surge with salt;  
46 the air-cover and the sea-floods, round every land,  
47 mountain streams must flow. On the earth, cattle  
48 shall breed and teem. In the heavens, a star  
49 shines brightly as the Lord bade it.  
50 Good must strive with evil, youth with age,  
51 life with death, light with darkness,  
52 an army against an army, foes with one another,  
53 adversary against adversary, shall fight about the land  
54 and avenge the crime. The wise shall always wander  
55 at the conflicts of this world. The criminal must hang,  
56 properly atone for the crime he had previously committed  
57 against mankind. The Lord alone knows  
58 whither that souls shall pass afterwards  
59 and all the spirits that go before God,  
60 after the day of death, they await the doom  
61 in the Father's embrace. Future destiny  
62 is secret and hid. The Lord alone knows,

- 63 nergende fæder. Næni eft cymeð  
64 hider under hrofas þe þæt her for soð  
65 mannum secge hwylc sy meotodes gesceaft  
66 sigefolca gesetu þær he sylfa wunað.

63 the Father who redeems. No man returns another time  
64 here under the roofs that truly  
65 unfold to men the nature of God,  
66 the abode of the victorious where he himself dwells.

## APPENDIX 2 - Diplomatic Transcript

### EXETER A

[ff. 88v-90r]

FRIGE mec frodum wordum nelæt þinne ferð on  
hælnē degol þætþu deopost cunne nelle icþe min  
dyrne gesecgan gifþume þinne hyge cræft hy  
lest 7þine heortan geþohtas · gleawe men sceolon gieddū  
wrixlan god sceal mon ærest hergan fægre fæder user  
ne forþon þe he us ætfrymþe geteode lif 7lænne  
willan heus ic wile þara leana gemonian · Meotud sceal  
inwuldre mon sceal oneorþan geong ealdian god us ece  
biþ ne wendað hine wyrda nehine wiht dreceþ adl

[f. 89r]

neyldo ælmihtigne negomelað he ingæste ache is gen  
swa he wæs þeoden geþyldig heus geþonc syleð missenli  
cu mod monge reorde feorh cynna fela fæþmeþ wi  
de eglond monig eardas rume meotud arærde  
formon cynne ælmihtig god efen fela bega þeoda  
7þeawa þing sceal ge hegan frod wiþ frodne biþ hy  
ra ferð gelic hi ásace semaþ sibbe gelærað þær won  
sælge awegen habbað · Ræd sceal mid snyttro ryht  
mid wisum til sceal midtilum tubeoð gemæccan  
sceal wif 7wer in woruld cennan bearn midgebyrdū  
beam sceal oneorðan leafum liþan leomu gnornian  
fus sceal feran fæge sweltan 7dogra gehwam ýmb ge  
dal sacan middan geardes meotud anawat hwærse  
cwealm cymeþ · þe heonan ofcyþþe gewiteþ umbor ýceð  
þa ær adl nimeð · þyweorþeð onfoldan swafela fira  
cynnes nesý þæs magu timbres gemet ofer eorþan gif  
hine wanige seþas woruld teode dolbiþ seþe his dryh

ten nat to þæs oft cymeð deað unþinged snotre men  
sawlū beorgað healdað hyra soð mid ryhte · eadig bið  
seþe inhis eþle geþihð earm sehim his frynd geswicað ·  
nefre sceal sehim his nest aspringeð nyd sceal þrage  
[f. 89v]

gebunden · bliþe sceal bealo leas heorte blind sceal his eagna  
þolian · of tigen biþ him torhtre gesihþe nemagon hine tun  
glu bewitian swegl torht sunnan nemonan þæthim biþ sár  
In his mode onge þon̄ he hit ana wat neweneð þ̄ him þæs ed  
hwyrft cyme waldend himþæt wite teode sehim mæg wyrpe  
syllan hælo of heofod gimme gif he wat heortan clæne lef  
mon læces behofað læran sceal mon geongne monnan trȳ  
man ȳtyhtan þæt he teala cunne oþþæt hine mon átemed  
ne hæbbe sylle him wist ȳwædo oþþæt hine mon ongewitte  
alæde ne sceal hine mon cild geongne forcweþan ærhehine  
acyþan mote · þy sceal onþeode geþeon þæthe wese þrist hyc  
gende · styran scealmon strongum mode · storm oft holm  
gebringeþ geofen Ingrimmm sælum onginnað grome fun  
dian fealwe onfeorran tolonde hwæþer hefæste stonde  
weallas him wiþre healdað himbiþ wind gemæne swabiþ sæ  
smilte þon̄ hy wind neweceð swa beoþ þeoda geþwære þon̄ hy  
ge þingad habbað gesittað himonge sundum þingum ȳ  
þon̄ midge siþum healdap̄ cene men gecynde rice cyning  
biþ anwealdes georn · lað seþe londes monað leof seþe ma  
re beodeð þrym sceal mid wlenco þriste mid cenum sceo  
lun bu recene beadwe fremman eorl sceal on eos boge worod  
[f. 90r]

scealge trume ridan fæste feþa stondan fæmne æt hyre  
bordān geriseð widgongel wif wordge springeð ofthy  
mon wommū bilihð hæleð hy hospe mænað ofthyre hleor  
abreopeð sceomiande mansceal insceade hweorfan scir In  
leohte geriseð hond sceal heofod Inwyrcah hord Instreo  
num bidan · gifstol gegierwed stondan hwonne hine guman  
gedælen gifre biþ seþam golde onfehð guma þæs onheah  
setle geneah · lean sceal gifwe leogan nellað þā þe us þas lis  
se geteode :-:7

**EXETER B**

[ff. 90r-91r]

FORST sceal freosan fyr wudu meltan eorþe  
growan is brycgian wæter helm wegan wundrū lucan  
eorþan ciþas ansceal inbindan forstes fetre  
fela meahtiggod · winter sceal geweorpan weder eft cu  
man sumor swegle hat sund unstillde deop d eada wæg  
dýrne bið lengest holen sceal inæled ýrfe gedæled deades  
monnes dóm biþ selast · Cyning sceal mid ceape cwene ge  
bicgan bunum ȝbeagum bu sceolon ærest geofum gód  
wesán · guð sceal ineorle wig geweaxan ȝwif geþeon lof mid  
hyre leodum leoht mod wesán rune healdan rum heort  
beon mearum ȝmaþmum · meodo rædenne forge sið  
mægen symle æghwær eodor. æþelinge ærest gegretan ·  
[f. 90v]

forman fulle tofreat hond ricene geræcan ȝhim  
ræd witan bold agendum bæm ætsomne · scip sceal ge  
nægled scyld gebunden leoht linden bord leof wilcu  
ma frysan wif e þon̄ flota stondeð biþ his ceol cumen  
ȝhyre ceorl toham agen ætgeofa ȝheo hine Inlaðap  
wæsceð his warig hrægl ȝhim syleþ wæde niwe liþhī  
on londe þæs his lufu bædeð · wif sceal wiþ wer wære  
gehealdan oft himon wommum behlið · fela bið fæst  
hydigra fela bið fyrwet geonra freoð hy fremde  
monnan þon̄ se oþer feor gewiteþ lida biþ longe on  
siþe ámon sceal seþeah leofes wenan gebidan þæs she  
gebædan nemæg · hwonne him eft gebyre weorðe · há  
cymeð gifhe hal leofað nefne him holm gestyreð  
mere hafað mundum mægð egsan wýn ceap ead  
ig mon cyning wic þon̄ leodon cypeþ · þon̄ liþan cy  
með wuda ȝwætres nyttað þon̄ him biþ wic alyfed mete  
bygeþ gif he maran þearf ærþon heto meþe weorþe ·  
seoc sebiþ þeto seldan ieteð þeah hine món onsunnan

læde · Nemæghe beþy wedre wesan þeahhit sy wearm on  
sumera ofer cumen biþ he ær he ácwele gifhe nat hwa  
hine cwicne fede mægen mon sceal midmete fedan  
[f. 91r]

morþor under eorþan befeolan hinder under hrusan þe  
hit for helan þenceð · nebiþæt gedefe deaþ þonne hit ge  
dyrned weorþeð · hean sceal gehnigan adl gesigan ryht  
rogian ræd biþ nýttost yfel unnyttost þæt ·  
unlæd nimeð · gód bið genge 7wiþ god lenge · hyge sceal ge  
healden hond gewealden · seo sceal Ineagan snyttro in  
breostum þærbið þæs monnes modgeþoncas muþa gehwylc  
mete þearf mæl sceolon tidum gongan goldge riseþ  
onguman sweorde sellic sige sceorp sinc oncwene god  
scop gumum gar niþ werum wig towiþre wic freoþa heal  
dan · scyld sceal cempa sceaft reafere sceal bryde  
beag bec leornere husl halgum men hæþnum synne woden  
worhte weos wuldor alwalda rume roderas þis rice  
god · sylf soð cyning sawla nergend seus eal forgeaf  
þætwe on lifgaþ 7eft ætþam ende eallum wealdeð mon  
na cynne þæt is meotud sylfa :7

**EXETER C**

[ff. 91r-92v]

RÆD sceal mon secgan rune writan leoþ gesin  
gan leofes gearnian dom areccan dæges onettan ·  
tilmon tiles ȝtomes meares cuþes ȝgecostes ȝcalc  
rondes nænig fira tofela gestryneð · wel  
mon sceal wine healdan onwega gehwylcum oftmon ·  
[f. 91v]

fereð feor bitune þær him wat freond unwiotodne wine  
leas wonsælig mon genimeð him wulfas togeferan fela fæc  
ne deor ful oft hine sege fera sliteð · gryre sceal for  
greggum græf deadum men hungre heofeð nales þ heafe  
bewindeð nehuru wæl wepeð wulf segræga morþor cwealm  
mæcga achit amare wille · wræd sceal wunden wracu  
heardū men boga sceal stræle sceal bam gelic monto  
ge mæccan maþþum oþres weorð gold mon sceal gifan mæg  
god syllan eadgum æhte ȝeft niman sele sceal standan  
sylf ealdian licgende beam læsest groweð · treo sceolon  
brædan ȝtreow weaxan sio geond bilwitra breost ariseð ·  
wærleas mon ȝwonhydig ætren mod ȝunge treow þæs ne  
gymeð god · fela sceop meotud þæs þe fyrn gewearð het  
siþþan swa forð wesan · wæra gehwylcū wislicu word gerisað  
gleo men gied ȝguman snyttro · swa moniġ beoþ men ofer  
eorþan swa beoþ modge þoncas ælc him hafað sundor  
sefan longað þon̄ þylæs þehim con leoþa worn oþþe mid  
hondum con hearpan gretan hafaþ him his gliwes giefe  
þehim god sealde earm biþ seþe sceal ana lifgan wine  
leas wunian hafaþ him wyrd ge teod · betre him wære  
þæt he broþor ahte begen hi anes monnes eorle eaforan ·  
[f. 92r]

wæran gif hi sceoldan efor onginnan oþþe begen beran  
biþþæt sliþ hende deor ascyle þa rincas gerædan lædan  
ȝhim æt somne swefan · næfre hy mon to mon tomælde  
ærhy deað todæle hy twegen sceolon tæfle · ȝmb sittan

þenden him hyra torn toglide forgietan þara geocran  
gesceafte habban him gomen onborde idle hond æmet  
lange neah tæfles monnes þon̄ teoselū weorpeð seldan in  
sidum ceole nefnehe under segle yrne werig sceal se  
wiþ winde roweþ ful oft mon wearnū tihð eargne þæt  
he elne forlose drugað his ar onborde · lot sceal  
mid lyswe list midge defum þy weorþeð sestan forsto  
len oft hy wordum toweorpað ær hy bacum tobreden  
géara is hwær aræd w earð fæhþo fyra cynne siþþan  
furþum swealg eorðe abeles blode næs þæt andæge nið  
ofþā wroht dropan wide gesprungon · micel mōn æl  
dum monegum þeodū bealo blonden niþ slog his bro  
swæsne · Cain þone cwealm neredde cuþ wæs wide siþþan þ  
ece nið ældum scod swa aþolwarum drugon wæpna ge  
win wid egeond eorþan ahogodan jahyrdon heoro sli  
þendne gearo sceal guð bord gar onsceafte ecg onsweor  
de ʒord spere hyge heardū men helm sceal cenum ʒá  
[f. 92v]

þæs heanan hyge hord unginnost :ʒ

COTTON

[ff. 115r-115v]

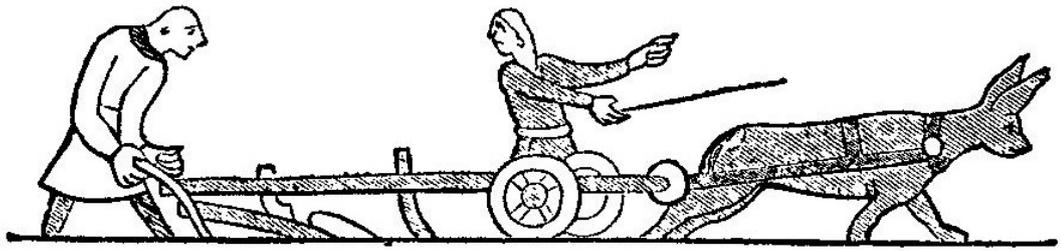
CYNING SCEAL RICE HEALDAN ·

ceastra beoð feorran ge sýne · orðanc enta geweorc · þa þe on  
þýsse eorðan sýndon · wrætlic weall stana geweorc · wind býð on  
lýfte swiftust · þunar býð þragū hludast · þrýmmas sýndan  
cristes mýccle · wýrd býð swiðost · winter býð cealdost · lenc  
ten hrimigost · he býð lengest ceald · sumor sun wlitegost · swe  
gel býð hatost · hærfest hreð eadegost · hæleðum bringeð · geares  
wæstmas · þa þe hiom god sendeð · soð bið swicolost sinc býð deo  
rost · gold gumena ge hwam · ȝgomol snoterost · fýrn gearū  
frod · se þe ár feala gebideð · wea bið wundrum clibbor · wolc  
nu scriðað · geongne æþeling sceolan gode ge siðas · býldan tobea  
duwe · ȝto beah gife · ellen sceal on eorle · ecg sceal wið hell  
me · hilde gebidan · hafuc sceal onglöfe · wilde ge wunian · wulf  
sceal onbearowe · earn án haga · eofor sceal onholte · toð mæ  
genes trum · til sceal on eðle · domes wýrcean · daroð sceal on  
handa · gár golde fah · gim sceal onhringe · standan steap ȝ  
geap · stream sceal on ýðum · mecgan mere flode · mæst sceal  
on ceole · segel gýrd seomian · sweord sceal on bearme · driht  
lic isern · draca sceal onhlæwe · frod frætwum wlanc · fisc  
sceal on wætere · cýnren cennan · cýning sceal on healle ·  
beagas dælan · bera sceal onhæðe · eald ȝeges full éa of dune  
sceal flod grægferan · fýrd sceal æt somne tír fæstra ge  
trum · treow sceal on eorle · wisdom onwere · wudu scealon  
foldan · blædum blowan · beorh sceal oneorþan grene standan ·  
god sceal onheofenū dæda demend · duru sceal onhealle ·  
rúm recedes muð · rand sceal onscýlde · fæst fingra gebeorh ·  
[f. 115v]

fugel uppe sceal · lacan onlýfte · leax sceal onwæle · mid  
sceote scriðan · scur sceal onheofenū · winde ge blanden ·  
inþas woruld cuman · þeof sceal gangan · þýstrum wede  
rum · þýrs sceal onfenne ge wunian · ana innanlande ·  
ides sceal dýrne cræfte · fæmne hire freond ge seccean ·

gif heo nelle onfolce geþeon · þ̅ hí man beagū gebicge ·  
brim sceal sealte weallan · lýft helm ȝlagu flod · ýmb  
ealra landa gehwýlc · flowan firgen streamas · feoh  
sceal on eorðan · týdran ȝtýman · tungol sceal onheofe  
num · beorhte scinan · swa him be bead meotud · gód sceal  
wið ýfele geogoð sceal wið ýldo · lif sceal wið deaþe · leoht  
sceal wið þýstrum · fýrd wið fýrde · feond wið oðrum ·  
lað wið laþe · ýmb land sacan · sýnne stælan · á sceal  
snotor Hýcgean · ýmb þýsse worulde ge winn · wearh  
hangian · fægere ongildan · þ̅ he ár facen dýde · manna  
cýnne · meotod ana wat · hwýder seo sawul sceal · sýððan  
hweorfan · ȝealle þa gastas · þe for gode hweorfað · æft  
deað dæge · domes bidað · onfæder fæðme · is seo forð  
ge sceaft · digol ȝdýrne · drihten ana wat · nergende fæ  
der · næni eft cýmeð · hider under hrofas · þe þ̅ her  
for soð · mannum secge · hwýlc sý meotodes ge sceaft ·  
sige folca gesetu · þær he sýlfa wunað ;







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